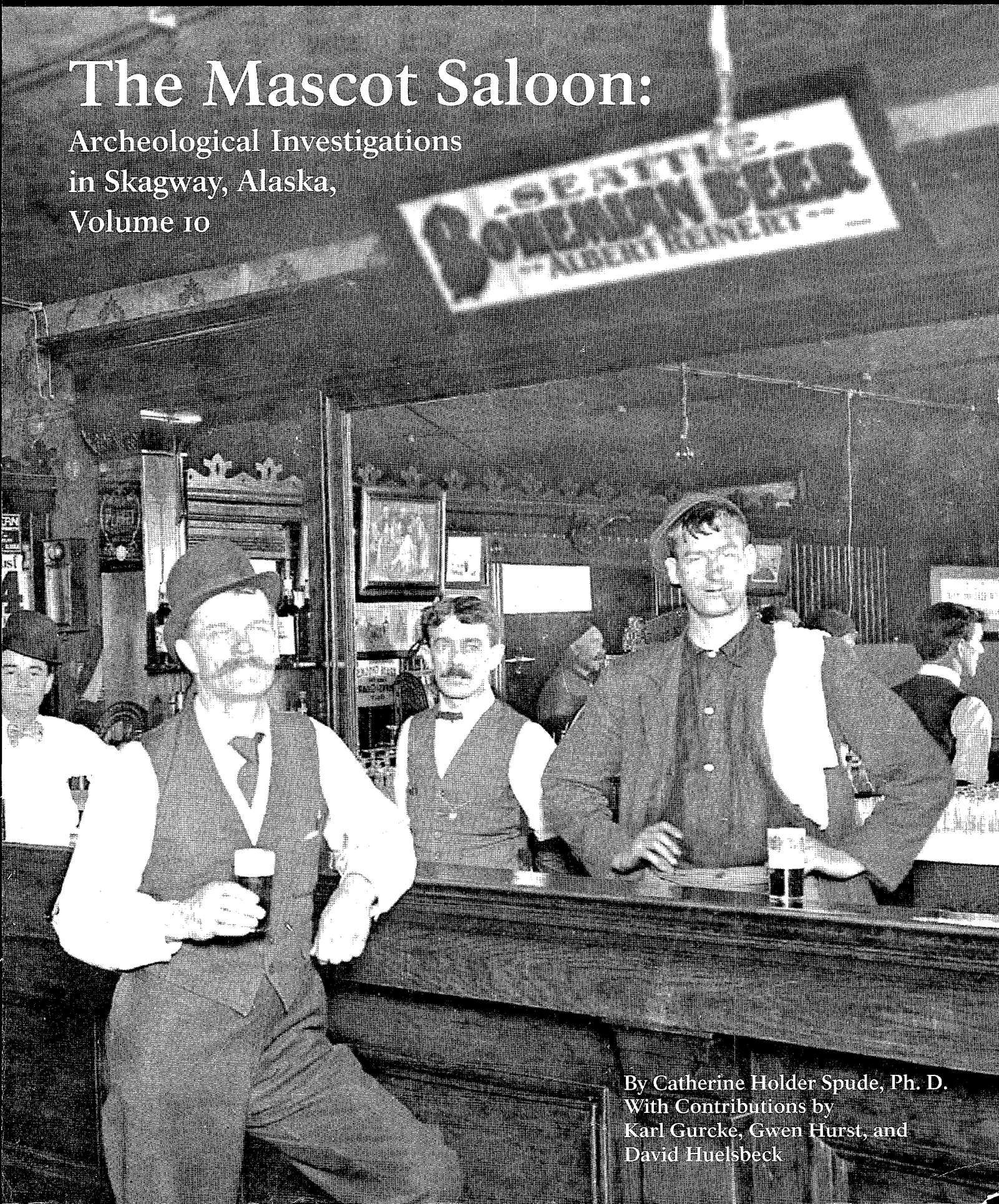
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National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park

The Mascot Saloon:

Archeological Investigations in Skagway, Alaska, Volume 10



By Catherine Holder Spude, Ph. D.
With Contributions by
Karl Gurcke, Gwen Hurst, and
David Huelsbeck

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park
P.O. Box 517
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Dear Colleague:

I am pleased to provide you with a copy of ***The Mascot Saloon: Archeological Investigations in Skagway, Alaska, Volume 10, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park***, by Catherine Holder Spude with contributions by Karl Gurcke, David R. Huelsbeck and Gwen Hurst.

A group of buildings built between 1898 and 1904 cover a series of archeological deposits associated with the Mascot Saloon, the longest lived saloon operated by the same owner at the same location in the gold rush town of Skagway, Alaska. Built during the Klondike Gold Rush, and then continuing to cater to the working class men of this railroad and shipping port until local prohibition in July 1916, the Mascot Saloon witnessed all phases of saloon life.

A thorough contextual history explores the multitude and types of saloons in Skagway throughout its pre-Prohibition years; the effects of reform movements throughout Southeast Alaska on liquor licensing, pricing, gambling, and women in saloons; the influence of the declining economy on the saloons; and the incidence of crimes in the saloons. Once the context is set, a detailed history of the Mascot Saloon follows. Special attention is paid to correlating historic photographs of known dates to maps of the archeological investigation grid. The horizontal stratigraphy on the site was excellent, and allowed the archeologists to separate gold rush from post-gold rush era deposits. The gold rush saloon (1898-1899) served a much larger proportion of whiskey in bottles than it did beer or wine; snacks of nuts were served; meals with beer were common; the stampeders were free with their money; women were present in the saloon. After the gold rush (1900-1904), more beer in bottles appeared in the archeological collections; the nut snacks were replaced by free lunches, including clam chowder; while beer remained popular, the less expensive mutton appeared on the menu more frequently; money grew tighter and not so many coins and tokens were lost; the women left the saloon. The post-1904 period at the Mascot Saloon barely exists in an archeological context, and then only as construction or structural debris. Research themes include adjustments in consumption habits from boom times to ordinary times, the mining frontier interactions with markets to the south, and changes in social relationships during the reforms of the Progressive era. The insights glimpsed at the Mascot Saloon make a contribution beyond the field of Alaskan archeology.

We hope this report will encourage other researchers to use this data and extend the interpretation and analysis to other sites. If you have any questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact the authors, or me.

Sincerely,

Jim Hertel, Acting for

James Corless
Superintendent

PLEASE RETURN TO:

TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER
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The Mascot Saloon

Archeological Investigations in Skagway, Alaska, Volume 10

By Catherine Holder Spude, Ph. D.

With Editorial Assistance by Karl Gurcke

Bottle Glass Analysis by Gwen Hurst

and Faunal Analysis by David R. Huelsbeck, Ph. D.

Produced by Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Anchorage, Alaska 2006

Covers: Interior views of the Mascot Saloon, August 14, 1904. (Credit: Phyllis Brown, Skagway, Alaska / George and Edna Rapuzzi Collection).

See frontispiece for original image.



Celebrating the grand opening of the newly renovated Mascot Saloon, August 14, 1904. Up front and center is Albert Reinert, proud owner of Skagway's longest-lived saloon. (Credit: Phyllis Brown, Skagway, Alaska / George and Edna Rapuzzi Collection).

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Abstract

A group of buildings built between 1898 and 1904 cover a series of archeological deposits associated with the Mascot Saloon, the longest lived saloon operated by the same owner at the same location in the gold rush town of Skagway, Alaska. Built during the gold rush, and then continuing to cater to the working class men of this railroad and shipping port until local prohibition in July 1916, the Mascot Saloon witnessed all phases of saloon life. A thorough contextual history explores the multitude and types of saloons in Skagway throughout its pre-Prohibition years; the effects of reform movements throughout Southeast Alaska on liquor licensing, pricing, gambling, and women in saloons; the influence of the declining economy on the saloons; and the incidence of crimes in the saloons. Once the context is set, a detailed history of the Mascot Saloon follows. Especial attention is paid to correlating historic photographs of known dates to maps of the archeological investigation grid.

The horizontal stratigraphy on the site was excellent, and allowed the archeologists to separate gold rush from post-gold rush era deposits. The gold rush saloon (1898 – 1899) served a much larger proportion of whiskey in bottles than it did beer or wine; snacks of nuts were served; meals with beer were common; the stampeders were free with their money; women were present in the saloon. After the gold rush (1900 – 1904), more beer in bottles appeared in the archeological collections; the nut snacks were replaced by free lunches, including clam chowder; while beer remained popular, the less expensive mutton appeared on the menu more frequently; money grew tighter and not so many coins and tokens were lost; the women left the saloon. During both time periods on this urban frontier, flasks were not used for social drinking in the saloon, but for private drinking in the work yard or the privy.

The post-1904 period at the Mascot Saloon barely exists in an archeological context, and then only as construction or structural debris.

Research themes include adjustments in consumption habits from boom times to ordinary times, the mining frontier's interactions with markets to the south, and changes in social relationships during the reforms of the Progressive era. The insights glimpsed at the Mascot Saloon make a contribution beyond the field of Alaskan archeology.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

I remember it was pretty cold that February. There was not much snow. The wind in Skagway wouldn't let it settle. The National Park Service's Regional Archeologist Ted Birkedal and Compliance Archeologist Paul Gleeson met me there to go over the status of the archeological compliance with Section 106 of the Historic Preservation Act. Back in the days when I was known as Cathy Blee, I still had several backlogged reports to write from my several years of fieldwork in Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. We all anticipated additional ground disturbance under historic buildings as the Service did more rehabilitation work. We needed to prioritize the remaining archeological work and figure out how to get it done in view of my writing obligations.

Ted remembers the day we got to the Mascot Saloon. It was late in our agenda. I'd done some tests under the southern portion of the building, but not the older, more inaccessible portion, and I'd never been under that part of the old structure. He recalls

> *Paul scrambled under the building through a small crawlspace door... He then called for me to come in and see something. I crawled in and we could observe the surface of the ground under the Mascot was littered with peanut shells, bits of bark and other minor forest floor debris, and broken glass from bottles. Paul thought it looked like the original surface of the ground from the '98 era had been sealed in under the crawlspace. I cannot remember if Cathy came in too or whether she took our word for it (I do remember her standing outside the access "door" at one point while we discussed what we had seen [after much deep thought, I do recollect a crawl under the Mascot, so I probably went in after them - CHS]). Anyway, we then realized that the archeological deposits under the Mascot were of significance, for they dated to the earliest occupation of Skagway and were worthy of data recovery prior to any ground-disturbing activity. The eventual outcome was that [the Alaska] Region[al Office] was told to get all the necessary work done that spring for DSC [the Denver Service Center, who was responsible for design and construction projects in the National Park Service] was "a comin'" by I think late May or early June to rip up the crawlspace to put in utilities (Birkedal 2004).*

As with any archeological project, this one did not belong to any one person, and certainly not to the one whose name is on the cover of this report. Paul Gleeson undertook the resultant archeological investigations in April and May 1986, assisted by seasonal archeological assistant Nichole A. von Gaza and later park Cultural Resource Specialist and Historian Karl Gurcke. Karl was the photographer during the fieldwork and crew leader when Paul had to leave before field work was completed. The three of them enjoyed all the pleasure of finding buried treasure while banging their heads on the floor joists and freezing their you-guessed-its off (Figure 1). The park's day labor and maintenance



Figure 1. Photograph of the archeological crew under the original Mascotte Saloon portion of the Mascot Saloon Group of buildings, April 1986. From left to right, back: Paul Gleeson, Nicole Von Gaza, Doug Sanvik and Doug Mahle; Front: John Johnson and Karl Gurcke.

crew was working on various building restorations at the time, and offered their considerable assistance to the field crew. Of especial assistance were Doug Mahle, Doug Sanvik and John Johnson, Andrew Beierly, Si Dennis, Jr., Pat Moore and Jeff Graham. Construction supervisor Ray Todd and Chief of Maintenance John Warder were, as usual, cheerfully accommodating of the archeologists' unusual needs and requests.

By the time I inherited the writing of this report, much of the analytical work had been completed and was simply awaiting my putting it all together. Gwen Hurst, who operated a field laboratory during the excavations, identified and wrote a section on the bottle glass (Appendix B). Jed Levin and Ed Morin, then with the National Park Service's Applied Archeology Center of the Denver Service Center, completed the analysis

and description of all other artifact categories, and organized the material in a way that was easy for me to access. David Huelsbeck, now with Pacific Lutheran University, analyzed, identified and completed a report on the faunal remains. His report constitutes Appendix C. Karlene Leeper, from the Alaska Regional Office, prepared a preliminary background history. She wrote some of what now appears in the Introduction. Karl Gurcke had already written a part of what is now in the methodology section of Chapter 4 and had made a good start on an outline. Karl also gets special writing credit as a contributor for his extensive services as co-editor. His services in that area were indispensable. No writer could have wanted more or better.

When Ted, Paul and I crawled under the Mascot on that cold February day in 1986, I had no idea I would be involved in this project in any way, shape or form. I thought I might get to review the report before it was published. Never did I dream I would have the choice job of writing it up without suffering the cold and wet. In 1998, the Applied Archeology Center of the Denver Service Center was disbanded as part of a general reorganization. The project fell into the capable hands of my good friend, George Teague, then Chief of the Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) of the National Park Service. I had transferred to the National Park Service's Intermountain Support Office in Santa Fe (IMSF) in 1997. The person George had wanted to put on the Mascot project suddenly had a conflict. He and I reported to the same supervisor. Dropping one other backlogged report like a hot potato, I gleefully told George I would help him out of his bind. I completed the spatial analysis begun by Gwen and added the functional and statistical analyses.

In the summer of 2001, as I was finishing up the spatial analysis and beginning to prepare the series of maps that are shown in Figures 58, 63 and 79-97, I realized I did not know enough to be able to confidently date the historic photographs compiled by Karlene Leeper. My familiarity with Skagway suggested different dates than those tentatively assigned by Karlene and Paul. Also, in going through the newspaper files that Jed and Karlene had forwarded to me, I found a number of copies missing. I had some of the newspapers on microfilm myself, and began re-reading them; I borrowed more microfilm rolls from the park and began a major effort at primary research. The park kindly agreed to a time extension to allow me to complete that research. The result is the contextual history in Chapter 2 and the detailed history of the saloon in Chapter 3.

The contextual history is more than just a physical history of the Mascot Saloon. It is a history of the Mascot, its owner, and its customers within the context of the town's history, the local and regional politics, and the other saloons in the community. It is my sincere hope that the park will forgive me this tangent. I believe it was necessary because, among other things, we are now firmly grounded on the dates of the photographs. And we know far, far more about Skagway – and its saloons, gambling, crimes, politics, feminist movements, and newspaper editors – than I ever dreamed we would know before.

A note on the spelling of names: Skagway's earliest citizens spelled their city's name as "Skaguay," the convention giving way to the more modern spelling by the turn of the century. I use the older spelling only in quotes. The name "The Mascotte Saloon" refers to the establishment owned by Charles Rohbeck at the northwest corner of Third Avenue and Broadway from no later than June 1898 to the following December. The saloon and hotel at Sheep Camp that pre-dated it, and the business owned by Albert Reinert after January 1899 both went by the name of the "Mascot Saloon." The spelling of people's names varied widely in the historic documents. I tried to use the spelling that was most common, or that used in a person's own handwriting, if possible. Again, if a different spelling appeared in a direct quote, I maintained the original author's spelling. If there is some confusion, I try to clarify the passage with *sic.*

One other note: in the task directive for this project, I agreed to use the method of citation specified by the journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology. I do indeed use that method of citation for those portions of the report dealing with the archeological material. However, for the primary historical literature, that method of citation is extremely cumbersome. It would so interrupt the flow of the narrative that the reader would become extremely frustrated. I firmly believe that no method of citation can approach the beauty and simplicity of the endnote when dealing with primary historical materials, and will not apologize for its use in Chapters 2 and 3. The References Cited section is formatted in the editorial style recommended by the professional journal *Historical Archaeology.* It covers both the historical and archeological portions of the report.

As always, I could not write a history of Skagway without the help of my husband, Bob Spude. Whether it was lending me his copious files, rough notes, pointing me to resources in his library, or just answering my interminable questions, he was always ready to help. My gratitude (among other things) is boundless. He has the patience of a saint.

Kenneth Graham took the photographs of the artifacts, while working for the park. Walter Wait, in Santa Fe, did the initial preparation of artifact photographs for me in Adobe PhotoShop, isolating the individual images and scales onto flat backgrounds so that all I had to do was final orientation and preparation of final scales. I appreciate both of their assistance.

I would like to thank Alaska NPS historian Frank Norris, PhD, for his detailed review of the draft contextual history. Few people know more about the history of Skagway than Frank, and I respect his judgment implicitly. He and my husband, Bob Spude, PhD, both steered me towards useful sources I had not considered. Mark Barnes, PhD (NPS Southeast Regional Archeologist), Becky Saleeby, PhD (NPS staff Archeologist in the Alaska Support Office), and Robin Mills, PhD, (archeologist with the Bureau of Land Management in Fairbanks) served as peer reviewers of the draft. All were extremely helpful. Robin, especially, offered painful, but necessary critique of my statistical methods. Appendix D is for you, Robin. I hope you are reassured.

Paul Gleeson, PhD, Gwen Hurst and Karl Gurcke were there during the excavations. All read and reviewed the draft report. Gwen, who no longer works for NPS, indeed, who passed away in October 2004, made her revisions without compensation. For that I am eternally grateful. Karl is an exacting reviewer. Nothing slips by his eagle eyes. He must have been an editor in an earlier life. His knowledge of the photographs and town history is extraordinary and was of great help. Paul and I had long discussions about the early saloon deposits under the first Mascot building. We still disagree on the exact interpretation of those deposits. I hope I have fairly presented both interpretations.

Jay Cable was acting superintendent of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park when the project began; he and Alaska Regional Archeologist Ted Birkedal are responsible for arranging the initial funding for the project. Russell C. "Clay" Alderson became superintendent later that year and, with Western Team Manager of the Denver Service Center Cal Cooper, arranged funding for continuation of the project. We will always be grateful for the support of these two gentlemen. None of the archeological work in Skagway could have happened without their understanding of the need for continued funding of the work long past the time when the field-work was done.

Gratitude is expressed to Bill Adams and Pete Brauner for making their Klondike gold rush bibliography (*A Bibliography for the History of Skagway, Alaska, and the Klondike Gold Rush*) available over the internet. They saved me a very good deal of typing.

In 1986, I did not dream I would get to work on this project. When Ted, Paul and I crawled into that dark, cold, dusty crawlspace, I knew someone else would enjoy the dubious pleasure of digging up the gold rush saloon while constantly bumping their heads and squinting their eyes in extremely poor light (not to mention freezing extremities and other parts of one's anatomy). When the task of writing up the results fell into my lap in 1998, I was reminded that I had the best job in the world. For letting me work on another Alaska project, and one so dear to my heart, I thank my supervisors in the Intermountain Region, Ernest Ortega, Bob Powers, Jim Bradford, and here at the last, Sande McDermott. You have put up with a lot. Thank you for letting me take the time to do one well. And finally, thanks to Chris Goetz, cultural resource manager at the Southeast Utah Group in Moab, Utah, for her inexhaustible patience. I'm sure if she hears the words "Klondike project" one more time, she'll scream.

Catherine Spude

Chapter One: Introduction and Background

INTRODUCTION

President Gerald Ford signed Public Law 94-323 on June 30, 1976, authorizing Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (Norris 1996:156). One of its original purposes was to preserve a number of buildings associated with the early twentieth century landscape in Skagway, Alaska, in order to interpret the Klondike Gold Rush. The National Park Service owns a group of buildings on Lots 5 and 6 of Block 35 in Skagway, Alaska, commonly known as the Mascot Saloon Group, the Boas Tailor and Furrier Shop, and Verbauwhedes' Cigar Store and Confectionery (Figure 2). The Mascot Saloon Group includes the Mascot Saloon, the Pacific Clipper Line Office and Hern's Liquor Store. Most of the buildings have been restored to their exterior appearance during the first decade of the twentieth century. Hern's Liquor Store was built in 1937 and has been restored to that period. The interiors are currently being used by Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park for a combination of park administrative functions and as leased spaces to private businesses. The interior of the first floor of the Mascot Saloon is open to the public. It houses exhibits that interpret both the saloon and social life during the early days of Skagway. The second story currently serves as an archeological laboratory, offices and curatorial space for archeological collections.



Figure 2. Photograph of the National Park Service buildings on the north half of Block 35. The Mascot Saloon Group is the three buildings on the left: the Mascot Saloon, the Pacific Clipper Line Office, with the second story bay window, and Hern's Liquor Store next door. Boas Tailor and Furrier Shop is the larger, two story structure to its right, and the smaller building next to the alley is the Verbauwhede Cigar Store and Confectionery (April 1986).

As is required by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, a series of archeological investigations was undertaken to evaluate, and if necessary, document the presence of archeological remains in areas to be disturbed during rehabilitation activities on these buildings. This report records investigations that were conducted by National Park Service archeologists in 1986.

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

Skagway is located at the northern end of the Lynn Canal in Southeast Alaska (Figure 3). It lies 90 air miles north of the state capital of Juneau and 110 miles by road south of Whitehorse, Yukon Territory. The town sits at tidewater in a narrow valley carved by glaciers between peaks that rise 5000 to 6000 feet. The Skagway River washes the glacial plain between these recently carved mountains.

Geology and Soils

Southeast Alaska is characterized by high mountains that climb abruptly from the ocean creating inlets, fjords and bays. Large glaciers carved out valleys and have since retreated to higher elevations. The Skagway Valley was covered with a local glacier that rose as high as 5000 feet above sea level during the last glacial period 10,000 years ago. A radiocarbon date of 2880 ± 250 years taken 32 feet above mean sea level from marine shells near the mouth of the Skagway River indicates the lower portion of the valley was below sea level as recently as 3000 years ago. Land in the valley has since risen due to isostatic rebound, or the return of the land to pre-glacial conditions. It continues to rebound an average of 0.07 feet a year. The accumulation of glacial and alluvial sediments, primarily sand

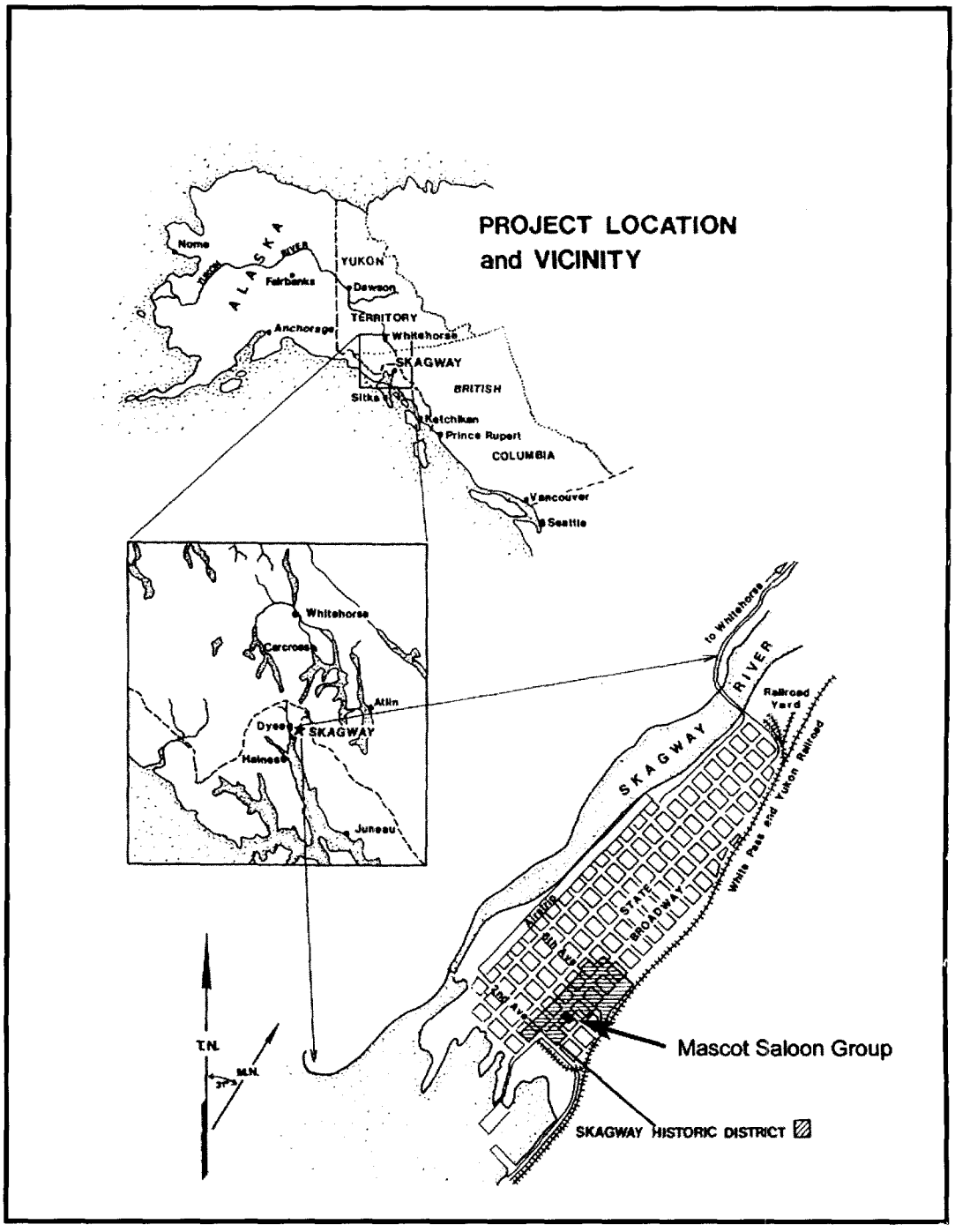


Figure 3. Map showing the location of Skagway, Alaska and the Mascot Saloon Group in Skagway.

and gravels from the Skagway River, also adds to the elevation gain of the Skagway valley floor. River flooding and excessively high tides have occasionally left silty deposits in low areas of the valley. The Skagway River flooded in 1901, 1909, 1919, 1936, 1937, 1943, 1944, 1949, and 1962 (Yehle and Lemke 1972:16-17: Twenhofel 1952:523-548). The community reinforced the riverbanks in 1902; the U. S. Army undertook further banking and buttressing projects during World War II. Only the 1901 flood appears to have left significant silt deposits.

Climate

Skagway resides at the northern end of the Moist Maritime Climatic Zone, noted for mild winters, warm summers and lack of permafrost. The climate is generally mild with an overcast sky two-thirds of the year. Skagway is relatively dry for Southeastern Alaska, with an average 28 inches of rainfall a year compared to 83 inches at Juneau and 162 inches at Ketchikan (Adams and Brauner 1991:12).

The daily and regional temperature variations are usually confined to narrow limits. The difference between daily minimum and maximum temperatures averages 14 degrees during all months of the year. The coldest month is January with a mean temperature of 21° F. July is the warmest month with a mean temperature of 58° F. The average length of the frost -free

season is 180 days, generally extending from the first of May to the middle of October. The wind can be quite strong at any time of the year. It generally blows from the south in the summer and from the north in the winter (Adams and Brauner 1991:12-13).

Vegetation and Wildlife

When the first settlers came to the Skagway River Valley, they found a broad alluvial plain heavily vegetated with a mixed conifer and deciduous forest. From water's edge to the forest was a quarter- to half mile-wide expanse of mud, grass and sedge covered tidal flats, giving way eventually to a muskeg and bog plant community (Wells 1984:23; Adney 1994:39). Some of the more common tree types include Western hemlock, mountain hemlock, Sitka spruce, paper birch, quaking aspen, black cottonwood, shore pine, subalpine fir, Sitka alder, thinleaf alder, red alder, Douglas maple, Sitka mountain ash, Pacific serviceberry, and a number of willow species. Understory plants included mosses, menziesia, blueberry, raspberry, nagoon berry, highbush cranberry, lowbush cranberry, cloudberry, elderberry, huckleberry, salmonberry, serviceberry, strawberry, thimbleberry, devil's club, sedges, crowberry, bog cranberry, sphagnum mosses, labrador tea, bog laurel, beach ryegrass, bluejoint, beach pea, goosetongue, reed bent grass, fescue grass, and beach lovage (Adams and Brauner 1991:13; Thornton 2004: 64; Hahr 2004).

Animals native to the area included beaver, black bear, brown bear, coyote, Dall sheep, caribou, red fox, river otter, lynx, marmot, marten, mink, muskrat, porcupine, snowshoe hare, red squirrel, harbor seal, sea lion, wolf, wolverine, and weasel. Mountain goat and moose were reported historically. Important birds included numerous species of shorebirds and waterfowl, bald eagle, American raven, northwest crow, great blue heron, ruby-crowned kinglet, savannah sparrow, chestnut-backed chickadee, blue grouse and willow ptarmigan. Many fish species were important historically, including pink salmon, chum salmon, coho salmon, king salmon, hooligan, dolly varden trout, Pacific halibut, Pacific herring, cod, flounder, red snapper, smelt and steelhead. Intertidal resources included various clams, cockles, crabs, gumboots, octopus, sea cucumbers, sea ribbon, sea urchins, black seaweed, hair seaweed, yellow seaweed and shrimp (Adams and Brauner 1991:20; Thornton 2004:61-62; Hahr 2004). The Chilkat – Chilkoot Tlingit people relied on these resources before Euroamerican settlement and to some extent even today. They also may have been somewhat useful to the very earliest Euroamericans, but as their population increased and foods were imported, local resources were rapidly depleted. Some minor hunting and fishing continued, but its pursuit became more recreational than economic. After the gold rush, resource populations recovered, and the Tlingit people were able to pursue some previous resource extraction activities (Thornton 2004:184).

Very early during Skagway's Euroamerican settlement period, people noted the rich, organic deposits overlying the sandy, silty, well-drained soils. With the long summer daylight, mild temperatures, long growing season, and adequate rainfall, Skagway's gardens became the pride and joy of her citizens (Norris 2003). A wide variety of cool-weather fruits and vegetables were and continue to be grown in the back yards and vacant lots.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Habitable river valleys were glaciated until the end of the Wisconsin period starting around 10,000 B. P., scouring any latent remains of earlier human habitation. People have lived in Southeast Alaska at least that long, as evidenced by an archeological site found at Groundhog Bay in Icy Strait, about 90 miles southwest of Skagway (Ackerman 1968:55-84). However, very little is known about the prehistoric period in coastal Lynn Canal. Steep mountain sides severely restrict potential habitation sites to the river valleys. Repeated reglaciation up to and during the last glacial advance 200 years ago and changes in the river valleys due to erosion and alluvial action may have obliterated archeological remains. In addition, the humid climate has contributed to the deterioration of organic remains. The dense vegetation of Southeast Alaska makes it difficult to discover archeological sites even during systematic archeological survey. All of these conditions combine to hinder knowledge of the prehistoric past.

The Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit people have lived in the Lynn Canal area since late in the prehistoric era. Based on linguistic evidence, it is thought that the Tlingit moved into the Lynn Canal area three to four hundred years ago from the south, displacing or absorbing former residents (Sackett 1979: vii). The principal settlements of the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit are located 15 miles to the south of Skagway, along the Chilkat, Chilkoot and Taiya inlet and rivers [The Taiya is both an inlet as well as a river, Chilkat and Chilkoot are rivers]. In historic times they fished for salmon and hooligan in the rivers and streams of the upper Lynn Canal. As traders, they controlled passage to the interior through

the Chilkat, Chilkoot and White passes. The Chilkat traded with the Athabascan people in the interior. These routes were closed to non-Native prospectors and traders until 1880. In 1884 Edgar Wilson opened a trading post in Dyea, at the mouth of the Taiya River and the southern start of the trail over the Chilkoot Pass. During the 1880s through the 1890s, hundreds of prospectors crossed the Chilkoot Pass to exploit newly discovered gold fields along the Fortymile River and near Circle City in east central Alaska (Hunt 1993:53; Thornton 2004).

The most important permanent village of the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingits was Klukwan, "Eternal Village," which lay 20 miles up the Chilkat River from Lynn Canal. As many as 500 to 600 people lived in 65 houses there in 1881. A number of smaller villages occupied the banks of that river. A much smaller, regularly inhabited community occupied Dyea even before Wilson established his trading post. They called the Skagway Valley *Shghaghwei,* meaning "rugged" or "wrinkled-up." Most Chilkat -Chilkoot Tlingits today agree the word refers to the effects of the strong north wind on the waters of the Lynn Canal, creating rugged seas and "wrinkled-up" waves (Thornton 2004:48, 52-54).

Unlike Dyea and the Chilkoot Trail, Skagway and the longer White Pass Trail had not been developed by the Tlingits and the prospectors of the 1880s, although Tlingit chief Lunáat claimed the "Winter trail over by the River Schkat-Quay" in 1899 (U. S. Senate 1904, as quoted in Thornton 2004:10). The first non-Natives to settle in the Skagway Valley were William and his son, J. Bernard "Ben" Moore. In the spring of 1887, William Moore and his Tagish guide, Skookum Jim, explored the White Pass. William Moore then returned to Skagway with his son, convinced that he could open a trail for pack animals and wagons and charge a toll to prospectors who were traveling to the interior in hopes of discovering gold (Blee 1988:8). In the fall of 1887, William and Ben Moore claimed a 160 acre homestead on the shore of Skagway Bay (Spude 1983:39). There were no Tlingits living in the Skagway Valley at the time. The Moores noted some evidence of temporary trappers' camps, but no permanent habitation. The Moores did not spend much time at their Skagway homestead until 1895, when they obtained financial backing to develop the White Pass Trail and build a wharf.

In August 1896, Skookum Jim (Keish), Dawson Charlie (Khaa Ghoox) and George Carmacks discovered a very rich claim of gold on a tributary of the Klondike River called Rabbit Creek. Nearby prospectors immediately staked claims (Thornton 2004:153). News of these riches reached Seattle and the rest of the United States in July 1897. Thousands of stampeders were soon bound for the Klondike. The Moores' claim was overrun and the town of Skagway laid out. The White Pass and Chilkoot Trails were heavily used over the fall and winter of 1897-98. Unknowledgeable packers, treacherous stony trails and wet, muddy conditions on the White Pass Trail resulted in the abuse of many pack animals, some of which died on the trail inspiring the name "Deadhorse Trail". Plans were made to establish a railroad over the White Pass to better serve the stampeders and miners.

Most of the stampeders who made it to the Klondike in the summer of 1898 found that all of the promising areas had been staked. They were forced to return home, provide services for others who had claims, or travel to one of the other areas holding promise for gold mining.

The White Pass and Yukon Route railroad was built between 1898 and 1900. By the time the railroad was completed, the major part of the Klondike Gold Rush was over, but other less well known mining areas were opening up. The railroad continued to transport supplies to the interior mining districts. The railroad is the reason that Skagway remained a viable supply port after the Klondike stampede. Dyea, at the foot of the Chilkoot Trail, on the other hand, became a virtual ghost town because it was not able to compete with Skagway's railroad.

Skagway has remained a vital community due to its link in the transportation network between West Coast commercial centers and mineral extraction centers in the interior, especially in the Yukon Territory. The population of Skagway dropped rapidly after the stampede. From an estimated high of 8,000 to 10,000 people in the spring of 1898, it dropped to 3,117 in 1900, only 1,400 in 1903, and had started to stabilize at around 800 by 1908. Economic conditions in Skagway fluctuated as interest in mineral extraction in the Yukon changed. Transportation and tourism became the principal business concerns.

During the last few years of the nineteenth century, Skagway mushroomed from a homestead to a mining boom town, then found its equilibrium as a permanent railroad town with substantial buildings and a variety of businesses similar to that of most American cities. The use of the Mascot Saloon property reflects this trend in economic and social evolution. In Adams' and Brauner's (1991:47-54) overview and assessment

of the archeology of Skagway, they defined twelve research themes. The businesses and domestic activities that took place on this property represent the themes of (4) Developing the Townsite Skagway, 1887 -1897; (8) Skagway's Participation in the World Market, 1897 to Present; and (9) Social Interaction and Control in Skagway, 1897 to Present. More than just the particularistic themes implied by the local naming of these themes, what happened at the Mascot was exemplary of trends occurring on a regional, perhaps even a national scale. Adjustments in consumption habits from boom times to ordinary times, the mining frontier's interactions with markets to the south, and changes in social relationships during the reforms of the Progressive era are not just research questions of interest particular to Skagway. The insights glimpsed at the Mascot Saloon make a contribution beyond the field of Alaskan archeology.

THE ARCHEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Gold Rush Archeology in Alaska and the Yukon Territory

The archeology of the Mascot Saloon could hardly be said to take place within a vacuum of knowledge about the gold rushes to Alaska and the Yukon Territory between 1880 and the 1920s. Much archeological work of varying quality has been done by national, state, and provincial governments, academic institutions, private consultants and volunteers. Much of the work was done in Dawson and Skagway, relating to the Klondike Gold Rush, but by no means all of it. No matter what the quality or what the ultimate form of the report, if a copy ended up in the library of the State Historic Preservation Officer, it has contributed in greater or lesser degree to the understanding of the social and economic complexity of the mining frontier.

Very little historical archeology had been completed in Alaska or the Yukon Territories before the late 1970s. The discipline of historical archeology was in its infancy. The international Society for Historical Archaeology was founded by students of Colonial history in 1963. These scholars had barely managed to accord nineteenth century archeology a field worthy of study. Only a handful of researchers had begun to look at the twentieth century through the methods of archeology (e.g., Fontana and Greenleaf 1962; Adams 1976; Ward, et al. 1977), and they were often more interested in ethnohistory, not the history of Euroamericans.

In Alaska, Ackerman, et al. (1979) completed a survey for an oil pipeline from Skagway to the White Pass, which documented a number of gold rush era sites, but the reporting was cursory and devised to help engineers avoid sites rather than mitigate the effects of the pipeline.

In Canada, Sheila Minni did some surveys and test excavations of sites along the Chilkoot Trail on the Canadian side in 1976 (Minni 1977). Her studies mapped transient mining camps along one of the major trails into the Klondike. It wasn't until 1984 that Jeffrey Murray and Jennifer Hamilton (1986) completed these surveys, in particular describing the large tent cities at Lake Lindeman and Lake Bennett.

Nothing was done on the United States side of the trail until 1979, when Caroline Carley (1981) of the University of Idaho mapped collapsed buildings, features and artifacts on the Chilkoot and White Pass trails.

In 1984, the Alaska Regional Office, following up on some of Carley's (1981) recommendations, initiated an intensive archaeological survey of the Klondike Gold Rush town of Dyea, Alaska. In 1986, this work was expanded to include the entire American side of the Chilkoot Trail and has been ongoing for almost 20 years, directed in large part by Karl Gurcke, Cultural Resource Specialist and Historian at Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (Gurcke 1986a,1986b; Leeper 1990; Fenicle 1992; Hayes 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Fortini 1995; Griffin 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Dilliplane, et al. 2004).

By 1978 in Dawson City, Yukon Territory, David Burley, now at Simon Fraser University, along with Sheila Minni and Brian Ross, then with Parks Canada in Dawson, were engaged in a long series of surveys and test excavations associated with Parks Canada's building rehabilitation plans. These studies lasted until the mid-1980s. They dealt mostly with architectural features and with the problems of building and doing archeology in permafrost. Due to their emphasis on architecture, no artifact inventories were presented in their reports, nor did they quantify their data. Some of the sites studied during this time period included the Red Feather Saloon (1902 -1916); the Yukon Hotel (1898); Robert Service's cabin (1897-1917); Ruby's Place, a boarding house dating from 1903 to 1935, then a brothel after that time; the Black residence (1901-1952), the home of an elite businessman; the Third Avenue Blacksmith Shop (1901 -1924); the Machine Shop (1901-?); the Northern Commercial Company Warehouse (1901-?); and the North West Mounted Police Officers' Headquarters (1897-1966) (Burley 1979; Burley and Ross 1979; Minnie 1977, 1978; Ross 1980,

1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, nd). During this time David Burley also began some of the work he did on the hillsides above Dawson, where the transient miners camped during the gold rush days (Burley 1980; Burley and Ross 1979b; Brand 1999; Burley 1999).

Other studies along the trails to the Klondike would not be published until after 1978. Notable among them was the work by Shaw and Adams (1980) on Pleasant Camp, a temporary camp on the Dalton Trail. This trail from Haines, Alaska, was one of the main routes into the early 20th century central Alaskan gold fields. Unfortunately, no artifact collections were made, and the camp was recorded while snow still lay on the ground.

In 1976, Anne Shinkwin and Russ Sackett excavated the 1901-1904 United States Courthouse in Eagle, Alaska, resulting in a detailed report by the latter (Shinkwin and Sackett 1976; Sackett 1977). A couple of years later Shinkwin, et al. (1978) reported on the excavations of the Quartermaster's Stables (1900 – 1911) and dog kennels at Fort Egbert (1904 – 1911) also in Eagle, Alaska. James Christopher Bonewitz (1977) undertook surveys in the Fortymile River country near Tok, Alaska. About this same time, Susan Will (n.d.) surveyed the 1902 – 1906 community of Coldfoot, on the Koyukuk River in central Alaska, and Will and Hotch (n.d.) surveyed and recorded 38 structures from Wiseman, Alaska.

In the summer of 1978, Marc Stevenson (1982a, 1982b) surveyed portions of Kluane National Park, Yukon Territory. He documented artifacts and sites at temporary gold rush communities on Mush Creek (1898 – 1899), Bighorn Creek (1913-1915) and at Bullion City (1903-1904). These sites held remains of male miners' cabins and tents, bunkhouses, mess tents, hotels, and saloons, as well as sites and features directly associated with mining activities. Of particular interest are the studies Stevenson did of site abandonment activities (1982b). His work is some of the first that dealt with solving a research problem and making a substantive contribution to the knowledge of archeological process and meaning. Until this time, most of the studies had been descriptive in nature, with only limited interpretation.

In the 1990's, the Canadian Park Service undertook a number of archeological surveys on the north side of the border. They included Nieuwhoff's (1992a) work at the Homan River Sawmill and his (1992b) condition reports of the Bennett Cemetery and the Lindeman Cemetery (Nieuwhof 1992c). In 1994, Hems and Niewhof (1994a, 1994b) reported on surveys of Bennett City, at the end of the Chilkoot Trail. Thomson (1998) followed up with reporting of surveys along the Chilkoot Trail.

Certainly pertinent to the present study is the archeological work begun by James Ketz (1986) and Wendy Arundale in Fairbanks prior to a massive reconstruction of Barnette Street in the old downtown area (Ketz and Arundale 1986, 1987). A large number of sites were found dating to the first decade of the 20th century, including the original Fairbanks founder's cabin site, two saloons, and three dumping sites along the riverfront. These are reported in great detail by Peter Bowers and Brian Gannon (1998) on a CD-ROM. Partially from these studies, Adams, et al. (2001) tested commodity flows between manufacturers and consumers, based on a model developed from other areas of the country. This study also partially inspired a Ph. D. dissertation by Russell Gould (2002). Of greatest interest to the Mascot Saloon study are the archeological collections of the Miner's Home and California saloons, which are used for comparative purposes in Chapter 4 of this study.

Another influential Ph. D. dissertation is that prepared by Robin Mills. He developed a model of settlement types consisting of *entrepots*, transfer points, supply points and distribution centers to the extraction camps located on the gold creeks. He tested and applied the model to several interior Alaska mining districts of the early 20th century (Mills 1998).

Becky Saleeby reported on the efforts of the National Park Service to inventory more than 44,000 acres in nine National Park Service units in Alaska to find and document mines and camps. During a decade of fieldwork, the cultural resource crews of the Cultural Resources Mining Inventory and Monitoring Program documented 345 sites on valid and abandoned mining claims in Denali National Park and Preserve, Wrangle-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, Yukon-Charley Rivers National Preserve, Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, Kenai Fjords National Park, Bering Land Bridge National Preserve, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (Saleeby 2000).

Historical Archeology in Skagway

Since the authorization of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (KLGO) in 1976, the National Park Service (NPS) has acquired 19 historic structures and completed rehabilitation

of 18 of them (Figure 4). All of these buildings are located within the Skagway and White Pass

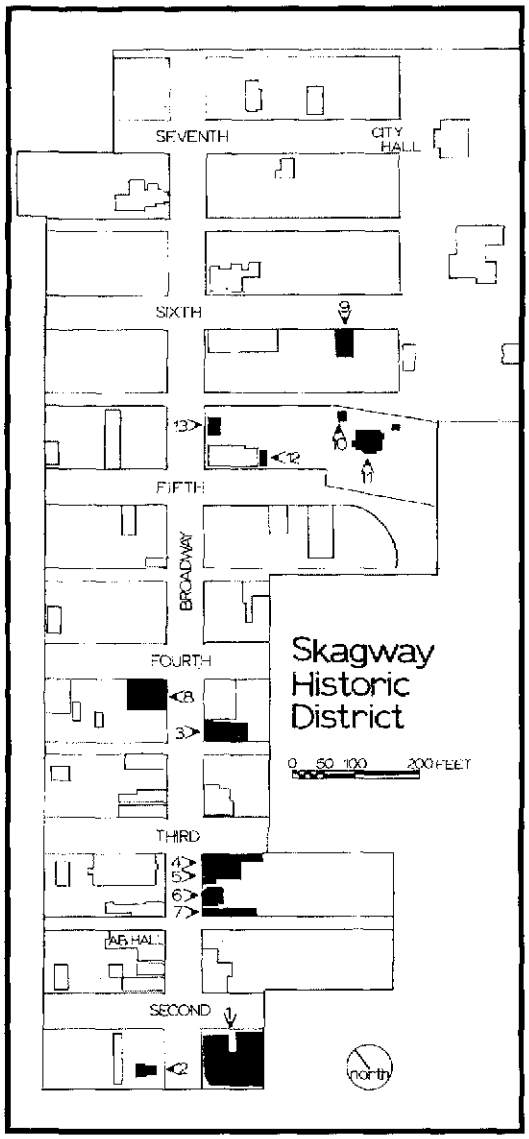


Figure 4. The buildings owned and rehabilitated by the National Park Service in Skagway: 1) White Pass and Yukon Route Depot and General Offices, 2) Martin Itjen House, 3) Lynch and Kennedy Haberdashery, 4) Mascot Saloon, 5) Pacific Clipper Line Office and Hern Liquor Store, 6) Boas Tailor and Furrier Shop, 7) Verbauwhede's Cribs, 8) Pantheon Saloon, 9) Peniel Mission, 10) William Moore Cabin, 11) J. Bernard Moore House, 12) Goldberg Cigar Store and Confectionery, 13) Boss Bakery (adapted from Blee et al., 1984:3).

Historic District National Historic Landmark. In addition, the service has constructed a maintenance facility and employee housing on lots outside the district. All historic buildings originally had primitive wooden foundations, usually pier type. Some, such as the Moore Cabin, were simply logs laid on the ground. Others, like at the Goldberg Cigar Store, consisted of a simple wooden sleeper on the ground surface. All of these substandard foundations required deeper concrete spread footings and the installation of new utility systems. All buildings also needed expanded crawlspaces to service the utility systems.

As the government purchased buildings from their previous owners, the first order of business was to stabilize them and keep them from further deterioration. In most cases, this stabilization process involved painting the exteriors and reinforcing the foundations. In two Memoranda of Agreement with the Alaska State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), the NPS agreed that an archeologist would "examine the ... areas prior to any ground disturbing activities in the vicinity of these buildings" and "an historical archeologist will be present to monitor and do any necessary [archeological] clearances" (Cook 1980a, 1980b; Hanable 1980a, 1980b).

The National Park Service's Denver Service Center (DSC) assists the system's park units in major design and construction projects. This office was given the responsibility for overseeing all building rehabilitation and ultimately the design and construction of the maintenance facility at the park.

During the summer of 1978, DSC archeologist Dan Martin conducted the first archeological excavations in Skagway sponsored by the National Park Service. His work took the form of surface surveys more than excavations, although he did collect some cultural material. He salvaged artifacts at the Lynch and Kennedy Haberdashery and Dry Goods Store, the first building to be raised, leveled, and treated to a new foundation (Welch and Sprague 1998; Norris 1996:186). He also briefly noted conditions at the Boss Bakery and Goldberg Cigar Store, but both were still on their original sites, and their owners would not permit access for excavations (Martin 1981: personal communication).

DSC archeologist Catherine Blee (now Catherine Spude) accompanied Dan Martin to Skagway in October 1978 to monitor soils tests conducted by R&M Associates (Connally and Menzies 1978; Blee 1983:16, 22; Blee et al. 1984:111, 184, 223, 288; Blee 1989:21, 23). A backhoe dug the soils tests, with the exception of Test Hole #3 in the light well of the Depot. That soils test was hand-dug by day laborers. Blee and Martin recorded stratigraphy but observed no artifacts.

Upon Martin's resignation from NPS in November 1978, DSC archeologist Catherine Blee assumed responsibilities for archeological compliance work associated with DSC's projects in Alaska. It soon became apparent to Ms. Blee that the emergency foundation stabilizations involved more than simply shoring up the existing foundations. In February 1979, at the Lynch and Kennedy Haberdashery and Dry Goods Store, the foundations had been completely replaced with concrete spread footings, which constituted major ground-disturbing activities. Plans were being made to do the same

at many of the buildings within a very short time frame. In April 1979, on her own initiative and begging limited funds from the Alaska Regional Office, she undertook test investigations at the White Pass Depot and General Offices Building, at the future site of the Martin Itjen House, and in an open room of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, which was easy to access (Suazo 1983; Blee 1983; Blee, et al 1984: 184; Blee 1989; Späth, et al. 2000). Construction crews completed new concrete foundations for the Mascot Saloon in August 1979 (Norris 1996:186-187). Blee's recommendations for mitigative actions fell on deaf ears. Apparently her limited tests were considered sufficient "archeological examination" for compliance purposes. No one monitored the construction of new foundations.

The reader must realize that the year was 1979. As mentioned earlier, the discipline of historical archeology itself was very young and underappreciated. The archeology of places that living peoples could remember did not seem relevant to the historical architects, designers, maintenance crews and managers who were charged with the immediate care of buildings quickly sinking into the ground.

Blee conducted limited archeological testing operations at the Bernard Moore House, William Moore Cabin and the Boss Bakery in 1981, again preparatory to foundation work. During the 1983 season, she began a shovel testing program on Block 24 in the vicinity of the White Pass Trail, largely to assist the park in determining the best location to put the Goldberg Cigar Store, which had been moved from its original location on Fifth Avenue between Broadway and State. She also dug some archeological test units at the Peniel Mission prior to the park upgrading a water line. There she discovered the Mill Creek Dump, which pre-dated the Peniel Mission and contained gold rush era deposits (Blee 1988; Rhodes 1988; Blee 1991; Spude, et al. 2005).

During additional shovel testing program on Block 24 in 1984, Blee discovered Father Turnell's privy pit, which had been filled with domestic trash between 1914 and 1918. She salvaged about a third of the trash pit and recommended avoidance of the rest of the feature during the construction of planned utility lines in the area (Blee et al. 1993).

In July 1984, another Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was negotiated with the Alaska SHPO. New cultural resources staff in the Alaska Regional Office, a new superintendent at KLGO, and more sensitive management at DSC combined to raise awareness of the necessity for more thorough archeological compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The new MOA stipulated that NPS follow Blee's recommendations in Blee et al. (1984), which essentially stated that all ground disturbances would be preceded by thorough and appropriate archeological investigations. Furthermore, when significant archeological deposits were discovered, design alternatives would be considered if feasible, and recommendations for mitigative actions would be carried out before further ground disturbance would be permitted (Sharrock 1984; Petersen 1984).

During the 1985 summer season, Blee continued the shovel testing program on Block 24 and completed an archeological "salvage" of the attic of the Moore Cabin, which had accumulated more than an inch of dust over the 84 years since it had last been used. The cloth used for chinking in the cabin provided important insight into the life of Mrs. Bernard Moore. The nails left when the roof was replaced were invaluable in a comparative study with those found at the cabin's original site (Blee 1988:206-223, 281-285). Blee also returned to the Mascot Saloon to salvage information about the log cribbing structure observed during the 1979 soils tests in the back yard of the building (Blee 1989).

Also in 1985, Diane Rhodes conducted additional tests at the Peniel Mission, following up on Blee's limited 1983 work. Rhodes' tests focused on planned foundation upgrades, as well as exploring the extent of the dump (Rhodes 1988). At Rhodes' recommendation and with the full support of Regional Archeologist Ted Birkedal, full mitigation was undertaken by Ray DePuydt in 1987 and 1988 (DePuydt et al. 1997).

It was obvious by this time that Blee could no longer continue to supervise fieldwork in Skagway and keep up with her back-logged reporting schedules, hence the decision to bring in DSC archeologist Diane Rhodes in 1985. In 1986, Lee Stilson was hired by ARO to continue archeological testing at the Lynch and Kennedy Haberdashery and Dry Goods Store, which was experiencing a new round of renovation, years after its initial emergency stabilization work in 1979 (Stilson 1986; Welch and Sprague 1998). Earlier that same year, Paul Gleeson conducted his work at the Mascot Saloon, which is the subject of this report.

In 1986, Lee Stilson and in 1987, Ray DePuydt expanded on tests begun by Blee in 1979 on lot 1, Block 37, where the Martin Itjen House had been moved (DePuydt 1987; Späth, et al. 2000). Karl Gurcke undertook small test excavations

on a vacant lot at the northwest corner of Fifth and Broadway and at the NPS administrative site near the airport (Gurcke and Norris 1988, 1989; Norris 1996:256, 265). One of the truly momentous events in the history of archeology in Skagway was the September 1988 opening of the archeological laboratory and curation facility on the second floor of the Mascot Saloon building (Norris 1996:219). Archeologists could finally do lab work in comfort, and the artifacts did not need to leave the park for inventory and analysis.

The Alaska Regional Office contracted with CB Bettisworth and Company to design employee housing in the form of a duplex at Fourteenth Avenue and Main Street. The duplex was actually a modification of a design used by ARO in Nome. A local private contractor built the building. Karl Gurcke (1988) conducted archeological tests on the site in 1988.

In 1989, the NPS Alaska Regional Office awarded William Hampton Adams and David R. Brauner a contract to write an archeological overview and assessment of the work done in the Skagway unit to date. A final draft was accepted but not published by NPS due to irreconcilable differences of opinion between the Service and the authors; Adams and Brauner chose to publish the manuscript privately (Adams and Brauner 1991).

Planning for a new maintenance facility began in 1988. Catherine Blee, Tim Smith and Paul Gleeson conducted an extensive series of archeological tests on Block 39, site of the new Maintenance Facility, in 1990, resulting in an archeological research design for an intensive testing program to be followed by archeological mitigation once project plans were firmed up (Blee and Gleeson 1991). As part of the project planning conducted by Blee, a series of maps created from historical photographs, research into tax records, and comparison with historic maps allowed the archeologists to predict where deposits might be most likely to occur. These locations were targeted during the 1990 tests. To fulfill its Section 106 obligations and to obtain a finding of No Adverse Effect on cultural resources by the construction of the maintenance facility, NPS negotiated a three-way MOA with the Alaska SHPO and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, which referenced this research design (Lidfors 1990; Nissley 1990).

Diane Fenicle supervised the fieldwork for the archeological tests in 1992. One privy was salvaged in July 1993. Two more privy pits were discovered during construction monitoring that summer; Doreen Cooper oversaw those excavations, as well as that of a fourth privy discovered in October 1994. While a large number of smaller features relating to seven households and a series of World War II barracks were reported, of most value were the four privies related to middle-class businessmen and their families, three dating to the 1900's and one to 1911-1914 (Cooper 1998).

In the meantime, Blee completed her Ph. D. dissertation, focused on a specific statistical technique for sorting mixed archeological collections. She chose the Mill Creek Dump next to the Peniel Mission as a good place to test the method. The method will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4 and Appendix D. Suffice to say here that the dissertation drew together much of the artifact data that had been recovered at Skagway to that point and compared it to 32 similar collections taken from sites associated with mining between 1880 and 1920 throughout the western United States and Canada (Blee 1991).

In 1993, Doreen Cooper conducted exploratory tests at the Moore House, after foundation stabilization work was done, and following up on one test unit dug by Ray DePuydt in 1988. She focused on trying to find the remains of a gold rush era shed and other landscape elements. In 1994, she found the remains of two privies and intact remains of the 1897 house construction. In 1995, she located a third privy and finished the excavations of the other two. She and her crews recovered portions of household trash dumps associated with both the Bernard Moore and Herman Kirmse families (Cooper 2001).

In 1995 Tim Kardazke finished the excavations at the Pantheon Saloon that were started by Ray DePuydt in 1986. Tim undertook the gargantuan task of separating the 1903-1916 saloon deposits from those of the Hotel Rosalie of 1897-1898, Brownell Hardware of 1898-1903, and the Rapuzzi Museum from 1926-1943. During World War II, the building was again used as a saloon, providing Tim with an interesting opportunity to sort out two saloon deposits separated by 27 years of life in other incarnations (Kardatzke 2002). The archeological deposits at the Pantheon Saloon were more mixed than those at the Mascot Saloon, dating from 1897 through the 1930s and later. It was more difficult to isolate the pre-Prohibition deposits associated specifically with the saloon. Where those deposits could be isolated, they dated slightly later than the Mascot Saloon deposits, from 1903 to 1916. Nevertheless, the study was useful in the functional comparisons undertaken in Chapter 4.

Finally, in 2003 and 2004 Doreen Cooper undertook excavations to test and mitigate effects of actions by the General Services Administration on lot 2, Block 33, Second Avenue near State in Skagway. The agency began the excavation for the foundation and crawl space of these employee housing units for custom and immigration employees stationed at the Skagway Border when the National Park Service alerted the Alaska State Historic Preservation Office that they may not have complied with the National Historic Preservation Act. They had not. Unfortunately, Cooper (2004) was only able to excavate on the outer edges of the site. She discovered the burned remains of a cabin used for the storage of military supplies in 1903.

Comparative Archeology

Despite the wealth of information enumerated above, it is apparent that only three other saloons have been studied in Alaska (the Miners' Home and California saloons in Fairbanks and the Pantheon Saloon in Skagway), and only one in Dawson. The artifacts from the Red Feather Saloon in Dawson have never been reported, and so are not available for comparison to those found in the Mascot Saloon. Despite a considerable attempt to find other comparative studies in mining communities in the lower 48 states, they do not seem to exist. Only one other could be found, an unreported collection from the Corner Saloon in the mining community of Lake City, Colorado, which burned to the ground in 1912 (Blee 1991:183-184, 360).

Some attempt has been given to summarizing a portion of the large corpus of data generated by the studies discussed in the last few pages. That attempt is detailed later in Chapter 4 in the functional analysis and in Appendix D in the statistical analysis. It also involves comparing these gold rush collections with archeological collections taken from sites of the same time period in urban and suburban contexts of the United States and Canadian west. Skagway was not provincially Alaskan. Her people were transplanted Seattleites, San Franciscans, Chicagoans, Vancouverites, as well as rural folk. They brought their laws, economy, and moral values with them. The neighbor they left back home could certainly be a good comparison to those in Skagway.

As is discussed in some detail in Appendix D, therefore, a number of suburban and rural mining, lumber, military and railroad communities throughout the west also provided comparative data: Georgetown, Colorado; Durango, Colorado; Ouray, Colorado; Lake City, Colorado; Rochester Heights, Nevada; Texas City, Washington; Bingham's Camp, Washington; Silcott, Washington; Denver, Colorado; Los Angeles, California; Blairmore, Alberta; Ft. Walla Walla, Washington; Ft. Bowie, Arizona; Writing-on-Stone, Alberta; and Oakland, California. The Mascot Saloon will be examined in the context of all these communities and the people who lived there.

Archeological Investigations on Block 35

As indicated above, NPS archeologists carried out several archeological tests and excavations on Block 35, Lots 5 and 6 between 1978 and 1986. The primary purpose of the tests was to evaluate the archeological deposits for their eligibility to the National Register for Historic Places under criterion (d), their potential to yield important information to science or history. Although initial tests suggested there was some potential for significant remains, the speed with which emergency stabilization took place precluded archeological mitigation in the summer of 1979. Fortunately, much of the original ground surface remained intact after the construction of new foundations. Because it was infeasible to operate the building without new utilities or to install those utilities without disturbing the rest of the deposits under the building, archeological salvage of the remaining deposits was the only remaining option. The 1986 mitigation efforts were oriented towards salvaging as much of the remaining archeological deposits as possible prior to the installation of the remaining utility lines and expansion of the crawl spaces under the buildings of the Mascot Saloon Group.

The Back Yards

In October 1978, prior to the design of historic building renovations of the Mascot Saloon Group, a private geological consultant was hired to conduct soils tests of National Park Service properties in Skagway (Connally and Menzies 1978). A backhoe trench labeled Test Hole #4 was placed in the approximate center of the large open space behind the Mascot Saloon Group, Verbauwhedes Cigar Store and Confectionary, Verbauwhedes Cribs, and the Boas Tailor and Furrier Shop (Figure 5). Denver Service Center archeologist, Catherine Blee, monitored its excavation. The trench exposed the southeast corner of a subterranean log cribbing and a buried soil horizon about three feet below the 1978 surface. The corner of the cribbing appeared to correlate with the depressed area just to the northwest. This depressed area was full of modern garbage and large pieces of structural trash. No artifacts were recovered and the trench was back-filled (Blee 1989).

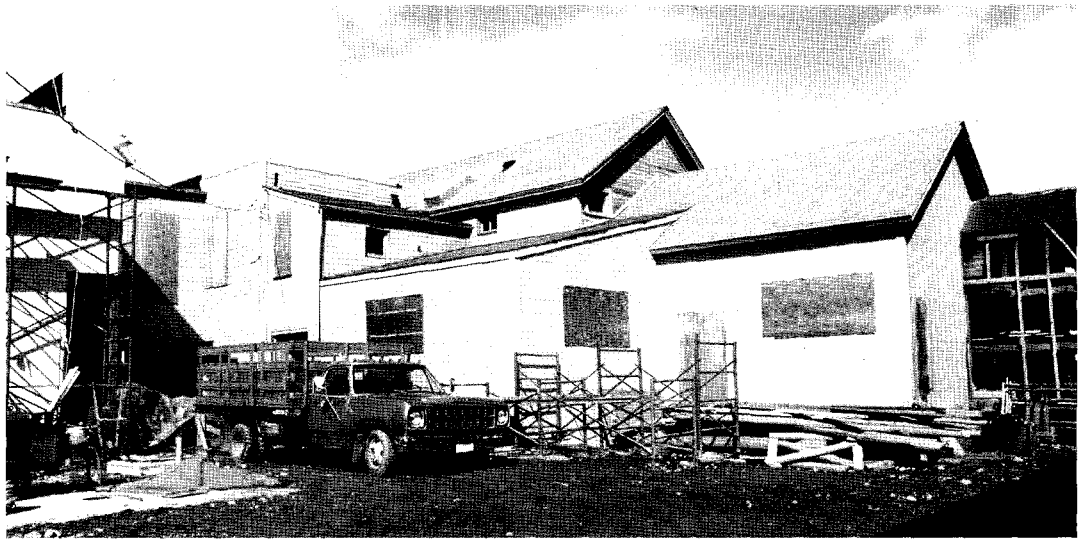


Figure 5. Appearance of the back of the Mascot Saloon Group in April 1986, looking northwest.

By 1984, Denver Service Center architects and engineers had determined that a utility vault was necessary to serve the Mascot Saloon complex, and the other buildings in the vicinity. The best location for the vault was the middle of the back yard area (Figure 6). It was obvious that

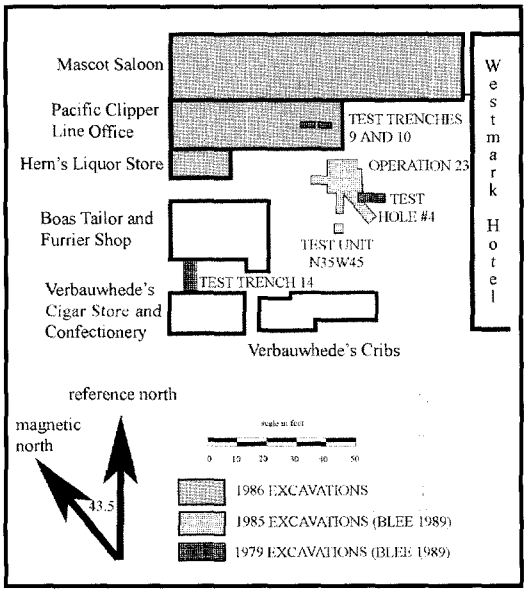


Figure 6. Map of the Archeological Excavation Units in relationship to the Mascot Saloon Group.

excavation would impact the buried cribbing, so archeological excavations were undertaken to determine its function and age in order to assess its significance. It was further intended that if the feature was deemed significant, appropriate mitigation would be undertaken.

The investigation uncovered a septic tank that had probably been used between 1904 and fairly recent times. Blee tested this feature with two formal excavation units (N47W35 and N47W40) before deciding to expose it with a backhoe. She placed a third unit at N33W40 for vertical control purposes. (Blee established a NoWo grid datum at the southeast corner of lot 1 on Block 35) (Figure 5). A total of 2323 artifacts (fragment count) was recovered during these excavations. The septic tank contained little or no material of significance to science or history. It was reburied and Blee determined that the feature did not meet National Register eligibility criteria (Blee 1989).

Tests under the Mascot Saloon Group

In 1979, Blee placed Test Trenches 9 and 10 under the back room of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, a part of the Mascot Saloon Group, as part of her efforts to test for the integrity and significance of archeological deposits (Figure 5). Given the presence of high frequencies of bottle glass and the fact that historic photographs showing the proximity of privies in the area, Blee suggested that further investigations should precede additional building rehabilitation work area under the Mascot Saloon Group. Frantic verbal communications with park and regional officials were insufficient to stop imminent work on the foundations for the Mascot Saloon complex, which began within days of the completion of Blee's 1979 fieldwork. The fieldwork itself was not reported until 1989 (Blee 1989).

By 1986, when it came time to lay new utility systems and enlarge the crawl space under the Mascot Saloon Group, a Memorandum of Agreement between the State Historic Preservation Officer and the National Park Service had been signed stating that areas under the buildings needed to be archeologically salvaged before the imminent removal of the remaining deposits. As described in the Preface, a February 1986 scoping trip revealed a relatively undisturbed surface that may have dated from the earliest use of the building. This made it clear that the area under the Mascot Saloon Group of buildings had maintained some archeological integrity despite the 1979 foundation replacements.

Paul Gleeson, archeologist from the National Park Service's Alaska Regional Office, conducted the archeological fieldwork in 1986. He laid out 124 five foot by five foot square units under the three buildings (Figure 5; See also Figures 51 and 52). About fifty percent of this area contained foundations, footings, construction trenches and other disturbances. The remaining, undisturbed portions were excavated. In those areas, abundant evidence was recovered of both a gold rush era saloon and the working-class saloon that followed it. This volume is a report of those excavations, preceded by a historic study to put them all into context.

Chapter Two: Contextual History

INTRODUCTION

The original "Mascotte" Saloon building was probably constructed in March 1898 and occupied by Charles Rohback between the first of May and June 14, 1898. As will be discussed in greater detail later, Albert Reinert acquired the saloon on June 13, 1899 and renamed it the Mascot. He remained in business almost continuously until local prohibition shut him down in August 1916. One of Reinert's bartenders, William Childs, who purchased the business from him, operated the saloon illegally until November 1916.

Between August 1897 and August 1916, a multitude of saloons flourished and floundered in Skagway. Many came and stayed, but changed owners and locations frequently. The saloon keeper who occupied the same location longest was Albert Reinert at the Mascot Saloon. The best way to understand the history – and ultimately the material culture – of the Mascot Saloon is first to understand the history of liquor and saloons in Skagway. One must comprehend how the physical town of Skagway evolved, how women and gambling in saloons were treated, how crime was associated with saloons in Skagway, and how the temperance movement affected the life and death of the saloon. Once this background has been built for the reader, the history of the Mascot Saloon itself, both socially and physically, can be described.

Then, with a firm grounding in the geographic context, social context and history of the people and building, the reader can explore the archeological findings, in much the same way of the archeologist pulling all the pieces together. Why was there a cluster of broken Jesse Moore - Hunt whiskey bottles under the oldest part of the building? Why did the poker chips, dice, and drink tokens also cluster under the oldest part of the building? Why did the older part of the building seem to have more fragments of whiskey and champagne bottles, and the later parts have more beer bottle fragments? How did all that stuff get under the buildings? Why did the flask fragments cluster around the old privy pit? What did the woman's earring and lipstick tube mean? The questions seemed endless. This report tries to answer as many of them as possible.

THE KLONDIKE GOLD RUSH

The first Euroamericans to inhabit the Skagway valley were William Moore and his son Bernard, who staked a 160-acre homestead, built a wharf, and laid the lower logs for a cabin in the fall of 1887. With the thin trickle of miners headed over the Chilkoot Pass to the north, they settle at the head of the Chilkat Tlingit's lesser known winter trail, anticipating the gold rushes to the interior that would begin ten years later. Moore, having discovered that the White Pass was lower and more conducive to travel by pack animals, hoped to build a toll road over the pass and capitalize on what he was sure would bring him, his sons and investors great wealth. He no doubt thought that by marrying his son to the daughter of one of the more influential chiefs at Klukwan, he might obtain at least tolerance from the Chilkats for his scheme. In the years following, Moore, his son Bernard and Bernard's Chilkat wife Minnie (Klingit-sai-yat) built a log cabin, improved their wharf, and obtained backing from a group of British and Victoria based investors. In 1896, with funding from the British Columbia Development Association, the Moores constructed two additional residences, a sawmill, a cookhouse, and a bunkhouse, among other structures. They also continued improvement of their wharf.[1] They named their settlement Mooresville.

On August 16, 1896, Skookum Jim Mason, Dawson Charlie[2] and George Carmacks discovered gold on what became known as Bonanza Creek, a tributary of the Klondike River in Yukon Territory, Canada. Within days, prospectors working the area had staked every inch of the renamed Bonanza Creek. Other nearby streams were found to yield gold as well. To leave these lucrative claims would be insanity. News spread throughout the north. Prospectors converged on the Klondike and its tributaries. The Yukon River froze up. The miners dug in for the winter to await the spring thaw and their chance to drink champagne and eat filet mignon, buy fine clothing, travel the world, and live in fabulous mansions.

Those that decided to take their gold south the following summer arrived in San Francisco on July 14, 1897, almost 11 months after the first strike on the Klondike the previous summer. The arrival of the *SS Excelsior* was the first that the rest of the world was to hear of the fabulous Klondike riches. Two days later the *SS Portland* arrived in Seattle, with a reported "ton of gold" in its holds. The rush to the Klondike was on – regardless of the fact that almost every claim had

already been staked by people "in the country" when the gold was first discovered.

A TOWN IS BORN

The mail steamer *Queen* was the first ship to arrive in Skagway, on the evening of July 26, 1897. Its passengers knew the size of the crowds clamoring onto ships back in Seattle. About two hundred of them formed a committee to lay out a town site that overran a good portion of Moore's homestead, including the bunkhouses, cook-houses and trading post. Frank Reid, the bartender at the hastily thrown up Klondike Saloon, took a surveying instrument left as collateral on a loan and laid out a town site with 50 by 100 foot lots, twelve to a block. The streets were 60 feet wide, except for Broadway, which was 80 feet wide.[3] By the time the next ship load of stampeders began to arrive, lots were laid out ready to claim and be built upon. The Moores were practically helpless to do anything but sit back and watch. It took years of painful lawsuits, strained family relations, divorces, and hardships to many of the later business people to get all of the legalities straightened out.

It is important to understand that Southeast Alaska was well inhabited by Euroamericans before July 1897. Juneau had its gold rush in the early 1880's and the Treadwell mines just to the south of Juneau in Douglas employed hundreds of men in hard rock mining. The Chilkoot Trail had funneled a steady stream of prospectors north for several years, men who made enough from their pan pickings to buy supplies to last a year as they dreamed of the very sort of fabulous riches the Klondike now promised. So it was not unusual that when those first stampeders landed in Skagway the morning of July 27, 1897, a number of people ready to serve their every need was there to greet them.

Among them was J. A. "Doc" Cleveland and C. W. Young, who had their pack trains ready to go. They had been packing a few miners over the trail before the onslaught hit in late July.[4] Marshall Bond, who arrived on the *SS Queen*, specifically identified Cleveland as the packer working the trail, and who Bond was lucky enough to procure.[5] On August 11, 1897, not even two weeks after the *Queen* had landed, Dwight B. Fowler, drowned because his pack was too heavy when he crossed the river. A miners' committee expected Cleveland to pack the body out for free, but he had refused to do so, taking his ten dollar fee from the dead man's pocket. Cleveland was chased off the trail.[6]

Working for the Moores, Cleveland originally respected the Moores' claim to Mooresville, which encompassed 160 acres from a quarter mile north of the tree line to low tide. He did not even think of staking a lot until September 13, 1897. At that time, he and his partners joined the crowd over-running the Moore claim. "Doc" Cleveland claimed lots 4, 5 and 6 Block 35, the future site of the Mascot Saloon.[7] This location, while wet and overly near the high tide line, was close to where the ships were off loading the stampeders' supplies. A man who would charge a corpse ten dollars to be hauled off the mountain obviously did not care if his mules got their feet wet. He probably thought it was good enough for stabling mobile stock like mules, which spent most of its time on the White Pass Trail (Figure 7). Cleveland and Young even dared build a small ticket office up on piers to keep their feet and possessions out of the mud and occasional extremely high tides. But someone like "Doc" Cleveland, who had been in Skagway before the stampeders, knew where high tide was, and it was well above Third Avenue. He had had plenty of time to observe the tides. He knew better than



Figure 7. "Packer Jack" Newman leaving for Lake Bennett. Such mobile stock as mules and horses were no problem in the lower areas below Fifth Avenue and east of Broadway. Businesses operating out of tents needed higher ground. Compare the long string of stables and storage buildings to those seen in Figures 24, 25, 26, and 29. These buildings were located on the south side of Third Avenue east of Broadway, where the rear buildings of the Mascot Saloon now stand. Early 1898. (Credit: Alaska State Library – Historical Collections, Juneau, Alaska / PCA-01-4681; KLGO B1-37-149).

to plant a tent or floorless structure on the bare ground anywhere below about Fifth Avenue. Frank LaRoche photographed their ticket office and storage sheds with the high tide lapping at the raised foundations on September 12, 1897 (Figure 8). Clearly, recording the claim was not

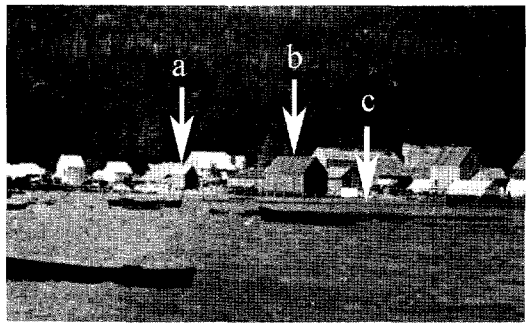


Figure 8. "Skaguay at high tide on September 12, 1897." The high tide (c) is lapping at the base of the ticket office (a), barn and warehouse (b) owned by "Doc" Cleveland on the future site of the Mascot Saloon, demonstrating the importance of the pier foundations this close to tidewater (Credit: Archives, University of Alaska – Fairbanks, Fairbanks, Alaska / LaRoche 2087 / H. Levy Collection / 67-17-23; KLGO SE-33-2).

nearly so important as actually possessing it. The Moores had constructed their first log cabin and the core of the Bernard Moore House at the tree line, as can be seen quite clearly in LaRoche's photograph dated July 26, 1897, between what would eventually become Fifth and Sixth avenues. Their community of bunkhouses and trading post likewise sat above tree line off to the west, on higher ground along what would become State Avenue between Fourth and Fifth. The only buildings visible in the photograph are the core residence and a bunkhouse. The latter stands just in front of the trees (Figure 9). Photographs taken during early August 1897

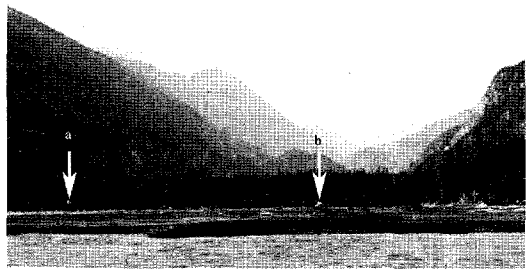


Figure 9. Photograph of the Skagway Valley on July 26, 1897, when barely a handful of structures had been constructed. The Moore Cabin (center) stood in front of the tree line, less than a hundred feet beyond the extreme high tide line. A bunkhouse in Mooresville can also be seen to the left, beyond the trees. According to Photographic Views En Route to the Klondike, in which this photograph was first published, LaRoche took the image from on board the Queen the evening before disembarking on July 27, 1897[1] (Credit: Library of Congress, Prints and Photograph Division, Washington, DC / LaRoche 368 / LC-USZ62-122304).

just as clearly indicate that the central point of where everything came together was near the tree line, somewhat to the northwest of the Moore house and cabin, in a place near a flagpole (Figure 10). Mooresville had determined where Skagway would be. No one wanted to build in the tidal zone except those connected to off-loading and transportation. People could walk a little farther for places to set up their tents, to buy those things they forgot, to find the hotels, restaurants, and saloons.

Both Tappan Adney, correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* and E. Hazard Wells, correspondent for the Scripps-McRae newspaper syndicate, came through Skagway in August 1897. They each reported camping half a mile above the water line where the tree line began, first bypassing the packing companies and hustlers off-loading goods from the ships. Adney in particular made it clear that the majority of the businesses, such as they were, existed beyond the tree line, which started about where Sixth Avenue is now.[8]

When Frank Reid surveyed the town plat, Block 1 lay between what later became Fourth and Fifth, above the tide line. Block 2 lay north of that, and Block 3 yet farther north, retreating into the trees, away from the sea and its flooding tides. When Reid chose to turn the grid after Block 4, he moved to the west, towards the Skagway River, before turning south again. It was not until he got to number 27 that he ventured south of Fourth Avenue, indicating the relative importance the beach area had to these earliest entrepreneurs.

Hal Hoffman, correspondent for *The Chicago Daily Tribune* wrote on August 11, 1897 "The whole flat of 160 acres is staked out by the gold hunters, among whom the belief is becoming stronger each passing day that here is destined to grow up a great city." He reported that there was no longer any place to pitch a tent. He counted 11 frame or log buildings, five stores, four saloons, five restaurants, a blacksmith, tailor, realtor, two doctors, and a dentist. He estimated 2000 men and 17 women living in 300 tents. "Streets have been laid out. Broadway runs from high tide four miles back to the

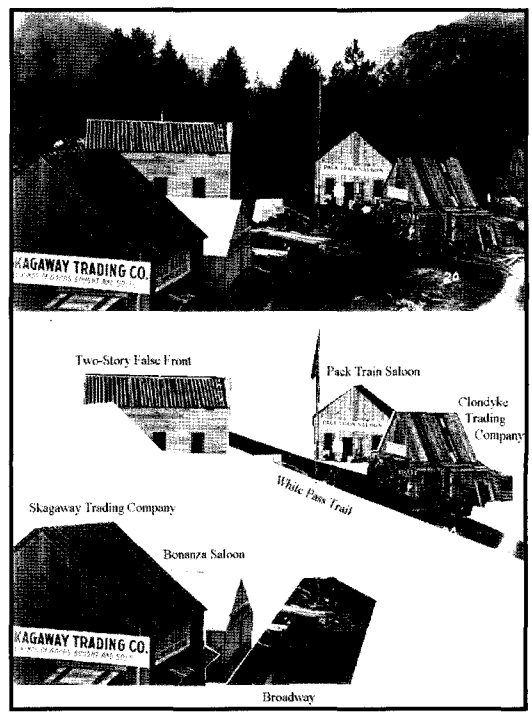


Figure 10. (far right) Photograph of the White Pass Trail crossing in front of the Clondyke Trading Company and the Pack Train Saloon, with the flagpole sitting prominently in front. These buildings formed the nucleus of the newly formed Skagway in late August 1897. The Pack Train Saloon and the Clondyke Trading Company sit in the middle of what will become the intersection of Sixth and Broadway (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / Warner 2000; KLGO SE-30-252).

[1] Frank LaRoche, *Photographic Views En Route to the Klondike Via the Skaguay and Dyea Trails* (W. B. Conkey, Chicago: 1897) n.p.

mountain base and is walled with tents, piles of supplies and felled trees."[9]

Among the very first businesses opening in August 1897 were the Clondyke Trading Post and the Pack Train Saloon, directly along the tree line to the north of Moore's original cabin and residence. The first businesses catering to miners' food, drink and provisioning needs sprang up along the White Pass Trail, for the most part north of the Clondyke Trading Post. One of the few exceptions was the Pack Train Saloon (Figure 11), which is a good example of

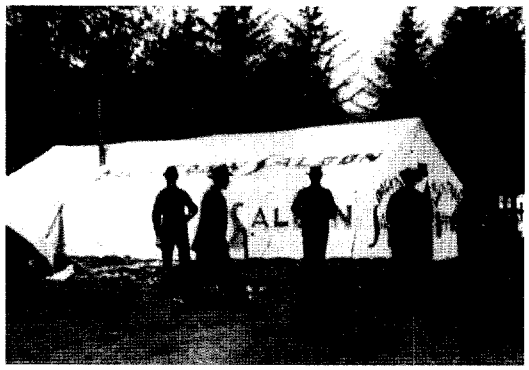


Figure 11. The Pack Train Saloon in early August 1897. This saloon was established by George Rice and Co. at the edge of the trees where Sixth and Broadway would eventually come together. The men are walking along the White Pass Trail, which was then known as Trail Street. Note that this photograph dates earlier than the one in Figure 10, by which time the owners of the Pack Train constructed a rough board building in the same location (Credit: John H. Walker, Bellevue, Washington; KLGO SE-64-3961).

the earliest types of saloons: they could be simply a large canvas tent with the name painted on the sides, ends or top. Even those businesses that were built outside of the sheltering trees were located very close to the tree line, near what would become Sixth Avenue.

By late 1897, the people rushing to the Klondike off-loaded at the Moore Wharf, passed up the White Pass Trail, set up their tents over the high tide line established by the cut bank somewhere in the vicinity of Fourth or Fifth Avenue, then wandered up the trail to the Clondyke Trading Post and businesses around and beyond it. At that time, it would have been madness to open a small saloon in an inconspicuous tent or building on the wet, sloppy intertidal area at Third and Broadway. The only people occupying these locations were those serving transportation needs – those with mobile stock that could be moved when the tide got too high. Or they built up on piers to keep their small buildings out of the mud and muck.

Particularly telling to this phenomenon was the location and name of the First and Last Chance Saloon. Opening as a tent saloon as early as September 1897 at the southeast corner of Broadway and Fifth avenues, it was indeed the stampeder's first chance to get a drink as he headed into town, or his last chance as he left with his full gold poke. As can be seen in Figure 12, the White Pass Trail, which was rapidly changing as it conformed to the city streets, swept past the door of this southernmost saloon.

Figure 12. Overview of early construction in Skagway, showing the First and Last Chance Saloon as a tent near the Burkhard building. Traces of the White Pass Trail have disappeared, but people seem to be skirting across the south half of lot 7 to pass from Fifth Avenue onto Broadway, substituting this route for the earlier trail route. People are traveling right past the southernmost saloon in Skagway at the time. Mid-late September 1897 (Credit: Alaska State Library – Historical Collections, Juneau, Alaska / PCA-01-4680; KLGO SO-117-194).

A HISTORY OF SALOONS IN SKAGWAY

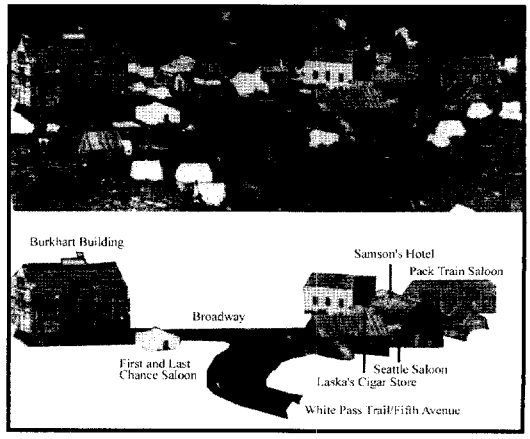
Introduction

Pierre Berton, the gifted storyteller of the Klondike Gold Rush, relates that Skagway was little better than hell on earth in 1897, and he made hell sound good to those who love bad booze, gambling dens, and cheap women. According to Berton, saloons entitled the Blaze of Glory, the Hungry Pup, the Mangy Dog, the Red Onion, the Home of Hooch, and the Palace of Delight all graced Skagway's muddy streets.[10] Berton obviously overstated his case and his facts.

Three major newspapers agreed there were four saloons in Skagway in August 1897.[11] Tappan Adney, *Harper's Weekly's* man in Alaska, named them: the Pack Train, the Grotto, the Bonanza, and the Nugget (Figure 11). They were strung out along the White Pass Trail as it entered the trees. "A glimpse inside of these, as one rides by," Adney wrote of these tent saloons, "shows a few boards set up for a bar in one corner, the other corners being filled with gambling lay-outs, around which are crowds of men playing or looking on." Adney pretended not to be too interested.[12]

The Reverend Robert M. Dickey, with the Presbyterian missions of Canada, arrived in Skagway during the first week in October 1897. He observed about five saloons, "doing a roaring trade," but did not name them.[13] The newly added saloon was probably the First and Last Chance, although the Seattle Headquarters had most assuredly joined the ranks of Skagway saloons by this time as well. Perhaps one of the original four had already folded up its tent and moved on.

Perhaps the Reverend Dickey was not too observant. During the December session of the grand jury of the district court in Sitka, Alaska, 18 people from Skagway appeared to pay fines for selling liquor without a license – despite the fact



that there was no mechanism in effect for obtaining liquor licenses at the time. Seventeen saloons advertised in the Skaguay News in November and December of 1897. When the two lists are compared, it is obvious that there may have been as many as 27 saloons in the burgeoning boomtown by Christmas of 1897 (Table 1)[1].

The noted northern journalist and columnist Elmer J. "Stroller" White claimed to have observed at least 70 saloons in Skagway during the spring of 1898, when he arrived to take a job with *The Skaguay News*. In the columns he wrote between 1916 and 1930 remembering the stories of the gold rush days, he named as many as 19 of those saloons. These columns were no doubt the source of Pierre Berton's list of colorful names, as all his saloons appear in Stroller's tales. Robert DeArmond, who collected many of the columns into a single volume, called these stories "tales." "Some of these tales are wholly factual, as nearly as any reporter can gather and write the truth of the happening; others are entirely fictional, and many are a combination of fact and fiction."[15]

In late March and early April 1898, the U. S. customs agents in Dyea and Skagway raided 120 of the saloons, hotels and restaurants serving liquor between tidewater and the passes. It was not legal to import, make, or sell liquor in Alaska, and the responsibility for enforcement fell on the few customs officials in the district. The record for the arrests shows that there were about 35 saloons in Skagway at the time, and newspaper advertisements supply the names of eight more (Table 1). The grand jury prosecuted these 35 saloon owners in May 1898. When added to the advertisements of June, July and August, and Stroller White's colorful names, Skagway must have had fifty saloons by the end of the summer.[16] It is even possible that the number approached the seventy "Stroller" White recalled, but that depends on his definition of a saloon. He may have been including any establishment that sold liquor.

The number of saloons just kept growing, as the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad demanded more laborers, and fewer people used the Chilkoot Trail to get to Dawson, Atlin and other interior mining areas. When the grand jury convened in Juneau in December 1898, 89 people from Skagway were arrested on the charge of selling liquor without a license, and most of these were saloon proprietors. Once again, the proprietors handed over their $100 fine, counting it simply a cost of doing business.[17]

The data for the 1899 city directory was collected about this same time, in the fall of 1898. Curiously enough, it listed only 32 saloons and three breweries.[18] Using newspaper advertisements, the business directory, Stroller White's memoirs, and the court raids on the saloons every six months, it is obvious that only about 21 of the saloons appear to have survived from April to December. The ones that disappeared were rapidly replaced by others. Like the Greek Hydra, as each saloon died, two or three sprang up to take its place.

Figure 13 maps out the location of 42 saloons, including 30 of the 32 saloons listed in the 1899 directory. The data for this directory was gathered in the fall of 1898, during the height of the use of the White Pass Trail. The Brackett Wagon Road over the trail was complete. The railroad was under construction. More and more people were abandoning the Chilkoot Trail for the White Pass. This was the heyday of Skagway's saloons.

As can be seen by reference to the Figure 13 map, most of the saloons remained clustered along Fifth or Sixth Avenue, or on Broadway above Fourth Avenue. The location of the First and Last Chance Saloon, at the southeast corner of Fifth and Broadway, is a very good clue as to the southern limits of the service portion of the town early in its history (Figure 13). It is doubtful that its proprietors in 1898, Ed Drew and Tom Maher, knew just how prophetic its location would prove to be. By 1908, it would become the northernmost saloon in Skagway.

But that was ten years away. By October 1898, only five saloons had ventured south of Fourth Avenue: the Annex, the Idaho, the Mascotte, the Broadway and the Hot Scotch. All were built on pier foundations with solid floors well above the high tides that were known, as recently as October 27, 1897, to go as high as Fourth or sometimes even Fifth Avenue.

Skagway's saloon population was largely determined by the size of its male population. As will be explained in detail later, women rarely frequented Skagway's saloons, first by custom, and later by law. Some "family" business was sought after, especially by European immigrants such as the German-born Albert Reinert, who owned the Mascot Saloon. Prior to 1903, when women were banned from saloons, those who purchased liquor for home consumption did so at a separate entrance and did not mix with the male saloon customers. After that time, saloons who catered to families offered home delivery of retail liquors.

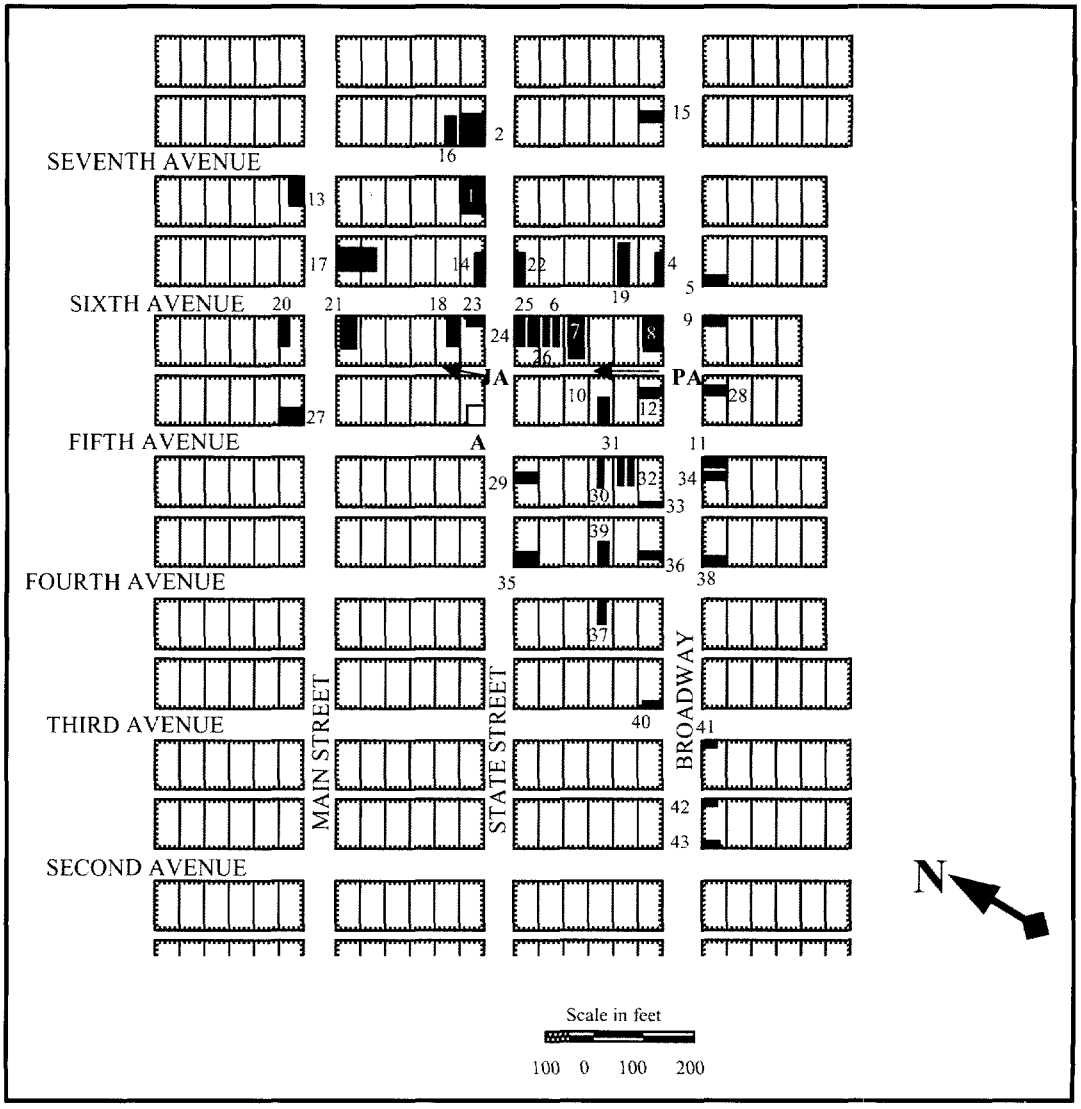


Figure 13. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1898: 1) Clancy's Music Hall and Club; 2) The Dewey Hotel; 4) The Mondamin Hotel; 5) The Mint; 6) The Grotto; 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 9) The Bank; 10); The Merchants; 11) The First and Last Chance; 12) The Monogram; 13) The California Pack Train; 14) The Alert (The Montana?); 15) The Tivoli Brewery; 16) The Princess; 17) The City Brewer; 18) The Bowery; 19) Mirror; 20) The California Wine House; 21) The Lobby Music Hall; 22) The Alert (The Montana?); 23) The Manila; 24) The Red Onion; 25)The Coliseum; 26) The Little Star; 27) The Fifth Avenue Hotel; 28) Seattle Headquarters; 29)The Skaguay Beer Hall; 30) The Pioneer Sample Room; 31) The Magnolia; 32) The Office; 33)The All Nations; 34) The Gambrinus Brewery; 35)The St. James Hotel; 36) The Club; 37) The Peerless; 38) The White Navy; 39) The Annex (probably to the Board of Trade Saloon); 40) The Idaho; 41) The Mascotte; 42) The Broadway; 43) The Hot Scotch; A) The Union Church (Clinton, Directory and Guide, 1899, pp. 131 and 143; Baird, Advertising Directory for 1898.) There was no officially designated red light district in 1898, but most of the prostitutes operated out of the saloons and cribs behind the saloons between Fifth and Sixth Avenues from State to Broadway. This alley was known variously as "French" or "Paradise" Alley (PA). "Jap" Alley, or "Yokohama Row" (JA) was a continuation of the same alley across State, again between Sixth and Fifth Avenues. It was only one or two lots deep, and restricted to the north side of the alley.

Between 1899 and 1904, however, the number of saloons in Skagway was also determined largely by the imposition of a high license fee, as will be explored in some detail below. To the class-conscious late Victorian, the small, hastily thrown-up saloons like the Gem, the Little Star and the Grotto brought the wrong element to town: the thieves, gamblers, and con men. In the mind of the honest, respectable businessman, a high license, in the form of $1,500 yearly fees – the equivalent of $30,000 in the year 2000[19] – would get rid of the lower class of saloon. Only the wealthy, better class of saloonkeeper could afford to stay in town.

And Skagway was desperate to upgrade its image. Jefferson Randolph "Soapy" Smith, con man extraordinaire, and his gang of toughs ruled the town in the spring of 1898. Operating out of his own saloon, Jeff Smith's Parlor, one of Soapy's henchmen lifted a south-bound miner's gold poke on July 8, 1898. A vigilante committee led by Frank Reid and deputized by Josiah M. Tanner met Soapy and his gang on the Juneau Wharf. They met in a good old fashioned Western style shoot out. Soapy died instantly, and Frank fell to the ground mortally wounded.

Dawsonites, to whom the Klondike gold rush rightly belonged, and who fostered columnist Elmer J. "Stroller" White, knew how to make Skagway look bad in contrast to their more orderly community. Soapy and his gang from the very beginning had provided the source of material for that image. Major Sam Steele of the Canadian North West Mounted Police, contrasting Skagway's frontier lawlessness with his own well-ordered Dawson, had called Skagway "the roughest place in the world."[20] In addition, Skagway's twin city, Dyea, three miles up the Lynn Canal, at the foot of the Chilkoot Trail, took every opportunity to scorn Skagway's lawless element in order to get Klondikers to go through their city on the way north.[21]

Skagway's newspaper editors, chamber of commerce and businessmen spent the next two decades trying to overcome the evil image promulgated by Steele, the Dawsonites, the people in Dyea and the Soapy Smith legend. The

way they started was by clearing out the dives. After the shoot-out on the Juneau Wharf, Skagway often led the way in reform in Southeast Alaska. The later, cautious touting of the Soapy Smith legend, led by the small, but slowly burgeoning tourist industry, would not begin until 1907.[22] The first accounts portrayed him as a ruffian and villain, much in keeping with the cleaned-up image Skagway had made of itself. It was not until the 1920's that tourism promoter Martin Itjen began to temper the scurrilous villain with tales of his generosity to local charities and to defend him against his attackers.[23]

Licensing Saloons

Today's popular image of the western frontier is one of wide-open towns with a multitude of saloons. The louvered half-doors swung open freely, so that curious little boys could peek at the sins being committed inside. Law did not exist, or if it did, it was in the form of one beleaguered U. S. marshal who bellied up to the bar with the best of them. The saloon was prominent on the wild frontier. It is hard to comprehend that until well into the Klondike gold rush, this institution was entirely illegal in Alaska.

That's not to say the saloon didn't exist. Alaska, when first purchased from Russia in 1867, became a military district. It was governed by a very small code of laws passed on July 27, 1867 providing punishment only for crimes against customs, navigation and commerce in Alaska. One of the crimes was the introduction of alcoholic beverages. Its punishment was intended to curb drinking among the native inhabitants. If a saloon proprietor could obtain liquor through legal means, such as the sales of confiscated goods at a Department of the Treasury auction – which happened on a fairly regular basis – then what he did with it was his concern, as long as he did not sell his stock to Native Alaskans.[24] When the gold rush began in July 1897, there were simply far too few customs inspectors, who had the responsibility for filing complaints of trafficking in liquor, to take on the exploding communities of Dyea and Skagway. Chances are that most proprietors of saloons and other establishments that sold alcoholic beverages were not even aware they were breaking the law. Everyone who knew about the law knew that prohibition for Alaska was meant to keep liquor out of the hands of Native Alaskans.

Indeed it was. John Healy was the U. S. marshal in Dyea. He wrote in 1891 that the Native Alaskans patronizing his trading post sought lemon extract and Florida water (a hair dressing) for their alcohol content. They purchased large quantities of molasses to make their own *hootsinoo*, the word from which the colloquial "hootch" was derived. Of course, they tried to get whiskey whenever they could.[25]

Just because the law was meant to keep liquor from Indians didn't mean it should be kept from white men. It was simply assumed that liquor could be freely obtained to those who "deserved" it. What freedom loving American or emigrant coming to free America dreamed he couldn't sell liquor on the wild frontier?

The people in Skagway must have asked the same thing. On December 10, 1897, 18 men from Skagway were brought before the grand jury in Sitka, Alaska to answer for the crime of selling liquor without a license. Included were A. Bloom and George Patten, both of whom would become long-term saloon owners in the community. They joined 35 people from Juneau, seven from Sitka, ten from Douglas, two from Wrangel, 13 from Dyea and a scattering of individuals from up and down the coast. The courts were starting to enforce what little law there was.[26]

At this point, it is unclear what finally induced the Skagway and Dyea inspectors of customs, J. C. Hartman and R. W. Bellman, to finally take action. Roland DeLorme states that three customs officials at Dyea were indicted for selling impounded liquor to residents of Skagway at about this time.[27] Possibly their replacements were charged with getting control of the liquor smuggling business in Dyea and Skagway. We do know that on April 22, 1898, Hartman filed complaints against 43 businesses in Skagway, including 30 saloons, asking for warrants to search for smuggled liquor. He carried out these searches five days later, finding only a few bottles of liquor (if any) at each place of business. Bellman filed complaints against 77 businesses in Dyea, including about 75 saloons for the same purpose.[28]

It is believed that the two customs officials, with a corps of appointed deputies, attempted to inspect every saloon, restaurant, hotel, and possibly a few brothels between tidewater and the summit of the two passes. As will be discussed later, a number of the establishments inspected by Bellman, the Dyea customs official, were actually located in Canyon City and Sheep Camp, along the Chilkoot Trail.

With this raid, the first of a series of moral waves had hit Skagway. The saloons hardly quivered in response. Few of them seemed affected. No

bottles of "smuggled" liquor were found in the "Mascot" Saloon, then owned by H. Hammond, and located in Sheep Camp. Other saloons seemed to have curiously little "smuggled" liquor on stock. Only 58 of the 120 business raided on April 22 or in the days immediately after contained any liquor, and most had only one or two bottles.[29] Word of the impending raids obviously had gotten out.

It is possible that previous actions by the law officials had put the saloon owners on guard. For instance, on March 9, nine gamblers were rounded up and brought before the court, including such locally illustrious names as Jefferson Randolph "Soapy" Smith. These arrests were followed on April 9 by a raid of the prostitutes, when 22 women were charged with disorderly conduct.[30] The saloon owners may have suspected they were next, and when the first ones were raided, the rest were forewarned.

The saloon owners with even one bottle of liquor were arrested for smuggling, a federal offense at the time. Most of the offenders pleaded not guilty, paid their $100 fines (worth the equivalent of almost $2000 in the year 2000) and went on with their businesses. With no further arrests, it appeared that this was the federal government's way of "licensing" an unregulated activity. The collection of fines in lieu of license payments would continue until such time as a law was passed setting out a license system.

Still, $100 was a lot of money, especially for those who were operating out of a tent with a few bottles of rot-gut whiskey. It was enough to run them out of town and make competition a little better for the serious proprietors who were ready to invest in such amenities as buildings, bars, bar stock, decent whiskey and nuisances like fines.

The next round of arrests was made on December 9, 1898, and the cases did not make it to the grand jury until January 16, 1899. This time, 89 saloon, hotel, restaurant and brothel proprietors marched to the courtroom in Skagway. Longtime Skagway saloonkeepers were beginning to make their first appearance, including Frank Clancy, George Rice, Charles Saake, and Lee Guthrie. The first owner of the "Mascotte" Saloon, Charles Rohbeck, handed over his $100 fine along with the rest.[31]

Pressure was growing from the small prohibition forces in Alaska to enforce the anti-liquor law. With the mass migration of tens of thousands of civilians – mostly bachelor men – into the mining frontier of Alaska, the ban against the sale and transportation of liquor was unconscionable, besides being entirely impracticable. Something had to be done to change the law. With considerable lobbying from the appointed Alaska Governor John G. Brady, Congress passed and President William McKinley signed a new code of laws for Alaska. One of the most relevant portions of the law to Alaskans was the provision for the licensing of saloons. The law stipulated that a saloon owner must obtain signatures of a majority of all adult white citizens living within two miles of the saloon in order to apply for a license, that the license for a city the size of Skagway would be $1,500 a year (equal to $30,000 in the year 2000). Proceeds from the licenses were to be used for educational purposes. The law was a compromise with prohibitionists who wanted to ban the sale of liquor in Alaska entirely. The editor of *The Daily Alaskan* endorsed the action. He pointed out that licensing would "necessarily wipe out a class of saloons that are a menace to the welfare of any community and that make possible the breeding and nursing into life creatures as made up the Soapy Smith gang that terrorized the early days of Skagway."[32]

When the "high license law" went into effect, details became known to the saloonkeepers. No license could be issued to any liquor retailer within 400 feet of a church or school, excepting those in operation before the school or church was built or occupied.[33] Governor Brady's report of 1899 stated that he found it amusing to watch the saloon men "out in the middle of the night with their tapelines measuring the distance from the places of business to the nearest church to see if they came within the 400-foot limit. To-day (sic) there are several such places marked 'to rent.'"[34]

There was still the matter of the petition to be dealt with. According to the new law code, a business wishing to obtain a liquor license must obtain the permission of the majority of the white adults within two miles. With the prospect of no saloons, perhaps tens of thousands of transients, and – if you can believe *The Skaguay News* – at least a hundred saloons in Dyea and Skagway wanting to do business, Skagway needed a quicker solution than a hundred petitions signed by people that couldn't be tracked down if there was a legal question at a later time. And Skagway was not the only community faced with that difficult question. Alaska turned to the courts for clarification.

By late May 1899, federal Judge Charles S. Johnson had written an opinion regarding the

issuing of liquor licenses. He stated that each community could decide how to implement the law one of two ways. A community could get up a single petition for the licensing of a saloon or saloons to be signed by a majority of the men and women within a radius of two miles of the saloon(s) in question – exactly as the law stated. Alternatively, a town could hold a general election on the question of local option. The local option would be good for one year, at which time another election would be held. If the community did not approve the granting of all licenses, then each saloonkeeper had the option of doing a separate petition. The judge also said that each saloon would be closed on July 1, 1899 if the owner did not have a license, and the law would be strictly enforced. Costs for these special elections would be borne by the saloonkeepers.[35]

Most communities in southeast Alaska quickly adopted the local option method as quicker and more practicable. By May 30, the Skagway town council had called for a special election. Sitka granted licenses in a 200 to 40 vote, the latter vote "drummed up by the wife of a Sitka missionary." Juneau voted for licensing with 357 for and 45 against. Skagway's vote on June 14 was 468 for and 68 against. Although Judge Johnson had classed both of the latter two communities as having more than 1500 people (thus putting them in the $1,500 licensing category), he had also judged that the voting turn out, while not 51% of the population, was representative of the wishes of the population.[36]

Of course, no women voted in Skagway's 1899 saloon license election, although they should have been allowed to do so. All 563 registered voters in that special election were male.[37] The law required the women's permission on the stipulated petitions, so why not the substituted special elections? Women were not given the vote in Alaska until 1913, except in school board elections, a privilege that was granted them in 1908. By excluding a large portion of the population that purportedly needed to grant permission for issuance of liquor licenses, Judge Johnson biased the election results for the next 14 years. Not coincidentally, local prohibition began in the better established Alaskan communities within two or three years of women getting the vote.

It is readily evident that no Skagway saloons closed down after the January 1899 fines were imposed, except perhaps those few dives that were so impoverished that they could not survive the damage a hundred dollar fine did to the business. As had occurred after the December 1897 and April 1898 raids, the fines were treated as a substitute for licensing. One paid one's fine, then went back to serving the whiskey and beer.

On January 16, 1899, at the same time "100" saloon keepers from Dyea and Skagway and all points to the summits were receiving $100 fines for smuggling liquor, five establishments selling alcoholic beverages advertised in *The Daily Alaskan:* The Coliseum, the White Navy, the Magnolia, the Skagway Brewing Company, and the Monogram. By February 3, 1899, things definitely were looking up. The big advertisers and staples of Skagway's saloon scene put their ads back in the newspaper – the Board of Trade and the Pack Train – joined the giants of Skagway's early carousing days – Clancy's Music Hall and People's Theater Bar. The Monogram, the Idaho, the First and Last Chance and seven saloons never heard from again filled out an advertising blitz that rivaled today's after Christmas sales. More saloons and breweries advertised in *The Daily Alaskan* in February 1899 than at any other month between March 1898 and September 1909.

The February sales blitz over, several saloons suddenly backed out of the competition. It must have become apparent there would be no getting around the $1,500 yearly license and perhaps many owners sought to sell their businesses before they had to buy the license. They may have been completely surprised by the stipulation that no business within 400 feet of a church could be granted a license. Skagway's only church at the time, the interdenominational Union Church, was located on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and State. The principal business district and location of most of the saloons were on Fifth and Sixth avenues between Broadway and State, and a good many of the "hundred" saloons may have fallen within that 400 foot radius. Of the 32 saloons that were stable enough to draw the attention of the people collecting data for the 1899 city directory in the fall of 1898, six were definitely within this limit: the Bowery, the Red Onion, the Coliseum, the Merchants, the Magnolia and the Pioneer Sample Room.[38]

The drop in advertising shows how the saloons began to fall out of the Skagway competition in the spring of 1899. From 16 advertisers in February, the number dropped to nine in March, and only seven in May 1899. While the names of all but four saloons would change during the next ten years, the number of advertisers in *The Daily Alaskan* would hover between seven and nine. The number being granted licenses and

listed in the city directories would be only slightly higher.

Despite the seemingly bad news brought with high license, however, there was great optimism in early 1899. Those saloon owners with the money for the license believed that no fair government would keep them from providing a much-wanted product to their eager customers. So optimistic was the feeling, then, that Seattle restaurateur Albert Reinert went into partnership with Charles Saake, owner of the Skagway Brewing Company, one of the few who had kept advertising right through the dark days of January 1899. The two bought the Northern Trading and Transportation Company Building from Otto Wolf on June 13, 1899.[39] The northern half of this building was leased to Charles Rohbeck, the proprietor of the Mascotte Saloon. It is possible that they purchased Rohbeck's business from him at the same time. They certainly must have had no doubts about the outcome of the next day's special election determining whether they would be able to get a liquor license.

That many saloons had continued to operate during the first half of the year is also obvious from another short newspaper quip, which stated that the license law went into effect on July 1 and many saloons were then closed.[40] This statement implies that those unable to pay the $1,500 license were allowed to operate until July 1 *before* being closed. The New Year's 1900 special edition of *The Daily Alaskan* stated that there were 16 saloons in Skagway,[41] down considerably from the 32 in the 1899 city directory, and nowhere near the 89 liquor dealers reported in the court documents.

It has been estimated that there were about 6,000 people in Skagway at any one time during the summer and fall of 1898.[42] If about 10% of them were women and children, then roughly 5,400 men patronized the roughly 32 to 90 saloons, giving the owners anywhere from 60 to 169 customers apiece. Studies of other mining communities indicate that 80 customers per saloon was closer to the average.[43] Skagway's saloonkeepers did well, but they had to. Once high license went into effect, $1,500 a year was no small price to pay.

By 1899, Skagway's population had fallen considerably, and many of the men coming through were staying for a shorter period of time. They stayed in town only for a night or two as they made arrangements to get their goods on pack trains over the Brackett Road or on the railroad to Bennett. At most, a population of 5000 men were available to Skagway's 16 saloons after July 1, 1899, providing each saloonkeeper with an average of 312 customers. At 10 cents a beer and 25 cents a whiskey or stronger drink, and with most customers spending 50 cents to a dollar a day, the average saloonkeeper could bring in over $235 a day. At that rate, it would take over 18 weeks for the average saloon man to make enough money to pay off his saloon license alone. With the railroad getting closer to Whitehorse and navigable Yukon waters daily, the amount of time passers-through spent in Skagway got shorter. There were simply too many saloons to support Skagway's male population.

By the fall of 1900, when the data for the 1901 city directory was collected, ten saloons were listed in Skagway; eight were advertising on a regular basis in *The Daily Alaskan* (Figure 14). Two others were mentioned prominently in news articles of September 1900, suggesting that there were about a dozen saloons left in town. The federal census enumerated 1951 men in Skagway.[44] These dozen saloons averaged about 163 customers per saloon.

A special election for liquor licensing was repeated in June 1900 with much the same results as experienced in the 1899 election. Ten or eleven saloonkeepers, including Charles Saake and Albert Reinert, paid for the election, and the male voters approved the licenses by a margin of 308 to 25. The editor of *The Daily Alaskan*, John Troy, appeared to question the interpretation of the method taken to grant the licenses, and somewhat wryly commented that the current Judge, Melville C. Brown, seemed to condone his predecessor's opinion of the way to conduct the matter. The tone of the story is not flattering to either the saloonkeepers, who are accused of being so complacent about the matter that many did not chose to even vote, or the voters. [45] It is obvious that Troy was spoiling for a fight. He didn't have to wait long.

John Troy had been editing *The Daily Alaskan* since November 1898.[46] When it came to issues of community boosterism and the economic well being of Skagway, if Troy was in town, he doubtless shaped the content of both editorials and news stories. And the need for territorial status and home rule was always foremost in his mind and his paper's columns.

In early July 1900, the saloon owners of Juneau, through their lawyer, presented a census to Judge Brown asserting that the city's population was less than 1,500, thus qualifying them for a $500 reduction in their liquor licenses. The census was taken by John T. Spickett of the Franklin Hotel, and purported to verify a

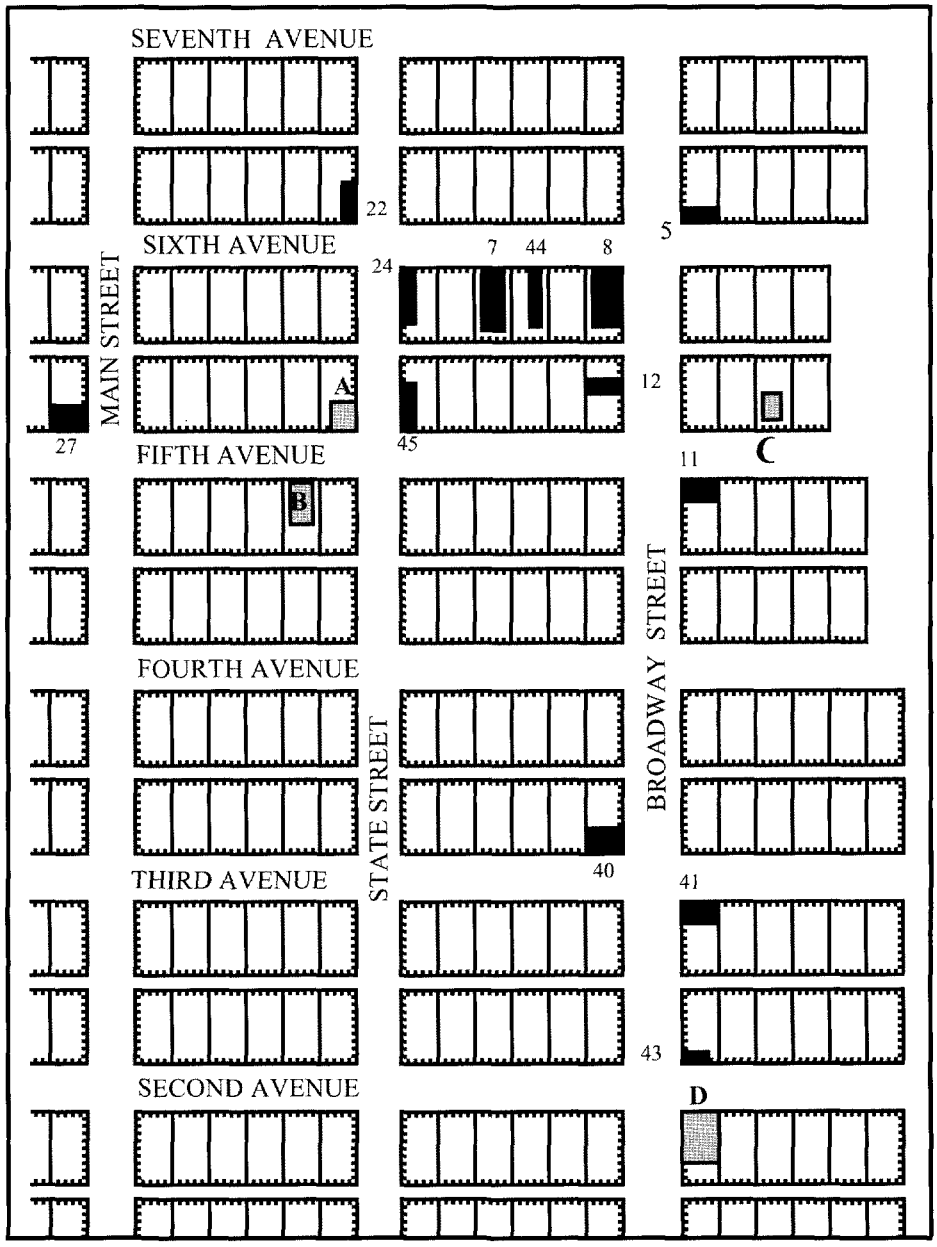


Figure 14. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1900. 5) The Commerce; 7) The Board of Trade; 8) *The Pack Train*; 11) *The First and Last Chance*; 12) The Monogram; 22) The Seattle; 24) The Senate; 27) The Fifth Avenue Hotel; 40) The Idaho; 41) The *Mascot*; 43) *The Rainier*; A) The Union Church; B) The Presbyterian Church; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Ferguson, Directory and Gazetteer, 1901; The Daily Alaska, September 1900). There was still no officially designated red light district in 1900, and most of the prostitutes continued to operate out "French" or "Paradise" Alley and "Jap" Alley. Some true brothels were beginning to open on Seventh Avenue between State and Broadway.

population of less than 1,000 people. The attorney argued that while the federal census taker counted over 1,500 people in March, there had been a lot of people leaving town since that time. He further claimed that the federal census included transients, whom the Juneau saloon men believed should not have been counted when calculating the liquor license fee. He had affidavits from 15 to 20 prominent businessmen that asserted that the population was not above 1,500.[47] This issue was critical to the saloon owners, because it meant a 33% reduction in the license fee, the equivalent of about $10,000 in the year 2000.

Four days later, *The Daily Alaskan* stated that Judge Brown had granted a "prayer to the court" to have the population of Juneau recognized as being less than 1,500 in order to reduce the liquor license fee. According to Troy, "Hundreds of men who live within the shadow of Juneau have been disowned to save the $500 a month (sic). These men are miners. They work in the mines in the vicinity but they have been classed as other than permanent residents...There are fifteen saloon men in Juneau who signified their willingness of not having the miners counted as a part of the population of their town, and to carry the conviction that town has a population of less than 1500."[48] Troy, rarely a friend of the transient or laborer, suddenly thought it was disgraceful that Juneau should abandon theirs. Skagway's official census number for 1900 had been 3,117. When the laborers working on the railroad and ships were removed, it was lowered to 2,383. Perhaps Troy and all the business promoters of Skagway guessed just how much these transients had swollen the size of Skagway's census. There was no talk of taking a new census of Skagway for over two years.

The liquor licenses were seen as a boon to the community, and as a result, few people complained too loudly about the $1,500 fee. In September 1900, the newspaper announced that $12,000 had been collected, and as only half of the licenses had been approved, another $12,000 was anticipated. As all of this money was to go to the public schools – or so it was believed – the good citizens of Skagway were developing magnificent plans for their school faster than the fees could come in.[49]

Then, in late September 1900, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W. C. T. U.) hit the schools with a ricochet from a shot they fired at the saloons. They filed a protest against the Reception, Senate, Seattle and Fifth Avenue saloons for being located within 400 feet of the Union Church at the corner of Fifth and State. The March 3, 1899 Code of Alaska had clearly stated that liquor licenses could not be issued to any place of business within 400 feet of a church or school. It also stipulated that the front entrance of the business was to be the measuring point to be in compliance. The Fifth Avenue Hotel had originally used its side entrance to gain access to the bar, but had moved it inside the hotel during a remodeling event since the previous year. Apparently the protestors now considered the main entrance to the hotel to be the entrance to the bar. The newspaper stated that measurements on the plat map suggested that the entrance to the Reception Saloon was 120 feet from the church, the Fifth Avenue Saloon was 335 feet, and the Seattle and Senate saloons were right at 400 feet.[50]

According to Daily Alaskan, the filing angered a lot of businessmen, who stated that as condensed as the business district was, it was "impossible to have a saloon at all that was more than 400 feet from a church or school," although this was blatantly not true. Troy disputed that "the Skagway saloon men have ever been most liberal contributors to the building funds of churches and schools in the city." In almost a postscript to the article, it was learned that a similar protest filed before First District Judge Johnson the previous year had been ignored.[51] The highly respected U. S. Deputy Marshal Josiah M. Tanner, a hero from the Soapy Smith days, owned the Reception Saloon and had probably been influential in the judge's opinion on the matter.

John Troy was one of the biggest boosters Skagway ever had. While he catered to the respectable, he never lost an opportunity to appeal to businessmen, both existing in the community and those that might want to come and invest there. Within days, he called for the repeal of the law "that there shall be no saloon license issued for a business within 400 feet of a church or a school," or to remove the churches and schools from the business part of town. He did not think it was right to allow the churches to crowd the saloons out of their established places of business. The saloon men included "citizens who have done and are doing much to promote the welfare and business interest of the city." He praised the Reception saloon for investing $40,000 in a "first-class brewery" with one of the highest payrolls in Skagway.[52] In his mind, economics far outweighed morality, at least at this point in Skagway's history.

It did not take long for the owners of the Seattle and Senate saloons to ask the city engineer to survey the distance from the church to their front doors – nor did it take long for him to do it. He found the distance was 409 ½ feet, making the W. T. C. U.'s protest moot, although whether the protest kept the licenses from being issued is unclear. Judge Brown decided not to hear the prohibition organization's protest until after all of the other jury cases had been heard in the current session of the court. In the meantime, some businessmen began putting pressure on the W. T. C. U. to withdraw its protest.[53] It is unclear whether all of this concern was generated by sympathy for fellow businessmen – in a sort of a gender war – concern over a hold up on the license fees and the impact to the school funding, or simply the men not liking their favorite saloons being shut down. Or, indeed, it may have been a mixture of all three.

Whatever the real reason for the business community's concern, Troy decided he would take the higher moral ground in his editorials and blame the "temperance people" for holding up the building of the new school and the paying of the teachers. On October 12, in what was billed as a news story, Troy told his readers that the four licenses would bring $3,000 to the city for the construction of the school, which would be sufficient "to build a very good four room school house." The delays were enough to put off construction until the next year. In an editorial, Troy wrote

> *If there were a principle at stake in the protest no one would object to the action of the temperance people, but the question of prohibition is not at stake. Skagway is going to have saloons and the schools should get the benefit of it. If the protestants (sic) should finally win out and the saloons be crowded out of the business portion of town, they will be started among the residences of our city.*[54]

Troy, although he had been reporting the other problems the city was having with the license fees, chose not to highlight them, and focused instead on the protest by the W. C. T. U. as the source for the delay in construction of the new school house. In fact, at the very same time the protest had first been filed, the city's guarantee company had refused to issue a bond to the city treasurer because he did not receive a salary. Because he was not bonded, the city was in danger of losing all of the money from the liquor licenses that was to go to the schools. Rather than give the treasurer a token salary, the city was trying to issue a bond on the signature of property owners in Skagway. They needed a $20,000 bond in order to keep the schools open. Some teachers had not been paid for three months for lack of this bond.[55]

Finally, on the last day of the federal court term in Skagway, Judge Sehlbrede heard the protest against the granting of licenses to four saloons. The city surveyor, J. H. Diers, testified that the distance from the Presbyterian church to the Seattle Saloon was 403 feet, and the Seattle was promised its license. The other cases were referred to the court clerk for testimony.[56] Ronkendorf and Chisholm of the Senate Saloon (once the Red Onion) and Herman Grimm at the Seattle Saloon were each granted their licenses on October 20, 1900, less than a week later.[57]

The Fifth Avenue saloon was inside the Fifth Avenue Hotel, one of Skagway's finest. It was operated by Louise A. Burke, a woman of vast business experience, respectability and sophistication. She found a way around the W. C. T. U., for she was granted her license on November 24, 1900. She may have simply reopened the side entrance. However, she did not take out a liquor license after that year.[58]

Only the Reception Saloon lost its case. Curiously, none of this news was reported in *The Daily Alaskan*. Having taken the saloon owners' side against the W. C. T. U., Troy was probably reluctant to tout "the temperance people's" victory, even in this one case.

The collection of liquor licenses continued to be an important source of revenues for the city of Skagway in the years that followed. A new code of law for Alaska enacted on June 14, 1900 continued to provide for the collection of liquor licenses, half of which would go to the public schools in incorporated towns only. *The Daily Alaskan* called for rapid incorporation in order to take advantage of those taxes. A petition for incorporation with 87 signatures was procured by June 16. The only protest was from the Alaska and Northwest Territories Trading Company, which, in the name of the Moores, claimed 160 acres in the heart of the town site. Objections were overruled, and an election for incorporation was held June 28. The vote was overwhelmingly for incorporation. (It is interesting to note that voters were restricted to "those who could show the possession of substantial property interests," eliminating transients completely.) The first meeting of the newly elected city council was held July 2, only a little more than two weeks after the bill passed.[59]

It did not take long for the new code to be changed again. Because Alaska had no voting representative to the United States Congress, the military district had to rely upon other states' Congressmen for legislation. In February 1901, former Skagwayan George L. Shoup of Idaho introduced a bill into the U. S. Senate amending Section 203 of the Alaska Code, which provided for 50 percent of the liquor tax to be given to the public schools. The amendment allowed for the use of the funds for other purposes than schools in the local communities once the school needs were met.[60] Before the ink was even dry on the new bill, Skagwayans were suggesting ways to spend the "extra moneys" from the liquor taxes. On March 2, 1901, some people in town proposed funding a public library, instead of burdening the students with raising the money.[61]

But two weeks later, it became obvious that the bill would not allow indiscriminate spending of the liquor license money. Under no circumstance could a municipality spend more than 25% of the revenues on other purposes than public schools, and then only if all of the public school needs were met by the remaining 25% (50% still went to the general treasury of the United States). Troy pointed out that, with the "growing population of children in Skagway," all of the liquor tax revenues would be needed to build a new school building.[62]

Four days later, Troy pressed his point about the importance of these liquor revenues when he commented on an incident in Seattle. Two saloon owners in that city were prosecuted for violating the anti-box ordinance – taking drinks into private rooms in saloons – and were acquitted. The church people who brought the complaint next grumbled that the prosecution was not made in good faith. Troy observed that without the saloon revenue, Seattle could not pay half its expenses. He suggested that if the church wanted to put the saloons out of business, they should pay the city what the saloons currently paid in taxes. However, Troy commented, the churches "are exceedingly careful not to pay taxes."[63]

With that parting barb, Troy, the city, the saloon owners and the temperance people seemed to settle into a sort of uneasy truce that lasted for over a year. The only common enemies they all agreed to focus on were the prostitutes. Periodically throughout the next year, the U. S. deputy marshal spent more time arresting these women than at any other period in Skagway's history. He was spurred on by the reformers who had – for the moment – given up on the saloons. They had won a small victory by closing the Reception Saloon, and shown the community that they had some muscle. But they also realized that fighting the huge economic assets represented by the saloons was a war they could not win at the moment.

U. S. Deputy Marshal Tanner was also encouraged in his temporary harassment of the prostitutes by those who had once been some of the prostitutes' staunchest companions: the saloon owners. Once welcome additions and enhancements to the saloons, by the end of 1902, reform efforts had forced the prostitutes out of the saloons and into a red light district where business was run by madams. Increasingly, the saloon owners viewed the madams' sale of alcoholic beverages as business competition. And it appears that, the nature of their business being illegal, unregulated, and unlicensed as it was, none of the madams were applying for liquor licenses. Fantastic as it may seem, the saloon men feared that the madams could sell their liquor cheaper, conveniently forgetting that the liquor was not the reason that the men were going to the brothels in the first place.[64] The saloon men appeared to be unaware of the fact that the prostitutes usually charged twice what the saloons did for drinks.

In the weeks before the licenses were to be granted in 1901, the saloon owners got together and hired attorney Phil Abrahams to gather a "petition for the consent of the white male and female residents of the city of Skaguay over the age of 18, to the barter, sale and exchange of intoxicating liquors within said city." Perhaps they believed this method would be cheaper than holding a special election, which, with the new judge in Juneau, might not be the wisest method this time around. Abrahams canvassed house to house, and then swore that a majority of said residents within two miles of the places where the liquor would be sold consented to its barter, sale and exchange. The petition contained 812 names.[65] Because the city issued the licenses, someone in authority must have believed that 812 was a majority of the white adult residents of the town.

By the fall of 1901, the number of saloons in Skagway had fallen from a dozen to ten (Figure 15). The law and order folks in Skagway and those looking for more revenues, did find another way to harass the saloons. In November, the remaining saloons were fined $15 and costs each for "conducting a cigar business without a license."[66] It is curious that Troy made such a big point of this infraction. Thirty other businesses were fined during the November 1901 court session for operating a business without a license. Only the saloons' failures to obtain cigar licenses made news.[67]

Times were getting hard in Skagway, and $1,500 a year was a lot to pay, not to mention these little surprises that the law kept springing on them. There appears to have been about seven saloons in the town in 1902, and the population was getting smaller every year (Figure 16). Winter was always hard, but Skagwayans had learned to live with that. The saloons seemed to feel the economic pressure hardest in the spring, as fewer people came back to town than they anticipated. They could survive winter knowing that summer was their good time, but spring and fall were best of all, when the miners came through on their way to and from the interior. But the saloonkeepers found it wasn't just fewer people returning to their summer homes in Skagway; it was fewer men. Women and children were not allowed in the saloons and did not count as customers. So Skagway's waning population as a whole was a crashing population of male customers. The sales of drinks couldn't support $1,500 license fees for ten saloons. Something needed to be done.

Alaska's liquor license was based on the size of the entire town's population. If there were less than 1,500 inhabitants in a town, then the license could be dropped to $1,000 a year. John Troy was not happy when he heard that Bloom and Korach, owners of the Monogram Liquor House, intended to take a census to prove Skagway's population was less than 1,500 people. He hastened to point out that Juneau, as a result of its lower license fee, had an overabundance of saloons, drinks were only a bit instead of two bits, and a man could find a five-cent beer. It is presumed that this tactic was meant to strike fear in the hearts of the temperance people and saloon owners alike. He saved his best for last, however. He pointed out once again that a reduction in the license fee would reduce the school finances. All of this information came in the news story, not in his editorial. He saved his more reasoned remarks for the editorial column. There he called for a fair census. While he discouraged counting obvious transients, one

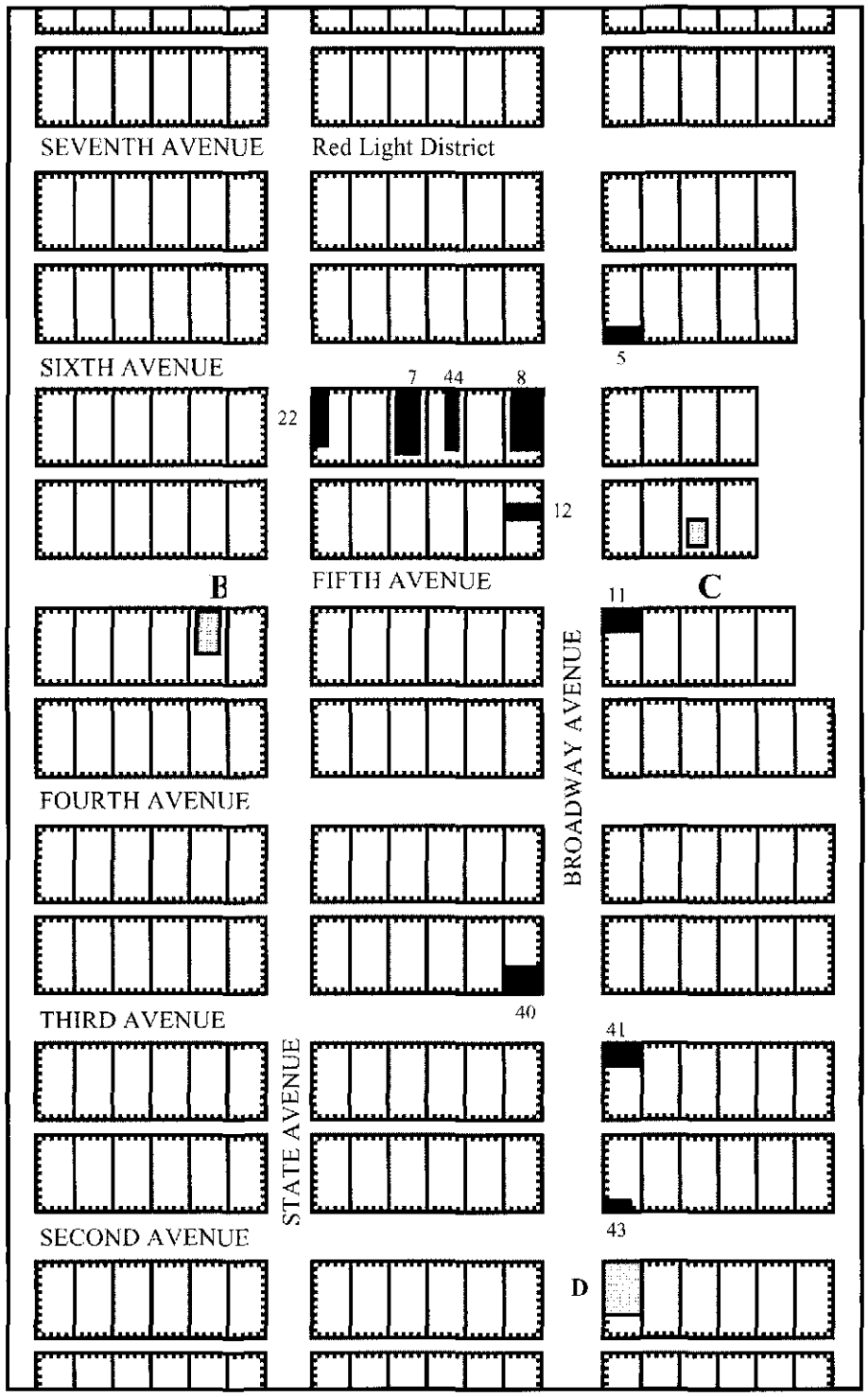


Figure 15. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1901: 5) The Commerce; 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 11) The First and Last Chance; 12) The Monogram; 22) The Seattle; 40) The Idaho; 41) The Mascot; 43) The Rainier; 44) The Louvre; B) The Presbyterian Church; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Directory and Gazetteer, 1902). The red light district has moved to Seventh Avenue.

should not "be an actual resident in order to be a part and parcel of a population."[68] In other words, even if a person only lived in the town for a few months a year, he or she should be counted. He wanted to make sure all of the residents were counted, even if they only lived in town during the summer.

Despite what Troy wanted, Judge Brown ordered the census to be taken and all people except Indians and transients on short-term business were to be counted (the Native Alaskans were forbidden the pleasures of alcohol entirely). With only those exceptions, the count was to be regardless of age, sex, color, race or nationality. He determined that the African-American soldiers of Company L stationed in Skagway must be included in the census.[69]

Judge Brown appointed Captain B. K. Hall, an attorney from Juneau, to conduct the census, expecting him to be neutral in the matter. It is obvious that neutrality was not at all to Troy's liking. On April 22, shortly after the appointment was made, but before the census had begun,

Troy's paper stated that if the present census showed there were fewer that 1,500 people in Skagway, then perhaps it wasn't a fair census. He had already made up his mind. If the census came in "unfairly wrong," then it would be "unjust" for the saloon owners to pay a smaller license fee. "But on the other hand, the fact that the population of Skagway had shrunk to so low ebb would be a matter of public misfortune. It would lessen the prestige of the community."[70] From this point on it was no longer a matter of mere economics for Troy. It was a matter that transcended the trifling affairs of temperance women or mere money concerns. This census had the potential to upset the prestige of Skagway, which he had long promoted as the biggest, the best, the most cultivated of all towns in Alaska.

When Captain Hall submitted his carefully alphabetized census, complete with addresses, to the chamber of commerce in late April, there were only 1,328 people on it. Troy went to work immediately checking to see if citizens he knew were on the list. He urged townspeople to do the same and to ensure that their out-of-town neighbors had been accounted for. He admitted that it was not fair to the saloonkeepers to make them pay the larger license if the population was not there. But, he pointed out, the revenues from the saloon licenses would go down, and an undercount could affect the "rating of the post office, the foreign advertising of the newspapers, the apportionment – in the event of a general federal appropriation – and the general prestige of the community."[71]

Under this kind of pressure, the chamber of commerce appointed the well-respected businessman Frank Bishoprick as a committee of one to "perfect the count." But Troy would not let go. In a news article he accused the chamber and the liquor men of indulging in "a regular love feast," and he once again urged the townspeople to go the chamber's offices and review the census for themselves to make sure they are on it.[72]

Almost daily updates on the count consistently showed numbers above 1,500 people in the town (just barely), but Mr. Bishoprick's final count came in at just under – a figure that Troy did not even report. On May 22, "several citizens" hired local attorney R. W. Jennings to represent them, examine the census, and possibly contest it. This he did, and in a series of articles that are hard to interpret because we have only one side of the story, Judge Brown was finally forced to make a decision. He admitted that the Hall census had been incomplete and very near to 1,500 people. He further admitted that those protesting the count claimed there were many more than 1,500. He did not believe it was within the authority of the court to order a new census, and therefore he was maintaining the licenses at $1,500. While Troy's headline crowed "Skagway Has More Than Fifteen Hundred," a careful reading of the reporter's language indicates that the judge never said that.[73]

Troy also used the census issue to swing the city election that took place just before the judge made his decision on June 22. In a five-column wide headline on election day, the *Daily Alaskan* proclaimed that the liquor license census was a fraud. A reporter had interviewed Robert W. Jennings, the attorney for those protesting the census, and he made a preliminary assessment that over 500 names of well-known and prominent people were left off the census collected by Hall. Hall had failed to file an amendment to the census, and *The Daily Alaskan* implied that both mayor Woodruff and the city council had been well aware of this failure. Jennings said he had used public documents, such as the petition signed by over 700 adults granting the previous year's liquor licenses, as a means of verification. Both *The Daily Alaskan* and Jennings claimed to be making proper allowance for people who had since left town. The newspaper estimated there were more than 2000 people in Skagway. In an editorial following this amazing story, Troy stated that the paper did not wish to hurt the saloon men. "But we cannot afford to lose the prestige so long enjoyed of being Alaska's first city, so long as we are in fact entitled to that distinction." He called upon the saloon men to petition Congress instead, for a general reduction in the "exceedingly burden-some high license."[74]

Until 1902, the saloon owners had had a friend or two – or even one of their own – on the city council, someone always to look out for their interests. The only friend left on the ballot in June 1902 was Frank Woodruff. He was the out-going mayor, and known to be associated with the saloon owners. Lee Guthrie, the owner of Skagway's largest saloon, the Board of Trade, had been a city councilman in 1900 and 1901, and had worked hard to keep Woodruff in office. This story appearing on election day hurt Woodruff's last chance to be re-elected, and he was soundly defeated. It turns out that Troy had had this information for some time before the election and had held onto it until the last moment. While an amendment had indeed not been submitted properly, it turned out not to hold enough names to make a difference in the total count.[75] Had the information been pub-

lished earlier, Woodruff would have had time to defend himself before the election. With the defeat of Frank Woodruff, the saloon owners in Skagway lost their last friend on the city council. Times just got harder for Skagway's saloons.

E. D. Morrison, a canvasser for R. L. Polk and Company, showed up that fall to collect data for the 1903 city directory. Given Troy's conviction that there were far more than 1,500 people in Skagway, it was curious that Morrison estimated there were 1,400 people in Skagway, exclusive of the 200 soldiers in Company L. He had been very thorough in his count, as he made note of the number of persons in each household in addition to taking the information on the head of household. He had allowed for about 25 percent missing names in Dawson. *The Daily Alaskan* put a positive spin on the announcement by proclaiming there should be about 1,800 inhabitants in Skagway, entirely missing the point that transience was very different in the two communities.[76] In fact, Mr. Morrison's 1,400 figure probably already included any "allowance" for missing persons, and the published directory used the 1,400 figure for the population for the town.

By the fall of 1902, there appear to have been only seven saloons left in Skagway (Figure 16). The high license and decreasing population was draining their resources faster than the saloonkeepers could bring in customers. Skagway's saloon owners instituted a custom that had long been practiced in large cities in the rest of the country, but that had not been necessary in the gold rush country: the free lunch. Starting in October, as the transients left town, all of the saloons engaged in a bitter warfare to see who could offer the swankiest free meal and still keep the price of their drinks high. More will be said about the free lunch later.

Not to be deterred and probably encouraged by Morrison's count, Jacob Bloom and Emil Korach (Monogram Liquor House) again tried for a census in May 1903. This time, they were joined in their petition to the city council by John L. Gage of the Pack Train, W. W. Boughton and Joseph Smith of the Idaho Liquor House, Cleve Hall of the Board of Trade, and Albert Reinert, owning what was now known as the "Mascot" Saloon.[77] Wisely not embroiling the courts or any "foreign" attorneys from Juneau, the city council appointed city magistrate Josiah M. Tanner to take the census. Tanner was a long time citizen of Skagway, having lived there since the very earliest days, and having served as U. S. Deputy Marshal for most of that time. Troy gave the census his qualified blessing, but only if it was "fair" in order to make the saloon men pay their "fair share" and so that the schools could retain their "fair share." Once again he warned, "The name of every resident in the city should be on the list."[78]

When Tanner finished his census on May 28, he could only come up with 1336 names. Troy made two efforts to rally people to add their names to the list, then abruptly gave up reporting anything more on the census.[79] He made only cursory mention of the annual censuses that were taken after this time.

In the meantime, the reformers fighting for a moral Alaska, seeing this victory, decided to attack on another front and did not waste any time. The first hint of the newest battle strategy came in mid-July, when 17 saloonkeepers in Juneau were brought before the grand jury for keeping their saloons open on Sunday. The jury, however, refused to convict Tony Kengyel, proprietor of the Comet Saloon, the first case to come before the court. With that failure, *The Daily Alaskan* predicted that only one or two more would be prosecuted.[80]

It must have been somewhat of a surprise, then, when District Attorney John Boyce brought a protest against the issuance of liquor licenses to those Skagway saloons who had, in the past, operated on Sunday.[81] Five saloons promptly closed their doors on Sunday: the Seattle, the Monogram, the Pantheon, the Mascot and the Last Chance.[82] It is possible the other three saloons – the Board of Trade, the Pack Train, and the Idaho – had not received their licenses for other reasons and were not open anyway. It is difficult to conceive that any of these latter three saloons ordinarily closed on Sundays. All three had reputations for boisterous and rowdy clientele, unlikely to regard the Sabbath any differently than any other day.

The same day all of this was happening in Skagway, the *Daily Alaskan* reported that the jury in Juneau acquitted another saloon owner for doing business on Sunday. The defense lawyer for Peter Carlson

> *admitted that the saloon was open and doing business on Sunday and claimed their right to conduct the business under the necessity clause of the law. It was shown by witnesses that laborers on the wharf and elsewhere were unable to secure stimulants without patronizing saloons, and that it was necessary for them to have their drinks during the working hours in the cold and rain.*[83]

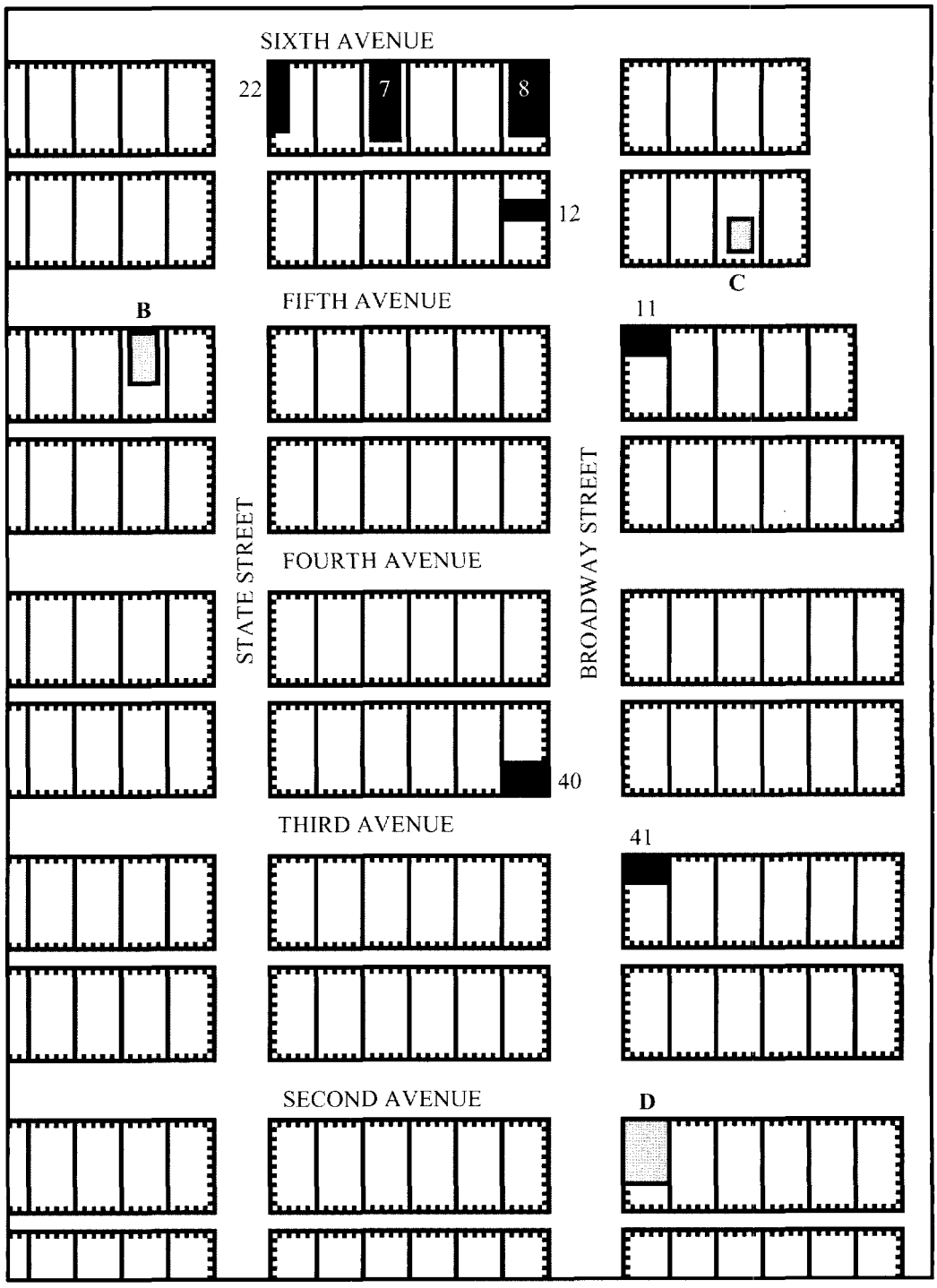


Figure 16. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1902: 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 11) The Last Chance; 12) The Monogram; 22) The Seattle; 40) The Idaho; 41) The Mascot; B) The Presbyterian Church; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Polk, Business Directory, 1903).

The jury was out for only 15 minutes before exonerating the proprietor of any misdeed. Three weeks later, the Juneau court granted licenses to all Juneau and Douglas saloon men but two. These latter were rejected on account of the employment of women. *The Daily Alaskan* reported that it was the general belief that all Skagway licenses would be granted.[84] It was clear that juries were refusing to sustain the Sunday closings in Juneau, so the District Attorney tried another tactic: accuse the most iniquitous saloons of employing women, and take their licenses away in that manner.

Meantime, back in Skagway, District Judge Brown indicated that all applicants for liquor licenses would have to present their defense against the accusations of the district attorney. Less than a week later, after they all promised to close their doors on Sunday from 9:00 a. m. until 6:00 p. m., the judge agreed to grant the licenses to all but three saloon men. On August 20, five saloons received their liquor licenses: the Board of Trade, the Idaho, the Monogram, the Pantheon, and the Last Chance. They had agreed to close on Sundays, "and not to allow women about the premises."[85] No mention was made of the Seattle, Pack Train, or Mascot saloons.

It seems the Pack Train had already obtained its license for 1903 back in May, when John L. Gage and Company had undergone an internal shift in ownership.[86]

The Seattle Saloon was closed the entire month of August 1903 as owner Herman Grimm moved his business from the southeast corner of Sixth and State to his former location at the northwest corner of the same intersection. Fred Ronkendorf, the owner of the building on the southeast corner, once known as the Red Onion Saloon, was at the same time preparing to lease his building to the proprietor of the new Totem Saloon. It is difficult to tell whether this was Grimm's idea or that of Ronkendorf. It is obvious Grimm decided to take advantage of the general lull in business caused by none of the saloons having licenses, to spruce up his old digs by adding an ice house, boiler and toilet. He also put a big electric sign on the front, flipping the switch on September 3, when he reopened in his new (and at one time, former) location. It is probable that Grimm did not apply for his license until he was ready to reopen, thus shaving a good percentage of the yearly fee.[87]

But what held up the licensing of the Mascot Saloon? It is possible that it was the provision that no women be allowed in the saloon that caused Albert Reinert some difficulty. A sign indicating the location of the "Mascot Family Entrance" to the rear of the saloon can be seen in a photograph as early as October 28, 1901.[88] Reinert may have had some difficulty with the court in losing his "family" business, or liquor sales to women for home consumption. It would not be for another year before he could remodel and enlarge his space enough to accommodate an entirely separate area where men and women were not allowed to mix in the saloon. Wrangling and negotiating over how to handle what the German-born Reinert must have felt was legitimate family business may well have delayed the issuance of his license. In later years, Reinert continued to advertise to his "family" trade, installing a telephone so that women could call and ask for home delivery. This matter will be discussed in greater detail later.

Despite all of these troubles, the number of saloons actually increased in Skagway during 1903 to nine. The Totem Saloon cut its ribbon in the location of the old Red Onion *cum* Senate *cum* Seattle Saloon at the southeast corner of Sixth and State avenues. J. F. Anderson, the proprietor of the Hot Scotch Saloon during the summer and fall of 1898, before the high license, purchased the Brownwell Hardware Store at the southwest corner of Fourth and Broadway, and opened the Pantheon Saloon.[89] The opening of these two saloons suggests that the town's population had finally and indisputably fallen below 1500 people. The lower $1,000 license fee opened up opportunities that hadn't been available to these proprietors before (Figure 17). The only thing that is curious about this rather momentous event in the history of Skagway's saloons is *The Daily Alaskan's* complete refusal to cover either the petition, election, or results.

For reasons that have not yet been determined, the saloons seem to have given up on their free lunch war in the spring of 1904. While infrequent free lunches were mentioned after that time, especially during special occasions, such as at Christmas time or for a proprietor's birthday celebration or grand opening, the daily free lunch seemed to disappear from the advertisements in *The Daily Alaskan* pages – at least for a while. It is likely that the lower license fees made higher profits and the free lunches were no longer necessary to draw in the customers.

In June 1904 it was time to take another census of Skagway and circulate another petition to see if the liquor licenses should be granted for the coming year. This time the city council appointed city jailer J. J. Burns to the task. It apparently went without a hitch or complaint from *The Daily Alaskan*, who had by now resigned itself to the fact that there were fewer than 1,500 people in Skagway. No results are announced in the newspaper. The 1905 business directory, the data for which had been gathered in the fall of 1904, stated that the town had a population of 1,085 people.[90] Troy had finally realized there was no chance he could pump up the number from that low, even with the addition of the businessmen who lived in town only during the summer months.

It is hard to tell how Skagway's moral reformers and saloonkeepers felt about the news that arrived in November 1904. Shortly after his election, President Theodore Roosevelt decided not to reappoint Judge Melville C. Brown to the bench in the first judicial district of Alaska. According to the *Daily Alaskan*, the news was greeted with jubilation in Juneau and Douglas. "Two brass bands were brought out in full uniform ... to give a combined concert first in one town and then in the other, and ... more fireworks were burned than were consumed on the last Fourth of July." The assistant attorney general of the United States, W. A. Day, who had investigated numerous complaints about Judge Brown the previous summer, affirmed that the unspecified charges had proven without merit. He added, however, "the majority of the people

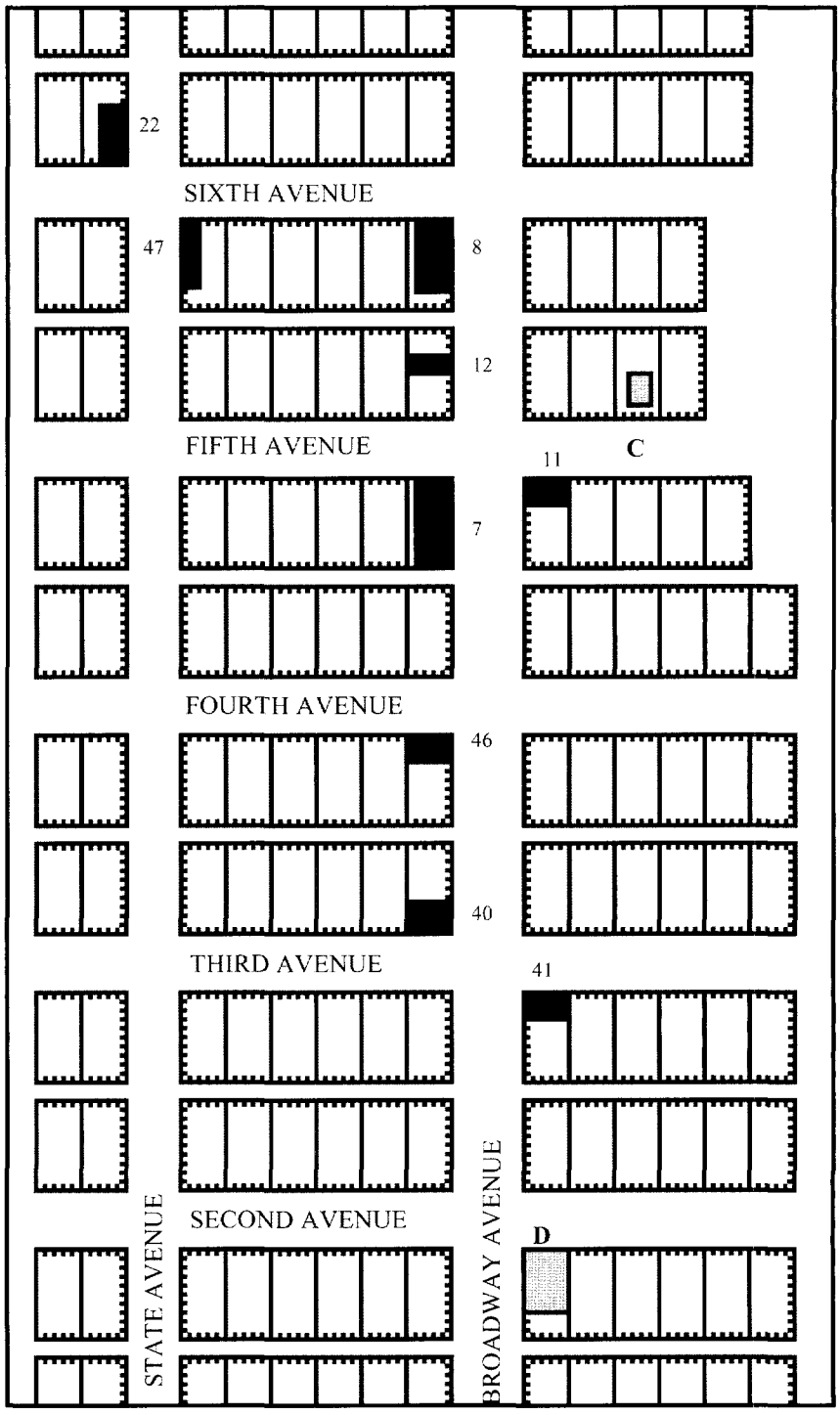


Figure 17. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1903: 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 11) The Last Chance; 12) The Monogram; 22) The Seattle; 40) The Idaho; 41) The Mascot; 46) The Pantheon; 47) The Totem; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Polk, Business Directory, 1903).

of Southeastern Alaska are so suspicious of the court that there is not the confidence in it which (sic) the general welfare of the country demands the people should repose in the judiciary."[91] The saloon men had found him to be a hard prosecutor. But the reformers were probably often disappointed that he did not take a harder stance against gambling, prostitution and the evil saloons. Either way, the judge had received plenty of complaints.

Judge Royal A. Gunnison took his oath of office as United States First District Judge on January 2, 1905. The young bankruptcy lawyer and Cornell law instructor from Binghamton, New York had a tough judicial district to oversee. *The Daily Alaskan* quoted Juneau's *Alaskan Dispatch*, which stated "Judge Gunnison has already won the admiration of the federal court spectators by the unassuming manner in which he is carrying on his official duties. With the strife and discord existing among the attorneys it was no easy task to take the reins." The absence of direct commentary on his appointment by *The Daily Alaskan* indicated that John Troy was reserving judgment for the time being.[92]

As Gunnison arrived in Alaska, Troy brought a new issue to his readership. On January 4, 1905, the Skagway Chamber of Commerce met and resolved to renew a request to remove the wholesale liquor tax in Alaska. They maintained that, at $2000 a year, no wholesaler could compete with the people in Seattle who did not have to pay this tax. The Chamber of Commerce directed their secretary "to present the matter to the congress."[93] Troy concurred wholeheartedly. He ranted that paying $2000 a year kept Alaskans from setting up businesses in Skagway, Juneau, "and probably other towns in Alaska." At the same time, it favored Seattle and other U.S. wholesale businesses who have free access to the Alaska market. "It does not concern the ethics of the liquor traffic. It does not operate to restrict the sale or use of intoxicating beverages. It simply gives business to those residing outside Alaska. The tax is obnoxious alike to prohibi - tionists and those who oppose sumptuary legislation."[94]

John Troy sold *The Daily Alaskan* to Dr. Louis S. Keller in early 1907. Keller came to Skagway in January 1898 from Pocatello, Idaho, where he had had a dentistry practice. The manuscript census of 1900 and the several city directories prior to 1907 all indicate that Keller was a dentist in Skagway. At least at first, it is unlikely that Keller was actively involved in the editing of the newspaper, although he probably had veto power over the content of editorials. A. R. O'Brien, who had been the newspaper's editor, left to work for the *Juneau Record* in December 1907. *The Daily Alaskan* touted his replacement, Samuel Wall, as "probably the most able newspaper man of Alaska."[95] He was still running the newspaper when its last issue was published on July 31, 1924.

The editorial change was readily apparent, regardless of who was actually penning the editorials and deciding what was news and what was not. Criticism of prohibitionists and other reformers was less biting, and the stories become bland in comparison to the Troy era. Wall obviously disliked the current governor, Wilford B. Hoggatt, so that political issues rather than social issues – especially those dealing with home rule and territorial status for Alaska – continued to be a dominant theme in the editorials. But his obsession with this single issue made tiresome reading. As time went on, *The Daily Alaskan* increasingly eschewed reporting any but the most newsworthy stories of local vice, even to the point of not mentioning arrests of prostitutes, a sure-fire story full of humorous details during Troy's administration.

Wall, like Troy, did continue to harp on the unfair burden placed on local wholesalers by the $2,000 license as late as February 1908, but little happened on that front. Then Governor Hoggatt convinced Congress to consider a new liquor bill for Alaska, which would set a flat $1,000 yearly fee for all liquor licenses. The only exceptions would be to those saloons that allowed gambling or women on the premises. As part of an almost continual barrage of complaints against Hoggatt, *The Daily Alaskan* found fault with this proposal. Unlike Troy, who had argued for higher licenses to help the schools, Wall took the part of the small roadhouse owners who only paid $500 because of the low populations within two miles of their locations. The new law would double their license fees and drive them out of business.[96] The argument appeared to be simply a matter of finding fault with anything Hoggatt favored.

But Sam Wall was not entirely happy with the old law, either. In February 1908, *The Daily Alaskan* complained that the old high license law made the saloon men pay for the census, and they always managed somehow to make the population appear too low.[97] In June 1909, the chief of police circulated an annual petition for the granting of saloon licenses, receiving the signatures of 563 men and women over the age of 21. Wall used this statistic to generate his own idea of the town's population. "At the usual accepted ratio of adults to minors in a community this would give Skagway a population of close to 1,200."[98] Actually, according to the federal census taken just a year later, Skagway only had 870 people, 804 of whom were white, and 604 of whom were 18 years of age or older. Of these latter, 386 (64%) were men.[99] Skagway still had a disproportionately high male to female – and therefore male to child – ratio in 1910, so it was improper for *The Daily Alaskan* to use "the usual accepted ratio of adults to minors in a community."

And while the population of its men continued to fall, the number of its saloons fell also. By the fall of 1906, the Totem, the Last Chance, and the Idaho saloons had failed. Albert Reinert had acquired the Idaho Saloon and renamed it the Horseshoe (Figure 18). The Board of Trade and the Pack Train had moved away from their old Sixth Avenue addresses, closer to the south end of town. The downtown was coalescing further south, and the saloons were still struggling.

By the fall of 1908, only six saloons remained (Figure 19). Herman Grimm, long-time owner of the Seattle Saloon, the most respectable gentlemen's saloon in town, had abandoned his

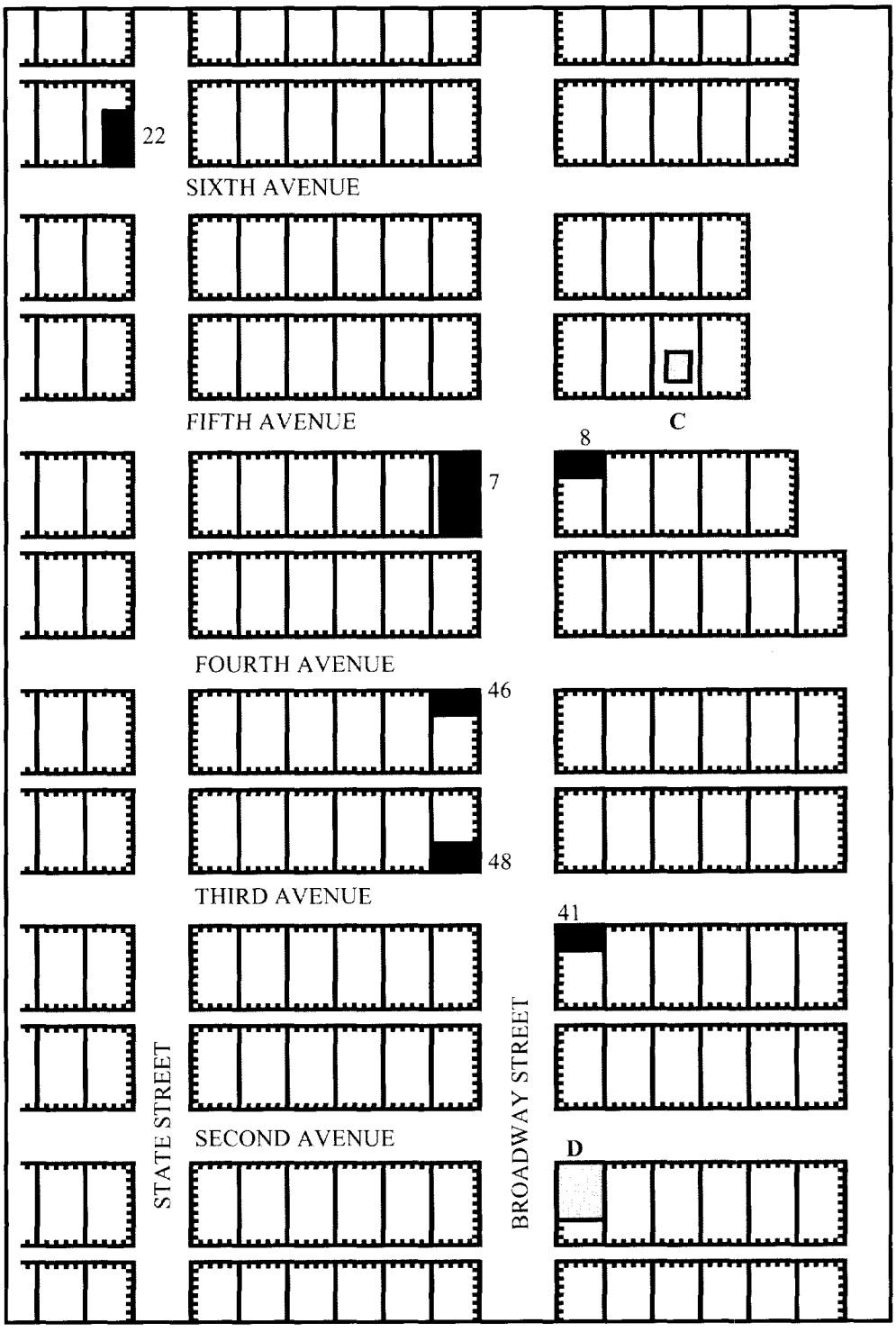


Figure 18. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1906: 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 22) The Seattle; 41) The Mascot; 46) The Pantheon; 48) The Horse Shoe; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Polk, Business Directory, 1907-8).

once lucrative location at Sixth and State and purchased the old Last Chance Saloon. The previous owners had renamed it The Pack Train, in honor of one of Skagway's first saloons. Herman decided to keep the venerable name. Only the Trail Saloon was new to town, and it had other attractions besides just a bar to sustain it. The Trail Hotel featured a saloon as an additional amusement, not a centerpiece to its business.

The 1908 Alaska Code of Law, when finally passed, removed the option of a census for the granting of liquor licenses and mandated a yearly election. For the next seven years, Skagway voted for local option. Sometime during those seven years, the Monogram Liquor House closed its doors for the last time.

And Herman Grimm's Pack Train Saloon, now occupying the location of the Last Chance Saloon, became one of the last saloons on the north end of town instead of the last one on the south end of town. After 1908, it was only a few short years before the W. C. T. U. would close the five remaining saloons in Skagway and the saloon era would be gone forever.

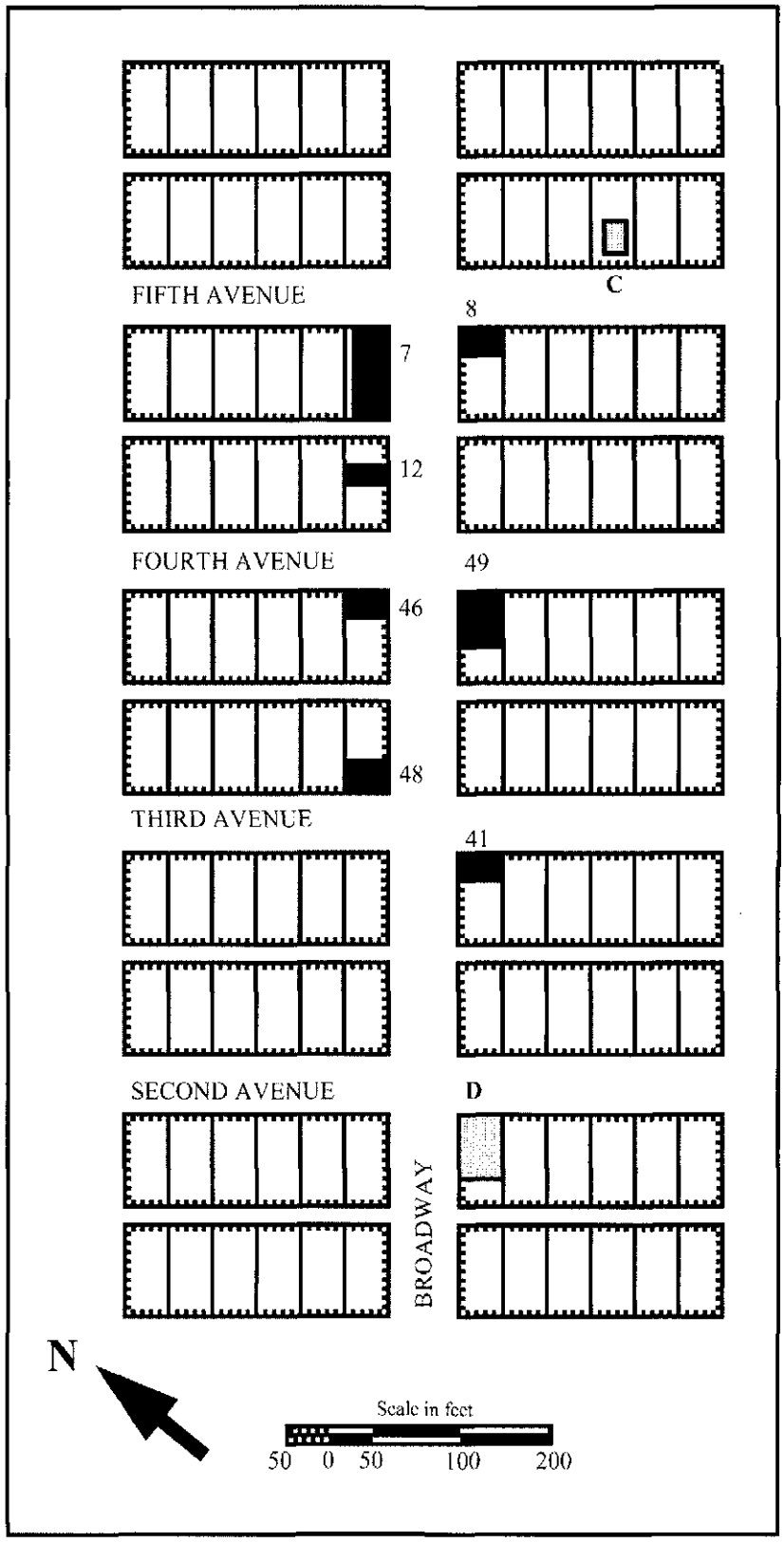


Figure 19. Map of the Skagway Saloons in the Fall of 1908: 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 12) the Monogram; 41) The Mascot; 46) The Pantheon; 49) The Trail; 48) The Horse Shoe; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Polk, Business Directory, 1909-10).

Clearly, Skagway's declining saloon population mirrored her declining population (Figure 20). After the swan dive caused by high license in 1899, Skagway's 96 saloons in January 1899 fell to 16 that August. By 1902, only seven saloons remained to pay the $1,500 high license. When the town's saloon keepers could prove to everyone's satisfaction that the population had fallen well below 1500 and was going to stay there, the license was finally lowered to $1,000 a year, allowing two new saloons to open in 1903. They didn't last long. By 1906, Skagway was down to the six saloons she could sustain until Prohibition closed down the saloon culture for good.

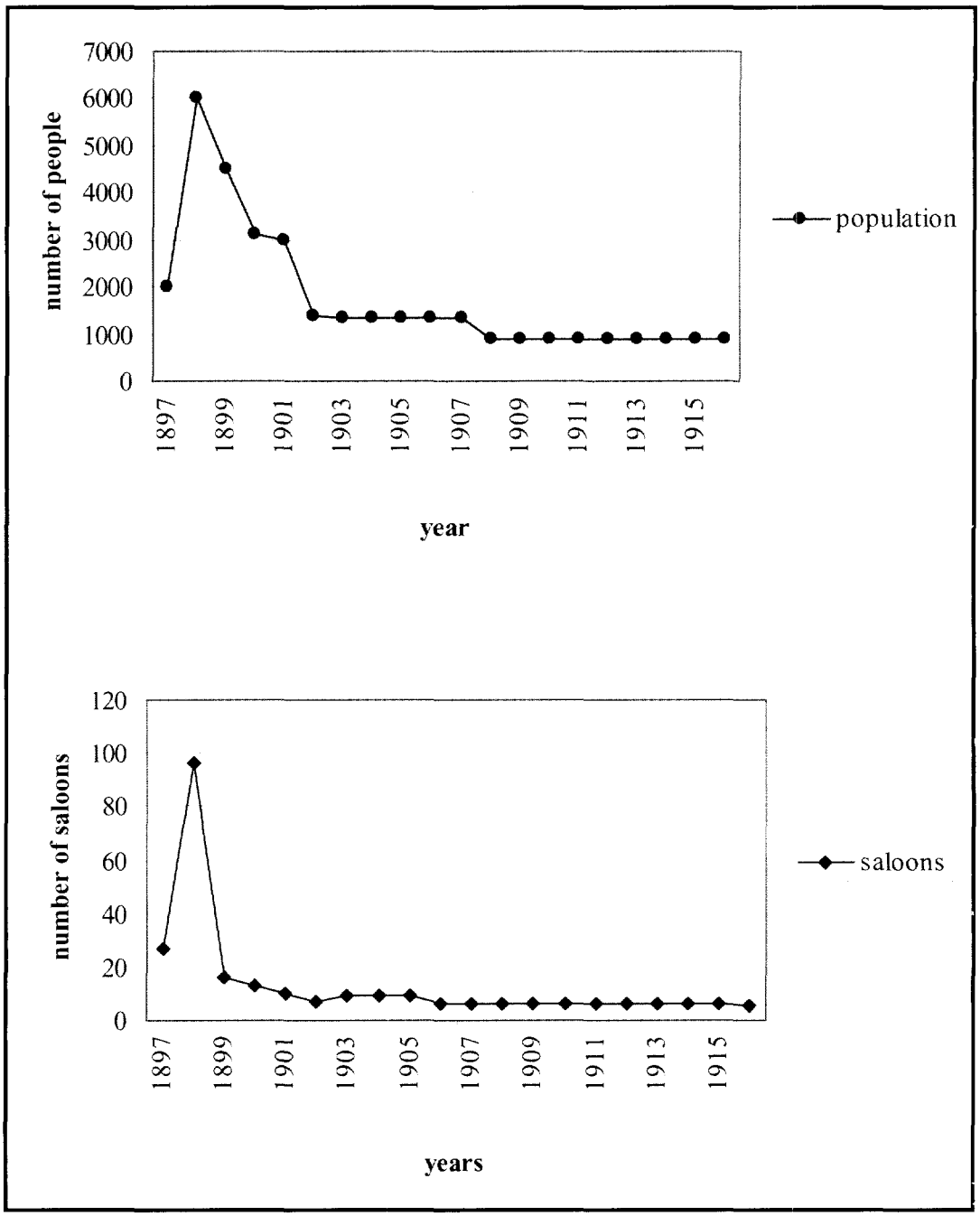


Figure 20. Line graphs of change in population and number in saloons between 1897 and 1916.

Temperance Movements in Skagway

Understanding the demise of the saloon in Skagway – indeed in the country as a whole, as represented in Skagway – is best understood through the history of its temperance organization, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W. C. T. U.). The national W. C. T. U. was formed in 1874 by Frances Willard and consisted of a nation -wide system of local women's clubs organized around a broad spectrum of issues. Only one of the issues dealt with the perceived evils of the saloon. Women who joined the W. C. T. U. concerned themselves with such matters as universal access to education, women's rights, suffrage, labor reform, school programs, prostitution and pornography reform, and birth control. It was through these clubs that many women had their first experience with political action of any kind.[100]

The first mention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Skagway's newspapers appeared on April 15, 1900, when *The Daily Alaskan* announced that "The W. T. C. U. met Friday afternoon at the home of Mrs. Leslie Butler, and planned for an open meeting next Thursday afternoon at the Baptist Church to discuss the subject 'Purity.' Mrs. V. Teeley (sic) will lead."[101] The organization had been formed on March 26,and apparently was getting off to a good start.[102] On May 22, Skagway's chapter of the organization hosted "The first evangelical institute of the W. C. T. U. in Alaska." The "institute" was like a convention, with meetings

and lectures every afternoon and evening for the entire week. The president of the Alaska organization was Mrs. Sarah E. Shorthill, who had been a member of the W. C. T. U. for 18 years.[103]

Sarah E. and Thomas A. Shorthill had come to Skagway in the fall of 1897, when they were both in their fifties. They were accompanied by their grown son William, daughter Elizabeth and her husband Lloyd Harrison. By 1899, the two women had gone into business together and opened the Ladies Bazaar at 404 Broadway. They shared space with the Skagway News Company, a news and stationery shop operated by Thomas Shorthill. The family of five lived together in the rooms over the store.[104]

It did not take long for the W. C. T. U., under the leadership of Sarah Shorthill, to begin pushing for reform in Skagway. On September 22, 1900, barely six months after the organization had been formed, it filed a protest against the issuance of licenses to the Reception, Senate, Seattle and Fifth Avenue saloons.[105]

As already described above, the W. C. T. U. appears to have partially won this round, despite the ranting of the editor of *The Daily Alaskan*. The courts upheld the protest in one of the four cases, and the Reception Saloon was put out of business entirely. But it is likely that the women came out of the fight feeling battered and bruised rather than triumphant, due to the beating they received at the pen of John Troy.

Sarah Haarsanger, who has written about women's organizations in the Pacific Northwest at the turn of the century, points out that many of the women who worked for the W. C. T. U. found it difficult to deal with the ridicule and denigration that they often drew upon themselves. While they could readily dismiss the jibes of saloonkeepers, it was more difficult to face censure from "respectable" businessmen, whom they wished to enlist in their cause.[106] Troy's attacks probably took them entirely by surprise, at least for women new to the organization.

The W. C. T. U. continued to meet regularly throughout the next few months, either in the Baptist Church at Main and Fourth Avenue or at the home of one of the women members. Little political action seems to have taken place, at least as overtly as with the saloon protest. The women may have chosen to act individually rather than as a group, or through their husbands. It was almost as if they retreated to the safety of their own kind to let their bruises heal. Most of the meetings included lecturers like Reverend Covington, who spoke on the subject of "Mrs. Nation's Crusade," or Mrs. Melville C. Brown, wife of the federal district judge who "explained the great work for good they could do if they only realized their power."[107]

It is probable that the women of the W. C. T. U. were involved in getting prostitutes districted on Seventh Avenue in April 1901, although they were only identified as "the temperance people." The issue at stake primarily involved moving the Japanese prostitutes away from their brothel on the alley between Fifth and Sixth avenues on the west side of State. The Union Church at Fifth and State was used as a schoolhouse and children daily passed the prostitutes on their way to school. Although the Japanese were the easiest targets, the reform-minded people of Skagway wanted to move all prostitutes out of the central business district. In arguing against the move, city councilman and landlord Frank Keelar stated that "Women's opinions are not much good" and "the moral wave of a year ago was started by a woman whose husband supports her with rents derived from property occupied by these people."[108] This woman may have been Mrs. James D. Stinebaugh, whose barber husband owned at least one property in the red light district. Mrs. Stinebaugh was very active in the W. C. T. U. both during this period and during its later resurrection.

Then, rather abruptly in late August 1901, the W. C. T. U., which had hosted all of the noted Protestant speakers that had come to town in the past year or so, suddenly stopped doing so. A famous evangelist, Rev. Dr. French Earl Oliver, came to town and spoke without the W. C. T. U. sponsorship.[109] The last mention of the W. C. T. U. was shortly before his appearance. The organization did not collapse because Sarah Shorthill left town. She did not do so until more than a year and a half later. When that happened, the newspaper simply announced that the Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Church had given a going -away party for Mrs. T. A. Shorthill, saying she had been a Sunday school teacher for the church. There was no mention of her activities with the W. C. T. U.[110] It was almost as if the community was embarrassed about their involvement with the organization. Perhaps she had resigned from the local chapter of the W. C. T. U. in August 1901 and it collapsed without her leadership.

Sarah Shorthill did not give up on the W. C. T. U. In fact, upon leaving Skagway, she kept up leadership of the district organization and ultimately took credit for the passage of the Alaska "Bone Dry Law." Alaska's dramatically

drier version of the national prohibition law, enacted 18 months before the Eighteenth Amendment went into affect on July 1, 1919, was largely due to Sarah's decades of work with temperance. When Governor J. F. A. Strong signed the bill, he gave one of the two pens he used to Sarah Shorthill.[111]

But the going was tough in 1901. When Sarah left off her activities in Skagway in September 1901, a number of other women's clubs were started, most of which were social rather than political in nature. Perhaps the women in Skagway were just not ready for Sarah Shorthill and her brand of feminist reform. The wives and mothers of Skagway apparently had a lot of catching up to do with this energetic business woman and 20 year leader of the W. C. T. U.

Sarah Shorthill was not the only mover behind Skagway's reform movement. She was aided by her husband, who was not afraid to put pen to paper and make his opinions known. He did so in October 1902, after federal district Judge Brown opened the grand jury in Skagway. In the judge's opening remarks, he charged the jurors with enforcing the gambling, Sunday closing and prostitution laws of Alaska. He hinted that Alaska would never have home rule as long as those laws were flaunted and the perpetrators not brought to justice. He especially pointed a finger at businessmen – presumably those on the grand jury – who would fail to bring an indictment for fear of losing business.[112] Thomas Shorthill wrote a letter to the editor commenting on Judge Brown's charge to the grand jury. He pointed out that "saloonism, gambling and harlotry" were common not only in Alaska, but also in all American cities. He shook a literary finger at the clergymen who were afraid to expose this vice "for fear some pot-bellied pew holder will fail to drop a nickel in the corn popper." He further suggested that a territorial government – so sought after by *The Daily Alaskan* – would make no difference in the way morality laws are enforced.[113]

Predictably, editor John Troy took issue with Shorthill's letter. While he knew better than to comment of the morality issue, he went on at some length about the rights of Americans to self-government and the setting of their own laws.[114]

Besides being the newspaper owner and thus having considerable access to the citizens in the community, Troy had another source of political power: his yearly reappointment to the nominating committee for city council. Skagway's outgoing city council named the nominating committee for the coming year, who would then generate a "ticket" of seven names, exactly the number of positions that needed to be filled. This tactic insured that friends of the existing city council were nominated each year. If any group in the community objected to the council's ticket, they were free to submit another "ticket," which would run as the opposition party. Troy never used the terms Republican or Democrat in reference to these parties. They were usually named something like the "Citizen's Ticket" or the "Taxpayers' Ticket." It was often unclear whether these names were adopted by the people who ran on the ticket, or were some name dreamed up by Troy in reporting the stories. Needless to say, the opposition ticket rarely got much press unless it was negative, or unless it paid the newspaper to print an advertisement to make its platform known.[115]

In reading Troy's editorials, it is obvious he had little patience with the W. C. T. U. or other reform-minded citizens in the community. He berated the "temperance people" for delaying the building of the new school in September 1900 when the W. C. T. U. brought a protest against four saloons for operating within 400 feet of the Union Church.[116]

It was also during Troy's leadership at the helm that *The Daily Alaskan* often lampooned Carrie Nation and other well-known prohibitionists of the time. The famous Mrs. Nation carried her ax into saloons, mostly in Kansas, smashing liquor stock, backbar mirrors and glass cabinets with equal abandon, crying out her anti-drink message as she was marched off to jail. Between February 1 and November 17, 1901, *The Daily Alaskan* included 30 stories that mentioned Mrs. Nation, only three of which carried unbiased news reporting with no denigrating comments. Most of the "stories" consisted of one- or two-sentence editorial quips poking fun at her. Examples include the following. "Yes, kind reader. Carrynation and damnation are somewhat related."[117] "There are few women besides Mrs. Nation who have a well-founded antipathy to mirrors, but they reflect that 'beauty is only skin deep,' and don't smash."[118] "For a woman who doesn't drink a drop, Mrs. Nation spends a great deal of her time behind the bars."[119] In contrast, only four stories – all straightforward and unbiased – concerning Carrie Nation appeared during the period of April 1, 1907 to April 1, 1909, after Troy left Skagway.

That Troy's opinion of Mrs. Nation wasn't universal in Skagway was apparent when Reverend Covington spoke on "Mrs. Nation's Crusade" at the first year anniversary of the W.

C. T. U. in Skagway. He began his talk "by indulging in a little pleasantry at the supposed expense of the editor of *The Daily Alaskan*." He took the attitude that the end justified the means. The reporter made the church people seem ridiculous by his discussion of a window continually opening and interrupting the speakers while the janitor closed it again, implying that even the Almighty didn't approve of the discussion.[120] But the opinions of many people in the community could be better gauged by the results of a debate sponsored by the Y. M. C. A. Debating Society on April 8, 1901. With a margin of 31 to 29, the society voted in favor of Mrs. Nation's aggressive, saloon-smashing tactics.[121]

The point is that the W. C. T. U. abruptly quit its activities in Skagway, and it is suspected that a good part of the reason has to do with the pointed criticism of John Troy. Feeling ridiculed rather than triumphant in shutting down one saloon at the expense of delaying the building of the school for a year, then only succeeding at closing down the Japanese cribs (instead of all the prostitutes) and moving them away one street, the women hardly felt they had been successful in their early efforts. At the same time, the national organization was waning with the death of founder Frances Willard in 1898. Perhaps the W. C. T. U. had simply taken on too many causes, and according to Haarsanger, had lost its focus. [122] Any reform that promoted the spiritual uplifting of the family was fair game to the W. C. T. U., and in Skagway it had taken on saloons, gambling and prostitutes. These were sacrosanct institutions to the still largely male population and "the temperance people" could not convince even such stalwart businessmen as John Troy that their causes were worthy. Sarah Shorthill probably had the thick skin it took to weather the attacks of the likes of John Troy, and she appears to have had the support of her husband. But the other women of Skagway were probably too inexperienced in political action and found his ridicule difficult to bear.

After August 1901, some of the work of the W. C. T. U. appears to have been taken over by the Christian Endeavor Society.[123] It was founded in the 1880's, was international in scope, and was focused on providing a healthful and Christian social environment for young people. Programs and projects undertaken by the society were oriented towards influencing the school curriculum and providing for spiritually uplifting recreational opportunities for children. It also appears to have been open to both men and women as members, unlike the W. C. T. U., who encouraged female participation often to the exclusion of men. As reform slowly gained a foothold in the community, it appears to have occurred only through the active participation of businessmen, rather than from what was viewed as strictly a woman's movement, like that represented by the W. C. T. U.

Although the W. C. T. U. was the primary agency of temperance reform in Skagway, not all can be attributed to that organization. When F. C. "Tuck" Flaharty and Fred Patten opened the Board of Trade Saloon at the corner of Fifth and Broadway in October 1907, a protest was filed with First District Judge Royal Gunnison in Juneau. The front door of the saloon was within four hundred feet of St. Mark's Catholic Church in the middle of Fifth Avenue east of Broadway. Flaharty and Patten did not get their liquor license until they closed their Fifth Avenue entrance and opened a new door on the alley. They sponsored a limerick contest celebrating the event and renamed the alley "Limerick Alley."[124]

It appears there was no further activity by the W. C. T. U. in Skagway until September 1908, when a Ketchikan resident by the name of Mrs. Conner helped to organize a new branch at Skagway. Grace Zinkan was elected president and Anna Stinebaugh, the barber's wife, was elected the secretary. About 30 members were enrolled.[125] Regular announcements of the meetings followed in the newspaper, indicating that the organization met on the first Friday of each month and sometimes more often if special events were planned. Samuel Wall was obviously far more supportive of the W. C. T. U.'s efforts in the community than John Troy had been, never saying anything negative about them.

Grace Zinkan was married to Gleason V. Zinkan, who was in charge of Canadian Customs and an agent for the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. The couple may have come from South Hampton, Ontario, where Mr. Zinkan's parents lived.[126]

At first, prominent Skagway lawyer Phil Abrahams donated a building on Fifth Avenue between Broadway and State for the use of the organization, so they no longer needed to meet in the homes of members. Then, in February 1909 they met at Mrs. Zinkan's residence. [127] By June, they were meeting at the Peniel Mission, the home of a group of non-denominational evangelists.[128]

At the same time as its rebirth in Skagway, the W. C. T. U. spawned a Loyal Temperance Legion, the juvenile branch of the organization. The

latter often met immediately following the W. C. T. U., implying that the leadership of the junior league was actively involved in the adult organization.[129] In one newspaper article, the Loyal Temperance Union was actually called a "branch of the W. C. T. U." While the former organization planned a Halloween party for its members in October 1908, however, the W. C. T. U. was actively involved in preparing for an election night party and setting up a system for reporting the election results. The leadership was different for the two organizations – a Mrs. Williams headed up the Loyal Temperance League – and there were 22 members.[130]

The motto of the reincarnated W. T. C. U. in Skagway was "'For God and Home and Native Land.' Their work is to look up and lift up; to lift up the morals and eradicate sin in all its forms, not by force or antagonism, but by loving, prayerful, and by peaceful methods, by educating public sentiment to a higher moral standard." Speakers at a St. Patrick's Day celebration in 1909 promoted the sentiment that women were charged with being religious and moral. Women were to create a "pure and wholesome atmosphere sweet and lasting as the incense of the rose and that the children and youth of Skagway reared under its influence may go out into the world morally equipped to fight the battles of life and take their places among the men and women of worth in this great land of ours." There was no mention of an anti-drinking message.[131]

The works of the W. C. T. U. during this period seemed to eschew the saloons. They worked towards betterment of the community by "tearing down of unsightly shacks, improvement of sanitary conditions, betterment of school grounds, and the erection of a public drinking fountain."[132] The drinking fountain, it turned out, was for horses and dogs.[133] As was typical of women's organizations at the time, they opened a general reading room to encourage literacy in the community.[134] They assisted the Grand Army of the Republic in conducting ceremonies and a general cleanup of the cemetery on Memorial Day.[135] The moral cleansing of the Skagway soul could, apparently, only take place after a good, thorough physical cleansing.

In June 1909, the W. C. T. U. branched out into town promotion and tourism when they "obtained the use of the Kirmse building on lower Broadway and are fitting up a rest room where tourists may rest and receive information regarding Skagway and Alaska in general. The W. C. T. U. has always stood for progress and will do its share in advertising the home town."[136] These "rest rooms" later served as a location for their meetings.[137] As befitted good housewives, the women of the W. C. T. U. served as the community's gracious hostesses.

Social gatherings and lectures on uplifting topics still formed the core of the W. C. T. U.'s activities. Besides the party at the Elk's Hall on election night 1908 and the St. Patrick's Day celebration in 1909, they held a "watch meeting" on New Year's Eve, with "songs, informal talks and games."[138] Lecturers included local ministers; Mrs. Conners, the founder from Ketchikan and representative of Alaska to the national organization; and other local notables.[139] Three guest speakers visited in July 1909. Mrs. A. M. Hill, president of the Toronto Council of Women, spoke on the International Council of Women. Mrs. Maude Muff, president of the British Women's Temperance Association, spoke on temperance work in England. Miss Williams, president of the Girls Friendly Society of Wales, and sister of the Bishop of Bangor, Wales "spoke along the lines of the 'White Slave' traffic, discussing protected immigration for women and girls from the standpoint of the mother- land."[140] A week later, Mrs. J. Haines, State Superintendent of Christian Citizenship of Kansas, gave a talk to the W. C. T. U.[141]

It is clear that the W. C. T. U., in its rebirth in Skagway, tried to tone down its feminist stance. Instead of being led by the female owner of a business, the reincarnation adopted a respectable housewife for its president. Although still primarily female in membership, they actively involved businessmen in their projects, enlisting them to give lectures and donate space for their projects. And they apparently knew better than to take on the issue of prohibition, at least at first. Instead, they scrubbed and cleaned the town just as they did their homes. Apparently they took the advice of the president of the Georgia organization in a speech to the state of Illinois W. T. C. U. "You must not sit across the table from your husband and say to him 'Honey you must do this,' but instead you should sit on his lap and say to him, 'Honey, won't you do this for me?' Husbands are human, and can be won to a good many things that you would not ordinarily think." This plea was directed towards getting husbands to vote for moral reforms, rather than getting them to stop drinking, as she also stated "When the fight was started for temperance, we women just began to pray ...for men – real men – who would not be afraid to stand up for the truth."[142]

The W. C. T. U. then began to renew its attack on the saloons. When Tuck Flaharty once again moved the Board of Trade Saloon in March 1914,

this time to the Trail Hotel building at Fourth and Broadway, they protested the issuance of a liquor license. In a crowded court room, Tuck's character was put on trial. After testimony by such notables as the Catholic priest Father Philibert S. Turnell, U. S. Commissioner Henry B. LeFevre decided that Tuck was a trustworthy old timer in the community and should be allowed to continue his business under his old license. He could petition for a new license in July when all of the other saloon keepers reapplied as usual.[143]

The women of Skagway ratcheted up their efforts at temperance in Skagway. This time, they did not stop at lap sitting. Women got the vote in Alaska in 1913. They voted out the long-time city council and incumbent, three-term mayor, Josiah M. Tanner during the 1914 election, and replaced them with a local government sympathetic to their views.[144] Then, they promptly, and unsuccessfully, protested F. C. Flaharty's liquor license at the Board of Trade Saloon.

On June 5, 1916, in a special election dictated by the Alaska Bone Dry Law, Skagway voted not to renew the liquor licenses of the town's saloons. Many voters were brought to the polls in a horse-drawn "vehicle of conveyance" carrying the sign "Vote Dry and Protect Your Home." *The Daily Alaskan* announced "The Women's Christian Temperance Union, after a closely followed campaign, systematically carried out, have won the election" in a vote of 193 to 153.[145] In 1910 there were 527 eligible voters, counting all native born and naturalized citizens over the age of 18, except for the Native Alaskans, who were not considered citizens and women, who could not vote. By 1920, there were only 264 eligible voters, including the women.[146] It is likely that the 346 votes cast in 1916 included most of the eligible voters, indicating that many people cared deeply about the issue. The majority of citizens had spoken, spelling the doom of Skagway's remaining five saloons.

Prohibition

On June 6, 1916, Skagway became the second town in Alaska to vote itself dry. The town's five remaining saloons were given until August 21 to dispose of their stock (Figure 21). In similar elections that year, Haines, Juneau, Petersburg, and Ketchikan voted to renew their liquor licenses.[147]

Albert Reinert quickly disposed of the Mascot Saloon, not even waiting for further blows to Alaska liquor sales. At the end of September 1916, he sold the building and business to William Childs and John Bender.[148] Childs had been Reinert's bartender in 1908 when the two of them were accused of an assault on customer Charles Johnson. Childs and Bender did not let a little thing like a liquor license stand in their way of operating the saloon. They and J. F. Anderson, the owner of the Pantheon Saloon, were arrested for selling liquor without a license on November 25, 1916. Anderson had operated the Hot Scotch Saloon in 1898 and 1899, and the Pantheon since 1903. The court decided he should have known better, so he was fined $800. The court was more lenient with Childs and Bender, as they were "new to the business" (although both had been bartenders for years) and thought the license came with it when they bought the saloon. They were let off on a guilty plea for a $100 fine and extra $100 for the license.[149]

It seems extraordinary that the court allowed Bender and Childs to purchase the license when the community had just voted not to issue any liquor licenses. Furthermore, on November 7 of that year, Skagway voters had supported the prohibition of the sale of liquor to all of Alaska by a margin of 168 to 118 in a territory-wide vote. Other communities had voted similarly, and a call for a prohibition bill for Alaska passed by an almost two to one margin.[150] The license may well have been for sales of other items than liquor, or for liquor to be used for medicinal purposes only. A label for whiskey to be used for medicinal purposes only at the Mascot Saloon during Albert Reinert's ownership suggests that some legal liquor sales may have continued in Skagway after August 21, 1916.

Skagway, having already refused to grant the liquor licenses, may not have had the sort of court trouble that Juneau and other communities did in the wake of Alaskan prohibition. On December 9, 1916, Judge R. W. Jennings dismissed a motion of the Juneau Liquor Company asking for an extension of all Juneau liquor licenses until January 1, 1918 to allow them to dispose of their stock of liquor. The judge refused to take action pending the response from Congress to the November election that had voted Alaska dry.[151] That action was taken on January 23, 1917, when Alaska Delegate James Wickersham arranged to introduce a bill to implement the provision of the November 1916 ballot to prohibit the sale of liquor in Alaska. In what seems like remarkably rapid fashion to political watchers today, the bill was signed on February 14, 1917 by President Woodrow Wilson.[152]

Called the "Alaska Bone Dry Law," this bill made it unlawful "to manufacture, sell, give or otherwise dispose of any intoxicating liquor or alcohol of any kind in the Territory of Alaska, or

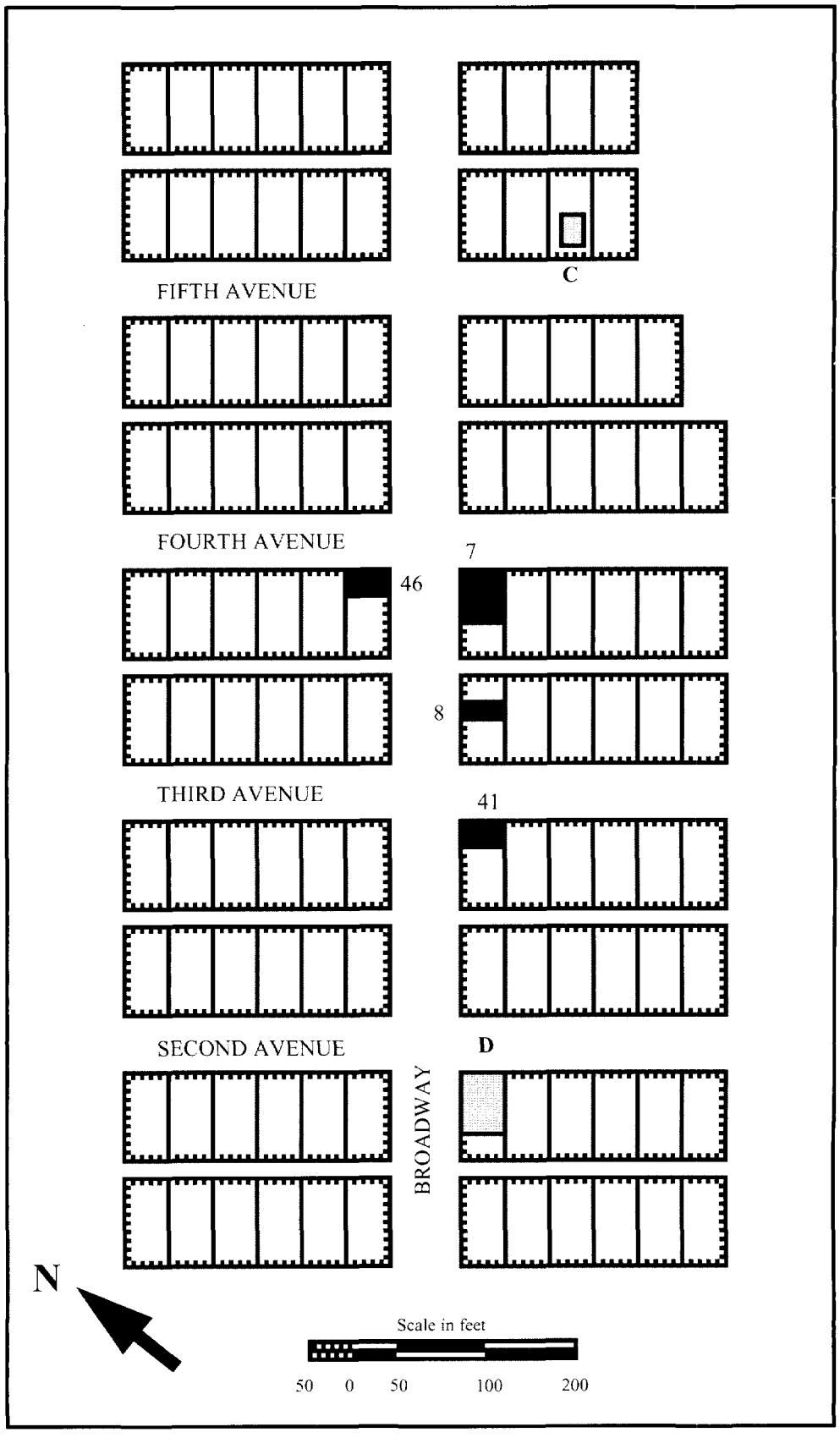


Figure 21. Map of the Skagway Saloons in July of 1916: 7) The Board of Trade; 8) The Pack Train; 41) The Mascot; 46) The Pantheon; C) St. Mark's Catholic Church; D) The White Pass and Yukon Route Depot (Polk, Business Directory, 1915-16).

to have in his or its possession or to transport any intoxicating liquor," with only a few narrowly defined exceptions. The Alaska Bone Dry Law went into effect on January 1, 1918.[153] It is unclear whether any further provisions were made between the signing of the law and the time it went into effect to allow for sale and disposal of liquor stocks. Because Skagway's saloons had supposedly been shut down since August 1916, there would have been no need for this grace period. In fact, in November 1917, Deputy Marshal N. O. Hardy arrested ten people for selling liquor without a license, indicating that the duly appointed law, at the very least, was taking prohibition seriously.[154]

Women in Saloons

From the late nineteenth century until prohibition, the saloon was a masculine domain. In particular, the working class saloon had little place or tolerance for women. According to Madelon Powers, even prostitutes rarely worked in the working class saloon, except for those of the lowest sort in the vice districts of some larger cities. The exception to this hard and fast rule was the back rooms, accessed by a "family entrance." Through this discrete back entry, a woman could approach the lower end of the bar to have a pail or growler filled with beer, then take it home for consumption by the family. Sometimes, in larger cities and larger saloons, tables were provided in the back room where escorted women could drink on the premises without invading the sacrosanct male territory at the front of the saloon. In some of the larger industrialized cities, where working class women could band together at lunchtime, they might go as a group to a saloon to take advantage of the free lunches (and drink the obligatory five-cent beers that went with them). First hand accounts indicate that men would usually leave these back rooms when women entered, being uncomfortable with their presence in the saloon, which was ordinarily considered a male domain.[55]

By 1900 in much of the North American west, outside the big cities, women were forbidden from entering saloons, either legally or at least through convention. Those who did so in defiance of law or custom were assumed to be prostitutes and treated accordingly (often by being able to conduct their business rather than by being arrested). Social historian Mary Murphy cites an example from Butte, Montana in the early decades of the 20th century:

> *...For the most part public drinking outside the country's largest cities remained a male privilege until Prohibition. Even in freewheeling Butte, as [informant] Aili Goldberg declared, "You just didn't see a woman in a saloon." Alma and Lillie Muentzer [also informants] were born above their father's brewery and saloon. Alma recalled that the Butte Brewery and Saloon had a "little room in case the ladies wanted anything...[but] it was never used much because women at that time didn't go to bars." Lillie remembered that the California Bar featured "booths for ladies," but she also noted, "You weren't a lady if you went in." Throughout the West, the only women to frequent saloons openly were prostitutes. As the custom became entrenched, any woman who entered a saloon was assumed to be of dubious character. Men in Denver capitalized on the universality of that assumption to taunt female reformers. When women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) tried to enter saloons to record the condition of drinkers, they were met by guards who shouted, "Whore!"*[56]

Alaska as a whole, being populated mostly by men, seemed to have been even more intolerant than the rest of the county in the matter of allowing respectable women into the saloons. The assumption that only prostitutes would *want* to go into a saloon may have been the motivation for first custom, then the courts refusing women entrance into the saloons. Efforts to make the saloons more respectable, therefore, often focussed on making sure there were no women allowed into them.

The women working in the frontier saloons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while not considered respectable by society at large, were not always prostitutes. Some were entertainers, such as singers and dancers or vaudeville actresses. By far the most common was the "percentage girl." The primary purpose of this woman was to persuade a man to buy a drink for her as well as himself. The bartender would then give the woman a percentage of the cost of both the customer's and the woman's drink, usually 25 percent. Generally watered down or even simply colored water, the woman's drink cost the saloon practically nothing. The owners of the Douglas Opera House in Douglas, near Juneau claimed that the "percentage girls" were simply good business. Their presence implied nothing about whether any sort of prostitution was being conducted either on or off the premises.[57] If so, it was a private matter between the woman and the customer. It is entirely possible that many women could make a living in this manner without turning to prostitution.

That is not to say that the practice was approved by the moral citizens of the community. The "percentage girl" was regarded in the same class as the prostitute whether she deserved the stereotype or not. So, too, did the upstanding middle class view the actresses, singers and dancers. Women who worked in saloons had a complex social hierarchy of their own that was considered rather simplistically by the reformers and "respectable" people – even the customers – looking on from the outside. To them, all women who voluntarily participated in the masculine

world of the saloon were not decent. In the continuing battle to clean up Alaska, something must be done about these women.

Skagway's newspaper, *The Daily Alaskan*, kept tabs on the happenings in other Alaskan communities in regards to this issue. In October 1900, it reported that the Nome grand jury had filed a report recommending that women not be allowed in saloons, and "that those women having no visible means of support would be watched and prosecuted." Judge Arthur H. Noyes, of the Third Judicial District, and District Attorney Joseph Wood announced that "the recommendation meets their approval and will be enforced." The purpose of the recommendation was stated as an effort "to rid the city of hard characters who have been committing numerous robberies."[158] In January 1902, the newspaper commented that "The police at White Horse are rigidly enforcing an order prohibiting women from frequenting saloons, either openly or in side rooms."[159]

Almost to emphasize that the proper observance of this custom was more common in Alaska than elsewhere, the newspaper reported with some delight that a Denver judge had ruled that women had the right to go into saloons and be served drinks the same as men. The Colorado constitution made no distinction between the rights of men and women. According to Troy, the decision "involved a new phase of the equality of women...The view the ladies take of the decision will be awaited with courteous curiosity." With this decision, a lady "can do her loafing in the barroom and none can say her nay."[160] And in Salt Lake City, that haven of morality, it seemed that one establishment on Commercial Street actually had a special room just for ladies who wanted to gamble.[161] Troy never said it, but he was sure these juicy items would spice up his sales. It was all really quite shocking.

It is difficult to tell from the historical literature just to what extent Skagway women went into saloons. Herman Grimm, the owner of the Seattle Saloon, frequently boasted of his own all-male rule. "Catering only to the better class of trade, Mr. Grimm never allows women within the doors of the Seattle, and this one feature has been a factor in the upbuilding (sic) of his trade."[162] When he moved to a larger space, renovated the building, and "made extensive improvements," he reiterated his policy. As before, "the saloon will be run on the same principle that characterized the old 'Seattle' – it will be 'for gentlemen only'; no gambling; no boxes; no women."[163] Grimm needed to make a point due to the history the building he had just leased. During the gold rush days, it was the notorious Red Onion saloon, well-known for the prostitutes in its upstairs rooms.

Apparently any woman in a saloon was not respectable, but none of the saloonkeepers even tried to imply that women did not drink. John Troy appeared to condone women's drinking when he ran a human-interest story from the journal *Hospital* discussing the medicinal use of whiskey. It suggested that whiskey could be substituted for wine for both men and women, but its use as a panacea for every disease was discouraged. The article stated that physicians were slower than at any other time in history to prescribe it. Many refrained from doing so entirely.[164] But the fact that respectable women could and did use alcohol at home was readily evident in the descriptions of some of the social functions in Skagway. For instance, when Dr. and Mrs. H. B. Runnalls gave a birthday party for Mrs. C. Wynn-Johnson, the wife of the general manager of Moore's Wharf, they served claret punch and played "plain Alaskan black jack."[165] A woman drinking and gambling was only sinful when done in public, not among friends at home.

For that reason, some of the saloons made an effort to cater to "the family trade," implying by using the word "family" that a wife or a daughter could purchase liquor from their saloon for home use, as long as she had a family member to monitor her use of it. Even the respectable Herman Grimm did not eschew sales to families, as he asserted when he announced "A large consignment of a special brew of the famous Rainier beer has just arrived and special attention will be paid to the family trade."[166] Not allowing women into the saloon, it is not clear how he accommodated the families. Perhaps he sold bottles or pails to husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons only.

The "beer gardens," popular with German families in earlier decades, never caught on in Skagway. Perhaps it was just too cold. The breweries that traditionally hosted the beer gardens traditionally introduced their new brews in October, a miserable time of year in the blustery northern port. No, the saloon was an indoor realm in Skagway, and a masculine one at that.

Other saloons in Skagway were not nearly so explicit in avoiding women, but again emphasized the "family" connection. In a photograph dated October 28, 1901, the Mascot Saloon displays a sign near its front entrance pointing to the rear and indicating the location of the

"Family Entrance" (Figure 41). In later years, Reinert catered to his "family" trade by installing a telephone so that women could call and ask for home delivery.

When Herman Barthel took over the lease of the Skagway Brewery, he announced that he would "make a specialty of bottled beer and would bid strong for the family trade."[167] In 1905, Barthel declared he was making a "popular beverage particularly for the family trade."[168] The brewery appears to have conducted liquor sales for home consumption in addition to supplying the local saloons and outlets farther north.

The Idaho Liquor House was the only other saloon that touted its family sales. In an October 1902 advertisement and again in December 1904, the proprietors emphasized their private rooms for families, and "special attention paid to orders for family use."[169]

Other saloons avoided coming right out and saying that women were not allowed. The Pack Train Saloon, for instance, claimed it was "the best appointed resort, strictly for gentlemen, in the North."[170] When Al McGillis opened the Hotel Grand bar, he boasted that it was to be "a strictly first class bar in every respect, catering to gentlemen only."[171] The Board of Trade Saloon was even slyer, pointing out that its billiard parlor, reading and writing room, and spacious clubroom was the "largest and best appointed resort for gentlemen in the North."[172] Whether gentlemen had the pleasure of a woman's company at the Board of Trade cannot be determined. However, when Lee Guthrie, the owner of the building and the Board of Trade restaurant next door, engaged in extensive remodeling, he noted that he had added four family boxes and a family entrance to the restaurant.[173]

Skagway seemed to have the issue of women in the saloons well under control, at least to the satisfaction of John Troy, who never made much of a fuss about it in the newspaper. But alarming things were happening elsewhere in Alaska, events that ended up posing a hardship on Skagway's saloons. On Tuesday, January 27, 1903, the grand jury sentenced Fred Rasmussen, proprietor of the Peerless Saloon in Juneau, to one year in prison for keeping a house of ill fame. Gius and Penglase, proprietors of the Douglas Opera House each drew six months in prison on the same charge. T. R. Lyons, the district attorney, sent notices to all the Juneau saloons to which women were attached that they must move out and away from the premises by Saturday. *The Daily Alaskan,* always eager to show Juneau in a lesser light than Skagway, crowed "This order will cause a great change in the occupancy of the down town tenements of Juneau. All the rooms above the saloons will be vacated and it may for some time to come be difficult to find other use for them. Most of the women will undoubtedly move away from Juneau."[174]

This prediction fell far short of prophecy. Prison sentences for saloonkeepers notwithstanding, the Juneau men, especially Sam Gius, still employed some women in their establishments. In early August, just a bit after his six-month prison sentence expired, Sam was denied a liquor license because he had working women in his opera house. By the following December, news was still coming in from iniquitous Juneau that all the gambling games and the two dance halls had to close down. "It is asserted that they will not be allowed to reopen. A number of the women who were employed in the dance halls are preparing to leave for Seattle on the next boat, and the men who have been busy about the games, will mostly leave for Valdez or the lower Yukon."[175]

The Daily Alaskan was confident, however, that all of Skagway's 1903 licenses would be granted.[176] By late August, six of Skagway's eight saloons had received their liquor licenses: the Pack Train, the Board of Trade, the Idaho, the Monogram, the Pantheon, and the Last Chance. They had all agreed to close on Sundays, "and not to allow women about the premises." No mention was made of the Seattle, Pack Train, or Mascot saloons.[177]

As discussed in the section on liquor licenses, the Seattle Saloon was being moved and renovated at this time, and probably had not applied for a license. It is possible that the Mascot Saloon was having some difficulty procuring its license due to its desire to maintain its family trade, despite the fact that the law was intended to keep prostitution out of the saloons. Reinert may have had to make additional arrangements to assure that women would not be able to enter the front part of his saloon. It is after this date that Reinert's ads list the Mascot's telephone number and indicates that he would deliver liquors to the home.

It is possible that Reinert tried to negotiate a way to keep his separate family entrance and allow women to come to the back of the bar to purchase liquors for home consumption, even with the new law. If that is so, he might have been required to completely close off the front part of the saloon from the back part, allowing

only the bartender access to a female customer who would come through the family entrance. These separate entrances were common in Seattle during the same time period. Until Reinert was able to install a telephone, this would have been his only way to continue his family trade, which was obviously a hallmark part of his business.

Once the hullabaloo was all over, of course, it appears that the rules relaxed somewhat, at least in Skagway. Throughout May 1905, the Pack Train Saloon advertised that Anita Ray, "the Balladist," sang nightly.[178] Any woman who appeared to be soliciting probably threatened the license of the saloon proprietor. The courts were after people such as Sam Gius and J. Pendast who had mixed prostitution and gambling with their saloon. They were not after people such as Albert Reinert who wanted to sell beer to respectable housewives for home consumption.

The prohibition against women in the saloons was reinforced in 1908 when a new licensing bill was drafted for Alaska. A provision was specifically made to revoke licenses whenever gambling or women were permitted in the saloons.[179]

Gambling in the Saloons

Gambling, like transporting liquors, was clearly illegal in Alaska when the gold rush began. But like controlling the saloons that blossomed overnight, efforts to control gambling were sporadic at best. National Park Service historian Frank Norris, who examined the U. S. Commissioner's records from August 1897 to December 1898, counted only 22 charges of gambling in the earliest days of the gold rush.[180] Nine of those occurred during the wave of arrests made in the spring of 1898 against gamblers, prostitutes and saloon owners. The gamblers were targeted first on March 9. Those who were rounded up and brought before the court included such locally illustrious names as con man Jefferson Randolph "Soapy" Smith; later saloon man, councilman, and mayor Lee Guthrie; and founder of the Board of Trade saloon, George Rice. All three pleaded not guilty and took their cases to a higher court. The remaining six pleaded guilty and paid their fines. "Soapy" managed to evade prosecution, the records remaining empty of any mention of his paying up. His untimely death at the hand of vigilante Frank Reid four months later made any follow-up moot.[181]

Most early efforts ended up shelved or delayed almost indefinitely. For instance, on November 4, 1899, Lee Guthrie, owner of the Board of Trade saloon, was brought before the federal grand jury for operating the game of faro. The case was dismissed for insufficient evidence, but not until October 30, 1901.[182]

Gambling and gamblers appear not to have been targeted as serious agents of vice until well into 1901. In fact, in the 1900 census, 13 men openly acknowledged that their occupation both in Skagway and at "home" before coming to Alaska was a gambler. Four of them lived with two saloonkeepers and a cook above an establish - ment on Fifth Avenue, which may have been the Magnolia Hotel. The Magnolia had a saloon attached. Eight of the others lived together at the Board of Trade Saloon, including faro dealer James Fitzpatrick. The thirteenth person who acknowledged making his living off gambling was Joseph Moore, from Tucson, Arizona, who lived with his wife on 20th Avenue.[183] It is unclear whether these individuals made their living by running the games in the saloons or by playing them. The context in which most gamblers were mentioned, at least in legal terms, suggests that a "gambler" was a person like Fitzpatrick, who actually operated the tables or roulette wheels in the gambling halls.

It appears that it was the large gambling halls, much more common in other communities than Skagway, that were the initial targets of reform. The first mention of gambling halls being shut down was a March 1901 notice that the Ottawa government had decided to let the Dawson dance halls, gambling places and saloons operate another three months until June 1, despite orders to shut them down immediately. According to *The Daily Alaskan,* the "sports" painted the town "a mild vermillion." The relaxed decision was to allow the large wine dealers and big companies with heavy stocks of liquor to dispose of their goods.[184]

The Daily Alaskan continued to be interested in the affairs of the Dawson gamblers for the next several years and followed the developments there closely. Despite the order to shut their gambling houses by June 1, 1901, the *Daily Alaskan* stated in late July that gambling continued in Dawson. Instead of being open and raucous, however, the games were now quiet, behind closed doors, and the stakes were drinks, checks, and small change. "When the edict went into effect many business men who love to tempt fortune over the green cloth did not mind the closing law, for they were confident that the private club would be allowed to run. But when the O'Brien club was unceremoniously raided, its furniture destroyed and the bank roll confiscated, it looked bad for the gentlemen

gamblers and they set to work in hopes of securing tacit consent to enjoy their vice." The police were now allowing "a few friends" to "sit down to a quiet game of draw poker, stud poker or black, without fear of molestation." In addition to outlawing any gambling that required a gambling device, "No house will be permitted to run a regular game, employing dealers and boosters." As long as the players were quiet and orderly, and the houses were not profiting directly from the games, there would be no prosecution.[185]

Evidently this attempt to rout out the disorderly element and leave gambling to the better gentlemen class in their private clubs worked well at first. In September 1901, Portland tourists returned to Skagway from a trip to Dawson. They reported the city was bustling and prosperous, and apparently law-abiding. "Saloons and gambling halls in Dawson are closed from Saturday night until Monday morning, and the laws are strictly enforced."[186] But by November, the Yukon governor had once again issued an order to halt all gambling in Yukon Territory. The order of the previous June had been interpreted to permit black jack and stud poker games, but they would now be stopped as well. "The affected gamboliers (sic) will, as usual accept the inevitable, pack up their paraphernalia and hie themselves to places where men are allowed to get a run for their money." Rumors had it that the Dawson and Whitehorse gamblers would come to Skagway. *The Daily Alaskan* predicted that it was likely the Dawson merchants would once again object.[187]

Apparently Dawsonites, having seen the law relaxed once before, believed the measure was only temporary. "The Government took the view that gambling brought an undesirable class of men to the city, and that gambling had also been the means of keeping many of that class here." Therefore, only gambling with slot machines, dice and playing card machines was prohibited. "A prominent sporting man from the interior" on his way through Skagway, when interviewed by the *Daily Alaskan*, said he believed "the matter could be smoothed over and gambling soon resumed."[188] As it was the undesirables that were under attack, most of the "better sort" probably continued to play their games quietly in back rooms, waiting for those who were causing them trouble to leave. This leave-taking was hurried along in late December, when it was reported that "Fully one hundred individuals, mostly men, have been given blue tickets [out of town]. This class are members of the hangers on and others who congregate in the saloons and gambling houses and who were voted 'not wanted' by the police."[189]

By the following June, people coming from Dawson reported there had been no gambling in the town since it was shut down. A few running poker games continued to operate in the back rooms, but the two or three times the gambling houses tried to reopen, they were closed within two or three hours.[190] The Dawson men who wanted to gamble took heart when Henry McCaulay was elected mayor. The *Daily Alaskan* predicted that his election boded well for the gambling community.[191] Apparently McCaulay did not live up to those expectations. In January 1903, acting as justice of the peace in the Dawson police court, he sentenced Enoch E. Emmons to a month in prison for "conducting a common gambling house." He stated, as he did so, that he would stamp out gambling in Dawson, and would not bow to "vulgar criticism."[192]

Dawson continued to crack down on gambling. Reports stated that the slot machines were now turned to the wall, and the constable was encouraging the owners to put them out of commission altogether. Very few paid out cash, instead substituting merchandise. "Professional poker players are afraid to turn a card and continue to leave for the outside. The gambling fraternity in the city is said to be rapidly becoming a nonentity."[193]

The Dawson sporting community did not universally obey the law, as could be expected. In February, "The Monte Carlo, a blind gambling house of Dawson, was recently raided by the mounted police...One of the men arrested will be charged with running game, five with playing and three with looking on."[194] In September two of Dawson's biggest social clubs, whose members were businessmen, were raided. "The affair caused a big sensation, and, from all accounts, one of the biggest poker games ever run in the North was in progress when the officers arrived at one of the houses." The president of the Aurora, one of the clubs, was Joseph A. Clark, who had run for office in the previous parliamentary election. He had made a big issue during his campaign about the prevalence of gambling in the Yukon. The judge found evidence that the Aurora was a common gaming house, and fined all the players heavily.[195]

The arrest of the influential gentleman gamblers, as well as the new boom in the Tanana region of Alaska encouraged much of the last of the gambling element to leave Dawson. "Several gambling outfits are among the freight going on the first steamers" to Fairbanks and Chena, according to sources in Dawson. "It is well known that a number of old-time Dawson

gamblers and ...others...have been assembling here preparatory to descending on Fairbanks." The Dawson papers freely speculated that Fairbanks would be "fully if not more distinctly frontier" than Dawson, primarily because of the lack of the North West Mounted Police. Blue tickets – one way tickets – were given to a number of people arriving in small boats, and sent on to the Tanana.[196]

The Daily Alaskan, during this period, delighted in expounding on the problems other communities were having with gambling, with no reports of the same in Skagway. Besides its running commentary on the difficulties in Dawson, it reported on the affairs of Whitehorse in the same light. The Ottawa orders that shut down gambling in Dawson also applied to Whitehorse, but the latter community did not seem to warrant the extended coverage that Dawson received in Skagway. Businessmen were concerned that the mining men would take their business elsewhere, but there seemed to be no flaunting of the law like in Dawson.[197] That the order was to cover all gambling, not just that associated with the sporting crowd, became apparent when a number of young Catholic men were fined $25 apiece for playing black jack in Whitehorse. They claimed to do so under the auspices of the church as a means of raising money. *The Daily Alaskan* righteously pointed out that black jack was not only illegal in Canada, but "according to Christian teaching, it is also immoral."[198]

The *Daily Alaskan* did not limit its coverage to Canadian affairs, as much as it wanted to score points against communities that saw themselves as more law-abiding than the town that spawned Soapy Smith. Seattle's sins also received attention. In a story originally printed in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* of April 5, 1901, Skagway learned that the Clancy brothers were now owners of a saloon and gambling hall formerly run by the Pincus Boys, their competitors. These Clancy brothers were part of the same syndicate that ran Clancy's Music Hall in Skagway in 1898 and 1899. The Seattle article alleged that the Seattle police were turning a blind eye to the gambling that went on in both the Clancy and Pincus establishments. Gambling was restricted to the upstairs rooms in other saloons in town. Only the Clancys and the Pincuses had ever dared to allow gambling on the same floor as the saloon. Particularly loathsome to decent white Alaskans was the fact that "The Clancys' gambling houses are cosmopolitan. No body is barred. White men, colored men, Chinese, Japanese and Indian jostle one another at the tables where the blackjack dealers sit and fill the air with profanity, foul tobacco smoke and fouler conversation." The context of the statement implies that the racial equality was not seen as a positive attribute of the place. "Little attention is paid to the age of the players and minors are usually to be seen among the assembled gamesters."[199]

In May 1901, *The Daily Alaskan* reported that gamblers in Seattle had won a round with the law. H. B. Kennedy and a number of other gamblers were charged with operating a gambling house at Occidental Avenue and Washington Street. Kennedy showed that he had already been charged with gambling on the night in question, he was fined for that offense and could not be tried again. The judge dismissed his case, and *The Daily Alaskan* predicted that many others would probably also be dismissed.[200]

Then a report arrived from Seattle dated June 26 stating that all of the gambling houses would shut their doors on that day. The Union Club and the Green Light tested the order by opening for two hours before shutting up again. It was not generally believed that they closed their doors because of fear of prosecution, but rather to prolong the closing of the Standard gambling house. One of the proprietors, John W. Considine, had recently testified before a police investigation committee, and the other gambling house owners had been trying to buy him out since.[201]

The Daily Alaskan delighted in reporting the dirty politics from the great city to the south. In the Seattle municipal elections of March 6, 1902, Mayor Thomas Humes was re-elected for his third term. "It is freely declared that the Clancy's [sic] will be placed in control of the gambling in return for their assistance in electing Humes, and will furnish all the bank rolls and take a rakeoff on every game."[202] This political corruption flew squarely in the face of an anti-gambling law that had been passed in Washington state that winter. In August 1903, the state supreme court upheld the law that made the maintenance or employment in "any kind of gambling game" a felony punishable by a term in the state penitentiary.[203] Nevertheless, *The Daily Alaskan* seemed vindicated in its judgement of Humes a year and a half later, when reports arrived stating that Seattle officials were quietly letting gambling resume in their city. There were reports of "several big houses running faro, roulette, craps, blackjack and other gambling games behind closed doors."[204]

Charges of political corruption in Seattle were reinforced when a case was dismissed against Horace B. Dunbar, former proprietor of the

Rainier-Grand Hotel, for running "crooked" gambling games. The reason for the dismissal was the inability to secure the attendance of the witnesses. In the first trial of a gambler under a new gambling law in Seattle, Dave Argyle was acquitted, but only after 36 ballots of the jurors.[205]

Clearly, gambling as a vice was in the eye of the beholder. The editor of *The Daily Alaskan*, John Troy, apparently did not believe it was worth all the fuss, except to show how other iniquitous communities contrasted with his own beloved Skagway. He quoted the new mayor of Zanesville, Ohio, James L. Holden, as saying he believed there was no harm in wide-open saloons or nickel slot gambling machines. He believed people who drank on Sunday would do it, law or not. They tended to get drunk when it was illegal, because they thought they would get caught any minute. Therefore, they drank as much and as quickly as they could. He thought the reformers should leave if they did not like this attitude. "These people who regard Sunday saloons and slot machines with horror are too good to live in a city. They ought to go to the country. A village is what they want and they should go there or change their views."[206] In an editorial quip three years later, Troy remarked wryly, "Those people who bet on the losing side are convinced that gambling is wicked and unchristianlike."[207]

Troy's inclusion of both these stories in his newspaper suggests he was sympathetic towards those who viewed gambling as a minor offense that should be regulated at the local level. This understanding treatment was reinforced by an announcement that "The legislature of Montana has passed a bill licensing gambling and making it a local option measure in small communities. For eight years gambling has been a felony in Montana."[208]

But there were limits to Troy's compassion towards gentlemanly gaming. As mentioned earlier, in June 1901, he printed a shocking story in the editorial section of the newspaper concerning an establishment on Commercial Street in Salt Lake City. This resort had a special room just for ladies who wanted to gamble. The article was long, and went into considerable detail about just how avidly women gambled in this novel activity.[209] Apparently gentlemen gambling in public was a minor offense. Women doing so was the stuff of good stories.

And Troy did not eschew stories closer to home, especially when they continued to make Skagway look good in comparison. Besides the running commentary on Dawson's struggle with gambling, Troy took periodic potshots at other communities in Alaska. He described a proposed gambling casino to be built on the ice near Nome. The intent was to escape the gambling laws by building it out at sea. "A marine league from shore a big building will be erected, in which will be gambling halls, a theater, a saloon, dance pavillions (sic) and a hotel."[210] In all probability, this colossal structure was never built.

In August 1902, Troy reported that unidentified "United States authorities" had shut down gambling in Rampart. Games requiring a regular house dealer and a bank were forbidden. "It is stated that the large influx of the talent from Dawson and the large number reported on the way, was the cause for the action." The American game of draw is permitted. "It is not stated that the government officials play draw but such has been guessed to be the case."[211]

And in a continuing attempt to demonstrate the depravity of the newly established town of Fairbanks, which was rapidly threatening to draw all enterprise from Skagway, Troy reported in the summer of 1904 that "Several gambling outfits are among the freight going on the first steamers" to Fairbanks and Chena. "It is well known that a number of old-time Dawson gamblers and ...others...have been assembling here preparatory to descending on Fairbanks."[212]

All of this emphasis on gambling in other cities and towns does not mean that Skagway was exempt from this particular vice, but finding evidence of it in Troy's newspaper was impossible. He enjoyed showing the depravity of other communities, but was careful not to air Skagway's dirty laundry if he could help it. As a result it is hard to tell to what extent gambling was considered a problem in Troy's own town.

The first evidence we have that Skagway contained gambling devises is when A. L. Ritter, a 1901 candidate for city council, declared his campaign promises. He believed that one of the ways to raise money for the city purposes was to impose a monthly fine on the "sporting houses," meaning the resorts with drinking and gambling (and possibly prostitution). In particular, he stated that "slot machines and similar devices" should be taxed, claiming that he was the owner of one and would be willing to pay to be able to use it.[213] In 1899, Ritter had owned the Little Star Saloon at 341 Sixth Avenue. The 1901 directory listed Abe L. Ritter as a news dealer at the "Postoffice." He was also listed as a dealer in cigars and tobacco at Sixth and State. The 1900

census listed Abraham L. Ritter as a news dealer living in the same household as William Britt, who owned a drug store on Sixth Avenue.[214] Ritter lost his bid for election. He received only 175 votes, with the lowest winning candidate receiving 390 votes.[215] Nothing more was heard about taxing the slot machines.

The June 1901 election was critical for the sporting element, which included the saloon owners, prostitutes and gamblers. John Troy took particular exception to the candidacy of Lee Guthrie, owner of the Board of Trade Saloon, who had been the mayor for the past year. Troy had found various ways to criticize Guthrie's leadership during the previous year, and he used all of his considerable power as the editor of the daily newspaper to work against Guthrie's re-election. On June 18, Troy stated that "the saloons that do not mix gambling and prostitution in their business are arrayed against him," implying that the sleazier places did indeed support Guthrie. The paper fell only an inch short of labeling Guthrie as part of the underworld-sporting crowd. "The majority of the citizens are disposed to believe that good form demands they concede certain evils necessary. But that keepers of gambling hells and bawdy houses should receive consideration goes without saying, but that their personality in the representative bodies of the city amounts to indecent exposure and is a burning shame to Skagway."[216]

This declaration against Lee Guthrie is the first hint we have that prostitution and gambling were still a part of the Skagway saloon scene, and that the people who were engaged in these businesses still had some power in local government. Despite Troy's best efforts to discredit Mr. Guthrie, he was re-elected, but without sufficient votes to reinstate him as mayor. The Skagway custom was for the newly elected council to appoint the councilman with the largest number of votes as mayor. That honor went to R. M. Woodruff, Guthrie's chosen successor, in June 1901.[217]

This attack on Guthrie was a thinly veiled attempt to drag the mayor down to the level of other undesirable characters in town. It was not uncommon for Troy to impugn a man's character by calling him a gambler. When wealthy saloon owner James Wilson died in Nome, it was noted that he conducted a "gambling game" at the Pack Train in Skagway in 1897 and 1898.[218] The man who blew up the Canadian Bank of Commerce in a failed robbery attempt in September 1902, was recognized as having gambled at the Board of Trade saloon.[219] There was also a story about Louis Spitz, who foolishly "dropped $7,000 at Skagway, gambling" in 1904, then encountered continual bad luck getting back to the Yukon to make more money, killing two horses on the way.[220]

On the other hand, the way to establish oneself as a respectable saloon owner was to reject gambling entirely. Herman Grimm, proprietor of the Seattle Saloon, excelled at that. Besides forbidding women into his saloon, he boasted that he tolerated no gambling on the premises.[221] "The Seattle saloon is a gentleman's resort and not a gambling joint. You can't lose your money there."[222]

Nevertheless, Skagway as a whole did little to eliminate gambling on its own. The town's ambivalent attitude towards gambling was challenged finally in late 1902. When Judge Brown opened the October session of the grand jury in Skagway, he charged the jurors with enforcing the gambling, Sunday closing and prostitution laws of Alaska. He hinted that Alaska would never have home rule as long as those laws were flaunted and the perpetrators not brought to justice. He especially pointed a finger at businessmen (presumably those on the grand jury) who would fail to bring an indictment for fear of losing business.[223]

Despite the mighty "hear, hear!" voiced in response by Thomas A. Shorthill, husband of Sarah Shorthill, the president of the local W. C. T. U., John Troy still had the last word on gambling. Ignoring the morality issue entirely, his editorial response went on at some length about the rights of Americans to self-government and the setting of their own laws.[224]

In spite of Judge Brown's charge, the Skagway grand jury completed its work without bringing any indictments for gambling or ignoring the Sunday blue laws. Instead it recommended that misdemeanors such as gambling be referred to the commissioner, thus sending it back to the local appointees, and absolving themselves of any responsibility for unpopular rulings.[225]

Not to be thwarted in his pursuit of justice regarding gambling, Judge Brown charged the grand jury that met in Juneau the following December with indicting the gambling houses that were operating openly and in violation of the law throughout the district.[226] Thomas Shorthill got his vindication. He was chosen to be on the Juneau grand jury.[227] With the grand jury safely out of Skagway, Troy predicted that this time indictments would follow.

The good judge had no trouble figuring out where to start. It seems that after he left Skagway, the Douglas City Opera House, a gambling house and variety theater, had been held up just at closing time. The thieves got $175. Also, a "Bohemian" named Litula was indicted for murder when he attacked a Douglas gambler with a knife during a black jack game.[228] Both incidents brought attention to the types of crimes gambling houses drew. As well as going after the perpetrators of these crimes, the Judge hoped that the good businessmen on the grand jury would indict the gambling houses themselves.

The Daily Alaskan followed the stories closely, giving almost daily updates on the indictments and trials. The murderer Litula pleaded guilty, but the trial of the men accused of robbing the Douglas Opera House necessitated acknowledgment that gambling was rampant in Juneau. The grand jury was forced to indict over a hundred gamblers and slot machine owners in the city. All were quickly served bench warrants, with some important exceptions. "A number of gamblers who are maintaining respectable families in the city are not arrested and it is believed that no indictments have been returned against them."[229]

The Record-Miner in Juneau was indignant. "Little red-wagon moralists in Juneau, under the disguise of reform, [are] doing everything in their power to boycott the Record Miner for the alleged reason that it is against decency and reform." The editor went on to state its unambiguous position that he and his organ favored closing gambling of all kinds and the abolishment of all bawdy houses, among other evils, "provided it is enforced against ALL."[230]

This February editorial statement by the leading newspaper in Juneau fell on the heels of the acquittal of James and William Winn, owners of the Opera House Saloon at the corner of Second and Seward in Juneau. They had been accused of operating a house of ill-fame at the same time as the proprietors of the Peerless Saloon and the Douglas Opera House. All of the latter had drawn stiff sentences. However, the defense attorney for the Winn brothers was able to convince the jury that the reputable gentlemen testifying to the common fame of the Opera House were in error. This testimony had come at great embarrassment to the witnesses, who admitted they had taken their wives and daughters to family night entertainments despite the notoriety of the place as a bawdy house.[231] It just didn't seem fair to the editor of *The Record Miner* that the Winn brothers went Scot-free and not ALL were paying the price for their sins.

What arrests there were had the immediate effect of stopping gambling and upstairs prostitution in Juneau, but other businessmen began to complain that their own businesses were adversely affected. The miners, presumed to have nothing to do in town, avoided coming into town and spending money.[232] While Juneau was deadly dull, all seemed confident that once the grand jury had adjourned, the games would be back as usual.[233] Sure enough, by Christmas, a few of the gambling establishments had reopened.[234] Apparently paying out their $100 fines absolved the gamblers of any future responsibility to eliminate gambling. The fine must have been viewed in the same light as a tax or a license, at least in Juneau.

Their hopes were short-lived. Within about three weeks, gamblers and saloon owners keeping prostitutes in Juneau were once again arrested. "It has been stated that they will be arrested from day to day until their callings are stamped out of the town."[235] Judge Brown was so determined to stop the gambling in Juneau that he declared war on *The Record-Miner*, the community's leading newspaper. The newspaper had been "very severe in its criticisms of the grand jury for presuming to bring in indictments for gambling, keeping houses of ill fame and like offenses." In the process, it attacked not only the court, but also the personality of the judge. In a lecture to the Presbyterian Church, the judge responded and "made some stinging remarks that were supposed to be directed at the editor of the Record-Miner," thus escalating the war. Then, the Judge appointed a committee to investigate whether the editor could be arrested for "contempt of court, sedition or something of the kind." According to *The Daily Alaskan*, both of the Juneau papers devoted a considerable amount of space to the issue.[236]

Skagway's gamblers were not exempt from these developments. In December 1902, at the same time the Juneau gamblers were first being arrested, Marshal Snook served indictments against all the gambling fraternity in Skagway. Each paid bonds of $500 and it was stated that they would be required to appear at the April term of the grand jury in Skagway.[237] But when the court convened on April 6, it contained a small docket, with 41 civil cases and 21 criminal cases.[238] When it adjourned five days later, not a word had been said about Skagway's gambling or prostitution indictments.[239]

Troy had been relatively quiet about the Skagway gamblers while making sure the Juneau cases received all of the attention in his newspapers. But ten Skagway men had been served

warrants on December 17, 1902 at the same time the Juneau gamblers had received theirs: Philip Snyder (Faro), John Doe Sullivan (Black Jack), Frank Cochrane (Faro), Charles Daniels (Faro), John Doe Hardy (Roulette), Bat Wilkerson (Black Jack), John Woods (Faro), Fred Patton, (Roulette), Seely Miller (Black Jack), and Joseph Engle (Roulette). They were all represented by R. W. Jennings and J. G. Price the following April 7 when the sentencing was held. Snyder received a $100 fine and costs; all the rest paid $50 and costs.[240] All of the above men that could be found in the 1903 business directory were working for the Board of Trade Saloon, except Phil Snyder. While Snyder often listed himself as an investor or entrepreneur, it would not have been above him to moonlight as a gambler at the Board of Trade. Apparently, Skagway's sinners were not even worth the paper and ink it would take to print the story. It seems odd, considering all the trouble Troy had gone to in order to discredit Board of Trade owner Lee Guthrie just a couple of years earlier.

By the time Judge Brown came to Skagway in April, his stance on the gamblers seems to have changed. In an interview with *The Daily Alaskan* the day before the April 1903 session began in Skagway, Judge Brown indicated that he did not want anything but felonies and other serious crimes coming before the district court. He believed the municipalities could be counted upon to correctly deal with "social evil nuisances," such as gambling and houses of ill-fame, along with a long list of other misdemeanors. He did not want them cluttering up his docket.[241] He reiterated his faith in the local courts when he opened the grand jury in Juneau a few weeks later. He said the municipal courts had relieved the federal courts of much work, "and he welcomed the change." He did mention that "gambling was running near Juneau, but laid no particular stress on the fact."[242]

Showing their good faith in whatever bargain the judge had reached with the city of Douglas, in June that city council passed an anti-gambling ordinance, making it a misdemeanor and hoping to remove the issue from the "hands of the federal government."[243] The men with respectable families who happened to run gambling in their businesses had wrestled control of their affairs from the impartial hand of the federal courts. The judge proved he would keep his end of the bargain when he refused to issue an injunction against Sam Gius for maintaining a gambling house in Douglas. John Troy praised the action as "it involves the question as to whether or not the right of trial by jury was to be denied Alaskans, together with all the other rights."[244]

It looked like the hubbub was over, and business was back to usual, when suddenly trouble started for the gamblers once again. In late August, the marshal began arresting the "sporting fraternity" in Haines for gambling and conducting games. U. S. Commissioner Stoutt fined the proprietors of three gambling houses $50 and costs and "announced that there will be no more gambling allowed in the city of Haines."[245] This action caused a great deal of complaint in Haines, who "kicked because gambling was permitted at Skagway." Judge Brown replied that open gambling simply must stop.[246] He immediately sent a letter of instruction to Skagway Commissioner J. J. Rogers instructing him to prosecute the Skagway gamblers. In response, the city fined Lee Guthrie and nineteen of his employees $20.00 and costs for each gambler.[247] Guthrie promptly moved the billiards tables out of the Board of Trade annex on Fourth Avenue to the main saloon and closed the annex. He opened a card and reading room in what used to be the restaurant. *The Daily Alaskan* attributed this shuffling of furniture directly to the Judge's instructions to Rogers.[248]

Shortly thereafter, *The Daily Alaskan* attacked *The Juneau Dispatch* for criticizing "the people of Skagway." The Juneau newspaper accused Skagway of condemning the judge for ordering gambling out of the barrooms. *The Daily Alaskan* replied that it took issue, not with the court's authority, but to home rule. Troy pointed to the "universal custom throughout the United States to put certain minor offenses, among which are some of those over which the federal authorities in this city assumed jurisdiction, absolutely in the hands of the municipalities."[249] This argument was part of Troy's old, and now weary argument about the need for territorial status, and elected officials, not federal judges to govern what cities think are important to control.

In response to this criticism, Judge Brown told Skagway city attorney R. W. Jennings that he did not mean to interfere in "minor offenses, such as the regulation of the social evil" and would leave that up to the city police. Waffling once again, "he refused to relinquish jurisdiction over gambling, however. He said that there could be no more open gambling in his district."[250] So, the judge did not argue that misdemeanors should stay out his court. He just argued over what a "minor offense" was. In the judge's mind, gambling was no minor offense, although prostitution was.

Judge Brown returned to Juneau in December 1903, and once again took up the war against

gambling. He ordered all gambling games and the two dance halls to close down. "It is asserted that they will not be allowed to reopen. A number of the women who were employed in the dance halls are preparing to leave for Seattle on the next boat, and the men who have been busy about the games, will mostly leave for Valdez or the lower Yukon."[251] When the Judge gave his charge to the grand jury in early January 1904, he spoke at some length on the subject of gambling and dancehalls.[252] Among the gamblers in southeast Alaska who were arrested were Joe Engle, Phil Snyder and Lee Guthrie, all of the Board of Trade Saloon in Skagway. Guthrie and Engle each pleaded guilty and paid $100 fines. Phil Snyder's case was dismissed for insufficient evidence. [253] In January 1904, the federal marshal arrested John L. Gage, Robert Smith, George Sullivan and "John Doe" (Charles) Coffey of the Pack Train Saloon for conducting "craps" games. They were represented by T. A. Marquam, Esq. Robert Smith was allowed to withdraw his plea of guilty and enter not guilty and asked to have his case dismissed as he was "supposed on his death bed." The "court considering the said motion to be in the interests of humanity" dismissed the charges against him. All the others were assessed $100 fines. They were also charged with running "Vintg-un" (Twenty-One or Black Jack) games at the Pack Train on January 5. [254]

When their cases finally came up in early February, the Juneau and Douglas gamblers who were indicted by the grand jury indicated they were going to fight the charges.[255] But once again, something happened to change their minds. In mid-March, when their trials finally came up, *The Daily Alaskan* simply announced "The gamblers who had been indicted at the Juneau term of court all plead guilty and were fined."[256] Their fines amounted to a mere $25 apiece, a far cry from the $100 fines levied a year before.[257]

In the meantime, Skagway's gamblers were not ignored. In fact, the April 1904 court met in Skagway, and in preparation, "Those Skagwayans who were indicted by the last grand jury which charged them with gambling were arrested...They all gave bonds and were released."[258] Seven counts of gambling were brought before the Skagway court, and all pleaded guilty. In passing sentence, Judge Brown announced he would impose a lesser fine of $100 for the proprietors of gambling houses and $50 for the employees on their first offenses. Second offenses would be doubled, and hereafter he would sentence anyone convicted of gambling in his district "to the full extent of the law, which is a fine of $500."[259] Then he dismissed all of the charges – a fact not mentioned by newspaper editor Troy – because all seven men (John L. Gage, Robert Smith, George Sullivan and Charles Coffey of the Pack Train and Phil Snyder, Lee Guthrie and Joe Engle of the Board of Trade) had already been fined for gambling on the same day during the December - January session in Juneau.[260] This re-arrest was a case of simple theatrics to drive home the point that the federal courts were serious about prosecuting gambling.

The judge continued to run into opposition from the townspeople in Juneau. The grand jury there refused to investigate the gambling in the area in spite of Judge Brown's instructions. He followed this refusal with written orders to the commissioners in the district instructing them, once again, to enforce the anti-gambling laws. *The Daily Alaskan* stated that it was unknown what Skagway's commissioner, J. J. Rogers, would do about his instructions.[261]

The Daily Alaskan, and perhaps the judge as well, thought the matter settled when a copy of the amended Alaskan incorporation act arrived in Juneau in late May. The newspapers concluded that the law gave municipalities "full control of gambling, bawdy houses and other matters of local concern."[262] There was no more mention of a controversy over who had authority over gambling laws. The next time gambling was mentioned in *The Daily Alaskan* was a description of the iniquitous town of Fairbanks, where "In every saloon there is gambling. Faro, roulette, blackjack, craps, keno, stud-poker, and other games were running, and it is said all were receiving play."[263]

It is hard to determine whether the judge would have pursued the subject further. However, it was at this time that Judge Brown received word that he would not be reappointed to the bench. The news was greeted with jubilation in Juneau and Douglas.[264] As discussed in the section on the licensing of saloons, it is possible that the judge had received criticism from not only the saloon keepers, people who wanted gambling in the saloons, and others of the underworld, but also from the reformers who felt he did not go far enough.

And what were the local ordinances regarding gambling? Skagway's first decision makers apparently did not believe gambling to be an ill needing a cure. The ordinances established in 1900 when the city was first incorporated did not mention gambling at all, although it provided for the local prosecution of vagrancy and prostitu-

tion.[265] However, by the time the ordinances were revised and simplified in 1908, gambling was finally addressed. Section 15 of Ordinance 104 stated:

> *That each and every person who shall deal, play, or carry on, open or cause to be opened, or who shall conduct, either as owner, proprietor, or employee, whether for hire or not, any game of faro, monte, roulette, rouge-et-noir, lansquenet, rondo, vingt-un, twenty-one, black jack, poker, draw-poker, stud-poker, brag, bluff, thaw, craps, or any banking or other game played with cards, dice, or any device, whether the same shall be played for money, checks, credit, or any other representative of value, within the corporate limits of the town of Skagway, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $50, or by imprisonment in the town jail not more than ten days, or both.*[266]

The maximum fine of $50 was a far cry from the $500 fine threatened by the judge in the spring of 1904. Curiously, the wording of this ordinance, except for the much lower fine, is identical to that of the Alaska Code, published in 1900.[267]

Despite all of the hullabaloo by the federal courts, the municipal courts had quietly been arresting and fining the saloon owners and their employees who were running games on a regular schedule starting with the arrests of Lee Guthrie and 19 of his employees in September 1903. Every three months, or thereabouts, the city marshal rounded up the saloon owners or managers and assessed them a $20.00 fine plus costs for each game being operated by an employee. Although the magistrate's docket listed the employees being fined, usually only the manager or owner appeared in court for that employee, submitted his plea, and paid his fine. The pattern continued uninterrupted until October 1906, when this form of sin tax abruptly halted.[268] During this same period, and extending on until September 1909, the prostitutes were fined on the same schedule with the same fine. Both gambling and prostitution were seen as sins to be tolerated and taxed, rather than stamped out by the heavy fining that would have been imposed by the federal courts.

In fact, the city relied on the fines from the gamblers as an important source of income. The gambling fines constituted 40 percent of all municipal fines received between 1903 and 1906 (Table 2). For instance, the fines for 1906 were sufficient to pay the salaries of the fire warden and street commissioner.[269]

Throughout this three year period, only two saloons contained gaming tables and gambling devices: the Board of Trade and the Pack Train. While the Board of Trade dominated the gambling scene in Skagway in 1903 and 1904, by 1905, the number of men running games had decreased to only six or seven. Rarely were there more than four gambling men at the Pack Train Saloon. By 1906, the Board of Trade and the Pack Train each had only four gamblers running their games.[270]

Then, in October 1906, trouble began again for the gamblers. The portents started elsewhere. Judge Wickersham of the Third Judicial District refused to grant licenses to eight saloons in Valdez, due to gambling and prostitution, thus depriving the town of $4,000 in revenue for the schools.[271] A week later, the grand jury in Ketchikan brought indictments against every gambler in that town. Judge Gunnison of the First District sentenced the proprietors of these gaming houses between $350 and $800 apiece. He warned the entire southeast Alaska that there would be no more gambling allowed.[272] He obviously did not think the municipalities had handled the situation at all. Skagway stood up and took notice.

In the meantime, Lee Guthrie closed the doors of the Board of Trade Saloon for the winter. It was the first time Guthrie and his managers had decided to do so, but their decreasing profits had forced them into the move. The White Pass and Yukon Route railroad had forbidden its employees to gamble, leaving only "the traveling public" as its gambling clientele. They looked forward only to a winter of operating at a loss.[273]

With the district court session coming to Skagway, only four gaming tables left in town, and the somewhat limited revenues they represented compared to the school funds from the liquor license fees, the city council had little to lose by finally taking a hard stance. In what was touted as a historic move, all gambling was shut down. "During all the years since its birth Skagway has been 'wide open,' however," the newspaper hastened to add, "it has never been, since the days of 'Soapy' Smith, a disorderly town. There have been very few crooked games here and those that were here were 'frozen out' many years ago. The houses that were known to conduct their games on the square got the patronage and the others quit." [274]

In what seemed almost a footnote three days later, Juneau shut down its gambling houses, going one step farther than Skagway had. They rounded up "the knights of the green cloth, including the proprietors, and the dealers, boosters, etc." fined them, and ordered them to deal no more.[275]

As the April 1907 city election neared, newspaper editor John Troy noticed that Chris Shea, part owner of the Pack Train Saloon, had become a leader of the "Labor Party," a rival political party to the "Citizen's Party," which he had supported since 1901. Troy did not like the idea of a saloon owner being on the city council. Three weeks before the April 2, 1907 election, Troy set up the battlefield before Shea even declared himself a candidate. On March 22, three days after territorial Judge Wickersham pronounced that gambling was a local issue, not a federal one, in the Third Judicial District, Troy told his readers that the question of whether Skagway would be a "wide-open town" could become a campaign issue in the up-coming election.

> *In fact, some favor petitioning the federal authorities to keep their hands off the gambling and similar questions and thus to permit the local authorities to do with them as they will. It is said that Chris Shea, who made such a good showing with [the] labor party a year ago, will have charge of the campaign to enthrone the god of chance should such be made.*[276]

Troy deliberately played to the growing reform sentiment in the community.[277] Ten days before the election, Troy began a series of editorials against Shea, continually attacking his supposed support of gambling and downplaying any hope that he could lower taxes as he vowed his party would do. His tactic in years past had been to wait until two or three days before the election to attack the other candidates with unfounded allegations when there was no time for rebuttals.[278]

A week before the election, The Labor Party met to approve its platform. It ignored the gambling issue. It called for fair taxation, making the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad and Moore's Wharf pay their fair share, and a plank labeled "Live and Let Live."[279] The last slate did indeed hint at the gambling issue, but somehow Troy failed to pounce on it.

While he had denied it up until that point, it really was no surprise that saloon owner Chris Shea was indeed a candidate for city council on the Labor Party ticket. *The Daily Alaskan* smirked that the platform was adopted without dissention or amendment, implying that it was a deal cooked up behind locked doors and the convention was a simple stage show. Yet under the same headline, the newspaper announced that over sixty Skagway citizens met to "arrange" the Citizens convention planned for that evening. These sixty men would "propose" a slate of seven candidates to the convention, and they also discussed the "wide-open town" issue at some length.[280] They admitted to this pre-convention planning, to which Troy was privy, at the same time implying that Shea's Labor Party might sink to the same dirty, undemocratic strategy, to which Troy was not.

The election was a complete rout of the old council. On April 2, 1907, Skagway's working class voted out a party controlled by John Troy since 1901. All seven candidates put forth by Chris Shea's Labor Party won the election. Troy announced the election results in a secondary headline on the front page of the newspaper. The news with the biggest headline that day was a story that the Republican President Roosevelt had solicited campaign funds from railroad tycoon Edward H. Harriman back in 1904. It was as if Troy thought he could distract Skagway from the real story that day.[281]
On his editorial page, Troy graciously conceded, as if he, himself, had run and lost an election.

> *For its course in the campaign, the Daily Alaskan has no apology to make. It opposed the election of Mr. Shea, not on personal grounds at all or because he was on the Labor ticket, but for the reason that it believed that his business has been such that he should not be placed in a position of authority in municipal affairs. The people have, however, by an overwhelming majority, decided adversely to its position and given Mr. Shea a vote of confidence of which he can feel proud. The Daily Alaskan has the utmost confidence in popular government and the highest respect for the people's verdict. It is quite satisfied.*[282]

After all, John Troy had run "the" nominating committee for the last six years. Not one of his candidates was now on the city council. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Troy left Skagway before the year was out.[283] Chris Shea and the gambling issue had done him in.

Even the Skagway newspaper observed that it was hard to judge if the closures were perma-

nent. After the fall of 1906, gambling was rarely, if ever mentioned in a Skagway context, and there is little evidence that either the city ordinance or the territorial law was again invoked. With Shea and his friends on the city council for the next three years, it is likely that gambling ran quietly with little interference from the law. It appears that what most respectable people objected to were the large gambling halls, and not the quiet games men played in the back rooms of saloons. Indeed, gambling in private was not at all frowned upon. For instance, when Dr. and Mrs. H. B. Runnalls gave a birthday party for Mrs. C. Wynn-Johnson, they played "plain Alaskan black jack" and admitted doing so in the society column.[284]

From the few times in which specific games were mentioned, it is obvious that pool or billiards or dice throwing was not considered "gambling" in the legal sense. In fact, the type of gambling that the courts wished to control was the type in which the saloon or house had a stake. Personal gambling between contestants in a pool game or card game in which the saloon had no interest was perfectly legitimate and a regular part of the saloon culture.

The saloon owners were reminded from time to time that organized gambling, with their employees running the games, would not be tolerated. When a new liquor license bill was introduced in the U. S. Congress in early 1908, provisions were inserted to revoke a license "whenever gambling or women are permitted in the saloons."[285] Even the president of the National Model License League exhorted its membership of distillers, brewers, wine makers, wholesalers and retailers to stop the gambling. "Saloon keepers are warned that they must either respect public sentiment and obey the law, or lose their legal right to do business." In the words of the License League, "The edict has gone forth that saloons must obey the laws – that they must not sell to intoxicated men, nor to habitual drunkards, nor to minors – that they must not exhibit improper pictures, nor connect themselves with gambling resorts – in a word that the saloon must not be a nuisance."[286] Disassociating the neighborhood saloon from the big gambling resorts was integral to its very survival.

What constituted gambling still remained somewhat nebulous in the minds of many people. The reformers obviously wanted more than just the slot machines and roulette wheels stopped. In October 1908, the editor of *The Daily Alaskan* bewailed the fact that dice throwing had become illegal in the Tanana country. "Gambling in all its malignant forms was long since stopped, the dance halls closed and dice throwing was all that was left for people to do and now this blessed privilege is denied them. What a sweet, gentle-mannered country we will have up here after a while, the road houses being forbidden to carry liquor and card playing limited to the game of casino with outdoor sports restricted to the game of croquet."[287]

This crackdown even on the gentle sport of dice-throwing may have been the reason the Mascot's owner Albert Reinert and his bartender William Childs got themselves into so much trouble on September 18, 1908. By the end of the afternoon, they found themselves before the U. S. Commissioner, posting bail for assault with a deadly weapon against one of their own customers, a man who simply wanted to toss the dice earlier that day. To understand that story, one must first understand the nature of crime and other violence in the saloons of Skagway.

Violence and Crime in Skagway's Saloons

In an editorial commenting on the vote in Illinois for local option, the editor of *The Daily Alaskan* blamed the success of the prohibitionists on the saloons themselves. He accused the saloons of accepting "their liquor license as a license to commit and breed crime...When the saloons are made the rendezvous for rogues, the hatching place and vehicle of crime, they invite their own destruction with absolute certainty."[288]

And indeed, the saloons in Skagway did seem to be the source of much of the violent personal crimes in the community. Assaults, robberies, forgery, fraud, vandalism, and disorderly conduct were committed in the saloons, and no less often in the Mascot Saloon than in some of the larger and more prestigious ones. Few of the crimes committed in Skagway between March 1901 and April 1909 involved someone who had not been in a saloon during or shortly before he acted.

The following discussion examines the crimes reported by the newspapers as having been associated with saloons during the 81 months between March 1901 and June 1906, and October 1907 to April 1909. Each saloon is examined separately, with the Mascot Saloon last. More criminal activities and acts of violence occurred at the Mascot than at any other saloon in Skagway. By examining the other saloons first, and placing the crimes that occurred at the Mascot in context with the others in Skagway, one can get a better feeling for both the clientele and the overall reputation of the Mascot and its competitors.

The Board Of Trade Saloon

The Board of Trade Saloon vied with the Mascot Saloon for being the source of most of the saloon-generated acts of crime in Skagway during this period. Six criminal incidents and two deaths were associated with this saloon.

The worst crime was the first reported during this 81-month period. In August 1901, Mike Curray quarreled with owner Lee Guthrie at the Board of Trade Saloon and later went out looking for him with a gun. The U. S. Commissioner of Haines fined him $120 or 60 days in jail for carrying a concealed weapon.[289]

Forgery was one of the more common crimes committed against the saloons in Skagway, perhaps because saloonkeepers often doubled as bankers. Madelon Powers, in her book about the working class saloon, states that at the turn of the century, the saloons extended this service as a matter of course, expecting the man who cashed his check to buy one or two drinks in return. Often working class men were more comfortable with the less confusing and intimidating atmosphere of the saloon than that experienced in a bank.[290] While Powers does not mention the working hours of saloons and banks, it is likely that the fact that banking hours and work hours overlapped may have encouraged the use of the saloonkeeper as a sort of "after hours" banker.

The Board of Trade, being the largest and wealthiest saloon in town, was far from immune from customers who tried to cheat the bartender. In April 1904, Private W. A. Gallahan attempted to cash a forged check for $225 at the Board of Trade. He had stolen some blank checks from the quartermaster's checkbook and forged the signature of Lt. W. G. Murchison. While awaiting a court martial, he escaped and made his way to Whitehorse, where he was apprehended and extradited. The newspaper does not indicate the final verdict in the case.[291] The African-American Company L, 24th Infantry had left Skagway in May 1902, to be replaced by white troops of the 106th Battery of Coast Artillery. The soldiers that frequented the Board of Trade were white. The soldiers of Company L had used other saloons in town, and were never mentioned at the Board of Trade.

More common crimes at the Board of Trade involved simple disturbance of the peace. On Saturday night of February 1, 1902, "Liverpool Jack, the longshoreman, was on a howling drunk, and undertook the job of cleaning out the Board of Trade." Also known as John Flannigan, Liverpool drew a sentence of 30 days and a fine of $100, or an additional 50 days if he couldn't pay the fine. The sentence seemed excessive for simply disturbing the peace, but his reputation as a troublemaker made it harder on him. "Aside from having a hard record, and not only raised a terrible rumpus in the Board of Trade but [he] had made things too lively in the jail."[292]

John A. Hern was arrested the following October, also for creating a disturbance. He had just finished a 25-day sentence in the jail. He was a fireman on a ship called the *Cherry*. He "never took kindly to his first jail sentence and complained quite bitterly because they would not let him out before the expiration of his time." John Burns, of the marshal's office, and Phil Snyder took him off to jail. He drew another 25 days in jail.[293]

Sometimes vandalism at the Board of Trade wasn't caused by drunken men. On April 3, 1908, a goat named "Sitka" wandered into the saloon and ate the pockets off the famous English pool tables. The goat had become a mascot of sorts for the saloon, wandered around town freely, and caused many other complaints. He was painted green on St. Patrick's Day by the very admirers who later came to despise him for the damage he caused. "Every man cried out against him and if any were suspected of being his friend, however they might disclaim it, they were hauled before the court and fined." After eating the pool pockets, "the goat is now excluded from the privilege of the place where lately he was like one of the family." It turned out the owner of the goat was none other than "Tuck" Flaherty himself, then proprietor of the Board of Trade, who was fined $9.20. The article does not say what he was fined for, as the damage was to Flaherty's own pool tables. Having outworn his welcome, "Sitka" then returned to the town for which he was named.[294]

The Pack Train Saloon

While only three criminal incidents were associated with the Pack Train Saloon during the 81 months of this study, on the whole, they were more serious than the more frequent and lesser crimes at the Board of Trade Saloon.

Barroom fights must have been rather common and did not always end up with someone in jail, especially if the participants were well-respected businessmen. Unless a fight resulted in hospitalization or death, the fact that it occurred at all rarely made the newspaper. After all, the newspaper depended on those same businessmen to purchase advertising space. And so it was when E. O. Caswell, owner and manager of the

telephone company "and one of the best known men of this city," died rather suddenly at the age of 35. It seems he had been in a fight in the Pack Train saloon four days before his death. He had become "quarrelsome, as was characteristic with him" when under the influence of liquor, and "came to blows with Charles Coffey." As a gambler employed by the saloon, Coffey, after trying to avoid trouble, had knocked him down two or three times. The local doctors asserted that there was no connection between the fight and Caswell's "acute kidney troubles," which they believed caused his death. A coroner's jury ultimately came to the same conclusion.[295]

Some of Caswell's friends had been concerned that the fight ultimately caused his death, but the fight itself had not made news until after his death four days later. Caswell's prominence in the community had ensured that it was handled quietly, although surely the rumor mill had made the incident fairly well known. The law did not step in to accuse either Caswell or the man who hit him, Charles Coffey.

However, working class citizens did not fare so leniently at the hands of the law at the Pack Train Saloon. For instance, when Joe Murray, a longshoreman, was released from jail in April 1902, he went to the Pack Train to celebrate the event and "hit the pace that kills." He became "loaded with a howling jag and was again jugged for disorderly conduct."[296]

Dent Mila was accused of inflicting five wounds about the head, face and scalp of Albert Goss outside the Pack Train Saloon on January 13, 1907. Mila claimed that Goss approached him in the saloon to argue about the game of solo, and that Goss struck him in the saloon. Mila left the saloon, walked for a couple of blocks, then came back. Goss met him at the door and knocked him to the sidewalk. At that point, Mila pulled out his pocket knife in self- defense. The jury was unable to come to a verdict, and the case was dismissed.[297]

But the final crime in which the Pack Train figured was unusual for Skagway, and demonstrates how intertwined business and politics could become. During a long session of the grand jury in Skagway, which started in November 1907, Thomas Dodson was charged with a string of cases of giving liquor to Indians. As the trials against Dodson entered December, one jury foreman ordered a box of cigars from the Pack Train Saloon. The cigars were delivered to the bailiff, N. J. Black, who carried the box with him as he went to ask the judge if it was all right to give them to the jurors. As he approached the bench, the foreman, C. H. Scheffler, jumped up, took the box from him and started passing the cigars out to the jury and to the deputy marshal.[298]

District Judge Gunnison, seeing all the action, became quite upset. He served a bench warrant against Chris Shea, who was both proprietor of the Pack Train and mayor of the city of Skagway. The judge reprimanded Shea and pointed out that the Pack Train had delivered a box of cigars to a jury once before. He told Shea that this was beginning to look like a pattern of trying to influence a jury, and warned him that one more time would bring a stiff penalty. He fined the bailiff $5.00 and dismissed him. He lectured the jury about how a mistrial could be called on appeal, wasting all the money spent on the trial to date. All but one member of the jury was excused and the ex-jury took up a collection to help out the bailiff. In an editorial, *The Daily Alaskan* commended the judge for "handling the whole affair as charitably as he did."[299]

Dodson did not appear in the 1900 or 1910 census, or the city directories of the time, although he apparently was brought before both the city and federal courts fairly frequently on similar charges. It is difficult to tell what Chris Shea and the Pack Train Saloon might have gained by influencing the jury in this man's case. Furthermore, as the story appears to the modern reader, it does not even sound as if Shea was trying to influence the jury, as the foreman had ordered the box of cigars. What the newspaper article does not tell us is whether the jury had intended to pay for the cigars, or if it was taken for granted that Shea was donating the cigars to the jury. Such unstated local customs or assumptions are usually very difficult to cull from the historic record.

The Last Chance Saloon

If the number of violent crimes committed in a saloon is an indication of its seediness, the Last Chance Saloon was on the lower end of the scale of respectability in Skagway. While only three criminal incidents were mentioned, two were much more violent than the more common and pettier crimes committed in Skagway's other saloons. The barroom brawl must have been a regular feature of the Last Chance. In addition, the Last Chance was in operation for a shorter period of time than most of the other saloons considered. Its last mention was in August 1903; its proprietor probably did not renew his license in July 1904. At the most, the Last Chance would have operated for 40 of the 81 months in the study period.

On October 10, 1901 Marion Bullitte and Julius Hutson, two privates from the African-American Company L, argued over the points in a black-jack game. Hudson ended up throwing two heavy stones through the door of the saloon. No damage was done, but Bullitte was sentenced to six months in jail and fined $100.[300] About a month later, Jerry Moore, described as a "frenzied negro," attacked Richard Ryan in the Last Chance. Moore had a knife and cut up Ryan's coat after being thrown into the street by the bartender. Ryan, in self- defense, hit Moore over the head with a stove poker, to no avail. Ryan claimed he did not know Moore. Moore was bound over on $1,000 bond before he pleaded guilty to assault and battery rather than be tried for assault with a deadly weapon. He was fined $50 and 30 days in jail.[301]

The Last Chance must have been a favorite of the African American soldiers of Company L, as well as those who were discharged and remained in Skagway. Jerry Moore, in all likelihood, was either a soldier or an ex-soldier associated with the company in Skagway.[302]

Apparently the Last Chance had a reputation for attracting the worst element in town. In July 1902, Jack Williams was arrested for using profane language in the Last Chance Saloon. It is unlikely that anyone who swore in a saloon was automatically arrested. It seems the marshal thought the man fit the description of John E. Gallagher, alias John E. Dunn, who was wanted for murder in Massachusetts, and used his profanity as an excuse to hold Williams until his story could be checked out. Unfortunately, there was no follow-up in the newspaper.[303]

The Idaho Saloon

The Idaho Saloon, located catty-corner from the Mascot Saloon, at the northwest corner of Broadway and Third Avenue, suffered few incidents of crime. Part of the reason for the lower numbers may simply reflect the fact that it was not in business the entire 81-month period of study, closing in February 1905.[304] It therefore operated only 47 months, and could be expected to have, on the average, about three-quarters the number of criminal events. As it was, only one incident was reported at the Idaho, but what it lacked in quantity, it made up for in severity.

The crimes occurred on Christmas night, 1902. Corporal S. Shrouf (also referred to as William Shoup), a soldier with the white troops that replaced Company L, became disorderly at the Idaho Saloon. The place was crowded, with as many as fifteen or twenty men in the saloon and back card rooms, both soldiers and civilians. Shrouf accused George "Beaver" Bidding of stealing a pair of gloves from a third soldier, then attacked him. Bidding ended up with black eyes, a lost tooth, and a broken nose. When Marshal Snook came to get Shrouf, two of his buddies, Thomas E. Page and Henry Karger, tried to rescue the prisoner. The marshal arrested all three soldiers. Shrouf denied the accusations and demanded a jury trial. They settled for a jury of five men, who found Shrouf guilty. He drew a sentence of $125 and costs.[305]

Karger and Page, charged with rescuing a prisoner from the lawful custody of an officer of the law, proved to be more difficult cases. They became bogged down in technicalities, and eventually Page was released. Karger was bound over to appear before the grand jury, with $300 bail. By the time the trial came up, apparently *The Daily Alaskan* had lost interest and did not report the outcome.[306]

The Seattle Saloon

In contrast to the assault incidents at the Last Chance and Idaho saloons, and the juicy cases originating at the Pack Train, the five "criminal" events at the Seattle Saloon were quite pedestrian. Herman Grimm, purporting to run the most respectable place in town, had little tolerance for troublemakers and called the city marshal at the least excuse. On January 22, 1902, a man took Antone Standish's coat from the Seattle saloon, but when apprehended, the thief claimed it was an accident.[307] Standish was co-owner of a restaurant at 503 Sixth Avenue. It is likely that the accused thief was also a businessman in town, hence the absence of his name in the newspaper story.

Then on January 22, 1904, when Army deserter Jeff Halloway, "a drunken roysterer (sic)" and "flourishing a revolver," caused some trouble at the Seattle Saloon, Herman Grimm personally ushered him out the back door. "Soldiers were meanwhile entering and leaving the house, but paying little attention" to the known deserter. Some of these soldiers informed Lieutenant Widdifield, who engaged the assistance of the town marshal and special deputy U. S. marshal. He was traced to the United States hotel, "where he was found in a beastly state of intoxication and taken into custody."[308] Grimm complained again when an unidentified man "whooped loudly against the peace and dignity of the Seattle corner."[309]

And it most surely was Herman Grimm who brought William Belton to the attention of the city marshal and Dr. Brawand of the Red Cross Hospital. Belton, apparently, was well-known

around Skagway as a stage driver "in the days when Indians and highwaymen were about equally dangerous on the roads across the plains;" and he had served as a scout and packer for the U. S. Army in the northern Rocky Mountains. He was reported as having been "acting queerly for some days." Dr. Brawand had taken him to the hospital, but he soon disappeared. When he showed up at the Seattle Saloon, Grimm let the city marshal know of Belton's whereabouts, he was arrested, and charged with insanity. Municipal Judge Rogers sentenced Belton to 25 days in the federal jail, hoping that he would recover in that time, making a permanent charge of insanity unnecessary. Shortly after that, two more doctors, H. G. Runnals and J. P. Truax, examined Belton. They determined that he was "suffering from dementia and that they are better prepared to treat him at a hospital for the insane than elsewhere." He was speedily shipped out of Skagway to a mental institution in Salem, Oregon.[310] It is difficult to imagine any of the other bartenders in town caring much about the whereabouts of a man suffering dementia. Grimm scrupulously tried to keep the saloon's reputation as clear from scandal as possible by making short shrift of anyone out of the ordinary in his establishment.

The Pantheon Saloon

The Pantheon Saloon, like the Idaho, was only in business a portion of the 81-month study period. It opened in July 1903 and was still going strong in March 1909 when the study period ended, for a total of 37 months, or a little more than half the time the other saloons were in business. During that time, only one criminal act associated with the Pantheon made the newspaper headlines.

As already discussed in the section on the Board of Trade Saloon, the bartenders often served as bankers. This arrangement apparently set them up as a place to pass forged checks. In August 1904, Private Custis Hubbard of the U. S. Army Hospital Corps obtained $10 from the Pantheon Saloon on a check made out to him for $100. It was found to have been forged. Hubbard disappeared, presumably either on the steamship *Princess May*, or "across the line" into Canada. Three days later, he was found in Caribou (now Carcross), Yukon Territory. He waived extradition and was brought to the border, where he was arrested. Hubbard was bound over to the grand jury and Deputy Marshal H. L. Johnson took him to Juneau immediately. There, he was eventually convicted of forgery and sentenced to two and a half years in the federal prison at McNeil Island.[311] It was the stiffest sentence suffered by any criminal in the Skagway saloons. Forgery of a government check, apparently, was a more heinous crime than attacking someone with a knife or gun.

The only other crime of note occurred outside of the study period, but was so unusual for the time that it is included in this discussion. On August 28, 1910 Jimmy McGinley and Edward Fenlon were each accused of sodomy at the Pantheon Saloon. After the testimony was taken, U. S. Commissioner Martin Conway released McGinley, it being obvious that he was so drunk that he hardly knew he had been raped by Fenlon in front of a number of incredulous witnesses in the back room of the saloon. One witness stated "I just turned around and come out of the room the sight was too sickening... I don't want to see such a sight again." McGinley, when asked to testify, stated "Everyone in this town knows my reputation and knows that I am not a man of that kind, and would not have allowed it to happen if I had been in my sober senses, so I am not to blame for this dirty crime and I am in no way an accomplice to it." Fenlon was bound over for the grand jury in default of a $500 bail.[312]

The Horseshoe Saloon

The Horseshoe Saloon, the successor of the Idaho, was relatively short-lived compared to the other saloons in this study. Albert Reinert opened the saloon by October 1906, when the data for the 1907 city directory was collected.[313] It was still in operation when the study period ends on May 1, 1909. It therefore was in business for 18 of the 65 months in the study period, those from October 1907 through April 1909.

Two criminal incidents happened at the Horseshoe Saloon during this 18-month period, and both were barroom brawls. The first occurred on May 10, 1908. Dan Murphy got into a fight with William Hoskins in the backyard of the saloon. Murphy cut Hoskins with a pocket knife in a fight over a game of cards. He was held over on $500 bond for the grand jury. Murphy's testimony was short and sweet. He said he was 56 year- old laborer, born in Ireland, and had lived in Skagway for eleven years. "The prosecuting witness asked me out to fight twice. We went out there and the last thing I remember I got knocked down. That is all I remember." When Murphy, charged with assault with intent to kill, was brought before the grand jury, it "returned not a true bill." They must have believed he was acting in self defense.[314]

Then, on October 22, 1908 at about midnight, Joseph "Dago Jo" Descalzo attacked Al James with a brandy bottle and cut him up badly, knocking out two of his front teeth. James left to

get a revolver, which he then fired at Jo, breaking the whiskey bottle Jo was holding, as well as a glass screen behind which Jo had hidden. A. B. Wilson, the bartender, witnessed the fight. Allen James was the brother of Mr. James of Koehler and James in Juneau, and had a good reputation around town.[315] James indicated he was 58 years old, was born in Illinois, was a miner, and had been in Skagway about six months when his testimony was taken on November 30, 1908. Descalzo, a fisherman and longshoremen, the newspaper stated, was equally well known. In 1908, he would have been 49 years old. He immigrated from Italy in 1877 and was a naturalized citizen. In 1910, he was single and lived alone in a home he owned on First Avenue.[316]

The municipal judge, J. M. Tanner, fined both Dascalzo and James $50 and costs. Fellow Italian immigrant Tony Dortero, the confectioner, paid Jo's fine. James remained in the jail waiting for someone to pay his fine. The cut given by Descalzo was apparently not very severe. "James is not so much the worse for the scrap now that the blood has been washed away." The fine, apparently, was not the end of the matter. In December, Al James was bound over to the grand jury to answer for his shooting at Descalzo.[317] The newspaper never followed up on the case, having more sensational news to report of those court proceedings, but a jury found him not guilty during the January 1909 session of the district court.[318] In the meantime, Descalzo tried to commit suicide by jumping off the end of Moore's wharf. The chief of police was called and took him home.[319]

The Commerce Saloon

The Commerce Saloon, although relatively short-lived compared to the other saloons in this study, was associated with two crimes of note. The saloon was first mentioned in June 1901 and began advertising in *The Daily Alaskan* in August 1901. Its owners, Payne and Peterson, went out of business on September 1, 1902, having operated in Skagway only 14 months.[320]

On December 10, 1901, Dan Sharkey, a 44-year-old Irish longshoreman, who had resided in Skagway for five years was accused of stealing $127.00 in silver, gold and currency from Michael O'Brien at the Commerce Saloon. O'Brien was observed to be so drunk he could hardly stand, and had given Sharkey money when he first asked to buy a bottle of whiskey. Later that night he left on the *Cottage City*, bound for Seattle. The grand jury in Juneau found him guilty and sentenced him to three years in the federal prison at McNeil's Island.[321]

The violence of this next crime, in addition to highlighting racial tensions in the community, makes it stand out among the saloon fights. On May 7, 1902, Private Davidson of Company L and another man of his company passed by the Commerce saloon. A white woman approached and asked them to protect her against "James A. Perkins, a discharged colored soldier." Perkins pulled a razor on Davidson and gave him a 7-inch long gash from behind the left ear down under the chin, barely missing his jugular vein. Within three days, Perkins was fined $500 and sentenced to six months in jail in Sitka. As was usual with the city fines, if he could not pay up, his sentence would be extended to 14 months. It seems unlikely that the unemployed ex-soldier could pay. The sentence would have been as much as five years if it had been tried in the district court. However, Company L was due to leave in another month, and the judge believed it would be impossible to hold the witnesses until the district court came to Skagway. He therefore chose to try the case in the city.[322] It is likely, in addition, that the woman may not have been entirely respectable, providing the judge with less incentive to try Perkins in the federal court. It is difficult to believe the businessmen in town would have permitted Judge Rogers to pass such a relatively light sentence had one of their own wives or daughters been involved in the incident.

Other Saloons

A number of other reports of saloon violence appeared in the newspaper during the 81 month study period, usually isolated incidents with little or no follow-up in establishments selling alcohol, which had short lives or were otherwise unknown in Skagway. For instance, on December 6, 1908, some thieves stole liquors from the Green Light "while the occupants were away." They missed a purse carrying money and a set of diamonds.[323] As there is no other mention of this establishment in the newspaper at any time during the 81 month period, combined with the reference to the "occupants" of the business, this was probably a brothel rather than a saloon.

Then there were the stories about saloon crimes in anonymous businesses. For instance, Thomas Carr was brought before Judge Tanner for an "altercation" at an undesignated saloon. He paid his $10 fine and left on his steamer, the *Dirigo*.[324] At another time, a con man worked several saloons before his game was discovered. "Several of the bartenders about town loaned him $5. Each took a valuable and flashy ring as security. He also played his graft game among the demi-mondes quite successfully. The jewelry was worn proudly by those in possession until it was discovered to be very bogus. All connected

with the little jewelry episode are quite willing to pocket their losses and are not disposed to discuss the matter. One popular bartender said it was worth the price of admission as it was a reminder of the lively days of Soapy."[325]

The Mascot Saloon

With these criminal cases as background, it is now possible to evaluate the crimes that occurred in connection with the Mascot Saloon, and to examine them in the context of saloon crimes as a whole in Skagway. The Mascot experienced nine criminal incidents during the 81 month study period, more than any other saloon in Skagway. However, despite the greater frequency, it appears that the types of crimes associated with the Mascot tended to be far less serious than those witnessed at other saloons.

Petty theft dominated the Mascot's crimes. For instance, in September 1901, Joseph Shea "touched a sleeping man's pocket in the Mascot saloon." He was accused of taking silver coins from Sam Watson, who was drunk at the time. He pleaded not guilty to larceny, and was defended by E. W. Barnes. Shea was a longshoreman, 43 years old, born in Ireland, and had lived in Skagway almost four years. Watson did not appear for the trial, and could not be found. The jury brought a verdict of not guilty for lack of a witness, but Shea spent more than a month in jail awaiting the trial for want of means to post bail.[326]

In 1903, August Bohm, after being paid for a mining claim, then buying provisions, left his purse containing a five-dollar gold piece in the safe-keeping of the barkeeper at the Mascot Saloon. The next morning, he retrieved the purse, then showed it to James Burgess. Later, when Bohm inspected the purse, he found the gold piece missing. In the meantime, Burgess had gone to the Seattle Saloon, where he paid for some drinks with a five-dollar gold piece. Burgess spent the night in jail, and demanded a jury trial. His protestations of innocence failed. He was convicted of stealing the $5 gold piece and sentenced him to 50 days in jail.[327]

In yet another case of larceny, Andrew Anderson accused George Murray of stealing his silver watch and $19 cash at the Mascot Saloon. The watch was found at jeweler P. E. Kern's store, where Murray had borrowed $5 against it. Murray was bound over for the grand jury, and Anderson was held as a witness. Murray was found guilty and sentenced to ten months in the federal prison at Sitka.[328]

A more serious crime occurred in October 1905, when N. L. Burton, the city attorney of Chena, Alaska, was on his way south. He had stopped to spend the night in Skagway awaiting his steamship, and whiled his time away at the Mascot Saloon drinking to the point of unconsciousness. He awoke at the New Home Restaurant and Lodging House to find himself penniless, a $220 purse missing.[329]

Curiously, the Mascot suffered from a sort of vandalism that the other saloons in town did not: window breaking. In September 1904, City Marshal Burns arrested Tom Brown for "throwing a rock through the window of the Mascot saloon, because the barkeeper refused to give him a drink." Brown was convicted in the municipal judge's court, fined $100 and costs, and worked the fine out for the city.[330] Then, not two months afterwards, William Brady and W. McGinnis were also convicted in Judge Rogers' court of breaking windows in the Mascot and sentenced to 50 days in jail each.[331]

On a more serious note, in October 1902, Dan Murphy and Jim Burke "got into a fight while in the saloon over a drunken quarrel, understood by no one but themselves. They were put out of the saloon, when they got into a fight on the sidewalk, in the course of which each drew a gun. Others interfered and took their guns away from them." They were both longshoremen, and "said to be toughs." They were both arrested for "engaging in gun play on the street near the Mascot Saloon." Murphy's case was dismissed for lack of convincing evidence. Jimmy Burke stayed in jail "to board out a $100 fine."[332] True to his "tough" reputation, Murphy ended up in jail again in December, for stealing a turkey from John Kalem's grocery store.[333]

The most serious incident at the Mascot, hinted at before this section on crime and violence in the saloons, occurred on September 18, 1908. That morning, Charles Johnson, a longshoreman at the Moore wharf and "guard for prisoners recently taken below" came into the Mascot spoiling for a fight. He declared "he had just had a fight and could lick anybody up to Seventh street." He shook several games of dice with the bartender, William Childs, and customer Barney Miller, then left. He returned about 3:00 that afternoon, with a check for $300 in his pocket. Shortly after Johnson arrived, Paul Kowling (or Kauling) and John Knutson came in and ordered drinks. Johnson told Kowling that his shoes were too long, and that he wanted Kowling's cap. Not wanting to be involved, Childs retreated from the discussion and went to put a record on the phonograph. [334]

Unable to start a fight with Kowling, Johnson next approached Albert Reinert, who was reading a newspaper in the back room of the saloon. Johnson asked Reinert to "shake dice for $5.00 a shake or play dummy solo with him at $5.00 per game." Five dollars a shake was apparently too steep for Reinert, and gambling in his saloon could cause him to lose his license. He declined the offer. Johnson got angry, grabbed Reinert by both arms and started to squeeze. Reinert called out to his bartender for help, and Childs entered the back room. Childs and Johnson then engaged in a fist fight, which ended when Reinert struck Johnson twice with a rubber tap hose,[335] possibly with the tap still attached. Johnson fell to the floor and declared he had had enough. Childs helped him out of his coat, and Reinert suggested he go wash himself up in the restroom, as there was blood on his face.[336]

When Johnson came out of the restroom, Childs helped him back into his coat, but he was still agitated. He promptly picked a fight with Barney Murray, another customer in the saloon. Childs and Reinert came out from behind the bar, Childs carrying the "deadly weapon" in the form of the rubber tap hose. When Childs told Johnson to stop fighting, Johnson turned around and hit the bartender several times. Reinert and Childs wrestled him to the floor, causing him to hit the foot rail of the bar. Then Childs "showed him the door." Reinert had called for the police earlier, but no one had yet arrived. As another customer came in the door at the end of the fight, Reinert asked him to get police chief George W. Dillon. When the police arrived, Johnson was sitting on the sidewalk in front of the saloon with blood running from a number of gashes on his head. He ended up in the hospital and was unable to testify on his own behalf due to his injuries.[337]

Reinert and Childs were then arrested for assault with a deadly weapon – the rubber tap hose was transformed into an iron gas pipe by the time the story hit the evening news. Childs was let out on bail of $200. In addition, Reinert and William Speer, the co-owner of the Horseshoe Saloon with Reinert, stood surety for him. Speer also stood surety for Reinert, who was released on his own recognizance, being "a man of means and financial responsibility and ... the owner of valuable real estate in the precinct." Subpoenas were issued for witnesses Chris C. Shea, Paul Kauling (sic), John Knutson and Barney Miller. They were also issued to Johnson himself, sheriff George W. Dillon, and Dr. W. G. Gabie, who treated Johnson.[338] Each posted $200 bond. Henry Friendenthal and Fred Patten offered sureties for Johnson. Friedenthal had been a bartender at the Mascot in 1903. Fred Patten was the co-owner of the Trail Saloon with Chris Shea, who was also the town's mayor. Shea had also served as a bartender for Reinert, in 1903. P. H. Ganty and F. C. "Tuck" Flaherty offered sureties for Kauling (aka Kowling) and Knutson. Flaherty owned the Pack Train Saloon and Ganty was ticket agent in the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, located next door to the Mascot. The saloonmen obviously helped out their own, even though they were all rivals for customers. Joseph A. Thornton and C. S. Swanson were called as witnesses for the defendants, and presumably were customers who witnessed the fight. Barney Murray was also at the preliminary hearing. Only the testimony offered by Reinert and Childs appears in the remaining court record, but Commissioner LeFevre found sufficient cause to bind them over to the grand jury. Bond was set at $500 apiece for Childs and Reinert. Witnesses Barney Murray, Paul Kauling (Kowling), John Knutson and Charles Johnson each posted a $200 bond. [339]

The December grand jury trial was anti-climatic to the excited newspaper reports in September. After a serious illness in late November, Reinert took his bartender to Juneau in early December to report to the grand jury. After a week of delays waiting for their case to come up, the grand jury "returned a not true bill" and dismissed the charges.[340] It is presumed they successfully argued that they were acting in self-defense.

The Crimes at the Mascot in Context

With eight criminal or violent incidents to its name, it could seem that the Mascot Saloon was the most raucous and unsafe saloon in town. It certainly did not appear to draw the most law-abiding citizens. However, when the overall severity of the crimes is taken into consideration, there were far worse places to buy a drink than the Mascot between April 1901 and March 1909.

To determine just how the Mascot ranked in severity of crimes committed on its premises or association with its customers, we must first look at the overall severity of the crimes. Each of the criminal or violent incidents associated with a saloon was given a severity ranking, as shown in Table 3. The ranking was partly determined by the penalties imposed on those who were convicted rather than how we today might judge the severity of the crime. For instance, the forgery charges drew stiffer penalties than the charges for assault with a deadly weapon, and adultery crimes seemed to be more severe than grand larceny. The lowest rating was given to

incidents that were not criminal, such as the death or disappearance of someone associated with a saloon, but which was not attributable to a crime.

Table 4 ranks the overall severity of crimes committed at each of the saloons and makes an adjustment for the number of months the saloon was in operation during the 81-month period. Obviously, since the Mascot was in operation for the full 81 months and the Commerce Saloon, for example, only in operation for 14 months, the single assault that drew a six-month jail sentence would have been comparable to four assault charges of similar severity. Yet the Mascot was the scene of only one barroom fight during the entire 81 months, and the charges in that case were dismissed.

Final ranking scores then were determined by calculating an average severity ranking from the sum of severity rankings divided by the number of incidents. This number was then divided by the longevity adjustment, or the number of months the saloon was in operation divided by 81. The resulting scores are shown in Table 4.

To understand Table 4, it is important to understand that the final score is not an absolute number, but simply a relative number. That is, simply because the Commerce Saloon scored 35 doesn't mean that the crimes committed there were almost seven times worse than they were at the Board of Trade Saloon, which only scored a little less than five. What it does mean is that crime was worse overall at the Commerce Saloon than at the Horseshoe, which in turn was worse than at the Pantheon, and so on.

According to this analysis, while there were more criminal incidents associated with the Mascot Saloon than with any other saloon in town, the longevity of the saloon and the overall minor nature of the crimes resulted in a lower severity ranking of the criminal events. In fact, six of the eight other saloons had higher criminal severity rankings, and only the Board of Trade and the Seattle had lower rankings.

The Board of Trade and the Seattle Saloon both advertised to the businessmen of the community and tried to draw the "better crowd," at least after the gold rush was over. All of the other saloons were perfectly content with the working class clientele that was the substance of Reinert's customer base. When compared with the Mascot's rivals, it was probably one of the safest and most orderly in town, despite the higher number of criminal incidents in its history.

The Price of a Drink

The W. C. T. U. and the other temperance people in Skagway – indeed in the country as a whole – did not object to the saloons only because of the drunkenness of their customers, the crime they bred, and the prostitution and gambling they fostered. There was another, wholly economic side to the saloons that inspired housewives to join their first political action clubs. Husbands, brothers and sweethearts spent hard-earned dollars nightly in their "poor- man's club," dollars that reformers believed should have gone towards rent, food, clothing, or perhaps life insurance and pensions to take care of widows when stampeders failed to return from their adventures in the North.[341]

The first surviving advertisement for the Mascotte Saloon, operated by Charles Rohback, appeared in June 1898. It offered "fresh beer on draught, 10 cents."[342] It also appears to be of the earliest advertisements for priced liquor in Skagway. Adjusting for inflation, ten cents to the Skagway customer in 1898 would have been about the same as $2.00 to a customer in the year 2000. This ad does not appear to offer a special discounted price of any kind, and other ads by later advertisers also indicate the same price. A photograph of Sixth Avenue dated the winter of 1898-1899 shows a sign for the Board of Trade Saloon advertising beer for ten cents.[343] It seems to have been the going price at the time.

The proprietor of the Idaho Saloon, Robert C. Smith, alarmed the other saloon owners on June 6, 1901 by cutting the price of his locally brewed Red Star Beer in half, to five cents a schooner. The next month he raised it to the going rate of ten cents, revealing that it was a bid to promote his product, which he made at the Skagway Brewery.[344] About the same time, Herman Grimm at the Seattle Saloon raised the cost of his "imported" Rainier beer to 12 ½ cents, but left his "ordinary" Culmbacher beer from Oregon at ten cents.[345]

In August 1901 and for probably a very short time thereafter, an unknown saloon offered all drinks – both beer and whiskey – at 12 ½ cents per glass. The purpose of this apparently imprudent act was to freeze out a rumored new saloon in town.[346] It is probable that the ploy did not work. On August 8, the Grand Hotel Bar opened despite the effort to undercut the newcomer.[347]

By May 1902, *The Daily Alaskan* gleefully reported rumors flying around town of five-cent beer, but nothing seemed to come of it.[348] By November 1902, the Mascot was offering its

Seattle Bohemian beer for ten cents, plus a free lunch, and touting it as if it were a reduction in price.[349] Perhaps it was. The Seattle brews may have had a bit more appeal, being considered "imports," and somewhat better than "ordinary." It does seem as if the Mascot had become a leader in the price reductions that quickly followed. The Pack Train Saloon lowered all of its imported beer prices to ten cents in December, and the Seattle Saloon reduced its Seattle Bohemian at the same time. Both also touted their free lunches.[350] Then, in March 1903, the Mascot added its draft Rainier beer to its reduced price beer.[351]

It's a little hard to tell what a beer would have cost before these reductions. A good guess is that only the name brand "imports" like Rainier, Seattle Bohemian, and the others being "reduced" originally went for a slightly higher price, probably around 12 ½ cents, as suggested by Herman Grimm's pricing in 1901.

Everything seemed fine in the way of American competition until the saloon owners of Haines got together and decided to sell all drinks for 12 ½ cents.[352] While this was a cut in the price of whiskey, it raised the price of beer, so it is unlikely the Haines saloonkeepers suffered greatly. As all saloon owners in town agreed to the change, no one had to worry about someone else undercutting them.

Two months later, the Idaho Liquor House in Skagway followed the lead of the Haines saloon men, lowering its price of "plain drinks, including beer" to 12 ½ cents. The proprietors, W. W. Boughton and Joseph G. Smith (who were about to dissolve the partnership) claimed the cut conformed to prices throughout the rest of Alaska. In a separate article, though, it became obvious that the 12 ½ cent drinks were really "two -fers." A man could not purchase a single drink for a bit. The next day, the Monogram Liquor House followed the lead of the Idaho Liquor House and cut the price of its drinks to 12 ½ cents.[353]

This was an alarming development. All of the other saloon owners met that very night and unanimously agreed to maintain their old prices.[354] They probably knew that if they allowed an undercutting of profits, they would never be able to come up with the necessary money for their high license.

There must have been considerable pressure to cut prices, however, because they met again in late December, this time at the Idaho Saloon. All of the saloons in Skagway agreed on a price for drinks in town. Mixed drinks would be 25 cents each, draught beer 10 cents, and other drinks, such as whiskey, 15 cents. The saloon proprietors signed a written agreement that would be in force for a full year.[355] Obviously, the idea that price-fixing might be bad for consumers was foreign to the folks in Skagway.

The agreement stayed in place, but each saloon seems to have gone its own way again after the year was up. At the end of March 1905, the Pack Train Saloon announced a reduction of its prices. A man could buy draught beer for 10 cents, two whiskeys for 25 cents or 15 cents apiece, a mixed drink for 25 cents, and imported goods and soda for 25 cents.[356] What the other saloons chose to do in response is unclear. The fact that none of them mentioned their prices suggests they kept the original bargain.

In late January 1909, John Anderson's warehouse burned, damaging the labels on much of his liquor stock for the Pantheon Saloon. He advertised a sale of the damaged goods, indicating he would sell three bottles of Rainier and Olympia beer for 50 cents, A. B. C. beer for 25 cents a bottle, and three bottles of Malt Rainier at 50 cents.[357] These "bargains" suggest that beer ordinary still sold for about 10 cents for draft beer or 25 cents a bottle.

Then, as late as November 1916, John Anderson of the Pantheon Saloon sold a glass of sherry for 25 cents to Special Agent George D. Naud. As no saloon owner in Skagway had liquor licenses after August 1916, Anderson was promptly arrested. During his December hearing, Anderson stated that he sold the agent two glasses of grape juice at 25 cents apiece.[358] But the price was in keeping with what had always been the price of the fancier drinks in Skagway, and it probably did not fool the grand jury for a moment.

In conclusion, it is a bit difficult to tell what the average saloonkeeper charged for his product during the gold rush period. It was obviously higher than the five-cent schooner typical of the working-class saloon in the major cities in the rest of the country.[359] By 1898, it appears that beer had settled to about 10 cents a schooner and 12 ½ cents for the "imported" products from the west coast that were in high demand. Whiskey, other hard liquors, and mixers were 25 cents a drink.

About the only place that the saloonkeepers had to adjust prices was in their perceived "import" business, or those name brands from the west coast that their customers demanded because

they were familiar to them. For instance, Albert Reinert advertised his Seattle Bohemian beer at ten cents, as a special bargain, in an effort to bring in the people from Seattle. Rainier beer was widely advertised in all the newspapers, and often went for more than ten cents, being considered a premium beer. When a saloonkeeper wanted to bring in the customers, as happened in 1901 and again in late 1902, they lowered their price of Rainier beer to ten cents. It is possible that these adjustments also occurred with the whiskeys, although they were not advertised in the same way the beers were.

Then in late 1904, as competition increased, the Idaho and Monogram saloons – those that were in some trouble from the high license and decreasing customer pool – decided to charge a flat 12 ½ cents for all drinks, beer and whiskey alike. In response, the saloon owners of town developed a written agreement to keep their previous prices, and managed to coerce the two break-aways into signing it as well. These prices – ten cents for beer, and 25 cents for whiskey and mixed drinks – seemed to be the going price, with probably only minor changes for special occasions, until local prohibition in 1916.

The Longevity of Skagway's Saloons

The vast majority of Skagway's saloons existed before they were legal and licensed in July 1899. As was demonstrated in Table 1, even trying to track down the names of most of them is almost impossible to do. The estimated numbers range from a high of a hundred touted by the *Skagway News* in January 1899 (which may well have been referring to all of the saloons from tidewater to the summits, not just those in Skagway), to the 89 arrested in December 1898, to the seventy observed by Stroller White in the spring of 1898. The customs officials raided 35 saloons in April 1898, and 32 were counted in the fall of 1898 when the data for the 1899 city directory was collected. Counting the names given by the customs officials, those appearing the 1899 city directory, and the 19 names recollected by "Stroller" White, a total of 70 names appears in Table 1, surprising close to "Stroller" White's total. It is possible that White's total was a cumulative of all the saloons that he saw come and go over the summer of 1898.

Of those 32 saloons listed in the 1899 directory, only six survived the next five years, and only four made it past 1912. Several others opened then closed after a year or two, finding that a high license and waning population made for poor business prospects. Only one more saloon would become a staple in the community (the Pantheon), a saloon that had not seen the height of the gold rush, although its proprietor (J. F. Anderson) had owned another saloon during that time (the Hot Scotch).

Table 5 is a listing of the eight longest-lived saloons in Skagway, their locations, their proprietors, and the months of operation (when known). While at first glance it appears that the Board of Trade Saloon operated longer than the Mascot Saloon, closer examination demonstrates that the business changed ownership at least five times, and moved from one building to another in 1906 and again in 1914.

The person who appears to have been associated with the saloon business longest in Skagway was Herman Grimm, of first the Seattle Saloon from June 1898 to June 1908, then the Pack Train Saloon from that time until local prohibition in August 1916. Grimm not only changed the name of his business, but changed the location of the Seattle three times, then moved to what was the third location of the Pack Train. He moved the Pack Train again after occupying it in 1908. While he was Skagway's most loyal – and perhaps most beloved – saloonkeeper, he did not know how to stay put. After moving to Seward to operate a lodging house for a while, Grimm returned to Skagway, where he opened a movie house. He died there on March 30, 1928.[360]

John F. Anderson was the relative new- comer to the bunch, when he purchased the lot at the southwest corner of Broadway and Fourth Avenue and opened the Pantheon Saloon in July 1903. However, he had had a brief stint as a saloonkeeper in the fall of 1898 with his Hot Scotch Saloon at the northeast corner of Second and Broadway. None of the proprietors listed in Table 5 was really new to the saloon business in Skagway. Even those who bought up the saloons that became available for sale had been bartenders or managers of the saloon in question before becoming its owner.

There is some evidence that Anderson may have continued operating the Pantheon after 1916. Besides his arrest in November of that year for selling liquor without a license, the back stairs have a peep-hole, purportedly to check the identity of potential customers to a speak-easy. Anderson actually made improvements to the Pantheon property during the Depression and Prohibition years, something few people in Skagway could afford. Both the Pantheon and the Red Onion saloons have a local reputation for being speak-easies during Prohibition.[361]

The only relative mystery in Table 5 is Franz Zwiefehofer, who operated the Last Chance Saloon. He did not advertise in *The Daily Alaskan*, although the few issues of *The Daily Guide* that exist do have some handsome placard ads for his establishment. Stories about happenings in the Last Chance disappear after August 1903. The 1905, 1907, and 1909 city directories listed him as a cooper, not as a saloonkeeper. He had been a brewer in Butte, Montana before he came to Skagway in January 1898, having learned his craft in his native Austria. He was 65 years old in 1903 and may have decided he was no longer up to taking on the toughs that patronized his saloon.[362] As a cooper in a brewery, he would have been responsible for sampling and bottling the beer, a much less strenuous occupation. It is presumed he worked for the Skagway Brewing Company, as no other breweries remained in Skagway at the time. There are no other unaccounted for saloon-owners listed in these directories, so it is presumed that the Last Chance had gasped its last breath.

As can be seen from Table 5, the Mascot Saloon was in operation for 215 months in the same location, a record exceeded by no other saloon in Skagway. Albert Reinert was a part or whole owner in the business for 205 months of that time. Even as the only owner, Reinert's ownership of the Mascot – at 182 months – exceeded that of any other saloonkeeper or partnership in Skagway in longevity. The Mascot Saloon was Skagway's most stable saloon institution. This stability probably won Reinert the most loyal clientele of any saloon in town.

When the 1920 census was taken, of the 31 major saloon owners in Skagway, Charles Saake, Lyle Speer, and William Simes were the only ones still left in town. Speer and Simes each worked in blue-collar jobs for the railroad; Saake listed himself as a brewer. All were in their early 60's.[363] As already mentioned, Herman Grimm died in Skagway in 1928, and Lyle Speer in 1933. William Simes died there on October 2, 1936. Those who stayed, stayed until death

Table 1: The Saloons in Skagway between November 1897 and December 1898.[1]

Saloon (# on Figure 8)	*Defendant/proprietor/person*	*Nov - Dec 1897*	*Feb-April 1898*	*Summer 1898*	*Sept - Dec 1898*
Alert Saloon (14 or 22)	Johnson, Lulu		x		x
Al-Ki, The	Gray, E. and Johnson, O. W.			x	x
All Nations Saloon (33)	Gus & John, prop			x	
Annex, The (at the Brannick) (39)	Jack Emerson and Larkin, Jim, props.			x	x
Arctic	Carlson		x	x	
Balmoral, The	Little, Launder, & Wroison, prop			x	
Bank (9)	Rice, Geo L. and Co.				x
Beer by the Quart Saloon	Gausnider, Fred		x		
Board of Trade Saloon (7)	Guthrie, Lee		x	x	x
Bowery (18)	unnamed				x
Broadway (42)	Bigelow, H. M.				x
Broadway Hotel	Lawson, Nelson		x		
Burkhard Hotel	Clark, F. F.		x		x
California Pack Train (13)	Blaker & Hewitt		x		
California Pack Train (13)	Higgins, Harry			x	x
California Wine House (20)	Rapuzzi, G.			x	x
Center Dock	unknown		x		
City Brewery (17)	Saake, Charles A.			x	x
Clancy's Music Hall & Club Rooms (1)	Clancy, Frank	x	x		x
Closseum	Skibbe, F. W. L.				x
Club (36)	Whiteford, J. W.				x
Colosseum, The (25)	Schmidt, Mr.			x	
Cosy Saloon	Tarpey, J. J.		x		
Cripple Creek Saloon	Doe, John		x		
Dewey (2)	Mooney, Geo. and Sloan, S. E.				x
Empire Café and Theater	Derning		x		
First & Last Chance Saloon (11)	Drew, Ed, prop. Tom Maher, prop	x	x		x
Gambrinus Brewery (34)	Gansneder, Fritz (Fred) and J. J. Carscadden			x	x
Gem Saloon & Hotel, The	Connelly, Scotty prop	x	x		x
Grotto Saloon (6)	Foster, J. Henry	x	x	x	x
Holly House	Kilpatrick, Perry		x		
Hot Scotch (43)	Anderson, John				x
Hotel Mondamin	Hansen & Tennant, E. J.	x			x
Jeff Smith's Parlor	Smith, Jeff	x			

[1] The sources of data for this table include the U. S. Commissioner's Records for April 1898; DeArmond, *"Stroller" White* for the summer of 1898; the 1899 Skagway City Directory, collected in the fall of 1898 and criminal records in NA-RG21, 1885-1900 (Sitka Division), Boxes 11-17 for November 1897, May 1898, and December 1898. In addition, an 1898 manuscript business directory prepared by Morgan Baird from newspaper advertisements dating from the period assisted in associating the names of proprietors with saloons.

Table 1 (continued): The Saloons in Skagway between November 1897 and December 1898.

Saloon (# on Figure 8)	*Defendant/proprietor/person*	*Nov - Dec 1897*	*Feb-April 1898*	*Summer 1898*	*Sept - Dec 1898*
Jewell Saloon	Barrett, D.		x		
Kentucky House, The	Bloom, A., prop	x			
Kentucky Saloon	unknown		x		
Klondike Saloon	Gasslet, J.G., (or it could be Caslet) & Ed Ward	x			
Klondyke Saloon	Chance, Jimmie and George Rice		x		
Last Chance Saloon	Drew, Ed		x		
Libby Saloon	Mitchell		x		
Little Star (26)	Ritter, A. L.				x
Lobby Music Hall (21)	Mitchell, R. R.				x
Magnolia Hotel, The (31)	Beam, George A., prop				x
Main Street Hotel	Harvest		x		
Manila, The (23)	unknown			x	
Mascot, The (41)	Rohbeck, Charles, prop			x	x
Merchant Saloon (10)	Ferguson and Colegon		x		x
Midway Saloon	Madlock and Sargent		x		
Midway Saloon	A.J. Rochon, A.J., prop	x			
Miners Hotel	Crawford, Mrs. Annie		x		x
Mint (5)	Carlson, A. J.	x			x
Mirror (19)	Clancy, Frank				x
Mondamin Hotel (4)	Henant (?), Harvey		x		
Monogram (12)	Bloom, A.			x	x
Montana (14 or 22)	Vetterieck, Otto				x
Montana Saloon (14 or 22)	Andrews, M. C.		x		
Murphy's Saloon	unknown			x	
Occidental Hotel	Miller and Brogan		x		
Office (32)	Roberts, Sam		x	x	x
Owl Saloon	McConnell, Cohend		x		
Packers Headquarters & Music Hall	James, Jesse, manager			x	
Peerless, The (37)	Phillips, Harry prop			x	x
Peoples Theater	Doe, John		x		
Picture Saloon	Blake, David		x	x	x
Pioneer Saloon	Biglow and Burke		x		
Pioneer Sample Room (30)	Blank, G. L.		x	x	x
Princess (16)	Martin & Valentine			x	
Red Onion (24)	Lawson, Peter C. and Frick, O.				x
Restaurant at Moore's Wharf	unknown		x		
Rice's Place	Rice, Jake	x			
Seattle Headquarters (28)	Miller, Ernst				x
Skaguay Beer Hall (29)	Doetwyler, Rudolph, prop			x	x
Skagway Brewing Co.	Matlock, W.F., pres R.C. Smith, Sec	x	x	x	x

Table 1 (continued): The Saloons in Skagway between November 1897 and December 1898.

Saloon (# on Figure 8)	*Defendant/proprietor/person*	*Nov - Dec 1897*	*Feb-April 1898*	*Summer 1898*	*Sept - Dec 1898*
Skagway Trail	unknown		x		
Smug Saloon	Edison, John	x	x	x	
St. James Hotel (35)	Davis, Wm.		x	x	x
Tivoli (15)	Geisler and Strassner		x		x
unknown	Connelly, John	x		x	x
unknown	Bronsond, Louis	x			
unknown	Dosslet, John Doe	x			
unknown	Egbert, John Doe	x			
unknown	Falk, John Doe	x			
unknown	Hartwell, G. H.	x			
unknown	Hiltz, Jr.	x			
unknown	Johnson, A. W.	x			
unknown	Miller, Gus	x			
unknown	Murphy, H. H.	x			
unknown	Patton, John Doe	x			
unknown	Rhynd, Fred	x			
unknown	Sperry, C. B. (S. B.)	x			
unknown	Brum, F. A.			x	
unknown	Craig, John Doe			x	
unknown	Cummings, Mrs.			x	
unknown	Curtis, John Doe			x	
unknown	Harrigan, H. D.			x	
unknown	Hefferlin, John Doe			x	
unknown	James, Shields			x	
unknown	Johnson, O. N.			x	
unknown	Lawrence, John Doe			x	
unknown	Lynch, John Doe			x	
unknown	Malone, John Doe			x	
unknown	Mansfield, John Doe			x	
unknown	Murphy, John Doe			x	
unknown	Nelson, Gus			x	
unknown	Sampson, John Doe			x	
unknown	Snyder, P. W.			x	
unknown	Tanant, E. L.			x	
unknown	Thorekleson, S. J.			x	
unknown	Wolf, William			x	
unknown	Prosser, John Doe			x	x
unknown	Walker, John Doe			x	x
unknown	Angus, Mamie				x
unknown	Bennett, Dora				x
unknown	Bismark, John Doe				x
unknown	Bovard, Gustave				x

Table 1 (continued): The Saloons in Skagway between November 1897 and December 1898.

Saloon (# on Figure 8)	*Defendant/proprietor/person*	*Nov - Dec 1897*	*Feb- April 1898*	*Summer 1898*	*Sept - Dec 1898*
unknown	Bowden, John Doe				x
unknown	Brandell, J.				x
unknown	Campbell, Olive				x
unknown	Chisolm, A. S.				x
unknown	Conners, J. J.				x
unknown	Connolly, John Doe				x
unknown	Crampton, John Doe				x
unknown	Cross, James L.				x
unknown	Curscuddin, J. J.				x
unknown	Dillon, John Doe				x
unknown	Furbish, John Doe				x
unknown	Glaker, John Doe				x
unknown	Gourley, Wm. R.				x
unknown	Hatton, John Doe				x
unknown	Hunis (Humis?), Harry				x
unknown	Huntchcliff, Thos.				x
unknown	Johnson, John Doe				x
unknown	Johnson, P. H.				x
unknown	Kelly, John Doe				x
unknown	King, D.				x
unknown	King, John Doe				x
unknown	Lewis, Jas. W.				x
unknown	Ling, Ernest				x
unknown	Linquist, Frank				x
unknown	Ludisher, Frank				x
unknown	Martins, Ernest				x
unknown	Martinson, E. H.				x
unknown	Miller, A. H.				x
unknown	Morris, E. W.				x
unknown	Myrick, R. L.				x
unknown	Needham, Fred				x
unknown	Portman, Nicholas				x
unknown	Pratt, George O.				x
unknown	Prigmore, Duke				x
unknown	Puliten, Kate				x
unknown	Reinhart, W. N.				x
unknown	Ross, J.				x
unknown	Schmidt, John Doe				x
unknown (brothel)	Schooler, Mrs. Belle				x
unknown	Shade, S. H.				x
unknown	Sheldon, Hy				x
unknown	Shepard, John Doe				x
unknown	Smith, S. H.				x

Table 1 (continued): The Saloons in Skagway between November 1897 and December 1898.

Saloon (# on Figure 8)	*Defendant/proprietor/person*	*Nov - Dec 1897*	*Feb- April 1898*	*Summer 1898*	*Sept - Dec 1898*
unknown	Stevens, Frank				x
unknown	Stral, Max				x
unknown	Wilson, A.				x
Victoria House Lodging & Saloon	Hepburn, Norman, manager		x		
White Navy (37)	Manning, F. A.		x		x
Yukon Sample Room, The	Mona, A., prop	x	x	x	x
Total "Saloons"		**27**	**43**	**49**	**96**

Table 2. Yearly Court Revenues from Prostitutes, Gamblers and Other Sources, 1903 – 1906.

year	*Fines from Prostitutes*	*Fines from Gamblers*	*All Other Fines*
1903	$ 540.00	$ 380.00	$ 201.00
1904	$1,080.00	$1,040.00	$ 319.00
1905	$ 817.00	$ 876.60	$ 145.00
1906	$ 980.00	$ 720.00	$ 422.00
Total	**$3,417.00**	**$3,007.60**	**$1,087.00**

Source: Skagway Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8, 1903-1907.

Table 3: Ranking Of Criminal and Violent Incidents in Skagway Saloons.

Ranking	*Incidents*
1	Chronic alcoholism resulting in death
2	Trespassing, profane language, insanity
3	Disturbing the peace, disorderly conduct, vandalism by goat
4	Petty theft, breaking windows
5	Theft of significant property (gold piece, silver watch, $225 purse), barroom brawl with no charges
6	Adultery, obstruction of justice, bribery of a jury
7	Assault, battery, carrying a concealed weapon, gun play, sodomy
8	Embezzlement, forgery

Table 4: Severity Ranking of Crimes in Skagway Saloons.

saloon	*# of incidents (i)*	*total severity Ranking (s)*	*average severity ranking (as=s/i)*	*Longevity in months (m)*	*Longevity adjustment (la=81/m)*	*Score (la x as)*	*rank*
Commerce	2	12	6.00	14	5.79	34.71	1
Horseshoe	2	14	7.00	18	4.50	31.50	2
Pantheon	2	15	7.50	53	1.53	11.46	3
Idaho	3	19	6.33	47	1.72	10.91	4
Last Chance	3	15	5.00	40	2.03	10.13	5
Pack Train	4	21	5.25	81	1.00	5.25	6
Mascot	8	41	5.13	81	1.00	5.13	7
Board of Trade	5	24	4.80	81	1.00	4.80	8
Seattle	4	10	2.50	81	1.00	2.50	9

Table 5: The Longevity of the Major Saloons in Skagway.

	Saloon/proprietor	*Location*	*Start*	*End*	*# of months*
BOARD OF TRADE SALOON					**221**
	Geo. Rice and Company (including Lee Guthrie)	523-527 6th Avenue	Oct-1897	1899	24
	Lee Guthrie	523-527 6th Avenue	1899	Jul-1902	29
	Cleveland Hall and Joseph Engel (managers)	523-527 6th Avenue	Jul-1902	1903	12
	Cleveland Hall, Wm. Sime, and Joseph Engel, (managers)	523-527 6th Avenue	1903	1906	36
	Fred C. Flaherty, William Sime, and George Woodburn	Broadway and 5th, SW corner	1906	1907	12
	Fred C. Flaherty and George Woodburn	Broadway and 5th, SW corner	1907	Apr-1914	108
	Fred C. Flaherty	Broadway and 4th, SE corner	Apr-1914	Jul-1916	27
IDAHO LIQUOR HOUSE					**174**
	W. N. Rinehart	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	Dec-1897	Jun-1899	18
	W. F. Matlock	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	Jun-1899	1901	24
	W. F. Matlock and R. C. Smith	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	1901	Jun-1902	12
	Wm. W. Boughton and Joseph G. Smith	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	Jun-1902	Nov-1904	17
	Smith, Joseph G.	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	Nov-1904	1906	24
(Horse Shoe Saloon)					
	W. L. Speer and Albert Reinert	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	1906	Jun-1909	31
	W. L. Speer	Broadway and 3rd, NW corner	Jun-1909	1913?	48?
(First and) LAST CHANCE SALOON					**60**
	Ed Drew	Broadway and 5th, SE corner	1898	1899	12
	Ed Drew and Tom Maher	Broadway and 5th, SE corner	1899	1901	24
	Zwiefehofer, Franz	Broadway and 5th, SE corner	1901	1903	24
MASCOT(te) SALOON					**218**
	Charles Rohback	Broadway and 3rd, SE corner	May-1898	Jun-1899	13
	Albert Reinert and Charles Saake	Broadway and 3rd, SE corner	Jun-1899	May 1901	23
	Albert Reinert	Broadway and 3rd, SE corner	May 1901	Aug-1916	182
MONOGRAM LIQUOR HOUSE					**124**
	A. Bloom	Unknown	Dec-1897	1899	13
	A. Bloom and Emil Korach	511 Broadway	1899	1908	63
	Emil Korach	511 Broadway	1909	1913?	48

Table 5 (continued): The Longevity of the Major Saloons in Skagway.

Saloon/proprietor	*Location*	*Start*	*End*	*# of months*
PACK TRAIN SALOON				**202**
George L. and Co. Rice	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Aug-1897	Nov-1901	27
J. E. Fletcher and Charley Greenwall	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Nov-1901	Apr-1902	5
Charley Greenwall and D. E. Wallace	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Apr-1902	Aug-1902	4
R. C. Smith and W. F. Matlock	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Aug-1902	Nov-1902	3
R. C. Smith and John L. Gage	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Nov-1902	Dec-1904	23
John L. Gage, Fred Patten, and Chris E. Shea	Broadway and 6th, SW corner	Dec-1904	Oct-1906	22
Fred Patten and Chris E. Shea	Broadway and 5th, SW corner	Oct-1906	Jun-1908	20
Grimm, Hermann	Broadway and 5th, SE corner	Jun-1908	?	68
Grimm, Hermann	Broadway between 3rd and 4th	?	July 1916	29
PANTHEON SALOON				**158**
John F. Anderson, Jack Peterson	Broadway and 4th, SW corner	Jul-1903	Sep-1904	14
John F. Anderson, Fred C. Flaherty and George Sullivan	Broadway and 4th, SW corner	Sep-1904	Oct-1906	25
John F. Anderson	Broadway and 4th, SW corner	Oct-1906	Aug-1916	120
SEATTLE (Headquarters) SALOON				**128**
Miller, Ernst	510 Broadway	Oct-1897	June-1898	8
Grimm, Hermann	State and 6th NW corner	Jun-1898	Aug-1901	38
Grimm, Hermann	State and 6th SE corner	Aug-1901	Sep-1903	25
Grimm, Hermann	State and 6th NW corner	Sep-1903	Jun-1908	57

ENDNOTES

[1] Catherine H. Blee, Robert L. Spude and Paul C. Cloyd, *Historic Structures Reports for Ten Buildings: Administrative, Physical History and Analysis Sections, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska* (United States Government Printing Office: Denver, 1984) pages 271-287; Catherine Holder Blee, *Archeological Investigations in Skagway, Alaska, Volume 2: The Moore Cabin and House, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park* (United States Government Printing Office: Denver, 1988); Doreen C. Cooper, *A Century at the Moore/Kirmse House: Archeological Investigations In Skagway, Alaska, Volume 8* (United States Government Printing Office: Skagway, Alaska, 2001).

[2] Thanks to Karl Gurcke for straightening me out on this story. "They always mix it up when they talk about how those boys found gold: they say Tagish Charlie was with them, but he wasn't. The one who found gold with Skookum Jim is Skookum Jim's own nephew, Dawson Charlie, brother of Billy Smith and Patsy Henderson" (Julie Cruikshank, in collaboration with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned; *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders*, [Lincoln, University of Nebraska: 1990, page 38). Actually, the name Tagish Charlie was used in a document listing the people who had staked claims on Rabbit Creek early on during the rush. Karl suspects that after the rush, the First Nation's peoples wanted to distinguish between the two men from Tagish with the same Euroamerican name so they renamed one of the "Charlies." After all, the name "Dawson" was not in existence until the rush.

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[4] Juneau *Alaska Mining Record*, August 11, 1897; David E. Snow and Robert L. Spude, *Historic Structure Report, The Mascot Saloon Group, Historic Buildings 35H, 35G, and 35F, Historical and Architectural Data Sections, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway Alaska* (United States Government Printing Office, Denver: 1981) page 3.

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[6] *San Francisco Examiner*, August 2, 1897; August 17, 1897; *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 19, 1897; Juneau *Alaska Mining Record*, August 11, 1897.

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[8] E. Hazard Wells, *Magnificence and Misery: A Firsthand Account of the 1897 Klondike Gold Rush* (Doubleday and Company: Garden City, 1984), page 3; Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede* (University of British Columbia: Vancouver, 1994), pages 40-41, 49, 53-54. The original edition was published in 1900.

[9] *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 19, 1897.

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[11] *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 19, 1897; *The San Francisco Examiner*, August 21, 1897; Adney, *Klondike Stampede*, page 54.

[12] Adney, *Klondike Stampede*, page 54.

[13] James M. Sinclair, *Mission: Klondike* (Mitchell Press: Vancouver, 1978), pages 26 and 36.

[14] National Archives – Pacific Alaska Region, Record Group 21, Records of the U. S. District Courts, District of Alaska, 1st Division, Criminal Case Files, [hereafter referred to as NA-RG21], 1885-1900 (Sitka Division), Boxes 11-13; Morgan Baird, "Directory of Skagway Advertisers in 1898," manuscript on file, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska.

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[16] Alaska State Archives, Juneau, Alaska, Record Group 506, Series 57, United States District Court, District of Alaska, First Division, U. S. Commissioner's Records, Criminal Cases, Division No. 1, [hereafter referred to as U. S. Commissioner's records], Vol. I (OS569), April 22, 1898, pp. 238-284; DeArmond, *Stroller White*; 1899 Skagway City Directory; NA-RG21, 1885-1900 (Sitka Division), Boxes 14 and 15.

[17] NA-RG21, 1885-1900 (Sitka Division), Boxes 16,17, 19.

[18] U. S. Commissioner's records, Vol. I (OS569), April 22, 1898, pp. 238-284; *Directory and Guide, Skagway, 1899* (C. Clinton: Skagway, Alaska, 1899) page 143.

[19] For this and later monetary conversions, I used "The Inflation Calculator," a web-site application based on the consumer price index by S. Morgan Friedman. The URL is http:// www.westegg.com/inflation/. The web author used pre-1975 Consumer Price Index data from *Historical Statistics of the United States* (USGPO, 1975). All data since then are from the annual *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*. The exact conversion for $1,500 is $29,925.50.

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[24] Thayne J. Anderson, *Alaska Hooch: The History of Alcohol in Early Alaska* (Hoo-Che-Noo, Fairbanks: 1988), pages 144, 205, and 206.
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[26] NA-RG 21, Sitka Criminal Files, Boxes 11-13, cases 681-849. Skagway's cases were from #733-800.
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[28] Commissioner's Records, Vol. I (OS569), pages 238-284, 299, 346-357, 360-369.
[29] Commissioner's Records, Vol. I (OS569), page 351.
[30] Commissioner's Records, Vol. I (OS569), pages 143-155, 192-213.
[31] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 16, 1899, page 1; NA-RG 21, Sitka Criminal Cases, Boxes 16-17, cases #1061 – 1148.
[32] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 16, 1899, "Liquor License for Alaska $1,000," page 1; *The Daily Alaskan,* "High License for Alaska," page 2; March 3, 1899, "No Saloons," page 4.
[33] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 3, 1899, "No Saloons," page 4.
[34] Anderson, *Alaska Hooch,* page 223;
[35] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 26, 1899, "Local Option or No Local Option," page 1; " May 30, 1899, "For Liquor Licenses," page 1; May 30, 1899, "General Election for Local Option," page 1; May 30, 1899, "Judge Johnson's Advice," page 2.
[36] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 30, 1899, "Judge Johnson's Advice," page 2; May 30, 1899, "For Liquor Licenses," page 1; New Years Edition, January 9, 1900, "First Book of the Chronicles of Skagway," page 15.
[37] *The Daily Alaskan* reprinted the election register for the first licensing election in 25 issues of the newspaper, under a heading entitled "Looking Backward." The names, place of birth, place of residence, occupation and date of arrival were given for each registered voter in the following issues: February 13, 1918, page 3; February 14, 1918, page 3; February 15, 1918, page 3; February 16, 1918, page 4; February 14, 1918, page 3; February 25, 1918, page 4; February 26, 1918, page 4; February 27, 1918, page 4; February 28, 1918, page 4; March 1, 1918, page 4; March 4, 1918, page 4; March 5, 1918, page 4; March 6, 1918, page 4; March 7, 1918, page 4; March 8, 1918, page 4; March 9, 1918, page 4; March 13, 1918, page 4; March 14, 1918, page 4; March 15, 1918, page 4; March 16, 1918, page 4; March 21, 1918, page 4; March 25, 1918, page 4; March 26, 1918, page 4; March 28, 1918, page 4; April 26, 1918, page 4.
[38] Clinton, *1899 Directory,* page 143.
[39] Snow and Spude, *Mascot Saloon Group*, page 7.
[40] *The Daily Alaskan,* New Years Edition, January 9, 1900, "First Book of the Chronicles of Skagway," page 15.
[41] *The Daily Alaskan,* New Years Edition, "Number of Skagway Business Houses," page 7.
[42] Spude, *District of Alaska,* page 11.
[43] For instance, see Thomas J. Noel, *The City and the Saloon: Denver 1858-1916* (University of Nebraska: Lincoln, 1982), page 116. Noel uses per capita figures when discussing saloons in relation to population. When adjusting for potential customers only (males), the Denver saloons consistently served an average of 80 men apiece, similar to other population centers.
[44] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Southern Supervisor's District, Seventh Enumeration District, Town of Skagway, manuscript [hereafter referred to as Skagway manuscript census, 1900]. This figure is for adult males 18 years of age and older, and includes all the men in Skagway proper, the men on the railroad line camps, those in Smuggler's Cove, and those enumerated on the ships in port. The latter may well represent most of the transients typically passing through in spring or fall.

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[47] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 8, 1900, "To Reduce License Fee," page 1.
[48] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 14, 1900, "Juneau Granted Cheaper Licenses," page 1.
[49] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 6, 1900, "Big Money," page 1.
[50] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 23, 1900, "No Saloons," page 4.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 23, 1900, page 2.
[53] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 23, 1900, "No Saloons," page 4; September 26, 1900, "Protests Will Not Be Heard for Days," page 1.
[54] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 12, 1900, "Site for a School House is Secured," page 1; "Keeping Schools Back," page 2.
[55] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 27, 1900, "To Get Bond," page 1.
[56] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 14, 1900, "Saloon Protest Heard," page 4.
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[58] *Ibid.;* Book 1284, 1902-1903.
[59] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 1, 1901, New Year's Special Edition, "First City in Alaska to Incorporate," page 2.
[60] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 16, 1901, "Alaska School Fund," page 1.
[61] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 2, 1901, "Protest against the Library," page 2.
[62] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 15, 1901, "Our Public Schools," page 1.
[63] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 19, 1901, "Churches and Saloons," page 2.
[64] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 1, 1901, "No Liquor In Dives," page 2; Bay Riley, *Gold Diggers of the Klondike: Prostitution in Dawson City, Yukon, 1898- 1908* (Watson and Dyer: Manitoba, 1997).
[65] Alaska State Archives, RG 506, Series 060, United States District Court, First District, Clerk of the Court, Liquor Licenses, Petitions and Election, 1900 – 1917. Tom Murton Collection, folder 451.
[66] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 6, 1901, "Grand Jury Makes Its Final Report," page 1.
[67] NA-RG21, 1900-1911, Cases #S-72-95, 97-113, and 115-116; *The Daily Alaskan*, November 6, 1901, "Grand Jury Makes Its Final Report," page 1.
[68] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 17, 1902, "To Reduce the Saloon Licenses," page 1; editorial comments, page 2.
[69] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 22, 1902, "Population," page 2.
[70] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 18, 1902, "Pray Court," page 3; April 22, 1902, "The Census," page 2.
[71] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 23, 1902, "Lease Room," page 1; April 26, 1902, "Is Your Name Written There?" page ; "It Concerns Everybody," page 2.
[72] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 27, 1902, "Census is Going to Be a Love Feast," page 1.
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[74] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 17, 1902, "Skagway Census Fraud Exposed!" page 1; "Skagway's Census," page 3.
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[78] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 13, 1903, "The City Census," page 2.
[79] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 24, 1903, "Notice to the Public," page 4; May 28, 1903, "Nearly Done," page 3.
[80] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 15, 1903, "Jury Refuses to Convict Sabbath Breakers," page 1.
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[82] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 19, 1903, page 1.
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[84] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 9, 1903, "All Over," page 1.
[85] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 8, 1903, "Try Them," page 1; August 13, 1903, "Will Close," page 1; August 21, 1903, "Will Close," page 2.

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[87] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 2, 1903, "Will Move," page 4; August 4, 1903, "Notice to Contractors," page 1; August 8, 1903, "New Saloon on First," page 4, August 18, 1903, "Grimm's Lumber Arrives," page 4; September 3, 1903 "New Seattle Saloon," page 1.
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[89] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 27, 1903, "Will Have a New Saloon," page 1; July 3, 1903 "To Open," page 4; August 8, 1903, "New Saloon on First," page 4; September 6, 1903 "Was Great," page 2.
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[91] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 17, 1904, "Judge Brown Out," page 1; November 19, 1904, "Sole Topic," page 3; November 26, 1904, untitled editorial, page 2; December 3, 1904, untitled editorial, page 2.
[92] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 6, 1905 "Judge Gunnison on the Bench," page 2;, December 12, 1904 "New Judge," page 1; "Praise for Judge Gunnison," page 2.
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[96] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 1, 1908, "New Alaska License Bill," page 1; February 1, 1908, "Faulty Liquor License Law," page 2; April 27, 1908, "One Tax Outrage," page 2; May 1, 1908, page 1; July 14, 1908, untitled editorial comment, page 2.
[97] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 1, 1908, "Faulty Liquor License Law," page 2.
[98] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 24, 1909, "Skagway Has 1,200 People," page 4.
[99] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Territory of Alaska, First Judicial District, Fourth Enumeration District, Town of Skagway, manuscript.
[100] Sandra Haarsanger, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920* (University of Oklahoma, Norman: 1997), pages 64 and 68.
[101] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 15, 1900, page 3. V. Teeley was probably Victoria Tooley, associated with the Peniel Mission.
[102] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 27, 1901, "They Talk It Over," page 1.
[103] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 22, 1900, "W. C. T. U. Institute Convenes in the City," page 4; New Year's Edition, "Chronology of Events of the Year," January 1, 1901: 8.
[104] Skagway manuscript census, 1900, page 27, Dwelling 237, Family 384; Clinton, *Directory and Guide,* pages 133, 134, 139; Ferguson, M. L., *The Only Yukon-Alaska Directory and Gazetteer for 1901* (Barnes and Barber: 1901), pages 850 and 856; Polk, *1903 Business Directory*, pages 247-248; Polk, *1905-6 Business Directory*, pages 362, 368.
[105] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 23, 1900, "No Saloons," page 4.
[106] Haarsanger, *Organized Womanhood*, pages 60 and 69.
[107] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 9, 1900, page 2; March 12, 1901, "W. T. C. U. Meets Today ," page 4; March 27, 1901, "They Talk It Over," page 1; May 5, 1901 "Society," page 1; August 13, 1901, "W. C. T. U. to Meet," page 4; *The Daily Alaskan*, August 17, 1901, "Society in Skagway," page 3.
[108] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 23, 1901, "Social Evil Discussed," page 1. See also the following articles for the entire story of districting the prostitutes: *The Daily Alaskan,* April 10, 1901, "The City Council Has a Tussle With The Social Evil," page 1; *The Daily Alaskan*, April 10, 1901, "Spare the School Children," page 2; April 11, 1901, "Great Moral Wave Sweeping The City," page 1; April 11, 1901, "The Reform Crusade," page 2; April 12, 1901, "The Children Spared," page 2; , April 13, 1901, "The Social Evil," page 2.
[109] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 21, 1901, "Noted Evangelist Arrives in Skagway," page 4.
[110] *The Daily Alaskan,* "Au Revior," page 2.
[111] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 23, 1915, "The Alaska Liquor Referendum as Passed by the Legislature," page 1.
[112] *The Daily Alaskan,* "Judge Brown Tells Jury to Enforce Law," page 1.
[113] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 11, 1902, "Not Alone," page 3.
[114] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 12, 1902, "Duty, Rights, Etc.," page 2.

[115] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 13, 1902, "City Campaign is Under Full Headway," page 1; , June 13, 1902, page 3; June 4, 1903, "City Politics Beginning to Attract Attention," page 1; June 10, 1903, "Get Straight," page 1; June 11, 1903, "Skagway Citizens Name a Municipal Ticket," page 1; June 11, 1903, "The Ticket," page 2; March 30, 1905, "Utmost Harmony at City Convention," page 1.
[116] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 12, 1900, "Site for a School House is Secured," page 1; October 12, 1900, "Keeping Schools Back," page 2.
[117] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 20, 1901, "Current Comment," page 2.
[118] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 12, 1901, "Current Comment," page 2.
[119] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 7, 1901, untitled editorial quip, page 2.
[120] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 27, 1901, "They Talk It Over," page 1.
[121] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 9, 1901, "Carrie Nation Indorsed," page 1.
[122] Haarsanger, *Organized Womanhood*, pages 60 and 69.
[123] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 20, 1902, "Will Meet," page 1.
[124] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 23, 1907, "Denies Board of Trade a Saloon License," page 1; September 24, 1907, two untitled articles, page 4; February 6, 1908, untitled article, page 4; February 17, 1908, "Limerick Competition," page 4; February 18, 1908, "Opens on the Alley," page 4.
[125] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 18, 1908, "W. C. T. U. is Organized," page 1.
[126] *R. L. Polk and Company's Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1909-10* (R. L. Polk: Seattle, 1909), page 459; *The Daily Alaskan*, February 20, 1909, "Society," page 3.
[127] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 5, 1908, "Meeting of the W. C. T. U.," page 1; September 17, 1908, page 4; February 6, 1909, "In Society," page 3.
[128] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 24, 1909, "W. C. T. U. Leader Here," page 4; June 26, 1909 "Society," page 3; June 28, 1909, untitled article, page 1.
[129] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 17, 1908, page 4; September 11, 1908, "Wants to Meet the Children," page 1; J. C. Furnas, *The Life and Times of The Late Demon Rum* (F. P Putnam, New York: 1965), page 135.
[130] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 3, 1908, untitled note, page 3; October 21, 1908, "Some Fun for Election Night," page 2; October 28, 1908, "Saturday is Hallow E'en," page 1; November 4, 1908, "The Returns in Skagway," page 1; September 11, 1908, "Wants to Meet the Children," page 1; October 28, 1908, "Saturday is Hallow E'en," page 1.
[131] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 20, 1909, "Society," page 3.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 6, 1909, "Will Erect a Fountain," page 1.
[134] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 5, 1908, page 4.
[135] *The Daily Alaskan*, May 28, 1901, page 1; June 1, 1901, "Memorial Day is Observed," page 1.
[136] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 21, 1909, "W. C. T. U Rest Rooms," page 4.
[137] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 9, 1909, page 4.
[138] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 31, 1908, page 4.
[139] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 7, 1908, "Society in Skagway," page 3; June 24, 1909, "W. C. T. U. Leader Here," page 4; June 26, 1909, "Society," page 3; June 28, 1909, page 1.
[140] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 22, 1909, "Women Tell About Their Work," page 1
[141] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 31, 1909, "Society," page 3.
[142] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 2, 1909, "Jolly Men into Voting Right By Sitting on Their Laps Says Woman," page 4.
[143] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 9, 1914, "Court Officials on Their Way Here," page 1; April 10, 1914, "Board of Trade License Hearing," page 1; April 11, 1914, "Judge Grants Retail License," page 1.
[144] Spude et al., *Father Turnell,* pages 90-91; *The Daily Alaskan,* April 6, 1914, "J. M. Tanner is Repudiated," page 1; April 4, 1914, "Court Officials on Way Here," page 1; April 10, 1914, "Board of Trade License Hearing," page 1; April 11, "Judge Grants Retail License," page 1.
[145] *Daily Alaskan*, June 7, 1916:1; Spude et al., *Father Turnell,* page 93.
[146] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920, Alaska, First Judicial District, Skagway, manuscript census; Skagway manuscript census, 1910. The lower number is for native born and naturalized citizens 18 years old and above in 1920, but does not include Indians, who were not considered citizens. The higher number is for the same group in 1910. It is assumed that the voting age was 18. Alaskan women were allowed to vote in the 1916 election.
[147] *Daily Alaskan*, June 7, 1916, page 1; August 22, 1916, page 1; Spude et al., *Father Turnell's Trash Pit,* page 93; Spude and Snow, *The Mascot Saloon Group,* page 12.
[148] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 30, 1916, page 2.
[149] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 27, 1916, page 1; December 4, 1916, page 1; December 5, 1916, page 1; December 6, 1916, page 1.

[150] Spude et al., *Father Turnell's Trash Pit*, page 91.
[151] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 11, 1916, page 1.
[152] Spude et al. *Father Turnell, pages* 91-92.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] Spude et al. *Father Turnell, pages* 95.
[155] Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon*, 1870 -1920 (University of Chicago, Chicago: 1998), pages 31-35.
[156] Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (University of Illinois: Urbana, 1997), page 51.
[157] NA-RG 21, Juneau Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 9, File 340 "B (1)" U. S. vs. Sam Guis and J. J. Penglas; Steele, *Forty Years,* page 296.
[158] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 6, 1900, "Women Must Keep Out," page 2.
[159] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 8, 1902, "Not Even at Side Doors," page 1.
[160] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 20, 1901, "Interesting Verdict," page 4.
[161] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 1, 1901, "Where Salt Lake Women Gamble," page 2.
[162] *The Daily Alaskan,* New Year's Edition, January 1, 1901, "The Seattle Saloon, Sixth and State," page 7.
[163] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 31, 1901, "Orchestral Palace," page 1.
[164] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 2, 1905, "Medical Use of *Whiskey*," page 4.
[165] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 28, 1901, "Society," page 1.
[166] *The Daily Alaskan*, May 3, 1901, "Did Not Buy Plant," page 1.
[167] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 3, 1902, "Make Beer," page 1.
[168] *The Daily Alaskan,* "Barthel Makes Family Porter," page 4.
[169] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 15, 1902, placard ad, page 2; December 15, 1904, placard ad, page 3.
[170] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 23, 1903, "A Gentleman's Resort," page 3.
[171] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 8, 1901, "Opened the Grand Bar," page 1. However, later ads for the hotel list Whitehorse as the address for the Grand Hotel.
[172] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 15, 1904, placard ad, page 4.
[173] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 3, 1904, "Better Yet," page 4; October 4, 1904 "Your Chance," page 3.
[174] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 28, 1903, "F. Rasmussen Sentenced for One Year," page 1.
[175] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 9, 1903, "All Over," page 1; December 30, 1903, "Town Closed," page 1.
[176] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 9, 1903, "All Over," page 1.
[177] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 21, 1903, "Will Close," page 2.
[178] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 1-31, untitled advertisement, various pages.
[179] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 1, 1908, "New Alaska License Bill," page 1.
[180] Frank Norris, "Statistical Summary of Reported Criminal Activities in Dyea and Skagway, August 1897 to December 1898," Manuscript on file at Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska.
[181] U. S. Commissioner's Records, Vol. I (OS569) pages 143-155.
[182] NA-RG21, Sitka Criminal files, Case #1333.
[183] Skagway manuscript census, 1900, family numbers 759, 975, and 990, pages 77, 97, 98, and 100.
[184] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 19, 1901, "Dawson Will Booze," page 1.
[185] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 24, 1901, "Gambling is Again Running in Dawson," page 1.
[186] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 17, 1901, "Hot Place for a Dog," page 3.
[187] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 20, 1901, "Gambling Will Again Be Stopped," page 1.
[188] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 22, 1901, "Games Bay Be Reopened," page 1.
[189] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 20, 1901, "Blue Tickets Given," page 1.
[190] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 4, 1902, "No Games," page 4.
[191] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 7, 1902, "Henry M'Caulay is the Mayor of Dawson," page 1.
[192] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 9, 1903, "All Off," page 4.
[193] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 15, 1903, "Closed," page 4.
[194] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 25, 1903, "Looking On," page 2.
[195] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 27, 1903, "Pull Them," page 3.
[196] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 8, 1904, "Wide Open," page 3.
[197] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 28, 1901 "White Horse Will Be a Closed Town," page 1; June 1, 1901, "Gambling Stopped at White Horse," page 1.
[198] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 22, 1901, "Lessons in Gambling," page 2.
[199] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 20, 1901, "A Black-Jack Monopoly," page 3.
[200] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 8, 1901, "Law and Order League Lose," page 3.
[201] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 30, 1901, "All Gambling Closed," page 3.

[202] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 9, 1902, "A Republican Victory at Seattle," page 1.
[203] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 9, 1903, "Test Law," page 1.
[204] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 15, 1903, "Full Blast," page 1.
[205] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 16, 1904, "Goes Free," page 1.
[206] *The Daily Alaskan*, May 26, 1901, "Mayor with a Nerve," page 3.
[207] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 5, 1904, unnamed editorial quip, page 2.
[208] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 6, 1903, "Gambling," page 3.
[209] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 1, 1901, "Where Salt Lake Women Gamble," page 2.
[210] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 15, 1904, "Monte Carlo," page 1.
[211] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 15, 1902, "Stop It," page 2.
[212] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 8, 1904, "Wide Open," page 3.
[213] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 13, 1901, "He Has Opinions About the Revenue," page 1.
[214] Clinton, *Directory and Gazetteer, 1899*, page 143; Ferguson, *Directory and Gazetteer 1901*, pages 855 and 860; Skagway manuscript census, 1900, family no. 1113, page 112.
[215] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 19, 1901, "Results of the Municipal Fight," page 1.
[216] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 18, 1901, "Political Gossip of the Campaign," pages 1 and 2.
[217] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 19, 1901, "Results of the Municipal Fight," page 1.
[218] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 11, 1901, "Neglected Dead at Nome," page 3.
[219] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 18, 1902, "Dynamiter Was Desperate Criminal," pages 1 and 6.
[220] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 5, 1904, "Hard Luck," page 3.
[221] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 31, 1901, "Orchestral Palace," page 1.
[222] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 6, 1902, "Can't Lose Your Money," page 4.
[223] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 7, 1902 , "Judge Brown Tells Jury to Enforce Law," page 1.
[224] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 12, 1902, "Duty, Rights, Etc.," page 2.
[225] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 17, 1902, "All Done," page 4.
[226] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 2, 1902, "Grand Jury Charged on Gambling Question," page 1.
[227] *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, December 1, 1902, "Dist. Court First Day," page 1;
[228] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 28, 1902, "Douglas Gambling House is Held Up," page 1; December 4, 1902 "Grand Jury Finds Many Indictments," page 1; December 6, 1902, "Stand Trial," page 1.
[229] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 7, 1902, "At Work," page 1; December 9, 1902 "Is Guilty," page 3; December 16, 1902, "Tidal Wave of Morality has Broken," page 1; December 17, 1902, "Arrested," page 1.
[230] *The Daily Record-Miner*, February 17, 1903, "Equal Rights to All," page 1.
[231] *The Daily Record Miner*, January 21, 1903, "Opera House All Right," page 1.
[232] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 19, 1902, "Closed Town," page 1.
[233] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 21, 1902, "Very Dull," page 1.
[234] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 25, 1902, "Opening," page 3.
[235] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 17, 1903, "No Surcease," page 1.
[236] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 21, 1903, "Much Ado," page 4.
[237] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 18, 1902, "On Bail," page 1.
[238] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 29, 1903 "The Court," page 1.
[239] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 11, 1903, "Grand Jury," page 1.
[240] NA-RG 21, Juneau Criminal Case Files, 1900-1960, Box 3, Case #S-145, Journal A, page 548; Case #S-146; Case #S-147 Journal A, page 547; Case #S-148 Journal A, page 549; Case #S-149 Journal 350; Case #S-151, Docket A, page 151, Journal 551; Case #S-152, Docket A, page 152, Journal 551; Case #S-153, Docket A, page 153, Journal 552; Case #S-154, Docket A, page 154, Journal 552; Case #S-155, Docket A, page 155, Journal 552).
[241] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 5, 1903, "Judge Brown," page 1.
[242] *The Daily Alaskan*, May 6, 1903, "Was Tame," page 1.
[243] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 24, 1903, "City Acts," page 3.
[244] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 30, 1903, "Good Decision," page 3.
[245] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 27, 1903, "Hauled Up," page 1; August 28, 1903, "Are fined," page 1.
[246] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 27, 1903, "Made Kick," page 1.
[247] Historical Records of Skagway, Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8, pages 27 -46.
[248] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 24, 1903, "Make Change," page 4.
[249] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 3, 1903, "The Straight of It," page 2.
[250] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 6, 1903, "Federal Courts Will Not Interfere," page 1; October 7, 1903, "Will Permit No Kind," page 1.
[251] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 30, 1903, "Town Closed," page 1.
[252] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 5, 1904, "Grand Jury," page 1.
[253] NA-RG21, Juneau Criminal Files, 1900-1960, Box # 4, Case #S-173, Docket B, Page 133; Case #S-174, Docket B, page 134.

[254] NA-RG21, Juneau Criminal Files,, 1900-1960, Box #4, case #172, Docket B, page 132; Case #S-175, Docket B, Page 135.
[255] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 7, 1904, "Juneau Gamblers Fight the Indictments," page 1.
[256] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 16, 1904, "Was Short," page 3.
[257] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 4, 1904, "Had to Pay," page 4.
[258] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 31, 1904, "Alleged Gamblers Arrested," page 3.
[259] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 1, 1904, "Not Long," page 4; April 6, 1904, "Must Stop," page 4; April 9, 1904, "Will Get It," page 4. The quote is in the last citation.
[260] NA-RG21, Juneau, 1900-1960, RG-21, Box # 4, Case #S-173, Docket B, Page 133; Case #S-174, Docket B, page 134; Case #S-175, Docket B, Page 135.
[261] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 18, 1904, "To Act," page 1.
[262] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 28, 1904, "Cities Control Gambling and Social Evil," page 1.
[263] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 16, 1904, "Wide Open," page 3.
[264] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 17, 1904, "Judge Brown Out," page 1; November 19, 1904, "Sole Topic," page 3; November 26, 1904, untitled editorial, page 2; December 3, 1904, untitled editorial, page 2.
[265] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 8, 1900, "Ordinance No. 9," pages 2-3.
[266] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 28, 1908, "Ordinance No. 104," page 2.
[267] Thomas H. Carter. *The Laws of Alaska.* (Calaghan: Chicago, 1900), page 32.
[268] Historical Records of Skagway, Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8.
[269] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 23, 1906, "City Financial Report for the Year," page 3.
[270] Historical Records of Skagway, Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8.
[271] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 23, 1906, "Close It Up," page 3.
[272] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 30, 1906, "Ketchikan is Closed Town," page 2; November 7, 1906, "Stops It," page 3.
[273] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 6, 1906, "Closes Up," page 3.
[274] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 9, 1906, "Skagway City Council Closes Gambling," page 1.
[275] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 12, 1906, "Lid is On," page 1.
[276] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 22, 1907.
[277] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 25, 1903; September 25, 1903; September 27, 1903.
[278] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 25, 1907; March 27, 1907; March 27, 1907; March 30, 1907.
[279] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 27, 1907.
[280] *Ibid.*
[281] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 3, 1907.
[282] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 3, 1907.
[283] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 1, 1907.
[284] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 28, 1901, "Society," page 1.
[285] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 1, 1908, "New Alaska License Bill," page 1.
[286] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 7, 1908, "The Awakening of the Liquor Men," page 2.
[287] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 21, 1908, "The Leaf Next the Eye," page 2.
[288] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 9, 1908, "Work Their Own Downfall," page 2.
[289] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 8, 1901, "Commissioners Court," page 1.
[290] Powers, *Faces Along the Bar,* page 67.
[291] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 18, 1904, "No Word," page 1; April 22, 1904, "To Try Him," page 4; May 14, 1904, "To Convene," page 4; May 20, 1904, "In Session," page 4; May 21, 1904, "Gallahan Coming to Night," page 3.
[292] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 2, 1902, "Loud Jags" and "Overcrowded," page 1, February 4, 1902, "Degrees," page 1.
[293] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 30, 1902, "Out and In Again," page 1; November 1, 1902, "Given Twenty-Five Days," page 3.
[294] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 4, 1908, "Goat Eats Pool Pockets," page 1; May 2, 1908, "Owner of the Goat Located," page 1; May 12, 1908, "The Going Away of the Goat," page 2.
[295] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 5, 1904, "Is Dead," page 4; August 5, 1904, "Notice to the Public," page 4; August 6, 1904, "All Clear," page 4.
[296] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 12, 1902 "In and Out," page 1.
[297] NA-RG 21, Juneau Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 16, File 520, U. S. vs. Dent Mila.
[298] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 22, 1907, "Dodson Case Next Tuesday," page 4; November 30, 1907, "Dodson Found Not Guilty," page 1; November 30, 1907, "Is Defendant in Another Case," page 4; December 4, 1907, "Cigar Giving Brings Forth Bench Warrant," page 1; December 4, 1907, "Gunnison is Broadminded," page 2; NA-RG 21, Skagway Criminal Files, 1901-1908, Box #4, Case #S-211, U. S. vs.

Maggie Murray, Paul Kadadah, Daniel George, Gilbert Mack, George Kaska, and Thomas Dodson.

[299] *Ibid.*

[300] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 11, 1901, "Soldier Threw Rocks," page 1; October 12, 1901 "Bulliette Sent to Jail," page 1.

[301] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 16, 1901, "Was Cut to Ribbons," page 1; November 17, 1901, "Moore Bound Over," page 1; November 19, 1901, "Got a Fine and Sentence," page 4.

[302] Newspaper references to ex-soldiers and Skagway's "colored colony" are common during this period, and in the months after Company L left town. The men of Company I. of the 24th Infantry fought at San Juan Hill in Cuba in July of 1898. Before leaving Tampa for Cuba, these African American soldiers engaged in several brawls over not being served liquor in southern saloons. At least in Alaska, many of the saloons served all customers. Skagway, as a community, seemed to appreciate the soldiers of Company L for the civic projects the company took on, from volunteering for the fire department to playing opposite favorite baseball teams.

[303] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 15, 1902, "Snook Believes He has Caught Bad Man," page 1.

[304] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 15, 1905, "Notice of Dissolution of Partnership," page 3. There is no further mention of the Idaho Saloon after the partnership between W. W. Boughton and Joseph G. Smith was dissolved. Smith retained ownership, but the saloon apparently went out of business shortly thereafter.

[305] NA-RG 21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 3, U. S. A. vs. Henry Karger and Thomas E. Page, case S-156; *The Daily Alaskan,* December 27, 1902, "Hard Scrap," page 2; December 28, 1902, "Paid Price," page 1.

[306] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 30, 1902, "Not Through," page 1; December 31, 1902, "Bound Over," page 2.

[307] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 23, 1902, "Toney's Coat," page 1.

[308] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 23, 1904, "Deserter," page 1.

[309] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 2, 1902 "Loud Jags," page 1.

[310] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 2, 1903, "Is Insane," page 1; December 3, 1903, "Given Twenty-five Days," page 1; December 5, 1903, "Belton is Demented," page 4.

[311] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 15, 1904, "Soldier is Wanted," page 4; August 18, 1904, "Have Him," page 1; August 29, 1904, "Comes Back," page 4; August 30, 1904, "Hubbard is Bound Over," page 1; November 17, 1904, "Two Go to Penitentiary," page 4.

[312] NA-RG 21, Juneau Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 24, File #731-B, U. S. A. vs. Edward Fenlon. The quotes above were edited for spelling and punctuation.

[313] Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8*, pages 459, 462, and 466.

[314] NA-RG 21, Skagway Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 6, U. S. A. vs. W. J. Dan Murphy, case S-223. *The Daily Alaskan*, May 11, 1908, "Used a Knife in a Dispute," page 1; May 12, 1908, "Held for the Grand Jury," page 1; July 16, 1908, page 4.

[315] Koehler and James also had a store in Dyea as early as 1895, indicating how long they had been in the area.

[316] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 23, 1908, "The Luck of Dago Jo," page 1; Skagway manuscript census, 1910, enumerated January 7, 1910, Family #23; NA-RG 21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 19, U. S. A. vs. Allen James, case 572B.

[317] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 24, 1908, "Assessed Them Both the Same," page 1; December 1, 1908, page 1.

[318] NA-RG 21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 19, U. S. A. vs. Allen James, case 572B.

[319] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 5, 1908, "Town Talk," page 4.

[320] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 23, 1901, "Patriotic Skagway Will Celebrate," page 3; August 27, 1902, "Notice," page 1.

[321] NA-RG 21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 8, U. S. A. vs. Dan Sharkey, case 321-B.

[322] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 9, 1902, "With Razor," page 1; May 10, 1902 "Sentenced," page 1.

[323] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 7, 1908, "Missed the Real Swag", page 4.

[324] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 29, 1903, "Was Noisy," page 1.

[325] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 6, 1902, "Old Times," page 1.

[326] NA-RG21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box #1, U. S. A. vs. Joseph Shea, case S-60; *The Daily Alaskan,* September 13, 1901, "Short Locals," page 4; October 18, 1901, "Quiet Day in Court," page 1; October 19, 1901, "Returned Sealed Verdict," page 4; October 26, 1901, "Indictments Galore," page 1.

[327] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 5, 1903, "Neat Trick," page 1; June 6, 1903, "Must Do Time," page 1.

[328] NA-RG21, Criminal Case Files, 1900-1911, Box 4, U. S. A. vs. George Murray, case S-183; *The Daily Alaskan,* October 26, 1904, "Murray Must Face Grand Jury," page 4.

[329] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 19, 1905, "Thief at It," page 1.

[330] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 5, 1904, "Two More Boarders For City," page 1; September 7, 1904 "Window Breaker Gets Big Fine," page 2.
[331] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 1, 1904, "Do Time for Window Breaking," page 1.
[332] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 11, 1902, page 3; October 13, 1902, "Justice," page 4.
[333] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 6, 1902, "Took Turkey," page 3; December 7, 1902, "Got Nearly Two Months," page 3.
[334] NA-RG21, Criminal Case Files, Skagway, Box 18 – January 3, 1908 (2), U. S. A. vs. W. J. Childs and Albert Reinert, case file 567-B; Commissioner's Records, Vol. VI (OS567), case 924, pp. 129-133; *The Daily Alaskan*, September 18, 1908, page 1; September 19, 1908, page 3; *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, September 21, 1908, Juneau, Alaska, page 1.
[335] *Ibid.* A tap hose extends from the beer barrel set below the counter to the tap from which the beer is drawn. There must have been a loose one behind the counter.
[336] *Ibid.*
[337] *Ibid.*
[338] NA-RG 21, Box 18, Criminal Case Files, U. S. A. vs. W. J. Childs and Albert Reinert, case file 567-B.
[339] *Ibid.*; Polk, *Business Directory, 1903,* page 235; Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8,* pages 458 and 460.
[340] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 6, 1903, "Personal Mention," page 2; November 30, 1908, page 4; December 7, 1908, page 1; *The* [Juneau] *Alaska Dispatch*, December 14, 1908, page 1; *The Daily Alaskan*, December 15, 1908, page 4.
[341] Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Twayne: Boston, 1989), page 69.
[342] *The Skaguay News,* June 17, 1898, page 4.
[343] Get citation [Karl?].
[344] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 6, 1901, page 4; July 6, 1901, "Got Permit," page 1.
[345] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 27, 1901, page 1.
[346] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 3, 1901, "Cut Price of Drinks," page 4.
[347] *The Daily Alaskan*, August 8, 1901, "Opened the Grand Bar," page 1.
[348] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 2, 1902, "Local Bits," page 3.
[349] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 15, 1902, page 3.
[350] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 19, 1902, "Reduce Price of Beer," page 1; December 20, 1902, "Must Lead," page 1.
[351] *The Alaska Daily Guide,* March 9, 1903, page 4.
[352] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 16, 1904, "Cut Price," page 2.
[353] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 4, 1904, "Cut in Two," page 1; November 4, 1904, November 4, 1904, "Not So Much," page 4; November 5, 1904, "Only One Other Saloon Meets the Cut," page 1.
[354] *The Daily Alaskan,* November 5, 1904, "Only One Other Saloon Meets the Cut," page 1.
[355] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 27, 1904, "Saloons Agree on Price of Drinks," page 3.
[356] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 31, 1905, "Prices of Drinks are Reduced," page 1.
[357] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 20, 1909, "Sacrifice Fire Sale," page 4.
[358] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 27, 1916, page 1; December 4, 1916, page 1.
[359] Powers, *Faces Along the Bar.*
[360] (Juneau) *Alaska Daily Empire*, March 31, 1928, "Oldtimer of Skagway Goes on Last Trail," page 1; *The Anchorage Daily Times,* April 2, 1928, "Picturesque Oldtimer of North Dead," page 1.
[361] Skagway city Historical Records, Deeds, 1920, page 27.
[362] Skagway manuscript census, 1900, page 28, family #400.
[363] Skagway manuscript census 1920, families #10, 95, and 175, pages 2, 8, and 14.

Chapter Three: History of the Mascot Saloon

THE NORTHERN TRADING AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY

As discussed in Chapter 2, J. A. "Doc" Cleveland and C. W. Young had their pack trains ready to go when the first stampeders landed in Skagway on July 27, 1897.[1] On September 13, 1897, Cleveland claimed lot 6, Block 35, the future site of the Mascot Saloon at the southeast corner of Broadway and Third Avenue. They also claimed lots 4 and 5, located just to the east on the same block. Shortly thereafter, Cleveland joined ranks with Elias W. Johnston and Otto Wolf to form the Northern Trading and Transportation Company (NT & TC). Johnston represented the newly formed Seattle Clipper Line, and Wolf, an artist, operated the ticket sales and business aspects. Although each partner handled different aspects of shipping and transportation, the goal was to get gold-seekers and their goods from stateside to the Klondike.[2]

The NT & TC did not waste any time building an infrastructure for their business. A photograph taken by Frank LaRoche on September 12, 1897 indicates that the company had built a long row of plank storage sheds or mule barns on lot 4 and a canvas-roofed shed on lot 5 before they had even formally recorded their claim on September 13 (Figure 8). A photograph of an extremely high tide on October 27, 1897 shows a view of these sheds and barns similar to the one of Packer Jack and his mules seen in Figure 7 (Figure 22). In addition, in both photographs, a small, gable-roofed plank building stood near the north property line of lot 6 and approximately half way between Broadway and the sheds or barns. This building had vertical plank boards, one of which was lighter than the rest, to the right of the back doorway. This board serves as an identifier in other photographs as the building was moved around the lot in later years.

Probably the first and most important function of this small building was to hold the lot for the company. The rules set up by the miners' committee that laid out the city streets and lots in August 1897 stipulated that a claimant had to construct a building in order to hold a lot. While many people tried to claim lots with tents, it was a risky operation to do so. A tent could be quite easily taken down by a claim-jumper. A building, no matter how small, was another matter altogether.

Because the partnership wanted the three lots that fronted Third Avenue next to Broadway, each claimed a lot in his own name. Otto Wolf, the partner who operated the ticket sales and business aspects, claimed lot 6, the one on the corner of Third and Broadway. The small building holding that lot logically became the business office for the NT&TC, with the pack train barns and storage sheds on lots 5 and 4 to the east.



Figure 22. Photograph of the high tide at Skagway on October 27, 1897. The long row of stables used by the packers for the NT & TC (Figure 7) are seen on lots 4 and 5 of Block 35. A small plank building, used as the NT & TC ticket office, has been constructed to hold lot 6 (indicated by arrow). As required by the rules setting up the claim process, a fence has also been set up around the lot. The great deal of debris in Third Avenue suggests that the NT & TC is making free use of the street to store building materials (Credit: National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC / Hegg 20 / 200(S)-MHA-9 / Minnesota Historical Society; KLGO SO-56-1143).

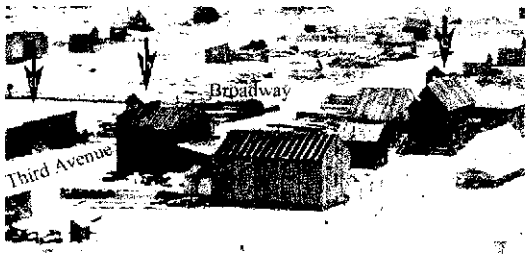


Figure 23. Photograph taken in January 1898. The small NT & TC ticket office building (b) is to the right of the stables and warehouse (a). The fence line and lumber stacked in the middle of Third Avenue are more obvious in this photograph. Note also a number of similar small buildings occupying lots throughout the area, most as dwellings or offices to secure lots. A good example is the building similar to the ticket office that holds the lot at the northeast corner of Third and Broadway, the future location of the Idaho Saloon (c) (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / Hegg 8; KLGO SO-18-255).

During the fall of 1897, this waterfront area served almost exclusively transportation-oriented functions. The first order of business for most folks was to off-load their baggage and supplies to a dry place where they could set up their own camping outfit. If they had the means, they would immediately make arrangements to transport their grubstakes to express and packing companies. These companies, like Cleveland's, located themselves closer to the wharves despite the wet conditions. They wanted to be the first to capture the business from the stampeders off-loading at the wharves. Those people getting themselves over the pass wanted to get to higher, drier ground before they found a place to camp and quench their thirst. Third Avenue marked the high tide line in the vicinity of what would become the Mascot Saloon.[3] As early as October 1897, the people of Skagway had learned to put their buildings on pilings if they wanted to stay dry (Figure 8). The small ticket office building and mule sheds can also be seen in a photograph taken sometime during the winter of 1897-1898 (Figure 23). Snow lies lightly on the ground. The large, two-story, turreted Klondike Trading Company at the corner of Third Avenue and State Street had not yet been built. Neat piles of lumber lay in Third Avenue to the north of the future Mascot building location. Skagway had begun to take shape.

A third photograph showing Otto Wolf's small ticket office appears in a photograph dated January 1898 (Figures 24 and 25). This view, taken from above Moore's Wharf, reiterates the distance the small ticket office sat from the front (or Broadway) part of the property. It is interesting to note that the Klondike Trading Company at Third and State is under construction in this photograph, but very little other development is taking place in the vicinity of the NT&TC sheds and ticket office. The barns and sheds, perhaps even the ticket office, are set up on piers to keep them above the high tides. Areas to the south and east are dotted with piers. It is readily evident that this low-lying area is suitable only for buildings. The few tents that can be seen in this January 1898 photograph are large and on higher, drier ground.

Of additional interest in this photograph are the dark forms that lie behind and to the left of the small ticket office building. Obviously not as tall as the building, these forms suggest piles of goods or supplies laid out for shipping or stores ready for packing over the trail.



Figure 24. Photograph dated by the photographer to January 1898, taken from above Moore's Wharf. Note the distance from Broadway to the small NT & TC ticket office building (indicated by the white arrow). The Klondike Trading Company is under construction at the corner of Third and State (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / Hegg 141 / Webster & Stevens 282.a; KLGO SO-17-256).

Figure 26 is a sketch drawing of the location of the September 1897 - Winter 1898 structures as they probably sat in relationship to the archeological excavation units of this study.

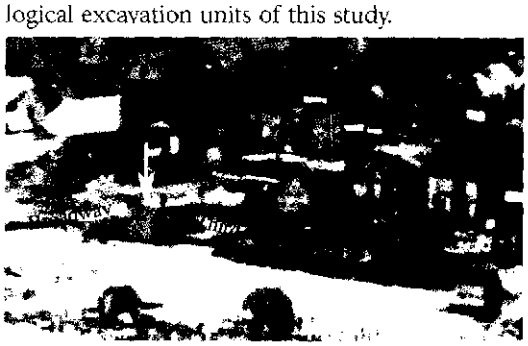


Figure 25. An enlargement of Figure 24, showing the NT&TC ticket office, storage sheds and stables at the southeast corner of Broadway and Third in January 1898. Note how high the sheds and ticket office have been raised off the low ground, as well as the stacks of material around the small ticket office. The men walking by on Broadway offer scale (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / Hegg 141 / Webster & Stevens 282.a; KLGO SO-17-256).

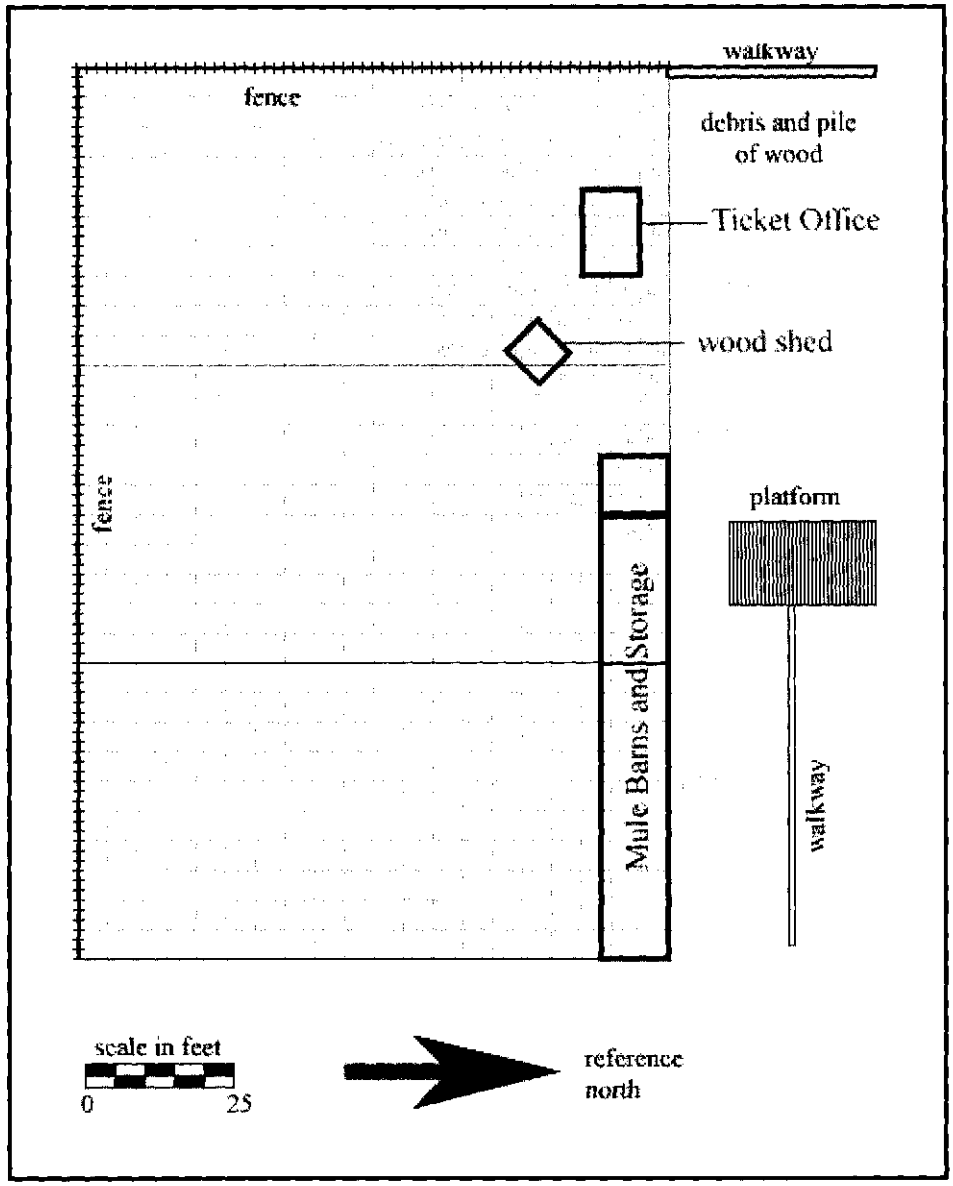


Figure 26. Map of the structures seen in photographs taken in the fall and winter of 1897-1898 (Figures 8, 22-25), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

On March 14, 1898, Cleveland, Johnston and Wolf's Northern Trading and Transportation Company formalized their claim by purchasing the lot on which the Mascot now sits from the three individuals who had originally claimed the lots. The company owned by the three men purchased lot 6 from Otto Wolf, who had been holding and occupying it in his own name since September 1897. The gold rush was now at its height.

By April 29, 1898, the front, original portion of the Mascot Saloon building had been constructed (Figure 27).[5] Construction on the building was started very soon after the formal purchase of the lot. By the end of April, it was ready to hold a business, whenever a business was ready to come to it.

For a short period of time, the small ticket office used by Otto Wolf was moved from its location in the middle of the north half of lot 6 to the south side of the newly constructed NT&TC building. Its light-colored board is quite visible. Of some note is the high clearance between the building and the ground surface, and the four steps from the back doors to the back yard. A utility pole to the right of the building indicates that it was meant to have electricity from the very beginning, a feature probably important to the steamship company. Figure 28 is a map of the NT & TC building as seen in Figure 27, superimposed on the excavation units.



Figure 27. Photograph taken on April 29, 1898, looking west. The NT & TC building (a) has been completed, and the small ticket office building (b) formerly occupying the center of the lot has now been moved to the southern (left) side of it. This photograph provides scale for the size of the small ticket office. The Mascot Saloon will occupy the northern half of the NT & TC building. Note also the construction of the Idaho Saloon (c) at the northwest corner of Third and Broadway (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / UW 8145; KLGO SO-12-274).

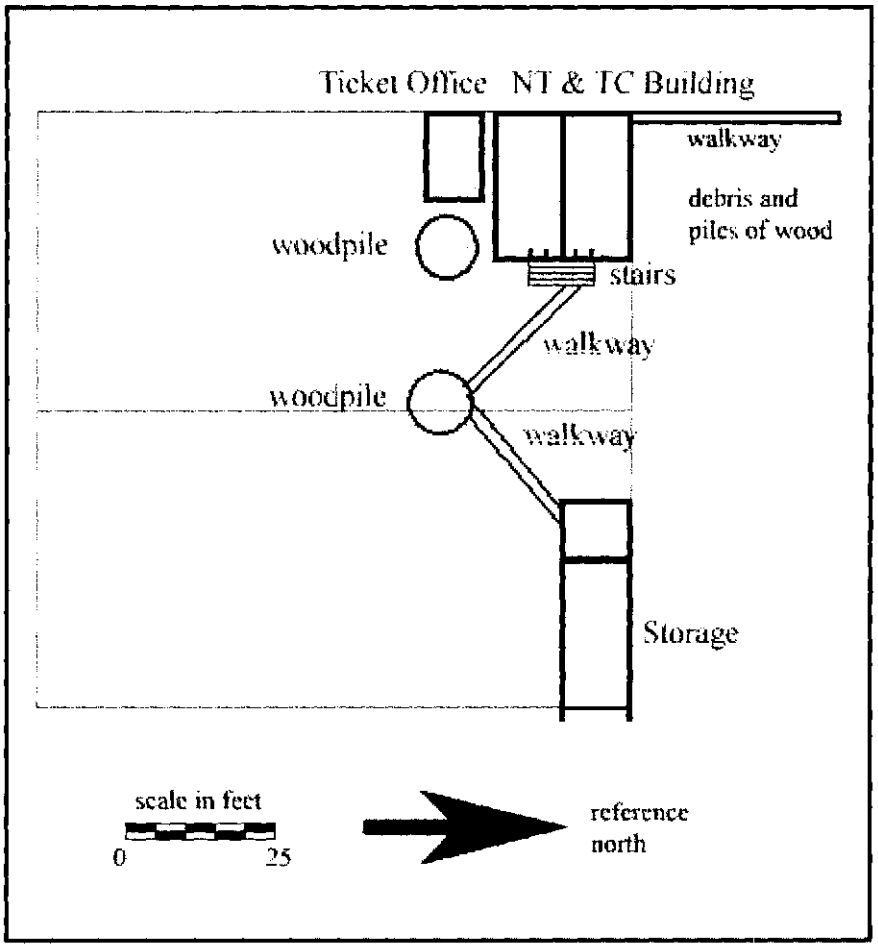


Figure 28. Map of the structures seen in the April 29, 1898 photograph (Figure 27), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

It is readily apparent that business was finally moving to the south Broadway location. In the Figure 27 photograph, the building that would be occupied by the Idaho Saloon at the northwest corner of Third and Broadway is under construction. Although the proprietors in later years would boast that it was a "pioneer saloon" of Skagway, dating back to 1897, it obviously was not in this location until after the Mascot building was constructed. As reference to an earlier photograph will demonstrate (Figure 23) only a very small structure similar in size to the NT & TC ticket office occupied this lot. At that time it was probably only a residence sufficient to hold the claim.

The Hotel Mascotte

In the meantime, it appears that the Mascot Saloon had started its life in Sheep Camp, along the Chilkoot Trail, 13 miles north of Dyea. "The Mascot, Hot Drinks, Meals, Lunches, Beds" can be seen on a sign tacked to the front of a log building in the background of a Hegg photograph entitled "A Favorite Dog Team of Sheep Camp" (Figure 29). Advertisements in *The Dyea Trail* between January 28, 1898 and April 16, 1898 indicated that the "Hotel Mascotte" operated by Hammond and Williamson at Sheep Camp was "Always Open."[5] R. W. Bellman, U. S. customs official in Dyea conducted a search of the "Mascot Saloon" owned by H. Hammond on April 30, so it seems that the Dyea agent – or more likely, one of his deputized agents – had gone up the trail to Sheep Camp. No illegal liquor was found at the Mascot Saloon during the raid.[6]

The Mascot was not the only saloon targeted for a raid. One hundred and twenty businesses in Dyea and Skagway were searched for smuggled liquors, and very few were found with even one or two bottles. Only four other businesses targeted in those raids later became long-lasting, well-known saloons in Skagway: the Board of Trade, the Last Chance, the Monogram, and the Pack Train, thus establishing the Mascot as one of the five oldest and longest-lived saloons in town.

The word "mascot," which was originally spelled "mascotte" in common practice, was first used in a popular sense in E. Audran's opera "La Mascotte," which opened December 29, 1880. According to an early twentieth century dictionary, it was "a person, or a thing, animate or inanimate, supposed to bring luck." The word derives from the French Provencal *masco*, which means a sorcerer. It did not attain its modern



Figure 29. Photograph of the Hotel Mascot in Sheep Camp, spring of 1898 (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington / Hegg 85; KLGO SC-23-617).

connotation of an animal or person representing a sports team until sometime after World War I. A saloon that could bring one good luck would have been very handy in the midst of a gold rush. [7]

It is possible that Hammond was scared out of the saloon business by the April 1898 raid. If his liquor sales were important to him (and there is no evidence to say they were), he may have decided he could not take the strain of waiting for the next customs raid. What seems more likely is that he was simply ready to join the rush north, so he sold his business, stock, and furnishings to a man ready to set up business in booming Skagway.

But things were changing quickly in Skagway. The Brackett Wagon Road over the White Pass was completed in March 1898, encouraging many stampeders to abandon the Chilkoot Trail. A deadly avalanche on April 3, 1898 had probably driven merchants and miners alike from the western trail. The White Pass and Yukon Route railroad began construction on May 27, 1898, bringing hundreds of laborers into Skagway. The April raid of the saloons may have scared some men out of the saloon business. Big things were happening in Skagway, and the customs officials were still headquartered in Dyea. Skagway sounded like the place to open up a new saloon if one was a gambling man. And if a man ran off to a gold rush, it is likely he *was* a gambling man.

The Mascotte Saloon

Therefore it does not seem coincidental that the next evidence we have of the Mascot Saloon is a Skagway advertisement on June 17, 1898 for "The Mascotte, Charles Rohback, proprietor. Fine liquors and cigars, fresh beer on draught, 10 cents."[8] This is the first indication we have of the Mascot Saloon as a business in Skagway, although the building itself was most assuredly on the spot by March 1898. Sometime between the April 22 raid of the Mascot Saloon in Sheep Camp and June 17, Charles Rohback had set up his business in the NT & TC building in Skagway. The only incentive anyone would have had for opening up a saloon that far south of Sixth Avenue was that fact that the railroad had started construction up the middle of Broadway and was planning to build a depot at the corner of Second and Broadway. A saloon at Third and Broadway suddenly made sense where it had made little logic before.

The two-story Pacific Clipper Line building, with its handsome second-story bay window overlooking Broadway, was built between July and August 1898.[9] A photograph probably taken later that fall, but before November, when the White Pass and Yukon Route Depot was constructed, shows the back of the Pacific Clipper Line Building having been constructed, but apparently not painted (Figure 30). The NT & TC building, by now partly leased to Charles



Figure 30. Photograph probably taken in late August or September 1898, certainly before November, when the White Pass and Yukon Route depot was constructed. The Pacific Clipper Line Office building, to the left of the NT & TC building (marked with arrow), does not appear to be painted yet. The piles of lumber that fill most of lots 4, 5 and 6 are probably from the Bishoprick sawmill below the lower edge of the picture. Frank Bishoprick would soon build a warehouse and store front on a portion of Block 35 (Credit: Skagway Museum & Archives, Skagway, Alaska / PC-A01.121; KLGO SO-103-2012).

Rohbeck for use as the Mascotte Saloon, has a small shed attachment, probably for the storage of liquors. The top of a privy can barely be seen above the row of sheds on lot 4. A new shed has been constructed on lot 5. As before, much of the NT & TC's work space continues out into Third Avenue, perhaps as a result of the sloping grade. Planks and boardwalks extend from sidewalks and doorways as much as halfway into the street. The piles of logs are probably from the Bishoprick mill out of sight below the viewer. Frank Bishoprick would later build a warehouse for cut lumber and other goods to the south of the Pacific Clipper Line office. Figure 31 superimposes a sketch drawing of the structures seen in this photograph on the archeological excavation units.

Rohbeck still operated the Mascotte in the fall of 1898, because his saloon was listed in the 1899 business directory.[10] Rohbeck was also among the 89 liquor dealors arrested in December for selling liquor without a license.[11] It is important to remember that it was still not entirely legal to sell alcohol in Alaska, and would not be legal until July 1899. Until that time, the saloons openly advertised their wares, but played a cat-and-mouse game with federal customs officials, making sure they had a quick way to dispose of their wares when rumors of raids filled the air. The period between the spring of 1898 and July 1899 was the heyday of the saloon in Skagway, when more saloons existed than at any other time in the town's history. As the White Pass Trail and Brackett Wagon Road improved and news of the development of the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad spread, the stream of miners began to dwindle over the Chilkoot Trail. Saloons folded in Dyea, Canyon City and Sheep Camp and reopened in Skagway. By January 1899, *The Skagway News* stated there were a hundred saloons in the town.

Only from the safety of Washington, D. C. could the high license law have been lobbied for and signed without an immediate lynching of the responsible officials. It is extremely unlikely that the local authorities truly "closed down" the saloons until high license went into effect in July 1899. In fact, there was a silver lining to high license for the wealthier saloon men. It would beat out the marginal competition that might try to undercut them in terms of prices. If anything, high license guaranteed price fixing and high prices, which was probably one of the arguments the lobbyists had used in convincing the prohibitionists that it was an appropriate tactic in Alaska.

It was into this milieu that Albert Reinert arrived in Skagway in January 1899. There were around 90 saloons in town. The customs officials had arrested 120 saloonkeepers from Skagway, Dyea and nearby communities for smuggling liquor in the last year, and would be shortly paying $100 apiece – the equivalent of $2000 in the year 2000 – for doing so. High license was about to become the law and was welcomed by many, both prohibitionists and those that could afford to stay in business.

Reinert came from Seattle, Washington, where he had been in the restaurant business. He was 30 years old at the time and still single. Born in Germany in February 1867, he had immigrated to the United States in 1885 at the age of 18. He was a naturalized citizen and could read and write English.[12]

As is discussed in a previous section on the history of liquor licensing in Skagway, January and February 1899 was a time of wait and see for the saloons. As it became obvious that high license was going to be the law. The more prosperous, larger saloon owners saved up their money for the first license payment. The smaller saloons sold out their stock and left. Those who

knew they could not compete, prepared to sell out and move on.

The Mascot Saloon

Despite the uncertainty caused by the question of high license, investing in a new saloon must have seemed like a good gamble to some people. Skagway was booming and lots of saloons were about to go under. Seattle restaurateur Albert Reinert decided to go into partnership with Charles Saake, owner of the Skagway Brewing Company, and one of the few who had kept advertising right through the dark days of January 1899. On June 13, 1899, the two bought the Northern Trading and Transportation Company building from Otto Wolf. At that time, the building housed the Mascotte Saloon business owned by Charles Rohbeck.[13] It is probable that the two purchased Rohbeck's business at the same time. The impending failure of the transportation company would have been obvious to anyone who looked out of Otto Wolf's graceful bay window onto the railroad track running up Broadway. Due to reach Lake Bennett in July, the railroad spelled the doom of the packing companies. The advantage of a saloon at the foot of Broadway – only a block away from the place where foundations were being laid for the newly planned railroad depot – would have been equally obvious to any businessman with the wherewithal to ante up a $1500 license fee, something possibly beyond Rohbeck's means. A location once at the far edge of town now was front and center of a rapidly changing cityscape.

Judge Johnson had given Skagwayans a choice of two ways to go about determining how to give out liquor licenses. They could get up a yearly petition for each and every saloon signed by the majority of white men and women within two miles of the saloon to be licensed, or they could hold a yearly election granting a local option. Skagway had chosen the latter method.

Reinert and Saake must have had no doubt about the outcome of the 1899 special election determining whether they would be able to get a liquor license. They closed on the sale of the NT& TC building the day before the election.[14]

A photograph dated by the photographer to July 10, 1899 shows very little change to the NT & TC building, or the Pacific Clipper Line Office building between April 1898 and then (Figure 31). As before, the wide gap between the ground surface, the bottom of the Mascot portion of the building and the boardwalk is quite apparent, demonstrating just how far off the ground the structure was built. The "new shed" in the back



Figure 31. Photograph taken July 10, 1899. Note the small shed behind the NT & TC building, the privy in the backyard, and the tent warehouse for Bishoprick's lumber (Credit: Skagway Museum & Archives, Skagway, Alaska / PC-A01.28; KLGO SO-101-2010).

had disappeared, but the privy behind the saloon can be better viewed. A small wood shed can be seen behind the privy. A second privy had appeared behind the Pacific Clipper Line Office. Perhaps Otto Wolf and the other tenants of the clipper line office did not like using the same "facility" as the saloon customers.

The greatest change was to the Bishoprick property just to the south of the Pacific Clipper Line Office. Frank Bishoprick, the owner of a lumber mill, had added a wooden plank building fronting Broadway and adjoining the Clipper Line Office. An east-west oriented canvas tent presumably covered his lumber stock. In addition, fences appeared to further protect his property. Figure 32 is a map of all these features superimposed on the excavation units. Figure 33 maps out the changes by 1899.

A photograph probably taken in late July 1899, six weeks after Saake and Reinert purchased the building, indicates that the partnership lost very little time in improving their property (Figure 34). They tore down the small shed that had served for storage behind the Mascot portion of the business and added a one-story addition, possibly for the family entrance, which can be clearly seen in a photograph taken a month or two later (Figure 35). Not only is this back entrance clearly in evidence, but the continued wide clearance between the ground surface and the underside of the saloon is clearly seen. Whereas the back addition had only begun to be painted in the earlier photograph (Figure 34), the paint job had been completed in this latter photograph (Figure 35).

Of some additional interest in both of these photographs is the small building at the south end of lot 6, which would be purchased by Frederick and Natalie Verbauwhede on September 11, 1899.[15] These photographs show the first evidence of a one-story building on the lot, a structure that predates the occupation by the Verbauwhede building. Yet it is not possible that these photographs date later than September. The photograph in Figure 34 clearly predates the construction of the Arctic Brotherhood Hall across Broadway, which was not started until July 1899. The photograph in Figure 35 clearly post-dates Figure 33 as the AB Hall is under construction, surrounded by scaffolding, and the

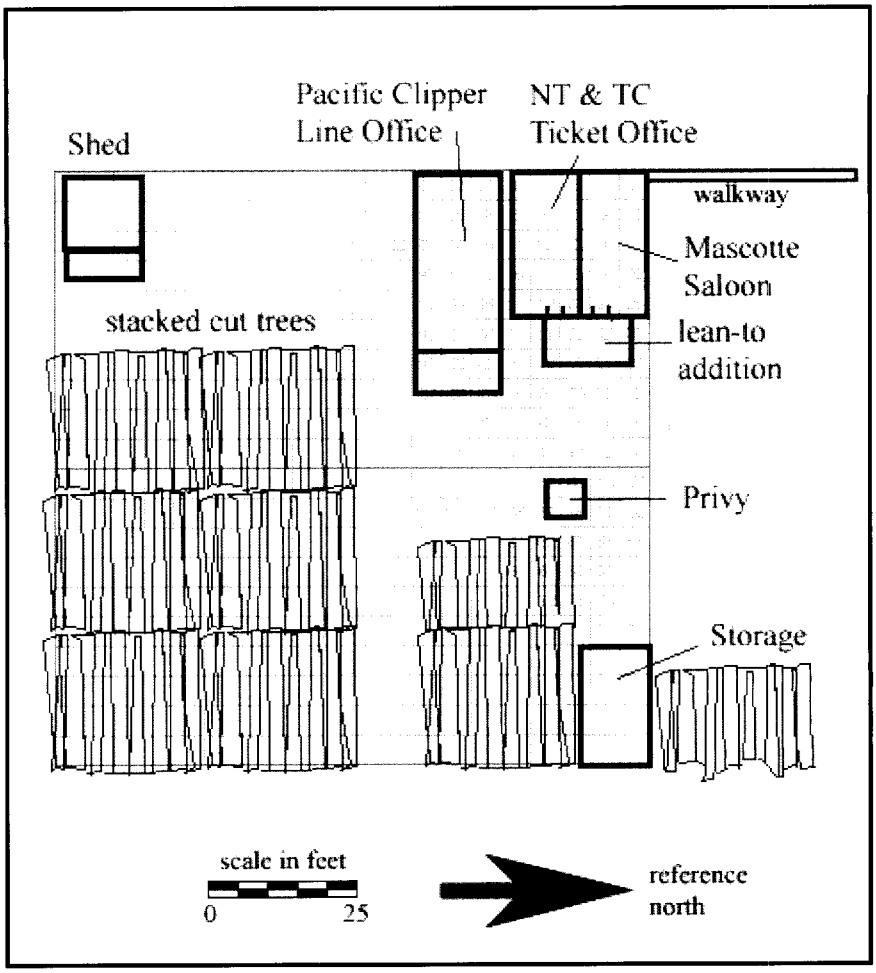


Figure 32. Map of the structures seen in photograph taken in the fall of 1898 (Figure 30), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

Mascot is completely painted. Construction on the AB Hall was completed in August 1899.[16]

The same small building occupied by the Verbauwedes is also seen in a photograph taken sometime during the summer of 1899, most assuredly after Reinert and Saake purchased the Mascot in June (Figure 36). In this photograph, the saloon has been renamed "The Mascot." The Pacific Clipper Line Office also sells tickets to the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. Bishoprick and Company, which had built its warehouse by late that summer, was leasing space to the Seattle Steamship Company and the Skagway Coal Company. Obviously, the Verbauwedes were selling their fruit under a make-shift canopy in front of this small building during that summer.



Figure 33. Photograph taken in late July 1899. The small lean-to shed on the back of the NT & TC building has been replaced by a single-story addition (indicated with arrow) doubling the size of the floor-space on the first floor. Only half of the addition has been painted. Note that the Arctic Brotherhood Hall has not been constructed (Credit: Alaska State Library – Historical Collections, Juneau, Alaska / PCA-01-4679; KLGO SO-23-132).

A map of the buildings on lots 5 and 6, as they appeared in all of these photographs, is shown in Figure 37.

Other than the construction of this one-story addition for the family entrance and private rooms, not much seemed to happen to the Mascot, at least while Reinert was in partnership with Saake. The latter, besides owning the Skagway Brewery, also had interests in the Rainier Saloon "at the foot of Broadway" and the Louvre Saloon at a more lucrative location on the south side of Sixth Avenue between State and Broadway.[17] He seemed reluctant to make further investments in the Mascot. To make his dollars stretch, Reinert rented rooms to three other bachelors.[18]

Possibly due to disagreements between Saake and Reinert over whether to make additional improvements to the saloon, the association lasted less than two years.[19] On May 23, 1901, Marshal Snook auctioned off the Mascot Saloon to dissolve the Saake and Reinert partnership. They bid against each other ruthlessly, driving the price to an exorbitant $6,025 – the equivalent of about $120,000 in the year 2000 — for a two-story frame building with about 1500 square feet. Tony Dortero did the bidding for Reinert;



Figure 34. Photograph taken in August 1899. The new Reinert and Saake addition on the back of the Mascot Saloon (a) has been completely painted, and the Alaska Brotherhood Hall(b) is nearing completion (Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario / Eva Davies Collection / C-021869; KLGO SO-105-2100).

attorney Robert W. Jennings acted for Saake. "All the time Mr. Reinert stood by Tony with a grim look on his face." Reinert got his building. Of some interest is the cartoon drawing that accompanies the article (Figure 38). A short, stocky man with a mustache, cane, and skimmer hat points to a line drawing of the Mascot and says "That's Mine." Presumably this drawing is meant to portray Albert Reinert. The hatless, thin man on a beer barrel is doubtless Marshal Snook.[20] *The Daily Alaskan* was gleeful at the high price paid for the saloon. John Troy almost reluctantly admitted that the rivalry of the bidders made for some of the value, but it certainly bode well for Skagway that owners paid so well to keep their own business.[21]

Despite the high price he paid, Reinert still found the means to advertise regularly in the Skagway newspapers. As soon as he could, he began to make improvements. By August 24, 1901, the Mascot had received a new coat of paint.[22] Then, by October 8, 1901, Reinert had received delivery of a new bar. The newspaper described the saloon as having a cigar case near the front and a pool table near the back of the front room. The upstairs included "cozy and comfortable" wine rooms and a large front room that was called a ballroom. The latter included a piano.[23] The renters, who had occupied the upstairs, had had to go to make way for these rooms.

These improvements are not visible in any photographs. One taken during the summer of 1901 shows only changes to surrounding lots (Figure 39). A large, shed-roofed building has been built on the north end of lot 5, which does not belong to Reinert yet. A privy adjoins this building on its east side. A fence separates

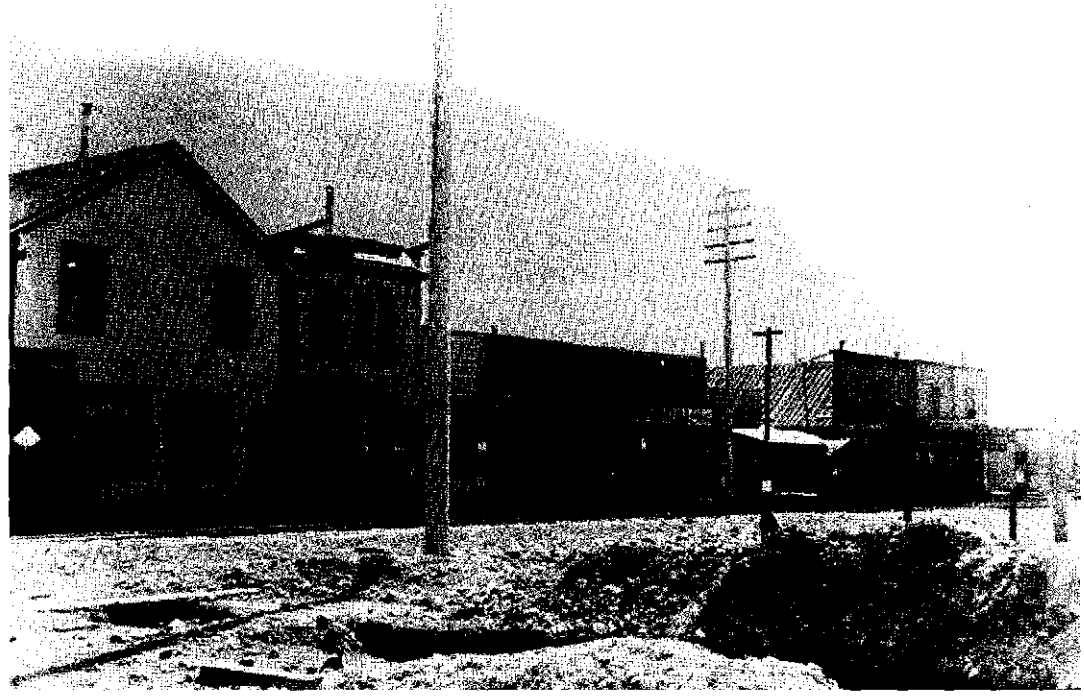


Figure 35. Photograph taken during the summer of 1899, looking southeast from the northwest corner of Third and Broadway. The Mascot Saloon is on the far left, with its corner door and painted sign in the lower story window. To the right of the Mascot is the Pacific Clipper Line. The darker colored building is the Bishoprick and Shoemake offices and retail outlet. Verbauwede Confectionery and Cigar Store occupies the small building with the make-shift canopy at the corner. (Credit: Wayne L. Selmer, Haines, Alaska; KLGO 81-160-5951).

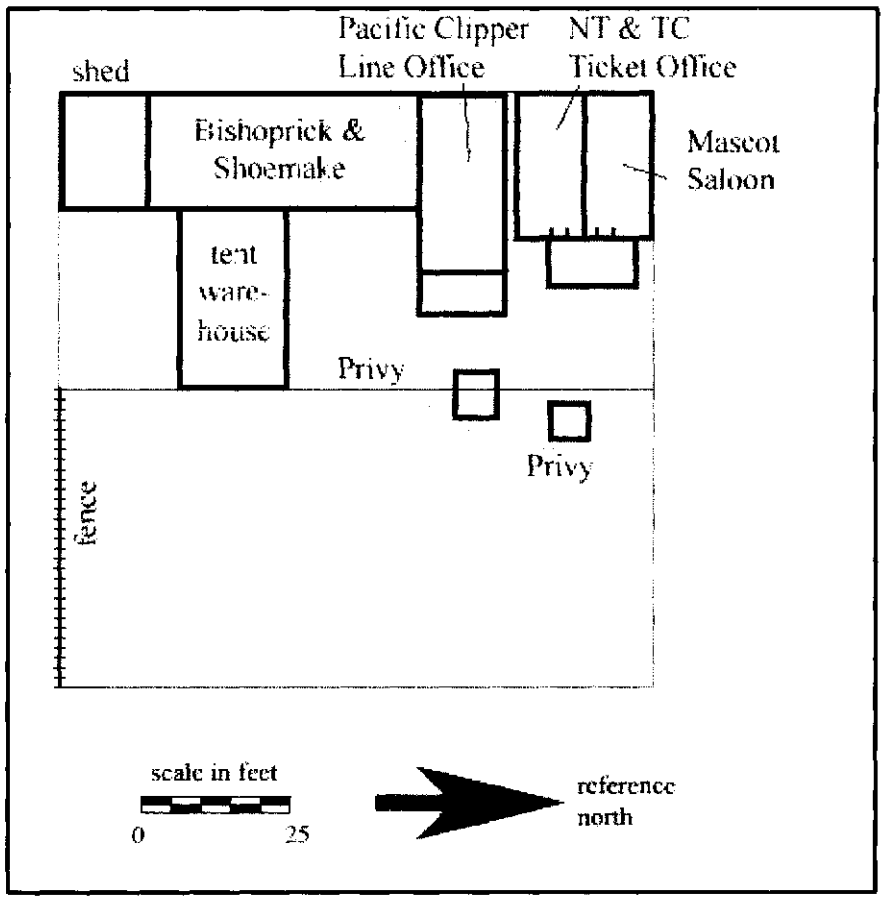


Figure 36. Map of the structures seen in photograph taken on July 10, 1899 (Figures 32 and 33), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

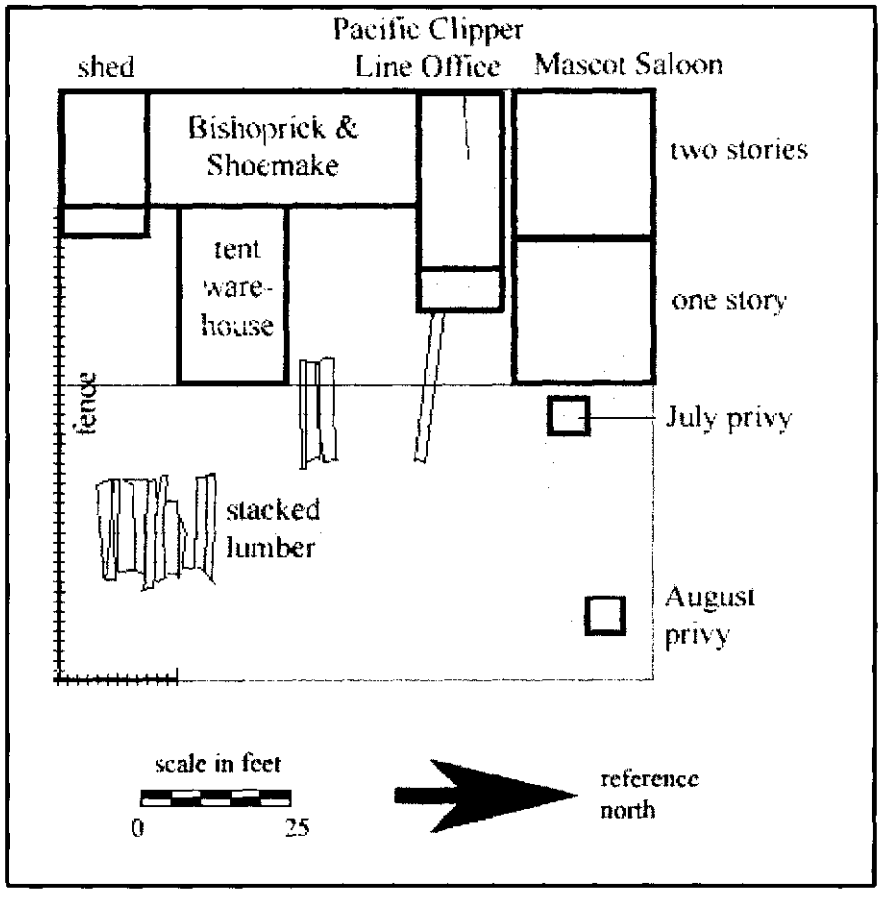


Figure 37. Map of the structures seen in photographs taken in late July and early August 1899 (Figures 34, 35 and 36), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.



Figure 38. A. V. Buel cartoon of the May 23, 1901 auction of the Mascot Saloon.

Reinert's property from that of the Pacific Clipper Line Office and their adjoining ticket line office. Frederick Verbauwhede has built his two-story house and store facing Broadway and added a polyglot of sheds and additions, including his cigar store/crib from Paradise Alley. A privy serves the Verbauwhede complex, as does another behind the Pacific Clipper Line Office. A fourth privy might be shoved into the shadows behind the Bishoprick store.



Figure 39. Photograph taken during the summer of 1901. Note the large letters painted on the roof of the NT & TC building (a), making sure that people do not confuse the Mascot Saloon with the shipping company still occupying half of the structure. Note also the privy (a) on the west side of the fence separating the NT & TC building and outbuildings from the Clipper Line buildings. The new privy serving the saloon (c) sits to the east of the new, large square outbuilding (Credit: Skagway Museum & Archives, Skagway, Alaska / Case & Draper 469 / PC-A01.30; KLGO SO-97-2006).

Customers of the Mascot were probably using the privy to the east of a new, flat-roofed outbuilding on Lot 5, as it appears that the fence separated them from the privy behind the Clipper Line Office. As stated earlier, this second privy appears to have been constructed specifically because the people in the Clipper Line Office did not wish to mix with the saloon customers.

Figure 40 is a sketch map of the buildings seen in the summer 1901 photographs. They have been placed on top of the archeological excavation units.

"Stroller" White told a story about "Barbara," a wiry older woman who delivered *The Skaguay News* during the summer of 1898. He said she lived in a piano box across from the current location of the Golden North Hotel. When she left Skagway to go to the gold fields, she asked that her piano box be left for her. Out of general respect for the woman, it remained undisturbed for many years. Perhaps one of these privy-like forms was Barbara's old piano box set on end.[24]

The fall of 1901 had miserable weather. On October 12, 1901, the river flooded after three days of hard rain, mixed with snowmelt from a warm Chinook wind. The "little creek wending in and out of Broadway" (Mill Creek) was responsible for a flood on Broadway between Seventh and Third avenues. "Water poured under doors and made things sloppy on the inside...So sudden did the flood come that it was on the unlucky people before they were aware of any danger. The swift water took everything movable before it. Wood, boxes, out-houses, were picked up in the mighty grasp of the flood and carried on...carpets were soaked. Mud filled every crevice, and a sticky, shiny substance covered everything."[25] Mud and other debris may also have filled the crawlspace under the Mascot Saloon.

Then, on October 28, 1901, the highest tide in the memory of Euroamericans hit Skagway. "The half block between Second and Third avenues on the east side of Broadway was quickly formed into an island all crossings being covered and the

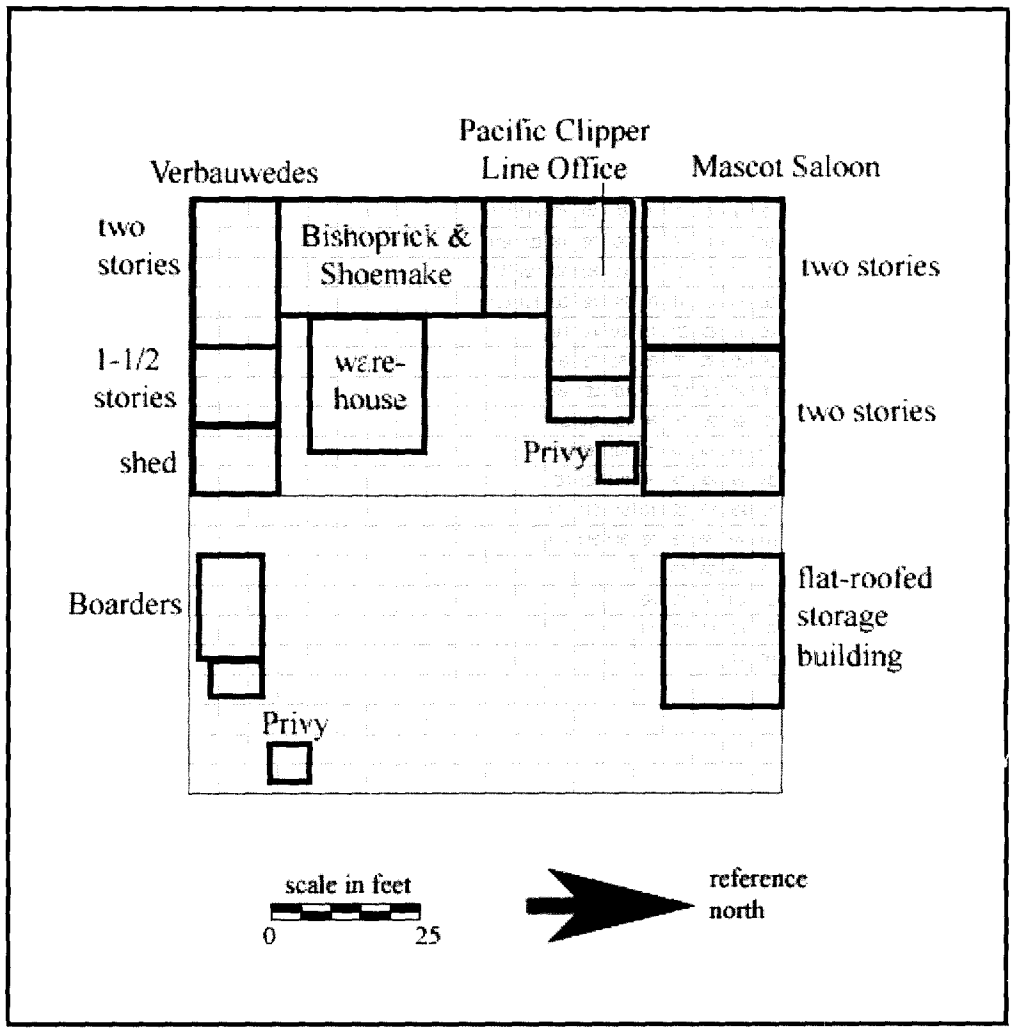


Figure 40. Map of the structures seen in the photograph taken in the summer of 1901 (Figure 39), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

water crept onto the floor of Bishoprick, Shoemake and Co's warehouse [220-224 Broadway] and into the stationery store of A. H. Baker [214 Broadway]. In the former place some of the goods were damaged, as they could not be lifted from the floor to a higher place before the tide came. Damage was not as extensive as in the flood of several weeks ago."[26] A photograph taken on October 28 indicates that the water from this high tide certainly had rushed into the crawl space under the Mascot Saloon at 236 Broadway (Figure 41). The floor may have remained dry, since the newspaper mentioned only Bishoprick, Shoemake and Company's warehouse and Baker's stationery.

A photograph taken of the Mascot during October 28, 1901 high tide demonstrates just how much change Reinert made during the summer and early fall of 1901, once he obtained full title to the Mascot building (Figure 42). The one-story addition on the back now rose two stories high. The large, flat-roofed building on lot 5 is hard to see because of the angle of the photograph. It appears to have three large rolls of material piled on top of it. Bishoprick and his partner Shoemake have finally replaced their canvas lumber warehouse with a wooden one. The Verbauwhede and Pacific Clipper Line privies appear to be the only remaining ones on the block. Figure 43 shows how these structures would probably lie on the excavation units.

Figure 41 is another important photograph of the October 28, 1901 high tide. Albert Reinert in his bowler hat stands in front of his saloon, watching the tide recede. A sign on the power pole next to him points to the "family entrance" at the rear of his saloon, it still being legal to allow women in Skagway's saloons. But of most interest to archeologists is the strong tidal current. An obvious ripple line runs from the line of five barrels on the north side of the saloon out into Third Avenue. The water is clearly pouring from the street under the sidewalk and into the space under the building, rather than back down Broadway, which appears to offer an unobstructed path back to the ocean. It is falling into a low spot, dragging all sorts of trash, flotsam and jetsam with it, where the heavier trash and sediments will settle out before the water drains away.



Figure 41. A photograph of the front of the Mascot Saloon during the high tide of October 28, 1901. Note the ripple lines indicating that water is running downwards under the buildings along the east side of Broadway, rather than along the length of Broadway (Credit: Alaska State Library – Historical Collections, Juneau, Alaska / PCA-01-1703; KLGO B1-36-1638).

To recap, the fall of 1901 had experienced two flooding events. The first occurred on October 12, 1901, when Mill Creek flooded and covered everything between Seventh and Third avenues in a sticky, shiny mud in a matter of moments. The second occurred on October 28, the high tide shown in the Figures 41 and 42 photographs.

What with the flood and the high tide, Albert Reinert probably spent the winter drying out. By March 27, 1902, what he needed most was a spring-cleaning. "The Mascott (sic) saloon has



Figure 42. A photograph of an overview of Skagway during the high tide of October 28, 1901. The back addition is now two stories tall, and the flat-roofed outbuilding has large rolls of some sort of material stacked on top of it (Credit: Division of Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon / Clarence Leroy Andrews / PH 001_676; KLGO SO-79-1367).

had its spring polishing and from the barroom to the handsome club rooms above, is as bright [as] a dollar."[27] The only importance of this note is a reminder that the upstairs rooms were still being used as clubrooms. Yet by the following September, E. D. Morrison, who collected names and addresses for the R. L. Polk and Company 1903 city directory, listed Albert Reinert as living at the Mascot Saloon. He began gathering that information on September 12, 1902.[28]

Reinert obviously felt he needed more space. The 1902 and 1903 directories indicate that he was living in the Mascot Saloon, as well as allowing space for clubrooms and a separate "family" room. His advertisements indicate he was getting "large shipments" of 30 or 40 barrels of beer at a time on May 25, 1901, November 25, 1901, and June 3, 1902. Where did he put it all and still have room to sleep?

Reinert did in fact try to expand. On December 12, 1903, Tony Stanich, of the Pack Train restaurant, purchased the Pack Train building at the southwest corner of Sixth and Broadway for $5600. Reinert was an unsuccessful bidder at the auction of the building. Stanich had operated the leased restaurant since January 1898. It was probably just as well that Reinert did not succeed in getting the property. Lee Guthrie owned more than $8000 in judgments and attachments against the property and it would be years before all the lawsuits would clear the title.[29] In the meantime, the Pack Train Saloon moved away from the building entirely, finding the Sixth Avenue location no longer suitable for the customers who increasingly clustered farther south towards the railroad depot and wharves.

Reinert finally got the opportunity he was waiting for in the spring of 1904. Real estate attorney Phil Abrahams put the following ad in the newspaper:

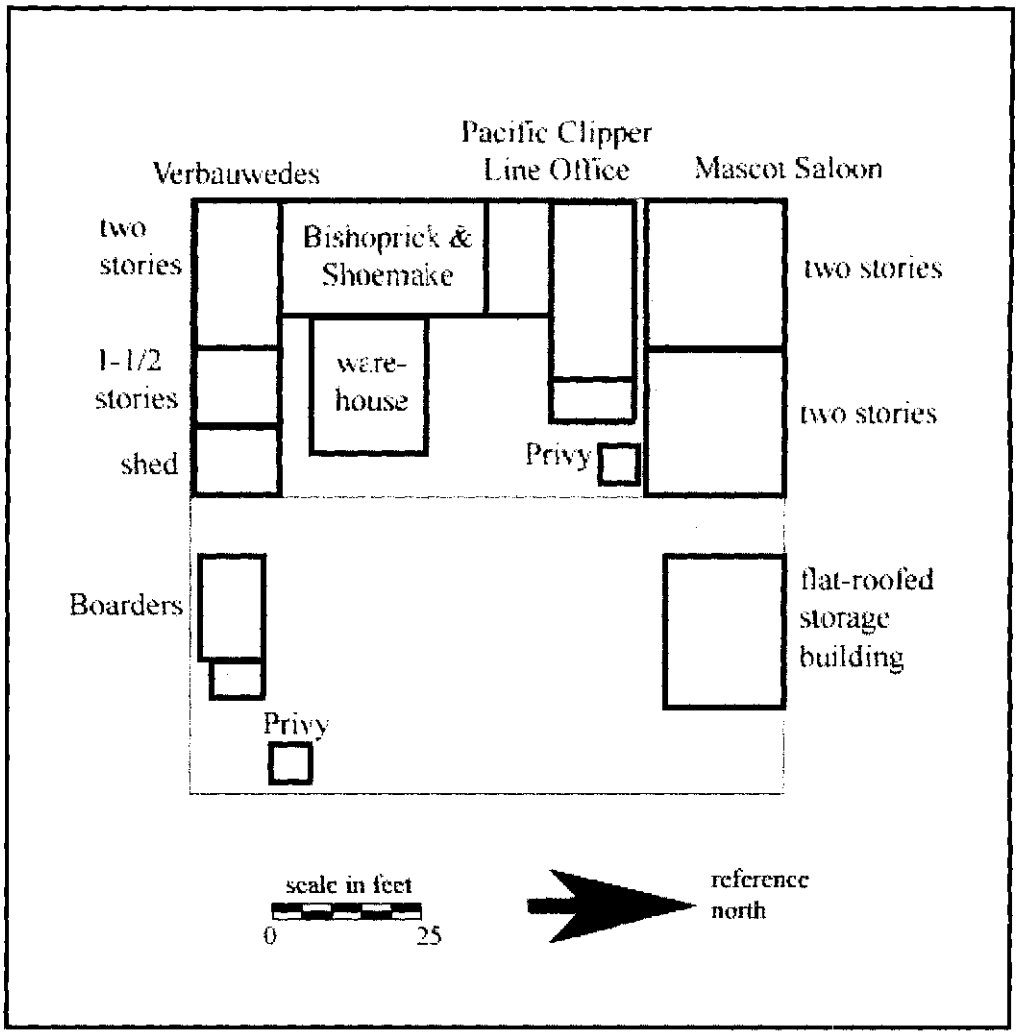


Figure 43. Map of the structures seen in photographs taken on October 28, 1901(Figures 41 and 42) superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

> *I have been instructed to offer the following property for sale until Friday for $2,000, cash, with a good and sufficient warranty deed, 62x100 feet on Broadway adjoining the Mascot saloon and 25x100 feet adjoining the A. S. S. Co's office, Broadway [across the street]. They are the last pieces of Broadway property for sale, and this offer will positively be withdrawn after above date.* [30]

The ad was scheduled to run three consecutive days. Three weeks later the newspaper announced:

> *Albert Reinert has purchased the remainder of the lot on which his Mascot saloon is situated, on Broadway between Third avenue and the alley between that and Second avenue. The property is that formerly occupied by Frank Bishoprick's feed and commission store, and has a frontage of 75 feet on Broadway. The property belonged to Capt. E. W. Johnson (sic), a Skagway pioneer, and the sale was made through Phil Abrahams.*[31]

Reinert did not waste any time moving into his new space and adapting it to his needs. "Albert Reinert is enlarging the Mascot saloon," the newspaper announced a week later. "The building adjoining the saloon, occupied in the past by the Pacific Coast Steamship Company and other transportation companies and recently purchased by Mr. Reinert, will be included in the saloon. The Mascot will be otherwise improved."[33]

In a little over two months, his remodeling was done, and he was ready for a grand opening.[35] Much of the space formerly occupied by the Pacific Steamship Company was devoted to storage. A newspaper article announced that "Private wine and card rooms have been added to the place, and it has been made in every respect second to no saloon in its appointments in the north."[34] This suggests that Reinert moved his private quarters upstairs above the Pacific Clipper Line Office into Otto Wolf's old residence, and converted his old apartments on the ground floor at the rear of the saloon into the additional private card rooms.

The Sunday after the grand opening, August 14, 1904, a photographer came inside the Mascot and recorded Reinert's newly expanded place of business (see the frontcover). Reinert is easy to pick out. The self-satisfied smile on the man up front and center is a dead give-away, but he also bears an uncanny resemblance to the man in A. V. Buel's cartoon of May 24, 1901 (Figure 38). The three men behind the bar were probably his bartenders. At this time they could have been any of a number of people: John Clinton, Chris Merz, Robert Stiltz, Harry Friedenthal, and Bert LaCrosse were all possibilities at this general time period. The other two men standing in front of the bar with Reinert were most probably typical working class customers.

The next photograph (Figure 44) was probably taken sometime leading up to, if not on July 4, 1904 (in a full view of this photograph, a band appears to be marching on the baseball field



Figure 44. Photograph taken in late June or early July 1904, possibly July 4, 1904. Note that the flat-roofed outbuilding behind the Mascot Saloon is being dismantled (Credit: Skagway Museum & Archives, Skagway, Alaska / PC 94.2.2; KLGO SO-129-5092).

between Fourth and Fifth avenues on Spring Street). This would have been during the midst of Reinert's remodeling activities. The large, flat-roofed building behind the Mascot is being torn down; it no longer has a roof. A shed-roofed building has been added to the back of the Clipper Line Office. The privy behind the latter building is gone. It is doubtful Reinert needed it, as he probably built the toilets mentioned in his September 1908 deposition in the assault charge against Charles Johnson. Two small privies remain behind the old ticket office. Figure 45 is a map superimposing these features on the archeological excavation units.

Albert Reinert did not stop reinvesting his money in his business. Two months later, in October 1904, he built an ice house and warehouse in the rear of the saloon.[35] While it might seem odd to build an ice house at the beginning of the cold season, with further thought it becomes obvious that the frugal man would start laying up ice at the start of winter for use the following summer.

A photograph dated by the photographer to May 31, 1905 shows the cluster of buildings that would become known as the Mascot Saloon Group had achieved close to its configuration known in 1974, when the National Park Foundation acquired the buildings (Figure 46).[36] These also were the modifications that Reinert had made to the buildings during his summer 1904 renovations, which were completed by August. A large, one-story, gable-roofed structure had been added to the back of the two-story Mascot Saloon. This room probably held the clubrooms. To the east of that he had added a low, shed-like addition, probably a storage shed built in October 1904. To the north of the storage shed was the somewhat taller icehouse. A small shed was attached to the south of the clubrooms.

By 1908, the complex had actually accumulated more additions than it would have when it was purchased in 1974 (Figure 47). Two small shed-like rooms had been added to the southeast corner of the complex, replacing a smaller shed seen in the Figure 46 photograph. Figure 48 demonstrates how the complex was associated with the archeological excavation units.

Reinert Expands and Diversifies

As real estate became cheaper after 1904 or so, and Reinert had improved his Mascot property to its best without tearing it down and starting over, he began to look elsewhere for diversification. In 1906, he opened the Horse Shoe Liquor Company in partnership with Wallace Lyle Speer, at the northwest corner of Broadway and Third.[37] This location was at that of the former Idaho Saloon, which had been owned by W. W. Boughton and Joseph G. Smith between June 1902 and November 4, 1904.[38] Smith continued to operate the Idaho for a while after Boughton left the business, but when Smith bowed out as well, Reinert welcomed the opportunity to capture his greatest rival's customers, situated as it was catty-corner across the street from the Mascot.

Speer, who preferred to go by "Lyle," had come to Skagway in February of 1898 from Everett, Washington. He had been a railroad clerk there, and by April 1900, when he was enumerated in the federal census, he obtained a job as a railroad clerk in Skagway. He was born in Pennsylvania in September 1859, so was 38 years old when he joined the stampede north. His wife, Fannie, born in March 1861, came to Alaska in May 1898, but did not marry Lyle until 1900. She came from Chicago, so it is difficult to know whether they knew each other before they came to Skagway. In 1900, they lived in their own place east of Broadway, either on Sixth or Seventh

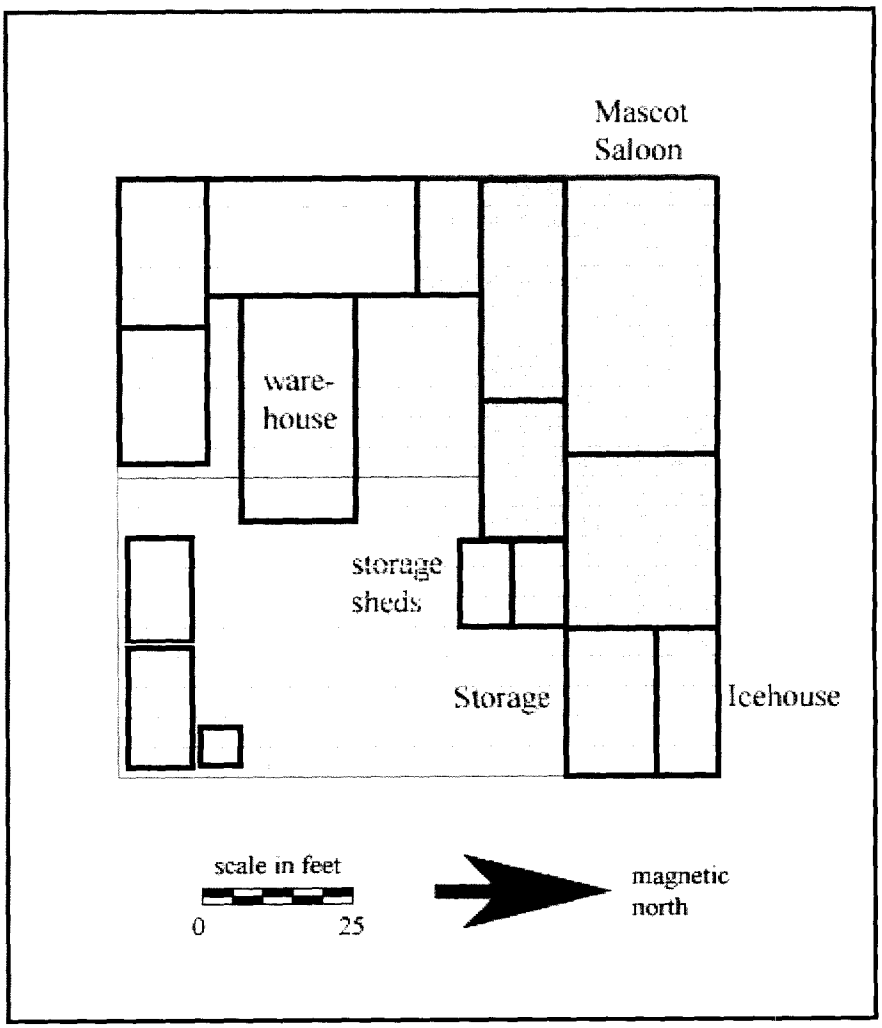


Figure 45. Map of the structures seen in photograph taken on July 1904 (Figure 44), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

Avenue, in a not-very-nice part of town.[39] The Speers did pretty well for themselves before Lyle went into partnership with Reinert at the Horse Shoe Liquor Company. By September 1902, he had quit working for the railroad and had gone to work for Bloom and Korach at the Monogram Liquor House as a bartender, where he stayed until at least 1904.[40] It is difficult to tell if this was a step up or down in life, but it probably gave him the experience he needed in his own saloon with Reinert.

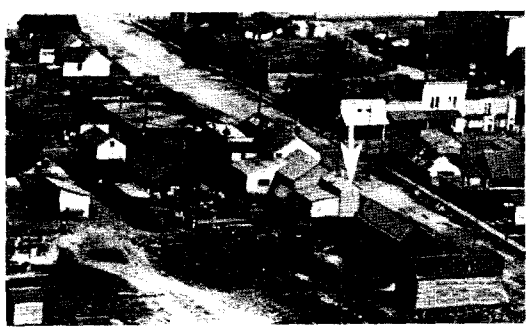


Figure 46. Photograph taken on May 31, 1905. The icehouse added by Reinert in the fall of 1904 (arrow) is probably the northern-most and taller of the two outbuildings, the better to trap cold and to vent heat (Credit: Sheldon Museum & Cultural Center, Haines, Alaska / Case & Draper 195; KLGO SO-54-1018).

In a way, more is known about Fannie R. Speer than about Lyle. She excelled in gardening and won many prizes in the local gardening shows. The Speers ordered a small windmill from Sears, Roebuck and Company in order to pump water from their shallow well to irrigate their garden. Sears informed them that the company did not engage in "export trade" and could not deliver to Alaska, much to the amusement of *The Daily Alaskan* and its readers.[41] One year, Mrs. Speer's strawberries were so large they were put on display in the front window of *The Daily Alaskan*. They were reputed to have been six inches in circumference.[42] She even held 4,499 shares of the capital stock of the Alaska General Electric Company as surety for a loan. This stock ended up in litigation in the estate of E. O. Caswell, the manager of the company, when he died at the age of 37.[43]

On January 30, 1908, before the Red Light District was shut down on Seventh Avenue, Fannie Speer purchased the house that had been known as "The Cottage," Skagway's largest and most opulent brothel, for $550.00.[44] The brothel had not been occupied since 1904, when the city council had successfully driven its madam from Skagway. "The Cottage," located on the west side of Broadway between Seventh and Eighth Avenue, was near, but outside the Seventh Avenue red light district. Its residents had made themselves far too noticeable to the neighbors,



Figure 47. Photograph taken in the early summer 1908. Note the two shed-like additions on the southwest corner of the Mascot Saloon complex (41). Note also Reinert's five remaining competitors: 7) the Board of Trade; 11) the Pack Train; 12) the Monogram; 40) the Horseshoe; 46) the Pantheon; and 47) the Trail (Credit: University of Washington, Special Collections Division, Seattle, Washington; KLGO SO-15-197).

so a series of hefty fines had finally forced madam Frankie Belmont to abandon Skagway.[45]

Reinert and Lyle Speer's partnership at the Horse Shoe Liquor Company lasted until June 30, 1909. A newspaper announcement advised that all bills outstanding against the firm should be sent to Reinert; all bills payable to the firm are to be paid to Reinert as well.[46] Possibly Reinert liked running his own show too well. Possibly he had just entered into the partnership to help out Speer. It is even possible that he had found running two saloons was more than he could handle.

Shortly thereafter, Speer tried to set himself up as a middleman between the two most prominent madams in Skagway and some private

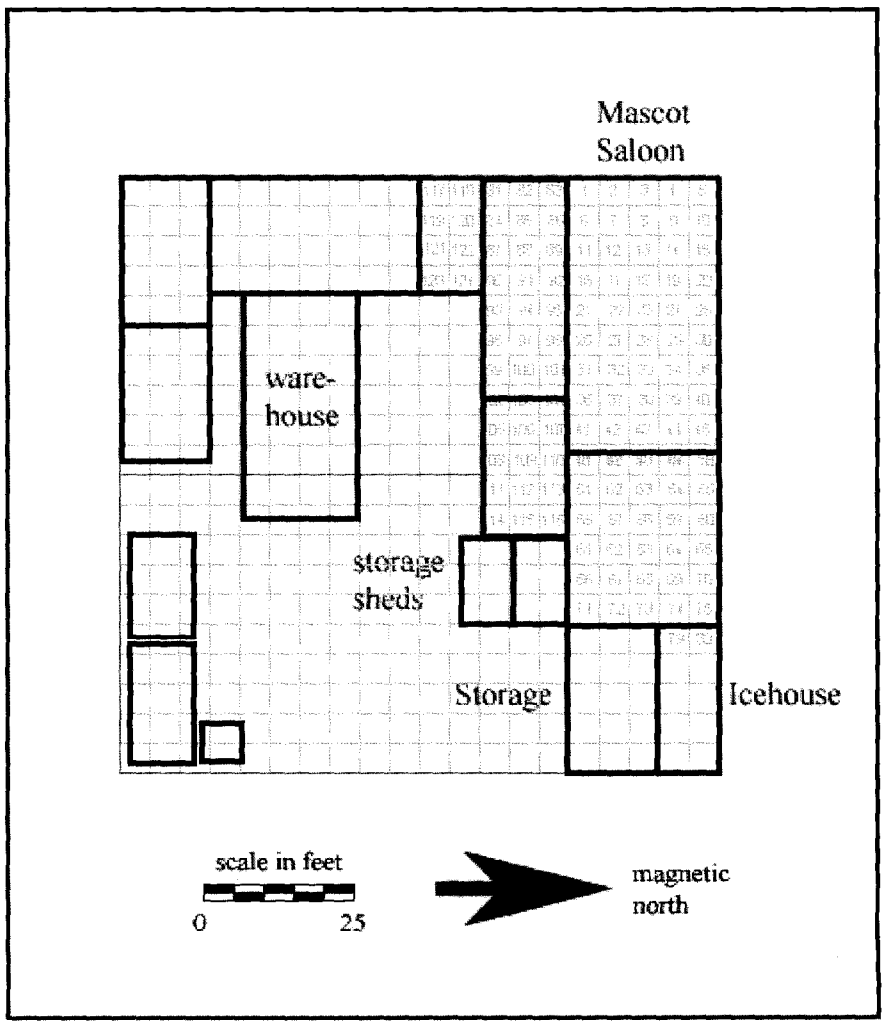


Figure 48. Map of the structures seen in photograph taken after 1908 (Figure 47), superimposed on a map of the archeological excavation units.

landlords when the city council considered a petition to move the red light district from Seventh Avenue. Speer told the newspaper that he hoped to arrange a deal for the women to rent some property on Third Avenue. A newspaper reporter caught two of the city councilmen listening in on the conversation. The subsequent scandal ended with Councilman Chris Shea abruptly resigning from office, and leaving Skagway entirely, much to the delight of *The Daily Alaskan*.[47]

It turns out that Lyle was not interested in helping out Third Avenue landlords at all. Fannie owned eight of the twelve lots on Eighth Avenue east of Broadway. Shortly after the city council shut down the Seventh Avenue red light district, Lyle moved Fannie's former brothel, "The Cottage," across the street to the corner of Eighth and Broadway. Three months before Speer tendered his request to move the house, other residents of Eighth Avenue submitted a petition demanding that Eighth Avenue *not* be designated the new red light district (actually, the city council had suggested no such thing, so the rumor mill must have been in full gear). Nonetheless, the petition was tabled.[48] It appears that the Speers were positioning themselves to become the landlords of a new red light district. However, they were unsuccessful, not because the neighbors were uncooperative, but because the madams were. The 1910 census suggests that most of the working prostitutes left town over the winter.[49] It seems that the madams were not interested in renting from the Speers. During the summer and fall of 1910, the three madams who stayed in Skagway bought property on Alaska Street between Fourth and Fifth Avenues.[50] The madams determined where the new red light district was, not the Speers.

The Speers were in Skagway at the time the 1910 census was taken, and they do seem to be living in a better part of town. They are listed on Fifth Avenue, with such decent neighbors as grocer Harry Ask and the most respectable saloonman in town, Herman Grimm.[51] But when Speer registered to vote in 1911, it was the last time he listed himself as a merchant. He did not register in 1912, and it is possible he had left town looking for other work. By March 24, 1913, the Speers were living in the large, former "Cottage" at Eighth and Broadway, and Lyle was working as a clerk. A year later he was a freight checker for the railroad,[52] and in the 1915 city directory, Lyle was listed as a baggageman for the White Pass and Yukon Route Railroad apparently having failed at the saloon business.[53] By that time only five saloons were left in town, and their days were numbered. The couple was still in Skagway in 1920, he was still a baggageman for the railroad, at 62 years of age.[54] The Speers continued to live in "The Cottage," the neighborhood having become a bit more respectable after 1909, now that the red light district was gone. Wallace Lyle Speer died in Skagway on December 18, 1933.

Meanwhile, after going into partnership with Speer in 1906, and continuing his string of investments, Reinert had quietly come into possession of the old Louvre Saloon by December 1907, as the central business district had long since moved to south Broadway.[55] It is unclear if he ever ran it as a saloon. He then opened a silent movie theater, the Nugget Movies, across Broadway from the Mascot sometime in the spring of 1908.[56] It was located in a structure he had built just south of the Golden North, after the latter building was moved to the southwest corner of Broadway and Third. Immigration Inspector Maskevicious rented half of Reinert's new building.[57]

Reinert's mind must have been split three ways between the Mascot, the Horse Shoe, the movie theater, not to mention the relief he must have felt at getting out of the assault charges against Charlie Johnson barely a month before. On January 16, 1909, in the early afternoon, he dumped "a scuttle full of hot coals and ashes against the rear of the saloon. The building quickly caught fire and in a few minutes might have been beyond control." There was a lot of wind at the time and concern was expressed that a good portion of the town could have been endangered had it not been contained. This event occurred during an extremely cold period, and newspaper articles in the following days make it clear that the water mains around town were constantly freezing, adding to concerns about fires. Luckily, someone saw it, called in the volunteer fire department, and extinguished the flames before it did much damage to the Mascot.[58]

Reinert's continued investments throughout this period indicate that he was a shrewd, successful businessman when many around him were failing and leaving town. But as the population continued its steady decline, it is possible that even Albert Reinert ran out of ideas for what to do with his money, and his failed partnerships with first Saake, then Speer suggest that he may have decided that he wanted to stay in business by himself.

When the enumerator came around on January 13, 1910, he appears to have missed Albert himself. The information he put down for

Reinert is inconsistent with that found in the 1900 census, suggesting he talked to someone else at the Mascot Saloon. For instance, the 1910 enumerators did not have to specify birth year or birth month, only the age in years. He listed Reinert's age as 45. However, *the 1900 census* stated that Reinert was born in February 1867, which would have made him 43. Rounding to the nearest five years is a common mistake for a neighbor (or an employee?) to do. In addition, Reinert is listed as living alone next to the Golden North Hotel, but on Fourth Avenue. While the Mascot Saloon was across Broadway from the Golden North, it was not on Fourth Avenue, but on Third and Broadway. That, of course, is the mistake of the enumerator. Another glaring inconsistency was the year he emigrated from Germany. The 1900 census listed an immigration year of 1885, when Reinert was 18 years old; the 1910 census stated he did not come to the United States until 1893. Finally, Reinert had stipulated he was single in 1900. The 1910 census indicated that he had become widowed. This is highly unlikely, as none of the newspapers indicate that he had gotten married and had become widowed in the ten intervening years.

In fact, the next we hear of Albert Reinert is in the fall of 1911. He had decided to take a nice long vacation from Skagway, perhaps using up some of that money he had been investing all those years. After a ten-week summer absence from town, Skagway learned that Reinert had returned with a bride. Albert Reinert married Miss Agnes McGinley of San Francisco on August 17. He had met her twelve years before, perhaps before even coming to Alaska. They were living at the Golden North Hotel "but they expect to have a home of their own within the very near future."[59] Apparently Agnes wasn't the type to live over a saloon. Pertinent to the argument that the 1910 census enumerator did not speak to Reinert himself was the title of the newspaper article announcing Albert's and Agnes' marriage: "Reinert Now a Benedict." A now little-used definition of a "benedict" is "a newly married man who has long been a bachelor."[60]

In July 1914, Mrs. Reinert took over the ownership of Nugget Movies on Broadway, although Albert was still listed in the 1915 city business directory as proprietor of a motion picture business.[61]

More About Albert Reinert

Besides all of Reinert's business dealings, he found time to involve himself in men's social activities in the community. He joined the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks in 1901 and the Arctic Brotherhood in 1902. This secret fraternal society was formed especially for men who had been in the north long enough to be considered "sourdoughs;" men could become members by invitation only. Reinert also joined the Chamber of Commerce in 1903, where he served for a number of years. In 1905 he worked on a committee to get a vault for the U. S. Commissioner in which to store the title records of the city. Also in 1905, he was treasurer of the reorganized hook and ladder company. [62]

In addition, he donated merchandize or money to a number of worthy causes in the community: $5 to the Fourth of July celebration fund in 1901; $20 in a subscription to the Citizens Mining Committee in February 1902; two bottles of wine to the Field Day scheduled for the Eighth Infantry in mid-September 1903; six bottles of beer for the army field day in mid-October 1903; and $2 towards relief donations being collected by Tony Dortero for those affected by an earthquake disaster in Messina and Reggio, Italy.[63]

It could hardly be said that Reinert was not a contributing member of the community. His participation is typical of that of many of the other saloonkeepers of Skagway, although two others, in particular Lee Guthrie and Chris Shea, went so far as to become councilmen and mayors. *The Daily Alaskan* eventually ran such vitriolic campaigns against both those saloon owners that they retired from local politics entirely. The course taken by Reinert seemed the safer and was much more typical. He donated modestly to local causes, joined a couple of the men's clubs, and involved himself in the chamber of commerce.

Reinert purchased the H. J. Lynch Haberdashery and Ladies' Furnishings from Mrs. Helen Lynch about the same time he sold the Mascot to Childs and Bender. Selling ladies' notions must have been a big change for a man who had been running a saloon for fifteen years.[64] The 1915-16 business directory listed Albert Reinert as the proprietor of a dry goods business, probably the Lynch business. He surely must have tried to steer the business into something a little less specialized. Mrs. Agnes Reinert was listed as a teacher at the Skagway Public School, suggesting that her income was increasingly important to the household.[65]

The Reinerts left Skagway in 1918, moving to Ketchikan. There they purchased a clothing goods store that they called Reinert's Store, similar to the one they had established in Skagway after the beginning of local prohibition.

They lived there for the next 16 years, establishing themselves in a new town and new career almost as lengthy as the one he had left in Skagway. He continued his volunteer work through membership in the Elks and as the second vice president of the local order of the Pioneer Lodge. He died on July 4, 1934 of Bright's disease, a liver ailment, after a four- day stay in the hospital. He was buried in the Catholic plot of the Ketchikan Cemetery.[66]

Other People Living at the Mascot Saloon

Until Reinert married Agnes McGinley in the summer of 1911, he lived in the saloon. Before 1901, he appears to have rented rooms to other bachelor men as well. The 1900 census listed Reinert and three other bachelors living at the Mascot. Two of the men were British immigrants, and the third was a Californian whose father was Mexican and whose mother was Chilean. Two of the men were married and the other, like himself, was single. All of them were in their early to mid-30's. Like Albert, two of the others came from Seattle; one came most recently from Portland. James P. Taylor called himself a cook. (Illegible) D. Chetham and Fran B. Romo were both brokers.[67]

A number of individuals are known to have lived and worked at the Mascot Saloon in addition to Albert Reinert. There is no historic documentation of women living at the saloon until after the Herns purchased the building in 1918.

The Bartenders and Other Employees

James J. Conners, also known as "Ham Grease Jimmy," was the first bartender mentioned in connection with "the Mascotte," and he obviously predated Albert Reinert. He lives today in the tales of Eli J. "Stroller" White, who claims Jimmy boosted the blackjack games and called the dances at the Mascotte. According to the legend, he drew a lucky card winning him enough money to buy a big tent and six bottles of whiskey. He high-tailed it to White Pass City and opened up the International Hotel, with a saloon at either entrance. As "Stroller" also told a long story about Ham Grease Jimmy boosting the blackjack games at the Wheel of Fortune gambling house in Skagway during Soapy Smith's reign, the Mascotte part of the Ham Grease's life must have taken place after July 8, 1898. Conners also leased Clancy's Music Hall, and "Stroller" may have confused the "dances at the Mascotte" with those at Clancy's.[68]

A number of less colorful bartenders worked for Albert Reinert, and some of them became quite prominent within the community. Others went on to own their own businesses, so Reinert must have mentored the more promising, or at least given them incentives to go out on their own.

The first business directories in Skagway only listed the "proprietors" or those who had a financial interest in the business. It was not until 1901 that four bartenders in town were found in a business directory, and it is suspected that their employers paid to have them listed. None of the Mascot's bartenders appear in the 1901 directory.

The first Mascot bartender working for Albert Reinert that we know about is Lou Hartman, who took the night shift in April 1902. *The Daily Alaskan* called him "one of Skagway's genial citizens, and an expert mixologist of the North."[69] Too much should not be read into this praise. None of the town's bartenders was ever described in less than glowing terms. They were always genial, popular and very well liked. Furthermore, the term "mixologist" was sometimes used interchangeably with "bartender," and seemed to be a preferred high-falutin' sounding word, at least on the part of the editor of *The Daily Alaskan*. Madelon Powers demonstrates most ably that the customers of working class saloons disdained fancy mixed drinks. The gin, rum, wines, brandies, liqueurs, and bitters on the back bar were there for show more than consumption.[70] The longshoremen and laborers patronizing the Mascot would abandon their favorite watering hole if it had run out of beer or whiskey, and wouldn't care if genial Lou could mix the finest drink in the North.

Perhaps Lou wanted to find a place that would respect his creative arts a bit more, because by the following September, he had left not only the Mascot, but also Skagway. E. D. Morrison, representing R. L. Polk and Company, collected names for the 1903 Polk and Company city directory in September 1902, perhaps the most complete directory known in the early days of Skagway.[71] Not only does it list both reputable and disreputable people in town, but also both their residential and business addresses, usually by number and street name. The 1903 city directory is a touchstone for both earlier and later directories. At any rate, Lou's absence from this directory pretty much guarantees that he had moved on by that time or shortly thereafter.

Morrison did stipulate that the bartenders for the Mascot Saloon were Bert M. LaCrosse and Henry Friedenthal, indicating they were working for Reinert by September 1902.[72] This is the only mention we find of LaCrosse in the historic record, suggesting he worked in Skagway for only a short time, then drifted on to other parts. Mr. Friedenthal, however, is another story.

Henry, also known as Harry, had left his tradesman job in Portland, Oregon and come to Alaska with the first rush in August 1897. It is unclear whether he went on north to the Klondike or stayed in Skagway. The 1899 business directory lists a Donovan and Friedenthal at 422-24 Broadway under "Clothing and Furnishings." Without the first name, it is impossible to tell whether this is the same Friendenthal.[73] Harry, his wife Anita, and two small children were listed in the 1900 census living on Sixth Avenue in Skagway. His occupation was given simply as a "merchant."[74]

Anita and their daughter had followed Harry to Alaska two months afterwards in October 1897. A son had been born only the previous July. Anita had been a bookkeeper in Portland, and also kept books at the time the census was taken, even though she had a six-month old son and a four-year old daughter. Her foreign birth may have excused this somewhat unorthodox behavior. Her father was English, her mother Scottish, and she was born in Australia. At least she could read, write, and keep books in English. Harry's father was German. Anita was born in February 1874, and Henry was born in August 1870. They were in their mid-20's when they stampeded north, and it must have seemed like a grand adventure to both of them.[75]

Friedenthal and his wife are missing from the 1901 and 1902 city directories, but as mentioned previously, only the proprietors were listed in those directories. Donovan and Friedenthal must have dissolved their partnership as the boom waned. By the fall of 1902, Henry Friedenthal was forced to take a job as a bartender. Anita is not mentioned in the directory, although a number of women are.[76]

By fall 1904, Friedenthal had become a driver for the Alaska Transfer Company.[77] By October 1906 or so, he had become a bartender for the Monogram Liquor Company, and in late 1908 he was back to doing something with an unspecified express company.[78] In late 1914, Henry was a teamster, his now teenaged son was a clerk at Keller Brothers Drug, and his teenaged daughter was a clerk at Henry J. Lynch's Ladies Furnishings (soon to be owned by Albert Reinert).[79] In late 1916, Henry and son Edwin were both laborers for the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad, with daughter Martha no longer working, or possibly having married and changed her name.[80] The next city directory we have available is dated 1923-24 and the Friedenthals are no longer listed. It is interesting that Henry Friedenthal alternated between working for the express or transportation industry and the saloon industry, as if not completely satisfied at either job, but taking whatever limited jobs and his background would allow him to work at.

So Bert LaCrosse and Henry Friedenthal were working for Reinert in September 1902. The next Mascot bartender to enter the historic record was Chris Shea, first encountered in a short newspaper entry in the "Personal Mention" column. These short notes usually referred to the comings and goings of people about town, or other items perhaps not quite worthy of the social column. On January 6, 1903, the people of Skagway learned that Shea, "the popular night bartender of the Mascot, will go South on the Amur for a month's vacation."[81]

Chris Shea became one of Skagway's more successful citizens and certainly was the most successful of those who started out as a bartender at the Mascot. He was born in New York of Irish parents and had gone to California where he had married in 1896 and fathered a daughter, Nellie. At 31, he obviously was an up and coming young man in Skagway in the winter of 1902-1903, and probably did not stay long as the night bartender at the Mascot. Sometime between July 3, 1903 and November 1904, he left the Mascot taking a position at the Pantheon Saloon, then moved on to the Pack Train, probably serving there also as the bartender. In his off time, he captained a "ragtime baseball team," the Lobsters. By December 1904, he had become a part owner of the Pack Train Saloon. In June 1908, he and Fred Patten sold the Pack Train and built the Trail Hotel and Saloon at the southeast corner of Fourth and Broadway, still one of Skagway's landmark buildings. He sold his share of the partnership to Patten in January 1909, as he devoted more and more of his energies to politics.[82]

In April 1906 he ran for city council on a lark and lost. He tried again more seriously in 1907 and this time was successful. When he ran once again in 1908, he garnered enough votes to become the mayor. He lost some of his popularity during protests over the assessments of personal property taxes while he was mayor and was only narrowly re-elected in 1909. *The Daily Alaskan* waged what today would be a libelous war against him for over a year. From his position on the Health and Police Committee, he tried to investigate the necessity of moving the red light district away from Seventh Avenue, in response to a citizens' petition. The newspaper implicated him in improper dealings, and he abruptly left town. Territorial Governor Hoggatt appointed him as game warden in Seward,

Alaska, and Shea did not return to Skagway again. He died on board a ship near Ketchikan on January 17, 1913, while on his way to Soap Lake, Idaho, where he hoped to recover from a bout with consumption.[83]

Shea, after leaving the Mascot Saloon, may have been replaced by another Chris. By September 1903, the people of Skagway learned that Chris Merz had "accepted a position at the Mascot, where he expects to stay during the winter."[84] It is impossible to say whether Merz was replacing Shea, LaCrosse or Friedenthal, as it is not clear how long any one of them stayed on. It does seem likely that Reinert had two bartenders employed, one for a day shift, one for a night shift, and that he worked the odd hours in between when there were few customers, or when one was ill.

Merz had worked as a bartender for Herman Grimm at the Seattle Saloon before coming to the Mascot, and was probably regarded as an old hand in the business. The first reference to him was in an April 9, 1901 announcement of the birth of Grimm's son. "It is not expected that Chris, the popular barkeeper, will be laid off immediately." Not long after, Merz joined the Skagway Lodge of B. P. O. E. The article that detailed his membership rites clearly identified him as the "mixologist" at the Seattle Saloon, and was accompanied by a sketch that gives us some idea of Merz's general – and generous – appearance (Figure 49).[85]

Merz appears to have been a real asset to Grimm, and it is difficult to understand how he let such a prize leave him for the Mascot. On at least two occasions, a previous employer in Sacramento, a Captain Ruhstaller, had sent Merz a keg of his brewery's "world famous Gilt Edge bock beer." Merz had tapped the keg and served it free at the saloon "for the edification of his many friends," the customers of the Seattle Saloon.[86] Reinert must have thought he had gotten a real gem. However, if he ever got free kegs of beer to give away to his customers, he never advertised the fact in *The Daily Alaskan.*



Figure 49. Cartoon of Chris Merz published in *The Daily Alaskan* on May 31, 1901.

Free beer possibly made Merz popular enough that someone took the trouble to see that his ills and travels were noted in the newspaper, both when he worked for the Seattle Saloon and at the Mascot. In March 1903, he came down with "la grippe," what we would probably call a flu bug today, and was sick enough to be hospitalized. His condition made front-page news, as well as the fact that he would soon be returning to work when he left the hospital five days later. He visited Whitehorse in August 1903, and came back from some unstated destination in June 1904.[87]

Merz did not appear in the 1905-1906 business directory, nor was his name mentioned in the "Personal Mention" column after the June 1904 note. It is likely that he had moved on by the fall of 1904, when the data for the 1905 directory was collected. By that time John Clinton and Robert L. Stiltz were the bartenders and Samuel Oleson was the clerk at the Mascot.[88] Clinton was still in his position in the fall of 1906.[89] In August 1908, *The Daily Alaskan* announced that "J. C. Clinton, employed at the Mascott (sic) Saloon has gone south to Seattle."[90]

A John C. Clinton was enumerated in Skagway on April 12, 1900. John being such a common name, it is hard to be sure this was the same man as one of the Mascot's longer- term bartenders. If so, he was somewhat older than the others. He came to Alaska in April 1899 at the age of 47, having been born in December 1851 in New York. He was a miner from Seattle, and claimed to be an unemployed miner in Skagway.[91] The fact that he had the same middle initial as the Mascot's bartender and also hailed from Seattle suggests the two may be one and the same. His age may account for his relative stability when compared to the frequency with which Reinert's other bartenders came and went.

Robert Stiltz, who shared bartending duties with Clinton in 1904, was gone by the fall of 1906. He appeared in neither the 1900 nor the 1910 census. Stiltz was replaced by Dale Cowan, a man in his mid- 30's, who had been a clerk at the Board of Trade Saloon since 1902. But like so many others before him, Cowan used his job at the Mascot as a stepping stone to something bigger. By the fall of 1908, he had returned to the

Board of Trade, but had been promoted to the coveted job of bartender there.[92]

The only other bartender for the Mascot that we know about at this time was William J. Childs, who was working for Reinert as early as September 18, 1908, when James Johnson came into the saloon with some money and wanted to shake dice at five dollars a throw. The story is told elsewhere, but ended with both Reinert and Childs being charged with assault with a deadly weapon in the form of a tap hose and with Johnson in the hospital for several days. Childs was a young man at the time, only about 28 years old, married for three years and as yet childless. He had been born in California of an American father and a Bohemian mother. As late as 1910, he and his wife Mary still rented their home. He perhaps was more motivated to stay with Reinert than some of the other Mascot bartenders had been.[93]

Childs was still being listed as Reinert's bartender as late as 1915. He and John Bender bought the saloon business from Reinert in September 1916, when Reinert realized that local prohibition was in town longer than he could last it out.

Albert Reinert had other employees at the Mascot, according to the city directories, although their functions are not entirely clear. Two clerks were listed. One was Samuel Oleson, already mentioned, who was working in the saloon by late 1904.[94] He had been arrested with Board of Trade gamblers on August 22, 1904, so probably had been employed in that saloon earlier in the summer. By January 6, 1905, he was running gambling tables for Fred Patten at the Pack Train Saloon.[95] His short career at the Mascot must have seemed a bit tame by comparison.

By late 1908, William D. Terrell had taken the clerk position at the Mascot. The next extant business directory, dating from 1915-1916, had no clerks listed for the Mascot.[96]

Reinert also hired at least one porter, Joseph Roy, by late 1908. It is possible that Joseph Roy was the same person as Peter J. Roy, an unemployed laborer who was enumerated on Eighth Avenue in January 1910. Peter Roy had immigrated to the United States from France in 1906, was single, and shared a house or cabin with a Norwegian. If he and Joseph Roy were one and the same, he would have been about 25 years old when he worked for Reinert.[97] The function of a porter in a saloon is unclear. Dictionary definitions suggest the porter could have served as a bouncer, a screener, as someone who waited on tables, or as a sort of janitor. In most working class saloons, the first three jobs were filled by the bartender. Considering the assault charges that had been filed against Reinert and his bartender William Childs in September 1908, perhaps Reinert had thought he needed a strong-arm about the place, and in this case, Roy served as a bouncer. The Board of Trade Saloon appears to be the only saloon in Skagway that routinely employed a porter.

The Mascot and the Union

The Mascot's connection with the predominant labor union of the area indicates much about the type of customer that Reinert's saloon catered to. In fact, the working class saloons often served as places where the labor unions could meet. Powers (1999:55) indicates that the connections between the working class saloons and the labor unions was one of the many reasons middle class reformers thought so poorly of them, believing the saloon fostered dissent and violence against industry and management.[98]

Reinert's relationship with labor and his working class customers was demonstrated on August 26, 1908, when he volunteered supplemental bond for Sewald Torkelson, who worked at the Treadwell Mine on Douglas Island. Fellow leaders of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) at Douglas had charged Torkelson with the embezzlement of $1,500 of the union's funds. Torkelson, the secretary of the local chapter of the WFM, had purportedly invested the money in his newspaper, *The Alaska Weekly Transcript*. The union was engaging in its second strike of the Treadwell mine in two years. Not only was the strike a source of controversy between miners and mine owners, but it was not well supported by non-union workers. The fact that the leadership was taking a fellow union member to court illustrates the acrimony involved.[98]

The case started out being tried in Skagway simply because that was where the district court was meeting when the charges were filed. After the trial was moved from Skagway to Juneau, Torkelson ended up being tried for a number of crimes. The grand jury dismissed the charge of obtaining money under false premises by "a demurrer to the indictment." He was acquitted on a charge of assault and battery against Mrs. Adams of Douglas, as well as another charge of perjury. He was also discharged on a charge of adultery after being held under bonds from May to December 1907.[99] Many of these alleged crimes had probably been trumped up by officials of the Treadwell mine and the courts,

who, according to historian James Foster, were sympathetic to the mine owners.[100]

Torkelson obviously had a lot of enemies, both in and out of the union, but the enemies did not include Albert Reinert. Reinert may have been persuaded to help Torkelson by some of his loyal customers, who were largely blue-collar railroad laborers, stevedores and longshoremen. This connection between the Mascot Saloon and the controversial union provides a fascinating insight into the interconnections of customer relations in Southeast Alaska. While the incident does not count as a crime at the Mascot, it does indicate where the loyalties of Reinert and his clientele lay.

An Attempted Suicide

The contextual history related a number of stories about the types of crime committed at the Mascot Saloon, demonstrating the character of the some its customers. Not fitting the criminal pattern was a story of Julius Lind, who came close to killing himself and ended up unconscious in the Mascot Saloon. He had gone first to William Britt's drug store, and then Kelly's Drug trying to buy laudanum, but neither druggist would sell him enough to do any damage. After consuming what he could get from the two pharmacists, he went to the Mascot Saloon, where he first vomited, then fell into a stupor. Marshal Snook took him to the jail, where he lay on the floor "writhing in apparent agony." Dr. Ransom "administered hypodermic injections of strychnine." The man was taken to the hospital "when he became so violent that it required the combined efforts of Marshals Shoup and Snook and jailer Tanner to hold him." There he had to be shackled hand and foot. He had come to town only recently and had been drinking heavily. He worked in a restaurant at the summit the previous summer and had cooked in Moore's Café in Skagway before that. The journalist relating the story seemed somewhat mystified by his behavior, as he was "well dressed and speaks English, French and Swedish fluently." Apparently learned men did not normally try to commit suicide. When he recovered from the doses of laudanum and strychnine the next day, Lund declared he was glad he was unsuccessful in his suicide attempt. When he was discharged from the hospital, he claimed to have no memory of what he had done the previous day.[101]

A Joke That Got Out of Control

But there were lighter moments, too. After all, this was a saloon, and the whole purpose of the saloon was to provide drink and relaxation. It was at the height of the free lunch era in Skagway, and Reinert needed to come up with a new twist. How could he compete with the sumptuous fares offered by the Pack Train, the Board of Trade and the Seattle? Then he had it. None of them had yet come up with venison. So, on February 7, 1903 he ran a special ad for a special lunch. "There will be a full grown deer all roasted to a turn, carved for the patrons of the Mascot saloon tonight and served with cream gravy. In addition to the venison there will be sandwiches of sausage, cheese and fish, and a fine assortment of condiments and appetizers together with Seattle Bohemian beer, at 10 cents a glass or schooner."[102]

There was only one problem. It was not deer hunting season. U. S. Deputy Marshal Snook took a dim view of the event, and showed up to arrest Reinert that evening, making sure to take a sample of the illicit goods to produce in court. Reinert decided to claim it came from the Puget Sound, and Snook was preparing to start looking at the manifests of the recent steamships when "someone gave the joke away." His venison was mutton.[103] Or so it was claimed. Who played the joke on whom?

Advertising at the Mascot

Reinert's advertising was not usually so misleading. More so than any other historical documentation available to us today – short of accounting books from the Mascot, which have not yet been discovered – the advertising assists the archeologist in tying the material culture to the recorded events. Knowing what products were used by Reinert at what times helps the archeologist in understanding the nature of the material culture found under the Mascot Saloon.

Most of the advertisements described below appeared in *The Daily Alaskan*. Between the newspaper's first publication on February 1, 1898 (briefly known as *The Morning Alaskan*) and December 10, 1899, only 35 issues have been preserved. Whenever possible, at least one newspaper a month was checked for a "typical" ad for the Mascot. After December 10, 1899, the advertisements were canvassed for the 15th of each month (or the 16th, if the 15th was not present). Daily advertisements were usually changed on a Saturday, near the beginning of the month. By choosing a mid-month date, the most typical ads were located.

The systematic study period goes from February 2, 1898 to April 30, 1909. Others (primarily Robert Spude) collected advertisements that appear on this list from outside that time range. These other advertisements include some from other newspapers in Skagway.

Noteworthy or atypical ads were also noted. Appendix A gives a detailed listing of all regular advertisements for the Mascot Saloon.

Reinert (and most of the businessmen in Skagway) used three types of advertisement. The first was the "placard" type advertisement. It was boxed off in a rectangle, usually about the size of a business card, with fancy fonts and symbols. While it was probably expensive to set in type, Reinert used the same placard ads for months or even years at a time, so he may have gotten a discount for pure repetition.

The second type of ad, and perhaps the most common, was two or three lines of type used as fillers at the ends of columns or between regular news stories. Reinert usually used no more than three or four of these types of ads per month, but the same advertisement could appear two, three or even four times in a single issue.

The third, and most informative advertisements were cleverly disguised as news stories, there obviously not being much in the way of regulation of advertising at the turn of the twentieth century. These advertisements were often the same length as other news stories in the paper, and came complete with headlines. They sometimes announced an unusual event at the saloon, such as a grand opening after a remodeling event. These advertisements were probably the most expensive, as they usually appeared only once and were many lines long. During the highly competitive period of late 1902 through late 1904, Reinert used these types of ads to highlight his free lunches.

The first advertisement we have for the Mascotte Saloon was dated June 17, 1898, and appeared in *The Skaguay News*. It indicated that Charles Rohback was the proprietor at the corner of Third Avenue and Broadway, and touted "Fine liquors and cigars, fresh beer on draught, 10 cents."[104]

There were no advertisements for the Mascot in the 35 issues surviving of *The Daily Alaskan* dating between February 2, 1898 and December 9, 1899, although advertisements for other saloons are ubiquitous. Between five and eighteen other saloons chose to advertise daily in *The Daily Alaskan* during this period. This newspaper was a relative newcomer to the community. Rohbeck, and later Albert Reinert, may well have chosen to advertise in *The Skaguay News* instead. It was the older, weekly newspaper, with a more loyal following. In fact, there is some evidence that Reinert later preferred whatever alternative newspaper to *The Daily Alaskan* that was in existence at any given time, keeping his ads in *The Daily Alaskan* somewhat brief, monotonous and repetitious.[105]

The first advertisement for Reinert's Mascot Saloon can be found in the December 10, 1899 issue of *The Daily Alaskan*. It is a placard ad, with a squiggle in the "M" for Mascot: "Try the Mascot. Best of Wines, Liquors and Cigars. Fine Club Room in Connection. A. Reinert, Prop. 3rd and Broadway" (Appendix A). This date contains the first of the consistent, almost daily issues left to us, so it is likely that the ad had appeared earlier. The advertisement continues daily for more than three years until the end of April 1903. It was changed only by the deletion of the word "of" between "best" and "wines" in February 1901.[106]

Reinert was also advertising in the alternative newspapers during this period. On February 28, 1900 appeared the placard ad that read "The Mascot Sample Rooms, Albert Reinert, Prop. Fine wines, Liquors and Cigars. Club rooms on the side" in the *Skagway Daily Budget*.[107] On July 2, 1902, he ran a placard advertisement for "The Mascot, A. Reinert, proprietor. The Most Popular Resort. Finest wines, liquors and cigars. Celebrated Raineer (sic) beer on Draught. Fine Club Room in Connection" in the *Alaska Daily Guide*. The same ad can be seen in a remaining issue of the same paper dated December 6, 1904, although this time it is "The Mascott," with "Rainier" spelled correctly.[108]

The significance of this latter advertisement is two-fold. Reinert himself does not seem to be consistent on the spelling of his establishment even as late as 1904. But more importantly, after April 1903, he had abandoned the more expensive placard ad in *The Daily Alaskan* in favor of the special stories and small filler advertisements. And he kept the placard ad in *The Daily Guide*.

This marketing tactic may have had much to do with Reinert's clientele. Very few issues of *The Alaskan Daily Guide* survive, but the references to "the little knocker" in *The Daily Alaskan* make it clear that its readers were not as "high brow," educated, or as respectable as that of the latter newspaper. *The Daily Alaskan* repeatedly accused the *Guide's* editor of being a rabble-rouser, of not respecting the decisions of the city council, of not checking his facts, of stealing stories from *The Daily Alaskan's* telegraph news service, and other rascally deeds. *The Daily Alaskan's* editor clearly favored "respectable" businessmen, who did not include the likes of saloon owners – with very few exceptions. For instance, before one city election, he proudly

asserted that the names put forth by the existing city council for the 1902 city election "include men from different portions of the town and representing nearly every line of business in the city."[109] It wasn't true in the least. Stuart Coburn was manager of Lilly Brothers, a dry-goods store; Luke McGrath was a foreman for the railroad; John Kalem owned a grocery store; J. A. Nettles ran a plumbing business; J. H. Kelly was agent for the Pacific Coast Shipping and Storage Company; H. L. Johnson was deputy inspector of U. S. Customs; F. Ronkendorf ran the Boss Bakery; C. L. Andrews was deputy collector of U. S. Customs; and P. E. Kern was a jeweler.[110] No blue-collar workers, who made up the majority of the community, were on the ballot. None were saloon owners. Neither the 1902 nor the 1903 directory listed a business or occupation for the single remaining candidate, F. M. Woodruff. Lee Guthrie, the owner of the Board of Trade Saloon, and a previous councilman, had heavily promoted him as city councilman in 1901, and he may have been the only candidate that would look out after the interests of the liquor dealers. *The Daily Alaskan* made sure that the public understood that Woodruff was Guthrie's dupe. He was not re-elected in 1902, and in the process *The Daily Alaskan* heavily criticized *The Daily Guide* for endorsing alternative candidates who did not meet the high moral standard espoused by *The Daily Alaskan*.

It seems likely that the longshoremen, stevedores and railroad laborers patronizing the Mascot Saloon had little truck with such hoity-toity attitudes, and liked the more relaxed *Daily Guide* for their reading pleasure. It is truly unfortunate that so few issues remain.

But Reinert did not entirely eschew *The Daily Alaskan* – unlike the proprietor of the Last Chance Saloon, who advertised prominently in *The Daily Guide*, but only managed to get his saloon mentioned in *The Daily Alaskan* when a barroom brawl occurred on his premises.

When Reinert dropped his placard ad in April 1903, he replaced it with a series of filler ads, supplemented with occasional story ads.

While he didn't use the story ads to the extent some of the richer saloon owners did in Skagway, Reinert made considerable use of them from late 1902 through early 1903, then occasionally into late 1904. He used these advertisements on three types of occasion, much in the same manner as did other businessmen in the community. On August 5 and 6, 1904, he announced a grand opening of his newly expanded saloon, promising "a fine lunch and good music," without saying whether the lunch was *gratis*.[111] These types of "grand opening" announcements were common after about 1902, when the town began to lose population, and the newspaper editor was trying to actively promote the community to his out-of-town subscribers. It is possible that the editor saw them as genuine news stories and did not charge for the advertising space.

The first time Reinert used the story advertisement, however, someone without a doubt paid for it. The story announced a large shipment of Rainier Bock beer in kegs,

> *when bunched together make an imposing mass. They contain the celebrated Rainier Bock Beer of Seattle, into the composition of which nothing enters but the very best of Yakima hops, toned for flavor with the close-made little sundried Bohemians and a generous quantity of malt. It is a famous, creamy brew of ample body and will be on tap at the Mascott (sic) for the next three weeks.*[112]

It was the first time he mentioned Rainier beer in an advertisement. The language is so different from any other ad that appeared for the Mascot saloon that it is possible Reinert had nothing to do with its composition. Perhaps the Rainier Brewing Company composed the advertisement and may even have provided the funds to pay for this one day story.

All of the remaining "story" advertisements were somewhat smaller in scope, some of them bordering on the filler type. They shared a characteristic with the story advertisements used by other saloon keepers in Skagway in that they appeared for only one or two days, whereas the filler advertisements would read the same for an entire month at least, and often for months on end. In addition, they were similar to each other in that they all touted the free lunches available at the Mascot in the period between November 1902 and April 1907.

There is some evidence to suggest that free lunches were relative newcomers to Skagway about this time, even though they had been a staple in saloon fare for decades in the rest of the country. A newspaper commentary of May 2, 1902 states that "Rumors of 5-cent beer, 10-cent whiskey and big free lunches, are now rife."[113] This period was a time of increasing competition for Skagway's saloons. The heyday of the gold rush period was over. The people traveling through the community for the mining

country around the Tanana River – which was booming at the time – rarely stayed more than a night or two. Fairbanks was well stocked, and there was little reason to buy one's grubstake in Skagway and pay the freight all the way to the Tanana gold fields. People who didn't stay didn't drink. There are no good statistics on the pool of customers available for the saloons, but given the massive amount of advertising that all of the saloons undertook during this period, we can suppose that competition was becoming quite keen.

The main point is that the Mascot's free lunches were not at all unusual for the saloons at this time. In fact, compared to the quality, quantity, and frequency of those offered at the Seattle Saloon, the Board of Trade, and the Pack Train, the Mascot's lunches were rather modest. Because he advertised them only occasionally, it is difficult to tell whether Reinert offered these free lunches as a special, occasional treat, or whether they were a regular feature during this period. However, in late January 1903, he announced that "customers of the house are being daily regaled with" little neck clams,[114] implying that the lunches were a daily feature and not limited to the times when the advertisements appear.

Madelon Powers indicates that the free lunch was quite common in most working class saloons throughout the United States from 1870 to 1920, and the fact that we see them advertised at the Mascot only from late 1902 to early 1904, and again in 1906 prompts a couple of different explanations. Perhaps Reinert's clientele were so loyal for most of the time that he had very little reason, except during these two periods, to try extra inducements to keep them coming to his place. Perhaps he always had a free lunch, but only felt it necessary to advertise the fact during these periods. Whatever the reason for the advertisements, the purpose of the free lunch, of course, was to get the customer in the door. The code of behavior, well understood by both the customer and the bartender, was that at least one drink would be purchased, and that the size of the serving of the meal would be commensurate with the amount of liquor consumed. Powers suggests that this code was rarely broken, and that bartenders were often employed for their skills at weeding out the freeloaders as much as for being able to dole out drinks.[115]

The fact that these meals were not served only at midday becomes quite clear when reading not only Reinert's advertisements for the "lunches" that will be served "tonight," but also those of most of his competitors. As most of Reinert's customers were working class laborers from the railroad and shipyards, it is highly likely that a large proportion of them were single. His lunches may well have substituted for meals in barracks or tar paper shacks.

The first time he ran a story ad for a free lunch, he served "turkey, prime roast beef, boiled Westphalia ham, schrimp (sic) salad, etc., etc.," in honor of a grand opening after he first purchased Charles Saake's part of the partnership, on April 12, 1901, well before the heyday of Skagway's free lunch period.[116] It was almost two years, though, before the tough competition began, and he began his regular free lunches. He started the regular trend with "prime roast beef, pork, salads, celery and other trimmings" in November 1902.[117] Three weeks later, he introduced spare ribs and sauerkraut.[118] In late January 1903, he added little neck clams to the menu.[119] In early February he obtained a mutton, which he tried to pass off as venison, and served "cream gravy...sandwiches of sausage, cheese and fish, and a fine assortment of condiments and appetizers."[120] In mid- March, he tried Mexican enchiladas on his customers.[121] But for the most part, clam chowder formed the staple of the Mascot's free lunches. In 1906 and 1907, he settled into a fair of oyster cocktails and steamed clams.

In most of these story advertisements, Reinert does not neglect his primary goal: to sell his liquor products. His Seattle Bohemian beer, not mentioned in the later filler ads, takes a prominent place in these story advertisements. In fact, the last story advertisement mentioning Seattle Bohemian beer appeared on March 18, 1903, and the first filler advertisement appeared on April 28, 1903, touting Rainier beer. In fact, as Reinert began to run the daily filler ads, his use of the longer, occasional story advertisements all but died away. The next one did not appear until Christmas day, 1903, simply touting the usual clam chowder and adding to it free Tom and Jerry drinks and punch. Tom and Jerry drinks, according to *Webster's International Dictionary*, were a concoction of cream, eggs, sugar and liquor, and were the 1903 version of eggnog. The Totem, the Board of Trade, and the Pantheon saloons also promised these same drinks, as well as free lunches.[122]

In fact, it was only on Christmas that Reinert ever referred to a mixed drink at his saloon. As mentioned earlier, the working class saloon customer seldom consumed mixed drinks. While tradition demanded that the bartender keep a row of other liquors on the back bar, they were

more for show than for sale. Occasionally a client would splurge on a special occasion and buy something other than beer or whiskey. But if a saloon's supplies of staples ran low, the proprietor might as well close shop. His customers would go somewhere else.[123]

It was not so at the Board of Trade or the Seattle Saloon. These two saloons, more so than any others in the community, made a point of referring to their bartenders as "mixologists," of advertising their wines, champagnes, and fine liquors, and of trying to cater to those whom they viewed as the higher quality of men about town: mostly the respectable businessmen.

Interestingly enough, Reinert's earlier placard ads had indeed tried to sound a note of genteel respectability. He touted his "fine wines and liquors" and "fine club room in connection." By 1903, the club room no longer mattered to his working class clientele apparently, nor did the wines and liquors.

Reinert's first filler ad appeared on April 28, 1903 and read simply "Rainier Bock Beer, at the Mascot Saloon."[124] As can be seen in the chro - nology in Appendix A, Reinert sometimes ran a filler ad for as little as a month, or for as long as 22 months. In 1903 he emphasized his beverages: beer (Rainier and Bohemian) and whiskeys (Old Planet and Old Belmont). For most of 1904, he extolled the wonders of his new Victor Talking Machine and all the music that could be heard on it. After November 1904, when he vastly expanded his storage space, he promoted his bulk and case goods, without reference to brand names, at wholesale prices. From 1905 through 1907 Reinert emphasized his beers and whiskeys (Mt. Vernon rye, Old Taylor and Belmont Whiskies, Rainier and Pacific Bottled Beer). From December 1907 for nine months, he began to seriously promote the musical entertainment he could provide from a machine that imitated banjos, mandolins, and pianos. He could play the most popular airs, ragtime and classical music, and promised a whole evening with no duplicates. Then in May 1908, he added a simple reminder that he served Bock Beer.

Then quite suddenly, in September 1908, while reminding his readers of his amazing automatic piano, he also gruffly announced that "The law says you can drink if you want to. Enough said, drink Rainier Beer at the Mascot – draft or bottled."[125] This curt advertisement is the first evidence Reinert was beginning to feel the effects of the burgeoning prohibition movement. It was also only a few months after the W. C. T. U. had renewed its chapter in Skagway.

It was on September 18, 1908 that Reinert and his bartender William Childs were arrested for assaulting Charles Johnson, who had become violent that afternoon in the saloon. Reinert had had to post a $500 bond,[126] which was not returned to him until his case was dismissed by the grand jury the following December. This incident probably explains the complete lack of advertisements in *The Daily Alaskan* in October and November of that year. Reinert may have also been somewhat peeved at the newspaper. The editor had spelled his name "Rinehart" in the article that ran the story of the incident, despite the fact that he was by that time an "old-timer" and well known in the community. Furthermore, the paper had not given him any slack in the telling of what had happened. Nonetheless, on the first of December, two weeks before his acquittal, he started advertising again.

Dropping his tirade against prohibitionists, Reinert returned to extolling his products: Rainier beer on tap, Mount Vernon rye whiskey and Belmont whiskey. Economic times were getting harder for the saloon men in Skagway. The prohibitionists were steadily gaining ground, people were leaving town, and customers were getting harder to find. For the first time, Reinert combated this trend by suggesting that his customers call up number 67 and he would deliver his products to their home, thus appealing to the family market. These filler ads run until July 15, 1909.

Then quite suddenly on July 16, 1909 Reinert ran his first placard ad in *The Daily Alaskan* in six years. It boasted a number of his products, while still stressing the family trade. He added Val Blatz Milwaukee and Olympia beers to his popular Rainier brew, perhaps hoping to bring in some new customers with a little diversity. This big, expensive ad did not last long, however. He discontinued it at the end of August and did no advertising whatsoever in September.

Spot checks of advertisements during 1910 indicate that Reinert returned to the small filler ads and seemed to favor his Val Blatz beer and Gibson rye whiskey as consumer favorites for the year. He still urged families to call for deliveries.

Childs and Bender at the Mascot

As has already been discussed on the history of licensing in Skagway, the town voted not to renew the liquor licenses for the town's saloons starting on August 1, 1916. The newspaper printed a "Bargain and sale to Albert Reinert to William Childs and John Bender all rights,

interests in the Mascot property of this city" on September 30, 1916.[127] Childs had worked for Reinert as a bartender since 1908; Bender had been a bartender for Herman Grimm at the Seattle Saloon since 1906.[128] As related elsewhere, it wasn't long before they were cited for selling liquor without a license. Neither must have predicted National Prohibition in quite the way that Reinert had.

The sale to Childs and Bender in September 1916 was probably for the business only. They were heavily fined for selling liquor without a license in December 1916. Reinert continued to pay the taxes on the north 87 feet of lots 5 and 6 of Block 35, where the Mascot Saloon stood, through 1918.[129]

Cigars, Tobaccos and Perry Hern

On January 8, 1918, Reinert sold the Mascot property to Perry Hern, Jr. for $3,000, half the price he paid when he bought out his partnership with Saake in 1901.[130] It appears that Hern had been leasing the space as a tobacco and confectionery store and newsstand since early 1917.[131] In 1920, the census taker indicated that Hern was the storekeeper of a cigar and tobacco store,[132] suggesting that the drugstore may have evolved out of the earlier business.

Shortly after Perry Hern purchased the Mascot Saloon complex from Albert Reinert, he removed the bar and fixtures, added new wiring, a concrete pad under the safe on the first floor, and rearranged the interior. The Canadian National Railways rented the old steamship office. In 1935 and 1936, the Herns remodeled the upstairs for their family's use, as well as that of the Feero family. At the same time, the old Pacific Clipper Line Office was remodeled.[133]

The Herns remodeled the upstairs rooms during the Great Depression. At the time that they purchased the Mascot and Pacific Clipper Line Office buildings from Reinert, they were living in a sprawling Second Avenue home they had purchased in 1917. They did not sell their Second Avenue house until 1928, so it is likely that the earliest that a woman lived above the former saloon was just before the Depression.[134]

Lillian Doran Hern was born in either 1889 or 1890 in Washington state to Irish-born parents from Missouri. Like the vast majority of women in Skagway, her occupation was listed as being "at home." In 1910 she lived with her 40 year- old widowed mother, Ida M. Doran, on Third Avenue. Lilly was a laundress at the time, and Ida did dressmaking. The Herns began to raise their family in 1918, about the same time they purchased the Mascot Saloon building from Reinert. They had at least four children, one of whom died during the Depression.[135] Lillian began working as a clerk, probably in the family business, during the Depression, and died in Skagway in 1939.

Perry Hern was ten years older than Lillian, and had been in Skagway longer. He also was enumerated in the 1910 census. He first appeared in the 1905-1906 business directory, indicating he had arrived in Skagway sometime between October 1902 and October 1904. By the latter date, he was working as a clerk for grocer John Kalem and renting a room at the Pullen House Hotel. This latter fact suggests his arrival had been fairly recent.[136] Two years later, he was a salesman for Ganty and Franson, wholesale and retail grocers, which position he still occupied in the fall of 1908.[137] In 1910, he rented a house on Sixth Avenue and worked as a baggageman for the railroad. The 1915-1916 business directory indicates he was still occupying that position as late as the fall of 1914.[138] However, by late 1916 he had opened the business that would occupy him the rest of his career in Skagway: the owner of the Skagway Drug Store.[139]

During the Depression, he also was a mink breeder, apparently a common source of second income for Alaskans at the time. Also during the Depression, his wife Lillian was listed as a clerk and his father Willis was a druggist.[140] Then tragedy struck the Hern family. Youngest daughter Bernadine died on July 10, 1935, followed by his father Willis on November 2, 1938. Wife Lillian joined the others in death on October 19, 1939. The loss of such important members of his family must have been too great a tragedy for Perry Hern. He took his remaining three children and left Skagway.

Despite the loss of his wife, father and daughter, Perry Hern built a small, ca. 10 feet by 20 feet building to the south of the old steamship office, after the repeal of Prohibition in August 1937, and added retail liquor sales to his drug store. Hern's Liquor Store did not survive to 1947, when a business index of Alaska failed to mention either the drug store or the liquor store. After the Herns left, the buildings as a group eventually fell into the ownership of George Rapuzzi. The women's club used them for rummage sales during the 1950s, but for the most part they served for storage. Mr. Rapuzzi and Charles Hermens sold them to the National Park Foundation in 1974.[141]

ARCHEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This report is supposed to be about the archeological investigations that were conducted under the Mascot Saloon complex in 1986, yet I have just given the reader 120 pages of historical context in introduction. Why, the reader may well ask?

Only too often, the historical archeologist has approached the excavation of a site like that of one in which nothing is known, in the same way that he or she was taught to do so on sites in which there is no recorded history. The archeologist digs up what there is to find; compares it with what is known; figures out what it might mean; then writes it up and moves on the next problem. But the cultural material remains left in the ground on sites formed during the historic period, especially during a period in which unusual historic events were occurring and during which the camera existed, *must* be treated differently. To approach the analysis and interpretation of that material culture in a vacuum of knowledge about the events that occurred at the site, down the block, in the center of town, in nearby communities, in the courts, in the rival businesses, with the reformers, in short, with all of the people that had an influence on the events around the site, is to rob it of the skeleton, meat and muscle of the story. We archeologists may find some new, exciting details to add to that story, and find new ways to look at the story as a whole. But we can't add to the story, until we know what others already know of it.

Now that the reader is thoroughly immersed in the historical context of the saloons of Skagway, and the Mascot Saloon in particular, here is what it means to the archeological context that will soon be revealed.

Due to the location of personal service businesses above Fifth Avenue, as suggested by the location of the First and Last Chance Saloon, it is extremely unlikely that there was a saloon on the site of the Mascot Saloon before March 1898, when the NT & TC building was constructed.

It is important to remember that there was no "Mascot" or "Mascotte" Saloon in Skagway in April 1898 when the customs agents made their raids on the saloons from tidewater to the summits. Charles Rohbeck probably did not occupy the building until at least May of that year, after H. Hammond sold out his Sheep Camp business.

After Rohbeck occupied the NT & TC building, he built a small storage shed on the west side, which might have been used as a hiding place or access way to hide smuggled liquors in the crawl space under the building. This small shed could have been an important source for broken bottle glass.

Before the fall of 1898, a privy appeared in the general vicinity of one that was uncovered in the archeological investigations. It was probably built by Charles Rohbeck to serve his customers. It did not appear in the April 29, 1898 photograph, corroborating the idea that that the saloon and its customers were not yet using the building. This privy had disappeared between July and August 1899, shortly after Reinert and Saake purchased the building. Therefore the privy was associated with Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon.

Because we cannot establish any saloon use of the site that pre-dates the construction of the NT & TC building, we must assume that all saloon-related material found under the building is associated with either Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon or Reinert's Mascot Saloon. Verbal observations of floor construction by Paul Gleeson, who conducted the archeological excavations, indicate that the sub-floor had not been replaced after its original installation, at any time between 1898 and 1986. Therefore the artifacts that had found their way under the original NT & TC building, especially that known as Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon, had to have come there either by "slipping through the cracks" or by some other agency.

While a number of agencies will be explored in greater depth during the description of the archeological remains, one in particular will be noted here, as it was described in two different media of the historic record: the flood of October 12, 1901. This flood of the river and the stream that flowed on the east side of the valley hit without warning and with enough force to pick up privies and carry them away. It crawled under doorways and left a "sticky, shiny" mud in its wake. A photograph of the high tide taken two weeks later showed how the water from both of these events poured into the open space under the Mascot, probably with sufficient force to carry broken glass, and any number of bits of trash and junk into the low spot under the building (Figure 41). Items associated with evidence of a flooding event, therefore, probably date to this October 12, 1901 flood, or earlier.

In general, the deposits under Rohbeck's "Mascotte" portion of the building will tend to be a mixture of his saloon and that of Reinert's that followed. Deposits under the post-1899

additions, as well as areas under the Pacific Clipper Line Office and Hern's Liquor Store will have multiple uses which are best understood by reference to the several drawings generated by study of the photographs (Figures 27, 28, 31, 33, 36, 39, 43, 44 and 47).

The longevity of the Mascot Saloon in one place with one owner has one advantage for the archeologist, especially in a study such as this in which a great deal of vertical mixing of artifacts has taken place. Because there was very little change in the function of the building through time, any sort of mixing that may have occurred during construction and renovation activities will not unduly affect certain types of assumptions the archeologist needs to make about the users and uses to which certain classes of artifacts were being put. For example, chances are that a 1910's whiskey bottle held whiskey. What may be important is how that whiskey bottle relates to the number of beer bottles that were recovered, not exactly where they were found.

Those were just some of the broader issues that the context helped the archeologists sort out. What follows are a number of finer detailed issues that will also help with the interpretation of material culture.

The implications of the 1903 Code of Alaska is that any evidence of women in the archeological deposits at the Mascot Saloon either predates the 1903 prohibition on women in saloons, postdates 1918, or relates to the illegal presence of women on the site.

Criminal activity in a saloon does have implications to interpretations of the archeological record in at least two categories of artifact frequency analysis: broken window glass and munitions. If the archeologist is comparing artifact frequencies with other saloon assemblages, it is critical to understand the history of criminal activity at the saloons generating the comparative assemblages before assuming the frequencies of window glass and munitions will remain constant simply because both were generated at saloons. As demonstrated above, the Mascot Saloon seemed to experience more gunplay and window-breaking activity than other saloons in Skagway. Other saloons experienced more barroom brawls, forgeries, or other personal misconduct that would not leave archeological evidence, such as the theft of a man's coat.

The testimony in the assault charge by Charlie Johnson against Albert Reinert and bartender William Childs brought out several details of material cultural that are of interest to the archeologist in interpretation. In particular, Reinert told Johnson to go into the toilet to wash up during a lull in the fight, when he thought that Johnson had cooled off some. This is important in understanding that the Mascot had an indoor toilet, probably with running water available, and with a wash basin in 1908. In fact, no privies are visible in photographs of the back yards after Reinert began his 1904 renovations, so that is probably the time he added the indoor toilet.

In addition, we learned from the testimony that the back room was accessible to the front room, as Johnson entered from the front room to ask Reinert to shake dice with him. This fact suggests that the family entrance had long since disappeared. The presence of the telephone, from which Reinert called the police, had provided him a way to attend to his family business, and open the back rooms to his male customers.

The fact that Childs willingly shook dice with Johnson earlier in the day is somewhat harder to interpret from a historical or sociological prospective. It means either that the laws proscribing gambling did not pertain to dice, or that most bartenders and their customers winked at the law. The saloonkeepers had been severely warned that they were not to permit gambling in their saloons after 1906. The fact that Childs would admit to doing so in court testimony suggests that dice throwing was not considered "real gambling," despite the fact that a city ordinance defined it as gambling.

This testimony may make any evidence of gambling paraphernalia in the archeological record difficult to interpret. While the tendency would be to associate it with the pre-1906 period, it is obvious that Skagway officials were soft on certain types of gambling.

The analysis of the history of advertising at the Mascot Saloon assists the archeologist in the interpretation of material culture in a number of ways. Advertising suggests the material culture at a saloon: some of the products being sold, as well as some of the material culture use to promote that product, such as musical instruments and free lunches.

The first and most obvious thing we learn from this chronology of advertising from 1899 to 1910 or so was the brand names and types of alcoholic beverages that Reinert was promoting to his clients, and the periods in which each were most conspicuous:

December 1899 – April 1903: Fine wines and liquors
April 1902 – August 1909: Rainier beer
November 1902 – March 1903: Seattle Bohemian beer
August – November 1903: Old Planet whiskey
August 1903 – August 1909: Belmont whiskey
June 1907 – August 1909: Mt. Vernon rye, Old Taylor and Belmont whiskeys
June 1907 – September 1907: Pacific Bottled beer
July 1909: Olympia beer
July 1909 – August 1910: Gibson rye whiskey and Val Blatz beer

The free lunches also had the potential to leave some material remains, in the form of dishes to hold the food, and in the case of seafoods and meats, the remains of the food itself. In particular, the archeologist may expect to find more soup bowl remains than plates if Reinert's relative frequency of advertising clam chowder indeed matched that of other choices of food for lunches. In order of frequency, foodstuffs that would likely be associated with archeological remains would include:

clam chowder (clam shells, soup bowls): mentioned five times
little neck clams (little neck clam shells, bowls?, small plates?): customers "being daily regaled"
prime roast beef (beef bones, dinner plate): mentioned twice
pork (pig bones, dinner plate): mentioned once
mutton (sheep bones, dinner plate): mentioned once
roast turkey (turkey bones, dinner plate): mentioned once
boiled ham (ham bones, dinner plate): mentioned once
shrimp (shrimp exoskeleton, dinner plate): mentioned once
condiments (condiment bottles): mentioned once

The enchiladas, celery, trimmings, and salads described in various advertisements are unlikely to have left substantive archeological remains. Excavation techniques were not sufficiently fine-grained to have captured the remnants that might have been in place after all this time.

Finally, the advertisements also give a clue as to one type of entertainment that took place in the Mascot: listening to recorded music. His earliest purchase was a "Victor talking machine," which he promoted to the exclusion of his liquors for much of 1904. The 1902 edition of the Sears, Roebuck and Company Catalogue indicates that these graphophones cost anywhere from $25 to $75, and promised to be big moneymakers for their owners.[14] By late 1907, Reinert had purchased an "electric piano" that, depending on the roll of music that was inserted, could be made to sound like banjos, mandolins, or – at least to a fond owner – a whole orchestra. While the "talking machine" was operated with a wax roll that might have survived archeological conditions, the paper rolls that went in the electric piano more likely would not survive. While the archeologist should bear these types of material culture in mind when analyzing the collection from the Mascot Saloon, it seems unlikely that any of the musical entertainments advertised by Reinert would have survived in the archeological record.

And while we know a great deal about Albert Reinert's Mascot Saloon from this historic record, very little could be found about Charles Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon. Given the fact that the period of significance at Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park is the gold rush period, the archeological record has the greatest potential to yield significant information about the gold rush period saloon. By contrasting the post-gold rush material (for which we have an abundance of supporting historic documentation) with the gold rush period archeological material, we will be as confident in our conclusions about the gold rush archeological collection (without its supporting documentation), as we are about the post-gold rush collection.

ENDNOTES

[1] Juneau *Alaska Mining Record,* August 11, 1897; Marshall Bond, Jr., *Gold Hunter: The Adventures of Marshall Bond* (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque:1969) pages 25-26.
[2] Snow and Spude, *The Mascot Saloon Group,* pages 3-4.
[3] Adams Brauner, *Historical Archaeology*, page 15. The map on this page shows a tidal zone, tidal flooding zone, forested zone, and pack trail that are all too far south when compared with contemporary photographs. Adams and Brauner repeatedly refused to provide the source of information for this map when asked to during review stages for the document. However, even the more southerly location provided by Adams and Brauner puts the high tide mark at Third Avenue; photographs suggest it was even higher, probably at Fourth Avenue.
[4] Snow and Spude, *The Mascot Saloon Group,* pages 3-7.
[5] Robert L. Spude, Chilkoot Trail From Dyea to Summit with the '98 Stampeders, *Occasional Paper No. 26, Anthropology and Historic Preservation, Cooperative Park Studies Unit* (University of Alaska, Fairbanks: 1980), pages 126-127; Frank Norris, Businesses in Sheep Camp (Manuscript on file, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska: n.d.), page 2.
[6] Commissioner's Records, Vol. I (OS569), page 351.
[7] *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* edited by Sir James A. H. Murray, (Clarendon: Oxford, 1908, Vol. 6) page 197; Eric Partridge, *The MacMillan Dictionary of Historical Slang,* (MacMillan: New York, 1973).
[8] *The Skaguay News,* June 17, 1898, page 4.
[9] Snow and Spude, *Mascot Saloon Group,* page 6.
[10] Clinton, *1899 Directory,* page 143.
[11] NA-RG21, Sitka Criminal Files, 1884-1900, Box 16, File 1070, U. S. vs. Charles Rohbek.
[12] Manuscript census 1900, p. 26.
[13] Spude and Snow, *Mascot Saloon Group*, page 7.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Blee et al., *Ten Buildings,* page 56.
[16] Spude, *District of Alaska,* page 144.
[17] Ferguson, *Business Directory, 1901,* page 856.
[18] Manuscript census 1900, p. 26.
[19] A number of lawsuits against Charles Saake suggests that he was a difficult character to deal with. See *The Daily Alaskan*, June 7, 1900, "Saake Brewery Suit," page 4; October 14, "Sues for Divorce," page 1; November 4, 1904, "Mrs. Saake Gets Divorce," page 1.
[20] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 24, 1901, "A Big Price," page 1.
[21] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 26, 1901, untitled editorial, page 2.
[22] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 24, 1901, page 4.
[23] Spude and Snow 1981: 8-9; *The Daily Alaskan*, October 8, 1901.
[24] DeArmond, *'Stroller' White,* pages 22-27.
[25] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 13, 1901, page 1.
[26] *The Daily Alaskan*, October 29, 1901, "The Tide Was a High One," page 4.
[27] *The Daily Alaskan*, "Bright As a Dollar," page 4.
[28] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 12, 1902, "Dawson Has Six Thousand," page 4.
[29] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 13, 1903 "Good Price," page 1.
[30] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 26, 1904, "This Offer Is Good Until Friday, April 29," page 1.
[31] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 17, 1904 "Broadway Property Goes," page 2.
[32] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 26, 1904, "Enlarging the Mascot," page 4.
[33] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 6, 1904 "Mascot Grand Opening Tonight," page 4.
[34] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 5, 1904 "High Time," page 1.
[35] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 7, 1904, "Builds Ice House," page 3.
[36] Frank B. Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush: An Administrative History of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park* (National Park Service: Anchorage, 1996), page 135.
[37] *Polk's Business Directory, 1907-8,* page 462.
[38] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 4, 1902, "Change at the Idaho," page 1; February 15, 1905, "Notice of Dissolution of Partnership," page 3.
[39] Manuscript census, 1900, page 69, family #678
[40] Polk, *Business Directory, 1903,* page 249; 1905-6, page 368.
[41] *The Daily Alaskan,* May 28, 1903, "Don't Know," page 4.
[42] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 30, 1904, "Big Berries," page 4.
[43] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 13, 1904, "Caswell Estate in Upper Court," page 1.

[44] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Office, Volume 12, Record of Deeds, 1908, Volume 7, pages 430-431; Volumes 43, 45-66, Records of Deeds, 1907, 1912 1935.
[45] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Office, Record of Deeds, Volumes 40 -43, 45, 1904, page 33; 1905, Volume 6, page 241; 1905, page 4; 1906, page 4; Volume 4, 1906, pp. 224- 225; 1907, page 4; 1912, page 4; Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Alaska, Volume 4, Minutes of the City Council, 1907-1910, November 1, 1909, page 336; NA-RG 21, Skagway Criminal Files, 1901-1909, Box #3, Case #S-127, Journal A, page 477; Case #S-127, Journal A, page 477; U. S. Commissioner's Records, Vol. IV (OS551), Case # 498, pp. 51-52; Cases # 615-626, pages 272 -284; Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8, 1903 -1907, pages 4, 58, 103, 137, 179; *The Daily Alaskan*, August 2, 1901, "Evading the Law," page 1; October 14, 1902, "Make Report," page 2; October 15, 1902, "In Toils," page 1; October 16, 1902, "All Up," page 3; October 17, 1902, "Must Pay," page 2; September 25, 1903, "Federal and Municipal Courts Clash," page 1.
[46] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 30, 1909, "Dissolution of Partnership," page 1; Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Alaska, Volume 4, Minutes of the City Council, 1907-1910, November 1, 1909, page 336; Skagway Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8, 1903 -1907, pages 4, 58, 103, 137, 179.
[47] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 8, 1909, "Shea and Tanner Object to Removal of Resorts," page 1; June 22, 1909, "Resorts To Be Moved From Seventh Avenue," page 4; July 1, 1909, "Town Talk," page 4; July 6, 1909 "Town Talk," page 4; "Christopher Columbus Receives Appointment," page 1.
[48] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Office, Record of Deeds, Volume 7, 1908, pp. 97, 337 -338; Volume 8, 1912, pp. 53-55, 290; Skagway Tax Records, 1912, pp 21-22; Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Alaska, Volume 4, Minutes of the City Council, 1907-1910, August 2, 1909, page 313-314; August 16, 1909, pages 318-319; November 1, 1909, pp 336-337;
[49] 1910 manuscript census, Skagway, families # 43, 107, 253; United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, District of Alaska, First Judicial District, Wrangell Division, Petersburg Town, page 233, household # 175.
[50] Townsite Trustee Deeds, Moore Lawsuit, Roll 1, pages 236 and 310; Skagway Deed, 1912, Volume 8, pages 388-389, 468-469, and 533.
[51] Manuscript census, 1910, dwelling number 132.
[52] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Voter Registration, 1908-1914.
[53] *R. L. Polk and Company's Alaska - Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915-16* (R. L. Polk: Seattle, 1915), page 497.
[54] Manuscript census 1920, page 2, family #10.
[55] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 12, 1907, "Registration Ordinance Will be Passed Here," page 1.
[56] Snow and Spude, *The Mascot Saloon Group,* page 11.
[57] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 11, 1908, "Skagway's March of Progress," pages 1 and 4.
[58] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 16, 1909, "Serious Fire Threatened," page 4.
[59] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 21, 1911, "Reinert Now a Benedict," page 4.
[60] Phillip Babcock Gove (Editor in Chief), *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged (Merriam Webster, Springfield, Massachusetts: 1986)* page 203.
[61] *The Daily Alaskan*, July 3, 1914, page 3; Polk, *Business Directory, 1915-16*, page 496.
[62] *The Daily Alaskan*, May 12, 1901, "Society," page 1; January 22, 1902, "A. B.," page 3; September 3, 1903, "New Members," page 1; January 19, 1905 "Skagway Lot Owners to Secure Titles," page 1; January 11, 1905, "Organize Hook and Ladder Company," page 4.
[63] *The Daily Alaskan*, June 23, 1901, "Patriotic Skagway Will Celebrate," page 3; February 13, 1902, "Good Work," page 1; "Mining Fund," page 4; September 12, 1903, "Big Time, "page 1; October 13, 1903 "All Ready," page 4; February 6, 1909 "Skagway Contributes Coin For Earthquake Victims," page 4.
[64] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 29, 1916, advertisement for the H. J. Lynch Haberdashery and Ladies' Furnisher, pages 1 and 4; September 30, 1916, page 2?
[65] *R. L. Polk and Company's Alaska - Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1917-18* (R. L. Polk: Seattle, 1917), pages 571-572.
[66] *Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle,* July 5, 1934, "Local Pioneer Succumbs After Short Illness," page 2; Alaska State Archives, Record Group 506, United States District Court, First Division, Clerk, U. S. Commissioner Probate Case Files, 1894- 1966, Box 6517.
[67] Manuscript census 1900, p. 26.
[68] Spude and Snow, *The Mascot Saloon Group,* page 5; DeArmond, *"Stroller" White,* pages 29 and 57; *The Skagway News*, June 17, 1898, page 4; March 28, 1900, "Ham Grease Jimmy," page 4.
[69] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 19, 1902, "Hartman at the Mascot," page 4.
[70] Powers, *Faces Behind the Bar,* page 86.

[71] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 12, 1902, "Dawson Has Six Thousand," page 4; Polk, *Business Directory, 1903,* page 237.
[72] Polk, *Business Directory, 1903,* pages 233, 235.
[73] Clinton, *Directory and Guide, Skagway, 1899,* page 132.
[74] Manuscript census, 1900, page 107, family #1058.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Polk, *Business Directory, 1903,* page 235.
[77] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6,* page 361.
[78] Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8,* page 461; Polk, *Business Directory, 1909-1910,* page 447.
[79] Polk, *Business Directory, 1915-16,* page 489.
[80] *R. L. Polk and Company's Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1917-18.* (R. L. Polk, Seattle: 1917) page 565.
[81] *The Daily Alaskan,* January 6, 1903, "Personal Mention," page 2.
[82] Catherine Holder Spude, A Biography of Chris Shea, Manuscript on file, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska: 2004a.
[83] *Ibid; The Daily Alaskan,* April 14, 1908, "New Administration in Charge," page 1; April 7, 1909, "Citizens' Are Victorious," page 1; *Seward Weekly Gateway,* January 18, 1913, "Chris Shea is Called to Rest," page 4:2; Barry, Mary J. *Seward, Alaska: A History of the Gateway City, Volume 1: Prehistory to 1914.* M. J. P. Barry, Anchorage: 1986), page 120; Catherine Holder Spude, "Christopher C. Shea: King Skagway: Political Reform in a Post-Gold Rush Town," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* in press.
[84] *The Daily Alaskan,* September 30, 1903, "Personal Mention," page 2.
[85] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 9, 1901, "Happiest Man in Town," page 4; May 31, 1901, "He 'Jined,'" page 4. There is no "Merz" or similar name in the manuscript census for Skagway in 1900.
[86] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 11, 1902, "Remembered by Employer," page 4; June 28, 1902, "Free Beer," page 4; January 11, 1903, "Big Feed," page 1; January 22, 1903, "Bound For South Africa," page 2
[87] *The Daily Alaskan,* March 5, 1903, "Chris Merz Ill," page 1; March 10, 1903, "Best Yet," page 1; August 26, 1903, "Chris Merz in Town," page 1; June 11, 1904, "Personal Mention," page 4.
[88] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6,* pages 359, 366, 369.
[89] Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8,* page 459
[90] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 4, 1908, page 4.
[91] Manuscript census, 1900, page 95, family # 935.
[92] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6,* pages 359, 369; Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8,* page 459; Manuscript census 1910, Family #41; Polk, *Business Directory,* 1903: 233.
[93] Polk, *Business Directory, 1909-10,* page 445; Manuscript census 1910, Family #65.
[94] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6,* page 366; Polk, *Business Directory, 1909-10,* page 457.
[95] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Docket, Volume 8, pages 161 and 215.
[96] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6,* page 366; Polk, *Business Directory, 1909-10,* page 457.
[97] Polk, *Business Directory, 1909-10,* page 455; Manuscript census 1910, family #220.
[98] NA-RG 21, Criminal Case Files, U. S. A. vs. Sevald Torkelson, case 556B; *The Daily Alaskan,* August 27, 1908, "Strengthens His Bond," page 4; James C. Foster, "The Treadwell Strikes, 1907 and 1908," *The Alaska Journal,* Volume 6, number 1 (1976), page 10.
[99] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 27, 1908, "Strengthens His Bond," page 4; December 7, 1908, page 1; December 23, 1908, "Torkelson Not Guilty," page 1; February 15, 1909, "Torkelson was Acquitted," page 1.
[100] Foster, "The Treadwell Strikes."
[101] *The Daily Alaskan,* October 17, 1901, "Glad He Didn't Die," page 1.
[102] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 7, 1903, "Barbacue," page 1
[103] *The Daily Alaskan,* February 15, 1903, "Was Mutton," page 4.
[104] *The Skaguay News,* June 17, 1898, page 4.
[105] *The Daily Alaskan,* July 12, 1898; August 3, 1898; January 16, 1899; February 3, 1899; March 17, 1899; April 15, 1899; May 16, 1899; July 7, 1899; September 6, 1899.
[106] *The Daily Alaskan,* December 10, 1899 page 2. See also the 15th or 16th of each month until December 1902.
[107] *Skagway Daily Budget,* February 28, 1900, page 3.
[108] *Alaska Daily Guide,* July 2, 1902, page 3; December 6, 1904, page 4.
[109] *The Daily Alaskan,* June 13, 1902, page 3.
[110] *Directory and Gazetteer, 1902* (Unknown publisher: 1902); Polk, *Business Directory, 1903.*
[111] *The Daily Alaskan,* August 5, 1904 "High Time," page 1; August 6, 1904, "Mascot Grand Opening Tonight," page 4.
[112] *The Daily Alaskan,* April 23, 1902, "The Creamy Brew," page 2.

[113] *The Daily Alaskan*, "Local Bits," page 3.
[114] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 31, 1903 "Little Neck Clams at the Mascot," page 1.
[115] Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, pages 207-226.
[116]*The Daily Alaskan*, October 12, 1901, "Mascot Grand Opening," page 1.
[117] *The Daily Alaskan*, November 15, 1902, page 3.
[118] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 6, 1902, "Big Feast," page 4.
[119] *The Daily Alaskan*, January 31, 1903 "Little Neck Clams at the Mascot," page 1.
[120] *The Daily Alaskan*, February 7, 1903, "Barbacue," page 1.
[121] *The Daily Alaskan*, March 18, 1903, "Enchiladas at Mascot," page 3.
[122] *The Daily Alaskan*, December 25, 1903, "Good Cheer at Mascot," page 3; "Totem Saloon Will Dispense," page 2; "Time Honored Custom," page 3; "Hospitality of the Pantheon," page 4.
[123] Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, page 86.
[124] *The Daily Alaskan*, April 28, 1903, page 1; see daily until July 28, 1903.
[125] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 15, 1908, page 2.
[126] Commissioner's Records, Vol. VI (OS567), case 924, pp. 129-133; *The Daily Alaskan*, September 18, 1908, page 1; *The Daily Alaskan*, December 15, 1908; page 4.
[127] *The Daily Alaskan*, September 30, 1916, page 2?
[128] Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8*, pages 457; *1909-10*, pages 443, 445; *1915-16*, pages 487.
[129] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Alaska, Volumes 49-51, 1916-1918.
[130] Historical Records of the City of Skagway, Magistrate's Office, Record of Deeds, Book 10, page 190.
[131] Polk, *Business Directory, 1917-18*, page 567.
[132] *Ibid.*, Manuscript census, 1910, family #167.
[133] Spude and Snow, *Mascot Saloon Group*, page 12.
[134] Doreen C. Cooper, *Archeological Investigations In Skagway, Alaska, Volume 6: Residential Life on Block 6* (United States Government Printing Office, Anchorage: 1998), pages 20 and 21.
[135] Manuscript census, 1910; family # 57; 1920, page 11, family #142.
[136] Polk, *Business Directory, 1905-6*, page 362.
[137] Polk, *Business Directory, 1907-8*, page 462; *1909-1910*, page 448.
[138] Polk, *Business Directory, 1915-16*, page 491.
[139] Polk, *Business Directory, 1917-18*, page 567; Manuscript census, 1910, family #167; *R. L. Polk and Company's Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1923-24* (R. L. Polk: Seattle, 1924); *Alaska Directory and Gazetteer, 1932-1933* (Alaska Directory and Gazetteer Company: Seattle, 1932); *Alaska Directory and Gazetteer, 1934-1935* (Alaska Directory and Gazetteer Company: Seattle, 1934).
[140] *Alaska Directory and Gazetteer, 1932-1933* (Alaska Directory and Gazetteer Company: Seattle, 1932); *Alaska Directory and Gazetteer, 1934-1935* (Alaska Directory and Gazetteer Company: Seattle, 1934).
[141] Spude and Snow, *The Mascot Saloon Group*, page 13; *Tewkesbury's Who's Who in Alaska and Alaska Business Directory*, Vol. I. (Tewkesbury, Juneau: 1947), pages 164 and 233; Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush*, page 135.
[142] *The 1902 Edition of the Sears, Roebuck Catalogue*, with an introduction by Cleveland Amory (Bounty Books, New York: Reprinted 1969), pages 157-160.

Chapter Four: Results of the Investigations

METHODOLOGY

Field Methods

The unusual nature of the Mascot Saloon Group archeological site, beneath a standing structure with most of the floor intact, required a creative approach to excavation. The first step was to provide enough light under the building, which was done by hanging several long strings of lights (Figure 50). The second step involved establishing an archeological grid and elevation points in order to maintain horizontal and vertical controls over the site. A transit and rod survey would have been extremely difficult or impossible given the confined space. The grid was laid out with an engineer's tape measure. The site was bounded by the relatively rectangular concrete foundation. Five-foot units were marked off along the foundation walls, resulting in the establishment of 124 five by five-foot squares (Figures 51 and 52). However, many of these squares were incomplete because of intervening foundations, construction trenches and other disturbances.



Figure 50. Photograph of Paul Gleeson recording the privy stratigraphy. Note the lighting strategy, with strings of incandescent lights along the floor joists, with spot lighting as needed for close-up work.

For further ease of reference, the units were grouped into seven "areas" roughly equivalent to buildings (Hern's Liquor Store and The Pacific Clipper Line) or building episodes (in the case of the Mascot Saloon). These "areas" will be defined later in the section dealing with the horizontal stratigraphy.

Vertical control was maintained by driving a nail into one of the wooden floor joists supporting the building. The nail was given an arbitrary elevation of 20 feet. Other elevation sub-data were established with other nails in floor joists throughout the site and were measured to the main datum with a water level. Elevations within each unit were measured with a line level, string and tape measure in tenths of feet.

Units were excavated with a shovel and trowel. Excavated soils were placed by stratigraphic unit on small plastic sleds and pulled to a conveyor belt rigged to move materials to a table-type screen with 3/8 to ½ inch mesh (Figure 53).

Mapping and stratigraphic forms were filled out on each unit when the unit was completely excavated or where features warranted it.

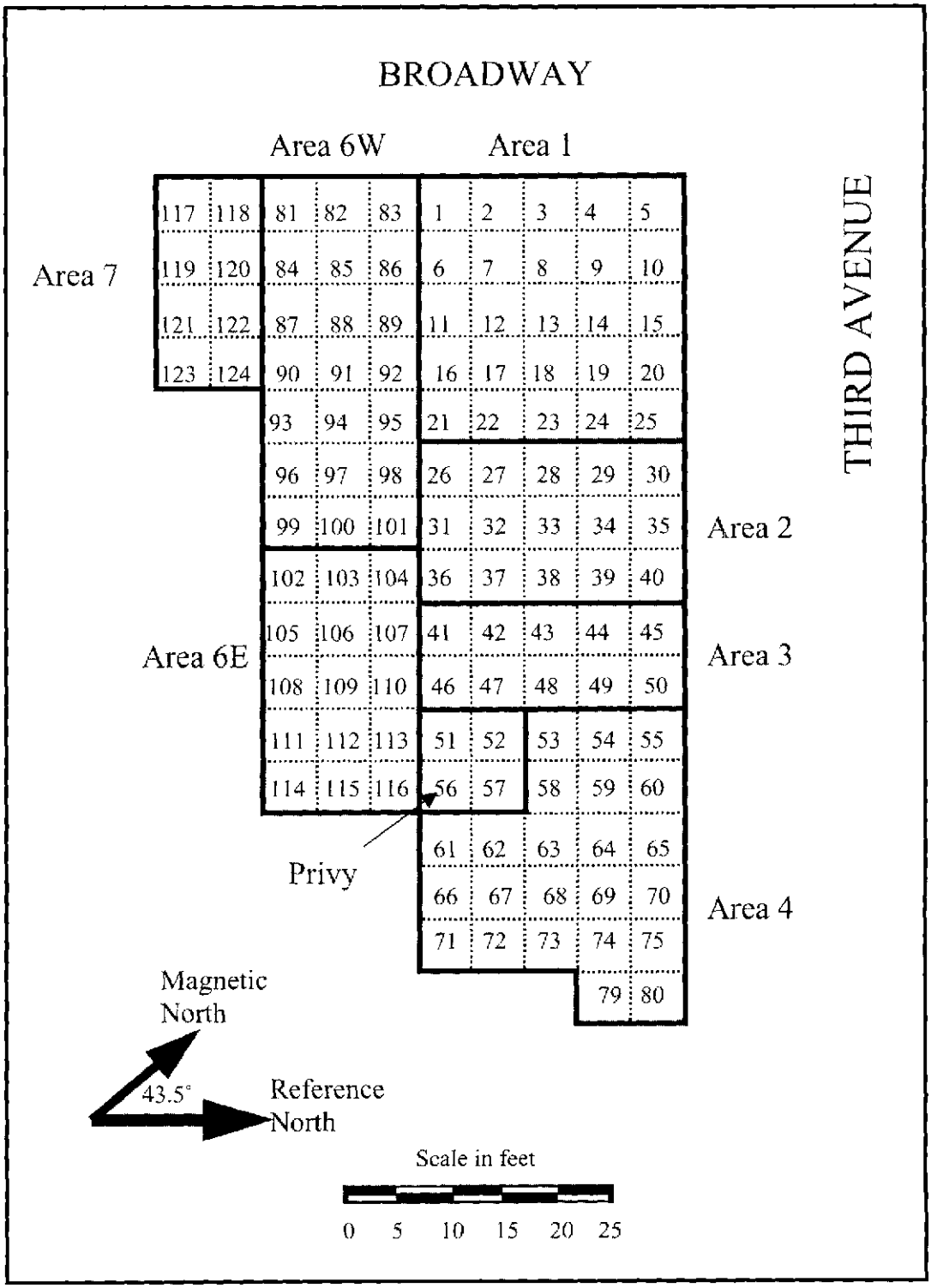
The excavation was conducted in the following order: Hern Liquor Store (April 16-17, 1986), Pacific Clipper Office (April 17-23, 1986) and the Mascot Saloon proper (April 24 - May 23, 1986). This order was in a large part dictated by the physical layout of the buildings. The Hern Liquor Store is the smallest of the three buildings. The floor of the Hern building had been partially removed, so was easy to access.

Foundations had been replaced in 1979. Fill areas and the builders' trenches associated with those recent modifications at the perimeters of the extant buildings were not excavated to save time. While excavation of these areas might have recovered additional artifacts, their contexts would have been mixed, and any features that might have been in those areas would have been destroyed. It was determined that a better use of time and effort would be spent on the undisturbed areas under the building.

Laboratory Methods

The laboratory processing of artifacts began in 1986 shortly after the completion of fieldwork. No cultural materials were preserved; most were cleaned and catalogued. Tools for cleaning included small brushes, dental pickes, soft cloths, water, and air drying on wire screen mesh. For

Figure 51. The Location of the Excavation Areas and the Units within Those Areas.



glass and ceramic items, tri-sodium phosphate (TSP), household ammonia and rubbing alcohol supplemented tap water.

Artifacts were first sorted into seven material groups: metal, faunal remains, glass and ceramics, paper and wood, textiles, synthetics and miscellaneous artifacts. This sorting determined the cleaning method.

The majority were air dried on mesh screens prior to cleaning. Buttons, cartridges, most metal artifacts, and miscellaneous items such as concrete, cinders, slag, and linoleum were simply dried and brushed clean.

Soil was removed from faunal materials with soft tooth brushes and dental picks, only when necessary. If they were muddy, they were rinsed quickly, allowed to dry thoroughly, then cleaned.

Glass and ceramics were stored at room temperature for at least 24 hours before cleaning. Rubber pans were used to reduce breakage. A small amount of TSP added to clear,

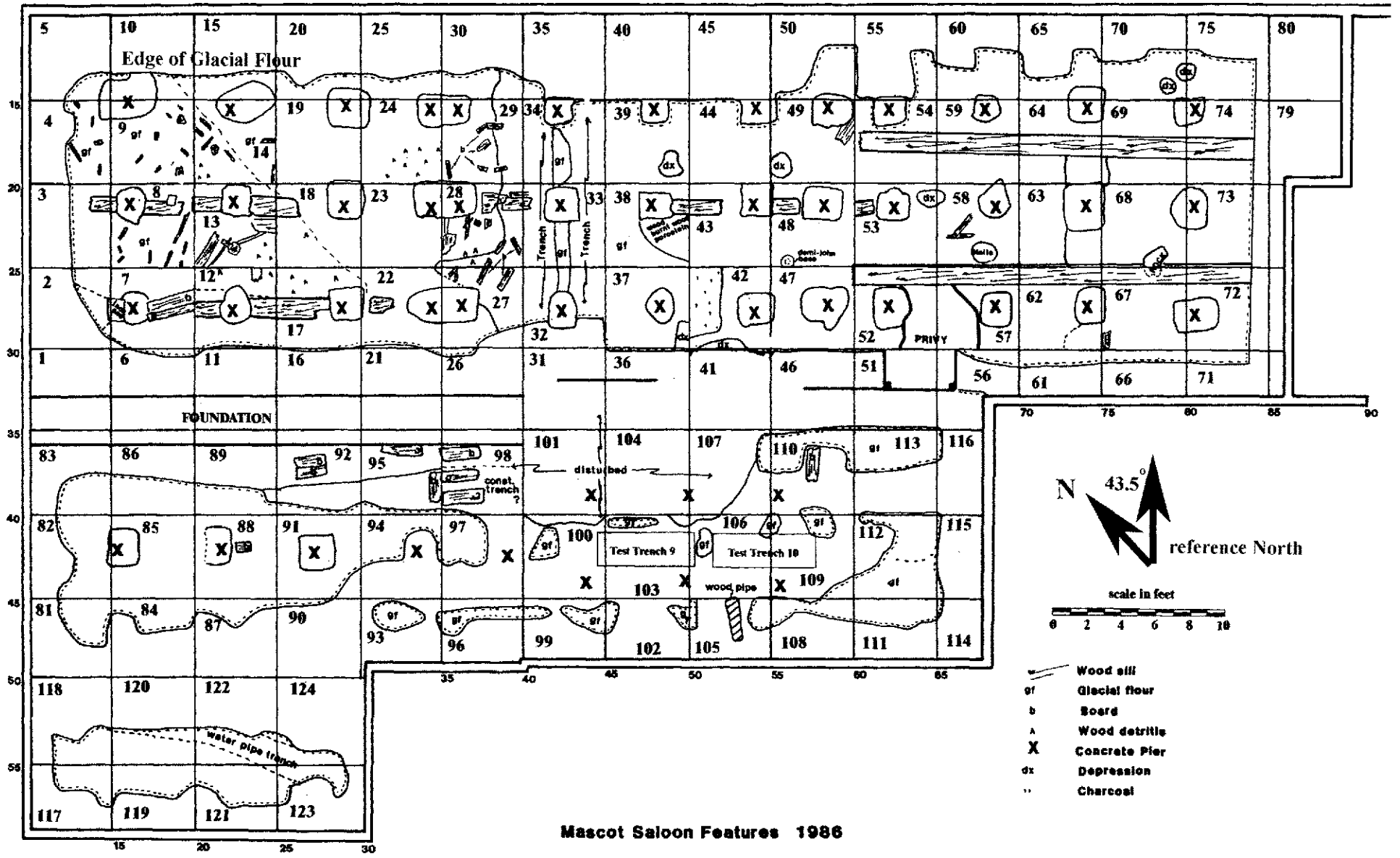


Figure 52. Detailed Feature and Plan Map of Excavations.

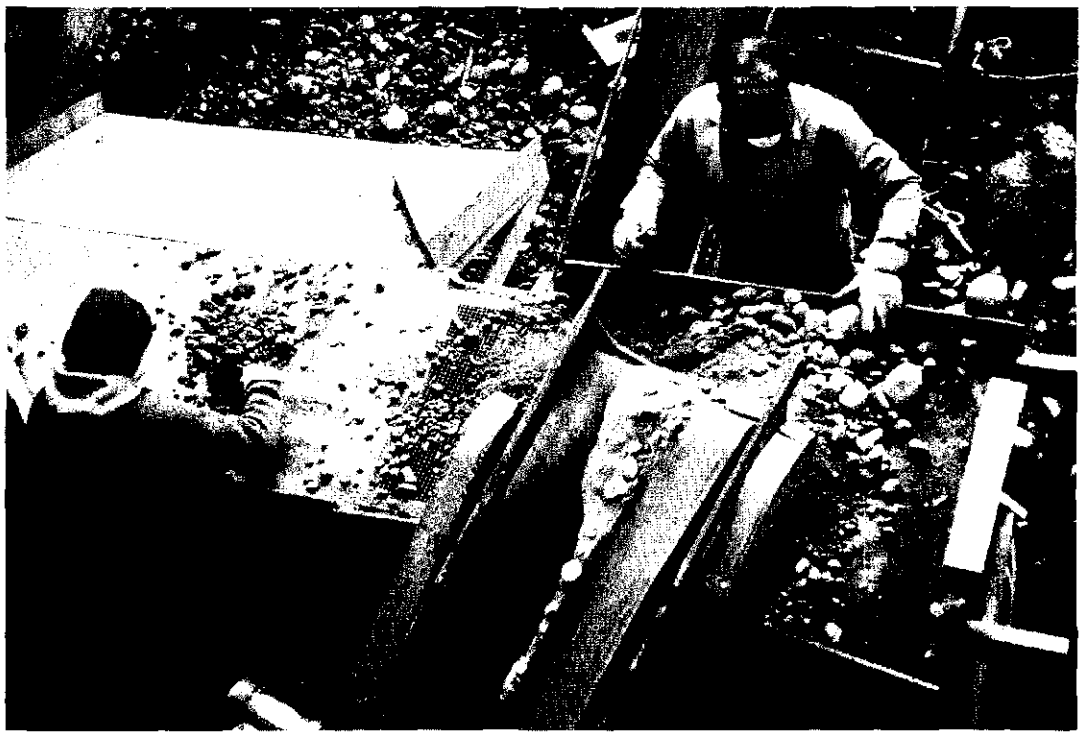


Figure 53. Photograph of conveyor belt and screen table assembly. Note the large mesh of the screen.

tepid water was used to clean the glass. Ammonia was used only for stubborn rust stains. The presence of rust was noted on catalogue sheets. Ammonia was not used on ornamented wares or mirrored glass. Mirrored glass was not cleaned. The only bottle that was reconstructed was a Jesse Moore-Hunt whiskey bottle.

Most synthetics were washed in clear water, except for printed synthetics, which were simply brushed or wiped after they dried.

Textiles were cleaned by spreading the fabrics between two sections of fine nylon mesh. The mesh was sewn together with nylon fishing line. Encapsulated fabrics were then rinsed under a fine spray of cold water until clean. When dry, the fishing line was removed and the mesh was reused.

Paper was not cleaned except for gentle surface brushing when the laboratory director deemed it was strong enough to handle the abuse. Wood was examined for paint and other residues before brushing.

The lead laboratory technician, Gwen Herst, identified the bottle glass. Her detailed report is given in Appendix B.

All faunal materials were sent to David Huelsbeck for analysis (Appendix C).

Collection Dating

The artifact collections from each of the eight excavation areas were dated using conventional dating practices. Those artifacts that could be dated were assigned a range of manufacture dates. In sealed deposits, the beginning date of the youngest artifact indicates the *terminous post quem* date. This is the earliest possible date that the deposit could have been formed. A calculation of the mean of all the mean dates of manufacture can approximate the mean date of deposit (South 1972), when appropriate lag times are taken into consideration.

In other studies in Skagway, both the *terminous post quem* and the mean date, when used together, have proven successful in assisting the archeologist in interpreting the archeological assemblages (e.g., Spude *et al.* 1993: 68-71).

The tables in this study that provide dating information (e.g. Tables 6 and 7) include very brief descriptive information on the artifacts being dated. More detailed information can be provided by the artifact inventory, available upon request from Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park.

Artifact Classification

The length of time and number of investigators working on the analysis for this study has resulted in the use of four different artifact classification systems by different investigators as portions of the description and analysis were undertaken. The initial inventory system was modeled on the classification systems developed for previous work in Skagway and was similar to that used in all previous volumes under this series. It was developed by Catherine Holder Blee in the late 1970's before the publication of Roderick Sprague's more familiar classification

system, now in use by many archeologists working on late nineteenth and early twentieth century archeological sites in North America (Sprague 1981). For the sake of consistency with the other Skagway data, the laboratory manuals and computer program used for inventorying the data had been organized around Blee's system.

Therefore, the laboratory technicians initially sorted the artifacts according to Blee's late 1970's classification system, which has been described in detail in Blee (1983, 1988).

In 1997, the task of finishing the data inventory was taken on by Jed Levin at the Applied Archeology Center of the National Park Service's Denver Service Center (AAC), stationed in Silver Spring, Maryland. AAC had been using a modified version of the classification system first proposed by Stanley South (1975). Blee had worked on some of the very earliest versions of the ACC's classification system, so hers and theirs shared some distant similarities. However, they were not totally congruent. Despite the lack of complete correspondence, Levin's terminology and descriptions were far superior to many of those used in the initial inventory and made the statistical analysis far easier to undertake.

Then, in 1991, Blee finished her doctoral dissertation, in which she proposed yet another classification system devised to answer a certain set of questions about social and economic groups contributing to a potentially mixed archeological assemblage (Blee 1991). Also in 1991, William Hampton Adams and David Brauner completed a draft archeological overview and assessment for Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. They recommended the use of the Sprague typology in order to be consistent with what they believed was the trend for students of historical archeological sites of western North America (Adams and Brauner 1991:93-95). Implied criticism of the classification method used in Skagway can also be seen in the archeological study of the Fairbanks waterfront by Bowers and Gannon (1998), especially in their discussion of the statistical applications towards their classification method (Gould 1998).

In response to these latter concerns, this report is organized to reflect Sprague's typological system. This structure has been designed simply to facilitate use by the majority of archeologists who are familiar with that method of organizing their data. It is also used to demonstrate that it does not really matter how one *initially* organizes one's data. Once statistical analysis begins, some rearranging of artifact types is imperative or archeologists will spend the rest of eternity answering the same questions over and over again. Using Sprague's system to organize the artifacts initially may make it easier for archeologists in the Western United States to find the objects they are looking for. The index to this report should will also serve that purpose for those used to using other systems (Sprague 1981).

That said, it has been this author's experience that Sprague's system is less than ideal for answering certain types of research questions. Sprague himself stated that his typology was not constructed for that purpose (Sprague 1981:253). Adams and Brauner (1991:95) also indicated that other schemata would have to be devised to answer specific questions. In particular, the author of this study maintains that certain categories of artifacts, when evaluated against a subset of other artifacts, can reveal important information on the gender of people using specific spaces, their drinking habits, and even something about their social class.

Functional Analysis

A functional analysis of the artifacts from each of the areas defined by the excavators and correlated with building sequences was undertaken after examination of the historic photographs. The purpose of this analysis was to shed further light on the interpretation of the assemblage as a whole. The functional analysis had the potential to yield information on the gender of customers at different times, and to provide comparisons with other, similar saloons.

The method used for the analysis was first developed by Blee (1991), and further refined in Spude *et al.* (1993) and Spude (2001, 2002, 2004b, and 2005). Briefly, the multiple linear regression tests a sample collection against a group of model artifact assemblages to determine what combination best describes or predicts the collection being tested. The model assemblages were constructed by Blee (1991) (and other collections added to refine these models in the years since) out of representative artifact collections taken from sites in western North American dating from 1880 to 1920, in contexts that had relatively easy access to supply routes. Appendix D describes the comparative collections that were used to build the model assemblages and how the statistic works.

There are 11 model assemblages with which to compare the Mascot Saloon collections: Drinking Families, Skagway Business Families, Oakland Temperate Families, Transient Working Class Families, Sickly Temperate Families,

Transient Males, Logging Camps, the Military, Saloons, Brothels, and Hotels and Restaurants. The data used to calculate the statistic is described in Appendix D, as well as an explanation of the way the statistic works.

As mentioned above, only a portion of the Mascot Saloon collection was used for the calculation of this statistic. As Blee (1983, 1991) found, artifacts associated with the construction, repair, maintenance and demolition of buildings are non-diagnostic in assisting the archeologist in determining the gender and/or socioeconomic status of people using a given material culture. To compare nails to bottles or window glass fragments to dishes makes very little sense unless one is trying to determine how much construction, repair, maintenance or demolition has occurred at a site.

In addition, Blee (1991) also did not count certain types of artifacts that were subject to differential preservation, depending on the environment in which they had been buried. Most organic materials, as well as tin cans, were systematically eliminated in the model assemblages to control for differential preservation. The exceptions to this rule were cork and leather shoes, which tend to survive harsher environments better than most other organic materials. Wood artifacts and ivory were also included. However, textiles, papers, basketries, and other more fragile organics were eliminated from consideration.

A final modification of the data used in Blee (1991) includes the deletion of the bottle closures. In early attempts to do a comparative analysis with other saloon assemblages, it was found that the Mascot Saloon collections were extremely deficient in bottle closures. While this lack could be a function of disposal patterns, there could be any other combination of factors contributing to this observation. First, the soils in Skagway are very sandy, allowing rapid water percolation. This constant wet to dry to wet condition contributes to rapid oxidation of iron and other ferrous based metals. It has long been observed that tin cans rarely survive the archeological record in Skagway. Only three crown caps but 16 corks from crown caps were recovered. Any crown caps that were manufactured between 1892, when they were invented, and 1909, when consolidated cork was added as a liner, may simply have been destroyed by the elements.

Second, all of the saloons that make up the comparative assemblage began business after 1903: The Pantheon Saloon, Skagway, Alaska, 1903 – 1916, (Kardatdzke 2002); the Corner Saloon, Lake City, Colorado, 1912, (Blee 1991:183 - 184, 360); the California Saloon, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1904-1916, (Bowers and Gannon 1998); the Miners' Home Saloon, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1907-1916, (Bowers and Gannon1998). Most of the Mascot Saloon Group's artifacts had been deposited before 1904, long before the height of use of crown caps. In fact, according to Kaplan (1982), there was not widespread adoption of crown caps until 1912.

It appears, therefore, that the bottle closure category, which in the case of the comparative saloons was comprised mostly of crown caps, varied more by the time when the deposit was laid down than by the behavior of those who were doing the depositing. Because our dating information came from other sources than the multiple linear regression, and because the bottle closures only confuse the results of the regression, this class of artifacts has been eliminated from all functional comparisons.

The artifact categorization for the functional comparisons is different from the Sprague classification. That is because the author of this section has found certain categories to be most effective in selecting for the variables of interest to this research: gender, socioeconomic condition, and indication of residence. The regression depends upon the use of minimum numbers of artifacts. Tables 8 and 9 present the relative frequencies of the frequencies of the artifacts in predictive assemblages as well as those found in each of the areas excavated at the Mascot Saloon.

It should be noted that the multiple linear regression is an extremely robust statistic, making it ideal for archeological analysis. Robustness refers to its ability to tolerate abuse. For this reason, the author feels comfortable in assigning function to artifacts where some other archeologists might be more hesitant to do so, or may be more conservative. For instance, some archeologists are reluctant to assume all amber colored bottle glass dating from the early twentieth century is from either beer or liquor bottles. For those who are more conservative, they would call these bottles beer or liquor bottles only if they had some other evidence leading to that conclusion. However, both in building the models and in analyzing sample collections, Blee (and later Spude) has been consistent in constantly assigning amber bottles to the Liquor- Related category, *unless there was some other evidence suggesting otherwise.* The statistic cannot only tolerate these assumptions, but accommodate them quite easily. We shall

return to this example later to show how one can reclassify this type of "doubtful" artifact to see if changing its classification changes the results of the statistical test (see the "Area 6 Alternate" column in Table 9 for an example of alternative data when classifying a specific artifact – a garter – two different ways).

SITE STRATIGRAPHY

One excavator described the overall site stratigraphy as being underlain by a cobble and sand layer. On top of that was a "glacial flour" (defined below) into which a few artifacts and chips of wood had been pressed, especially in Area 1. Above the "glacial flour" was a dark, compact cultural layer, full of artifacts and relatively free of "cobbles" – which were probably more properly meant to be pebbles. (Geologists generally define cobbles as over 10 inches in diameter and pebbles under 10 inches; in this author's experience, few true cobbles were found in nearby subsoils, although pebbles 4 to 6 inches in diameter were common.) The uppermost layer was a dry "dust" and "cobbles" (again, probably pebbles), which the writer presumed to be backfill from the new foundation piers that had been put under the building in 1979.



Figure 54. Photograph taken in Area 1, under the original NT&TC Building, showing the light, water-laid "glacial flour" deposit. Here, in the foreground, it has a lens of a rusty colored silt streaking through it.

Early in the excavations, Gleeson and his crew excavated below the culturally sterile "glacial flour" to determine whether there were culture bearing deposits below it (Figure 54). They were able to find none, so stopped their excavations upon encountering the glacial flour in areas where it was present. In areas where it was absent, they ceased excavation upon encountering the culturally sterile, pebble laden sands that underlay the glacial flour.

Gleeson defined his "glacial flour" as the fine, water borne sediment from seasonal melting of glacier ice. In the Mascot case, it formed a well sorted, homogeneous deposit. Because the area under the building was protected from the weather, he indicated that it was dry, powdery, very flour-like, and even in appearance.

Blee, in her April 1979 test excavations under the Pacific Clipper Line Office, did not observe the dust and pebble layer, lending credence to the interpretation that it originated with later work on foundations. In her excavations, which were conducted at a time when there were no floors or even a south wall in the room, she did describe a "silty sand with rust colored intrusions" which may correspond to the "glacial flour" described by Gleeson. When her test trenches are placed on the plan map of Gleeson's excavation units and features, remnants of "glacial flour" partially outlined her trenches, indicating that the "flour" probably occurred in her trenches as well, but she had given it this other name. Unfortunately, Gleeson did not attempt to tie his datum point into Blee's (which was based on an actual elevation), so there is no way to verify if the depths are the same on the two layers. Gleeson also did not consistently use Munsell soil color charts as did Blee, so there is no way to verify whether Blee's "silty sand" is the same as Gleeson's "glacial flour." However, the two phenomena seem to occur in the same locations.

Underlying Blee's "silty sand with rust-colored intrusions" was another, darker silt full of artifacts (Blee 1989:66, 69). It appeared only in small lenses in her test trench, but yielded mostly glass artifacts. Of course, it will never be known if additional cultural material lay beneath the "glacial flour" in isolated lenses in areas that Gleeson did not excavate.

Blee (1989:25) also observed a "grey alluvial silt" at 23.2 feet above mean low water in the backyards to the south of the Mascot Group (Feature 50 excavations), compared with the 23.75 feet above mean low water in her tests inside the building. This may be a continuation of the glacial flour described by Gleeson. On the south end of Blee's Feature 50 excavations, this layer included small pebbles, indicating a typical alluvial origin. As in Gleeson's excavations, there were no culture-bearing deposits under the alluvial silt.

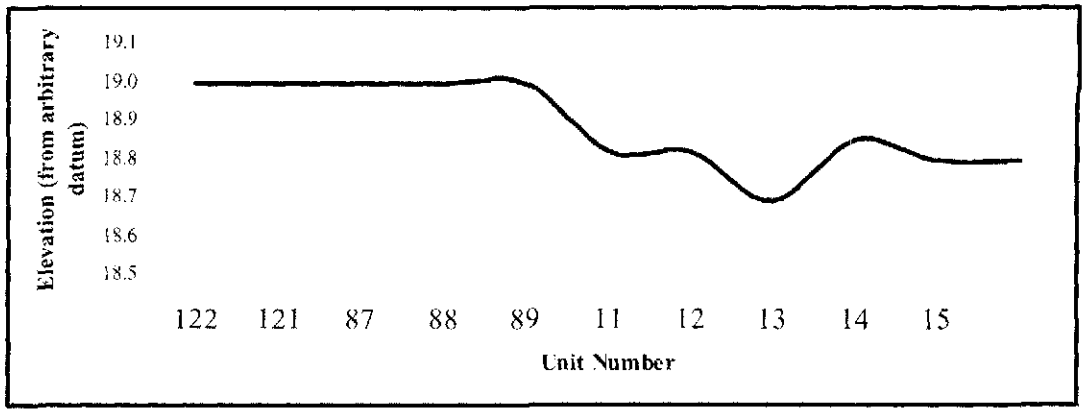


Figure 55. The Surface Profile of Excavation Units in a South to North Line. Taken approximately ten feet east of Broadway, looking west. The vertical scale is exaggerated.

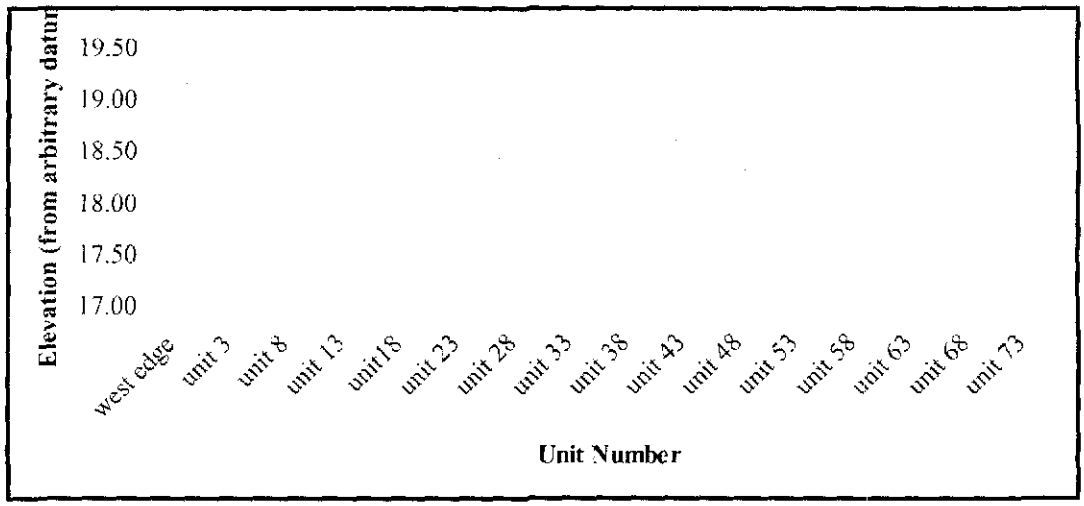


Figure 56. The Surface Profile of Excavation Units in a West to East Line. Taken approximately ten feet south of Third Avenue, looking north. The vertical scale is exaggerated.

Figures 55 and 56 show the overall relative elevation of the surface of the ground under the three buildings. As can be seen in a representative south to north profile (looking west) in Figure 55, the ground surface was fairly high and level under Hern's Liquor Store and the Pacific Clipper Line Office, but dipped down and undulated under the original NT & TC Building. Although this undulation may have suggested more disturbances, the presence of a fairly undisturbed glacial flour in this area and in few other places suggests this area was actually one of the least disturbed areas of the whole site.

It is important to note that the rise in elevation at Unit 89 would have trapped water-borne sediments flowing from the north, such as those from the two 1901 floods.

Looking at a west-to-east elevation through the length of the Mascot Saloon (Figure 56) shows that the ground sloped generally from front to back, with a slight dip at the back wall of the building in 1898. It is difficult to determine from the available notes if this dip was caused by the 1979 replacement of foundation piers or by the original construction of the 1898 building. Drainage as a whole, tended to be towards the east rather than to the south.

These profiles indicate that the area to the west of unit 43 and to the north of unit 89 was generally lower in elevation than surrounding area. It provided a sink or water trap where heavier items, such as glass and metal, could settle out of the 1901 flood deposits (and perhaps other, violent rain storms or seasonal snow melts). As long as the space under the Mascot building was open to the invasion of water, an agency for the transportation of artifacts was clearly available.

Horizontal Stratigraphy

Nevertheless, dating of artifacts showed that what the Mascot Saloon Group deposits lacked in complexity when it came to vertical stratigraphy, it more than made up for in horizontal stratigraphy, due to the way first the NT & T Company, then later Albert Reinert continued to add first lean-tos, then rooms, and whole additions onto the core structure, more and more of the ground became inaccessible to artifact deposition. What resulted was an area of limited time depth associated with the very earliest use of the saloon on the site, followed by increasingly larger areas of increasingly larger time spans and greater diversity of artifact use. In addition, Gleeson and his crew found the remains of a very early privy vault that seems to correlate with some of the earliest gold rush era use of the lot.

The 124 five-foot by five-foot excavation units were grouped into seven "areas" that roughly corresponded to known phases of building activity, as follows (Figure 51):

Area 1 (Units 1-25): The original NT & TC Building, which was built between January 31 and April 29, 1898. The north side was leased to Charles Rohbeck for the Mascotte Saloon and the south side used as NT & TC Ticket Office.

Areas 2 and 3 (Units 26-40, and Units 41-50): Albert Reinert built an addition over these two areas in July 1899 for use as back rooms of the Mascot Saloon.

Area 4 (Units 53-55, 58-60 and 61-80): This area served as a back yard until 1901. The southern part of this area contained a storage building starting in 1901. In 1904, Reinert removed the storage building and built an addition that joined with his 1901 addition.

Area 5 (Privy: Units 51, 52, 56 and 57): Photographs indicate this privy was used from the summer of 1898 through July 1899.

Area 6 (Units 81-119 and Blee's [1989] Test Trenches 9 and 10): The western portion of this area was covered by the Pacific Clipper Line Office, built in the fall of 1898. The building was expanded into its eastern back yard shortly after 1904, when Albert Reinert purchased the property. The area contains the remains of a smaller ticket office on the site in the spring of 1898 (Units 89 and 92).

Area 7 (Units 117-124): Bishoprick and Shoemake 1899 – 1901. Unclear 1901 – 1934. Hern's Liquor Store 1937 - ?

These six "Areas", as well as the Backyard tests excavated by Blee (1989), each provide a set of mutually exclusive data that inform on the life and customs of the men who used the saloon in the earliest years of the twentieth century. The remainder of the report will be structured around the discussion of each of these Excavation Area units.

AREA 1 (THE MASCOTTE SALOON)

Area 1 consisted of 25 five foot by five foot excavation units laid out under the northwestern portion of the building complex (Figure 51). This area was the under the oldest portion of the complex of existing buildings and was the first to be covered by an extant building, the Northern Trading and Transportation Company (NT & TC) Building. As such it has been protected the longest, since April 29, 1898 at the very latest, when a photograph was taken showing the building as completed (Figure 27).

The NT & TC building actually measured about 25 feet along Broadway and somewhere between 30 and 35 feet along Third Avenue. No archeological remains were discovered suggesting that the building was shorter along Third Avenue. Builders' trenches on either side of three pier foundations set in 1979 located 32 feet east of the Broadway Avenue front probably destroyed whatever remained of the original foundations in the area. Fragments of decayed wood laying on top of the western builder's trench and on the surface of units 28 and 29 (both in Area 2) may have related to the foundation structure of the original NT & TC Building.

In order to eliminate some of the inevitable mixing that may have occurred from later additions and renovations (e.g., the trenches in units 27 – 29), the analytical unit for Area 1 was considered to be only Units 1-25, leaving Area 2 as a more mixed area.

The basal deposit for the southwestern portion of the area was covered with a culturally sterile glacial flour of unspecified depth. The excavators appeared to be uncertain of the boundary line between the glacial flour and more generalized alluvial sand and gravels to the east and north. For instance, all of unit 14 contained the glacial flour, but none was noted in unit 19, directly to the east. Again, all of unit 17 contained the flour, but it was not observed in unit 22.

This phenomenon suggests that the transition was not abrupt everywhere, and argues for a continuous alluvial deposition of both the glacial flour and the sand and gravels in units 18-24. Due to the very firm surface provided by the glacial flour, it trapped artifacts and wood for the archeologists who were digging for them. The softer sand and gravel probably tended to yield their bounty more readily to the trowel.

Therefore, it appears that wood chips and wood debris clustered in the same place as the glacial flour (Figure 52). It remains uncertain whether the northeastern portion is more disturbed or just rested on softer deposits. Planed wood fragments ranging in size from small chips to more than two feet long were found scattered throughout the area in no apparent pattern (Figures 57 and 58), probably representing a combination of initial construction and later repair and rehabilitation activity, including the latest 1979 renovations to the foundations.



Figure 57. Photograph of Nichole Von Gaza excavating one of the wooden sills beneath the original NT & TC Building in Area 1.

Certainly larger structural wood fragments lying on the ground surface throughout all of the excavations had meaning and were directly related to earlier structural portions of the building. The two east-to-west running wooden sills running from units 74 to 54 and 72 to 52 most assuredly were part of the original foundation for some building, as was the discontinuous

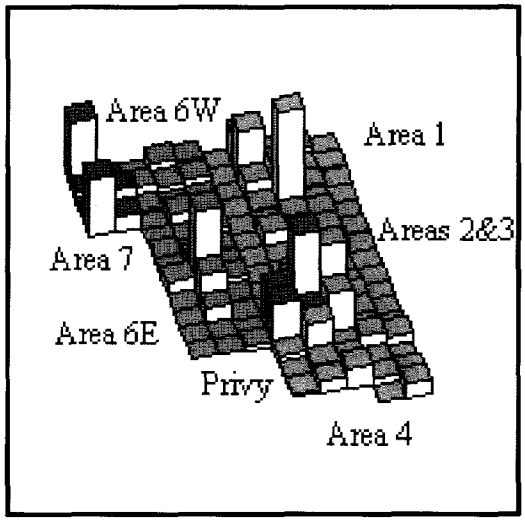


Figure 58. Spatial Distribution of Window Glass Fragments. The tallest column equals 62 fragments.

sill seen in units 43, 48 and 53. Likewise, sills can be seen in units 18 to 8, and units 22 to 7 (Figures 52 and 57). The remnants of boards in units 92, 95 and 98 are probably related to the original NT & TC Ticket Office, which was moved to that location briefly in the summer of 1898.

The presence of these sill boards indicates that some buildings originally sat directly upon the ground. Photographs of the NT & TC building and its later additions all show it on raised pier foundations. The ground sills in Area 1 logically pre-date the 1898 construction of the NT & TC building. Those in Area 4 must pre-date 1904.

Date of the Deposit

As is common in all of the Mascot Saloon Group excavation areas, the artifacts divide themselves into two natural groupings of dates: a group of artifacts that tended to date before 1910 and another group that tended to date after 1920. The pre-prohibition and post-prohibition artifacts were quite easy to separate out, with the later artifacts culled from dating formulas described in the "Methods" section. Table 6 lists the artifacts from Area 1 that post-dated the saloon period, and were deleted from dating considerations.

The remaining datable artifacts in Area 1 yielded a mean date of 1899 (Table 7). The *terminous post quem* was 1906, based on a shot glass (item # 3588, etched "MER BROS. SEATTLE, WASH."), which was not included in the calculation of the mean date due to the long period in which it could have been manufactured (1906-1985). The next youngest artifact was a black hard rubber or bakelite threaded peg type bottle stopper fragment, which could have been made no earlier than 1902. This particular item could have been made as late as 1945, and records suggest that Perry Hern may have bolstered the foundations under the Mascot during the World War II years. It is possible that both of these items are intrusive.

Finally, a token from the Commissary Cigar Store could not date much earlier than 1899. The earliest known advertisement for the Commissary dates to 6 September 1899 (*The Daily Alaskan*:2) In the summer of 1898, the Manila Saloon occupied the location of the Commissary Cigar Store at the southwest corner of Sixth and State (Spude 2004c:). It is very likely that the owners of the Manila did not convert their business to the Commissary cigar store until high license went into effect in June 1899.

If we assume the 1902 threaded peg stopper, and 1906 shot glass is intrusive, the tokens clustering at 1898 and 1899, combined with a mean manufacturing date of 1899 provide us with a reasonable argument for dating this deposit at no earlier than the founding of the Mascotte Saloon in Skagway, Alaska. According to the historic context study in Chapter 2, the very first historic mention of the Mascotte Saloon in Skagway, proprietor Charles Rohbeck, is a June 17, 1898 advertisement in *The Daily Alaskan*. A photograph taken on April 29, 1898 shows the NT & TC Building completed and ready for occupancy (Figure 27).

Description of the Artifacts

The glass artifacts are described in detail in the Appendix B. Additional information is provided here only as needed in interpreting the sequence of events or other archeological phenomena.

Personal Items

Clothing: Fifteen buttons, most of them undecorated and of a plain shank metal type, lay under the NT&TC building (Figure 59). One of

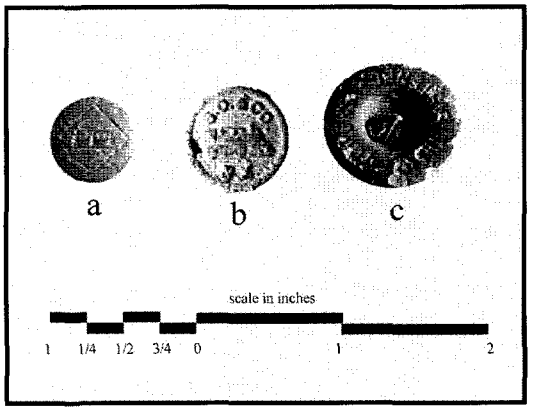


Figure 59. Photograph of buttons: a) three fleur-de-lis in a diagonal band (Area 4, #4772); b) railroad button, "S. O. & Co., N. Y." (Area 1, #3956); c) back of shanked metal button, embossed "TOWERS WIRE FASTENED" (Area 1, #3498).

these was decorated with a steam locomotive and embossed with the initials "SO&CO. NY." The buttons were joined by a cuprous eyelet, a snap fastener and a small belt buckle. In addition, 22 fragments from six different textile garments lay scattered about with no discernable pattern.

Footware: Portions of three shoes, a boot and a moccasin were also recovered from Area 1. With so few items, it was difficult to discern any tendency in clustering, but all were found in the northwest corner of the excavation area.

Adornment: A wooden bead, stained red, suggests loss by a woman and a milk glass collar stud or cuff link suggests loss by a man. These items are the only two gender-specific artifacts recovered from Area 1.

Medical and Health: A cobalt blue bottle represented by 23 fragments probably held a pharmaceutical product like Bromo-Seltzer. Archeologists also recovered a medicinal eyedropper and the cork from a medicinal bottle. Again, no definitive pattern was discernable in the spatial patterning of these items.

Indulgences: Four different pipes were found under the NT&TC building, out of nine that were found during the entire excavation, a disproportionately high percentage. One pipe (with several fragments) was the familiar white ball clay "TD" pipe found so often in nineteenth century contexts (Figure 60d). The other three were made of celluloid, which was not manufactured until 1877 (Springate 1997:63), although celluloid had been invented as early as 1869 (Friedel 1987; King 1991: 3) (Figure 61a, b, and g).

It is possible that an older style wooden shuck match could be included in this category. Alternatively, it could be included in a category with the heating of a room (portable heating) or the lighting of lamps or candles (see portable illumination).

A portion of a small wooden box may have once held cigars.

Domestic Items

Home Furnishings: Four unidentified floral seeds were recovered from Area 1, which may have originated in a bouquet as some sort of decoration.

Culinary: Food waste was ubiquitous in Area 1, although not quite so common as in later deposits when lunches were served. Animal bone, the remains of meals cooked during this period, is described in detailed in Appendix C.

The most common animal bone recovered was beef, sheep and some deer. Beef was more common during this period than later (36% in Area 1 compared to an average 23% percent of all animal bone in areas to the east of Area 1). Sheep bones comprised 11% of the food bone in Area 1 compared to an average of 26% in areas 2-5.

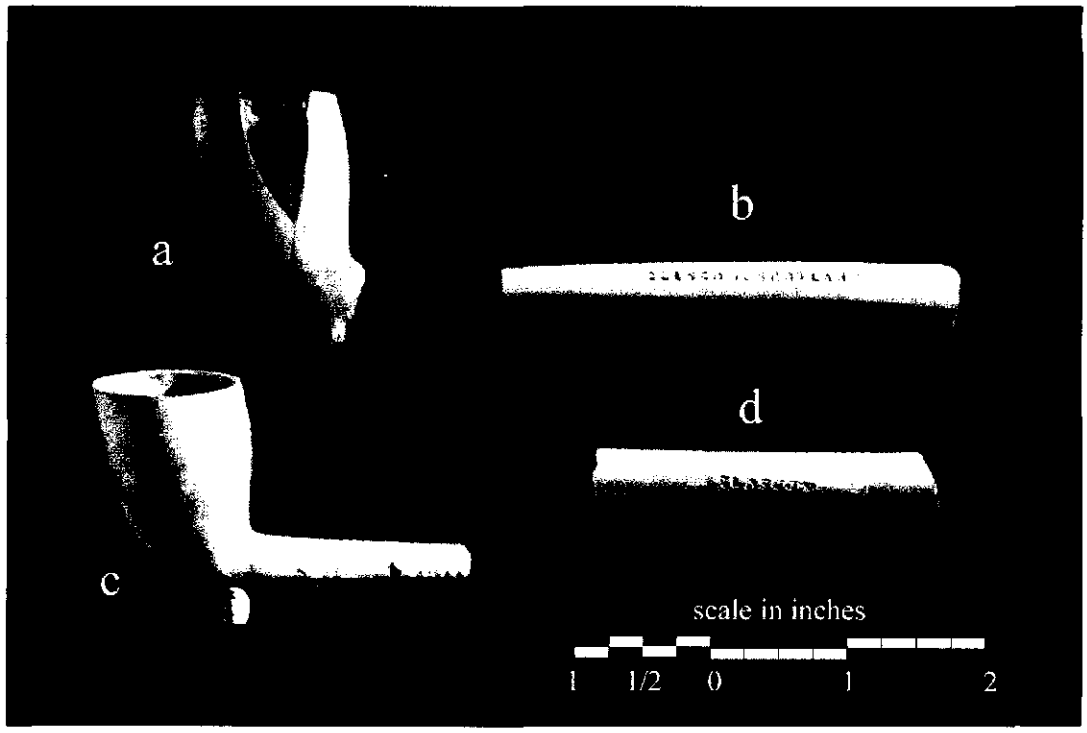


Figure 60. Photograph of white clay tobacco pipes: a) unmarked pipe bowl (Area 1, #3604; b) pipe stem impressed "GLASCOW, SCOTLAND" on one side and "McDOUGALL" on the other side (Area 4, #4693); c) pipe bowl and partial stem impressed with "TD 20" on the front and partial stem impressed with "S J" on one side and "WHIT" on the other (Area 1, #3748); d) pipe stem impressed "GLASCOW" on one side and "C 78 W. A. WHITE" on the other side (Area 3, #4069).

The area under the NT&TC building contained 89% of all the nuts and seeds found in all of the Mascot Saloon excavations. It is unclear whether preservation conditions contributed to this high frequency or not. Excavators noted that soils were dry under this part of the building and damp in other areas. It is possible that changing environments (i.e., alternating dry and wet conditions) could have contributed to the loss of nuts and seeds in other parts. However, one would expect, therefore, to see similar greater frequencies of food bone to correspond with the nuts and seeds, if preservation was the only variable. Because food bone was actually less frequent in Area 1 than in other areas, then it appears that the types of food represented by the nuts and seeds were eaten in greater quantities during the time when deposits were being made into Area 1.

Fragments of twelve hazelnut (*Betulaceae*) shells, 19 pumpkin (*Cucurbitaceae*) seeds, one Brazil nut (*Lecythidacea*) shell, 221 peanut (*Leguminosae*) shells, and 21 walnut (*Myriaceceae*) shells may all represent snacks served at the saloon. In addition, one apricot or plum (*Rosaceae*) pit, four peach or nectarine pits (*Rosaceae*), and two cherry or beach (*Rosaceae*) plum pits suggest

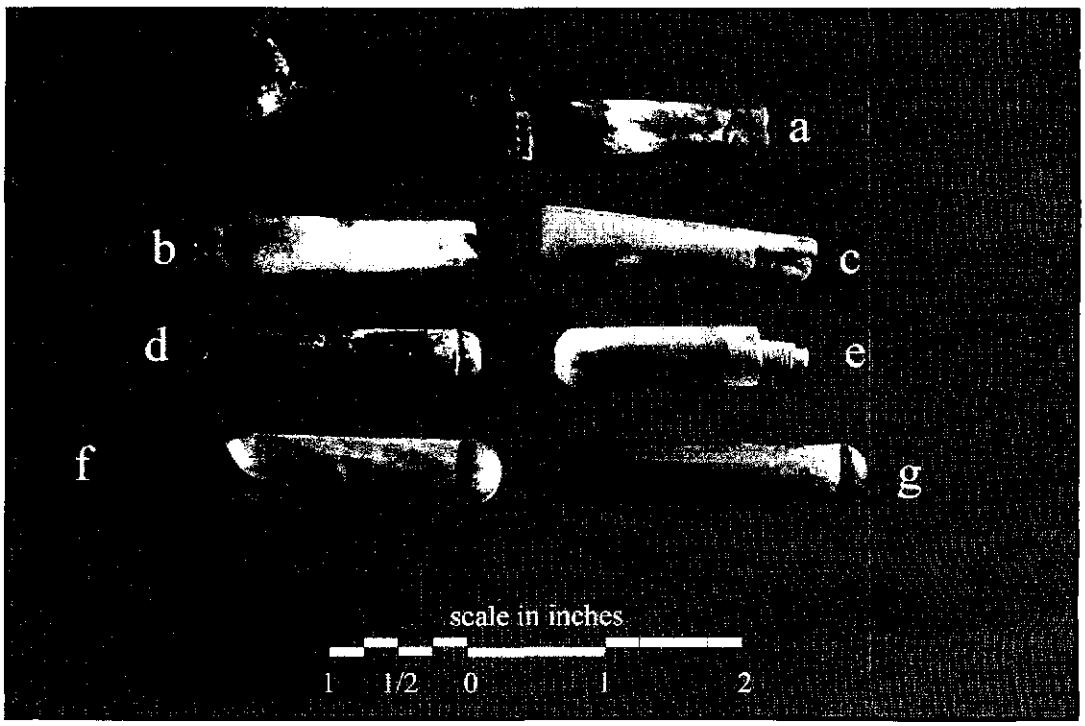


Figure 61. Photograph of other smoking pipe stems: a) wood bowl and stem with amber celluloid bit (Area 1, #3650); b) amber celluloid pipe stem (Area 1, #3620); c) celluloid bit (Area 4, #4673); d) black synthetic bit and stem (Area 4, #4276); e) amber celluloid bit encasing brass metal shank (Privy, #5338); f) light brown synthetic (Area 4, #4795); g) black celluloid bit (Area 1, #3752).

that someone was consuming fruit, but probably in limited quantities.

Conversely, only three of over 500 fragments of clam (*Prothaca staminea*) shells were found in Area 1. Clams were obviously not on the menu during the earliest use of the saloon and NT&TC building, although Albert Reinert was known to serve clam chowder after 1901.

A small wood measuring spoon constituted the only artifact associated with the preparation of food. It is identical to that identified as a mustard spoon in a saloon suppliers' catalogue, down to its material, measurements and the little knob on the end (Figure 62) (Stevens 1896:247). In addition a portion of an aqua glass canning jar and 57 tin can fragments representing a minimum of four cans represented evidence that some food was stored on the site.

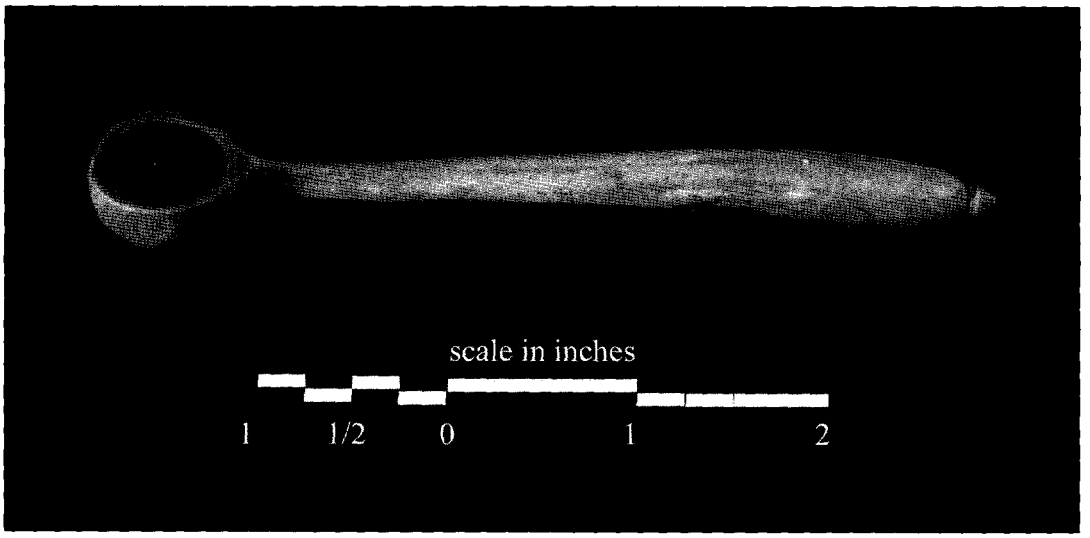


Figure 62. Photograph of small wooden mustard spoon (Area 1 #3854).

Gustatory: A ceramic bowl, possibly part of a teapot, sugar bowl or other lidded vessel, was recovered. It was decorated with a shaded, muted red, hand painted, underglazed exterior, and had a scalloped rim with scroll pattern gold gilt rim. It was really quite ornate for a frontier saloon piece. Two plain whiteware dishes and two undecorated whiteware cups seemed more in fitting with the sort of dishwares one might expect in an early Skagway saloon.

Portable Illumination: Fragments (103) from a minimum of three lamp chimneys were scattered throughout the central portion of the site. Although Skagway had electricity from its very earliest days, it was often unreliable, and backup lamps were good insurance. Of course, as time passed, the need for lamps would have become less.

A dry cell battery has been included in this category, although somewhat reluctantly. Batteries can serve many purposes, and not just as back-up for lighting. However, Sprague's classification system, as elaborated by Bowers and Gannon (1998) placed batteries in this location and in none other. Sprague (personal communication) suggested that context is more important in categorization, but in this situation, it is impossible to determine the probable use of the dry cell battery. If it was used by a pre -1898 occupation it may well have served a different use than a post-1898 occupation, or a post 1904 occupation, or even a post 1916 occupation. For this discussion, it will be left in the portable illumination category, with the recognition that it could have served as back-up power for a number of devises that may have had some other purpose (such as a phonograph player or a movie projector).

Cleaning and Maintenance: One shoe polish dauber was recovered from Area 1, with both brown and black shoe polish still clinging to it.

Architectural Artifacts

Window Glass: A total of 183 fragments of window glass was recovered from Area 1. All of it appeared to be plain soda-lime glass, typical of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Three fragments still bore part of an applied design that might have been part of the lettering in a window. One fragment had a pressed floral design.

Unfortunately, no thickness measurements were taken of the window glass in Area 1, as dating formulas based on window glass thickness still seem to work in Skagway for turn of the century materials (Blee 1983:163-165, 300).

The spatial distribution of window glass in Area 1 is of some interest. Instead of being concentrated near the perimeters of the existing building, as might be expected, the glass appeared in a sort of southwest to northeast diagonal line passing from units 2 and 7 with 18 and 32 fragments each to unit 18 with 62 fragments (Figure 63). At no other place in these excavations was the window glass density so high.

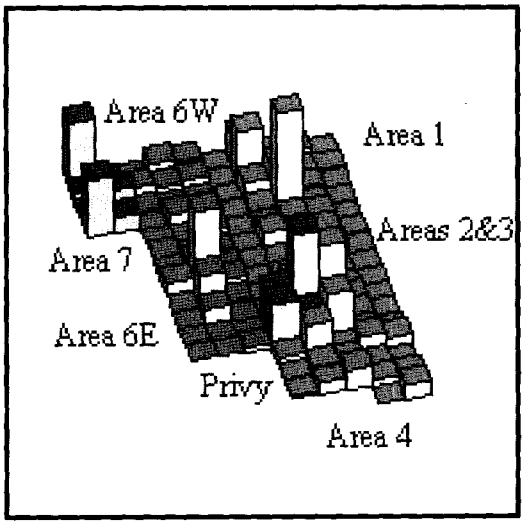


Figure 63. Spatial distribution of window glass fragments.

Roofing Materials: A portion of one cedar shake shingle was found in Area 1. It was very weathered and broken, evidence that it had found its way into the area after being exposed to the elements for some time.

Construction Materials: A great deal of wood was found in Area 1, all in fragments. Of the 141 fragments of wood, 129 (91%) were from prepared planed lumber, suggesting it was wastage or debris left from construction or demolition activities. Five of these fragments had been painted at one time. Two had white paint, two had gray paint and one had yellow paint.

About 19% of the common red brick fragments (39 out of 209) found in the Mascot Saloon excavations were in Area 1. The chimney for the Mascotte Saloon was in unit 25, in the far northeast corner of the building when it was first constructed in 1898. The brick fragments were all clustered in the center portion of Area 1, and may have resulted from the stacking of brick in that area prior to the construction of the chimney.

Flooring: Three of the pieces of wood were parts of tongue-in-groove flooring. Other flooring materials consist of 103 fragments of black felt carpet or linoleum underlayment material. These fragments clustered in units 17, 22 and 23, located not far from the bathroom in the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building (Room 112), which had linoleum flooring when the National Park Service purchased it in the late 1970s. Snow and Spude (1981: 45) comment that the floor in this room was in poor condition. The light, fluffy underlayment material may have migrated into the space when NPS jacked up the building to place it on new foundations.

Figure 64 demonstrates how the floor throughout the Mascot Saloon Group was constructed. The workman has placed his left foot on a beam that rests directly on the concrete pier foundations. A portion of one of those foundations can



Figure 64. Photograph of a workman removing the floor in a back room of the Mascot Saloon Group

be seen below his foot. Floor joists sit above the beam. The tar paper vapor barrier was placed between the joists and the next layer, which was a diagonal subfloor. That is what the worker is prying up with his crowbar. Against the wall behind him, the careful observer can see a remnant of the tongue and groove flooring that sat on top of the subfloor. Some flooring can also be seen in the room in front of the dismantled wall at the lower edge of the photograph.

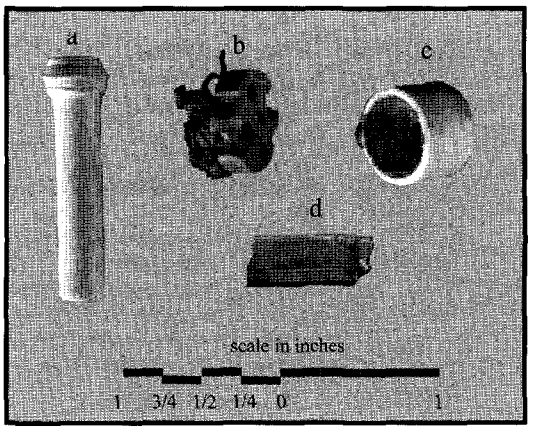


Figure 65. Photograph of electrical items: a) ceramic knob and tube insulator (Area 2, #3852); b) ceramic and metal electrical ceiling fixture (Area 4, #4270); c) ceramic block fuse (Area 1, #6053); d) ceramic light bulb socket (Area 4, #4768).

Very little tar paper was found in the excavations in Area 1, despite the fact that it had been used as a humidity barrier between the joists and the subfloor of both the NT&TC building and the 1899 addition built by Albert Reinert over Areas 2 and 3. Only two fragments were recovered in Area 1.

Nails: Most of the square cut nails found at the Mascot Saloon were in Area 1 (59 out of 62, or 95%), reinforcing the impression that it was the earliest area covered by a structure. The 90 wire nails in this area, however, do indicate that the people building the NT & TC building were using more wire nails than cut nails in its construction.

Data was recorded for 20 nails on whether they were straight or bent, or, in other words, whether they had been lost before or after being used. Ten were bent and ten straight, suggesting an even amount of demolition or repair and new construction.

Only 14 nails could be identified by pennyweight. Of those, 9 were between 7d and 12d in size, indicating use for general carpentry work. Three larger nails (15d, 20d and a 50d spike) were probably lost during the structural framing of the NT&TC building.

Other Construction Fasteners: Hardware is unexceptional and undiagnostic. A bent spike, a tack, a staple, a small cuprous ring and twelve lengths of wire complete the assemblage.

Plumbing-Related Items: Other evidence of building rehabilitation was evident in Area 1. Three sections of water pipes attest to running water in the building at some time, probably after 1904 when toilets were added. A cuprous pull chain from a water closet also reinforces this impression.

Fixed Illumination and Power: Nine fragments of electrical wire, a white ceramic block fuse marked "THOMAS", and a ceramic knob and tube insulator also attest to the fact that the NT&TC building had electricity (Figure 65c). Of course, independent evidence of this fact has also been obtained from photographs of the earliest days in which power poles fed electrical lines to the building and where electrical light bulbs hang from the ceiling (see front cover).

Tools: One carpenter's pencil may have been used during the initial construction of the building, or during any repair or rehabilitation events.

Commerce and Industry-Related Items

Hunting-Related Items: Three of the seven cartridges found in the Mascot Saloon excavations were recovered from Area 1. These three clustered in units 12 and 13, the deepest of the units. One was embossed PETERS/N° 30(20?)/ PREMIER. Another was embossed UMC .44 WEBLEY, dating anytime after 1884. The third was a .38 caliber U. M. C. center fire cartridge (Figure 66b and c). Both of the latter were made by the Union Metallic Company.

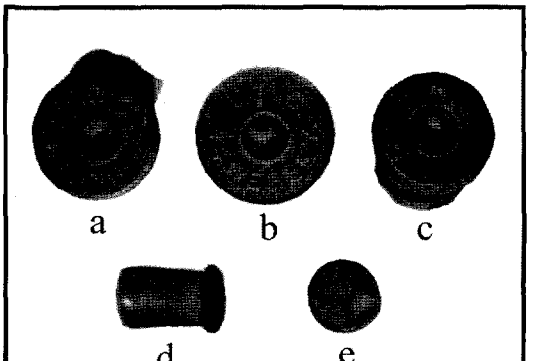


Figure 66. Photograph of Cartridges: a) .38 caliber, illegible mark, center fire (Area 6, #4967); b) .44 caliber Webley and Union Metallic Company center fire (Area 1, #3726); c) .38 caliber Union Metallic Company center fire (Area 1, #3608); d) .22 caliber long, Union Metallic Cartridge Company rim fire (Area 6, #5005); e) .22 caliber, Union Metallic Cartridge Company rim fire (Area 4, #4777).

Commercial Service Items (Saloon): The vast majority of items recovered from Area 1 were related to saloon activities. This discussion will attempt to synthesize the data rather than describe it in detail. A detailed description with photographs is available in Appendix B.

Three bungs suggest **storage of liquor** in kegs. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell whether it was whiskey or beer that was being stored.

The only **entertainment-related items** were two dice – one wood and one celluloid – indicated that these games continued throughout the saloon period (Figure 67b and c). Celluloid was

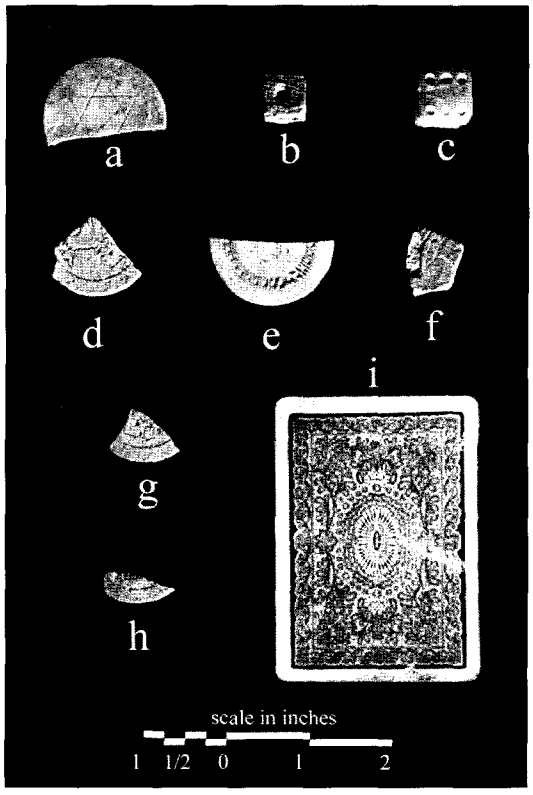


Figure 67 (far right). Photograph of entertainment-related items: a) white hard rubber poker chip with a star shape in the center (Privy, #6518); b) Wood die with drilled holes (Area 1, #3862); c) red celluloid die with white dots (Area 1, #4171); d) beige rubber poker or clay poker chip, decorated with hands holding cards (Privy, #4846); e) tan rubber or clay poker chip with a flower shape (?) in the center (Privy, #4310); f) white rubber poker or clay poker chip, decorated with hands holding cards (Area 1, #3769) g) white rubber or clay poker chip (Privy, #6486); h) white rubber or clay poker chip, decorated with hands holding cards (Area 2, #3769); i) modern playing card (general surface, #6278).

first manufactured on a large scale in Britain in 1877 (Springate 1997:63), so would have been widely available by the time of the Klondike gold rush. Two rubber balloons suggest special decorations at certain times of years or during a grand opening.

Commercial glassware included at least one goblet, two mugs, six shot glasses and four tumblers. One reason for the low counts is that most of these vessels were undecorated and unmarked. Three of the shot glasses were etched with the mark of the Seattle Malting and Brewing Company (Appendix B, page 271). Albert Reinert was known to sell Rainier beer from July 1902 past 1910. In addition, portions of a decanter were also recovered. While the shot glasses imply the use of whiskey, and the goblet and decanter suggest wine, the tumblers could have been used to serve a variety of drinks. As Herst notes in Appendix B, one of these etched glasses usually came with each case of bottled beer.

The minimum of 64 liquor bottles recovered from Area 1 are listed in Table 10. Whiskey bottles outnumbered beer bottles four to one. Many of the "liquor bottles" may also have been whiskey bottles as well. It was impossible to identify them anymore closely. Whiskey and liquor bottles together outnumbered the beer bottles almost nine to one. Combined with the fact that only two mugs were recovered (the drinking vessel from which beer was consumed), compared with six shot glasses (from which whiskey was drunk), it is obvious whiskey was more popular than beer in this early deposit.

The bitters bottles are included among the liquors bottles due to its popularity as a flavoring in a mixed drink known as an Old Fashioned. Made with whiskey, bitters and a little sugar, several internet sites claim it was invented in the late nineteenth century. However, there seems to be disagreement on who did the inventing and exactly what whiskey or for what club it was invented.

The Jesse-Moore Hunt Bourbon bottles were all found in units clustered near the northeast corner of Area 1 (Appendix B, pages 264 - 265). During the June 1898 – August 1899 period, access to this area would have been through an opening to the lean-to addition on the east side of the NT&TC building. Photographs of the building before the lean-to was added suggest that the stairs leading up into the Mascotte were only a foot or two to the south of where these bottles were found.

Bottle closures: A minimum of 59 bottle closures were found in the area under the original NT&TC building (Table 11). The majority (32, 54%) were cork. Nineteen were crown caps (3) or the cork liners from crown caps. The corks were probably used on the liquor and whiskey bottles; the crown caps on the beer bottles. The single cork labeled "JESSE MOORE/HUNT" from unit 18 matches the dozen whiskey bottles found in nearby units.

Two porcelain peg stoppers bearing the logo for the Rainier Beer and Malting Company were also recovered from Area 1 (Appendix B, page 272). As discussed in Chapter 3, Rainier Beer sponsored Albert Reinert's Mascot Saloon after 1902. Sponsoring brewers paid for the free lunches and much of the barware in return for exclusive rights to sell draft beer in the working class saloons (Powers 1998: 209-210).

Cork was not used as a liner in crown caps until 1909 (Lief 1965:25) and probably indicates a somewhat later deposition. These items could easily have floated under the saloon during rainstorms.

Record- keeping items: Three graphite pencil leads and one wooden pencil enameled green with an eraser attached with a crimped metal rim reflect some office work in either the saloon or

the NT&TC offices. People working in the area before the building was constructed also could have lost them. According to the General Pencil Company, the familiar wood covered pencils have been made since the 1600's and their own company has been in production since 1889 (http://www.generalpencil.com/ history.html).

Group Services

Coins and Tokens: Twenty coins and tokens were found in the area under the original NT&TC building (Table 12 and Figures 68 and 89). Only four additional coins were found in the entire rest of the excavations. The ten coins in Area 1 ranged in date from 1872 to 1899 (although one nickel with an illegible date could have been manufactured as late as 1912). Six of the ten coins were nickels.

One token was to be used at the Commissary Cigar Store (Figures 68d and e). It is unlikely that the spelling "Comisary" was an earlier spelling of the business that started in the summer of 1898. Because the name of the tobacco shop was so long, it is more likely that the proprietors simply left off an "m" and an "s" to fit the name onto their token. The spelling of "Skaguay" is more informative in the dating of the token. The Commissary existed as a business at least as late as 1904, but the use of the early spelling of the town suggests one of the earliest mintings of the token.

Unknown Items

Heating and Combustion By-Products: About 12% of the all the cinders, coal and charcoal found at the Mascot Saloon was in Area 1, which constituted 20% of the area excavated. Therefore, heating and combustion by-products were somewhat under-represented in Area 1. Density was highest in the units along the east wall of the NT&TC building, where the two back doors exited the building. At this location, occupants would have emptied the coal and wood-burning

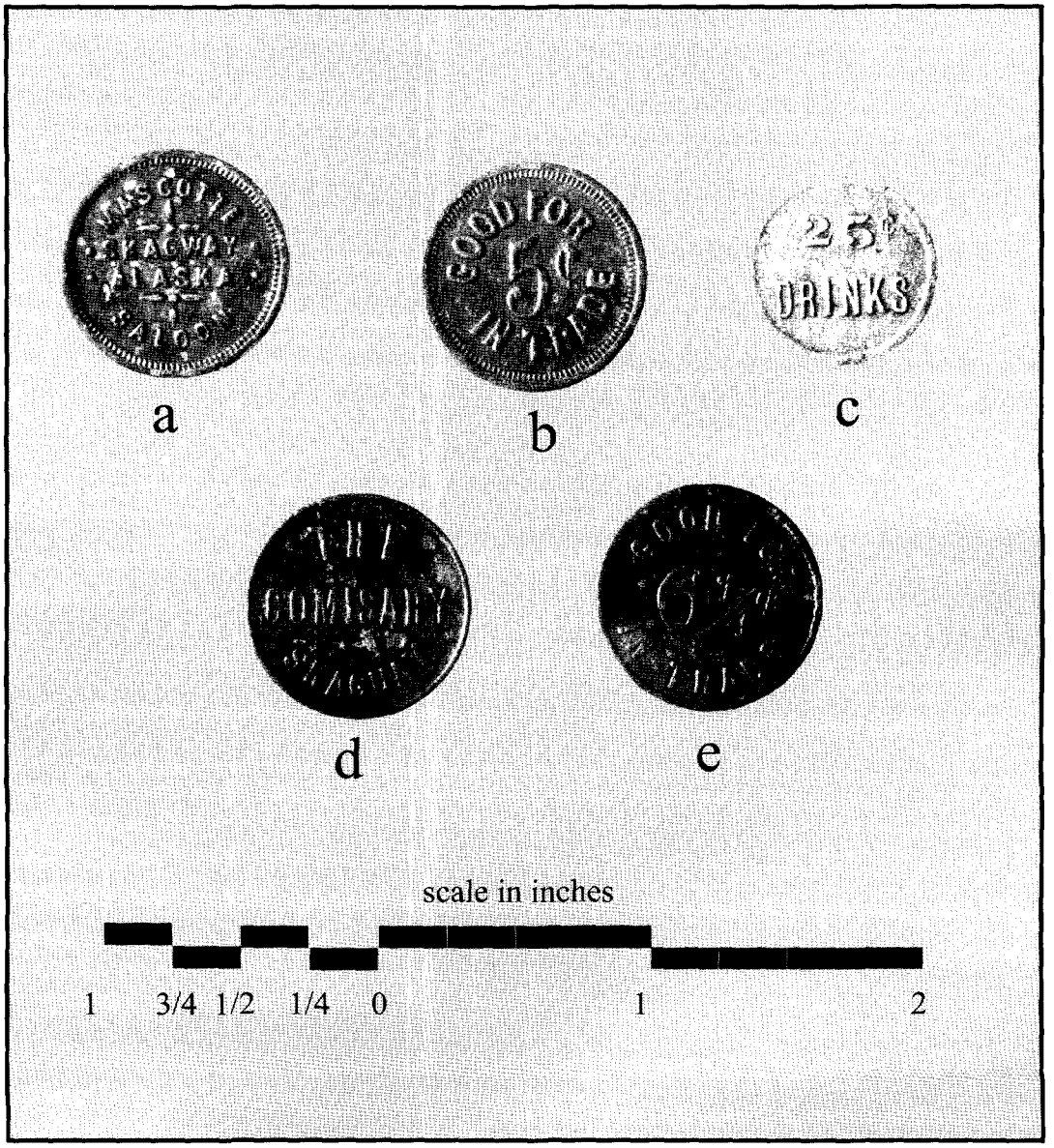


Figure 68. Photograph of tokens from the Mascot Saloon: a-b) obverse and reverse of #6399, #6394, #6398, #6395, #6396, #6401, #6386; c) token #3466; d-e) obverse and reverse of #6393. All tokens were found in Area 1.

stoves that heated the interior spaces. Such an act was documented by the newspaper article in which Albert Reinert almost burned down the Mascot by emptying warm coals against the back of the saloon on January 16, 1907.

Summary

With the possible exception of the wood, cut nails and window glass, most of the architectural materials appear to be debris left from building rehabilitation activities. In particular, it seems hard to conceive how flooring materials, brick fragments, and remnants of utilities could have migrated into the crawl space under the NT&TC building after it was constructed, except through the disturbances that took place during the 1979 emergency stabilizations.

Many wood fragments, on the other hand, were mapped in situ and appear to have been firmly pressed into the glacial flour, suggesting deposition previous to or soon after the construction of the NT&TC building. The lack of a vehicle for transportation of window glass from the windows above the floors of the NT&TC building to below the floors, combined with a lack of correlation between window placement and concentration of glass fragments suggests contemporaneity with a previous occupation. The cut nails are more problematical. They could be related to either a previous occupation, construction of the NT&TC building, or later renovations undertaken by Reinert in either 1901 or 1904.

The fact that a saloon had contributed the artifacts under the original NT&TC building cannot be denied. Liquor bottles, bottle closures, bungs, dice, tobacco store and saloon trade tokens all build a pretty convincing story. What is surprising, though, is that these artifacts extend under the entire width of the building, not just the part that was occupied by the saloon in 1898. Furthermore, many of the artifacts date somewhat later than 1898, suggesting they were deposited not just by the proprietor and customers of the Mascotte Saloon, but perhaps also by Albert Reinert and his customers. And there is some evidence there may have been another occupation pre-dating the NT&TC building.

A third observation based on this simple listing is that there seemed to be a rather large number of Personal Items. The historical context indicated that Albert Reinert rented rooms from at least 1899 to sometime in 1900, and he lived there alone from 1899 until he married in 1911. Otto Wolf was known to live in the upstairs of the NT&TC building from 1898 until he sold the building to Reinert in 1899. He may have rented part of the upstairs to Charles Rohbeck from 1898 to 1899. But from this simple descriptive listing of artifacts, we have no way of knowing if the amount of personal items in Area 1 is unusually high.

Functional Analysis

As described in the methodology section, Sprague's classification system was modified for the functional analysis. The reason soon becomes clear, especially when struggling to assign artifacts to a function when the context of deposition was unknown. If we had had clearly defined vertical stratigraphy, it might have been possible to determine the use of a dry cell battery, for instance, and know what category to place it in. However, in the regression analysis successfully used by Blee (1991), Spude *et al.* (1993) and Spude (2001, 2002, 2004b, and 2005) the battery can be placed in an "Other Artifacts" category without fruitless guessing or document research with little point.

Likewise, the method allows the archeologist to select for variables that will help distinguish data sets from one another. Because women were rarely, if ever allowed into saloons during our period of study (see pages 53-57 in Chapter 2), the gender of the people living or visiting the saloon can become a variable of interest. Was the social dictum that women should not enter saloons ignored in the earliest saloon days in Skagway, in the same way that the liquor laws were ignored? Because Sprague's classification system remains static (e.g., female-specific items are always buried within certain classes of artifacts alongside their male-specific counterparts), it becomes difficult to study the effects of gender prohibitions on an artifact assemblage by using Sprague's classification system.

Table 13 lists the artifacts used in the functional analysis of Area 1. As stated in the methodology section, fragile organic materials, architectural items, food remains and tin cans were not included in the functional analysis. An estimate of the minimum number of items was used to generate the statistical calculations.

A multiple linear regression of the collection in Area 1 indicated that 108% (± 14%) was predicted by the Saloon Assemblage ($p>0.000$) (Appendix D demonstrates how this statistic was derived). Insignificant positive predictions by the Working Class Transient Families and the Military bolster the male dominant and transient nature of the saloon at the turn of the century. The statistic reinforces what the historic record suggests. There is no doubt that the collection was generated by a saloon.

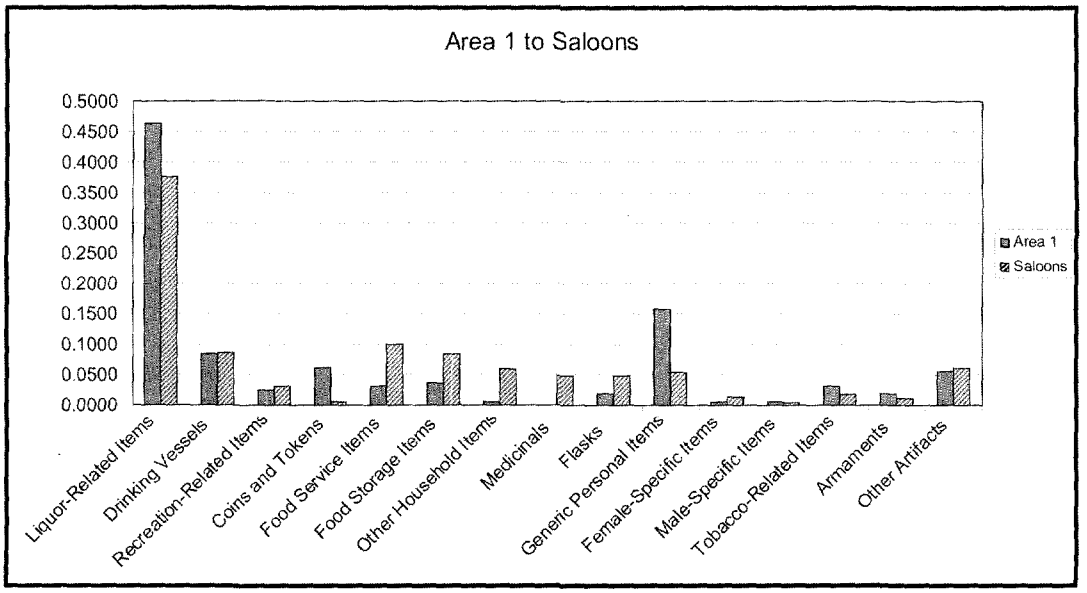


Figure 69. The Distribution of Artifact Categories in Area 1 Compared to the Saloon Assemblage.

Figure 69 shows the relative frequency of artifact categories in Area 1 compared to those in the Saloon Assemblage. There are some differences, but they appear to be minor. Specifically, Area 1 had more liquor-related items and generic personal items than the comparative saloons, and relatively lower frequencies of artifacts related to the preparation and consumption of food.

Given the relatively high frequency of Generic Personal Items in Area 1, it is somewhat surprising that the multiple linear regression did not return a prediction of a mixture with Transient Male assemblage. High frequencies in the personal item categories tend to distinguish the transient male residential sites, and Otto Wolf was known to reside above the NT&TC offices during this period. It is possible that he lived in the small ticket office building prior to construction of the two-story NT&TC building. He may also have rented out residential space to Charles Rohbeck above the Mascotte Saloon. Surely they contributed much to the relatively large collection of generic personal items listed in Table 13.

It is evident from the comparison in Figure 69 that the storage, preparation and serving of food was not a part of the everyday business of the early saloon on the site, as it was at many saloons. Frequencies of Food Serving, Food Storage and Other Household artifacts (which include food preparation items) are all lower than in the Saloon Assemblage as a whole.

The next step was to determine which of the four comparative saloon collections that comprise the Saloon Assemblage most predicted Area 1. Table 14 presents the relative frequencies of the five comparative collections used in the statistic.

The multiple linear regression suggested that Area 1 was more specifically predicted by a combination of the Miner's Home Saloon (72% ± 12%, $p<0.000$) and the Knoxville saloon (30% ± 16%; $p < 0.077$). Although we have no information on the people who used and occupied the Knoxville saloon, the Miner's Home Saloon was a working class saloon in Fairbanks, Alaska from 1907 to 1916. Its clientele tended to be transient miners and men working in the transportation sector at the heart of the Fairbanks mining district. It was the headquarters for the Miners' Union during the Tanana Valley Miners' Strike of 1907. The close resemblance between the Area 1 collection and the Miner's Home saloon may have to do with the choices the similar clientele was making in their selection of alcoholic beverages. This similarity will be explored later. Albert Reinert's later support of labor leader Sewald Torkelson reinforces the connections with the labor sector. The Mascotte may have begun the tradition of being sympathetic to labor concerns before Reinert's acquisition of the saloon. Reinert himself was German, and may have drawn German customers.

AREA 5 (THE 1898 – 1899 PRIVY)

Structure and Stratigraphy

A wood-lined privy pit was encountered in units 51, 52, 56 and 57 (Figure 70). It measured 5.6 feet from north to south and four feet from east to west. The pit contained eleven deposits consisting of a series of lenses and deposits of sand, sandy silt, silt, and clay, all of differing colors and textures (Figures 50 and 71). The deposits were numbered as they were encountered, which means the oldest layers, strata 4 and 5, through which the privy hole was dug, have lower numbers than the oldest privy deposit, level 11.

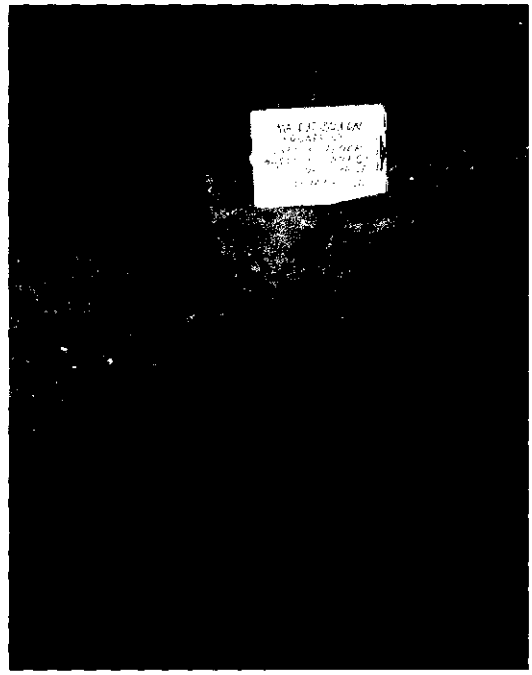


Figure 70. Photograph of the upper portion of the Privy, showing the wood lining.

Cramped excavation conditions and poor lighting made it difficult to excavate each layer separately. Artifacts were grouped instead into lots. Artifacts from the surface and recent surrounding excavation trenches were kept separated from those found within the privy. All artifacts from levels 1 – 8 were bagged together. Those from level 9 were kept separate from levels 10 and 11.

A decomposing board lay above level 10 and may represent the initial abandonment and filling episode of the pit. That is, levels 11 and 10 were probably accumulated during the active use of the privy pit as a privy. Level 9, which was described as a "conglomerate of silt clumps, sands, pebbles and gravel," appears to have been deliberate local fill from the immediate area to level off the ground area. The top of level 9 coincides with the top of the wood lining of the privy pit.

It appears that the unconsolidated fill of levels 1 through 8 compacted with time, leaving a depressed area. There the obvious alluvial deposits gradually filled in, as long the privy pit was in a place where water and its suspended load of silts, sands, and artifacts could pool and settle. Apparently level boards found between stratigraphic levels were simply resting on top of pooled deposits.

Dating

Unfortunately, there were only 13 artifacts in the lower deposits that could be dated even approximately, and all 13 were items made of manganese-clarified glass. The practice of clarifying glass with manganese became common about 1880 and was halted in the United States in about 1915 as World War I interrupted the supply of manganese from Germany (Gillio et al. 1980:17; Lockhart 2005). These 13 items, therefore yield a rather weak mean date of 1897 for the lower levels of the privy pit (Table 15).

Perhaps more significant, however, is the date yielded by the upper levels of the privy pit, which necessarily would have had to post-date those of the lower level. Levels 1-8, when combined, yielded a mean date of 1899 and a *terminous post quem* of 1900 (Table 16). These dates suggest that all remnants of the privy and its pit had disappeared by 1900, and that its main period of use had preceded 1899.

Identification of the Privy

Once dated by the artifacts, this privy is easily seen in the photographs of the 1898 – 1899 period. The privy cannot be seen in the April 29, 1898 photograph of the newly completed NT & TC Building (Figure 27). Its location is clearly within the range of the viewer and not hidden behind the storage sheds on the lots to the south (Figure 28). However, the privy can be seen in a photograph dated June 1898 (Vancouver Public Library, Photo #13/48; KLGO SO181-6267), in one dating to the fall of 1898 (Figure 30), and finally, as late as July 10, 1899 (Figure 34). By August 1899, the privy had been moved approximately 30 feet to the south to accommodate the expansion of saloon after the purchase by Reinert and Saake (Figure 35).

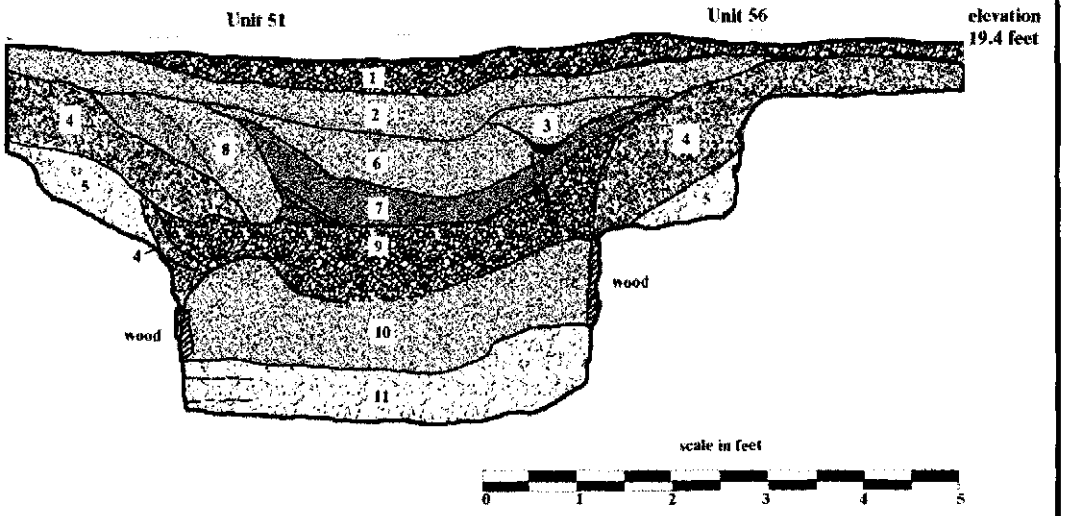
Between the dates suggested by the artifacts and the evidence presented by the photographs, it is clear that the privy was in use from the early summer of 1898 to late July or early August of 1899, just a little over a year. With that short a time span represented and the weak dating information from the lower deposits, it is impossible to further break down the dates between the early and the late deposits in the privy.

Description of the Artifacts

A full description of the glass artifacts found in the Privy is detailed in Appendix B. The following discussion will highlight artifacts of special note found in the Privy deposits. Artifacts of all types tended to cluster more densely in the privy than they did in surrounding areas.

Personal Items

Clothing items included four ferrous metal buttons, three of them in the upper levels, one in level 10. A turquoise glass shanked button from the upper levels completed the button collection from the privy. All buttons were plain and could have been worn by either gender. A garter clip,



1 – Brown (10 YR 5/3) sandy gravel: construction fill

2 – Very dark grayish brown (10 YR 3/2) silty sand with pebbles and gravel

3 – Brown (10 YR 5/3) silty sand with pebbles and gravel (see 8)

4 – Grayish brown (10 YR 5/2) sandy silt

5 – Grayish brown (10 YR 5/2) sand with pebbles and gravel

6 – Black (2 Y 2/0) sandy silt with decayed wood surface

7 Dusky red (2 YR 3/2) silt

8 Brown (10 YR 5/3) silty sand with pebbles and gravel (see 3)

9 Conglomerate of levels 3, 4 and 8; silt clumps, sand, pebbles, gravel, fill from local source

10 – Very dark gray (10 YR 3/1) silty sand with decayed wood surface; surface is side of privy hole

11 – sandy pebbles with gravels grading from dark gray (10YR 4/1) at top to light gray (10 YR 7/2) at base

Figure 71. Stratigraphic Profile of the Area 5 Privy Pit. Looking north. Number notations after colors are Munsell soil colors.

more often used by women than men, was recovered from level 10 (Figure 72c).

Textiles were likely to be related to clothing. They included a loosely woven fragment of white or tan cotton with frayed edges; a small fragment of gray-black, tightly woven herringbone weave wool, with frayed edges; three gray-black herringbone weave wool fragments, in a tweed-like fiber, also with frayed edges; two black textile fragments of an unknown type in a twill weave; and an otherwise unidentified woven fabric fragment, all in the upper levels. One single brown, tabby weave fragment lay in the lowest levels.

Personal adornment appeared to be limited to what women would have worn, suggesting a woman or women may have used the privy occasionally. A small pierced earring with brass backing and a front made of a round, raised white synthetic, molded in a waffle pattern on the obverse was in the upper layers (Figure 72b). A small silver ring in the upper levels may also have been lost by a woman (Figure 72c).

Body Ritual and Grooming: A black "plastic" comb embossed with the words "SUPER QUALITY" was probably actually made of cellulose acetate, the "improved" cellulose, which was invented shortly before 1900. It was used to manufacture glossy jewelry, toothbrush handles, eyeglass frames, soda straws, cellophane, and rayon. Many of these products are still produced today (King 1991: 4). A small jar made of milk glass probably represented a cosmetic jar, which could have been used by either gender. It had a ground lip. It was recovered from level 10.

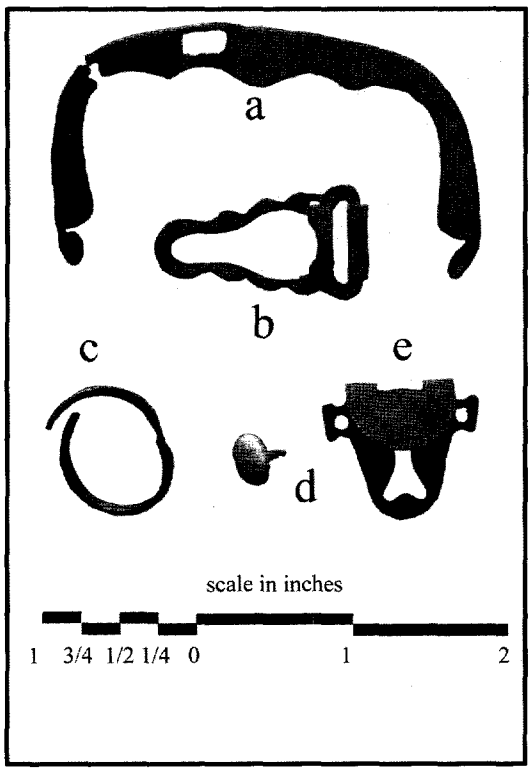


Figure 72. Photograph of female-specific items: a) purse frame (#4306, Privy); b) garter clasp marked "LINDSAY"(#6424, Privy); c) silver ring (#4302, Privy; d) earring (#6422, Privy; e) garter clasp? marked "HOFFMAN/ ROTHCHILD & Co/NEW YORK/SAN FRANCISCO," (#4694, Area 4, near Privy).

Medicinal and Health Items: Six medicinal containers were found in the privy, and all but one were in the upper levels. One of two medicinal vials with a wide band collar lip lay in the lowest level of the privy (Appendix B, page 247). It was made of soda-lime glass. Another, more expensive lead glass vial was found in the upper levels. All three pharmaceutical bottles were very different from each other, one being a pale green color paneled bottle another being manganese clarified and an ovoid shape, and the last being an amber paneled bottle. The remaining medicinal item was an aqua medicine bottle with an applied tooled finish.

Indulgences: Evidence of tobacco indulgence included two tobacco pipes. One was an amber-colored pipe stem made of celluloid encasing a brass metal shank (Figure 61e). Celluloid, the first semi-synthetic plastic, was invented by John Wesley Hyatt in 1869, so had been around for quite some time (Friedel 1987; King 1991: 3). The other tobacco pipe was the typical white ball clay pipe represented by a single stem fragment.

Pastimes and Recreation: There appeared to be a tennis or baseball, missing its outer covering in the uppermost layer. Although identified as a tennis ball in the inventory, baseball was a much-favored sport in Skagway. By 1901, the White Pass and Yukon Route organized regular ball games between Skagway crews and Whitehorse crews. The Skagway crews would also sometimes play against the African-American soldiers of Company L. In 1903, wharfingers and stevedores formed a team to play against the railroad team. That same year, Frank Keelar "The Money King" organized a "Fats" team to play against a "Leans" team organized by druggist Frank Keller. If it was a baseball rather than a tennis ball, it could have been introduced into the privy fill a few years later as the area consolidated and additional fill was needed.

Pocket Tools and Accessories: The only personal item that might be attributed directly to a man was a folding pocketknife made of stainless steel and a hard, black synthetic material, recovered from upper levels (Figure 73a). It appears to be a classic switchblade.

Domestic Items

Food Waste Products: One melon-type (*Cucurbitaceae*) seed was recovered from the lowest layers of the privy pit. It could also have been a cucumber, squash or pumpkinseed. In addition, eight peach (*Rosaceae*) pits were found in the upper portions of the pit. All were more likely to have been remains of meals than of snacks.

Edible varieties of seashell was well-represented in the privy, but less so in the lowest levels. There were only eight fragments of clam (*Prothaca staminea*), three fragments of an unidentified clam and three fragments of an unidentified shell. In the upper levels, however, *Prothaca staminea* was represented by 32 fragments, and was joined by two additional species: nine fragments of *Saxidomus giganteus* and 83 fragments of *Venus mercenaria*, which were imported from the Seattle area. In addition the upper layers contained 17 fragments of unidentified clams, four fragments of unidentified bivalves, and 26 fragments of unidentified shell. It is obvious that by the time the later levels were being added to the privy, the consumption of clams had increased dramatically, suggesting the advent of the free lunch, probably in the form of clam chowder.

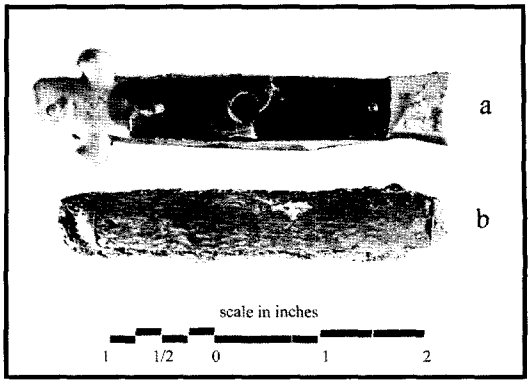


Figure 73. Photograph of pocketknives: a) steel and hard black synthetic switch blade (#4599, Privy); b) bone-handled folded knife (#6660, general surface).

Tin Cans: The metal turn key from a meat or fish tin was found in the lower levels.

Canning Jars: A whole jar lid of manganese clarified glass and bearing a patent date of January 11, 1898 in the upper levels provides a firm *terminous post quem* for the privy (Appendix B, page 253). The upper layers also contained a threaded metal screw top jar lid. A selenium clarified jar base could have been made as early as early as 1911(Angus-Butterworth 1948:68-69), but probably not until 1915 as manufacturers used it as a replacement for manganese. It probably is an intrusive item caused by the 1979 construction of a concrete pier next to the privy. Finally, a portion of a milk glass container etched with the letters "ND" was probably part of a Dundee Marmalade jar (Appendix B, pages 251 - 252).

Cooking Pots and Pans: Seven fragments of a blue enameled "graniteware" representing one bowl, pot or pan, and a fragment of a similar grayish green "graniteware" vessel appear to be the only cooking or food preparation vessels in the upper layers of the privy pit.

Eating Utensils and Dishes: A single white graniteware sherd found in the upper levels indicates that an unidentified food serving vessel was used and broken in the vicinity of the Mascotte Saloon. A table knife with a wooden handle joined the equally plain dishware.

Portable Illumination: The privy pit contained portions of two lamp chimneys, both with crimped rims. One was in the upper layers and the other was in the lower layers. A single fragment of milk glass painted with green enamel in the shape of leaves may be part of a lamp shade. Alternatively, it could be part of some sort of decorative figurine.

Portable Waste Disposal or Sanitation: Remnants of two white graniteware pitchers, or a wash basin and matching pitcher probably graced the living quarters of one of the men living above in the upstairs quarters of the NT &TC building. Both were recovered from upper levels of the privy.

Heat and Combustion: Coal, slag and charcoal does not appear to be any more dense than in any other part of the Mascot Saloon Group excavations, except for the northwest quadrant of the privy pit, where 25 small fragments of coal were found in the very bottom layers. The privy may have been used to dispose of stove contents after cleaning.

Architectural Items

Window Glass: There were 134 fragments of window glass in the privy, a density matched by the units directly to the north (Figure 63). Only 8 fragments were recovered from the lower levels. The rest were all found in the very top level. This suggests that the window glass post-dated the use of the privy and was instead related to the rear window on the 1899 addition built by Charles Saake and Albert Reinert.

Roofing Materials: One asphalt roofing tile lay close to the surface of the privy, and may have been left from recent renovation activities.

Construction Materials: Of the 44 fragments of sawn or milled lumber in the privy pit, six were in the lowest levels. Ten lay near the surface and may have been recent remnants related to the 1979 renovation activities. The other fragments are consistent with an interpretation of the privy pit filling in with repeated flooding during rainstorms (or more dramatic events such as the two 1901 floods).

With 115 brick fragments, the density in the privy pit is much higher than anywhere else in the Mascot group excavations. None of the brick was recovered from a controlled context in the upper levels. The lower levels contained 21 fragments. The trench dug for the privy contained 63 fragments. The fill immediately above the privy contained the remainder. This suggests that brick fragments littered the ground before the privy was dug, perhaps as a result of the storage of brick in the area. Then, later brick may have been piled on the location of the privy during renovation activities.

Flooring Materials: The upper levels contained seven fragments of linoleum and 42 fragments of a black felt underlayment. Other flooring materials include 19 fragments of tar paper, again all in the very top layer. The tar paper was used as a moisture barrier under the floor. It could be seen tacked and stapled to all floors under the Mascot Group and is the most likely source of tar paper fragments in the soils. It probably filtered down from the floor of the section of the Mascot building that lays over the privy pit currently, and which was built in 1904.

Nails: Nails as a whole tended to cluster around the privy and to its immediate north. While there was a general scattering of nails throughout the entire area under the Mascot Complex, the greatest density was in the privy and its immediate environs. Of the 960 nails in the privy pit, only 155 (16%) were in the lower levels. Many of them may have been related to the construction

of the privy itself. The vast majority of the rest was in level 1, and, like the window glass, appears to be related to the construction of the 1899 addition.

For that reason, a description of their sizes and degree of use will be delayed until the discussion of the Area 4 nails.

Hardware: Twenty strands of non-electrical wire makes up the bulk of this category of artifacts. All were found in the upper layers of the privy pit. One very long strand was doubled back on itself several times, then wrapped securely for most of its length, creating a new piece of hardware, a hook. In addition, there were a screw, two spikes and a small portion of a small gear.

Plumbing-Related Items: Up to 40 fragments of a thick, porous earthenware identified in the laboratory as sewer pipe was recovered from the upper layers of the privy pit. Reinert did not construct a local sewage collection system for his building until he undertook significant remodeling in 1904 (see later discussion).

Fixed Illumination and Power Items: One short length of heavy gauge copper electrical wire was recovered. In addition, fragments of an incandescent light bulb, including the base and filament assembly, lay in the upper part of the pit. (The glass rods that held the fine wires within bulbs are often mistaken for pipettes in archeological reports.) The April 29, 1898 photograph of the NT & TC building (Figure 27) shows a power pole at its northwest corner, indicating it was blessed with electrical power from the first day of its use.

Commerce and Industry-Related Items

Fishing-Related Items: A ferrous metal fish hook and a fish hook leader suggest some connection with fishing, either commercial or recreational.

Advertising Signs: The very lowest level included a slate chalk board fragment, with ground, beveled edges. This item could have been used to post advertising specials. Saloons also announced the latest scores of sporting events such as boxing rounds, or the results of election returns. These results, or course, could win fortunes or impoverish those who bet on them.

Entertainment-Related Items: Five of the ten poker chips found at the Mascot Saloon Group were recovered from the privy pit (Figure 67a, d, e, and g). Obviously not something one left at the gambling table when taking a break to visit the facility in the backyard, the treasured item sometimes found its way out of its owner's possession into the privy pit nonetheless. It appears that card playing and gambling was a favorite pastime at the Mascotte between 1898 and 1899.

Commercial Beverage-Related Items: As might be expected from a privy behind a saloon, there were a large number of drinking vessels in the privy. Unlike under the NT&TC building there were almost as many drinking vessels as liquor bottles, including shot glasses, mugs and stemmed drinking glasses (Figure 74). That a

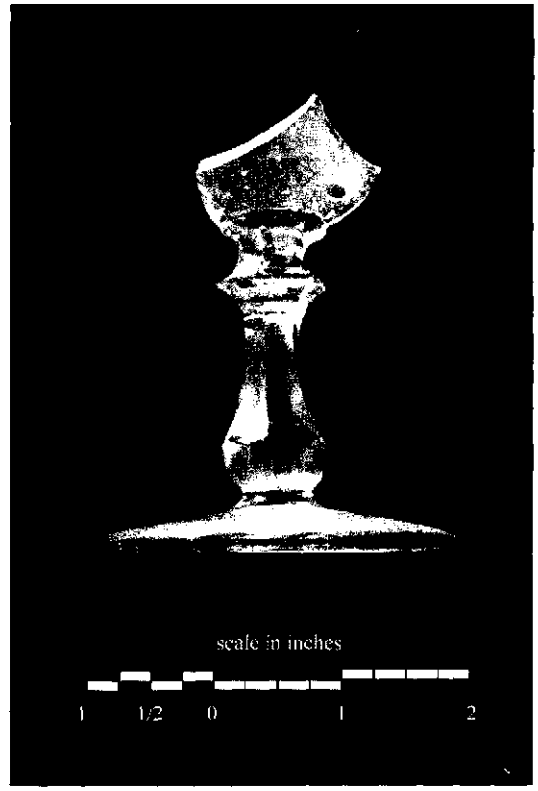


Figure 74. Photograph of stemmed drinking glass (Privy, #6519).

man might carry an unfinished glass of beer, wine or mixed drink out to the privy with him makes a limited amount of sense (Table 17).

Liquor Bottles: In addition to the drinking vessels, there were also a considerable number of liquor bottles in both the upper and lower levels of its deposits (Table 18). They represented a minimum of 24 bottles. While the "liquor" bottles could have held whiskey, the appearance of the five beer bottles and the one wine bottle contrasts with the almost exclusive preference for whiskey seen in Area 1.

Flasks: The presence of the whiskey flasks in the privy pit was not duplicated in Area 1 (Table 19). As will be discussed in the section on the spatial distribution of artifacts, the breakage of flasks appears to have clustered in the backyard

of the Mascotte and early Mascot saloons, where individual, not group drinking behaviors would have taken place. This behavior may represent men who were working for the NT & TC in their storage yards, for Bishoprick and Shoemake in the storage and lumber yards, or by individuals who were living in quarters above the saloon. There seems little reason for a man drinking in a saloon to purchase a whisky flask other than for individual consumption at a later time.

Non-Alcoholic Beverage Containers: An aqua glass ginger ale bottle was found in the upper levels of the privy pit (Appendix B, page 250). It may well have been used as a mixer.

Bottle Closures: Fourteen bottle closures were recovered from the privy deposits, as shown in Table 20. Only three were cork closures as found in Area 1. The seven crown caps indicate the increasing use of crown cap closures after their patent in 1892.

Record Keeping Paraphernalia included two wooden pencils with graphite cores, one each in the upper and lower levels. The one in the lower level even sported the familiar yellow enamel paint on the outside. A cylindrical ink bottle made of aqua glass similar to one pictured in Wilson (1981:110, Figure mm) completes this category.

Group Services

The metal frame of a woman's hand purse was recovered from the upper levels, rounding out the suite of items indicating a woman or women used the privy from time to time, including the earring, silver ring and garter clip, (Figure 72a).

The only coin recovered was an 1896 U. S. Liberty Head nickel. Coins appear to have been common in all deposits associated with the saloon, but never in denominations lower than the nickel, which was the common price of a cigar or half a draught beer after the height of the gold rush. It is surprising that coins were not more common in the privy.

Conclusions

While, as a whole, Sprague's classification system is not conducive to selecting for specific research questions of interest to this study, certain differences between the collection under Area 1 and the privy can be discerned here (they will become more apparent in future discussions). More beer and less whiskey bottles appear in the privy deposits than in Area 1. Flasks are definitely in the privy where none were recovered under the NT&TC building.

As in Area 1, many of the Architectural Items appear to be intrusive, some even coming in as late as the 1979 foundation renovation work. They make it difficult to interpret the Architectural artifacts, especially the wood and flooring material.

Dating does seem to be strong, and there seems to be little doubt that the privy was in use between early summer of 1898 to August 1899. It was probably filled with loosely consolidated material immediately, but as the ground sank through the following years, additional filling episodes would have taken place, either through flooding events or through deliberate action by people maintaining the area behind the 1899 addition. Once the 1904 addition was built over the privy, any final filling that took place would probably have been done through natural processes.

The differences in frequencies of many of Sprague's artifact categories from Area 1 to the Privy seem obvious, despite the overlap of use. However, without further analysis, it is impossible to understand what caused these differences. What are the differences? Why might they be different? Were they caused by different owners, different customers, different uses, different times or different preservation conditions? Or might they be caused by a difference in behavior? Barroom behavior could be highly ritualized, during which a certain code was followed. Behavior in a privy was very private, very individualized, yet probably very institutionalized. What can the differences between the two archeological deposits as a whole tell us about the life of the people at the Mascotte and Mascot saloons between 1898 and 1899?

Functional Association of the Privy

When the Saloon assemblage is graphed against the privy collection (Figure 74a), the two appear similar, but do not form a perfect match. In most of the artifact categories, frequencies vary only a minor amount. However, in the privy collection, both the Liquor- Related Items and the Food Serving Items are much too low in frequency, and the Drinking Vessels and the Female-Specific Items are too high.

In this case, it is obvious that the specialized activity that takes place within a privy selected for certain types of artifacts. As suggested earlier, customers in a saloon would not be expected to take a full bottle of whiskey, beer or wine with him (or her) when visiting the backyard facility. However, an occasional unfinished glass of whiskey or mug of beer obviously accompanied their purchasers on a one-way trip out back.

The absence of the Food Serving vessels could be explained just as easily. One would rarely take a plate of food into the privy. Furthermore, historic evidence suggests that meals were not served during the 1898-1899 period when this privy was in use.

The high percentage of Female-Specific Items *does* suggest that more women used the saloon or were occupying the upper rooms of the NT&TC building than was occurring in the comparative saloons. It is interesting to note that "Stroller" White claimed "Ham Grease Jimmy" called the dances at the Mascotte Saloon (DeArmond 1990: 29, 57). "Stroller" was in Skagway during the summer of 1898. Even if "Stroller" confused the Mascotte with Clancy's, where dancing and "Ham Grease" Jimmy Connor have been independly documented, it is quite possible that women were a common feature in the gold rush Mascotte. In the gold rush days, it was a common practice for saloons to reward women who encouraged the men in the saloons to buy drinks and shared a percentage of the liquor sales. It is possible that some "percentage girls" were working the Mascotte Saloon during the period when Charles Rohbeck ran the Mascotte Saloon from early summer 1898 to June 1899.

As with the Area 1 artifact collection, the lower and upper privy collections were subjected to a multiple linear regression analysis to assist in associating the privy with specific users. To reiterate, the NT &TC building housed two businesses, the Northern Transportation and Trading Company ticket offices and the Mascotte Saloon. In addition, the building served as housing for Otto Wolf and possibly Charles Rohbeck and others above the saloon. All may have used the privy. The regression analysis would tell us whether the privy was used primarily by the customers of the saloon or by residents of the upstairs. Without a model assemblage for the ticket office, it would not be possible to identify its use, but large unidentified portions of the collection dominated by artifacts associated with offices might provide useful clues.

Unfortunately, both the lower and upper portions of the privy yielded collections that were much too small to yield reliable results under the multiple linear regression analysis (Table 21). Blee (1991) had found that collections smaller than 100 artifacts often provided unreliable results. Without the bottle closures, the lower privy deposits contained 37 artifacts useful to the regression analysis; the upper privy deposits contained 79 artifacts. It was obvious from the dating information and from the historic photographic data that the collection formed over a very short period of time. That being the case, it was felt that combining the two levels into one collection would be entirely appropriate. The artifacts used in conducting the functional analysis are shown in Table 21.

None of the assemblages were able to predict the privy collection, although the Saloon Assemblage did so with a probability of greater than 0.136. As this p lies outside the arbitrary 0.10 set by Blee (1991) for this statistic, it would be unreliable to rely upon its power of prediction. It is likely that a privy provides too biased a sample of the range of activities in a saloon, therefore cannot be representative of all its material culture. For instance, a man might take an unfinished glass of beer into the privy with him, if he wished to stay awhile, but he probably would not take a whole bottle of whiskey. He might take a flask, but not a plate of food. The types of activities taking place in the privy are different than those taking place at the saloon as a whole. That is reflected in the inability of the multiple regression statistic to predict a function for the privy.

AREAS 2 AND 3 (THE MASCOT 1899 ADDITION)

Structure and Stratigraphy

Area 2 consists of the 15 feet east of the original NT & TC building, and Area 3 the ten feet east of that. Both areas were badly disturbed by the construction of new concrete pier foundations during the 1979 renovations, as can be seen in the Figure 52. Area 2 lay under the rear portion of the NT & TC building; Area 3 under the addition built by Charles Saake and Albert Reinert in August 1899. Because the two areas had undergone similar types of disturbance in recent times, they were combined for this analysis.

The Date of the Deposit

Despite the apparent extensive disturbance of this area, there were surprisingly few modern intrusions. Two pieces of cellophane and two modern plastic wrappings were the sum of the artifacts that appeared intrusive. In addition, a pharmaceutical bottle dating from 1911 to 1930 (selenium clarified glass) could have entered the archeological record during the Hern period rather than the saloon period.

There were eleven datable artifacts in Areas 2 and 3 after the modern intrusions were removed (Table 22). They yielded a mean manufacturing date of 1900 and a *terminus post quem* of 1900. The youngest item was a whiskey flask known as a Philadelphia Oval, found in unit 32.

Despite the fact that the area was covered by August 1899, it is obvious that artifacts were being somewhat introduced later. As the photographs indicate, the addition is set well above the ground with no skirting, so artifacts could be tossed under the building for a while after the addition was constructed. It is also possible, as has been mentioned in the section on Area 1, under the original NT & TC building, that artifacts could have rolled or been carried into this space during the catastrophic 1901 floods.

Description of the Artifacts

Personal Items

Clothing Items: A left-hand leather glove, part of a black leather machine-stitched shoe, and a rubber boot sole comprise the clothing items.

Body Ritual and Grooming: A sponge may have been used in personal hygiene. Alternatively, it could have been used for cleaning in kitchen or barroom areas.

Medical and Health Items: Four medicine bottles and three pharmaceutical bottles were recovered from this area. One of the pharmaceutical bottles was composed of cobalt blue glass.

Indulgences: One white clay tobacco pipe stem fragment incised GLASCOW on one side and C 78 W. A. WHITE on the other was located in this area (Figure 60c). The Scottish white clay pipes by W. A. White were in production as early as the 17th century and are of little use in dating, other than they were more common in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth.

Domestic Items

Seeds: Six *Rosaceae* seeds were recovered from the area. All but one was probably from peaches or nectarines. One was more likely from an apricot or a plum.

Shells: Only ten fragments of a single unidentified bivalve shell was recovered in unit 49 along the back wall of the 1899 addition.

Tin Cans: Two fragments of tin cans, one under the west edge of the 1899 addition and the other near the east edge of the addition, were recovered from these areas.

Canning Jars: A lead glass canning jar fragment and a milk glass jar lid liner provide testimony that some food storage took place near the site. A peacock-blue fragment of an otherwise unidentified glass vessel may also have been from a canning jar.

Food bottles: The remains of two pepper sauce bottles were found in this area. One was pale green in color, the other aqua with an applied, tooled finish.

Dishes: Fragments of four different dishes of unidentified form were recovered. Three were made of porcelain and were decorated: one had a green-blue glaze on one side and clear on the other; another had shades varying in color from very pale green to a deep blue-green; and the third was a cream colored background with a rose, green and yellow floral transfer print. The fourth dish may have been a large bowl of undecorated whiteware. It bore a black printed hallmark that incorporated a lion and unicorn on each side of a seal. Above the logo was "Royal Ironstone China" and below, the company name "Johnson Bro/England" (mark dated 1883 -1913) (Kovel and Kovel 1986:12). Because a U. S. tariff law requiring imports to carry the name of their country of origin did not go into effect until 1892, this item probably does not date until after that time.

Portable Illumination: Fragments of a lead glass lamp chimney and parts of a white milk glass lamp shade were both found in this area. The latter had a design of fine lines and dots painted on it, although the pigment is no longer present. It also carried a pressed pattern around the rim consisting of a series of dots in straight lines, then a series of acorns. It may have been part of a rather elaborate lamp.

Portable Waste Disposal: Portions of two wash stand pitchers or a pitcher and a wash basin were also recovered from Areas 2 and 3. Both were composed of undecorated whiteware. The cataloguer described the one that was clearly a pitcher as white graniteware, which is more likely to take on a ferrous oxide stain. This pitcher also had a molded design. A third whiteware pitcher was originally classified as a pitcher used to hold beverages; that use seems unlikely in a saloon context, where beer pitchers were ordinarily poured out of clear glass pitchers.

Heating and Cooking Items: A stove baffle damper could have been used on either a heating stove or a cooking stove.

Combustion By-Products: There were 241 fragments of slag, 19 fragments of coal, and 16 fragments of charcoal spread somewhat more densely in area 2 than in area 3 and to the south more than to the east. The concentration towards Area 2 could be explained by deposition directly out the back doors of the NT& TC building before the 1899 addition was built.

Concentrations in the southern units may be a function of gravity combined with alleviation caused by the 1901 flooding events, as the southern units are lower in elevation than the northern units.

Architectural Items

Window Glass: All 72 fragments of window glass were made from soda lime glass. Thickness measurements, as in Area 1, were not taken. One fragment had gold gilt and black paint on one side, and a dark green paint on reverse, suggesting that it might have been part of the front window with painted advertising. If so, it verifies that this area accumulated sheet trash from inside the building.

Nails: More than 3.5 times as many nails were found in Areas 2 and 3 than in Area 1 (502:141). The increased frequency no doubt has to do with both the initial construction of the rear of the NT&TC building, then later construction of the lean-to seen in fall 1898 and July 1899 photographs (Figures 24 and 28), then, finally, the framing for the 1899 addition. The frequency of cut nails is somewhat lower than seen in Area 1. Of the 24 nails that could be identified by function, five (21%) were cut, compared to 53% in Area 1. Obviously whatever construction activity was generating cut nails in Area 1 had some effect in Areas 2 and 3, but to a lesser degree.

Too few of the nails in Areas 2 and 3 were identified by size (only 1.8%) to provide any useful interpretation. The extensive disturbance in this area may have caused such deterioration to metal objects that it was impossible for the lab analysts to accurately judge the original size of the nails.

Hardware: Fifteen strands of non-electrical wire, one bolt, one nut, one rivet, two ferrous metal washers and one red rubber washer complete the hardware category. All are fairly generic in use and suggest no special functions.

Plumbing-Related Items: Twenty pieces of water pipe of various lengths, diameters and materials were found scattered under the 1899 addition, as described in Table 23. Except for 10 pieces in unit 28 in the middle back of the original NT&TC building, all of the others were fairly evenly distributed throughout the two areas. This distribution suggests that the crawlspace became a general corridor for water and sewer pipes and may explain much of the disturbance seen there presently.

Fixed Illumination and Power: Two white bisque ceramic knob and post insulators, a fragment of a third, disc-shaped ceramic insulator, and a length of copper wire insulated with black fabric comprise the total of this category of artifacts. They are considerably lesser in frequency than in other areas.

Bricks: Ten brick fragments lay in unit 47, on the eastern edge of the area, very close to the 1898-1899 privy pit. One additional fragment was found in unit 42 to the west of unit 47. These fragments probably are related to the high density found in the privy pit.

Construction Materials: Thirteen fragments of planed or milled lumber and three pieces of fiberboard represent remains of the building materials from the structure itself. One of the pieces of lumber had white paint or whitewash on it. Clustering appeared near the trenches for the pier foundations of the 1899 addition.

Construction Tools: One hack saw blade was recovered from unit 38, squarely in the middle of the study area. It is long, thin and very flat, blue steel blade. One end has an angular cut to it, the opposite end is rounded off and had a small hole through it for attachment to the handle. It appears modern and intrusive, probably from the 1979 foundation renovations.

In addition, a slate carpenter's pencil may have been related to construction activities on the site at any point from 1897 to the time excavations were undertaken in 1986.

Commerce and Industry-Related Items

Hunting-Related Items: Cartridge fragments for a rifle was found in the trench fill for the 1979 foundations in units 29 and 34. Unfortunately, the embossing on the bottom of the corroded case head was illegible.

Entertainment-Related Items: A single hard rubber poker chip was found in unit 29, on the border of Areas 1 and 2 (Figure 67h). It could well have originally been a part of the collection in Area 1, but was disturbed by the 1979 foundation renovations.

Commercial Glassware: The area under the 1899 addition contained the remains of one mug, two shot glasses, and seven tumblers. Like the frequencies seen in the Privy Pit, these suggest an increasing reliance on beer and decreasing emphasis on whiskey (shot glasses). A carboy or demijohn suggests the bulk storage of wine or whiskey.

Bottles: Parts of 23 bottles were recovered from the area under the 1899 addition (Table 24). The emphasis was still on whiskey and hard liquor (14 out of the 23 bottles). Whereas one wine bottle had been found in the 1898 – 1899 privy, as many as six wine bottles were recovered from areas 2 and 3. As time went on, wine appears to have gained in popularity.

A single Jesse Moore – Hunt Company whiskey bottle was found in unit 30, near the northeast corner of the original NT&TC Building. It could represent a specimen that was originally in Area 1 and later disturbed during the 1979 foundation renovations.

Flasks: Four flasks were recovered from the area under the 1899 addition. As noted in the discussion of the privy, this area was once in the back yard of the NT&TC Building. The appearance of these flasks probably represents on-the-job drinking behavior by workers for the NT&TC packers or people using the privy. It is unlikely that saloon patrons would be purchasing and breaking flasks.

Bottle Closures: The bottle closures resemble those under the NT&TC Building, proportionwise (Table 25). The cork stoppers predominate the collection. Crown caps, both with and without cork liners, are relatively uncommon. The single glass peg stopper indicates that condiment bottles were present, but were relatively uncommon as well.

Railroad- Related: Two railroad spikes were recovered from Areas 2 and 3.

Summary

As in Area 1, much of the construction debris seems to be related to the 1979 foundation renovations, and represents some intrusions into the area. However, the non-Architectural collection appears to be largely unaffected by these disturbances, other than being displaced a few feet, such as the Jesse Moore-Hunt whiskey bottle and the poker chip that were probably originally along the eastern edge of Area 1.

As the August 1899 addition covered Areas 2 and 3 only 16 months after Area 1 was covered, it was expected that not much difference in the types of artifacts would be seen. However, trends showing a change in customer preferences can already be detected. The remains of snack foods are completely missing. While whiskey and hard liquor are still important beverages, wine is beginning to appear more frequently. Flasks are present, like around the privy pit. They were not present under the NT&TC building (Area 1). Items of personal possession are far fewer and far less important in the collection.

Functional Analysis

As with the Area 1 artifact collection, the collection from Areas 2 and 3 were subjected to a multiple linear regression analysis to assist in associating it with specific users. As stated earlier, the NT &TC building housed two businesses, the Northern Transportation and Trading Company ticket offices and the Mascotte Saloon. In addition, the building served as housing for Otto Wolf and possibly Charles Rohbeck and others above the saloon. The regression analysis would tell us whether the area under the addition was used primarily by the customers of the saloon or by residents of the upstairs. Without a model assemblage for the ticket office, it would not be possible to identify its use, but large unidentified portions of the collection dominated by artifacts associated with offices might provide useful clues. The artifacts used in the regression are shown in Table 26.

A regression by the six assemblages on the Areas 2 and 3 collection yielded a strong prediction by the Saloon Assemblage (84% ± 10%; p>0.000). It appears that the sheet trash immediately behind the NT&TC building between April 1898 and early 1899 was generated largely by the saloon customers. The rest of the collection was predicted by the Transient Male (p >0.847) and Logging Camp assemblages (p>0.607), both of them at insignificant levels of confidence The male dominated nature of these predictive assemblages, however, demonstrates the male dominated nature of the saloon.

A regression of the areas' collection by the individual saloon collections suggested that a combination of the Miner's Home Saloon in Fairbanks (40% ± 15%; p>0.022) and the Pantheon Saloon in Skagway (51% ± 9%; p>0.000) predicted the collection under the 1899 addition.

This prediction makes sense. The Miner's Home Saloon, as previously described, functioned as a working class saloon during Fairbanks' gold rush, leaning towards foreign immigrants and laborers. The Pantheon Saloon, which dated from 1903 to 1916, was used after the gold rush period by working class railroad workers and wharfingers. The shift from the gold rush to later working class clientele is becoming apparent through the functional analysis as early as these 1899 deposits.

It should be noted that there were only 76 artifacts that could be used for the regression

analysis. As noted earlier, one usually wants at least a hundred artifacts for reliable results with the regression. The multiple linear regression is a robust statistic and can tolerate some abuse. The strong prediction, with a probability of being wrongly interpreted of less than 0.000, suggests that the results are reliable even with only 76 artifacts.

AREA 4 (1897 – 1904 BACK YARD)

Structure and Stratigraphy

Area 4 consists of the portion of the original Mascot Saloon backyard that was covered over by Albert Reinert during his major renovations in 1904. Before that time, it had been exposed to the elements, and had suffered a number of different impacts from foot traffic and yard usage. Prior to 1898, the yard had been used exclusively by the NT&T Co. for stabling of mules and storage of provisions to pack over the White Pass Trail. As the railroad was built over White Pass, that business declined. In June 1899, Albert Reinert and Charles Saake purchased the north half of the north half of lots 5 and 6, giving them 100 feet along Third Avenue. They used only the 25 feet fronting Broadway, renting the remaining 25 feet to the Pacific Clipper Line Office. The units covered by Area 4 extended from 50 feet east of Broadway to 80 feet east of Broadway and were 25 feet from north to south (Figure 51), except for the four units in which the 1898 – 1899 privy was found.

For most of the time between 1899 and 1904, Area 4 appears to have been an open yard, possibly a place used for garbage accumulation until it could be hauled off to the dump. Systemized garbage collection appears to have started very early in Skagway, with a garbage collector advertising in *The Daily Alaskan* as early as 1900. A city ordinance was passed in 1902 prohibiting the accumulation of garbage in creeks, streets and alleys and Skagway town boosters sponsored annual cleanup days every spring to get rid of unsightly trash in yards (*The Daily Alaskan*, untitled editorial, May 2, 1902:2). The eastern portion of Area 4 was enclosed by a storage building in late 1901, but it was torn down later that year to make room for the larger addition to the saloon.

Date of the Deposit

Area 4 contained at least 42 artifacts that were modern in manufacture, ranging from post-Prohibition beer bottles to modern plastic wraps and pennies minted in the 1970s. All modern artifacts were deleted from the collection for purposes of dating and functional analysis.

A total of 127 artifacts from the saloon period could be dated. They yielded a mean manufacturing date of 1899 (Table 27). The *terminus post quem* was 1915, provided by a single fragment of selenium clarified glass. However, two fragments of a preserving jar dating to 1911 and another one dating to 1909 suggest some deposition was taking place after the area was covered over in 1904. With the early mean date of manufacture, however, it is readily apparent that most deposition had taken place before 1904. In fact, of the 127 artifacts, only the two preserve jars, one Vaseline jar, two unidentified bottles and just two beer bottles post-dated 1904. As can be seen, most of the post-1904 material appears to be unrelated to saloon activities and are probably intrusive.

Description of the Artifacts

Personal Items

Clothing Items: Seven buttons, portions of two different boots, and one shoe provide evidence that people were disposing of parts of clothing in the saloon backyard (Figure 59a). An overall fastener and a shirt stud were probably related to male clothing. Fragments of textiles that are probably from clothing are described in Table 28.

Body Ritual and Grooming: A flint glass cosmetic jar probably belonged to a woman. A vaseline jar was also found in Area 4 (Appendix B, page 246). It is more problematic in both its attribution to gender and its assignment to a category. While certainly personal in use, Vaseline petroleum jelly has wide personal hygiene use, some of which might even be considered medicinal.

Medical and Health Care Items: A medicine bottle, a medicinal flask, two medicinal vials (Appendix B, page 247), two pharmaceutical bottles, and an unidentified bottle of cobalt blue glass comprise this category. One of the vials may have been an eyedropper.

Eyeglasses: An eyeglass lens fragment with a ground edge was also found in Area 4.

Indulgences: This category included portions of four tobacco pipes. One was the familiar white ball clay debossed "GLASCOW SCOTLAND" on one side and "MC DOUGALL" on the other (Figure 60b). One pipe stem was composed of black celluloid and another of hard black rubber. The final one was a light brown or amber celluloid mouthpiece with screw threads to attach to the pipe stem (Figures 61c, d and f).

Domestic Items

Food Bones: Huelsbeck (Appendix C) found that sheep bones were more common than cattle in the Area 4 collection than in the gold rush

collection (39% vs. 22% in Area 1 and the Privy). The cuts of meat found in Area 4 indicate that more expensive cuts were being deposited in the back areas than in Area 1. It is assumed at this point that this phenomenon correlates to a temporal change.

Shells: Shell fragment density was higher in Area 4 than it was in any other area, except perhaps the privy pit. As in Area 2, most identified shell was clam; very little shell was unidentified (Table 29). As has been reported in the history of the saloon (Chapter 3), clam chowder was almost a staple for the free lunches offered at the Mascot Saloon during the 1902 – 1904 period.

Nuts and Seeds: Area 4 contained two peanut (*Leguminosae*) shells, the only evidence of snack foods. With this marked decrease in the fre - quency of nuts compared to animal bone, the saloon's food service was clearly shifting from snacks to meals.

In addition, seven peach or nectarine pits (*Rosaceae*), one coconut shell fragment (*Palmaceae*) and an unidentified floral seed completed the inventory of seeds.

Canning Jars: A single canning jar, a pint sized preserving jar, a jam or jelly jar, two glass jar lid liners and a meat jar with the words "CUDAHY PACK" (Appendix B, page 251) suggest the storage of food at the saloon.

Condiment Bottles: Three condiment bottles, one embossed "Snider Preserve Co.", an aqua pepper sauce bottle in the classic Gothic shape, and an unidentified bottle with an octagonal cross section all suggest that condiments were important supplements to the lunches served at the saloon (Appendix B, pages 251 and 253).

Dishes: Fragments of four dishes were recov - ered from Area 4. One was a whiteware plate with a slight scalloped edge and a brown floral pattern (Figure 75). One rim sherd contained gold gilt edging. A glass salt or pepper shaker had an octagonal body and a blow-over or blow-back continuous thread finish. An unidentified type of whiteware dish was glazed blue on one side. Another unidentified whiteware dish was completely undecorated.

Portable Illumination: Area 4 contained the remains of a white wax candle, four lamp chimneys, and a milk glass lampshade.

Home Furnishing: One fragment of a mirror found in Area 4 brings to mind the ubiquitous mirror behind the bar in every saloon photo-graph of the west.

Architectural Items

Window Glass: Area 4 contained 206 fragments of window glass, a greater density than in any other area. Most of it was concentrated around the privy pit (Figure 63).

Roofing Material: Four fragments of black asphalt roofing tiles were recovered from unit 72, at the very east end of the building. It could have been intrusive from the 1979 foundation renovation work.

Construction Materials: Lumber included 48 fragments of milled, dressed or otherwise worked wood, a piece of fiberboard and one fragment of plywood. This density was not nearly so high as it was in Area 1, but higher than in Areas 2 and 3. It may reflect the somewhat greater history of construction in the backyard of the 1898-1904 period saloon, but higher elevation, where wood fragments were less likely to be carried in during minor flooding events than might have happened in Area 1.

The 22 fragments of brick that were found in Area 4 were concentrated just north and east of the privy pit.

Flooring Material: Area 4 contained five fragments of linoleum, 14 fragments of black felt underlayment, and 24 fragments of tar paper that lined the underside of the 1904 floor. A single ceramic tile of the type that could have been used on either the floor or walls of a bathroom was also found in this area.

Nails: A total of 1589 nails were recovered from Area 4, far more than in any other part of the Mascot Group excavations. Like most of the Architectural Items, they probably reflect the fact that much of the staging for construction activities on the Mascot Saloon from 1897 through 1904 took place in this back yard area.

Of the 183 nails identified by pennyweight, 106 were between 6d and 8d in size. The median weight was 8d, with 54 nails. This weight suggests general light carpentry or framing work, and is not too surprising.

Hardware: One heavy eye bolt, two brackets, two door hinges, a door latch, two wood screws, seven spikes, a spring, four tacks, and 41 differing lengths of non-electrical wire comprise the hardware category. One small cuprous alloy pulley may have worked on a window shade. A key may have been used for a door.

Construction Tools included a ferrous metal hammer claw.

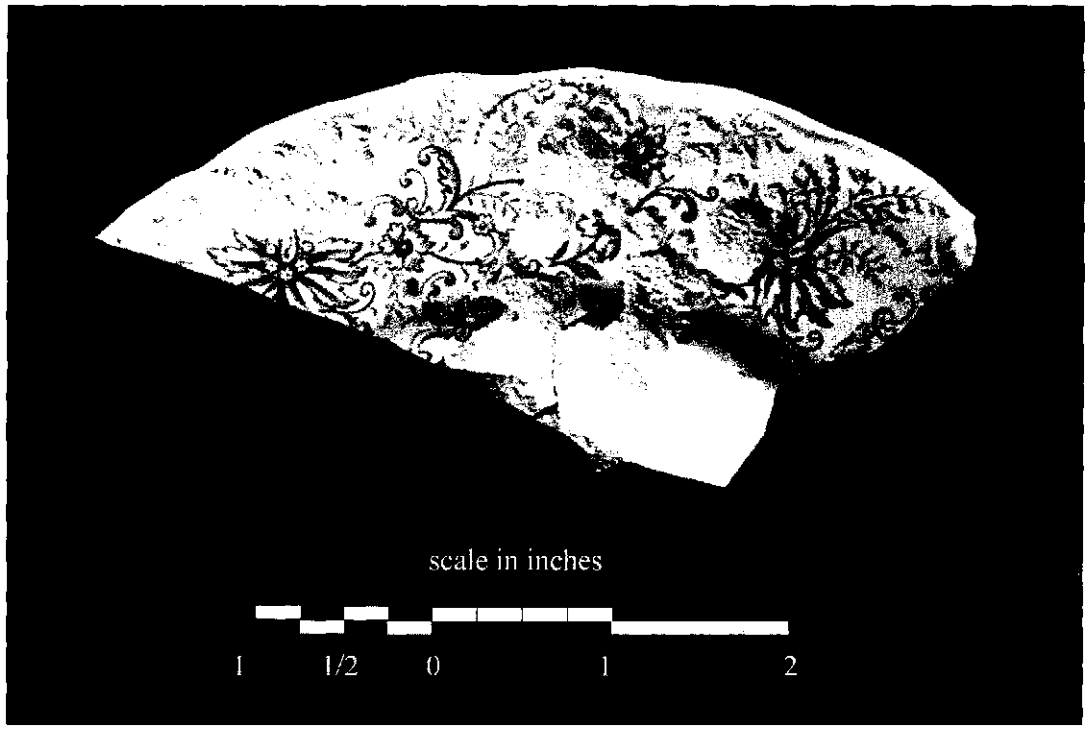


Figure 75. Photograph of plate with brown floral pattern (Area 4, #4889).

Plumbing-Related Items: One ferrous metal water pipe fitting and four fragments of ceramic sewer pipe attest to the remains of utility pipes in the area. These were probably disturbed during the 1979 foundation renovations.

Fixed Illumination and Power Items: Six lengths of uninsulated copper wire attest to the use of electrical wire in the building. Three white ceramic light bulb sockets bore patent dates of November 3, 1896. A fourth socket was unmarked. Two light bulbs were also recovered. One of the latter may have been a neon light bulb, which was not introduced to the United States until 1923 (http://inventors.about.com/library/ weekly/aa980107.htm).

Fixed Heating Items: A portion of a stove grate was found in unit 54, near the east wall of the 1899 addition.

Combustion By-Products: There were 23 fragments of slag, 41 fragments of coal, and seven fragments of charcoal in Area 4. The density was light relative to Areas 2 and 3, which had considerably more combustion by-products per square foot.

Commerce and Industry-Related Items

Ammunition: A single small caliber rim fire cartridge, probably a .22 shell, with the letter "U" on top, was found in this area (Figure 66e).

Entertainment-Related Items: Portions of three different poker chips were recovered from Area 4.

Commercial Storage Items: A wood barrel stave may have been from a keg to store beer. A lead shipping seal was embossed on one side with the word "Fox" and "SEATTLE" on the opposite side (Figure 76b). Despite efforts to identify the source or product that might have been under shipment or storage, nothing could be discovered about it.

Commercial Glassware: A minimum of 30 drinking vessels and a glass pitcher were recovered from Area 4 (Table 30). There is a notable decrease in the percentage of shot glasses (17%) and increase in tumblers and drinking glasses (63%). As in both Area 1 and Areas 2 and 3, the shot glasses with the Rainier Beer logo continue to appear in the archeological assemblage. Mugs and goblets continue to remain a minor part of the drinking glass collection (13% and 6% respectively).

Liquor Bottles: The minimum 37 liquor bottles from Area 4 are shown in Table 31. The increase in beer bottles (43%) over Areas 2 and 3 mimics that seen in the increase in drinking glasses and tumblers. Only one identifiable whiskey bottle was recovered, of the same brand found in Area 1: Jesse Moore-Hunt Bourbon. Curiously, six bitters bottles were recovered. As discussed in the section on Area 1, bitters were used as a flavoring in a popular whiskey drink, the rye old-fashioned. It is likely that the seven "liquor" bottles also contained whiskey. Even so, the deposition of beer bottles is obviously greater in the area behind the saloon, which was open to trash collection as late as 1904, than in Area 1,

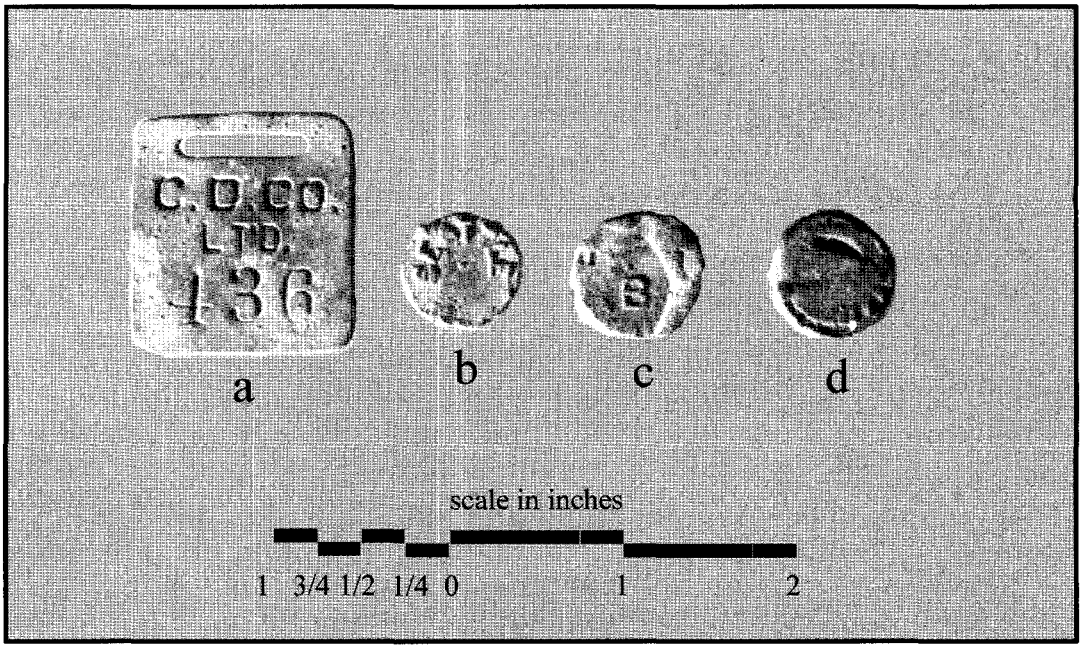


Figure 76. Photograph of shipping tags and seals: a) brass tag (Area 7, #6286); b) lead seal stamped "SEATTLE" on one side and "FOX" on the other (Area 4; #4774), c) lead seal stamped with letter "B" (Area 4, #4720); d) lead seal with small hole on one side and a running fox along the edge (Area 4, #4787).

which was covered in April 1898, or in Areas 2 and 3, which was covered in August 1899. Based on the appearance of wine bottles and stemmed drinking vessels, it also appears that wine was gaining in favor. Only one wine bottle and one goblet was found in Area 1, compared to the five wines and two goblets in Area 4.

Bottle Closures: The 11 bottle closures included only one cork and cork harness, with three crown caps, a reversal in the trend seen in the earlier areas (Table 32). However, the sample size is so low that it is difficult to tell whether these numbers are meaningful. The appearance of the first Hutchison stopper is of interest. Hutchison stoppers filled the same purpose as the later crown caps and were most often used on effervescent liquids such as beer and sodas, whereas corks were used on the non-effervescent liquors such as whiskey and wine.

Record Keeping Items: Portions of two ink bottles in Area 4 indicate that records were kept in the saloon.

Coins: Three coins were recovered from the area, an 1871 or 1877 Canadian Victoria 25-cent piece, an 1898 American Liberty Head dime, and an 1888 American Liberty Head nickel. As in the other Mascot Saloon deposits, coins seem unusually frequent when compared to saloons in other places. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail later.

Railroad-Related: A railroad tie plate used to hold down ties betrays the proximity of the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad, which had its main tracks running down Broadway outside the front of the Mascot Saloon.

Summary

As seen in both Area 1 and Areas 2 and 3, the Architectural Items seem to be contaminated most by the 1979 foundation renovations. In particular, nails, flooring materials, plumbing materials and even some roofing materials appear to have been introduced or disturbed during those renovation activities. However, Domestic and Saloon-Related items appear to be largely unaffected by later contamination. As an assemblage, they have important information they can yield.

In particular it appears that this area received a somewhat lower frequency of artifacts related to the drinking of whiskey (shot glasses, whiskey bottles, liquor bottles, corks) and somewhat more beer drinking (beer bottles, tumblers, drinking glasses, mugs, crown caps, Hutchison stopper). There were very few nuts, but clams were high in frequency, showing a shift from the consumption of nut snacks to clam chowder.

Functional Analysis

A multiple linear regression analysis of the 148 artifacts in the Area 4 collection (Table 33) indicates that 74% ± 12% was predicted by the Saloon Assemblage, with $p>0.000$, a somewhat more mixed prediction than that Areas 2 and 3. The remaining 28% of the collection remains unexplained, but that could simply be a function of the fact that the comparative collections all dated somewhat later than the Mascot and could not be expected to be perfect fits.

While it is possible that the unexplained portion could have come from the Hern Drug Store occupation, it seems unlikely. The lack of a Drug Store Assemblage makes it impossible to test

statistically whether the unexplained portion of the Area 4 collection is perhaps attributable to the Hern Drug Store occupation or whether it might be within normal variation for Saloon Assemblages.

As in Areas 2 and 3, it is possible that the unskirted building permitted some migration of artifacts into the crawlspace under the building as late as the early part of Prohibition. However, the failure of the regression to detect a Family Assemblage suggests that neither the Reinert nor the Hern residential occupation were significant contributors to the collection.

A regression of the individual saloon collections on the Area 4 collection suggests that the Miner's Home Saloon predicts 42% (±17%, p>0.031) and the Pantheon Saloon predicts about 57% (±10%, p>0.000). Both were working class saloons. While the Miners' Home had some foreign customers, the Pantheon's tended to be Americans. The Pantheon Saloon, in particular, seemed to have lower than average liquor bottle frequencies. It should be noted that the Area 4 collection contained only 27% liquor-related items, compared to the average 38% in the other Saloons.

It is of particular note that the flasks, at 9.21% in Area 4, are almost twice the frequency observed in the Saloon Assemblage (4.89%). While there are always exceptions, the consumption of liquor from a flask is not normally a public or social activity, but one usually reserved for private moments. It is likely that a good proportion of the broken flasks in the back yard of the Mascot Saloon may actually reflect private drinking behavior by workmen rather than trash being redeposited from the saloon itself.

It is odd that the Food Serving Items are so low in the Area 4 collection (2.63%). While the Miner's Home Saloon had a relatively low frequency (4.33%), the Pantheon Saloon did not (9.87%). Both the Mascot and the Pantheon were engaged in the keen competition for customers from 1902-1904 that resulted in free lunches at most saloons in Skagway. Abundant evidence of both animal bone and shell fish remains bear witness to the newspaper advertisements for free lunches at the Mascot, especially the clam chowder. It is surprising not to have recovered more dishwares. Perhaps the bowls used by Albert Reinert were of a durable material, such as a strong, thick ironstone.

AREA 6 WEST (PACIFIC CLIPPER LINE OFFICE, 1897 – 1898)

The western portion of Area 6 (Units 81 - 101) was covered by the Pacific Clipper Line Office by August 1898 (see Figure 30). The area consisted of 15 feet along Broadway and penetrated 35 feet deep into the south half of lot 6, Block 35 (Figure 51).

One feature was noted on the north side of the area, extending from about ten feet east of Broadway to twenty feet east of Broadway. It was a 1.5 foot deep pit that had been back -filled with organics, silts, with occasional rocks and sand. Only about a one foot wide swath of the pit fill remained along its southern edge. It had been badly disturbed by foundation work done on the wall between the Mascot Saloon and the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building.

No artifacts were found specific to this feature.

Date of the Deposit

Post-Prohibition artifacts were relatively rare and mostly very recent, such as plastic wrappers, a piece of audio 8-track tape, and Bandaide brand bandages. When removed from the collection, datable artifacts provided a mean manufacturing date of 1899, shortly after the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building was constructed (Table 34).

Two unidentified types of bottles clarified with selenium provided a *terminus post quem* of 1911. In addition, a milk glass canning jar lid liner made by Boyd's could not have dated earlier than 1902. These three items suggest that a limited number of artifacts were drifting under the building after it was constructed.

Description of the Artifacts

Personal Items

Clothing Items: About 14 fragments of textile were probably from clothing (Table 35). None could be identified with specific items of clothing.

Footware-Related Items: The uppers from one boot or shoe were in the western part of Area 6.

Medical and Health Items: A Radway's Ready Relief pharmaceutical bottle (Appendix B, page 246), two medicinal vials, and an otherwise unidentified cobalt blue glass bottle constitute the medicinals found under the 1898 Pacific Clipper Line building.

Indulgences: Remnants of a humidor were found in this area. It was made of manganese-clarified glass, clearly placing its manufacture within the pre-Prohibition period. No tobacco pipes, as seen in the other areas, were recovered.

Domestic Items

Food Shells: Fourteen fragments of clamshells were recovered, 11 of which were identified as *Venus mercenaria.*

Nuts and Seeds: Three peach or nectarine (*Rosaceae*) seeds were found in this area. No nuts were recovered.

Tin Cans: One can lid was recovered in the western portion of Area 6.

Canning Jars: The area under the 1898 portion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office contained two canning jars, one pressed glass with a molded vertical oval pattern, and the other with a plain, ground rim. It also contained a milk glass canning jar liner and a zinc canning jar lid. A ceramic Dundee marmalade jar had a matching lid (Appendix B, pages 251-252).

Food Bottles: A faceted condiment bottle of manganese clarified glass recalls the several condiment bottles found in Area 4, at the rear of the Mascot Saloon.

Dishes: A whiteware plate, an unidentifiable whiteware dish, and an unidentifiable dish of a soft paste porcelain, all undecorated, all lay within the area. In addition, a McCoy type white annular yellow ware mixing bowl may represent some food preparation at the site.

Portable Illumination: Fragments of three different lamp chimneys were found in the western part of Area 6.

Architectural Items

Window Glass: Of the 57 fragments of window glass found under the 1898 portion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, 34 (60%) were within ten feet of the front façade of the building. The rest were scattered fairly evenly across the remaining two-thirds of the excavation area. This pattern is more logical than any that has been observed elsewhere for the window glass at the Mascot Saloon Group. That is because the window glass is clustering where the most windows were, across the front of the building. In other places, like in the Mascot Saloon proper (Area 1), the window glass is distributed in a diagonal pattern across the area. The spatial patterning of window glass across the entire site will be discussed in more detail later.

Brick: Only 12 small fragments of bricks were recovered from under the 1898 portion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office. One had a bit of mortar adhering to it, indicating it had been used before. All brick fragments were scattered within about ten feet of the original brick chimney to the building. The chimney was located along the north wall of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, about 12 feet west of the front façade of the building (Snow and Spude 1981: Drawing No. 461/28001, sheet 3 of 12). Plans dated November 1979 called for the removal of this chimney (Snow and Spude 1981: Drawing No. 461/28001, sheet 7 of 12), and all that was left were these brick fragments.

Construction Materials: Of the 92 fragments of wood recovered from the western portion of Area 6, only 30 were milled and dressed. Three fragments were of pressed fiberboard, and may have been relatively recent. The rest was so degraded or fragmented, it was difficult to tell whether it had been processed for construction materials or not. Of the milled lumber, one piece was painted a dark green color. A second was painted gray. Gray paint was used during the 1979 renovations to stabilize the exterior of the buildings prior to detailed paint analysis (Pearson 1980).

Flooring Materials: One fragment of linoleum, 17 fragments of black felt underlayment, and two pieces of the black tar paper that was tacked up under all the floors of the Mascot Saloon complex completed this artifact category. While the tar paper could have originated with outside wall or roof water barriers, the close abundance of the floor barrier is the most likely source. The fact that flooring material, especially that of linoleum, had penetrated the floors, indicates that the 1979 rehabilitation had probably affected much of the Architectural categories as in the areas to the north.

Nails: Of the 155 nails found under the 1898 portion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, none were square cut nails, unlike the large percentage found under the 1898 NT & TC building. Of the 155, pennyweight could be measured for 31 nails. The median weight was an 8d nail (12 nails), followed by a 6d nail (7 nails). As before, these numbers suggest that generalized carpentry, lightweight framing and finishing work was being undertaken in the area.

Hardware: One wood screw, one carpentry staple, two spikes and 14 strands of non-electrical wire comprise the generalized hardware on the site.

Construction Tools included a graphite carpenter's pencil.

Plumbing-Related Items: Two segments of ferrous water pipe lay near the front of the

Pacific Clipper Line Office building. One was threaded at both ends; the other was threaded at only one end.

Fixed Illumination and Power Items: A portion of a ceramic post and knob electrical insulator, a knock-out slug from a junction box and two fine-gauge, insulated wire fragments reinforce the fact that the use of electricity was common throughout the building's history.

Combustion By-Products: The area contained 20 fragments of slag (or cinders), and 22 pieces of coal. No fragments of charcoal were recovered. There were no concentrations, and the density was much lighter than anywhere else on the site.

Commerce and Industry-Related

Hunting-Related Items included a .38 caliber cartridge with an illegible mark (Figure 66a) and a .22 caliber Union Metallic Cartridge Company rimfire long (Figure 66d).

Entertainment-Related Items: A red rubber balloon may have marked a celebration, such as a holiday, birthday or one of the grand openings Skagway businesses often held when remodeling was completed or new management took over.

Commercial Glassware: One shot glass with gilt edge and red screen print similar to those bearing the Rainier Beer logos was recovered from this area. There was also the remains of a flint glass tumbler. A portion of a carafe or pitcher of manganese clarified glass completes this artifact category.

Bottles: A minimum of 17 bottles probably held liquor (Table 36). Unlike in Area 1, immediately to the north, beer and wine bottles comprise an important part of the mix. None of the bottles are specifically identified as whiskey bottles, although the five "liquor" bottles could very well have held whiskey.

Flasks: Portions of two flasks were found in the area, and may have been broken during the construction of the building or activities before its construction.

Non-alcoholic Beverage Bottles: A single soda bottle suggests that not all beverages were alcoholic in nature. This is only one of two "mixers" or "temperance drinks" found in the excavations.

Bottle Closures: As can be seem in Table 37, there were more corks or evidence of cork usage than crown caps under the Pacific Clipper Line Office. Curiously, there was no suggestion of condiment or food bottle closures.

Record-Keeping Items: As might be expected from a business office, there were a few items associated with the keeping of records. A Carter's ink bottle (Appendix B, pages 272-273), another bottle coated with blue India ink, and a Skilcraft Bonded No. 2 pencil were all recovered from this area.

Summary

Clearly, there were fewer artifacts in the area under the August 1898 Pacific Clipper Line Office than under the Mascot Saloon. Artifact density of all types was much lower than under the saloon. As in other areas examined, the Architectural Items appear most contaminated by the 1979 renovations; somehow construction materials from the floors above found their way into the crawlspace under the building, including linoleum fragments and underlayment material. Most other items appear to be relatively uncontaminated in terms of date and function. Spatial displacement of non-architectural materials, if any, was probably only minor and only by a matter of a few feet.

The 17 liquor bottles do suggest a connection with the saloon next door, but without a more sophisticated statistical test, it is impossible to make any connections. It is interesting to note that, unlike the collection found in the supposedly pre-April 1898 collection just to the north, in Area 1, beer bottles are present and no whiskey bottles could be absolutely identified in this collection that supposedly was deposited before August of 1898. Also, there were no cut nails recovered from this portion of the site, which also gathered sheet trash from as early as July 1897.

Functional Analysis

The multiple linear regression would allow a more rigorous comparison of the collection from under the Pacific Clipper Line Office with that of model assemblages taken from a wide variety of social and economic contexts. The diversity of the collection (personal artifacts, domestic artifacts, liquor-related artifacts) could be associated with drinking family residences as easily as with saloons (Blee 1991: 223 – 224; Spude 1993: 81-85; Spude 2002: J1-J23).

Unfortunately, only 59 artifacts could be used for the multiple linear regression analysis, which is too small a sample for reliable, interpretable results. The sample from the west portion of Area 6 must be combined with the sample from the east portion of the area before any more detailed analysis can be attempted.

AREA 6 EAST (PACIFIC CLIPPER LINE BACK YARD, 1898 – 1904)

In 1904, Albert Reinert finally purchased the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building from E. W. Johnston. He immediately set to work expanding his business into part of the space used by the office building, particularly the back store rooms and perhaps the upstairs for his own quarters. He used the upstairs of the Mascot itself as club rooms for the saloon customers. He also built additional storage rooms above Area 4, already discussed. At about this same time, he added an indoor toilet to the saloon, and more storage rooms to the back of the old Pacific Clipper Line office building. While he proceeded to rent out the office building, it is presumed that he used the storage buildings for his own liquor stock (Snow and Spude 1981:15).

It is important to note that a photograph dated the summer of 1901 actually shows a fence between the saloon property and that of the Clipper Line Office (Figure 39). It is quite clear that the proprietors of the office did not want the customers and employees of the saloon, who were using the privy in the backyard of the saloon, to cross into their back yard and use the clipper line's privy. This fence also would have limited the amount of trash that would migrate between the two properties.

The area excavated under the east portion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office largely corresponds to the 1904 addition. This eastern portion of Area 6 included excavation units 102 - 116, and extended from 35 feet east of Broadway to 65 feet east of Broadway (Figures 44 and 45).

There appeared to be no special features associated with this area. Blee (1989:66), working in April 1979, placed two contiguous test trenches (Test Trenches 9 and 10) in what would become units 103, 106 and 109 (Figures 6 and 52). She uncovered a six inch wood stave water main located in unit 106, with its accompanying builder's trench, indicating it was *in situ* at that time. Gleeson and his crew did not relocate this water main, nor could they detect the detailed stratigraphy noted by Blee. A 2.5 ft. section of wood stave pipe was noted by Gleeson's crew in unit 105, buried about 0.2 feet below the surface. It is surmised that the summer 1979 foundation renovations destroyed the remainder of this original water pipe, and what it had connected with the pipe found by Blee in adjoining unit 106.

Date of the Deposit

The eastern portion of Area 6 originated as backyards behind the Clipper Line Office, and was covered over as the office building was expanded in July 1904. The 22 datable artifacts in the eastern portion of Area 6 (Units 102 – 116 and Test Excavations 9 and 10) yielded a mean manufacturing date of 1898. The *terminous post quem* was 1915 (Table 38), caused by two bottles clarified with selenium (not shown on the table). Both were probably later intrusions. The next earliest terminous *post quem* is a Shasta Water Company soda bottle, dating no earlier than 1901.

Description of the Artifacts

Personal Items

Clothing and Footwear: The only item of clothing recovered from the eastern part of Area 6 was a single fragment of loose black single ply cotton fibers. It, of course, is only presumed to be from a piece of clothing. A garter and a lady's shoe upper indicate use by women.

Medical and Health Items: Two pharmaceutical bottles were found in the area. One had a graduated scale for dispensing contents. The other bore a patent date of 1890.

Indulgences: A single white clay "TD" tobacco pipe bowl was recovered from the eastern part of the area.

Domestic Items

Food Shell: As in all other areas excavated under the Mascot Saloon group, except for Area 1, clam shells were present. Of the 29 fragments recovered, 13 were from butter clam (unknown species), two were *Prothaca staminea* and the remainder otherwise unidentified clams. Two bivalve shells from Test Trenches 9 and 10 were also identified (Blee 1989:80).

Nuts and Seeds: Blee (1989:80) recovered two peach pits (*Rosaceae*) and one additional one was found in unit 107.

Tin Cans: One machine made, pint cylindrical can was found in Area 6 East. Two openings in the lid had been made by an opener.

Canning Jars: The area contained a ferrous alloy canning jar lid. Blee (1989:73) discovered a canning jar ring that was coated with a brassy material. Also located within the larger Area 6 East was a squat shaped milk glass jar, which resembled the Cudahy meat jars found in other parts of the site.

Dishes are listed in Table 39. Of the nine vessels, three are of a rather ornate decoration, unlikely to be associated with the saloon occupation (Figure 77).

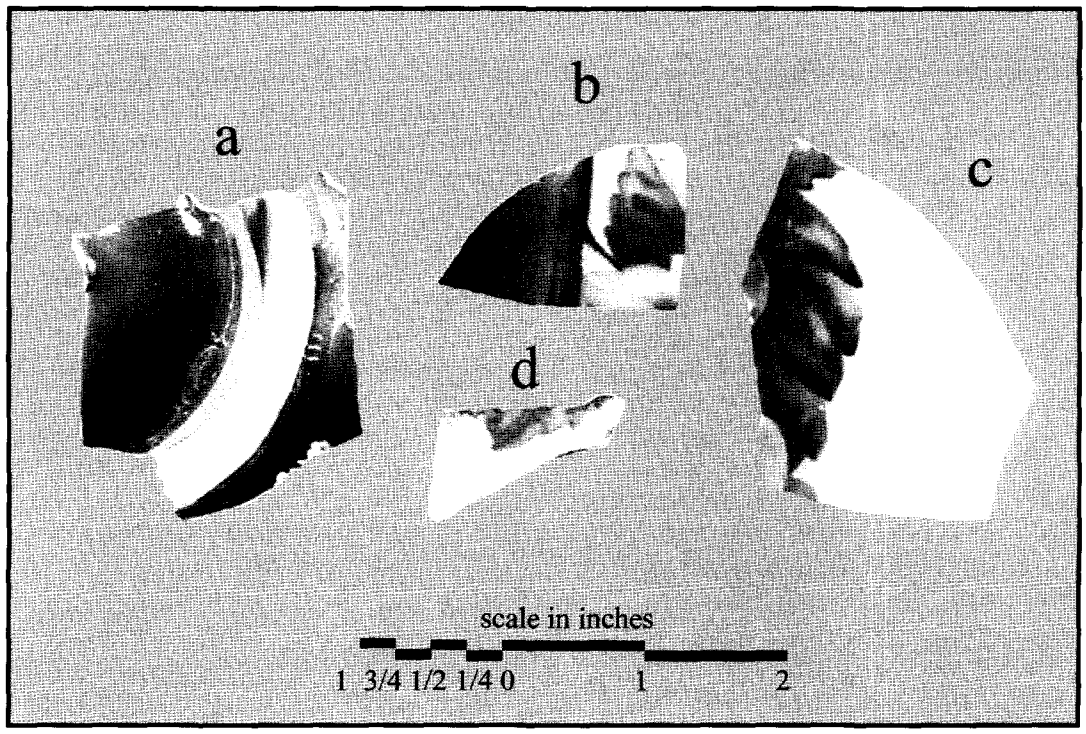


Figure 77. Photograph of decorated, lidded porcelain bowl, all from Area 6. Muted red interior with painted green leaves, gilt edging and gilt highlights on exterior: a) portion of lid (#6254); b) #6232; c) #6127; d) #6103.

Architectural Items

Window Glass: There were 107 fragments of window glass in the area under the 1904 addition. Curiously, 66, or 31% were found in Test Trenches 9 and 10 (Blee 1989:86), which represented only 3% of the area excavated. It was directly behind the original Pacific Clipper Line Office, which had two upper story windows and one lower story window. Blee used ¼ inch mesh screen compared to the 3/8 to ½ inch mesh used by Gleeson, probably accounting for her larger sample size.

Roofing Fragments: Five fragments of wood shingling were found in Test Trenches 9 and 10 (Blee 1989:88). There was no mention of roofing materials in the rest of the Mascot inventory for this area, although "thin, slat-like wood" may also have been wood shingles. "Roofing felt fragments" mentioned in Blee (1989:88) may actually have been carpet or linoleum underlayment.

Construction Materials: Of the 100 fragments of wood recovered from the eastern portion of Area 6, 35 were milled and dressed. Three fragments were of pressed fiberboard, and may have been relatively recent. The rest was so degraded or fragmented, it was difficult to tell whether they had been processed for construction materials or not. Of the milled lumber, one piece was painted dark blue and white; another had remnants of a dark green color. A third was painted gray. Gray paint was used during the 1979 renovations to stabilize the exterior of the buildings prior to detailed paint analysis (Peason 1980:3). In addition, Test Trenches 9 and 10 included three pieces of molding and stripping as well (Blee 1989:88).

Only five fragments of brick were found in Area 6 East, include two from Trenches 9 and 10 (Blee 1989:88).

Flooring Material: Blee (1989:88) reported 138 fragments of "roofing felt" in Test Trenches 9 and 10. It may very well have been what is being categorized as carpet or linoleum underlayment in this report. In the rest of the east portion of Area 6, only ten fragments were recovered.

Nails: Blee (1989:87) recovered 83 nails from Trenches 9 and 10, while 59 nails were taken from the remaining 746 square feet in the eastern portion of Area 6. As noted earlier, Blee used ¼ inch mesh screen compared to the 3/8 to ½ inch mesh used by Gleeson, probably accounting for her larger sample size. The median nail size in the test trenches was an 8d nail (26 nails), reflecting the trend seen in all other areas except Area 1. The median size for the rest of Area 6 East, however, was a 16d nail (10 nails), generally used for much heavier structural work. When the two nail collections were combined, the larger sample from the test trenches overwhelmed the smaller sample from the rest of the collection area and the median for the entire area was the general purpose 8d nail (Table 40). However, it became obvious that the distribution was a bimodal one, and that both the generalized carpentry work and the heavy structural work were represented by the nail sample.

Hardware included a tack, three spikes, a cuprous screw plate, two strands of non-electrical wire, a boat spike, a white metal bracket, a lag stud coated with plaster, a lug nut, a rivet, two spring fragments, a washer and a ferrous metal window latch. The window latch was recovered from the test trenches (Blee 1989:88).

Plumbing-Related Items: As indicated in the section on features at the beginning of the discussion of Area 6 East, a six-inch wood stave water pipe had been found still in situ by Blee (1989:66, 68) in April 1979. A 2 ft. 2-1/2 in. (87 cm) segment of this pipe was found lying loose on the surface of unit 105, 1.8 feet to the south of the test trenches. It is obvious that much of the pipe had been removed completely during the summer 1979 renovations.

Fixed Illumination and Power Items: Blee (1989:88) recovered an electrical junction side box plate, three ceramic knob and post insulators, and a light bulb fragment in the test trenches. Elsewhere in the area behind the original Pacific Clipper Line Office were two ceiling fixtures, both made of white porcelain. One bore a patent date of 1896. A light bulb base was also found outside the test trenches.

Combustion By-Products: There were 27 fragments of slag (cinders), and 43 of coal, including that observed by Blee in her test trenches (1989:91). There was no charcoal.

Commerce and Industry-Related Items

Commercial Glassware: Because this area did not become associated with the Mascot Saloon until it was covered over by the 1904 addition, it was unclear whether to classify the drinking vessels as commercial glassware or as domestic glassware. However, the presence of shot glass does suggest association with the saloon. The other glassware was a tumbler. Blee (1989:72) found a portion of a wine glass.

Liquor bottles: Table 41 lists the minimum 23 liquor bottles recovered from the east portion of Area 6. If the liquor and possible liquor bottles held whiskey, as is suspected, whiskey dominated choice of liquor consumed for those depositing bottles in this area. However, beer (17%) and wine (30%) are important parts of the liquor assemblage.

Flasks: One fragment of a flask was found in unit 116, near the back of the yard before the area was covered in 1904.

Non-Alcoholic Beverage Containers: A portion of a soft-drink bottle was recovered from the area. In addition, what could have been either a beer or a soda bottle has been classified with the liquor bottles (see above).

Bottle Closures: A crown cap with a cork liner was found in unit 99. In addition, a decorative knob made of lead glass probably was part of a stopper for a carafe or backbar bottle.

Summary

Like in the western portion of Area 6, the number of artifacts as a whole in the eastern portion was much reduced compared to that seen in Areas 1 through 4. However, like in the other areas, the Architectural Items seem to consist largely of material culture that came from renovations that occurred during 1979. Comparisons of the frequencies of artifacts in the test trenches by Blee (1989) that preceded the renovations and those done by Gleeson in 1986 indicate that considerably more recent Architectural materials were found in the latter excavations.

Curiously enough, Blee's 1979 tests recovered a much larger overall density of artifacts in the test trenches than recovered during the 1986 excavations. Furthermore, she observed intact stratigraphy, including a thin cultural layer containing a few artifacts below a dense silt that probably corresponds to the "glacial flour" described in Gleeson's field notes (Blee 1989:66). Gleeson maintains that there was no cultural material below the glacial flour. Blee found an *in situ* wooden stave water pipe complete with a builder's trench; Gleeson found one segment of the same water pipe lying to the south of Blee's test units, but not to the north. It is readily apparent that a good deal of disturbance had taken place in the west portion of Area 6 after Blee did her tests in April 1979.

Nonetheless, the only real introduction of artifacts appears to have been architectural items. A functional analysis that eliminates architectural items, such as the one done with the multiple regression below, should still be focused on the pre-Prohibition use of the building.

Functional Analysis

As noted in the discussion of the area under the original potion of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, there were a minimum of 59 artifacts, too few to attempt a multiple linear regression analysis of the collection from that area alone. Despite the fact that there were a large number of liquor bottles drawn from under that portion of the

building, it was impossible to tell if they could be attributed to an early tent or temporary saloon that was on the site of the Mascot Saloon, or the Mascotte Saloon before the Pacific Clipper Line Office was built in August 1898, or if the bottles (and therefore much of the rest of the material culture) was related more to the occupants of the office itself. Finally, it is even possible that the material culture under the buildings was somehow related to the Mascot Saloon occupation that post-dated 1904.

The eastern portion of Area 6, containing deposits that supposedly formed between 1897, when the area was first settled by Euroamericans, and 1904, when it was covered by the storage rooms added by Albert Reinert, contained an additional 42 artifacts that could be statistically analyzed by the regression method. Together the east and west areas had a total of 103 artifacts, a sufficient sample to yield an interpretable statistic.

The artifacts recovered from Area 6 and used in the functional analysis are shown in Table 42. The saloon-related function of the combined collections is readily apparent without the complicated statistic.

The multiple linear regression analysis of the artifacts suitable for the analysis in Area 6 indicated that 98% ± 12% ($p>0.000$) of the collection was predicted by the Saloon Assemblage. This result is astounding, considering that the western portion of the building was never used as a saloon, and the eastern portion was not used as a saloon until 1904, and then only for storage. The artifacts under the building either arrived there before the Pacific Clipper Line Office was built in August 1898 or as lateral drift after the NT& TCo building was built. Despite the presence of a fence between the two properties, artifacts from the saloon were coming onto the Pacific Clipper Line lot in sufficient quantities that they smothered any other function that might have been represented.

A regression of the five comparative saloon data sets on Area 6 indicated that a mixture of all but the Miners Home Saloon most likely predicted the Area 6 collection (33%± 8% Corner Saloon with $p<0.002$, 48%±12% California Saloon with $p<0.002$ and 15% ± 6% with $p<0.031$). The more collections that predict the test collection, the more representative of the whole Assemblage it is. In other words, the collection from Area 6 appears to very closely mimic the average Saloon collection.

The ceramics suggest a limited influence by a somewhat higher class of individual. While six of the nine pieces of dish wares are ordinary and undecorated, the three decorated pieces seem somewhat ornate and expensive for a saloon. It is possible they were associated with upstairs habitation that could not be detected by the multiple regression because of the need to remove the bottle closures from the regression.

Likewise, the two items associated with women may also betray upstairs inhabitants or the later Hern family occupation. In fact, the garter, while assumed to have been used by a woman, could have been used by a man. It was not uncommon for men at the time to use garters to hold up socks. Nevertheless, most comparative saloon collections had small frequencies of female-specific items, and the appearance of two artifacts that could have been associated with women is not inconsistent with other saloon collections.

In fact, when the garter was recategorized as a Generic Personal Item and the regression recalculated for Area 6, the Saloon Assemblage predicted 97% of the collection instead of 98%. Obviously, it had made only a very minor difference. Because garters had been classified as Female-Specific Items in the comparative assemblages, it was consistent with previous work by Blee and Spude to include it as a Female-Specific Item in this collection as well.

Perhaps of most interest are the four items in the Other Artifacts category. All four are related to office activities: ink bottles and pencils. While obviously very parsimonious in quantity, they may be the only link to the activities taking place within the Pacific Clipper Line Office. However, the saloon owner would have had to keep books as well, and such items would not have been unusual in a saloon collection.

What is significant about this analysis is that the bulk of the artifacts appear to be associated with the saloon, so much so that any other possible contribution by the office activities or household activities upstairs is completely drowned by the saloon items. The occupants and users of the saloon had only brief windows of time in which they could deposit sheet trash on the ground that would become covered by the Pacific Clipper Line Office and its additions. If there was an earlier saloon in the location of the Mascot Saloon, radiant sheet trash from that business could have found its way to the general location of the Pacific Clipper Line Office. Hypothetically, any time between July 1897 and August 1898, Area 6 could have been receiving

saloon-oriented trash. However, as we have already discussed, it is unlikely that any saloon was in the immediate vicinity until April 1898. That shortens the period in which sheet trash could have fallen in the vicinity of the clipper line office to about five months between April and August 1898. This date concurs well with the mean manufacturing date of the artifacts, despite three items that probably represent later intrusions.

The eastern portion of Area 6 was open to deposition from 1897 to 1904, apparently receiving little in the way of artifacts representing the office function to the west or the transportation and storage function in the backyards of the saloon to the north. In fact, a fence erected in 1901 prevented passage of individuals between the two backyards, and presumably passage of artifacts. Because the regression indicated a primarily saloon-oriented functional relationship, we can assume that most artifact deposition took place between April 1898 and summer 1901, when the fence was erected. Indeed, the mean manufacturing date of 1900 supports this hypothesis. It appears that the owners of the Pacific Clipper Line had a perfectly good reason for fencing off their property. The saloon trash kept creeping over their way.

AREA 7 (THE HERN LIQUOR STORE 1898 – 1979)

Area 7 was covered by the office of the Seattle Clipper Line. It was built by Frank Bishoprick of the Bishoprick and Shoemake Commission Merchants sometime between the fall of 1898 and July 1899. They rented it out as office space to the clipper line (Figures 36 and 78). The

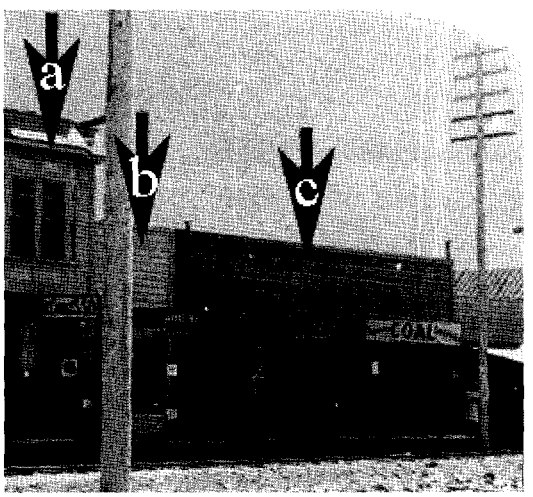


Figure 78. Photograph of the Bishoprick and Shoemake retail store on Broadway in the summer of 1899 (c). The two-story section housed the Pacific Clipper Line Office and its partner, the Pacific Coast Steamship Company (a). A portion of the Bishoprick Building was rented out to the Pacific Clipper Line Office as well (b). Summer 1899 (Wayne L. Selmer, KLGO B1-160-5951).

partnership dissolved on October 10, 1902 after their lumber mill burned on November 4. Apparently, the mill had not been producing for over two years anyway. Frank Bishoprick began making investments in the Tanana country in May 1903 and gradually moved his operation there. (*The Daily Alaskan*, November 5, 1902, "Skagway Sawmill Burns to the Ground," page 1; November 6, 1902, "Not Build," page 3; November 21, 1902, "Notice of Dissolution," page 1; May 8, 1903, "Personal Mention," page 2; May 12, 1903, "Personal Mention," page 2).

On May 16, 1904, Albert Reinert bought the lot and structure from Frank Bishoprick. He rented the space to S. H. Yeomans, who opened a general merchandise store there on November 1, 1904. Yeomans continued to operate the store through 1910. In 1911, it was listed as a second hand store. Sometime between then and 1915, Mr. Yeomans went out of business and became a clerk at the post office. It is unknown what use the building was put to after 1911 (*The Daily Alaskan*, May 17, 1904, "Broadway Property Goes," page 2; September 29, 1904, "Store to Move," page 3; Polk 1905: 371, Polk 1907: 471; Polk 1909: 459; Polk 1911: 466; Polk 1915: 499).

The Boas Tailor and Furrier Shop, to the east of what would become the Hern Liquor Store, was moved here in 1926, indicating that the old Bishoprick store had been demolished by that time. That suggests that Area 7 was open ground during that time. In 1937, Perry Hern built the two story, ten foot by twenty foot Hern's Liquor Store over this area. It includes units numbered 117 through 124.

Approximately two to three feet had been disturbed all the way around the edge of the area, leaving a space only about five by 23 feet yielding deposits with any archeological integrity. In addition, a 2 ½ feet wide and 19 feet long water pipe trench ran from unit 120 through unit 123 (Figure 44). Obviously, the area had been seriously disturbed. No discernable stratigraphy, either vertical or horizontal, could be discovered in that small a space. With undifferentiated deposits ranging in age from 1898 to the present time, Area 7 seemed of little archeological significance.

Date of the Deposit

Table 43 shows the dated artifacts from Area 7. The mean date was 1913. The *terminous post quem* was 1930. The disparity between the dates was no doubt caused by the later introduction of the water line.

Description of the Artifacts

Due to the fact that the archeological deposits in Area 7 have very little integrity, no horizontal or vertical stratigraphy and were deposited, undifferentiated over a period of at least 89 years (1907 – 1986), no detailed description of

the artifacts will be given. A summary table is presented in Table 44.

Functional Analysis of the Artifacts

A functional analysis could not be undertaken because only 48 artifacts were recovered that could be subjected to the multiple regression analysis. As discussed earlier, the regression is not reliable unless about a hundred items can be used for the analysis.

Table 45 gives a general listing of the artifacts that would have been used in a functional analysis, had there been enough artifacts to attempt a multiple regression. Area 7's collection was heavy in Liquor-Related items, Food Storage items, Tobacco-Related Items and Other Artifacts. High frequencies of Liquor-Related artifacts are characteristic of saloons and brothels, of course, but also some family groups (see Appendix D). High Food Storage frequencies are also characteristic of the some family groups, although not necessarily the same ones that use high frequencies of liquor-related products. High frequencies of tobacco-related items tend to occur in contexts where males are more frequent. High frequencies of "Other Artifacts" also seem to be somewhat more common where men are more common.

Because the sample size is too small to conduct a statistical test, these are only impressions. It is possible that the assemblage was influenced by a family-type deposition pattern with a skewing towards male preferences. However, given the long period in which the artifacts had to accumulate, there are any number of combinations in which these characteristics could have developed. Without a larger sample size, it is impossible to ferret out any meaning.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACTS

A further examination of the spatial distribution of some of the artifact categories proves to be instructive in understanding the change in the use of the Mascot Saloon site through time, and the use of material culture by the people who used the site.

Liquor Bottles

The liquor bottles at the Mascot Saloon site inform about the drinking habits of the customers of the Mascot Saloon. As can be seen in Table 46, the use and disposal of beer bottles appears to have increased in popularity through time. The beer bottle frequency in the backyard of the Pacific Clipper Line Office is the exception. The fence put up by the proprietors of the office in 1901 apparently stopped some of the spread of beer bottles.

Whiskey bottle use was most frequent in Area 1, where the possible tent or temporary saloon was located. The other liquor bottles may well have been whiskey bottles as well; most simply could not be identified as to the type of liquor they held. It is readily apparent that as whiskey and other distilled liquor use declined, beer use increased.

The one important exception is in Area 6, which lay under the Pacific Clipper Line Office. Despite being overwhelmingly predicted by the Saloon Assemblage, the distribution of its liquor bottle assemblage does not resemble that of the Mascotte or Mascot saloons. The disposal of wine, champagne or brandies was much higher in that area than directly under the saloon.

The spatial distribution of whiskey bottle fragments mirrors the trend seen in the frequency distribution in Table 46 (Figure 79). The

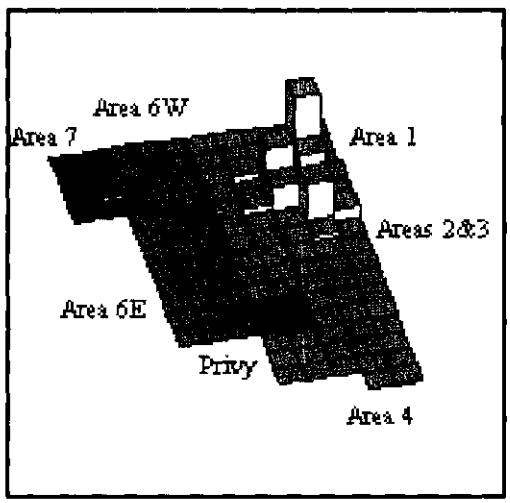


Figure 79. Spatial Distribution of Whiskey Bottle Fragments. The tallest column equals 151 fragments.

vast majority of fragments were in Area 1 and Areas 2 and 3. Hardly any fragments appeared in the remainder of the excavations. The few that did were remnants of bottles, not entire smashed bottles like those found under the original 1898 NT&TC building and its 1899 addition.

It appears, therefore, that the whiskey bottles represented in Areas 4, 6W and 6E were fragments that escaped clean-up attempts. They are representative of sheet trash.

The fragments in Area 1 and Areas 2 and 3, on the other hand, were mostly parts of the dozen Jesse Moore-Hunt bourbon bottles that had been smashed and left lying, apparently, in the area just under the building outside the backdoor of the Mascotte Saloon.

The complexity introduced by the sheet trash phenomenon can be seen when examining the spatial distribution of beer bottle fragments (Figure 80). While the frequency distribution in

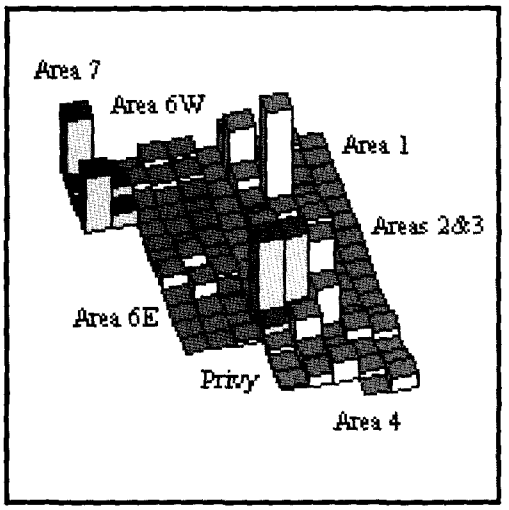


Figure 80. Spatial Distribution of Beer Bottle Fragments. The tallest column equals 62 fragments.

Table 46, which used minimum numbers of vessels as the basic counting unit, makes it clear that beer bottles were more frequent in Area 4 than in Area 1, the fragment distribution in Figure 80 makes it appear that beer bottle use might have been almost as heavy in Area 1. The clear message learned from the whiskey bottle distribution can also be discerned here. A large frequency of bottles is represented by a relatively fewer number of fragments in Area 4 because Area 4 consists largely of sheet trash. Area 1 appears to have a large frequency of fragments and a low number of beer bottles because it is not a sheet trash, but a deposit that accumulated under a floor, where no one but archeologists were interested in picking up the trash.

Of course, the spike in deposition in and around the privy is due to the large number of beer bottles that were deposited into the privy. Trash there was protected from periodic cleaning by virtue of the fact it was filling a depression in the ground.

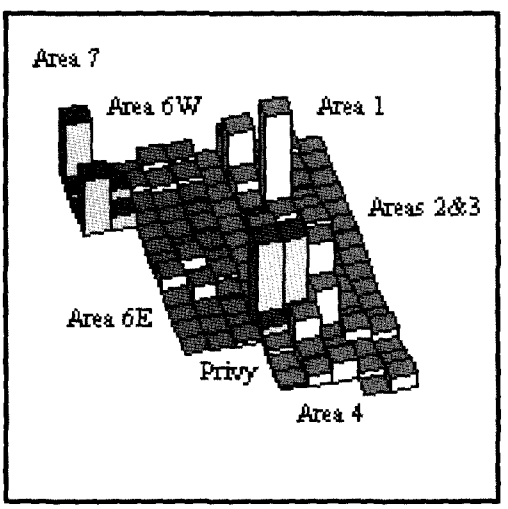


Figure 81. Spatial Distribution of Wine, Champagne and Brandy Bottle Fragments. The tallest column equals 75 fragments.

Figure 81 demonstrates the spatial distribution of wine bottle fragments on the Mascot Saloon Group site. As seen with the beer bottle fragments, there are relatively high frequencies of wine bottle fragments in Area 1 compared to the minimum number of vessels that were recovered from that area. In Areas 6 East and 6 West, there are a low number of fragments compared to a somewhat higher number of vessels. Again, this phenomenon suggests the deposition of sheet trash in the yards and whole, or almost entire broken bottles under a building floor in Area 1.

What this discussion reinforces is the danger of relying on fragment distributions without understanding either the taxonomy of the site or the minimum number of vessels (MNV) that the fragments represent. In this case, using the MNV helps understand the site taxonomy, or formation processes. The fragment distributions only cause confusion, and will not be used in the rest of the discussions, except in rare cases.

The spatial distribution of artifacts is more easily understood with artifacts that were deposited relatively whole to begin with, such as bottle closures, buttons, coins, tokens, poker chips, nails, shells, and other items.

Bottle Closures

As discussed in the section on the functional analysis of the artifacts in the Privy, the change in the use of bottle closures readily can be seen in the horizontal stratigraphy at the Mascot Saloon Group. Figure 82 illustrates the spatial distribution of the corks. The vast majority were recovered from Area 1, where the remains of the earliest saloon on the site were recovered, and in its associated privy.

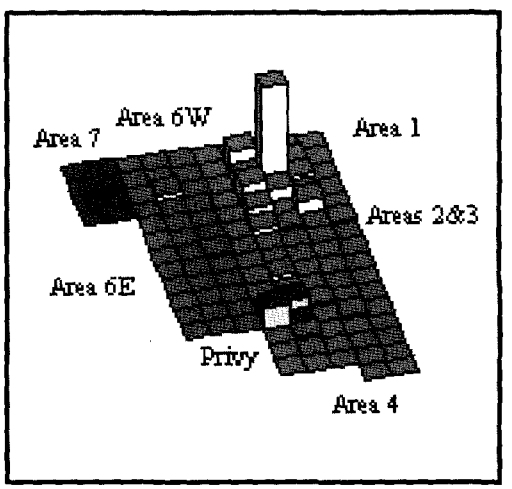


Figure 82 (far right). Spatial Distribution of Corks. The tallest column equals 34 corks.

Crown caps, on the other hand, were spread more uniformly across the site (Figure 83). While they were also fairly common in Area 1 and its privy, they were also distributed in the post-1899 backyard deposits, and in the area to the south of the saloon, which was receiving secondary sheet trash from the saloon. It is important to

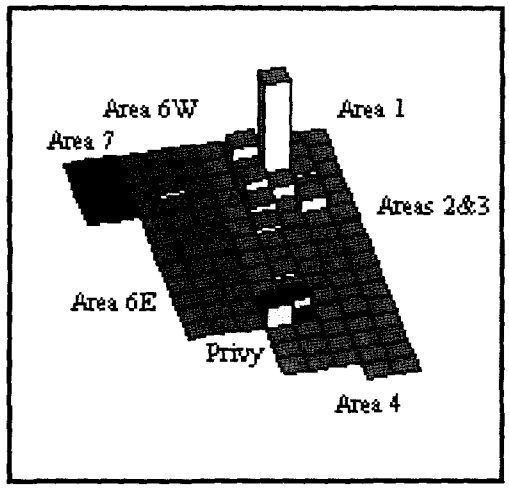


Figure 83. Spatial Distribution of Crown Caps. The tallest column equals 22 caps.

notice that the greatest density of crown caps were in Area 7, which was an open space from sometime during the mid-1920s until after Prohibition. This latter concentration reflects the almost universal use of crown caps as closures for beer and soda bottles after 1912 (Kaplan 1982:123).

It has already been suggested that the crown caps at the Mascot Saloon Group may represent later drinking habits (see the discussion on the functional analysis of the privy pit). If so, the trend cannot be discerned from this evidence. It is probably because the time periods represented by the six areas under investigation are all too close in time to exhibit too much variation. Crown caps were introduced in 1892 and did not reach universal use until 1912. The archeological collections all apparently were deposited before 1904, before there was much difference in the use of crown caps.

If the differential distribution of corks and crown caps do not represent a temporal variation, they do suggest variation in the types of liquor being drunk in the early (pre-1899) and later (1899-1904) time periods. The crown cap was invented to solve the problem of securing a closure to a bottle holding an effervescent beverage. It was never intended to be affixed to whiskeys, wines, or other distilled beverages. The crown cap and the beer or soda bottle were almost synonymous. Prior to the invention of the crown cap, beer bottle manufacturers had used a variety of closures, none of which were particularly cheap or effective. It was the crown cap that made the use of the beer bottle, rather than the keg and the draught, economical for the saloon man and his customer.

Bottled beer came into its own in the 1880s, after Louis Pasteur developed a process for pasteurizing beer to stop spoilage. Midwest brewers began to ship their products to California and Texas, referring to it as their "export" trade. The first bottled beer in the 1880s was stoppered with long, narrow corks held in place with a very thin wire that may not survive archeological contexts well. The stopper in greatest use for beer, though, was the Lightning stopper. Its cost prohibited use on soda bottles, but because of the reuse of beer bottles was more economical on beer bottles (Lief 1965:15-16). It is notable that no lightning stoppers were recovered at the Mascot Saloon Group.

Although the crown cap was patented in 1892, and its inventor, William Painter, had also patented the appropriate-shaped finish and machines to make both, the technology was slow to spread. The depression of 1893 hit and backers were reluctant to invest in his new idea, which seemed almost too good to be true, what with all the complex closures that had come before. Previous closures had required multiple pieces, holding cork or some other moldable material against the glass to form a leak-proof seal. The use of the crown cap would not really take off until the manufacture of the beer bottle became fully automated (Lief 1965:19-20). Miller and McNichol (2002) state that this latter development did not occur on beer bottles until 1905.

In Alaska, the bottled "imports" were considered luxury beers, probably due of the costs of transportation. Of course, these beers were not true imports, as we think of them today, but were usually Midwest or Pacific Coast beers shipped to Alaska in bottled form, rather than in kegs. The beer in kegs, which were not considered imports, ordinarily would be only the beer supplied at a much reduced cost by a sponsoring brewer. While Rohbeck advertised "fresh beer on draught," he did not name a brand (*The Daily Alaskan*, June 17, 1898:4). In the case of the Mascot Saloon, Reinert's sponsor was Rainier Beer from April 1902 and August 1909 (Appendix A). In 1909, Reinert finally began to advertise a wide variety of other kinds of beers, probably indicating the availability of cheaper bottled beer. His customers finally benefited from a wider selection of beer in bottles at the price of his draft beer, and American beer from the West Coast and the Midwest was no longer considered a costly alternative.

Flasks

As discussed in the sections on each of the areas, the flasks seemed to represent a different sort of drinking activity than that found in the saloons. Madelon Powers (1998:93-118) states that one of the primary functions of the saloon was to provide a social outlet for working class men.

Behavior in the saloon was highly codified in a set of behaviors that included "treating." A man was required to treat his companions, or those near him, to a drink. In return, his companions would treat him. Solitary drinking was almost impossible in the saloon. That is not the reason a man frequented a saloon. If he wanted to drink alone, he would purchase a flask or bottle of liquor and take it elsewhere.

Flasks, containing so little liquor compared to a quart bottle of whiskey, a pitcher of beer, or the more convenient round of drinks that could be ordered from the porter or bartender, probably served little direct function in the barroom itself. The use of flasks was probably confined to private moments.

This hypothesis is substantiated by the spatial distribution of flask fragments at the Mascot Saloon Group (Figure 84). As can be seen, the

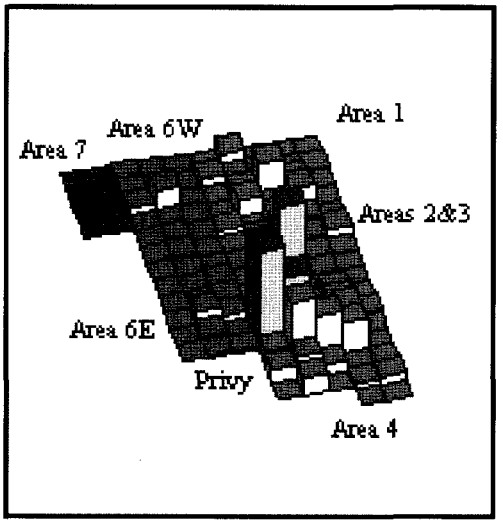


Figure 84. Spatial Distribution of Flask Fragments. The tallest column equals 30 fragments.

fragments cluster around the 1898-1899 privy pit and in the backyard of the saloon from 1898-1904. The privy was an ideal place to dump emptied flasks. Packers and employees of the NT & TCo, as well as construction workers for Albert Reinert could well have been responsible for the flask fragments in the back yard of the saloon.

Not only do the flask fragments cluster near the privy and in Area 4, but also the whole flasks do as well (Table 47). Both the absolute number of flasks and the relative number of flasks to liquor-related items is highest in Areas 4 and the privy. Flasks appear to have been neglected by the drinkers inside the gold rush saloon, but used by the men near the privy and in the back yard.

Food Remains

The differential distribution of food remains is instructive in what it tells us about the preferences for foods between the gold rush era saloon customers and the later working-class customers in Albert Reinert's saloon. Area 1 seemed to be dominated by nut shells, primarily peanuts, walnuts, hazelnuts, and a brazil nut shell. Only one nut shell was found outside Area 1 (Figure 85).

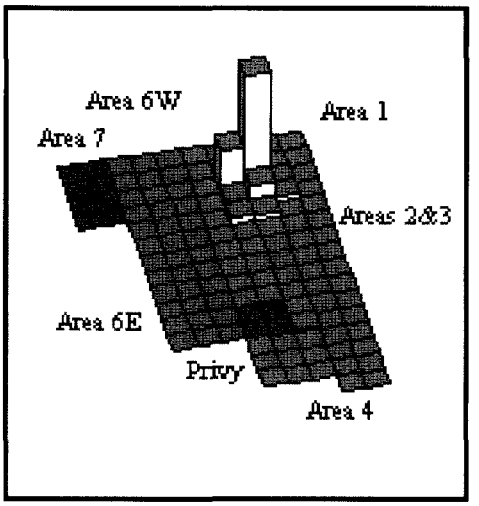


Figure 85 (far right). Spatial Distribution of Nut Shells. The tallest column equals 140 nut shells.

In contrast, food bones appear in both Areas 1 and 4, indicating that the customers or inhabitants of both Rohbeck's and Reinert's saloons were consuming meat. Figure 86 shows that the consumption of animal foods was more important during the post-1899 period, once Reinert became the owner of the Mascot Saloon. As is discussed by Huelsbeck in Appendix C, the inhabitants of both Rohbeck's and Reinert's saloons were consuming meat. The bones in the front area (Area 1) were slightly more likely to be beef and of more expensive cuts; the bones in the backyards were more likely to be sheep.

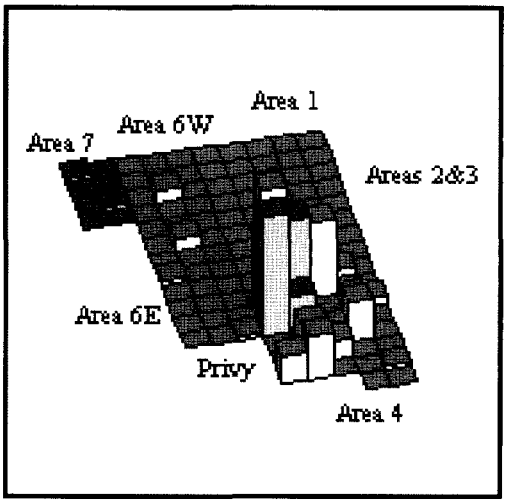


Figure 86. Spatial Distribution of Food Bones. The tallest column equals 49 bones.

Also, fruit pits were distributed fairly evenly across the entire Mascot Saloon Group site (Figure 87). Although the taller columns in the graph appear to be rather high, they only represent four pits, whereas the shortest columns represent a single pit. Peaches predomi-

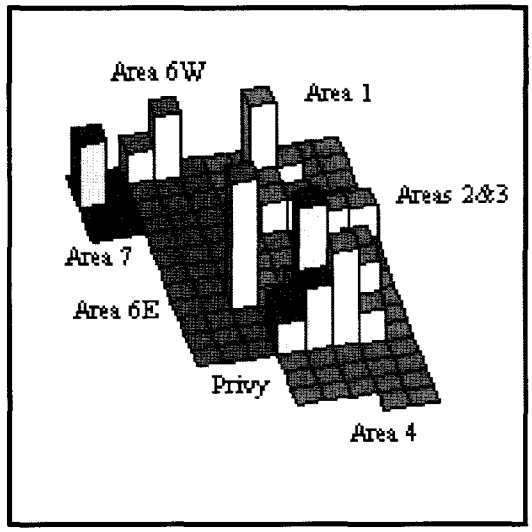


Figure 87. Spatial Distribution of Fruit Pits. The tallest column equals four pits.

nated in all areas, although a couple of cherries and apricots joined the inventory in Area 1, under the original NT & TCo building.

Figure 88 shows the spatial distribution of shell from clams and other shellfish. The shells were

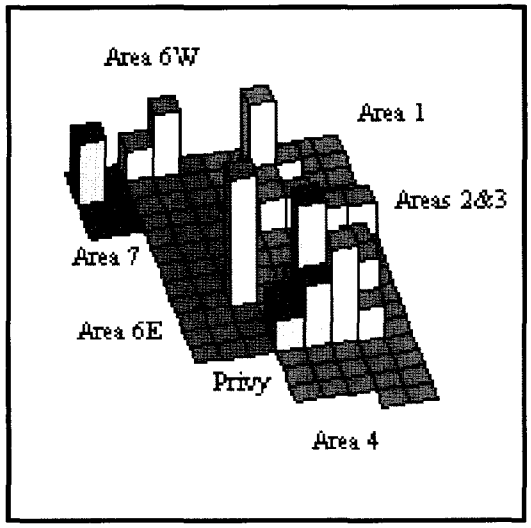


Figure 88. Spatial Distribution of Shell from Clams and Other Shellfish. The tallest column equals 62 shells.

found overwhelmingly in Area 4 and the uppermost layers of the privy pit. Clam chowder was advertised as part of the free lunches at the Mascot Saloon between November 1902 and December 1903. The shells probably entered the privy pit as it gradually filled with matrix from the surrounding deposits after abandonment. As most of the shells found in the privy pit were in its upper layers, they probably were moved there by gravity or water after the area was covered by the 1904 addition.

In conclusion, it appears that the saloon customers in Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon of 1898 – 1899 consumed nuts, fruits and occasionally some higher quality meat cuts, as discussed by Huelsbeck. After Reinert purchased the saloon and began offering free lunches, the fare switched to somewhat lower quality meat cuts, with more emphasis on sheep and clam chowder.

Recreation and Commerce

While the saloon was a social center for the men who congregated there, it was a business for the man who owned and operated it (West 1979:73-96; Powers 1999). Artifacts associated with the recreation and commerce conducted in the saloon are hard to separate into spheres of what was being used for what purpose.

A prime example is the coins recovered from the saloon. As may have been noticed in the discussions on the functional regressions, the frequencies of coins recovered from saloon contexts as a whole are higher than found in any other predictive assemblage except the Transient Males (Table 48). The reason that the Transient Male assemblage has a high coin frequency is because its frequencies of all but personal item categories are extremely parsimonious. Transient males tend to have very small material culture collections at their place of residence because they partake of food and drink in other locations than the place they sleep and keep their personal possessions. The place they lose their coins is where they keep their clothing.

The coin in the saloon, however, functioned not only to purchase alcoholic beverages and tobacco, but also as exchange in games of chance. Gambling was an important activity in every saloon, whether it was a house operated game or a friendy game of cards or dice among friends. It was the closing down of gambling dens that prompted reformers to go after the saloon during prohibition movements of the first decade of the twentieth century, so closely were the two activities linked.

The distribution of saloon-period coins at the Mascot Saloon Group is instructive (Figure 89).

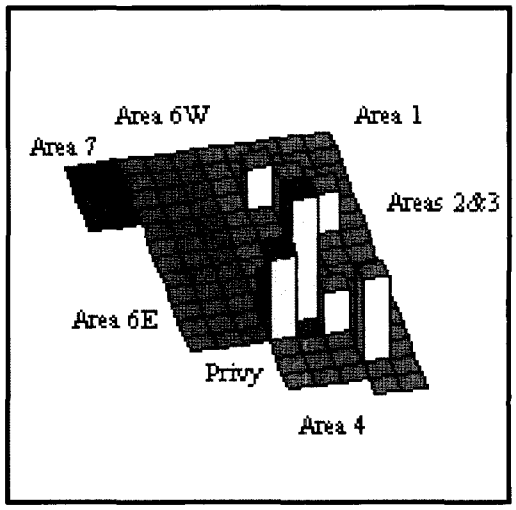


Figure 89. Spatial Distribution of Saloon-Era Coins. The tallest column equals five coins.

A cluster of coins was found in the center of Area 1, under the original NT& TC building,

probably dating to the Mascotte Saloon (1898-1899) period. Another cluster appears in and around the privy pit, which dated from the same period.

The nine trade tokens (Figure 90) offer a more compelling distribution. All were found in Area 1, under the NT&TC building. Both the trade tokens and the coins appear to have concentrated along the southern wall of the Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon, although the area under the northern wall had been excavated by construction workers prior to the archeological work, so there is no way to tell if the pattern would have been repeated along the northern wall. It is obvious, however, that the coins and tokens are associated with the earliest activities on the site. Even the youngest dating coin and token dated to 1899, and was associated with Reinert's Mascot Saloon.

It is interesting to note that the tokens cluster in the gold rush deposits (Area 1), whereas the coins are more evenly distributed (Figures 89 and 90). Coins may have been in somewhat

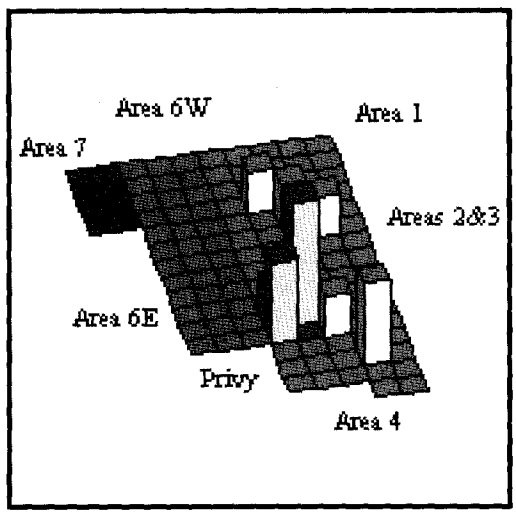


Figure 90. Spatial Distribution of Trade Tokens. The tallest column equals four tokens.

short supply during the gold rush than afterwards, when the small denomination coins would have become more popular. It would make good business sense to give a customer small change in the form of a token rather than in nickels, especially during a time when the population was largely transient.

The artifacts associated with gambling, however, are more evenly spread between deposits of the Mascotte and Mascot saloons (Figure 91). The dice and poker chips were found in both Areas 1, 4. and the Privy pit. The density seems particularly high in the privy pit, where poker chips could have been lost while customers were using the privy, or where they could have have washed in from Area 4 deposits as the pit was filling after being covered by the 1904 addition.

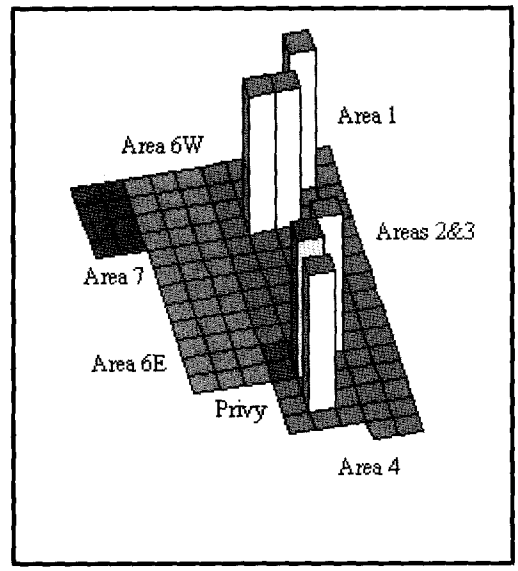


Figure 91. Spatial Distribution of Gambling-Related Items. The tallest column equals three items.

What this patterning suggests is that the men in the earlier saloon period were somewhat more careless with their money (and their tokens) than they were in the later period. The boom economy of the gold rush generated high prices for all goods and services. Diarists and journalists of the period all commented on the high costs of staple goods, rooms and meals. They rarely discussed the price of drinks in the letters back home, probably because they did not want to admit to mothers and wives that they spent time in saloons. However, it is likely that, once accustomed to letting their money flow freely, and convinced they were to make a good deal more in the Klondike, the loss of a nickel or a dime in the sawdust of the saloon floor was hardly worth fretting about.

The frequency of gambling would be harder to differentiate in the archeological record because a poker chip's worth might be indexed to the local economy. In other words, a white chip may be worth a quarter during the rush and a nickel five years later, as the economy slowed. Nevertheless, gambling continued throughout the period that the Mascot Saloon's customers were actively adding material culture to the archeological deposits under and behind the building. As discussed in the chapter on the contextual history, it was not until 1906 that house-run gambling became illegal, and after that, friendly games between friends in the saloon were still allowed.

Just as with the gambling items, the tobacco-related items were found scattered throughout the site (Figure 92). Tobacco pipes, a tobacco tin and a humidor are distributed in deposits associated with all time periods. There does seem to be some clustering in the backyard, but it probably is not significant. There are, after all, only seven tobacco pipes in Area 4, compared to

Figure 92 (right). Spatial Distribution of Tobacco-Related Items. The tallest column equals three items.

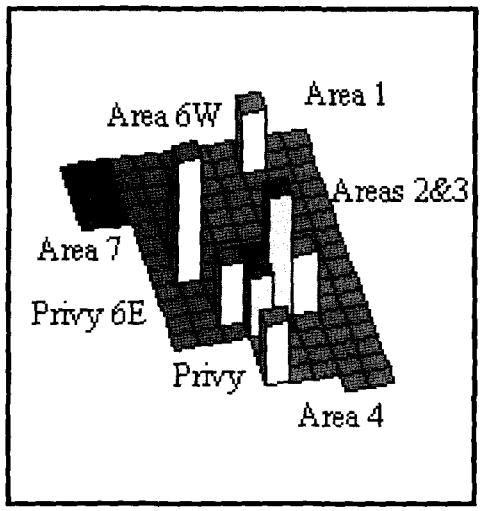
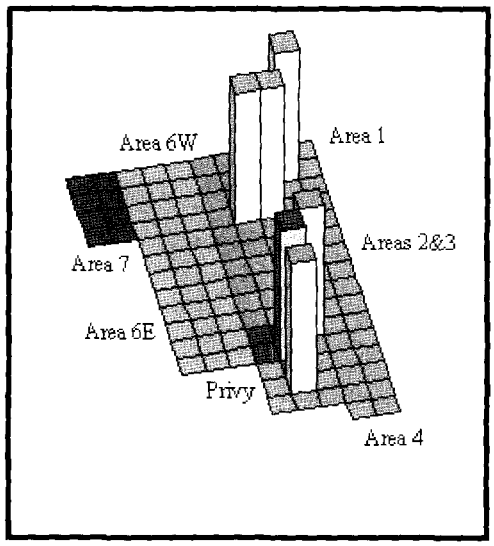


Figure 93 (far right). The Spatial Distribution of Male-Specific Items. The columns equal one item each.



seven in Areas 1, 2 and 3 and the privy combined, which all date to the 1898-1899 period.

The distribution of the tobacco-related items, not surprisingly, suggests that the use of tobacco remained equally important throughout all periods at the saloon. It should come as no surprise that the use of tobacco was intricately linked with the saloon in Skagway. As has been discussed in the Contextual History, the saloon owners yearly acquired licenses to sell tobacco as well their liquor licenses. The tobacco pipes, humidor, and tobacco tin found under the Mascot Saloon Group probably do not do justice to the large amount of cigars and chewing tobacco that was the staple of the tobacco-using customers of the saloon.

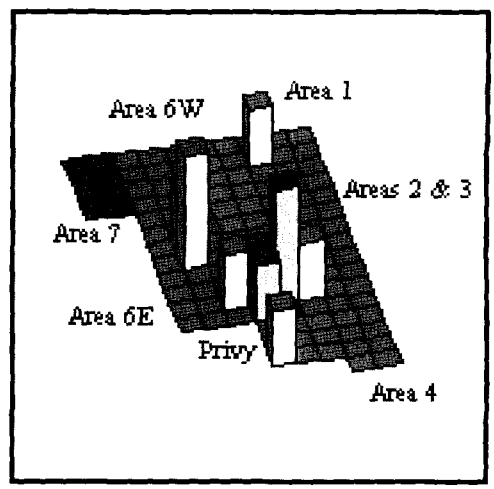
Gender at the Mascot Saloon Group

The association of men and tobacco-related items has been explored some by Spude et al. (1993:54) and Spude (2005:99). In archeological contexts where women are present, such as families, the relative frequency of tobacco-related items is low. In very similar sites with no women, tobacco-related frequencies tend to be high. A case in point is that of Father Turnell's trash pit from Skagway, Alaska. The artifact assemblage as a whole resembled those taken from comparative family households, except for his high frequency of tobacco-related items and a relatively low frequency of pharmaceuticals, another gender predictor. Of course, his deposit had no female-specific items, and was higher in male-specific items than the comparative family collections Spude et al. (1993:84).

As can be seen by comparing Figures 92 and 93, tobacco-related items and male-specific items were found in both Areas 1 and 4. This phenomenon is only as would be expected at a saloon, which catered expressly to a male clientele.

That women were at the Mascot Saloon Group is clear in the presence of female-specific items (Figure 94). Only one female specific artifact was found in Area 1: a red-stained wooden bead. The female-specific items in the privy (a ring, an earring, a garter clasp, and a small purse) could have been lost while a woman was using the outdoor facility. A button common to women's clothing was found next to the privy. A shattered toiletry bottle found in the back yard probably got there as part of the sheet trash and may have originated with upstairs tenants, as did a garter and woman's shoe found in Area 6.

Figure 94. The Spatial Distribution of Female-Specific Items. The tallest column equals two items.



Seeming to parallel the distribution of female-specific items is that of the pharmaceuticals (Figure 95). A few items were found along the boundary between Areas 1 and 2, but most were recovered from the privy and Area 4. As discussed at some length by Spude (2005), high frequencies of pharmaceuticals tend to correlate with the presence of women on an archeological site. While this does not mean that men were not using pharmaceutical products, it does suggest that women were more likely than men to use medicinals, and – perhaps – obtain alcohol through pharmaceuticals rather than liquors.

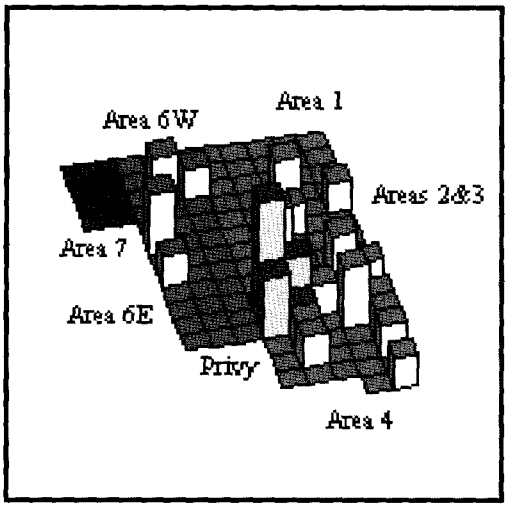


Figure 95. The Spatial Distribution of Pharmaceutical Items. The tallest column equals three items.

The distribution of female-specific and pharmaceutical items (Figures 94 and 95) suggests that women were using the privy of the Mascotte Saloon (1898-1899) and the later Mascot Saloon (1899 – 1904), but perhaps not the earliest manifestation of the saloon. However, it should be noted that they were not serving as prostitutes or having a substantial influence on the choice of material culture. If they were, the multiple regression would have isolated that influence. Rather, it is likely that the women were there as customers or as "percentage girls." Recall that E. J. "Stroller" White wrote of "Ham Grease Jimmy" calling the dances at the Mascotte Saloon (DeArmond 1990:27, 54). Stroller spent the summer of 1898 in Skagway. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, women were not banned from saloons until the summer of 1903.

Also, the fact that some of the items are distributed in Area 6 suggests that a woman may not have been associated with the saloon at all, but rather with the Pacific Clipper Line. Ticket agent Alf H. Baker may have had a female employee who worked at the ticket office during the 1900 – 1904 period (Snow and Spude 1981:11).

Window Glass

While most of the spatial distribution of window glass fragments makes sense, some of it is puzzling and requires explanation (Figure 63). Fragments found at the western edge of Area 6 West, near Broadway surely represent some breakage of glass at the front of the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building. A cluster about 40 feet east of Broadway in Area 6 coincides with the back of the Clipper Line building in 1901, at which time there were was a window downstairs and two upstairs windows. These windows were not covered over with an addition until 1904.

Likewise the large cluster of window glass fragments in and around the 1898 – 1899 privy may actually have to do with the proximity of windows from the one story addition at the back of the Mascot Saloon in the summer of 1901 (Figures 39 and 40). By October 1901, this addition had two stories and another window that could have contributed fragments to this location. Especially if one of these windows broke during the 1904 renovations, there would be little reason to clean up all of the broken glass.

The clustering of window glass fragments in Area 1 is ambiguous. There appears to be almost a diagonal line of window glass leading from the southwest corner of the area towards the center, where the density peaks at the highest point on the entire site. This pattern defies what would be expected of a storefront with windows facing Broadway, as seen next door at the Pacific Clipper Line Office. The pattern suggests that of window breakage that would occur from objects flying with great force from Broadway into the building.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, window-breaking incidents were recorded in October 1902 and in September and November 1904, involving both rocks and guns. It appears that earlier events, probably in the summer of 1898, may also have occurred that were not recorded in the few copies of the newspapers that have survived from the period.

Nails

The spatial distribution of nails is relatively straight-forward (Figure 96). The vast majority

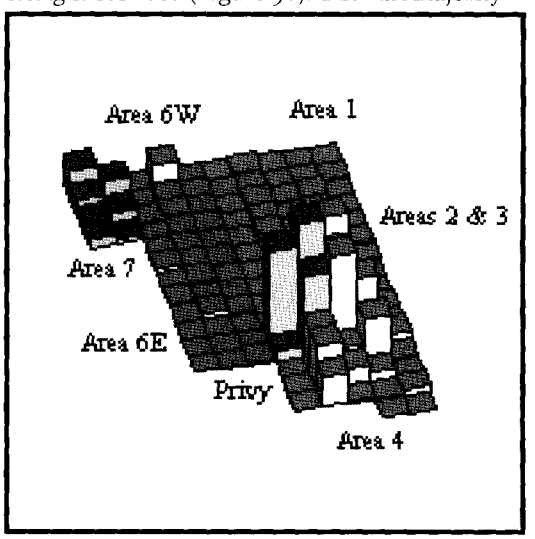


Figure 96. The Spatial Distribution of All Nails. The tallest column equals 307 nails.

was found in Area 4 and in the Privy. The backyard area, dating from 1897 – 1904, was the staging area for numerous construction events, as well as an area that had been covered by a storage building in 1901. This building was torn down by 1904 in order to be refitted into the additions that were built that year. Demolition

events in particular tend to leave large quantities of nails behind.

As has been hypothesized before, the privy fill, after being covered by the 1904 additions, probably began to sink and act as a gravity well for deposits near it. That would explain the high density of nails in its upper layers.

The cut nails, when distinguished from all other nails, obviously cluster in Area 1, the earliest deposit on the site (Figure 97). By the turn of

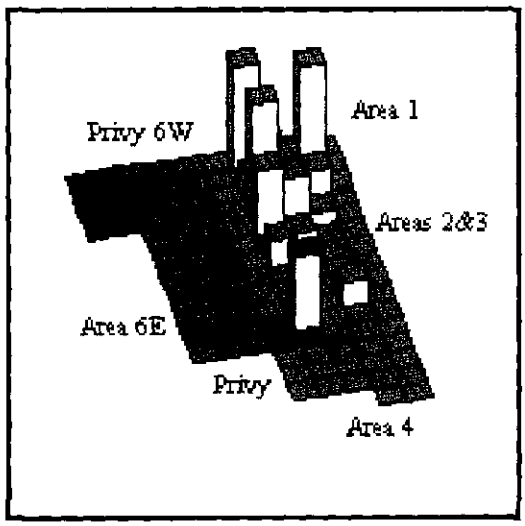


Figure 97. The Spatial Distribution of Cut Nails. The tallest column equals 10 nails.

the century, wire nails were the most commonly produced nails in the industry. Cut nails tended to be used only for masonry. Also, it was not until 1902 when the modern galvanized nail was invented that many carpenters felt comfortable using wire nails for roofing. The heads of wire nails easily rusted off when exposed to the weather on roofs (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:50).

Of the archeological sites excavated at Skagway, only the Moore Cabin, which was constructed between 1888 and 1896, contained significant numbers of cut nails (Blee 1983:67, 206, 246-250). In the summer of 2003, workmen at the Portland House, a building constructed by employees of Captain William Moore in the summer of 1897, discovered that much of that structure was held together with cut nails (Karl Gurcke, 2004: personal communication).

Approximately 36% of all nails recovered from Area 1 were cut nails, an amazingly high proportion for the time period. It was not possible to determine whether these nails had indeed been used in the original construction of the NT&TC building, its roof or in a temporary building that may have preceded it on the site. The original NT&TC roof has been completely replaced. The historic structure report (Snow and Spude 1981) does not mention what type of nails were found in either the framing of the NT&TC building or in what remained of its roof. Interviews with workmen who helped with renovation activities do not recall encountering cut nails anywhere in the structure. It is presumed that large numbers of cut nails would be unusual enough that their presence would have been noted and remembered.

Comparisons between the Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Collections

A lot of data has been presented in these pages, and much of it divided into smaller groups than necessary to begin to understand trends. The data becomes even murkier because the 1899 period is neither a gold rush period nor is it post-gold rush, but an interim period in which the boom was dying out and Skagway was becoming somewhat more like that of other American towns of its size. It was also a transition time for the owners of the Mascot Saloon.

A combination of the collections in both Area 1 and the privy associated with the early saloon should round out the types of activities taking place in the Mascotte Saloon better than looking at just Area 1 or the Privy by itself. In contrast, the artifacts deposited in the sheet trash behind the Mascot Saloon can give us a good approximation of the behavior of the customers of the post-gold rush saloon, as that appears to be when the bulk of the deposition occurred in Area 4.

In the following comparisons, the gold rush deposits include Area 1 and the privy. The post-gold rush is the sheet trash of Area 4.

Liquor Preference

When the privy collection is combined with the collection from Area 1, it is that much more clear that there was a shift in preference from whiskey to beer after the gold rush was over (Table 49). Considering that the newspapers document the arrival of barrels of beer after 1901, the trend towards beer was probably even more dramatic than can be seen with the data from the broken bottles.

There were at least three breweries in Skagway during the gold rush period, the City Brewery, the Skagway Brewery and the Tivoli. The Skagway Brewery was in operation as late as 1907. The local breweries might have supplied their product in barrels, which tend to leave little archeological evidence. During the post gold rush period, advertisements for bottled Red Star beer, the specialty of the Skagway Brewery, suggests that the local bottled beer competed with that brought up from Seattle.

It is possible that the high frequency of whiskey bottles seen in the gold rush deposit and the increased frequency of beer bottles during the post-gold rush period was partially affected by the hypothesized tendency for the local breweries to supply their beer in barrels during the earlier time period. However, the contrast is so marked that this author finds it difficult to believe that a preference for whiskey during the gold rush period wasn't replaced by a preference for beer during the post-gold rush period when economic conditions became tighter.

Use of Liquor Flasks

Evidence of the private consumption of liquor appears to have been somewhat greater after the gold rush than during (Table 50). All of the liquor flasks were found in the privy pit; none were recovered from the Area 1 deposits.

Shift in Food Service

When the privy and Area 1 deposits are combined, the shift from snack foods to lunches is even more apparent than it was in the discussion of the spatial distribution of artifacts (Table 51). While fruit pits and animal bone appear to remain relatively constant in frequency in the two periods, nuts were considerably more frequent during the gold rush period, and clam shells were much more frequent during the post-gold rush period. The Mascot Saloon's clam chowder, served after 1902, can be seen quite readily in the latter frequency.

While beef was the preferred meat during both the gold rush and post-gold rush periods, more beef was consumed before 1901 than after. Whereas beef represented 77% of the meat eaten by the customers of the gold rush in 1898 and 1899, it dropped to only 52% of the meat consumed after that time. Mutton became more common once the working man began to dominate Reinert's clientele. This observation reinforces the newspaper story of Albert Reinert advertising venison for his customer's free lunch, only to admit to the marshal that he was serving mutton on February 7, 1903.

Attitude towards Money

If one can assume that all liquor-related items remain a constant in a saloon from one period to the next, then indexing the coins, tokens and poker chips (which represent another medium of exchange) against the liquor-related items can give some idea of the customer's care and attitude towards his money (Table 51).

In this comparison, coins were twice as frequent during the post-gold rush period as they were during the gold rush period. Poker chips were not as important after the gold rush as before. This implies that gambling was more frequent during the gold rush period, and that coins became the more important medium of exchange after the gold rush was over

Tokens were not used at all after the gold rush. This latter observation is interesting, given the fact that so many of the Mascotte's customers were transient. To give a man his change in tokens was to ensure he either spent his change in the saloon or left town without recapturing the value of the change. By the time the gold rush was over, there was little to be gained in spending money to have tokens manufactured. The local customers all had plenty of time to spend their tokens.

Evidence of Women

In the same way types of money were indexed against alcoholic beverage bottles, gender-related artifact types can be indexed against generic personal items to better understand how the presence of women changed at the saloon during the two periods (Table 53). Female-specific artifacts were twice as frequent in the gold rush deposits as in the post-gold rush deposits, as had been suggested earlier.

In other studies, Spude (2001, 2005) has suggested that high frequencies of pharmaceuticals also tended to correlate with women's presence. That does not seem to be the case at the Mascot Saloon Group. When indexed to the generic personal items, the pharmaceutical items were twice as frequent in the post-gold rush deposits as they were in the gold rush deposits (Table 52). This finding seems to reinforce the historic record that indicated Albert Reinert lived in the rooms above the saloon and sometimes rented out those rooms to tenants. The pharmaceuticals, slightly higher male-specific and tobacco-related items in the post-gold rush deposits probably all are results of the residency by Reinert and his tenants.

Class, Gender and Ethnicity

A multiple linear regression analysis of the Gold Rush deposits (including Area 6 West), predicted that 92% ± 7% of the collection originated with Saloons with a probability greater than 0.000. Curiously, the Transient Male Assemblage was predicted at 9% ± 6%, but with an associated probability of greater than 0.173, larger than the arbitrary 0.1000 established by Blee (1991). The latter prediction does reinforce the largely male nature of the collection.

When tested with only the saloon collections, the multiple regression predicted that the Miners'

Home Saloon predicted 53% ± 13% (p>0.002) and the Pantheon predicted 24% ± 8% (p>0.010), a result seen in most of the individual regression tests. The Gold Rush collection appears to be predicted by a working class clientele comprised of some foreigners.

In the Post Gold-Rush collections (including Area 6 East), the Saloons were predicted by 87% ± 13% (p>0.002). No other assemblages come close to significant contributions. When only the other saloon collections were tested against the Post-Gold Rush deposits, they were predicted once again by a combination of 50% ± 15% Miners' Home Saloon (p>0.005) and 45% ± 8% Pantheon Saloon (p>0.000).

The change in social class and ethnicity does not seem to be too great between the Gold Rush and Post Gold Rush periods. The slightly greater prediction by the Pantheon Saloon in the later period may have been caused by a slightly smaller percentage of foreign customers.

Table 6. Intrusive Artifacts Deleted from the Area 1 Dating

Item #	*Description*	*Frag-ments*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*
4456	**Drinking straw,** plastic	1	1920	1985
4398	**Cellophane,** clear fragments	2	1920	1985
4137	**Candy wrapper** label. Fragment of foil backed printed label.	1	1925	1985
4484	**Catsup packet.** H.J. Heinz restaurant condiment packet.	1	1925	1985
6171 4588 4462	**Aluminum foil,** tightly crumpled balls of foil.	4	1925	1985
4494	**Aluminum strip.**	1	1925	1985
3532	**Peanut bag.** "Mr. Peanut" Label	3	1927	1942
4594 4458 4498	**Bag**, plastic	6	1945	1986
4568	**Plastic,** clear fragment.	1	1945	1985
4576	**Label,** clear, plastic	1	1945	1985
4592	**Photographic film negative**, clear fragment of film negative. 1 edge with 11 sprocket holes.	1	1945	1985
4219	**Tissue paper,** used "Kleenex". Discolored white.	1	1945	1985
4474	**Paper,** blue on white print. One straight edge, remainder torn. Printing reads: "Skagway Hardware/P.O. Box 357 Skagway/(907) 983-22--".	1	1965	1985
4450	**Cap, bottle,** red print on silver. Printing reads: " RECYCLABLE BOTTLE/twist cap (around) R".	1	1975	1985

Table 7. Dateable Artifacts in Area 1.

Key code	*Artifact description*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*	*Mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
3431	**Beer Bottle**, amber, slightly bulged neck.	1890	1900	1895.0	1	1895
3876	**Beer Bottle,** bright green.	1870	1918	1894.0	1	1894
3598	**Bitters Bottle,** green, three piece shoulder height mold with cold mold marks. "DR. J.----GERT & HIJOS".	1873	1900	1886.5	1	1886.5
3489	**Liquor Bottle,** amber, applied tooled finish	1890	1899	1894.5	2	3789.0
3505	**Liquor Bottle,** amber	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3758	**Liquor Bottle,** amber, with mold seam.	1880	1889	1884.5	1	1884.5
3469	**Liquor Bottle,** amber, heavy 1890's red-amber, applied tooled collar lip	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3553	**Liquor Bottle,** amber, thick turn molded	1900	1914	1907.0	1	1907
3528 3538	**Liquor Bottle,** amber, turn molded.	1890	1899	1894.5	2	3789
3517	**Liquor Bottle,** green, 3-piece shoulder height mold. Applied tooled finish.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3800	**Liquor Bottle**, green, applied tooled finish.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3517	**Liquor Bottle,** green, 3-piece shoulder height mold.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
4088	**Rum Bottle,** bright green, Applied tooled finish. Lead seal on lip embossed: (reverse) "Only Ge/When Bearing/our/Signatu"; (obverse) "Fine Old/Jamaica Rum".	1884	1900	1892.0	1	1892
4056	**Whiskey Bottle,** amber, Tooled brandy type finish with internal screw threads. Black hard rubber or plastic ("bakelite") stopper fitted to threads. Stopper embossed: "Kellogg's/ Monogram/Bourbons/C/O/ RILEY'S PATENT".	1900	1905	1902.5	1	1902.5
3507	**Whiskey Bottle,** amber 2-piece mold. Tooled finish with residue from lead foil seal.	1900	1914	1907.0	1	1907
4034	**Whiskey Bottle,** amber base fragments.	1900	1914	1907.0	1	1907
3493 3521 3549 3810 4028 4032 4046 4058 4050 4044 4068	**Whiskey Bottle,** glass, amber, George A. Moore/Henry B. Hunt	1896	1918	1907.0	12	22,884
3495	**Whiskey Bottle,** amber, tooled finish.	1900	1914	1907.0	1	1907
4108	**Whiskey Bottle**, glass, manganese clarified Body fragment. Embossed: "----stein/Club".	1889	1889	1889.0	1	1889
3986	**Bottle Stopper,** cork printed: "JESSE MOORE/HUNT CO/KY &/OO".	1896	1919	1907.0	1	1907

Table 7 (continued). Dateable Artifacts in Area 1.

Key code	*Artifact description*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*	*Mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
4084	**Bottle Stopper,** White porcelain, printed on both sides: "Rainier/Seattle/Brewing & Malting/ Company/Beer" (printing faded).	1893	1914	1903.5	1	1903.5
4098	**Bottle Stopper,** Black hard rubber or bakelite fragment. Threaded peg type stopper.	1902	1945	1923.5	1	1923.5
3742	**Mug Handle,** glass, manganese clarified.	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
3994	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified fragment. Etched: "S/'ING".	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
4042	**Unidentified bottle glass fragments,** pale green, applied tooled finish, with bulged neck.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3501	**Unidentified bottle glass fragments,** olive green, 3-piece shoulder height mold. Applied finish.	1890	1899	1894.5	2	3789
3540	**Unidentified bottle glass fragments,** pale green, applied tooled finish.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3551	**Unidentified bottle glass fragments,** olive green, 3-piece mold.	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
3594	**Unidentified glass fragments,** manganese clarified, two piece mold. Flared fire polished sheared lip. Fluted neck & shoulders.	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
3880	**Unidentified bottle glass fragment,** clarified manganese glass.	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6392	**Coin,** Liberty dime, "1888".	1888	1888	1888.0	1	1888
6397	**Coin,** Nickel, Liberty head, "1890".	1890	1890	1890.0	1	1890
6389	**Coin,** Nickel, Liberty head, date illegible.	1883	1912	1897.5	1	3795
5900	**Coin,** Nickel, Liberty head, "1896".	1896	1896	1896.0	1	1896
6385	**Coin,** Nickel, Liberty head, "1899."	1899	1899	1899.0	1	1899
6391	**Coin,** Quarter, 25 cent coin, "1892"	1892	1892	1892.0	1	1892
6400	**Coin,** Quarter, Canadian, "1872".	1872	1872	1872.0	1	1872
3834	**Lamp Chimney,** glass, manganese clarified Fragments.	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6386 6392 6393 6394 6395 6396 6401	**Trade Token,** Brass or copper. Obverse – "Good For/5(cent sign)/Trade". Reverse – "MASCOTTE/SKAGWAY, ALASKA/SALOON".	1898	1899	1898.5	7	13,289.5
6393	**Trade Token,** Brass or copper. Obverse – "THE/COMISARY/ SKAGUAY". Reverse – "Good For/6 ¼ (cent sign)/In Trade".	1898	1899	1898.5	1	1898.5
6387	**Trade Token,** Brass or copper. Obverse: - "MASCOT/SKAGWAY/ALASKA/SALOON". Reverse - "GOOD FOR/5(cent sign)/IN TRADE".	1899	1916	1907.5	1	1907.5
	Totals				**57**	108,216
	Mean Date					**1899**

Table 8. Relative Frequencies of Artifacts in Each of the Predictive Assemblages Used in the Calculation of the Multiple Linear Regressions.

artifact type	*Drinking Families*	*Skagway Business Families*	*Oakland Temperate Families*	*Transient Working Class Families*	*Sickly Temperate Families*
Liquor-Related Items	33.08%	12.55%	7.83%	3.25%	5.42%
Drinking Vessels	0.62%	5.95%	2.97%	0.49%	3.16%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.03%	0.02%	0.00%	0.19%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.62%	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Storage Items	11.05%	13.31%	19.79%	10.81%	12.37%
Food Service Items	18.47%	25.64%	27.35%	6.85%	8.27%
Other Household Items	5.39%	10.69%	7.69%	17.41%	11.13%
Medicinal Items	7.63%	9.54%	1.45%	2.05%	19.33%
Flasks	3.48%	1.73%	5.09%	5.01%	1.13%
Generic Personal Items	8.35%	5.16%	10.87%	31.48%	17.14%
Female-Specific Items	1.80%	6.25%	5.55%	11.30%	7.23%
Male-Specific Items	1.45%	0.48%	1.99%	2.69%	0.78%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.87%	0.56%	0.88%	1.21%	1.48%
Armaments and Military	2.50%	1.31%	0.85%	1.14%	5.33%
Other Artifacts	5.31%	6.20%	7.64%	6.32%	7.07%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**

artifact type	*Transient Male Households*	*Logging Camp*	*The Military*	*Saloons*	*Brothels*	*Hotels and Restaurants*
Liquor-Related Items	7.60%	1.79%	13.12%	37.63%	18.42%	7.50%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%	8.71%	8.78%	1.44%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.18%	3.14%	0.69%	0.22%
Coins and Tokens	1.62%	0.00%	0.10%	0.55%	0.24%	0.32%
Food Storage Items	6.66%	7.00%	6.68%	10.01%	15.21%	28.68%
Food Service Items	3.27%	3.17%	2.73%	8.48%	10.03%	5.01%
Other Household Items	7.63%	24.73%	4.88%	5.90%	8.24%	17.16%
Medicinal Items	0.05%	0.00%	1.55%	4.89%	0.92%	0.25%
Flasks	2.15%	4.35%	2.54%	4.72%	9.93%	1.63%
Generic Personal Items	36.61%	22.79%	16.22%	5.43%	11.02%	22.86%
Female-Specific Items	0.00%	1.11%	1.46%	1.34%	10.92%	4.24%
Male-Specific Items	4.98%	5.33%	0.33%	0.36%	0.11%	1.61%
Tobacco-Related Items	6.09%	8.16%	0.83%	1.67%	1.51%	1.02%
Armaments and Military	13.06%	6.37%	38.01%	1.08%	1.80%	1.55%
Other Artifacts	10.27%	15.20%	11.12%	6.10%	2.18%	6.52%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**

Table 9. Relative Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Mascot Collections.

Artifact Type	*Area 1*	*Areas 2-3*	*Privy*	*Area 4*	*Area 6*	*Area 6 Alternate*	*Gold Rush*	*Post Gold Rush*
Liquor-Related Items	46.34%	30.38%	18.10%	26.97%	41.49%	41.49%	36.73%	32.65%
Drinking Vessels	8.54%	13.92%	22.86%	20.39%	6.38%	6.38%	12.35%	17.35%
Recreation-Related Items	2.44%	1.27%	4.76%	1.97%	1.06%	1.06%	3.09%	1.53%
Coins and Tokens	6.10%	0.00%	0.95%	1.97%	0.00%	0.00%	3.40%	1.53%
Food Service Items	3.05%	5.06%	1.90%	2.63%	9.57%	9.57%	3.40%	6.63%
Food Storage Items	3.66%	6.33%	6.67%	7.24%	10.64%	10.64%	6.17%	6.63%
Other Household Items	0.61%	3.80%	7.62%	7.24%	8.51%	8.51%	3.70%	6.12%
Medicinals	0.00%	5.06%	7.62%	9.21%	3.19%	3.19%	3.09%	7.65%
Flasks	1.83%	8.86%	7.62%	4.61%	6.38%	6.38%	4.63%	4.59%
Generic Personal Items	15.85%	7.59%	5.71%	8.55%	1.06%	2.13%	10.19%	6.63%
Female-Specific Items	0.61%	0.00%	6.67%	0.66%	2.13%	1.06%	2.47%	1.53%
Male-Specific Items	0.61%	0.00%	0.95%	0.66%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%	0.51%
Tobacco-Related Items	3.05%	1.27%	1.90%	2.63%	2.13%	2.13%	2.47%	2.55%
Armaments	1.83%	1.27%	0.00%	0.66%	2.13%	2.13%	1.54%	0.51%
Other Artifacts	5.49%	15.19%	6.67%	4.61%	5.32%	5.32%	6.17%	3.57%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
Minimum Number of Items	**164**	**79**	**105**	**152**	**94**	**94**	**324**	**196**

Table 10. Liquor Bottles in Area 1.

Type of bottle	*MNI**
Back bar bottle	1
Beer bottles	6
Bitters bottles	2
Liquor bottles	28
Rum bottle	1
Whiskey bottles	12
Whiskey, Jesse-Moore Hunt Bourbon.	12
Wine bottle	1
Unidentified bottle, yellow-green glass.	1

*Minimum Number of Items

Table 11. Bottle Closures in Area 1.

Description	*MNI*
Bottle stopper, wool, twill weave fabric wrapped around wood.	1
Bottle stoppers, cork printed: "JESSE MOORE/HUNT CO/KY &/OO".	1
Bottle stoppers, cork.	30
Bottle stopper, cork wide mouth bottle stopper	1
Crown cap	1
Crown cap liners, cork	16
Crown cap, ferrous, with cork liner	2
Peg stopper, glass, flat hood type: aqua	4
Peg stopper, black hard rubber or bakelite fragment, threaded	1
Peg stopper, white porcelain. "Rainier/Seattle/Brewing & Malting/Company/Beer".	2

Table 12. Coins and Tokens in Area 1.

Description	*#*
Coin, Canadian, 25 cents, 1872.	1
Coin, Canadian, 25 cents, 1892.	1
Coin, U. S., quarter, 1876.	1
Coin, U. S., dime, Liberty dime, 1888.	1
Coin, U. S., nickel, Liberty head, 1890.	1
Coin, U. S., nickel, Liberty head. 189_	1
Coin, U. S., nickel, Liberty head. No date visible.	4
Trade token, brass or copper. Obverse - "Good For/ 5¢ / In Trade;" Reverse - "MASCOTTE/SKAGWAY, ALASKA/SALOON".	7
Trade token, brass or copper. Obverse - "Mascot /Skagway /Alaska Saloon;" Reverse - "Good For/ 5¢ /In Trade".	1
Trade token: "25¢ /DRINKS" on obverse. Reverse unreadable.	1
Trade token, brass or copper. Obverse - "The/Comisary/Skaguay;" Reverse - "Good For/ 6 1/4 ¢ / In Trade".	1

Table 13. Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Area 1.

Artifact Type	*MNI*	*TOTALS*
Liquor-Related Items		**69**
Back bar bottle	1	
Beer bottles	6	
Bitters bottles	2	
Liquor bottles	28	
Rum bottle	1	
Whiskey bottles	12	
Whiskey bottles, Jesse-Moore Hunt Bourbon.	12	
Wine bottle	1	
Unidentified bottle, yellow-green glass.	1	
Bungs	3	
Drinking Vessels		**14**
Decanter	1	
Goblet	1	
Mugs	2	
Shot glasses	3	
Shot glasses, RAINIER BREWING & MALTING	3	
Tumblers, Lead glass	4	
Recreation - Related		**4**
Balloons	2	
Dice	2	
Coins and Tokens		**10**
Coins	3	
Mascotte trade tokens	6	
Trade token, "The/Comisary/Skaguay."	1	
Food Serving		**5**
Bowl, ceramic, decorated, possibly a teapot, sugar bowl.	1	
Cup, undecorated whiteware.	1	
Cup, green glazed	1	
Dish, undecorated whiteware	2	
Other Household Items		**6**
Lamp chimneys	3	
Match, wood, older style, shuck match, used.	1	
Measuring spoon	1	
Stove part	1	
Food Storage		**1**
Canning Jar	1	
Pharmaceutical		**3**
Medicinal bottle closure with cork	1	
Medicinal eyedropper	1	
Pharmaceutical bottle, cobalt blue.	1	
Generic Personal		**26**
Belt buckle	1	
Boot heel	1	
Buttons	15	
Eyelet	1	
Moccasin bottoms	1	
Shoe eyelet	1	

Table 13 (continued). The Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Area 1.

Artifact Type	*MNI*	*TOTALS*
Shoe polish dauber	1	
Shoe sole	3	
Snap fastener	2	
Female-Specific		**1**
Bead	1	
Male-Specific		**1**
Collar stud or cuff link	1	
Tobacco-Related		**5**
Tobacco Pipes	4	
Armaments		**3**
Cartridges	3	
Other Artifacts		**9**
Box, wood, similar to cigar box	1	
Carpenter's pencil	1	
Dry Cell Battery	2	
Pencil graphite	3	
Pencil, wood.	2	
TOTAL		**164**

Table 14. Relative Frequencies of Artifact Categories in Area 1 and the Five Comparative Saloon Collections.

artifact type	*Area 1*	*Corner Saloon*	*California Saloon*	*Miner's Home Saloon*	*Pantheon Saloon*	*Knoxville Saloon*
Liquor-Related	46.34%	47.41%	42.32%	51.18%	9.62%	29.29%
Drinking Vessels	8.54%	2.29%	3.94%	7.09%	21.52%	2.86%
Recreation-Related	2.44%	5.27%	1.01%	1.97%	4.30%	0.71%
Coins and Tokens	6.10%	0.59%	0.61%	0.00%	1.01%	2.86%
Food Serving	3.05%	21.50%	4.34%	4.33%	9.87%	14.29%
Food Storage	3.66%	4.08%	17.78%	3.94%	8.10%	2.14%
Other Household	0.61%	9.35%	5.76%	3.94%	4.56%	6.43%
Flasks	0.00%	0.00%	4.24%	7.48%	7.85%	0.00%
Pharmaceuticals	1.83%	2.46%	1.52%	1.97%	12.91%	9.29%
Generic Personal	15.85%	3.06%	5.45%	8.66%	4.56%	17.14%
Female-Specific	0.61%	0.00%	2.12%	1.97%	1.27%	1.43%
Male-Specific	0.61%	0.00%	0.30%	0.39%	0.76%	0.71%
Tobacco-Related	3.05%	1.53%	3.84%	0.79%	0.51%	2.14%
Armaments	1.83%	1.53%	0.61%	0.39%	1.77%	2.86%
Other Artifacts	5.49%	0.93%	6.16%	5.91%	11.39%	7.86%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**

Table 15: Dates of Artifacts in the Lowest Levels of the Area 5 Privy.

ID #	*Description*	*Frag-ments*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*	*Mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
6530.00	**Picnic flask**, manganese clarified glass	5	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6435.00	**Flask,** manganese clarified glass	4	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6531.00	**Shoo-fly flask,** manganese clarified glass	5	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5028.00	**Unidentified bottle**, manganese clarified glass	12	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6416.00	**Glass peg bottle stopper,** manganese clarified glass	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6439.00	**Goblet**, manganese clarified glass	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6418.00	**Mug handle**, manganese clarified glass	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5016.00	**Mug or stein**, manganese clarified glass	4	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6436 6520	**Shot glass**, manganese clarified glass	10	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
6519.00	**Stemmed wine glass or goblet,** manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6521 6437	**Tumblers,** manganese clarified.	15	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
	Total	**61**				**13**	**24,667.5**
	Mean Date						**1898**

Table 16: Dates of Artifacts in the Upper Levels of the Area 5 Privy.

ID #	*Description*	*Fragments*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*	*Mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
5475	**Beer bottle**, aqua. Embossed: "AB". Adolphus Busch Glass Mfg. Co.	1	1899	1905	1902.0	1	1902
6454 6449 5539	**Flask,** manganese clarified	20	1880	1915	1897.5	3	5692.5
6459 6460	**Flasks, Philadelphia oval,** manganese, clarified	3	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5485 4531	**Picnic flasks,** manganese clarified.	2	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5537	**Picnic flask,** clear lead glass.	1	1890	1915	1902.5	1	1902.5
6451	**Wine Bottle**, Graphite pontil, red deposit, amber.	3	**1900**	1910	1905.0	1	1905
5333 4539 5307 6490	**Unidentified bottle,** manganese clarified	23	1880	1915	1897.5	4	7590.0
5487	**Unidentified bottle,** olive green	4	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5299	**Unidentified bottle** glass, finish type refired pontil, aqua	3	1898	1910	1904.0	1	1904
6490	**Unidentified bottle,** manganese clarified	9	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6497	**Goblet**, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6453	**Mug,** manganese clarified.	4	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5521 5319	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified	9	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5519	**Shot glass,** clear, flint glass fragments. Thin glass. Etched: "---TT--/MALT/R------ BEE-". Full text would read: SEATTLE/MALTING/ RAINIER BEER.	2	1893	1916	1904.5	1	1904.5
5511	**Stemmed wine glass or goblet,** manganese clarified	5	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5525 5321	**Tumbler**, manganese clarified	73	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5301	**Glass peg stopper,** flat hood type, pale green	1	1896	1896	1896.0	1	1896
6534	**Jar lid,** cylindrical, complete lid. Manganese clarified. Embossed: "PAT'D JANY 11th 1898" on base.	1	1898	1915	1906.5	1	1906.5
6462 5541	**Pharmaceutical bottle**, manganese clarified	2	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5317	**Lamp chimney**, glass, manganese clarified.	7	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6402	**Coin, nickel** liberty head, 1896	1	1896	1896	1896.0	1	1896
	Total	**229**				**45**	**85,418**
	Mean Date						**1899**

Table 17. Drinking Vessels in the Area 5 Privy.

Item	*L. 1-8 MNI*	*L.9-10 MNI*
Goblet	1	0
Mugs or steins	3	2
Shot glasses	2	3
Shot glass, clear glass, flint glass fragment. Screen printed, "DIAM.../crown symbol".	1	0
Shot glass, etched, "SEATTLE/MALTING/RAINIER BEER " with a picture that depicts Mt. Rainier.	1	0
Stemmed wine glass or goblet	0	2
Tumblers	8	4
Tumbler, flint glass. White enameled, street and building scene; "--, WASH (partial H)".	1	0
Total	**17**	**11**

Table 18: Liquor-Related Items in the Privy

item	*L. 1-8 MNI*	*L.9-10 MNI*
Beer bottle, amber		1
Beer bottle, amber, applied tooled finish.	1	
Beer bottle, aqua	1	
Beer bottle, aqua glass, base fragment. Embossed, "AB".	1	
Beer bottle, green		1
Bitters bottle, amber, one fragment has "...S" embossed in panel.	1	
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, open pontil base, clear glass,	1	
Liquor bottle, olive green		1
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, base type graphite pontil with red deposit, olive green glass.	1	
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, base type refired pontil, olive green glass, turn molded. Large (quart?) Size bottle.	1	
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, base type refired pontil, olive green glass.	1	
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, green glass,	1	
Liquor bottle, pale green		1
Liquor bottle, cylindrical, olive green		1
Wine bottle, pale green. Applied tooled finish.		1
Unidentified alcoholic beverage bottle, finish type Tapered Collar Lip, amber glass. Applied tooled finish.	1	
Unidentified glass bottle cylindrical, yellow-green		1
Unidentified glass bottle, pale green		1
Unidentified glass bottle, aqua		1
Unidentified glass bottle, clear		1
Unidentified glass bottle, cylindrical, amber glass, one body and on base fragment. Base fragment has a ghost seam indicative of, manufacture by an automatic bottle machine with embossing on base, "...N 4...."	1	
Unidentified glass bottle, cylindrical, selenium clarified glass,. Hazel atlas mark - embossed "A". Thick, heavy glass. Molded, stippled on bottom of largest fragment. Ghost seam from automatic bottle machine on base.	1	
Unidentified glass bottle, finish type sheared lip, ground neck, amber glass. One body fragment with molded diagonal ribbing. Blow-back or blow-over finish with continuous threads. Diagonally ribbed sides. Possible medicinal bottle.	1	
Unidentified glass bottle, oval/ovoid, manganese clarified glass, body fragments. Base with small star embossed in center on outside surface.	1	
Total	**14**	**10**

Table 19. Flasks in the Privy.

item	*L. 1-8*	*L.9-10*
Flask (?) With strap sides, amber glass, body fragments.	1	
Flask, (?)Rectangular, clear.		1
Flask, manganese clarified glass, applied tooled finish.	1	
Flask, manganese clarified glass, applied tooled finish. Pint size.	1	
Flask, manganese clarified.		1
Flask, picnic type, lead glass. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulders.	1	
Flask, picnic type, manganese clarified glass. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulder.	1	
Flask, picnic type, clarified with manganese. Pint size. Applied tooled finish.		1
Flask, shoo-fly type, clarified with manganese. Pint size. Applied tooled finish.		1
Flask, amber, with side straps.		1
Total	**5**	**5**

Table 20. Bottle Closures in the Privy.

Item	*L. 1-8*	L.9-10
Bottle cap, threaded screw top, metal, black painted metal. Unpainted interior.	1	
Bottle stopper, glass, pet flat hood type, manganese clarified	1	1
Cork, cylindrical, fragment.	2	1
Crown cap with cork liner	3	1
Crown cap without liner	2	1
Metal foil cork seal, lead, fragment of pressed lead foil seal. With letters, "...HI...".	1	
Total	**10**	**4**

Table 21. Artifacts Used in the Multiple Regression of the Privy Pit.

Artifacts	*L. 1-8*	*L.9-10*	***total***
Liquor-related	**15**	**12**	**27**
Beer bottles	2	2	
Beer bottles, aqua, "AB"	1		
Bitters bottle	1		
Ginger ale bottle, aqua glass	1		
Liquor bottles	5	3	
Unidentified bottle, yellow-green		1	
Unidentified alcoholic beverage bottle	2	5	
Unidentified bottle, Hazel Atlas mark	1		
Wine bottle		1	
Wine or brandy bottle	2		
Drinking Vessels	**18**	**11**	**29**
Goblet	1		
Mug or pitcher handle	1		
Mug or stein	2	2	
Shot glasses	3	3	
Shot glass, etched "SEATTLE/ MALTING/ RAINIER BEER" and a picture which depicts mountain (Mt. Rainier).	1		
Stemmed wine glass or goblet		2	
Tumblers	8	4	
Tumbler, white enameled, street & building, scene; "--, WASH (partial h)".	1		
Wine glass, clear lead glass	1		
Coins and Tokens	**1**	**0**	**1**
Coin, American, nickel, Liberty head, 1896.	1		
Recreation-Related	**4**	**2**	**6**
Poker chip	3	2	
Tennis, ball	1		
Food Serving	**3**	**0**	**3**
Bowl, pot or other vessel, enamelware	1		
Plate, unidentified size, earthenware, white granite, undecorated.	1		
Pot, pan or bowl, graniteware enamel container.	1		
Food Storage	**5**	**0**	**5**
Jar lid, cylindrical, manganese clarified glass, Embossed, "PAT'D JANY 11th 1898" on base.	1		
Jar lid, threaded screw top, metal.	1		
Jar, selenium clarified glass,	1		
Key, metal, turn-key fragment	1		
Meat jar? milk glass (white)	1		
Other Household	**4**	**1**	**5**
Lamp chimney	1	1	
Light bulbs, incandescent, base/filament	1		
Table knife handle	1		
Figurine or decorative furnishing	1		
Generic Personal	**7**	**2**	**9**
Button	4	1	
Comb	1		
Cosmetic jar, milk glass.		1	
Washstand pitcher, white granite	1		

Table 21 (continued). Artifacts Used in the Multiple Regression of the Privy.

Artifacts	*L. 1-8*	*L.9-10*	*total*
Wash basin or pitcher, white granite	1		
Flasks	**7**	**4**	**11**
Flask	3	1	
Flask, picnic type	2	1	
Flask, side straps		1	
Flask? amber glass, diagonally ribbed sides Possible medicinal bottle.	1		
Flask? oval/ovoid, manganese clarified glass	1		
Shoo-fly flask		1	
Pharmaceutical	**5**	**1**	**6**
Medicinal vial	1	1	
Medicine bottle	1		
Pharmaceutical bottle	3		
Male-Specific Items	**1**	**0**	**1**
Knife, pocket	1		
Female-Specific Items	**2**	**2**	**4**
Earring		1	
Garter		1	
Purse	1		
Ring	1		
Tobacco-Related Items	**2**	**0**	**2**
Tobacco pipe stem, celluloid	1		
Tobacco pipe, white clay unglazed	1		
Other Artifacts	**5**	**2**	**7**
Chalk board fragment, slate		1	
Fish hook leader, metal swivel	1		
Fishhook, metal	1		
Gear, circular fragment	1		
Ink bottle	1		
pencils	1	1	
Total	**37**	**79**	**116**

Table 22. Datable Artifacts in Areas 2 and 3.

Item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*Beginning date*	*Ending date*	*Mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
3895	**Unidentified ceramic dish fragment,** plain white granite ware sherds, possibly a large bowl or a wash basin. Black print mark: "Royal Ironstone China/(lion & unicorn on each side of a seal)/ Johnson Bro/England". Staffordshire Potteries.	6	1892	1913	1898	1	1898
3685	**Beer/ale bottle**, amber; complete neck and finish. Applied tooled finish.	1	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1895
4025	**Carboy/demijohn,** aqua, cylindrical. Base and body fragments. Post-bottom mold.	17	1890	1899	1894.5	1.00	1894.5
3755	**Gin, Schnapps or mineral water.** Ceramic, two finish and 52 body/neck fragments. Finish fragments have remnants of lead foil seals, one with embossed "...A..." Neck fragment mends to one finish fragment.	54	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1895
3887	**Liquor bottle,** green, body fragments. Maker Fortune & Albert Chevalier.	2	1896	1906	1901	1	1901
3601	**Liquor bottle,** cylindrical, olive green; one shoulder fragments with 3 piece shoulder height mold seams.	2	1889	1925	1907	1	1907
6668	**Mineral water.** Ceramic, body sherd. Fine light tan paste with mottled brown glazed on the exterior, interior unglazed. Impressed "ENHEY/Schneidam". Probably from Schniedam, Germany	3	1880	1916	1898	1	1898
3809	**Philadelphia oval,** clear, 1/2 pint flask. Compound (2) neck rings. Finish broken. Three piece mold with vent marks. Heel embossing: "net contents 5 oz." Bottom of base embossed: "1748".	16	1900	1914	1907	1	1907
5351	**Picnic flask,** clarified with manganese, neck/finish fragment. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulders.	1	1890	1915	1902.5	1	1902.5
3667	**Whiskey bottle,** Jesse Moore bourbon: cylindrical: amber, body fragments. Embossed: "JESSE MOORE/G.(partial H)/BOUR/JESSE M/SAN F----------". Embossed in circular shape - 2 partial circles and small portion of antlers. Maker George A. Moore/Henry B. Hunt.	1	1896	1918	1907	1	1907
4085	**Unidentified bottle,** cylindrical: pale green, body/shoulder fragment. Embossed: "F. CH------- " on shoulder. Fortune & Albert Chevalier	1	1896	1906	1901	1	1901
4121	**Unidentified bottle,** neck/finish fragment. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulders. Manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
	Totals				**1900**	**12**	22,807

Table 23. Plumbing-Related Items in Areas 2 and 3.

#	*description*	*measurement*
1	Water service pipe. Lead alloy. Cut ends. 1 end straight, even cut with 1 side slightly flattened. Opposite end cut at angle - flares outward, appears to have been cut twice from different positions leaving one extra piece bent almost in half.	Length 9.8, diameter 3.7 cm
10	Pieces of ferrous water pipe	Length 2.0 - 11.0, diameter 1.5 cm
1	Piece of ferrous sewer pipe.	Length 18.3, diameter 23.0 cm
1	Water or sewer service iron pipe fragment.	Length 9.6, diameter 10.8 cm
1	Probably water service pipe. 1 end has wide opening; opposite end has lip that makes smaller opening. Threads to attach pipe to fitting can be seen inside.	Height 4.4, diameter 3.5 cm
1	Female end section of copper water pipefitting.	Length 2.2, diameter 3.0 cm
1	Water service pipe fragment. Ferrous.	Length 13.0, diameter 3.8 cm
1	Water service pipe. Ferrous. Some threads barely visible at one end of pipe.	Length 6.2, diameter 2.2 cm
1	Ferrous water service pipe. Completely split down one side. Threads barely visible on both ends.	Length 7.0, diameter 3.0 cm
1	Ferrous water service pipe fitting. Some threads visible.	Length 3.5, diameter 2.9 cm

Table 24. Liquor Bottles Found in Areas 2 and 3.

Item description	MNI
Beer bottles	3
Gin or mineral water bottle, stoneware. "...ENHEY/Schneidam".	1
Liquor bottle	6
Liquor bottle. FORTUNE & ALBERT CHEVALIER.	1
Whiskey bottle	4
Whiskey bottle, 90% complete, "G.H. Moore Bourbon & Rye"; "Jesse Moore & Co. Louisville, Ky."; "Jesse Moore-Hunt Co.".	1
Whiskey bottle, embossed: "F. CH-------" on shoulder. Probably FORTUNE & ALBERT CHEVALIER.	1
Wine bottles	6

Table 25. Bottle Closures in Areas 2 and 3.

Artifact type	*MNI*
Bottle stopper, cork	6
Crown cap with cork liner	1
Crown cap, without liner	1
Glass peg stopper, flat hood type	1

Table 26. Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Areas 2 and 3.

Artifact type		*MNI*
Liquor-Related		**24**
Beer bottle	3	
Carboy or demijohn	1	
Gin, schnapps or mineral water bottle	1	
Liquor bottles	7	
Whiskey bottle: Jesse Moore-Hunt Co.	1	
Whiskey bottles	5	
Wine bottles	6	
Drinking Vessels		**11**
Mug	1	
Pitcher	1	
Shot glasses	2	
Tumblers	7	
Recreation-Related		**1**
Poker chip	1	
Food Serving		**4**
Unidentified dish, porcelain, green-blue.	1	
Unidentified dish, porcelain. Shades in color from very pale green to a blue-green. Opposite clear glazed.	1	
Unidentified dish, cream color ground with rose, green & yellow floral transfer print.	1	
Unidentified dish, white ware	1	
Food Storage		**5**
Jar lid liner	1	
Jar	1	
Pepper sauce bottles	2	
Unidentified bottle, peacock-blue fragment.	1	
Other Household		**3**
Lamp chimney	1	
Lamp shade	1	
Stove baffle damper.	1	
Flasks		**4**
Flasks	3	
Picnic flask	1	
Pharmaceutical		**7**
Medicine bottle	4	
Pharmaceutical bottle	3	
Generic Personal Items		**6**
Boot	1	
Glove	1	
Shoe	1	
Sponge	1	
Wash basin or pitcher, whiteware	1	
Washstand pitcher, white granite	1	
Tobacco-Related Items		**1**
Tobacco pipe stem, white clay	1	
Armaments		**1**
Cartridge	1	

Table 26 (continued). Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Areas 2 and 3.

Artifact type		*MNI*
Other artifacts		**9**
Bolt	1	
Hack saw blade,	1	
Insulator, ceramic,	1	
Nut, square, metal	1	
Pencil, slate.	1	
Rivet	1	
Washer, ferrous, ferrous	2	
Washer, rubber	1	
Railroad spikes	3	

Table 27. Datable Artifacts in Area 4.

item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean*	*MNI*	*product*
5659	**Back bar bottle,** manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5367	**Beer bottle,** mold seams, manganese clarified.	3	1880	1920	1900	1	1900
5103	**Beer bottle**, quart size. Base embossed: "SB & G CO./17". Toulouse (1971:461).	21	1881	1905	1893	1	1893
5101	**Beer bottle**, base embossed: "R & CO./11". Post type mold. Toulouse (1971:439).	7	1880	1900	1890	1	1890
5153	**Beer bottle**, amber. Applied tooled finishes. One finish with bulged neck. One neck has residue from paper label.	41	1905	1925	1915	3	5745
6003	**Beer bottle** (neck), four body and 1 finish fragments. Applied tooled finish, amber.	5	1890	1900	1895	1	1895
5269	**Beer bottle,** amber. Made for Streator Bottle & Glass Co.	5	1881	1905	1893	1	1893
5663	**Beer bottle,** Applied tooled finish. Very small part of base. Amber.	20	1888	1898	1893	1	1893
5172	**Beer bottle,** Cup type mold. Air vents on shoulder. Base embossed: "S B & G CO./B", amber. Streator Bottle & Glass.	55	1890	1905	1897.5	1	1897.5
5099	**Beer bottle**. Air vents form pattern around shoulders. Base embossed: "R & CO.(straight line below this)/18". Amber	4	1890	1900	1895	1	1895
5939	**Beer bottle,** vent marks. Remains of label adhesive and a mold seam, amber.	14	1890	1918	1904	1	1904
5661	**Beer bottle,** pale green. Applied tooled finish.	3	**1902**	1918	1910	1	1910
5829	**Beer bottle,** one finish, 17 body fragments. Applied tooled finish. Amber.	18	1892	1904	1898	1	1898
5915	**Beer bottle,** body fragments, aqua. One with mold seam.	2	1900	1918	1909	1	1909
6005	**Beer or soda bottle** (?) (lip), finish fragments, mend, pale green. Applied, tooled finish.	2	1900	1918	1909	1	1909
5159 5731 5213 5180 4206 4162 5157	**Bitters bottle**. Dr. J G B Siegert & Hijos (Wilson 1981:27, fig. 76).	20	1890	1899	1894.5	7	13,261.5
5211	**Bitters bottle,** amber. Applied tooled finish. Rectangular cross section.	1	1898	1908	1903	1	1903
4148	**Bitters bottle,** square, amber. Embossed vertically: 1) "I"; 2) "RS/RS"; 3) "DR J". Applied tooled finish. Amber. Probably Dr. J. Hostetter's stomach bitters.	27	1888	1900	1894	1	1894

Table 27 (continued): Datable Artifacts in Area 4.

item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean*	*MNI*	*product*
5793	**Flask**, oval base, manganese clarified.	3	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
6669	**Flask**, manganese clarified, applied tooled finish. Shoulder air vents. Pint sized. Thre part cup mold. Embossed: "UNION-TRADE MARK MADE (around)/A.F. (inside circle)". Edward A Power & Co.	8	1897	1915	1906	1	1906
5229	**Flask** (lip), finish and body fragments. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulder. Mold seam on 2 fragments, manganese clarified.	3	1890	1915	1902.5	1	1902.5
5795	**Flask**. Applied tooled finish. Shoulder vents, mold seams, manganese clarified.	7	1890	1915	1902.5	1	1902.5
5342	**Flask** applied tooled finish, manganese clarified.	1	1890	1915	1902.5	1	1902.5
5271 5673 5923	**Flasks**, manganese clarified.	16	1880	1915	1897.5	1	5692.5
5375	**Ginger ale bottle.** Body fragments, aqua. Embossed: "GINGER". Made for Shasta Water Company.	6	1901	1918	1909.5	1	1909.5
5733	**Liquor bottle,** base fragments, amber.	2	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5160	**Liquor bottle**, amber. Air vents on shoulders.	3	1898	1918	1908	1	1908
5957	**Liquor bottle,** large size (quart) bottle. Cup bottom mold, amber.	3	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5128	**Liquor bottle,** amber, air vents on shoulder.	5	1898	1918	1908	1	1908
5231	**Liquor bottle,** amber.	9	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
4174	**Liquor bottle,** manganese clarified.	13	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5895	**Liquor bottle,** applied tooled finish and shoulder with vent marks, manganese clarified.	3	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5941	**Liquor or beer bottle,** quart size. Air vents. One fragment with mold seam, amber.	16	1890	1918	1904	1	1904
5126	**Picnic flask**, manganese clarified. Applied tooled finish. Air vents on shoulder.	15	1898	1915	1906.5	1	1906.5
5369 5649 5949 5837	**Picnic flasks,** manganese clarified.	15	1880	1915	1897.5	4	7590.0
5951	**Shoo-fly flask**, manganese clarified, applied tooled finish.	6	1895	1898	1896.5	1	1896.5

Table 27 (continued): Datable Artifacts in Area 4.

item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean*	*MNI*	*product*
5839	**Strapped flask or medicinal bottle**, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5797	**Strapped whisky flask or medicinal bottle**, rectangular cross section, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5890	**Whiskey bottle,** Jesse Moore-Hunt Bourbon.	4	1896	1918	1907	1	1907
4168	**Whiskey bottle,** double air vents on shoulder, amber.	3	1890	1900	1895	1	1895
5162	**Wine bottle,** Kick-up fragment. "black" glass.	1	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5241	**Wine bottle,** body fragment, olive green.	1	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5843	**Wine bottle,** green glass, possibly bare iron pontil scar.	19	1850	1900	1875	1	1875
5176	**Wine bottle,** "black" glass.	3	1890	1899	1894.5	1	1894.5
5161	**Wine/brandy bottle**, olive green	1	1888	1898	1893	1	1893
5161	**Wine/brandy bottle**, applied tooled finish. Turn molded bottle, olive green.	1	1888	1898	1893	1	1893
5161	**Wine/brandy bottle**, small base fragment. Kick-up type base. Olive green	1	1888	1898	1893	1	1893
5927	**Bottle stopper,** glass, grooved for metal bail, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5249 5336 4158 5247 5695 5193 5753	**Goblets**, manganese clarified.	16	1880	1915	1897.5	7	13,282.5
5130 5811 5137 5755 5973 5853	**Mug**, manganese clarified.	41	1880	1915	1897.5	8	15,180.0
5657	**Pitcher or bowl,** glass. Pressed, knobbed diamond pattern. "flat diamond" pattern. Manganese clarified.	9	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
4170	**Pitcher**. Pressed glass. Manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
4196 5173 5175	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified.	16	1880	1915	1897.5	3	5692.5
5391	**Shot glass,** lead glass, etched with logo for Seattle Brewing & Malting Co.	5	1883	1916	1899.5	1	1899.5

Table 27 (continued): Datable Artifacts in Area 4.

item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean*	*MNI*	*product*
5393 5287 5815 5139 4172	**Tumblers**, manganese clarified.	205	1880	1915	1897.5	8	15,180.0
5697	**Tumbler**, , manganese clarified. Hazel Atlas Glass Co. mark, 1920-1964 (Toulouse 1971:239).	1	**1902**	1915	1908.5	1	1908.5
5773 5943 5225 5107 5192	**Jar**, milkglass, Cudahy Packing Co.	9	1890	1920	1905	5	9525.0
4258	**Jar**, tooled, grooved lip, wide mouth, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5886	**Jar, preserving**, selenium clarified. Pint size. Ground lip with continuous screw threads.	3	1911	1930	1920.5	1	1920.5
6403	**Coin, dime,** Obverse - side profile of bust facing right - male with laurel wreath around head; UNITED/STATES/OF/AMERICA/1898". Reverse - "ONE/DIME" surrounded by a wreath of corn or wheat stalks held together by a bow. Under bow is an "S".	1	1898	1898	1898	1	1898
6405	**Coin, nickel,** Liberty head. Date: "1888". Stars around profile/bust.	1	1888	1888	1888	1	1888
6404	**Coin, quarter,** obverse - "VICTORIA/DEI /GRATIA /REGINA /CANADA" around female profile/bust with crown. Reverse - wreath around perimeter; date: "18 71 or 77?/.25".	1	1870	1879	1874.5	1	1874.5
5791	**Jar, condiment,** wide mouth food jar, possibly pickle, relish or other condiment, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5669	**Jar, mustard barrel**, horizontally ribbed shoulders & heel. Manganese clarified.	3	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5945	**Preserve Jar**, manganese clarified. Base embossed: "Snider Preserve Co."	1	1909	1915	1912	1	1912
5845 4182 6056	**Salt or pepper shaker** (lip), manganese clarified, blow-over or blow-back ground finish. Continuous threads.	4	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5893 5679	**Pharmaceutical bottles**, one finish and 4 body fragments. Applied tooled finish, manganese clarified.	8	1880	1915	1897.5	2	3795.0
5884	**Medicine bottle**, aqua, embossed: "R R". Made for Mary J. Radway.	1	1880	1906	1893	1	1893

Table 27 (continued): Datable Artifacts in Area 4.

item #	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean*	*MNI*	*product*
4228	**Vial** or eye dropper, manganese clarified.	3	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5925	**Vaseline jar,** manganese clarified. Continuous screw threads. Embossed: "----E MARK/--SELINE/CHESEBOROUGH (horizontally)/ ---ORK. Made for Flaccus Glass Co.	1	1908	1915	1911.5	1	1911.5
4256	**Ink bottle,** aqua. Applied tooled finish. Ringed shoulder and heel. Air vents around shoulder.	1	1898	1912	1905	1	1905
5743 4214 5955 5888 5871 5194	**Unidentified bottles**, manganese clarified.	17	1880	1915	1897.5	6	11,385.0
5161	**Unidentified bottle**, probably wine or brandy bottle. Olive green.	11	1888	1898	1893	1	1893
5835	**Unidentified bottle**, aqua. Probably soda or beer(s). Applied tooled finish.	5	1898	1910	1904	1	1904
5945	**Unidentified bottle**, manganese clarified. Finish has automatic bottle machine seams.	4	**1904**	1915	1912.5	1	1912.5
5377	**Unidentified bottle**, air vent present on 1 sherd. Seam visible on 1 sherd, amber.	5	1890	1910	1900	1	1900
5381	**Unidentified bottle**, faceted/octagonal. Multi-sided bottle, manganese clarified.	2	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5870	**Unidentified bottle,** selenium clarified.	1	1915	1930	1922.5	1	1922.5
5971	**Unidentified glass fragments.** Pressed glass base in rayed pattern. Manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5861	**Unidentified glass fragments.** One with "CO" etched on surface. Manganese clarified.	87	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5427	**Unidentified glass fragments.** Pressed graduated bar pattern. Manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5655 5719 5781	**Unidentified glass fragments.** Pressed quilted pattern inside diamonds flanked by inverted ribbed fan pattern around heel. Rayed base. "Burger" pattern. Manganese clarified.	3	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5887	**Unidentified glass fragments.** Thick glass. Two rim fragments with rounded, smooth and finished edge, manganese clarified.	11	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
5419 5135	**Lamp chimney**. Crimped rim. Manganese clarified.	49	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
4194	**Lamp chimney,** Crimped top, frosted base, manganese clarified.	8	1880	1915	1897.5	1	1897.5
	Total	**830**				**60**	**113,926.5**
	Mean						**1899**

Table 28. Textiles in Area 4.

Unit	*Type*	*Fragments*	*Description*
30	cotton	1	Dark brown or black dyed. Woven with machine stitching. 2 seams - 1 at each end of fragment; one narrow seam and one very wide. Edges of material ragged, uneven and unraveling.
37	wool	2	Knit fragments. Loose knit, unraveling around edges. Brown.
27	unidentified textile	3	Black dyed fabric, plain or tabby weave. Scarf?
34	unidentified textile	1	Black, twill weave.
37	unidentified textile	1	Black, twill weave. Once rectangular shape w/stitching along each edge.
42	cotton	1	Black, plain or tabby weave.
47	unidentified textile	3	Fragments. Brown.
47	unidentified textile	2	Plain/tabby weave. Brown dye. Unraveling.
47	unidentified textile	1	Loose, plain/tabby weave. Light brown dye.

Table 29. Shells in Area 4.

Type of Shell	*Frags*
Clam	97
Clam: Butter Clam	72
Clam: *Prothaca staminea*	9
Clam: *Venus mercenaria*	126
Unidentified shell, bivalve	4
Unidentified shell	8

Table 30. Drinking Vessels in Area 4.

Description	*MNI*
Drinking glass, Pressed "Burger" pattern.	1
Drinking glass, Cut Rayed (?) pattern.	1
Globlets	2
Mugs	4
Pitcher. Pressed "Flat Diamond" pattern	1
Shot glasses, etched with Rainier Beer brand logo.	2
Shot glasses	3
Tumbler with horizontal lines for measuring purposes. Coated with cream/white enamel. Clear glass.	1
Tumblers	16

Table 31. Liquor Bottles in Area 4.

Description	*MNI*
Back bar bottle	1
Beer bottle	14
Beer or soda bottle	2
Bitters bottles. Dr. J G B Siegert & Hijos bitters	7
Bitters bottle	1
Bitters bottle, Dr. J. Hostetters Bitters	1
Liquor bottle	3
Liquor or beer bottle	1
Unidentified liquor bottle	4
Whiskey bottle Jesse Moore-Hunt Bourbon	1
Wine bottle	1
Wine or brandy bottles	4

Table 32. Bottle Closures in Area 4.

Description	*MNI*
Cork bottle stopper	1
Cork harness, wire	1
Crown cap with liner	1
Crown cap, without cork liner	1
Crown cap	1
Hutchison bottle stopper, glass	1
Metal foil cork seal, lead	2
Peg stopper, cork sleeve.	1
Peg stopper, flat hood type	2

Table 33. Artifacts Used in the Multiple Linear Regression of Area 4.

Category	*Description*	*MNI*
Liquor-Related		**41**
	Back bar bottle	1
	Beer bottle	14
	Beer or soda bottle	2
	Bitters bottles. Dr. J G B Siegert & Hijos bitters	7
	Bitters bottle	1
	Bitters bottle, Dr. J. Hostetters Bitters	1
	Liquor bottle	3
	Liquor or beer bottle	1
	Pitcher?	1
	Unidentified liquor bottle	4
	Whiskey bottle Jesse Moore-Hunt Bourbon	1
	Wine bottle	1
	Wine or brandy bottles	4
Drinking Vessels		**31**
	Drinking glass	2
	Globlet	2
	Mug	4
	Shot glass	3
	Shot glasses with etched Rainier Beer brand logo	2
	Tumbler, Horizontally lines for measuring purposes	1
	Tumblers	17
Recreation-Related		**3**
	Poker chip	3
Coins and Tokens		**3**
	Coin, Candian, 25 cent piece, 18 71 or 1877	1
	Coin, American, dime, 1898, San Francisco	1
	Coin, nickel, Liberty head, 1888	1
Food Serving		**4**
	Plate, White glazed earthenware sherds. Slight scalloped edge white with brown floral pattern. One rim sherd with gold gilt.	1
	Salt or pepper shaker. Octagonal body. Blow-over or blow-back continuous thread finish.	1
	Unidentified dish, whiteware, granite, undecorated.	1
	Unidentified dish, whiteware, rim sherd. Blue glazed one side.	1
Food Storage		**11**
	Condiment bottle, "Snider Preserve Co."	1
	Condiment bottle, mustard barrel,	1
	Condiment jar, possibly pickle relish or other condiment	1
	Jam or jelly jar	1
	Jar	1
	Jar lid liner, milk glass	1
	Jar lid liner, pale green glass	1
	Meat jar, "CUDAHY PACK".	1

Table 33 (continued). Artifacts Used in the Multiple Linear Regression of Area 4.

Category	*Description*	*MNI*
	Peppersauce bottle	1
	Preserving jar	1
	Unidentified bottle, octagonal base	1
Other Household		**11**
	Bottle opener, "Church Key"	1
	Candle, wax.	1
	Lamp Chimney	4
	Lampshade	1
	Light bulb	2
	Stove grate	1
	Wall mirror	1
Flasks		**14**
	Flask	3
	Flask (?)	1
	Flask, Picnic type	4
	Flask, Shoo-fly	1
	Flask, whiskey	4
	Flask? Possible medicinal bottle.	1
Pharmaceutical		**7**
	Medicinal bottle ?	1
	Medicinal flask (?)	1
	Medicinal vial	1
	Medicinal vial or possibly eye dropper	1
	Pharmaceutical bottle embossed: "R R"	1
	Pharmaceutical bottle	1
	Unidentified bottle, cobalt blue.	1
Generic Personal		**13**
	Boots	2
	Button	6
	clothing snap	1
	Eye glass lens	1
	Overall fastener	1
	Shoe	1
	Vaseline jar	1
Female-Related		**1**
	Cosmetic or toiletry bottle	1
Male-Specific		**1**
	shirt stud	1
Tobacco-Related		**4**
	Tobacco pipe, white clay	1
	Tobacco pipe, black mouthpiece and partial stem, hard rubber	1
	Tobacco pipe, stem and mouthpiece, black, hard rubber.	1
	Tobacco pipe, stem, light brown, celluloid.	1
Armaments		**1**
	Cartridge, probably a .22	1

Table 33 (continued). Artifacts Used in the Multiple Linear Regression of Area 4.

Category	*Description*	*MNI*
Other Artifacts		**7**
	Hammer, claw	1
	Ink bottles	2
	Key, ferrous metal.	1
	Railroad tie plate	1
	Shipping tag, lead	1
	Wood barrel stave	1
TOTAL		**162**

Table 34. Datable Artifacts in Area 6 West.

#	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
5428	**Beer bottle,** amber, applied tooled finish.	4	1880	1889	1885	1	1884.5
5488	**Beer bottle,** amber, post type mold. Base embossed: "S B & G CO/13". Streator Bottle & Glass Co.	10	1881	1905	1893	2	3786
5768, 5812, 5790, 5846	**Pharmaceutical bottle,** embossed: "...RADWAY & CO.../...RK..." "ACT OF CONGRESS." Mary J Radway, aqua.	12	1880	1906	1893	1	1893
5728	**Unidentified Alcoholic beverage bottle,** body fragments. "black glass". Probably liquor or wine.	4	1870	1918	1894	1	1894
5578	**Beer bottle,** aqua.	1	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
4967	**Cartridge,** large caliber, probably .38 or .44.	1	1877	1912	1895	1	1894.5
5440	**Liquor bottle,** amber.	10	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5496	**Liquor bottle,** green, turn molded.	11	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5442	Liquor bottle, pale green, three piece sholder height mold. Bulged neck with applied tooled finish. Large size (quart?) Bottle.	15	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5514	**Wine bottle,** black glass, kick-up fragment.	1	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5500	**Liquor bottle,** olive green, three piece shoulder height mold.	1	1890	1900	1895	1	1895
5492	**Wine/brandy,** pale green, body/shoulder fragments. One with shoulder height 3 piece mold seams.	4	1890	1900	1895	1	1895
5788	**Condiment bottle,** manganese clarified, faceted/octagonal, 16 sided.	3	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5854	**Lamp chimney**, manganese clarified, fragment. Scalloped rim.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5794, 5856	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, fragments. Crimped rim.	2	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5718	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified, base fragment.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5798	**Tumbler**, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5646	**Unidentified bottle,** manganese clarified. Pressed or molded vertical oval pattern.	2	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5642	**Vial,** manganese clarified.	4	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5552	**Whiskey bottle**, manganese clarified. Very small applied tooled finish fragment.	3	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5582	**Whisky/distilled** spirits, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5

Table 34 (continued). Datable Artifacts in Area 6 West.

#	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
5444	**Unidentified bottle,** amber, Air vents on shoulders.	12	1890	1908	1899	1	1899
6547, 6544	**Marmalade jar,** Dundee, whiteware with black transfer print	7	1873	1930	1902	2	3803
5708	**Beer or soda bottle,** cylindrical: pale green, Embossed: 1) "OU/?A?"; 2) "P".	5	1895	1910	1903	1	1902.5
5512	**Alcoholic beverages container,** cylindrical: amber, Probably beer or whisky bottle(s).	7	1900	1918	1909	1	1909
5580	**Unidentified bottle,** amber, applied tooled finish. Cork bottle stopper in neck.	1	1898	1920	1909	1	1909
5376	**Jar (lid liner),** milk glass (white), whole. Embossed: "BOYD'S/PORCELAIN LINED (in circle)".	1	1902	1930	1916	1	1916
5510	**Unidentified bottle,** selenium clarified. Base has suction cut-off scar, produced by an automatic bottle machine.	3	1914	1918	1916	1	1916
5576	**Unidentified bottle,** selenium clarified, Base with "M" embossed in center. Possibly the mark of the Maryland Glass Corp., Baltimore, Md. Dates 1907-1916 (Toulouse 1971:339).	2	1914	1918	1916	1	1916
	TOTAL	**130**				**31**	**58,862.5**
	Mean						**1899**

Table 35. Textile Fragments found in the Western Portion of Area 6.

Description	*Frags*
Medium brown very finely twisted fibers.	1
Knitted fragments. Unraveling.	3
Black fragments. Loose weave.	3
Dark brown and black, interwoven. Tattered fragment.	1
Tightly woven brown and black threads. Edges are frayed; fragments are unraveling.	3
Tightly woven orange threads.	1

Table 36. The Liquor Bottles in Area 6 West.

Description	*MNI*
Beer bottle	1
Beer bottle, quart size	3
Beer or liquor bottle	1
Liquor bottles	5
Unidentified bottles, probably liquor	2
Wine bottle	2
Wine or brandy bottle	3

Table 37. The Bottle Closures in the Western Portion of Area 6.

Description	*MNI*
Bottle stopper, cork	3
Crown cap, cork liner	1
Crown cap, without liner	1
Lead foil cork seal	1

Table 38. Dateable Artifacts in Area 6 East.

#	*Description*	*fragments*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
5664	**Picnic flask,** whisky/distilled spirits, manganese clarified, neck/finish fragment. Applied tooled finish.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5470	**Wine bottle,** olive green, kick-up fragment.	1	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5472	**Tumbler**, manganese clarified, base fragments, from two different vessels.	2	1880	1915	1898	2	3795
5392	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, crimped rim.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5416	**Liquor bottle,** pale green, applied tooled finish.	5	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5738	Beer bottle, amber, base fragment. Embossed: "B & G CO/16".	1	1881	1905	1893	1	1893
5740	**Beer bottle,** clear, quart size.	1	1890	1899	1895	1	1894.5
5742	**Unidentified bottle:** cylindrical, pale green, possibly from a bitters bottle. Applied tooled finish. Air-vent on shoulder.	1	1898	1910	1904	1	1904
5622	**Carbonated soft drink bottle:** cylindrical: aqua, body fragments. Embossed: 1) "SH----"; 2) "IN(partial G)". Mold seam on 1 sherd. Shasta Water Company	2	1901	1918	1910	1	1909.5
5636	**Flask,** whisky/distilled spirits, manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5620	**Liquor bottle,** body fragments. Shoulder air-vents.	4	1898	1910	1904	1	1904
5632	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified.	2	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5408	**Tumbler,** manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1897.5
5406	**Unidentified glass bottle,** rectangular, flint glass.	1	1900	1918	1909	1	1909
6327	**Unidentified bottle,** turn mold base.	1	1870	1919	1895	1	1894.5
5488	**Unidentified bottle,** Streator Bottle & Glass Co.	1	1881	1905	1893	1	1893
	Total	**35**				**19**	**34,166**
	Mean						**1898**

Table 39. Dishes found in Area 6 East.

description	*MNI*
Bowl lid, possibly from a sugar bowl or teapot. Hard paste porcelain, painted, Muted red exterior glaze with scroll pattern, gold gilt. Clear glazed interior.	1
Bowl, possibly a teapot, sugar bowl or other lidded vessel. Hard paste porcelain, painted, colored, branch and leaves pattern painted under glaze - leaves are light, and dark green. Muted red exterior glaze; clear glazed interior (Figure 65).	1
Mixing bowl, yellow ware, rim fragment. Clear glaze on buff body with white annular banding, (McCoy type), porous paste.	1
Plate, hard paste porcelain, unidentified decoration, clear glazed rim fragment.	1
Plate, unidentified size, white granite.	1
Platter, unidentified size, white granite.	1
Saucer, hard paste porcelain, painted, gold gilt rim. Pale blue background with painted motif of, buildings and mountains. Oriental pattern. Painted in orange and red.	1
Unidentified dish, earthenware, buff bodied, Rockingham type glaze, body sherd.	1
Unidentified dish, white granite.	1

Table 40. Pennyweight of Nails in Area 6 East.

Pennyweight	*Rest of Area 6E*	*Test Trenches 9 & 10*	*All of Area 6E*
2		1	1
3		3	3
4	1	1	2
5	1		1
6	3	6	9
7	2		2
8	5	**26**	**31**
10	1	2	3
16	**10**	1	**11**
18	2		2
20	1		1
unspecified	33	44	77
total	**59**	**83**	**142**
% known	44.1%	47.0%	45.8%

Table 41. Liquor Bottles in Area 6 East.

Description	*MNI*
Beer bottle	1
Beer bottle, quart size	2
Beer or soda bottle	1
Liquor bottle	1
Liquor bottles (?)	7
Bitters bottle (?)	1
Whiskey bottles	2
Whisky or distilled spirits bottle	1
Wine or champagne bottles	3
Wine bottle	3
Wine or brandy bottle	1

Table 42. The Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Area 6.

Description	*Area 6-W*	*Area 6-E*	*Total MNI*
Liquor-Related Items	**24**	**23**	**47**
Beer bottle	4	3	7
Beer or liquor bottle	1		1
Beer or soda bottle		1	1
Carafe or pitcher	1		1
Decorative knob, Lead glass.		1	1
Liquor bottle	5	1	6
Soda bottle, pale green glass	1	1	2
Unidentified bottle	2	7	9
Unidentified vessel	1		1
Whiskey bottle,		3	3
Wine and champagne bottles		3	3
Wine bottle	2	3	5
Wine or brandy bottle	3	1	4
Drinking Vessels	**2**	**3**	**5**
Shot glass	1	1	2
Tumbler	1	2	3
Recreation-Related	**1**	**0**	**1**
Balloon	1		1
Food Serving	**4**	**9**	**13**
Bowl lid		1	1
Bowl		1	1
Mixing bowl	1	1	2
Plate	1	2	3
Platter		1	1
Saucer		1	1
Unidentified dish	2	2	4
Food Storage	**7**	**2**	**9**
Canning jar lid		1	1
Canning jar liner	2		2
Canning jar	1		1
Condiment bottle	1		1
Jar lid	1		1
Jar	2	1	3
Other Household Items	**3**	**1**	**4**
Lamp chimney	3		3
Light bulb		1	1
Pharmaceuticals	**4**	**2**	**6**
Pharmaceutical bottle	1	2	3
Unidentified bottle, cobalt blue glass	1		1
Vial	2		2
Flasks	**2**	**1**	**3**
Flask	2		2
Flask, picnic type		1	1
Generic Personal	**1**	**0**	**1**
Shoe or boot	1		1
Female- Specific	**0**	**2**	**2**
Garter, ferrous metal.		1	1
Lady's shoe upper.		1	1

Table 42 (continued). The Artifacts Used in the Functional Analysis of Area 6.

Description	*Area 6-W*	*Area 6-E*	*Total MNI*
Tobacco-Related	**1**	**1**	**2**
Humidor	1		1
Tobacco pipe bowl, white clay		1	1
Armaments and Military	**2**	**0**	**2**
Cartridges	2		2
Other Artifacts	**4**	**0**	**4**
Carpenter's pencil	1		1
Ink bottle	1		1
Pencil	1		1
Unidentified bottle, clear glass coated with blue India ink.	1		1
TOTAL	**59**	**44**	**103**

Table 43. Datable Artifacts from Area 7.

Item #	*Description*	*Fragment count*	*beginning date*	*ending date*	*mean date*	*MNI*	*product*
5625	**Unidentified bottle,** olive green. Small part of base. Pint size. Turn molded. Possibly fire polished blow-pipe pontil mark.	1	1870	1910	1890	1	1890
5599	**Cosmetic jar,** milk glass, finish/base fragments. Squat wide mouth with continuous screw threads. Pressed glass.	2	1870	1960	1915	1	1915
5635, 5595	**Preserves/jam/jelly jar,** manganese clarified, cylinder wide-mouth jelly jar.	16	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
5575, 6310	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, fragments. Ground lip. Various shapes and different thicknesses of glass. Some flat and some curved.	39	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
5619	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, fragments. Some frosted. Ground lip.	35	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
5608	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
5593	**Tumbler,** manganese clarified, three rim and four body fragments.	7	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
6303	**Glue bottle stopper and spreader,** lead. Disc top embossed obverse and reverse: "LEPAGES/SIGNET (in circle around) R.C.CO.".	1	1880	1941	1911	1	1911
5612	**Unidentified glass container,** manganese clarified, square pressed or molded pattern.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
6311	**Unidentified glass container**, manganese clarified. Curved.	1	1880	1915	1898	1	1898
5627	**Beer bottle,** amber, body/neck/shoulder fragments. Base has a mamelon surrounded by a ring.	8	1898	1910	1904	1	1904
5633, 5615	**Malted milk bottle,** aqua, body fragments from a small bottle or jar. Embossed with parts of words "HORLICK'S MALTED MILK RACINE WIS/U.S." James & Wm. Horlick, Whitall Tatum Co.	7	1912	1924	1918	1	1918
6205	**Buffalo nickel,** variant 2. Green patina and mottled copper-brown colors. Obverse embossed: "INDIAN HEAD, SIDEVIEW/ LIBERTY". Reverse embossed: "A BUFFALO/""UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/FIVE CENTS". Date is worn off and unreadable.	1	1913	1938	1926	1	1926
6317	**Pharmaceutical bottle,** selenium clarified, shoulder/neck fragment.	1	1915	1930	1923	1	1923
6261	**Cellophane**, translucent/clear fragment.	1	1924	1985	1955	1	1955
6170, 6304	**Crown cap,** cork lined, with metal foil seal.	22	1927	1965	1946	2	3892
5561	**Jar:** oval/ovoid: clear, body fragments. Lead glass. Ribbed shoulders and sides.	2	**1930**	1939	1935	1	1935
	Total	**144**				**17**	**32,515**
	Mean						**1913**

Table 44. Summary of Artifacts in Area 7.

fragment count	*MNI*	*Description*	*Barnette Classification*
1	1	**Key,** ferrous metal. Shank and tip of "skeleton" type latch key. Ferrous.	1E2
3	3	**Pin,** safety, ferrous metal.	1A
1	1	**Cosmetic jar,** milk glass, white, squat wide mouth with continuous screw threads. Pressed glass.	1D
67	1	**Cigarette lighter,** tubular shape. Flint lighter. White enameled sides and red enameled cap. Cap comes off to expose flint wheel and wick.	1G2a
2	1	**Tobacco tin,** ferrous metal, oval base or top.	1G2a
1	1	**Lead tag,** miscellaneous, metal, pressed lead bail, package or other seal. Long, narrow rectangular opening through side for string or ribbon to thread through. Debossed, "W.F. & C0.(5-pointed star shape)" - on obverse; "647" on reverse.	1G2d
9	1	**Bone,** lot catalogued faunal material, sheep sized rib fragment.	2B1a1
1	2	**Bone,** lot catalogued faunal material, small land mammal or fowl. Both bones are long and thin, each with one end broken off. Both have ball joints. Light surface stains.	2B1a1
1	1	**Bone,** lot catalogued faunal material, unidentified land mammal rib bone fragment. Cut marks vertically across end. Porous marrow visible from side view. Weathered, deteriorated and dirt stained.	2B1a1
4	1	**Peach/apricot pit** *Rosaceae.* fragments.	2B1a2
1	1	**Bottle/jar cap**, zinc, brass, nickel, small size snap top to fit over a rounded lip. Cap curves over top and then indents in and then flares out slightly. Green patina.	2B1d2
3	1	**Club sauce cap.** Ferrous metal.	2B1d2
5	1	**Dundee marmalade jar**, clear glazed earthenware fragments. In black print, "on...".	2B1d2
1	1	**Food container,** glass, cylindrical, aqua, small bottle or jar. Two mend. Embossed, 1) "HO-------"; 2) "--------S/MIL-"; "---K". All are discolored by a yellow/rusty stain, a milky film and/or opalescent patina.	2B1d2
2	1	**Food storage jar,** oval/ovoid, clear lead glass. Ribbed shoulders and sides.	2B1d2
11		**Fruit/canning jar**, aqua, finish fragment. Shoulder-seal. Continuous screw threads.	2B1d2
4	1	**Malted milk bottle,** cylindrical, aqua, , embossed, 1) "--LTED"; 2) "---INE WIS------/U.S.".	2B1d2
7	1	**Preserves/jam/jelly jar,** manganese clarified, cylinder wide-mouth jelly jar.	2B1d2
4	1	**Preserving jar seal,** aluminum foil, possibly foil seal from crown cap.	2B1d2
3	1	**Preserving jar,** cylindrical, aqua, finish is probably a lug type seal.	2B1d2
3	1	**Preserving jar,** glass, pale green, mold marks, cup-bottom mold.	2B1d2
13	1	**Can,** circular lid. Ferrous metal with screw threads, wood or cork liner, liner is thick - 3/4 the depth of inner lid.	2B1d3
4	1	**Can,** ferrous metal, bottom or lid with circular indentation around perimeter.	2B1d3
4	1	**Label,** synthetic, pink tint with surface enamel of black. Label. Embossed, "A".	2B1h

Table 44 (continued). Summary of Artifacts in Area 7.

fragment count	*MNI*	*Description*	*Barnette Classification*
40	1	**Lamp chimney,** clear, frosted. Ground lip.	2B1h
7	1	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified glass, ground lip.	2B1h
34	1	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, some frosted. Ground lip.	2B1h
3	1	**Platter**, white granite, brown transfer print with flower and a dot/dash design.	2B2a1
7	1	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified	2B2b1
2	1	**Pharmaceutical bottle**, selenium clarified.	2B3e
1	1	**Nickel,** coin, buffalo nickel; green patina and mottled copper-brown colors. Obverse embossed, "INDIAN HEAD, SIDEVIEW/LIBERTY". Reverse embossed, "A BUFFALO/'"UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/FIVE CENTS". Date is worn off and unreadable.	2C4c
148		**Window glass** fragments, clear, soda-lime glass.	3B1a1
1	1	**Brick,** common fired red clay, fragments,	3B1d1
3	1	**Brick**, common fired red clay, soot stained.	3B1d1
2	1	**Chain**, copper/copper alloy, joined links. 2 oval and 1 rectangular. Oval shapes have metal bent under to form links.	3B2
1	1	**Rivet fastener,** brass, copper/copper alloy,	3B2
1	1	**Sewer pipe,** ceramic, fragment from joint end.	3B2
344		**Nail** fragments, ferrous metal,	3B2a1
5	5	**Nail**, square machine cut, ferrous metal.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, common wire, 4d, straight.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, common wire, 6d, straight with a bent head.	3B2a1
1	2	**Nail**, common wire, 6d, straight.	3B2a1
5	5	**Nail**, common wire, 7d, bent.	3B2a1
2	2	**Nail**, common wire, 7d, degree of bent not given	3B2a1
4	6	**Nail**, common wire, 8d, 2 straight	3B2a1
4	8	**Nail**, common wire, 8d, bent.	3B2a1
1	3	**Nail**, common wire, 8d, degree of bent not given	3B2a1
5	5	**Nail**, common wire, 10d, bent mid-shank.	3B2a1
9	9	**Nail**, common wire, 10d, straight	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, common wire, 16d, straight, galvanized.	3B2a1
4	4	**Nail**, common wire, 16d, bent mid-shank.	3B2a1
3	3	**Nail**, common wire, 16d, bent, galvanized.	3B2a1
3	3	**Nail**, common wire, 16d, bent.	3B2a1
16	16	**Nail**, common wire, 18/20d, bent.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, common wire, 18d, degree of bent not given	3B2a1
6	6	**Nail**, common wire, 18d, straight and complete.	3B2a1
4	4	**Nail**, common wire, 20d, straight.	3B2a1
2	2	**Nail**, common wire, no size given	3B2a1
2	2	**Nail**, common wire, fragments.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, common wire, straight.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, wire finishing nail, 6d - straight.	3B2a1
1	1	**Nail**, wire finishing nail, 6d- bend.	3B2a1

Table 44 (continued). Summary of Artifacts in Area 7.

fragment count	*MNI*	*Description*	*Barnette Classification*
3	3	**Nail**, wire roofing nail,	3B2a1
1	1	**Tack**, fragment, ferrous metal,	3B2a1
2	3	**Nut**, square,	3b2A10
1	2	**Spike**, both are bent and curved.	3b2A10
1	1	**Spike**, wire. Slightly bent mid-shank. Ferrous.	3b2A10
1	1	**Hook**, ferrous metal, has threaded shank. "u" shaped hook. Piece of multi-ply wire wrapped around shank near hook. Possibly electrical.	3b2A8
1	1	**Washer**, flat, ferrous, round, flat metal washer. Hole in center.	3b2A8
1	1	**Drain cover**, circular, slotted - 5 slots, rectangular with curved edges. Opposite screw holes.	3C1
3		**Linoleum**, fragments. Corrugated backed. Surface marked with black lines and separating irregular white or cream colored rectangles.	3C2
2	1	**Electrical wiring,** insulated, copper, medium gauge.	3D
1	1	**Electrical insulator,** fragment. Clear glazed porcelain. Sherd is from round shaped insulator.	3D1
2	1	**Curtain hook**, galvinized metal, probably used to attach electrical wire to wall.	3D2
1	1	**Circuit breaker fuse,** clear glazed porcelain fragments.	3D5b
2	1	**Wire**, non-electrical strands, heavy gauge. Ferrous.	3F
2	1	**Wire**, non-electrical wire strands, medium gauge, ferrous metal, curved in a half circle. Possible pail or bucket rim?	3F
1	1	**Wire**, non-electrical wire strands, two strands of (4)? Ply wrapped with strand, ferrous metal.	3F
2	2	**Railroad spike,** shank is square and comes to a 2-sided point. Head is flat and off center. Ferrous.	4A2
1	1	**Tag**, square, brass, with rounded corners. Rectangular cutout for attachment. Stamped, "c.d. Co./ltd/436". Possibly a packing seal for a crate, box or bale.	4C
23	1	**Lead,** foil fragments. Crumpled and bent. Possibly bottle seal fragments.	5J13
5	1	**Beer bottle,** amber, base has a mamelon surrounded by a ring.	5J4a2c
3	1	**Beer or whisky bottle,** cylindrical, pale green, neck fragments , horizontal and vertical seams on neck probably indicate a machine made bottle.	5J4a2c
8	1	**Liquor bottle**, cylindrical, amber, body fragments.	5J4a2c
3	1	**Soda or beer bottle,** cylindrical, green, fragment with small part of base.	5J4a2c
2	1	**Soft drink bottle,** clear, produced by an automatic bottle machine.	5J4a2c
1	1	**Tumbler,** manganese clarified..	5J4a2c
3	1	**Whisky/distilled spirits bottle,** cylindrical, tapered neck, amber, fragments.	5J4a2c
5	1	**Whisky/distilled spirits bottle,** pale green, body fragment.	5J4a2c
28	25	**Crown cap,** ferrous metal, metal cap without liner.	5J4c
2	2	**Crown cap,** ferrous metal, with cork liner, with metal foil seal.	5J4c

Table 44 (continued). Summary of Artifacts in Area 7.

fragment count	*MNI*	*Description*	*Barnette Classification*
1	1	**Automobile brake line**, thick black rubber hose with brass fittings at both ends. Brass fittings have screw threads.	5J5b
1	1	**Graphite pencil** with white rubber eraser. Wood, lead, brass, brass band-ferrule. Horizontal encircling lines. Rounded lead with vertical/ribbed indentations. Larger than standard size.	5K
4	1	**Lead stopper,** possibly from a bottle stopper. Disc top embossed obverse and reverse, "LEPAGES/SIGNET (IN CIRCLE AROUND) R.C.CO.". Shank/shaft below disc top is round and tapers down to flat blade like end.	5K
3	1	**Cork stopper**, large, complete.	8A1
2	1	**Unidentified glass bottle**, amber.	8A1
2	1	**Unidentified glass bottle**, aqua, horizontal shoulder seam. One body seam with double seam,	8A1
2	1	**Unidentified glass bottle**, cylindrical, olive green, small part of base, pint size. Turn molded. Possibly fire polished blow-pipe pontil mark.	8A1
1	1	**Unidentified glass bottle,** faceted/octagonal, clear lead glass.	8A1
4	2	**Unidentified glass jar,** cylindrical, aqua.	8A1
2	1	**Unidentified glass bottle,** pale green.	8A1
1	1	**Unidentified glass,** manganese clarified, square pressed or molded pattern.	8A1
4	1	**Unidentified glass,** amber	8A1
22	1	**Unidentified glass,** clear	8A1
5	1	**Unidentified glass**, clear, flint glass	8A1
6	1	**Unidentified glass,** manganese clarified	8A1
1	1	**Unidentified glass,** milk glass (white	8A1
4	2	**Unidentified glass**, olive green	8A1
30	1	**Unidentified metal,** ferrous,	8A1
1	1	**Wood/lumber,** charred, pointed fragment.	8A1
1	1	**Band/strap fragments,** ferrous metal.	8C
16	1	**Ferrous metal** fragment	8C
1	1	**Paper fragments,** White with black ink print, "MUD T"/ONL".	8F
2	1	**Paper,** black ink printing on obverse, "TERATU (partial P) /E USE AND APPLICA". Black ink printing on reverse, ".O. BOX 465/OME, OREGON S/H. 367-2271".	8F
1	1	**Paper**, red and green print, silver metallic embossing.	8J
1	1	**Unidentified plastics**, cellophane, translucent/clear fragment.	8J
2	1	**Slag cinder**	8O

Table 45. Functional Categorization of Artifacts in Area 7.

MNI	*Description*
Liquor-Related Items	
1	**Beer bottle**, amber, base has a mamelon surrounded by a ring.
1	**Beer or whisky bottle,** cylindrical, pale green, neck fragments , horizontal and vertical seams on neck probably indicate a machine made bottle.
1	**Liquor bottle**, cylindrical, amber, body fragments.
1	**Soda or beer bottle,** cylindrical, green, fragment with small part of base.
1	**Soft drink bottle,** clear, produced by an automatic bottle machine.
1	**Unidentified glass bottle**, amber.
1	**Unidentified glass bottle**, cylindrical, olive green, small part of base, pint size. Turn molded. Possibly fire polished blow-pipe pontil mark.
1	**Whisky/distilled spirits bottle,** cylindrical, tapered neck, amber, fragments.
1	**Whisky/distilled spirits bottle,** pale green, body fragment.
Drinking Vessels	
1	**Shot glass,** manganese clarified
1	**Tumbler,** manganese clarified..
Coins and Tokens	
1	**Nickel,** coin, buffalo nickel; green patina and mottled copper-brown colors. Obverse embossed, "INDIAN HEAD, SIDEVIEW/LIBERTY". Reverse embossed, "A BUFFALO/'"UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/FIVE CENTS". Date is worn off and unreadable.
Food Service Items	
1	**Unidentified glass,** manganese clarified, square pressed or molded pattern.
Food Storage Items	
1	**Bottle/jar cap**, zinc, brass, nickel, small size snap top to fit over a rounded lip. Cap curves over top and then indents in and then flares out slightly. Green patina.
1	**Club sauce cap.** Ferrous metal.
1	**Dundee marmalade jar**, clear glazed earthenware fragments. In black print, "on...".
1	**Food container,** glass, cylindrical, aqua, small bottle or jar. Two mend. Embossed, 1) "HO-------"; 2) "--------S/MIL-"; "---K". All are discolored by a yellow/rusty stain, a milky film and/or opalescent patina.
1	**Food storage jar,** oval/ovoid, clear lead glass. Ribbed shoulders and sides.
1	**Fruit/canning jar**, aqua, finish fragment. Shoulder-seal. Continuous screw threads.
1	**Malted milk bottle,** cylindrical, aqua, , embossed, 1) "--LTED"; 2) "---INE WIS------/U.S.".
1	**Platter**, white granite, brown transfer print with flower and a dot/dash design.
1	**Preserves/jam/jelly jar,** manganese clarified, cylinder wide-mouth jelly jar.
1	**Preserving jar seal,** aluminum foil, possibly foil seal from crown cap.
1	**Preserving jar,** cylindrical, aqua, finish is probably a lug type seal.
1	**Preserving jar,** glass, pale green, mold marks, cup-bottom mold.
1	**Unidentified glass bottle,** faceted/octagonal, clear lead glass.
1	**Unidentified glass**, clear, flint glass
Other Household Items	
1	**Lamp chimney,** clear, frosted. Ground lip.
1	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified glass, ground lip.
1	**Lamp chimney,** manganese clarified, frosted. Ground lip.
1	**Key,** ferrous metal. Shank and tip of "skeleton" type latch key. Ferrous.

Table 45 (continued). Functional Categorization of Artifacts in Area 7.

MNI	*Description*
Generic Personal	
3	**Pin,** safety, ferrous metal,
1	**Rivet fastener,** brass, copper/copper alloy,
Female-Related	
1	**Cosmetic jar,** milk glass, white, squat wide mouth with continuous screw threads. Pressed glass.
Tobacco-Related	
1	**Cigarette lighter,** tubular shape. Flint lighter. White enameled sides and red enameled cap. Cap comes off to expose flint wheel and wick.
1	**Tobacco tin,** ferrous metal, oval base or top.
Other Artifacts	
1	**Automobile brake line**, thick black rubber hose with brass fittings at both ends. Brass fittings have screw threads.
1	**Chain**, copper/copper alloy, joined links. 2 oval and 1 rectangular. Oval shapes have metal bent under to form links.
1	**Graphite pencil** with white rubber eraser. Wood, lead, brass, brass band-ferrule. Horizontal encircling lines. Rounded lead with vertical/ribbed indentations. Larger than standard size.
1	**Lead stopper,** possibly from a bottle stopper. Disc top embossed obverse and reverse, "LEPAGES/SIGNET (IN CIRCLE AROUND) R.C.CO.". Shank/shaft below disc top is round and tapers down to flat blade like end.
1	**Lead tag,** miscellaneous, metal, pressed lead bail, package or other seal. Long, narrow rectangular opening through side for string or ribbon to thread through. Debossed, "W.F. & C0.(5-pointed star shape)" - on obverse; "647" on reverse.
2	**Railroad spikes,** shank is square and comes to a 2-sided point. Head is flat and off center. Ferrous.
1	**Tag**, square, brass, with rounded corners. Rectangular cutout for attachment. Stamped, "C.D. CO./LTD/436". Possibly a packing seal for a crate, box or bale.

Table 46. Distribution of Alcoholic Beverage Bottles in Each of the Excavation Areas at the Mascot Saloon Group (numbers represent the frequency of minimum number of vessels).

Minimum number of items	*Area 1*	*Areas 2&3*	*Privy*	*Area 4*	*Area 6W*	*Area 6E*
Beer	6	27	4	16	5	4
Whiskey	24	6	0	1	0	3
Other Liquor	30	8	10	10	7	8
Wine	1	6	3	5	5	10
total	**61**	**47**	**17**	**32**	**17**	**25**

Minimum number of items	*Area 1 (1897-1898)*	*Area 6W (1897 – 1898)*	*Privy (1898 – 1899)*	*Areas 2&3 (1898-1899)*	*Area 6E (1898 – 1904)*	*Area 4 (1898 – 1904)*
Beer	9.8%	29.4%	23.5%	57.4%	16.0%	50.0%
Whiskey	39.3%	0.0%	0.0%	12.8%	12.0%	3.1%
Other Liquor	49.2%	41.2%	58.8%	17.0%	32.0%	31.3%
Wine	1.6%	29.4%	17.6%	12.8%	40.0%	15.6%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Table 47. Ratio of Flask Fragments to Fragments of Liquor-Related Items.

area	*# of flasks*	*ratio flasks/ liquor-related items*
Area 1	0	0.0000
Areas 2-3	4	0.1667
Privy	8	0.4211
Area 4	14	0.3415
Area 6 West	2	0.0833
Area 6 East	1	0.0435

Table 48. Distribution of Coins at the Mascot Saloon and Comparison to Coins and Tokens at Other Saloons.

artifact type	*Area 1*	*Area 2&3*	*Area 4*	*Privy*	*Area 6*	*total*
Coins and Tokens	10	0	3	1	0	14
Percentage of artifacts	0.0610	0.0000	0.0197	0.0086	0.0000	0.0229
Total Artifacts	**164**	**76**	**152**	**116**	**103**	**611**

artifact type	*Corner*	*California*	*Miner's*	*Pantheon*	*total*
Coins and Tokens	7	6	0	4	17
Percentage of artifacts	0.0045	0.0039	0.0000	0.0058	0.0041
Total Artifacts	**1565**	**1540**	**373**	**686**	**4164**

Table 49. The Comparison of Liquor Bottle Types in Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Deposits.

Type of bottle	*Gold Rush*	*%*	*Mascot Saloon*	*%*
Beer bottles	11	12.9%	16	51.6%
Whiskey and Liquor bottles	62	72.9%	9	29.0%
Wine bottle	2	2.4%	5	16.1%
Other bottles	10	11.8%	1	3.2%
Total	**85**	**100.0%**	**31**	**100.0%**

Table 50. Comparison of Flasks and Other Alcoholic Beverage Bottles in Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Deposits.

Type of bottle	*Gold Rush (MNI)*	*%*	*Post-Gold Rush (MNI)*	*%*
Other Alcoholic Beverage Bottles	85	88.5%	31	68.9%
Liquor Flasks	11	11.5%	14	31.1%
Total	**96**	**100.0%**	**45**	**100.0%**

Table 51. The Comparison of Food Types in Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Deposits.

Type of Food	*Gold Rush (MNI)*	*%*	*Post-Gold Rush (MNI)*	*%*
Nuts	259	39.2%	2	0.4%
Fruit	15	2.3%	7	1.5%
Animal Bone	210	31.8%	128	28.3%
Clams	176	26.7%	316	69.8%
Total	**660**	100.0%	**453**	100.0%

Table 52. Money Types Indexed Against Alcoholic Beverage Bottles in Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Deposits.

Type of bottle	*Gold Rush (MNI)*	*index*	*Post-Gold Rush (MNI)*	*index*
Coins	4	.047	3	.097
Tokens	7	.082	0	.000
Poker Chips	5	.059	1	.032
Alcoholic Beverage Bottles	85		31	

Table 53. Gender-Related Artifacts Types Indexed Against Generic Personal Items in Gold Rush and Post-Gold Rush Deposits.

Type of bottle	*Gold Rush*	*index*	*Mascot Saloon*	*index*
Female Specific Items	5	0.143	1	0.077
Pharmaceutical Items	9	0.257	7	0.538
Male-Specific Items	2	0.057	1	0.077
Tobacco-Related Items	7	0.200	4	0.308
Generic Personal Items	35		13	

Chapter Five: Synthesis

The excavations at the Mascot Saloon Group were divided into eight areas representing horizontal stratigratiphy caused by the expansion of buildings around the original NT&TC building constructed in April 1898. While all of the deposits at the Mascot Saloon Group may have received archeological contributions as early as July 1897, when the first stampeders arrived in Skagway, as each building or addition was built, contributions to the material culture found in those deposits became more and more limited. By 1904, the entire Mascot Saloon Group area had been covered by buildings and relatively well sealed. Most diagnostic material had entered the archeological record by this time.

The only exceptions appear in the form of Architectural artifacts, many of which appear to have been introduced during the 1979 foundation renovations. For instance, fragments of linoleum are ubiquitous throughout much of the Mascot Saloon Group deposits. That and other flooring materials suggest that the renovation activities introduced enough Architectural artifacts into the Mascot Group deposits that their spatial and functional analysis might be meaningless.

Of the non-Architectural artifacts, the remainder of the pre-Prohibition artifact collection was predominantly saloon-oriented, even under the Pacific Clipper Line Office. This phenomenon suggests that the material culture generated by the saloon was so large in contrast to the other types of occupations that it drowned all other types of use, even residential use by people living upstairs. This phenomenon would be especially true with a ticket office, which may have generated a very small amount of material culture.

It is also possible that the saloon influence was so strong that it even drowned out evidence of men living in the upstairs rooms in 1900, as recorded by the census enumerator. Certainly that influence could only be detected in the collection from Area 1, which appears to date from 1897 to 1899, and was probably associated with Charles Rohbeck, not Albert Reinert. Yet it was Reinert who was known to live at his saloon and sometimes rented out rooms. That historical evidence certainly suggests that the multiple regression method, used in this report to identify function, is not infallible in isolating the saloon collections from the residential collections of men who might be living at the saloon. It is possible that all of the comparative collections also had residents living at the saloons – we know for sure that the Pantheon Saloon did, for instance – so perhaps that is why that particular function cannot be isolated.

It should also be noted that no data was available for Stable Male households as a comparative data set. Instead, all that was available for comparison were Transient Males and two types of family data sets. If a set of Drinking Males or Stable Male households had been available for comparison, it is possible that the multiple regression might have been able to isolate Reinert's and his renters' contributions to the material culture. Without comparative data sets for Drinking Males or Stable Male households, it was not possible to isolate them from those portions of the collections that remained unexplained.

With that caution stated, the following conclusions can be drawn about each of the eight areas.

MASCOTTE SALOON, APRIL 1898 – JUNE 1899: AREA 1

Between a period no later than September 13, 1897 and April 1898, the Northern Trading and Transportation Company (NT&TC) used the northern half of their two lots as a staging area for their transportation and packing business. The NT&TC ticket office, built soon after the staking of the lot, sat in the general location of the middle and eastern portion of Areas 1 and 2, at the northwest corner of Third Avenue and Broadway. Between disturbances caused by the original construction of the April 1898 NT&TC building and later foundation renovations, there is no archeological evidence of this structure left.

By April 29, 1898, the NT&TC building had been constructed over what we have called Area 1. Sometime between then and June 17, 1898, when an advertisement appeared for the Mascotte Saloon, Charles Rohbeck rented the northern half of this building for his saloon. It is interesting to note that saloon material culture covers the entire north to south expanse of Area 1, not just the north half, although during this time

period only the northern half was being used as a saloon. The southern half was used as the ticket office for the NT&TC.

Most artifact deposition appears to have occurred in 1898 and 1899. The presence of a small number of artifacts dating after 1898 and up to 1902 does indicate continued deposition into this area well after the construction of the NT&TC building. A general drainage pattern towards the southeast is inherent in the natural topography of the site, as suggested by the earliest photographs. In both east-west and north-south profiles, a slight obstruction to the downward flow of water created opportunities for pooling to occur. Given the history of at least three recorded flooding events (October 27, 1897, October 12, 1901, and October 28, 1901) and possibly other, more localized storm events, there was ample opportunity for a pooling of artifacts to take place in precisely the areas where the densest artifact concentrations occurred. Artifacts such as the trade token associated directly with Albert Reinert and the Rainier Beer paraphernalia, which Reinert did not begin to use until late 1902, indicate that deposition continued in this area well into the Reinert era, despite its obvious differences from the other parts of the saloon building group. However, deposition does appear to have stopped for all practical purposes soon after 1902.

Despite the slope and undulation to the subsurface of the site, the presence of a fairly undisturbed glacial flour in this area and in few other places suggests that Area 1 was actually one of the least disturbed areas of the whole site.

Some incidental deposition may have taken place during renovations that Albert Reinert undertook in 1901, when he moved the door from the northwest corner of the building to its current west central location, added large plate glass windows, and, perhaps, reinforced the front foundations to compensate for the heavier load of window glass. The latter work would have required removal of the boardwalk in front of the saloon, allowing artifacts to fall into the western portion of Area 1. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is little disturbance in this area, and artifact dates taken from this portion of the site tend to be on the older side. Those artifacts dating from the 1899 1902 period lay in the middle of Area 1, which tended to have a lower elevation.

Area 1, the earliest part of the site, overlapped the gold rush era in Skagway. It is patently obvious that the customers preferred whiskey to beer and drank very little of other types of alcoholic beverages during this period. If the people frequenting the Mascotte Saloon ordered a mixed drink, it probably was an "old fashioned" made with sugar, soda, bitters and whiskey. The favorite brand was Jesse Moore - Hunt bourbon, a case of which had been smashed near the back lean-to built in 1899.

During this time period, it also appears that no lunches were provided to the customers, as would be the case after 1902. Instead, nuts and occasionally fruits made a quick snack. The few food bones found in the Area 1 deposits suggest beef was more popular than sheep or deer. However, very little evidence of items associated with food service or preparation were recovered, indicating that these types of meals were not a regular sort of event at the saloon.

The vast majority of pre-Prohibition coins and trade tokens were found in Area 1. The frequency of coins and tokens in this area was higher by several times than any of the comparative saloons. It was as if the customers of the Mascotte Saloon were so confident that they would soon be extremely rich that they were not overly protective of their money.

An extraordinarily high percentage (41%) of the nails in Area 1 were square cut, the highest percentage found to date in any archeological context in Skagway. The high frequency suggests a deposit that predates the construction of the floor that was existing in 1901. They could have originated with goods stored on the ground as part of the operations of the NT&TC, or as part of a building or other structure that was dismantled before the construction of the NT & TC building in March or April 1898.

The statistical analysis comparing the Area 1 deposits to other individual saloon deposits suggested that they were more like those of the Miner's Home Saloon in Fairbanks, Alaska than any other. This saloon was used by transient miners and men working in the transportation sector at the heart of the Fairbanks mining district from 1907 to 1916. The resemblance between the two collections may mean that the men frequenting the Mascotte Saloon from 1898 to 1899 were also would-be transient miners and working class men in the transportation sector. This conclusion makes imminent sense. Construction on the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad began on May 27, 1898 (Bearss 1970:252). It was inevitable that the Mascotte would become a haven for thirsty laborers after hours.

An Early Tent Saloon?

Area 1, under the earliest portion of the Mascot Saloon complex, yielded an artifact collection different from that found elsewhere in the excavations. A few artifacts seemed older and the soils differed. The excavators were so struck with the changes upon encountering this area that they soon became convinced that they had come upon the remains of a previous tent or temporary saloon.

Unfortunately, with the lack of microstratigraphy, it has been impossible to determine whether the hypothesis generated by the field crew is valid. The mean manufacturing date of 1898 and the *terminous post quem* of 1902 suggest deposition near the turn of the century only. These dating techniques are not fine - grained enough to firmly accept or reject the hypothesis. Some archeologists argue for longer lag times between manufacture and deposition, which would force the mean manufacturing date somewhat later. This author places faith in the 1898 date simply because of the gold rush phenomenon, when stores in Seattle, San Francisco, Victoria and other points were being emptied of their inventories much more rapidly than usual. Lag time between manufacture and use would have been much shorter during the early days of a gold rush.

It does appear that some intrusive events have introduced later-dating artifacts into the deposit. They include two flood events that occurred in 1901 (see Chapter 3) and possible foundation renovations in the 1970s. The presence of a few items dating from the middle part of the century also suggests there was some artifact drift even during the Great Depression and World War II eras.

However, there can be no denying that the overwhelming majority of the artifacts – at least those used in the functional analysis – are associated with the early saloon period. The conundrum is to determine whether it is even possible to associate the artifact assemblage in Area 1 with the pre-1898 use of Block 35 lot 6, or if most of the deposit is associated with Charles Rohbeck and his customers at the Mascotte Saloon.

The evidence presented to date includes the following.

1) On September 13, 1897 "Doc" Cleveland claimed lot 6, Block 35 for NT&TC. He built a small building, as was required by the miners' committee, to hold his lot. Cleveland was not interested in saloon businesses. He, Otto Wolf and Elias Johnston formed the Northern Trading and Transportation Company oriented to getting people and their goods from the west coast to Dawson. If a tent or temporary saloon pre-dated the NT&TC claim, it would have had to exist between July 26 and September 13.

2) It is extremely unlikely that anyone would operate a tent saloon as far south as Third Avenue in July or August 1897 when the business district lay a quarter of a mile north, near the tree line. The area below what is now Fifth Avenue was damp and muddy. Most people camped above Fifth and patronized the businesses clustered above what would become the corner of Sixth and Broadway. It was not until the spring of 1898 that service businesses began to move south towards the planned railroad depot at Second Avenue and Broadway (the latter would not be completed until November 1898).

3) A photograph taken on September 12, 1897 shows that a small building, probably measuring only about 8 feet by 12 feet had been built well back of the street (Figure 5). This structure, built up on pier foundations, is set well above the wet, mucky ground, which was subject to frequent flooding at the time. Cleveland had obviously built this building before filing his September 13, 1897, as it was the only legal way to hold his claim. If a saloon existed at this time, it would have had to be in the tiny, 8 by 12 building. The small building seems more likely to have been used as a ticket office for the NT&TC or as a residence for Otto Wolf, the business manager of the company.

4) A photograph taken on January 31, 1898 (Figures 23 and 24) shows the small building still sitting alone on Block 35, Lot 6, with piles of supplies surrounding it, waiting to be hauled over the trail (Figures 21 and 22). The different angle of the camera allows an estimation of distance from street. It appears to be at least 20 feet west of Broadway. It is possible that the NT&TC moved the ticket office back away from the street after this photograph was taken, but prior to constructing the NT&TC building, in order to give a saloon man such as Charles Rohbeck a chance to build a customer base. However, he would have had to shut down his saloon after about two months in order to

permit the construction of the NT&TC building.

5) The high percentage of cut nails may indicate a tent or temporary saloon in the very earliest days or weeks of the rush, before September 13, 1897, when Cleve - land staked a claim for the NT&TC, or on rough plank floor on a temporary building from February – March 1898. However, cut nails could just as easily have been used in the roof or on an earlier floor of the NT&TC building.

6) The distribution of window glass does not match current placement of windows. It suggests a window about 15 feet from the northwest corner of the lot and arching in a spray to the northeast. This breakage pattern suggests a single pane or group of panes (a window) broken from the street side and splattered into the area. It further suggests a permeable floor that allowed the glass to fall directly on the ground instead of on a raised deck as now exists in the Mascot Group. The breakage pattern does argue for a previous, temporary building on the site, or, alternatively, a permeable floor on the 1898 to 1901 NT & TC building.

7) The NT&TC building as examined by historical architects in 1979 had a tightly sealed floor. There appeared to be no place where the rather large fragments of glass and coins could have fallen or been pushed through that floor of the NT&TC building. At that time, the floor was a layer of tar paper on stringers, then a layer of diagonal sub-flooring, then a layer of tongue-in-half-groove flooring. There were no hatchways. Artifact deposition would have had to precede the construction of the floor observed in 1979 or would have had to arrive in Area 1 through more assertive agencies than simply falling in the place where they were disposed or lost.

Historical architects cannot remember if there was a seam in the upper flooring between the NT&TC building and the later 1899 addition built by Albert Reinert and Charles Saake, suggesting it may not be the original, 1898 floor (Paul Cloyd 2004: personal communication; Randy Conrad 2004: personal communication; Gary Higgins 2004: personal communication; Ray Todd 2004: personal commu - nication). Reinert undertook other renovations in 1901 and 1904. During any one of those renovations, he could have changed the floor conditions. Bottles broken in the 1898 saloon or coins and tokens lost in the sawdust on the floor could have been swept into the crawlspace under the building through a hatchway behind the bar or under a rug in a floor that pre-dated Reinert's renovations.

8) In the first known photograph of the NT&TC building, dated April 29, 1898, the recently completed building sits at the southwest corner of Broadway and Third (Figure 27). The smaller, older building has been moved to its west side. There is a substantial gap between the ground surface and the floor of the NT&TC building, which would allow artifacts to migrate horizontally under the building. More vigorous agencies of migration could include rolling (bottles), torrential rains or floods, deliberate throwing or shoveling after yard or street cleanup events.

9) The presence of cork crown cap liners is an excellent example of the type of artifact that would have entered Area 1 well after the NT&TC building was constructed. Any sort of water flow into the lower space under the building would have picked these light, floating items up and carried them into the space. They date after 1909, well into the Reinert period.

10) Heavier artifacts would not have been exempt from entering the archeological record by this mechanism. As was shown in the stratigraphy section, Area 1 was the lowest area of any excavated under the Mascot Saloon Group (Figures 48 and 49), and certainly lower than the two nearby streets. During the two 1901 floods, the water flow may have been sufficient to move the heavier broken glass fragments, coins, metal pieces, and hardware into this area. Then trapped by the slightly higher rise of ground at the east end of the building, these heavier artifacts settled out. Many of the artifacts under the building may well be redeposited items that began their archeological journey on the perimeter of Rohbeck's Mascotte Saloon and later Reinert's Mascot Saloon.

11) The high relative percentage of Personal Artifacts weakens the argument for a tent or temporary saloon. Residence by renters could have been accommodated in the upper floor of the NT&TC building or in the small building on the site, but is less likely in a tent saloon. Early gold rush accounts suggest saloons were open twenty-four hours a day. Residence in a tent saloon would have been difficult for anyone wanting to get some sleep.

12) All trade tokens date from businesses known to start after June 1898. One trade token is associated with Albert Reinert, post July 1899.

13) It was noticed that a few items of Rainier beer paraphernalia were found in Area 1, including at least one shot glass and two porcelain bottle caps. Rainier beer was sold and advertised heavily by Albert Reinert as early as 1902. There is no historic evidence it was used before that time. The distilleries usually "sponsored" saloons in return for exclusive use of their beer on tap. While Reinert advertised other beers as "imports" in bottles, the appearance of the Rainier shot glasses, Rainier bottle caps and ubiquitous Rainier advertisements starting in 1902 indicate that the Rainier Brewing Company was Reinert's sponsor after that time.

14) The twelve Jesse Moore whiskey bottles, all broken, *could* have been stored under the building and deliberately destroyed during the November 1899 customs raid.

The jury is still not in on whether there was a saloon on the site of the NT&TC building prior to its construction. There appears to be substantial evidence that artifacts were entering the archeological record in Area 1 after the building was constructed in 1898. It is obvious that much of the deposit was related specifically to Rohbeck and his customers at the Mascotte Saloon, as suggested by the Mascotte Saloon tokens and whiskeys not advertised by Albert Reinert. But the presence of Reinert's Rainier beer paraphernalia, a token from his saloon, and a few items dating from after 1899 suggest that some early Reinert material was also in Area 1.

MASCOTTE SALOON PRIVY, JUNE 1898 – AUGUST 1899: AREA 5

The appearance of the privy in photographs dating from June 1898 until August 1899 fixes the date of the Area 5 privy as contemporaneous with the Mascotte Saloon. The mean manufacturing date of 1899 and *terminous post quem* of 1900 do little to argue against those dates, as it is obvious that fill within the pit consolidated over time, causing a sink hole. Adjoining deposits and their later artifact content then washed into the pit during such events as the 1901 floods and possibly lesser rainstorms. The predominantly early dates of all artifacts indicate that intrusions were not significant, nor did they continue beyond one or two years after the privy was abandoned.

While the privy use was contemporaneous with the Mascotte Saloon, artifact distribution did vary from that found in Area 1. The difference was caused by what people would take with them to a privy, not necessarily always what was going on in the saloon. For instance, the frequency of liquor bottles as a whole was lesser than in other saloon collections, but the frequency of drinking vessels was much higher. This phenomenon probably resulted from the fact that a customer might take an occasional unfinished glass of whiskey or mug of beer with him to the privy, but not a whole bottle.

Gambling was obviously an important part of the activities in the Mascotte Saloon. Three quarters of the dice and poker chips were found in Area 1 and the Privy. Gambling was heavily fined in Skagway from 1903 to 1906 and not permitted at all after 1906.

Likewise, tobacco-related and male-specific items cluster in the privy and in Area 1, as if they were more likely to be deposited in the privy or during the gold rush era than later.

It is in the Mascotte privy that we see evidence of women at the saloon. A garter, coin purse, earring, and ring evoke the hasty reassembling of a woman's ensemble before rejoining the dancing called by "Ham Grease Jimmy," or earning her "percentage" of Rohbeck's profits by encouraging men to buy her drinks.

For the first time, flasks appear on the scene at the Mascot Saloon Group. The consumption of liquor from a flask was a private activity, not a social one, and therefore inimical to the very being of the saloon. The sly drink from a flask in the privacy of the privy was meant to be hidden, not shared. The deed could have been done by the anti-social being in the saloon, the worker in the storage yard of the NT&TC behind the saloon, or by Otto Wolf in his Pacific Clipper Line Office next door.

THE MASCOT SALOON, 1899 ADDITION: AREAS 2 AND 3

As the August 1899 building addition covered Areas 2 and 3 only 16 months after Area 1 was covered, it was expected that not much difference between the two areas in the types of artifacts would be seen. However, trends showing a change in customer preferences can already be detected. The remains of snack foods are completely missing. While whiskey and hard liquor are still important beverages, wine began to appear more frequently. Flasks were present, like around the privy pit. Items of personal possession are far fewer and far less important in the collection.

The area was badly disturbed by water pipes that had been constructed through the area in the past. Most had been removed during the 1979 renovations, but those foundation renovations had caused further disturbances of their own. The original wood stave water pipe, remnants of which were recorded in Area 6E, probably crossed through Area 3.

The statistical test of the Area 2 and 3 collection against the individual saloon collections indicated that a combination of the Miner's Home Saloon in Fairbanks and the Pantheon Saloon in Skagway predicted the collection under the 1899 addition. The Miner's Home Saloon, as previously described, functioned as a working class saloon during Fairbanks' gold rush, serving transient miners and workers in the transportation sector. The Pantheon Saloon, which dated from 1903 to 1916, was used after the gold rush period by working class railroad workers and wharfingers. The shift from the gold rush to later working class clientele is becoming apparent through the functional analysis as early as these 1899 deposits.

THE MASCOT SALOON, 1901 ADDITION: AREA 4

It is obvious that by the time Albert Reinert had added the rear 30 feet to his Mascot Saloon in 1901, his customers definitely preferred beer to whiskey. Despite what Madelon Powers (1998:86) stated about working class saloon patrons drinking beer and whiskey to the exclusion of all other beverages, wine had also become an important beverage at the Mascot. In Area 4, beer bottles outnumbered whiskey bottles two to one; they outnumbered the wine bottles three to one. Bitters were still on the supplies list, indicating mixed whiskey drinks were also consumed.

It is important to note that newspaper articles from this time period frequently mention that the Mascot had received a shipment of barrels of beer. A May 1901 cartoon of the Mascot Saloon shows barrels ranged along side the saloon, presumably barrels of beer (Figure 38). A photograph taken in October 1901 also indicates that barrels of beer sat outside the Mascot Saloon from time to time (Figure 41). The number of beer bottles found in the archeological collection is not an accurate reflection of the amount of beer being consumed. It is probably safe to assume that most of the whiskey was sold in bottles by this time, but that most of the beer was sold on draught from barrels. The bottles represented what Alaskans called the "import" trade. These were specialty name brand beers from the Midwest and West Coast that commanded a higher price and a little bit more prestige. If there were more beer bottles than whiskey bottles in the archeological assemblage, there can be little doubt that a very great deal more beer was being consumed by the draught.

A regression of the individual saloon collections suggests that a combination of the Miner's Home Saloon in Fairbanks and the Pantheon Saloon in Skagway predicted the Area 4 collection. This result is similar to that obtained in Areas 2 and 3, beneath the 1899 addition. As stated before, both were working class saloons, whose customers tended to be Americans. The Pantheon Saloon, in particular, seemed to have lower than average liquor bottle frequencies. It should be noted that the Area 4 collection contained only 27% liquor-related items, compared to the average 38% in the other Saloons. Both the Mascot (by 1901) and the Pantheon were depending heavily on their barreled beer, which tends not to leave much in the way of archeological evidence.

Like in the Privy deposits, flasks were particularly numerous in Area 4. This area had been a backyard before 1901. The flask frequency in Area 4 was almost twice what it was in the Saloon Assemblage as a whole. It is likely that a good proportion of the broken flasks in the back yard of the Mascot Saloon may actually reflect private drinking behavior by workmen rather than trash being redeposited from the saloon itself.

Evidence of the Mascot's renowned free lunches occurred in the form of high frequencies of clam and other bivalve shells in Area 4. Animal bone was abundant as well. It tended to be sheep or deer meat rather than beef, as had been observed in the earlier deposits. The fact that both deer and sheep bone were found from this time period indicates that the "joke" played by

Reinert on the marshal and his customers in February 1903 was perfectly credible (see page 121). Reinert apparently served venison often enough that no one would suspect him of trying to substitute mutton.

THE PACIFIC CLIPPER LINE OFFICE, JULY 1898-1904: AREA 6

The western portion of Area 6 was covered by the construction of the Pacific Clipper Line Office by July 1898. Between late April and early July, the small 8 feet by 12 feet ticket office used by Otto Wolf occupied the area just to the south of the NT&TC building. Remains of that structure were found in Units 89 and 92 and mistaken as a privy pit by the excavators. No artifacts were recovered with the pieces of board that lay upon the surface.

Curiously enough, Blee's 1979 tests recovered a much denser amount of artifacts in the test trenches than recovered during the 1986 excavations. Furthermore, she observed intact stratigraphy, including a thin cultural layer containing a few artifacts below a dense silt that probably corresponds to the "glacial flour" described in Gleeson's field notes (Blee 1989:66). It is readily apparent that a good deal of disturbance had taken place in the west portion after Blee did her tests in April 1979.

The artifact collection in Area 6 tested unambiguously saloon-like, indicating that it was receiving influence from the Mascotte Saloon. Unlike the predominantly whiskey bottle collection seen in Area 1 to the north, the alcoholic-beverage bottle collection in Area 6 West was a relatively even mixture of beer, whiskey and wine bottles.

A regression of the five comparative saloon data sets on Area 6 returned a very different result than had occurred in the other areas. It suggested a mixture of all the collections *except* the Miners Home Saloon. In other words, the collection from Area 6 appears to very closely mimic the average Saloon collection, but is not quite as working class, nor was it as influenced by gold rush miners.

The three ornate, decorated dishware pieces recovered from this area seem somewhat expensive for a saloon. They suggest a limited influence by a higher class of individual. Likewise, the garter and the lady's shoe may betray the presence of a woman working in or living in the office.

Perhaps of most interest are the four items in the Other Artifacts category. All four are related to office activities: ink bottles and pencils. While obviously very parsimonious in quantity, they may be the only link to the activities taking place within the Pacific Clipper Line Office.

The saloon never did occupy the rooms above the western part of Area 6 and Reinert did not use the rooms above the eastern portion of Area 6 until after 1904. Until 1901, when a fence was built between the backyard of the Mascot Saloon and the backyard of the Pacific Clipper Line Office, the customers of the saloon could wander freely across both yards. Apparently doing so created a sufficiently large material culture that it all but drowned out that of the Pacific Clipper Line Office. All that remained was two ink bottles and two pencils, and some slightly more ornate dish wares.

CONCLUSION

Howard Chudacoff (1999) tells us that at no time in American history had the culture of the bachelor been so dominant as it was between 1880 and World War I. His Bachelor Subculture was one chosen by men who eschewed married life in the metropolitan areas of the country. He does not consider the huge number of married men who became bachelors when they left their wives and mothers behind to join the mining stampedes such as the Klondike gold rush of 1897 – 1899. When men left the company of the women who cooked, sewed, laundered, and companioned them, they quickly adopted the culture of the bachelors who were not married.

An integral social institution of the Bachelor Culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the saloon. Madelon Powers (1998) details the rigorous customs and rituals of this peculiarly male domain. A man must be sociable in a saloon. He must "treat" his companions and allow himself to be "treated." He must share games and song and ribald jokes. He expected to find his own kind in his saloon, and he tended to patronize only one or two favorites. If a woman came into the front of a saloon, he knew what she wanted – to part him from some money in return for some sexual favor. He would buy her some drinks, then go off somewhere with her if she invited him. No "respectable" woman ever came into the front part of the saloon. He expected the saloonkeeper to provide certain services, like off-hours banking and protection from bullies of other social sets. These are just some of the rules. The rules were all implicit and everyone knew them.

The money that was spent in the saloon and the deleterious effect that drunkenness had on the family was one of the primary reasons that the temperance movement and such organizations as the W. C. T. U. focused so much effort on the obliteration of the saloon from America. The women in these organizations did not abhor alcoholism or drunkenness. What they feared was the saloon's impact on family life. It was this all-male, public drinking in the saloon that the temperance organizations wished to purge from American life, not the simple consumption of alcoholic beverages (Baron 1962:322-327; Powers 1998:46).

The temperance forces were successful in their aim of closing the saloon. With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and Prohibition, the saloon as an institution died completely. It has never since been resurrected. The "cocktail lounge" and "bar" took its place when Prohibition was repealed. One finds a "saloon" only in western cities mimicking their Wild West days, and it is only a movie set mockery of the real thing. None of these imitations prohibit women from entering their doors, few people would dream of treating the house, then have the next person treat the house, then the next, and so on until all were drunk. Paintings of nudes on the walls are neither shocking nor especially common. Gambling is carefully confined to casinos where it can be taxed. Social workers concentrate on treating alcoholism as an individual disease rather than saloonism as a cancerous social institution.

The archeological deposits under the Mascot Saloon Group offered an extraordinary trip back in time to the first few years of the twentieth century. It required, first, understanding what a saloon was, then understanding what the Mascot Saloon was within the context of Skagway's history. The Mascot spanned the time from gold rush to Prohibition. It was Skagway's longest, most enduring saloon under single management at the same location. Because its owner, Albert Reinert, built additions every few years, the horizontal stratigraphy at the site offered a unique opportunity to explore the changes in the material culture as the gold rush saloon became one used by the working class men working on the railroad and wharves.

In the deposits of the Mascotte Saloon, we see a gold rush saloon where the customers liked whiskey, played poker and snacked on nuts. They consorted with "percentage girls" and spent their money like there was no end to it, even though they had yet to find the gold. Many were probably workers on the railroad, but they would not remain so for long. They were going to the Klondike! In a few months they would be rich.

As the rush to the gold fields died down, the railroad was completed, other railroads were built in Alaska, and the miners spent less time in Skagway, more and more of the Mascot's customers were local men working for the railroad or the wharves. Beer and wine increased in popularity. The more expensive whiskey sat on the shelf longer. The "percentage girls" left town. Money got tight and the poker games became harder to come by. The saloons engaged in a free lunch war. Albert Reinert of the Mascot served clam chowder and ribs instead of fruits and nuts. If Powers (1998:209-210) is correct, the Rainier Beer Company offset Reinert's expenses in this endeavor.

By having the contrast, not only with its own later, localized clientele at the Mascot and Pantheon saloons, but also with the saloons from Fairbanks and Lake City, Colorado, the gold rush Mascotte Saloon attains special significance. We better understand the behavior of the men ripped free from the social constraints of everyday life back home. They spent money more freely. They drank more expensive alcohol, they did not take their meals at the saloon. That suggests they ate at restaurants, again spending more money. They gambled their money, and they paid attention to the "percentage girls." None of this information gets mentioned in their diaries or letters back home. The home folks loaned them the money to go to the Klondike. They dare not mention this "necessary" expense.

The Klondike gold rush of 1897 – 1899 was a heady time. The country was emerging from a depression very much like that of the Great Depression of the 1930's. It was exciting to be in Skagway. It was exciting to be at the Mascotte Saloon. The time spent in the Mascotte was only a microcosm of the whole experience of what it was to be male on the Klondiker's adventure north.

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Appendix A: Chronology of Mascot Saloon Ads in Skagway Newspapers

By Catherine Holder Spude, Ph. D.

The following is a summary of the advertisements for the Mascot Saloon in the newspapers of Skagway, Alaska for the period December 1899 through September 1909. I looked at every extant newspaper during this ten year period, of which almost daily copies remain. I made photocopies of the advertisements appearing on the 15th of each month, or the 16th, if the 15th of the month was missing. I also made copies of any special one-time story advertisements, such as those for special lunches for grand-openings or Christmas dinners.

All advertisements are from *The Daily Alaskan* unless otherwise noted.

December 10, 1899 – April 27, 1903: Placard ad, with a squiggle in the M for Mascot: *Try The Mascot. Best of Wines, Liquors and Cigars. Fine Club Room in Connection. A. Reinert, Prop. 3rd and Broadway.*



October 12, 1901: *Mascot Grand Opening. There will be a grand opening at the Mascot saloon Saturday night, commencing at 7 o'clock. An elaborate free lunch consisting of roast turkey, prime roast beef, boiled Westphalia ham, schrimp (sic) salad, etc., etc., will be served. Everybody is invited* (page 1).

April 23, 1902: The first story-type ad appears for the Mascott (sic) saloon. Albert Reinert received on the *Cottage City* a large shipment of keg beer. *The Creamy Brew. The kegs when bunched together make an imposing mass. They contain the celebrated Rainier Bock Beer of Seattle, into the composition of which nothing enters but the very best of Yakima hops, toned for flavor with the close-made little sundried Bohemians and a generous quantity of malt. It is a famous, creamy brew of ample body and will be on tap at the Mascott (sic) for the next three weeks* (page 2).

November 15, 1902: *Reinert reduces the price of Seattle Bohemian beer to 10 cents a glass. To celebrate the reduction in cost, the Mascot is serving prime roast beef, pork, salads, celery and other trimmings, and music will also be provided* (page 3). This story marks the first of several (all noted below) that join the Seattle Saloon in its tradition of advertising through special announcements.

November 29, 1902: *Clam Chowder Free Tonight. The Mascot saloon will serve an excellent hot free lunch tonight. Clam chowder and other delicacies will go with it. And, do not forget, Seattle Bohemian beer will be sold at 10 cents per glass. The Mascot is the only house in the city which sells Seattle beer at 10 cents a glass* (page 1).

December 6, 1902: An advertisement disguised as a newspaper story informs the people of Skagway that the Mascot Saloon will be serving a free lunch tonight. *Big Feast. Spare ribs, sauerkraut, and all the trimmings usual in such cases. Seattle Bohemian draught beer will also be served at the usual price of this house, 10 cents per glass* (page 4).

December 13, 1902: *Clam Chowder at the Mascot. Albert Reinert will provide the patrons of the Mascot Saloon with a feast of his famous clam chowder tonight. There will be served the usual lunch, besides the chowder, Seattle Bohemian beer at 10 cents a glass. All invited* (page 3).

December 20, 1902: *Pleased. Clam chowder will be served at the Mascot saloon tonight free to the patrons of that resort. The usual lunch will not be omitted, and all are promised a splendid treat. Seattle Bohemian beer on draught at 10 cents* (page 1).

January 3, 1903: *Clam Chowder at the Mascot. The Mascot saloon will regale its customers tonight with clam chowder and Seattle Bohemian beer at 10 cents a glass* (page 1, 2).

January 31, 1903: *Little Neck Clams at the Mascot. The Mascot saloon has received a large consignment of little neck clams and the customers of the house are being daily regaled with them* (page 1).

February 7, 1903: *Barbacue. There will be a full grown deer all roasted to a turn, carved for the patrons of the Mascot saloon tonight and served with cream gravy. In addition to the venison there will be sandwiches of sausage, cheese and fish, and*

a fine assortment of condiments and appetizers together with Seattle Bohemian beer, at 10 cents a glass or schooner (page 1).

March 18, 1903: *Enchiladas at Mascot. The Mascot saloon is now regaling its customers with genuine Mexican enchiladas a delicacy that will be thoroughly appreciated by all who have the happy combination of this great delicacy with Seattle Bohemian beer* (page 3).

April 28 – July 1903: *Rainier Bock Beer, at the Mascot Saloon.*

August – November 1903: *Good Old Whiskey – Old Planet and Old Belmont, re-imported, both 12 years old, at Mascot saloon.*

December 25, 1903: *Good Cheer at Mascot. The Mascot offers an exceptionally fine Christmas lunch for today, including clam chowder and other delicacies. Tom and Jerry and punch will, moreover, be freely served to the patrons of the house* (page 3). Tom and Jerry drinks, according to Webster, are a concoction of cream, egg, sugar and liquor, and may be the 1903 version of eggnog.

December 1903 – October 1904: *Mascot has New Music. The Mascot saloon has just received a large consignment of new music for its popular Victor talking machine. It includes all the latest popular airs. Also Free Concert Daily. A free concert is given at the Mascot saloon every afternoon and evening. All the latest songs and airs. It is worth hearing.*

April 30, 1904: *Rainier Bock Beer Tonight. The finest Rainier Bock Beer and a delicious lunch will be served tonight at the Mascot saloon. The lunch will be free to patrons* (page 1). This was a Saturday night and the first mention of a free lunch in quite some time. Reinert may have been celebrating his purchase of the Pacific Clipper Line Office.

November 1904 – June 1906: *At Wholesale Prices – The Mascot saloon sells liquors, either bulk or case goods at wholesale prices. All the old brands always on hand.*

June 1905 - September 1905: *Rainier Beers – Rainier beers by the dozen bottles, $2.50, at the Mascot saloon.*

June 1905 - April 1907: *At the Mascot – Mt. Vernon rye and Old Belmont whiskeys, double stamped goods, at wholesale prices at the Mascot saloon.*

December 15, 1905 – July 15, 1906: *Fresh oyster cocktails and hot wienerwurst on tap at the Mascot saloon. Third avenue and Broadway.*

August 1906 – October 1906: *Steamed Clams Tonight – Hot steamed clams will be served at the Mascot saloon tonight, free to patrons of the popular house* (page 4).

December 1906 and April 1907: *At the Mascot – Home made Oyster Cocktails at the Mascot.*

May 1907: *Rainier Bock Beer on draught at the Mascot* (page 2).

June 1907 – September 1907: *At the Mascot – Mt. Vernon rye, Old Taylor and Belmont whiskies, (double stamped goods, 10 years old), and Rainier and Pacific Bottled Beer at the Mascot saloon* (page 2).

December 1907: *The Mascot – Come in and listen to the Electric Banjo Piano ; Concert at the Mascot – Concert every evening. Best musical selection on the Electric Banjo Piano ; A Musical Treat at the Mascot – All lovers of music should hear the new Electric Banjo Piano. Rag time Waltz time, any old time ; Catchy Music at the Mascot— Hear the latest Rag time music on the new Electric Banjo Piano.*

January – August 1908: *A Wonderful Instrument – You should drop into the Mascot and hear the music. The electric piano has a Mandolin attachment equal to a whole octette of Mandolin attachments with a string of new airs; Hear Those Mandolins Ringing – Eight of 'em in one instrument, with Piano accompaniment. Hear them at the Mascot. It is great, and fills the place of a vaudeville entertainment; Eight Mandolins – At the Mascot there is the most wonderful musical instrument ever brought to Skagway. It has a quality of eight Mandolins in one with a Piano accompaniment. There is a string of eight new airs. It makes a full evening's entertainment.*

April – August 1908: A new ad appears in addition to the ones in the previous four months: *The Mascot. Recd. by last boat 100 new records for Electric Piano. All up-to-date classical music.*

May – August 1908: *Bock beer on tap at the Mascot.*

September 1908: *No Lack of Expression – Some people claim that an automatic piano lacks expression. Come in and hear the one at the Mascot. We have been the recipients of many expressions of praise: then again, we have a new selection of classical and topical pieces and with the*

mandolin orchestra affords much pleasure to lovers of good music; The law says you can drink if you want to. Enough said, drink Rainier Beer at the Mascot – draft or bottled.

October – November 1908: There are no ads.

December 1908 – July 1909: *Bottled and Draught Beer – Rainier Beer is the peer of all brews. At the Mascot, phone 67 and have a case sent to your home; Bring Your Own Jug – Mount Vernon Rye and Belmont Bourbon direct from bond at wholesale price by the gallon. The Mascot, phone 67. Delivery free.*

August 1909: The first ad for the Mascot in years that is a large placard ad, as opposed to the small story ads seen earlier. This ad started on July 17 and ran through August 31, 1909, after which time, it disappeared.



September 1909: No advertisements.

AFTER THIS DATE, NO SYSTEMATIC SCANNING FOR ADVERTISMENTS

February 18, 1910: *None better or purer than Gibson Rye and Val Blatz Beer. Orders by Phone promptly delivered. The Mascot.*

September 19, 1910: *Come in or phone orders for Gibson Rye and Val Blatz Beer; delivered to your home by The Mascot.*

Appendix B: Mascot Saloon Group Container Glass Identification and Dating

By Gwen Hurst (1987)

EDITOR'S PREFACE

When Gwen Hurst began studying the history of glass containers from the Mascot Saloon Group excavations, she had over three decades of experience working with similar material, first as a collector and later as a professional archeologist. Her knowledge of this material culture was well-steeped in practical experience, in collector's literature, and in primary historical documentation. She used technological markers, such as the presence or absence of air-vents, differing glass colors, and differing base and lip methods of bottle manufacturing, all of which betrayed technological changes in the development of glassmaking in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. She relied heavily on an extensive database of patented glasshouse trademarks and bottler brand name embossing, as well as registered patents and published research materials.

Today, our understanding of dates of glass containers has changed somewhat from 1986, but not so greatly that it will affect the overall dating of the deposits at the different areas of the excavations. While many of us that reviewed and edited this appendix would have liked more specific references to many of Gwen's dates, we realized that she may not have been able to reconstruct them all after so many years. Plus, we are fairly confident that Gwen knew her dates fairly well. She may have been off by a year or two, but it was not substantive enough to seriously effect the overall dates of the tables in the main section of Chapter 4. We believe that we, and other researchers, can use these dates with a real sense of confidence. It is with a real sense of loss that we learned that Gwen passed away in October 2004.

In the following discussions, references to U. S. Patent trademarks are taken from the United States Patent Office's weekly publication, *The Official Gazette*. The trademark and design numbers she referred to after the citation of *The Official Gazette* can be found by doing a search on the U. S. Patent Office's web site, http://www.uspto.gov/. This is an incredibly useful tool where any researcher can search for a manufacturer's name, trademark, or patent number. In 1986, Gwen did it the hard way, by searching the publications of the Patent Office by hand (CHS).

INTRODUCTION

It became apparent during laboratory analysis that a wide range of information about the glass artifacts would be needed to provide a historical as well as a functional context for the glass artifacts excavated from the Mascot Saloon Complex. The identification and dating of glassware, particularly that manufactured and shipped during the period of the Klondike Gold Rush, utilized several methods during cataloguing and recording.

Excluding windowpane glass, a total of 8,344 glass fragments from the Mascot Saloon Group were excavated. Saloon activities, areas where these activities occurred, and building perimeters, including subsequent additions to the original small Gold Rush Mascot Saloon structure, were noted by the distribution of these glass fragments. Glass remains included: beer and liquor bottles, bar bitters, alcohol service glassware of beer and shot glasses, tumblers, mugs, and goblets. Domestic activities were noted with the few remains of culinary, medicinal containers, and remnants of lamp chimneys and parts. Glass, porcelain and cork bottle stoppers were associated with these glass containers, as were beer cask/keg bung stoppers, which were confined by distribution to the original structure area. Newer glass containers not associated with the Mascot Saloon were a catsup bottle, a Hazel-Atlas Glass Company tumbler made after 1923, and nine modern stubby beer bottles.

GLASS IDENTIFICATION AND DATING

During the 1890's and early 1900's, the period of glass deposition beneath the Mascot Saloon, developing glass manufacturing technologies left identification marks on bottles which can be determined upon cursory examination. Gas fired furnaces, introduced between 1875 and 1880 in the United States, enabled temperature control of the metal, which in turn produced more smoothly fused bottle lips and less crude bottles (Ferraro and Ferraro 1966:81). Air-venting, another revolutionary technology which also contributed to uniform bottle production, was patented by Charles Fox in 1874 (*Official Gazette* 1874:415). Turn mold bottle manufacturing, semi-automatic wide mouth bottle machines, and changes in clear glass chemical compositions were among the minor technological changes

during this period revolutionized by automation (automatic bottle machines) beginning in 1907.

Fox's bottle air-venting invention to reduce the pressure in a bottle mold produced a single, small raised air vent, or circular 0.5cm mark that can be seen and felt on the shoulders of bottles. This singular air vent was shortly replaced by a series of pin-head sized air vents around the shoulder, or occasionally spaced vertically down the side of a bottle. Bottle lips, although formed first in this process, were applied in a separate operation (see also Thomas 1977: Foreword). The lips on gas furnace-air vented bottles are well tooled and uniform in comparison to previously made handblown bottles with crudely applied lips.

Turn molds, a process of spinning a molten bottle in a paste lined mold to remove the seams was patented by William F. Modes in 1887 (*Official Gazette* 1887:1268). This technology was later adapted by Michael Owens (also inventor of automatic bottle machines) for lamp chimneys and light bulbs. Turn mold bottles were most prevalent in red-amber liquor bottles excavated from the Mascot, known to bottle collectors as the "1890's red-amber base". Red-amber bases are found only on heavy, thick, dark red-amber cylinder liquor bottles presumably produced only during the 1890's (Thomas 1977:v)., and are always turn molds. This base is convex with a series of concentric rings with a dimple in the center produced by the turn mold manufacturing operation.

Semi-automatic bottles produced on the "Arbogast", or "press and blow" machines, were mass-produced beginning in 1892/1893. This two-step procedure of pressing glass in two molds to join the lip to the body was used only for wide-mouth bottles/jars (Scoville 1948:202). This procedure left a rough mold seam around the shoulder junction of the bottle/jar most often noticed on early Vaseline brand containers.

Revolutionary changes in glass making technology began taking place in 1898 with the patent of an "automatic bottle making machine" (ABM) (*The Official Gazette*, Patent No. 11,668) registered on June 14, 1898 to Michael Owens, operator of the newly formed Toledo Glass Company, Toledo, Ohio. Owens had a fully automatic bottle machine in operation by 1903 at a subsidiary glasshouse, the Owens Bottle Company, which operated from September 3, 1903 until 1911. The company became simply the Owens Bottle Company in 1911. Although the automatic bottle machine (ABM) was in operation at this time, bottles produced on this early machine were unusable, and small mouth bottles were not successfully produced until 1907. These were limited to so-called "blop" top beer bottles (Riley 1958:260).

Despite this widely accepted early date of 1903 for the Owens ABM bottles, Miller and McNichol make a convincing case for a *terminous post quem* of 1905 for most bottles blown on Owens machines. It seems that no one took out a license on an Owens machine until that time (Miller and McNichol 2002:2). They also offer a range of dates for the introduction of specific bottle forms with the distinctive bottle mark. Those dates are reflected in a listing later.

Automatic made small-mouth prescription ware was first successfully made in 1909 by the Canadian based Dominion Glass Company (Walbridge 1969:80). Early Owens machine-made bottles have side mold seams (ghosted) that run from the heel of a heavy bottle to the lip, and the continuing seam through the lip is off set. A circular valve mark appears on the bases of these bottles, this mark produced by ejecting the bottle from the mold. As refinements to the Owens machines were made, the machine-made-mark through the lip, and the base mark were aligned. ABM mass produced bottles became uniform, not only in shape, size, and lips, but texture and thickness of glass, which is variable in earlier hand blown, or Arbogast produced bottles.

Nearly 50 percent of glass manufactured, and subsequently excavated from post-1800 historical sites appear to be clear or transparent. "Clear" glass examined under natural light, without other visual aids, show varying tones of color ranging from pale grey to amethyst. Pale grey is referred to as either "flint" or "lead" glass, both terms being used interchangeably. This method of clearing iron oxides from flint glass has been used continuously since its introduction in 1674 by Ravenscroft of England. The addition of limestone, potash, or soda to sand as a clarifier, which produces varying shades of pale green and aqua has been the basic recipe for glass making since ancient times.

Glass containing manganese dioxide has a pale purple tone which will turn to an amethyst color (SCA) upon exposure to ultraviolet rays. The addition of manganese to glass metal as a clarifying agent in producing clear, transparent glass gained increasing popularity during the 1880's in the United States. By 1911, selenium (yellowish straw color, peach, blackish-glue, or blackish-green hues) had begun replacing manganese (Miller and Pacey 1985:44); this

adaptation to selenium was hastened by the advent of World War I, as Germany was the major source of manganese. A 1915 date has been accepted by most glass experts as a glass dating marker that assumes American stocks of manganese were depleted and glass products shipped out of warehouses (Gillio et al. 1980:17; Lockhart 2005). Selenium was used only briefly in the United States, from 1911 to 1930 (Lockhart 2005).

Other glass dating markers were present on the excavated Mascot bottle and glass fragments. Three-section mold bottles, patented by H. Ricketts Company of Bristol, England on December 21, 1821, were most popular during the period of 1870 to 1910 (Munsey 1970:39). Embossed trademarks and brand names blown into the bottles, bases and heels of bottles assisted in identification and dating of those bottles. Years of production of these glasshouses and brands were documented by the U. S. Patent Office *Official Gazette* publication and dates are supported by directories and other published sources.

Whiskey, liquor and bar bitters recovered from the Mascot Complex appear to have been manufactured and distributed by west coast businesses. Beer bottles, in contrast, were manufactured and distributed by Midwestern bottlers. A majority of the west coast bottlers and distributors were centered in the San Francisco area. The 1906 San Francisco earthquake destroyed most of these businesses, particularly those along Market Street. This year also saw the introduction of the Pure Food and Drug Act, which tried to enforce bottling controls, and hastened the adaptation to crown top bottles. Twelve years later, Alaska Territory prohibition preceded national prohibition, or the 18th Amendment, ratified on 16 January 1919. Prohibition for beer and wine ended on 7 April 1933, and the 21st Amendment completely repealed prohibition on 5 December 1933 (Anderson 1973:9). By this time, automatic bottle machines had completely replaced glassblowers and semi-automatic methods of manufacturing glass (Scoville 1948:78).

Identified and dated glass from the Mascot Saloon Group provided a variety of glassware examples from the gold rush period until Skagway prohibition. The excavation of pontil marked black glass and free blown bottle fragments rarely in circulation after 1880 leads to speculation on pre-gold rush explorers. Prohibition years between 1916 and 1933 are almost totally absent from the Mascot glass record although small clusters of surface remains, and later construction fill produced discarded beer bottles of the post-prohibition period.

MEDICINALS AND HEALTH ITEMS

The health of a community, its inhabitants, and epidemics are recorded in the remains of discarded remedy bottles. The late nineteenth century, known as the era of the "Great American Fraud", was unregulated until the Federal Food and Drug Act of 1906 took the first move in controlling unsanitary, dangerous, often addictive, or worthless nostrums. American consumers were defrauded into curing their ailments with lotions and potions advertised as cures beneficial for man, or beast. Vile tasting patent medicines were often trademarked by the U. S. Patent Office, and it was not uncommon to find morphine, cocaine and cannabis as part of their brand names. Until acts to control loop holes in the Food and Drug Act, the promise of cures for cancer, epilepsy, or consumption (tuberculosis) remained on medicinal bottles until the Pharmacy and Medicines Act of 1941 declared these claims illegal.

Forty-one medicinal bottle fragments were identified from the Mascot Saloon representing: two oval and one rectangular plain medicinals; one Vaseline jar; one "cure"; and three vials, or a total of eight medicinals. Of these fragments, two were embossed by brand, one with a glasshouse mark, and one pharmaceutical bottle was identified by patented design. Three fragments of a medicinal type eye dropper were present in Unit 59. Three small vials were also recovered. Scarcity of medicinals could be predicted considering the nature of the Mascot business and consumers.

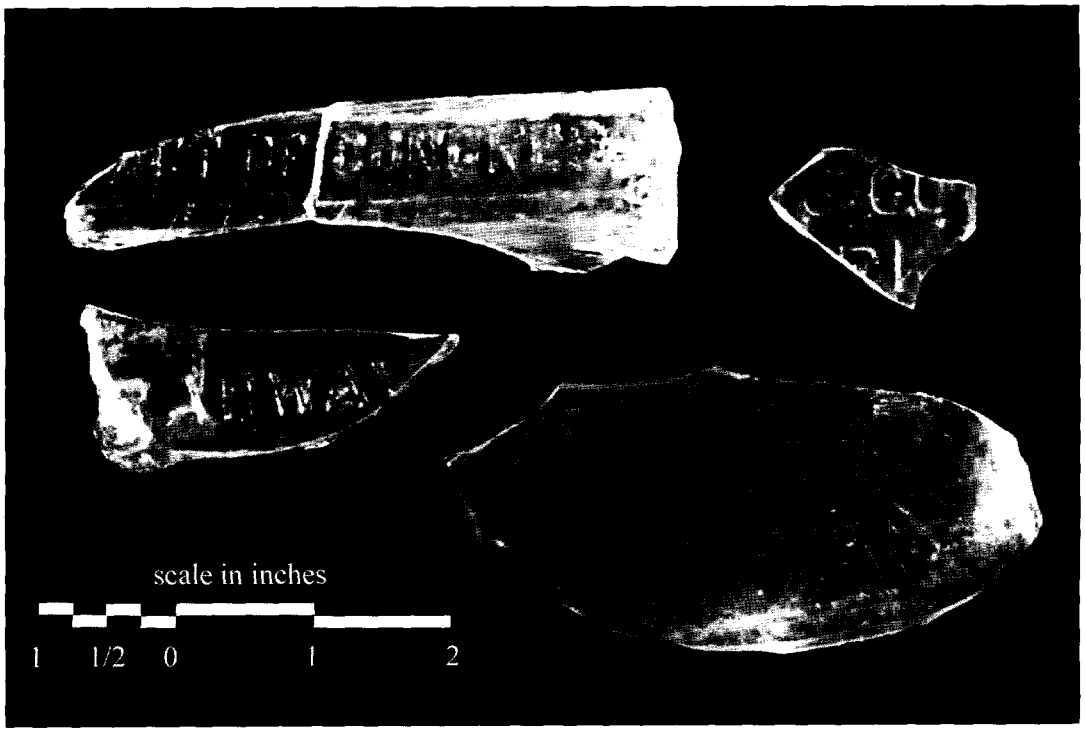
Mark: FC on base

Shape: Rectangular druggist or pharmaceutical
Lip: Tooled, single band collar lip
Color: Clear, selenium glass
Date of Manufacture: 1911-1930

A complete, cracked medicinal bottle having this glasshouse mark on the base was recovered from Unit 37, Level one. Manufacturer and distributor are unidentified.

Mark: R.R.R./RADWAY & CO./NEW YORK vertically
ENTD. ACCORD. TO/ACT OF CONGRESS vertically on sides

Shape: Rectangular
Lip: Tooled, double collar lip



Radway bottle fragments

Color: Aqua
Measurement: Height 6 1/2"
Date of Manufacture: 1880-1906

Highly opalized fragments of this medicinal container were recovered from both the Mascot Saloon and the Pacific Clipper which mended. Containing **Radway's Ready Relief**, this brand name was registered on June 1, 1875 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 2,625). Dating back to 1846 (according to Radway's bottle labels), Radway was established by George, John, and Richard Radway in New York City. The **R.R.R.** embossed on various remedies produced by Radway (Ready Relief, Renovating Resolvent, Sarsaparillan) was copyrighted in 1852 (Wilson and Wilson 1971:134).

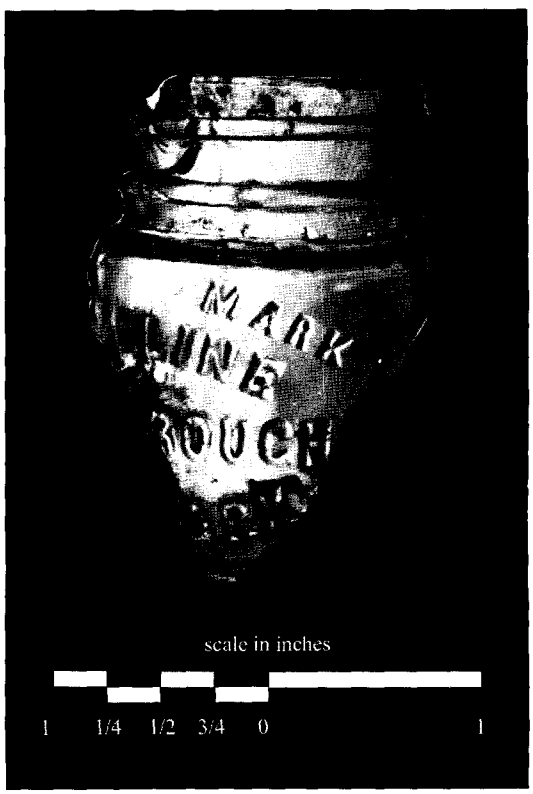
Fragments of this reconstructed Radway's Ready Relief had a smooth base and tooled lip of the post -1880's era indicating gas furnace manufacture, but without air vents. Radway's Ready Relief contained: "soap liniment, tincture of capsicum, ammonia, water, oil of rosemary" (Wilson and Wilson, 1971:134). Labeled bottles also state that the alcoholic content was 27%. Pierce Glass Company of Port Allegeny, Pennsylvania began manufacturing this bottle in 1906 using their P inside a circle trademark on the bases of these bottles.

Mark: CHESEBROUGH MFG. CO. arched/**VASELINE**

Shape: Cylinder jar
Lip: Screw threads

Color: Clear, manganese glass
Measurement: Height 3"
Date of Manufacture: 1908-1915

Vaseline is "a peculiar substance obtained by filtering through black bone (powdered carbonized bone) or its equivalent, at a high temperature, vacuum oil (black oil), or the residium of the vacuum-still, resulting from the distillation of crude petroleum...[Robert] Chesebrough names the article 'Vaseline'" (*Official Gazette* 1872:464).



Vaseline Jar

Chesebrough Manufacturing Company of New York and Brooklyn, New York trademarked the word "Vaseline" on May 14, 1878 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 6,041), and re-registered the brand on June 14, 1881 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 8,359). The product is described as an "emmolient and remedial preparation of petroleum for external and internal application". Chesebrough also manufactured and marketed "Luxor" (*The Official Gazette,* Trademarked 1885), a petroleum oil for illuminating purposes, and "Blue Seal" (*The Official Gazette,* Trademarked 1905), a separately trademarked variant of Vaseline.

Prior to the introduction of Vaseline in currently recognized plastic containers, Vaseline was sold in tin cans, and later, small glass jars. Unembossed Vaseline jars were first manufactured in 1893 on an Aborgast Machine (semi-automatic bottle machine) by the Enterprise Glass Company of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania (Scoville 1948:324). This company was the first American company to make containers on a press and blow machine. Original Vaseline jars were made of either amber or clear glass, and had a rolled lip that took a cork stopper. Later Vaseline jars, such as the embossed jar from Unit 71 Wall Cleanup of the Mascot (made semi-automatically with screw threads and scar around the shoulders) were produced beginning about 1908. This container was produced with the addition of manganese (discontinued in 1915) as a glass clarifier.

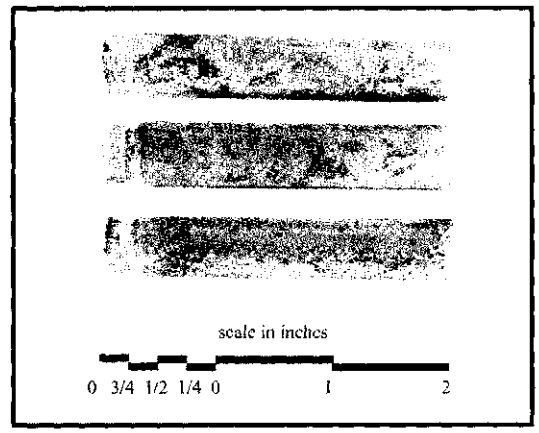
Mark: Unembossed **Druggist** or **Pharmaceutical Bottle**

Shape: Oval
Lip: Tooled, single band collar lip
Color: Clear, manganese glass
Date of Manufacture: 1911-1915

Ten clear, manganese glass fragments of this bottle were reconstructed as having an oval vertical panel on the front for application of labels. John M. Whitall of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania assigned this bottle design to himself, Charles Albert Tatum, and Francis M. Underhill of New York City, and John W. Nicholson, Morrestown, New Jersey on March 29, 1897 (application filing date). These men were the officials of Whitall-Tatum & Co. (1857-1938). This bottle design was registered by the U. S. Patent Office for a term of fourteen years on January 18, 1898 (*The Official Gazette,* Design No. 28,182). Base fragments of this bottle did not bear the W. T. Co. or W. T. & Co. trademark used by Whitall-Tatum until 1938. This bottle was probably blown by another manufacturer after Whitall-Tatum's fourteen year patent term had expired in 1911, and before the discontinuation of manganese in 1915.

Mark: Unembossed **Vials**

Shape: Cylinder, turn mold
Lip: Tooled, single band collar lip
Color: Clear flint, manganese, pale aqua
Measurement: Height 2 3/4"
Date of Manufacture: Before 1930



Vials

Three complete small vials of approximately 7.0 cm in height and 1.0 cm in diameter were excavated from the Mascot Saloon Group in addition to several fragments of the same stylistic vial. Two fragments were of clear flint glass; one of pale aqua, and four contained manganese. Dating would place all of these vials and fragments prior to 1930 when all bottles in the United States were machine made, and prior to 1915 for the vials containing manganese. These cork stoppered containers contained perfume extracts or small red colored pills for a medicinal cure or remedy.

INDULGENCES - LIQUOR FLASKS

Mark: UNION-TRADE MARK-MADE around **A. F.** inside Circle

Shape: Pumpkinseed Flask
Technology: Air vents on shoulder
Lip: Tooled, double collar lip finish
Color: Clear, manganese glass pint
Date of Manufacture: 1897-1915

One of three embossed flasks recovered from the Mascot, this pumpkinseed style flask was trademarked by Edward A. Power and Company of Pittsburg on June 21, 1898 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 31,710). The **A. F.** mark used by this company since September 15, 1897 was found on a cluster of eight fragments recovered in Unit 53.



Union Made Trade Mark

Mark: (Pate)NTED/(March) **25th, 1890** on base

Shape: Rectangular/oval pint
Vertically ribbed
Lip: Ground lip, screw threads
Color: Amber, honey amber
Date of Manufacture: 1890-1915

Designed by Edward N. Stent of Bergen Point, New Jersey and assigned to Cook and Bernheimer of New York City in 1890 (*Official Gazette,* Designs 19,725 and 19,726), remnants of two vertically ribbed flasks were recorded from the southeast corner of the Mascot, Units 71 and 72. One of these flasks was honey-amber, the other a dark amber. A rectangular, unribbed slug plate area was provided for affixing a label on the front of these flasks. Five additional fragments of a dark amber ribbed flask were recorded in the privy which did not mend with fragments from the corner. One base, as described above, was recovered from the Pacific Clipper Line Office, Unit 109, which is located diagonally two units southwest of the privy. The base fragment did not mend with other fragments, which are incomplete.

Mark: NET CONTENTS 5 OZ. on heel
1748 on base

Shape: Rectangular, eagle flask
Lip: Tooled, tapered collar lip finish
Color: Clear lead
Date of Manufacture: 1895-1915

House liquors were usually contained in "Eagle" style flasks on which saloon keepers placed their labels, or embossed the saloon name and address on these flasks. These were a favorite container as a give-away during holiday events, although a labeled Mascot Saloon flask is not known to exist. Almost exclusively a west coast style flask used in Oregon and Washington states prior to prohibition, eagle flasks were blown in clear and amber glass ranging in size from miniature samples to quarter, half-pint and pint sizes.

Mark: Unembossed **Pumpkinseed Flasks** half pint

Technology: Air vents on shoulders
Lip: Tooled, double collar lip finish
Color: Clear, flint and manganese
Date of Manufacture: 1877-1915

Pumpkinseed flasks, a popular liquor container style particularly for west coast bottlers, developed from a design introduced by A. M. Bininger & Company (1861-1863) in which "Binger's Regulator" was embossed around the representation of a Roman numeraled clock face. Elia Chielovich, associated with the original Jesse Moore-Hunt proprietorship, trademarked a similar pumpkinseed embossed: "with the face or dial of a clock" on October 7, 1879 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 7,716). Mascot pumpkinseeds, numbering one-hundred-five fragments (12 lips and 9 bases) were clear in color, and were unembossed.

Mark: Unembossed **Coffin Flasks**

Shape: Rectangular half-pint
Lip: Applied and tooled, tapered collar lip finish
Color: Clear, lead and manganese clarified pale green, amber
Date of Manufacture: 1888-1915

Coffin flasks, most popular with California state distillers and bottlers, was designed by Charles Yockel (a mold maker in Philadelphia) in 1888 (Tyson 1971:22-23). Varied colors of the coffin flask fragments recovered and identified from the eastern perimeter of the Mascot suggest that one each of an amber, pale green, and a half-pint clear lead glass flask were discarded in addition to five clear pints.

CULINARY ITEMS

A total of 101 identified culinary fragments were recovered from the Mascot Complex. Containers associated with the Mascot Saloon exclusively included peppersauce, pickles, mustard

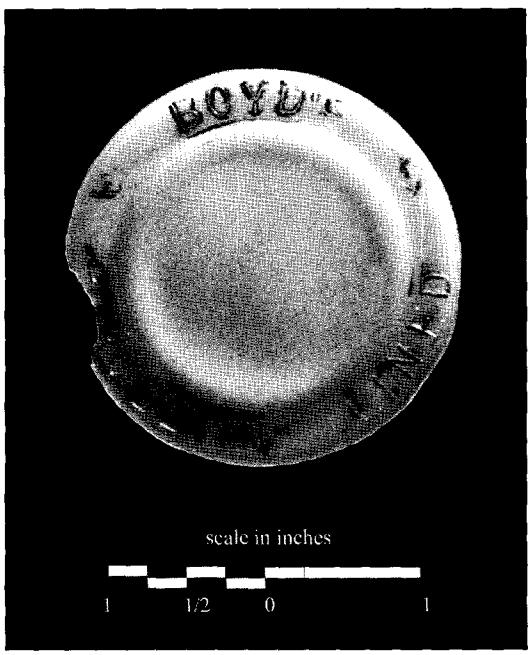
and potted meat. Remains of only one catsup bottle, identified and dated as being manufactured after local prohibition (see below) was not associated with the Mascot Saloon business. These culinary containers do not appear to represent the condiments accompanying the free lunches served at the saloon.

Marmalade, relish, and malted milk containers were recovered from the Pacific Clipper Line Office and Hern's addition.

Canning Jars

Mark: **BOYD'S PORCELAIN LINED** in circle around rim

Type: Jar lid liner
Color: Pale blue milk glass
Measurement: 2 ½ " diameter
Date of Manufacture: 1883-1918



Boyd's Porcelain lid liner

This particular jar lid liner was recovered from the surface of Unit 97 located beneath the Pacific Clipper Line Office. No canning jar remains were recovered from this excavation.

This liner was patented by Lewis R. Boyd and assigned to the Consolidated Fruit Jar Company of New York City on March 30, 1869 (*Official Gazette*, Patent No. 88,439). Infringements on previous patents on this liner dating back to 1856 had occurred, and Consolidated brought U. S. Circuit Court (*Official Gazette*, 1886) action against the Bellaire Stamping Company, another manufacturer of this type of liner in 1886. Claims of both Consolidated and Bellaire were declared invalid for want of a "patentable invention", and apparently the liner manufacture was available for public adoption. Liners manufactured by Consolidated Fruit Jar Company were embossed: "**Genuine Boyd Cap** around a **CFJ Co.** monogram, and were manufactured by the Medford Glass Works of Medford, New Jersey (Tyson 1971:23).

A printed letterhead dated 1892 by the Hero Fruit Jar Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania states that Hero is: "the manufacturers of **Boyd's Porcelain Lined**" (Tyson 1971:19). Originally Hero Glass Works (1869-1883), Hero Fruit Jar Company manufactured fruit jars and closures from 1883 through 1909. They became the Hero Metal Products in 1909 operating until 1918 as manufacturers of fruit jar closures (Creswick 1987:267).

Mark: **Packer's Jar,** Unembossed

Shape: Cylinder pint
Lip: Ground lip, screw threads
Color: Clear selenium or arsenic
Date of Manufacture: 1881-1911

Blown in the typical canning jar style for packers products and reuse for canning, four fragments of this unembossed jar was found in the northeast Corner of the 1904 Mascot Saloon addition (Unit 80) articulated with a pale green/aqua glass lid. An associated fragment was recovered from the pier fill of the privy.

This ground lip, screw thread lip seal jar is either a very late blown packers jar made of selenium, which began to replace manganese in 1911, or is made with the addition of arsenic (which is not often used in glassmaking) which gives it the yellowish tinge.

The early beginning date of 1881 is suggested by the ground lip. The combination of selenium clarification and a ground lip is very unusual, suggesting the dating range for this jar.

Soda Bottles

Mark: **SHASTA/GINGER ALE** vertically

Shape: Cylinder pint
Lip: (Lip not recovered)
Color: Aqua
Date of Manufacture: 1899-1918

Remains of one Shasta Ginger Ale bottle is the only representative soda type bottle recovered from the entire Mascot Group excavation. Found in the privy, six aqua fragments of this Shasta Ginger Ale were reconstructed with the neck and lip finish of this bottle missing. Shasta

Ginger ale was bottled in two bottle lip finish styles; a blop top followed by a crown top closure, and also in a siphon bottle. The blop top Shasta is known to have been covered with wicker (Fountain and Colcleaser 1974:44), however there is no documentation that the crown top was also wicker covered.

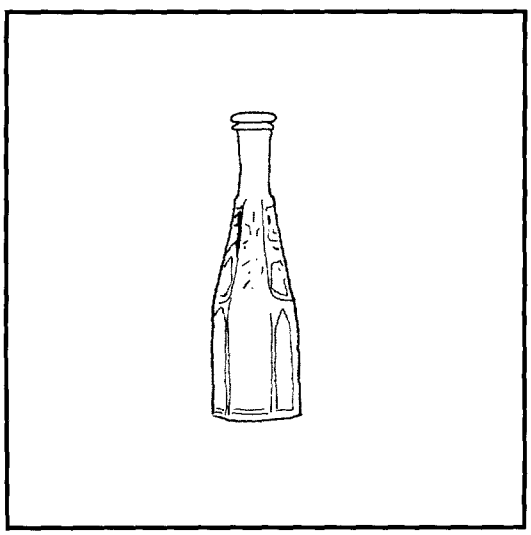
Shasta Ginger Ale from the "Celebrated Shasta Springs" is a product of the Shasta Water Company (1899-1918), Seattle, Washington. Three locations for the Shasta Water Company are listed in Ron Fowler's *Washington Sodas* (1985:267): 714-716 Post (1899-1901), 706-710-6th Avenue South (1901-1906), and Elliot Avenue, southeast corner of Clay (1907-1913). Shasta Ginger Ale was trademarked August 30, 1901 in the state of Washington by the managing agent, John J. Crosby (Fowler 1985:267).

Culinary Bottles and Jars

Mark: Cathedral Peppersauce

Shape: Five sided
Pressed gothic panels each side
Technology: Air vented shoulders
Lip: Tooled, double collar lip finish
Color: Aqua
Measurement: 10 ounce volume
Date of Manufacture: 1880-1900

Gothic arches form the bottom portion of this slender pepper sauce bottle while the shoulders are ornamented with a pressed glass pattern inside indented triangular panels. Sixteen fragments of a cluster of pepper sauce fragments (Units 33, 39, 55) mended to represent one complete bottle. Air vents are present on the shoulder, a post-1874 innovation, and the lip is tooled, a manufacturing technology common until 1925.

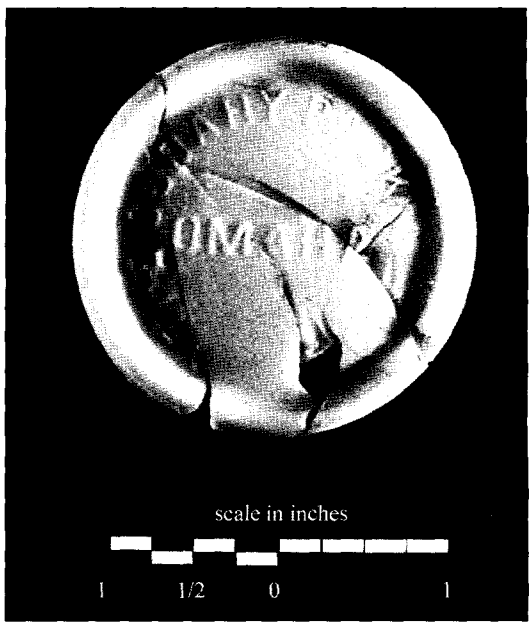


Cathedral Bottle

Cathedral peppersauces were in vogue in the U. S. from the ante-bellum through the Victorian period when plainer condiment containers produced by automatic bottle machines replaced ornamented bottles. The majority of these cathedral bottles were manufactured by Whitall-Tatum & Company of Millville, New Jersey bearing the W. T. & Co. trademark on the base. The base of this bottle is plain indicating that it was made by Hagerty Brothers and Company of New York (factories in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Brooklyn) who sold these bottles starting at $12.25 per gross in 1890 (Freeman 1964).

Mark: CUDAHY PACKING CO./ CHICAGO & S. OMAHA on base

Shape: Cylinder wide mouth, small pot/jar
Lip: Single band collar
Color: White milk glass
Measurement: ~3 1/2" diameter
Date of Manufacture: Ca. 1890-1920



Cudahy jar

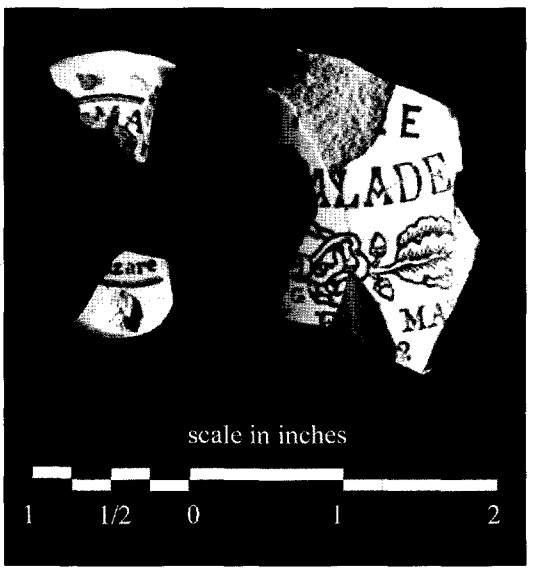
From Area 4, under the 1904 addition of the Mascot Saloon (Units 58, 63, 66, 72), nine white milk glass jar fragments representing two Cudahy jars were identified. No lids were recovered.

"Old timers" recall this squat-labeled jar as having a matching milk glass lid closure, and containing potted meats. The trademark registration for this container and "Rex" brand was registered in the U. S. Patent Office on July 7, 1896 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 28,557) having been in use since August 1, 1890. The "Rex" brand name was used by Cudahy for "provisions, extracts and compounds from hogs, cattle and sheep". Lilly Brothers, located on Bond (Fourth) Avenue near Broadway in

Skagway during the Gold Rush were: "wholesale dealers in flour, hay, feed, beans, raisins, figs, dried fruits, cereals, salt, etc." They advertised that they carried a "full line of Cudahy's meats" (*The Daily Alaskan*, July 2, 1898).

Mark: GRAND METAL OF MERIT/ VIENNA 1875/JAMES KEILLER & SONS/ DUNDEE MARMALADE ONLY PRIZE MEDAL FOR MARMALADE/ LONDON 1862/GREAT BRITAIN

Shape: Cylinder wide mouth jar, pint
Technology: Black transfer print on white glazed stoneware
Measurement: 4 ½ " Height x 3" Diameter
Date of Manufacture: 1873-1930



Dundee's Marmalade

Twelve fragments clustered in the middle-front of the Pacific Clipper Line Office and three fragments from the adjoining Hern's Liquor foundation (Unit 124) represented remains of one jar of Dundee Marmalade. No base was recovered. A complete Dundee's Marmalade jar excavated from Skagway's Lynch and Kennedy Dry Goods privy in 1986 was debossed **Mailing/ K/Y** on the base, a mark which dates from 1873 to 1930 (Hamilton and Lockett 1985:55).

Mark: HORLICKS/MALTED MILK in circle around TRADE/MM/MARK all inside serrated circle. RACINE-WIS-U.S/ SLOUGH BUCKS, ENG. horizontally on heel.

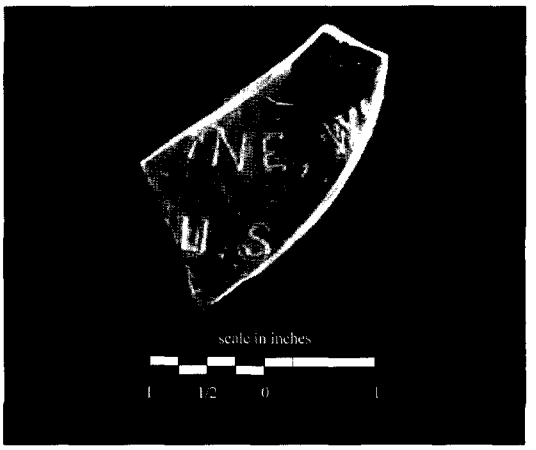
Shape: Cylinder jar, pint
Lip: Automatic bottle machine made screw threads
Color: Aqua
Date of Manufacture: 1912-1924

Horlick's Malted Milk

In a small saucepan, carefully mix, so as to avoid the formation of lumps, wheat-flour, one-half ounce; and cow's milk, five ounces. Bring this mixture to a boil slowly and keep it boiling for three or four minutes, and then take the saucepan off the fire. While it is boiling, mix in another vessel, malt, one-half ounce, and water, two ounces, with 30 drops of a solution containing eleven percent, of bicarbonate of potassa. Then add this mixture to the hot contents of the saucepan, stir it together, put on the lid, and let it remain quiet in a warm place at a temperature not exceeding 148 Fahrenheit. After the lapse of this time put the saucepan on the fire again until the contents begin to boil, and then pass them through a fine strainer. The milk will then have absorbed all the soluble nutritive parts of the flour and malt, leaving the insoluble and indigestible parts in the strainer, and the acid nature of the milk and flour, which is highly injurious to the infant stomach, will have been destroyed by the carbonate of potassa (*Official Gazette* 1875: 828).

With the addition of wheat-bran, and reducing the contents to a concentrated form, this is the recipe for Horlicks Malted Milk (*Ibid*).

Horlicks Malted Milk was first introduced to the public market in 1873 by James and William Horlick of Mt. Pleasant and Racine, Wisconsin. The term **Malted Milk**, as a preparation for infants and invalids, was trademarked on October 25, 1887 (*The Official Gazette*, Trade-mark 14,856). Later trademark registrations show only the Racine, Wisconsin location.

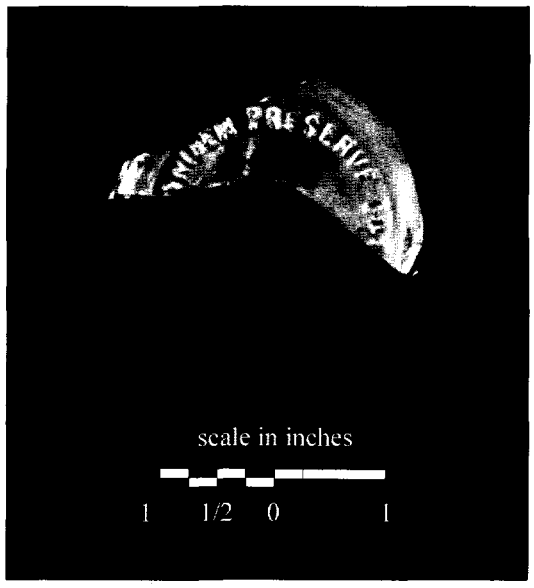


Fragments of this aqua machine-made, screw top Horlicks jar was clustered in the two far east units of Hern's post-prohibition store, with which this jar is probably not associated. Snow

and Spude (1981:13) document the addition of Hern's Liquor Store to the south side of the Pacific Clipper Steamship Office in 1937. Horlicks jars, manufactured by Whitall-Tatum Company and Whitall, Tatum & Company until 1924, were first machine made in 1912. Manufacture of Horlicks jars in clear glass containers was assumed by the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company in 1924, which places dates of manufacture of this jar between those dates, 1912 and 1924.

Mark: **SNIDER PRESERVE CO.** on base

Shape: Cylinder
Lip: Automatic bottle machine made crown top
Color: Clear, manganese clarified
Date of Manufacture: ca. 1918 (1909-1915)



Snider preserves

Four fragments of this plain machine-made catsup bottle were collected from Unit 72 of the Mascot building. Being machine made and containing manganese glass indicates that this bottle was manufactured between 1909 and 1915. However, Hazel-Atlas Glass Company and the H. J. Heinz Company had a monopoly on machine-made culinary bottles until 1918 (Scoville 1948:105-108). It is possible that this bottle was made by the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company, who obtained rights to the Owens Automatic Bottle Machine for product and fruit jars in 1909 (Scoville 1948:105).

Sunny Side flanking a smiling sun graced the labels of Snider's tomato soup, catsup and chili-sauce containers from January 1897 through the early 1900's (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 39,035 Reg. October 14, 1902). T. A. Snider and Company was established in 1879 with factories in Cincinnati, Ohio and Milldale, Kentucky where they also preserved fruits and jellies. The firm became T. A. Snider Preserve Company in 1884, and has now been absorbed by General Foods (Zumwalt 1980: 388).

Mark: **PAT'D JAN. 11TH 1898** in circle around inner rim in reverse image

Shape: Serpentine indentation across top
Type: Bottle stopper
Color: Clear, manganese clarified
Measurement: 2 ½ " diameter
Date of Manufacture: 1898-1915

Fits:

Mark: Unembossed **Culinary Jar**

Shape: Eight sided cylinder
Lip: Flared lip, internal stopper ledge
Color: Clear, manganese clarified
Date of Manufacture: 1898-1915

This clear jar stopper/lid was recovered from behind the east wall of the Mascot privy where it had slipped between the horizontal cribbing and the exterior of the excavated privy hole.



1898 Patented Jar Lid

Designed by John Schies of Anderson, Indiana, the application for this stopper was filed on February 12, 1897, and patented on January 11, 1898 (*Official Gazette*, Patent No. 597,299). Creswick (1987: Vol. II, 192) assigns the glasshouse as being the Pennsylvania Glass Company of Anderson, Indiana (1889-1915) and Dunbar, West Virginia (1915-1922). The original stopper of 1897, while waiting for patent, is embossed: "Patent Appld. For." The top of this closure has a serpentine groove across it which took a fitted spring wire that clamps onto a flared lip bottle.

This stopper is generally found in association with an eight sided octagonal jar, or bottle containing relish, also patented by Schies on July 12, 1898 (*Official Gazette*, Design No. 29,032). Not definitely associated with this jar stopper

from the privy, a portion of the lip and shoulders of Schies octagonal bottle was recovered from Unit 67.

Mark: Unembossed **Condiment Bottle/ Jar**

Shape: Rectangular pint
Ribbed shoulders
Lip: Rolled lip, interior stopper ledge
Color: Clear, lead
Date of Manufacture: 1901-1929

Manufactured as a pickle container, this bottle from the Hern's post-prohibition liquor store was designed by Charles H. Hess of Zanesville, Ohio and assigned to the Kearns-Gorsuch Bottle Company (*Official Gazette,* Design No. 34,957, Reg. 20 August 1901). Kearns-Gorsuch operated until 1929.

Bottle collectors have found this bottle with a combination cork and glass lid stopper containing pickled pearl onions. It may have contained relish, olives, or other packers' goods.

Mark: Unembossed **Mustard Barrel**

Shape: Cylinder
Technology: Air vents around shoulder
Lip: Tooled, single band collar lip
Color: Clear, manganese clarified
Measurement: 4"-5" Height
Date of Manufacture: 1893-1909

Five fragments of this particular style of mustard barrel from Units 58 and 64 (Area 4) of the Mascot has a series of three horizontal ribs around the shoulder and heel of this bottle. Charles Gulden of New York City patented a hinged metal cap for this mustard barrel on 1 May 1884 (*Official Gazette* 1884:1657) and had this style bottle produced by the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company of Wheeling, West Virginia (1886-1964). Hazel-Atlas installed automatic bottle machines in 1909 (Scoville 1948:105). The bottle described below, also manufactured by Hazel-Atlas, replaced Gulden's ringed mustard barrel.

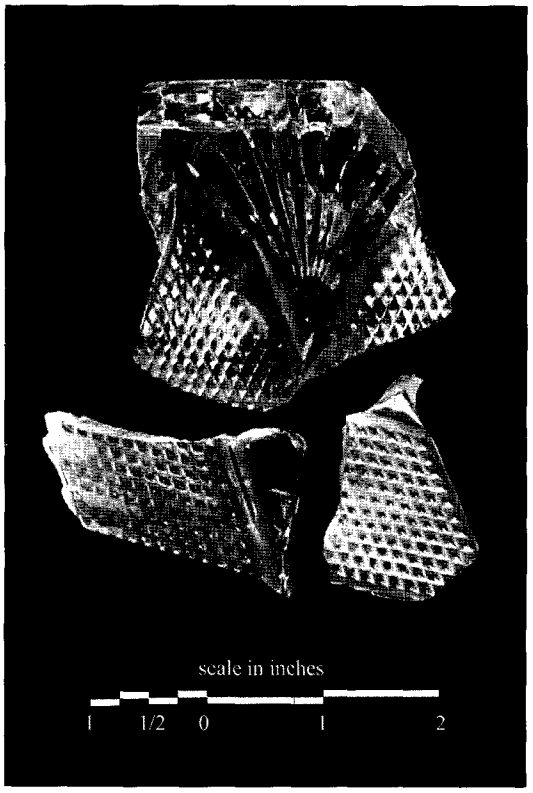
Mark: Unembossed **Mustard Barrel, Plain**

Shape: Cylinder
Lip: Automatic bottle machine made, single band collar lip finish early off-set
Color: Clear, lead
Measurement: ~4 ½ " Height
Date of Manufacture: 1909-1922

The off-set neck of this plain, squat mustard barrel (without the rings) from Unit 51/56, identifies it as an early Owen's machine made bottle. This bottle style is a simplification of the mustard "barrel" which retains the squat cylinder shape and reinforced band around the lip for a cork stopper, but is unornamented with rings. Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (above) began producing automatic bottle machine made culinary bottles in 1909 (Scoville 1948: 1905), and began marking their bottles on the base with an H over A trademark on 23 July 1923 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 185,619, Registered 24 June 1924).

Tableware

Small remains of two pressed glass tableware service items were excavated from the Mascot, both made with the addition of manganese to the glass, and one made by a glassworks that was out of business by 1891.



Pressed glass

Known to glass collectors in the pressed glass pattern of **Burger** (Batty 1978:169), ornamentation of this glassware was designed by James J. O'Connor of White Mills, Pennsylvania in 1892 (*Official Gazette*, Design No. 22,581, Reg. 4 July 1892). This pattern was assigned to C. Dorflinger & Sons Glass Company, also of White Mills on February 16, 1893. Function of the seventeen scattered fragments present in Units 64, 65 and 67 of this pressed glass Burger pattern is either a sugar bowl or creamer suggested by the curved handle fragments. Covered sugar bowls, butter dishes, creamers, wine glasses, vases, sauces,

bowls and spoonholders are known to have been produced in this pattern. C. Dorglinger & Sons Glass Factory operated until 1921 (Batty 1978:169).

Popularly known as the **Flat Diamond** pattern, this glassware has been attributed to the Richards and Hartley Flint Glass Company of Pittsburgh and Tarentum, Pennsylvania (1869-1891) who began manufacturing this pattern under the name of **Pillar** about 1875 (Rottenberg and Tomlin 1982:42). Also excavated at the Burlington Site in Hamilton, Canada, presumably the Burlington Glasshouse manufactured this pattern in clear, lime-soda glass instead of manganese-clarified glass. Nine fragments of this pressed glass artifact were clustered in Unit 64 of the Mascot, and had been heat melted. Reported pieces in the **Flat Diamond** pattern are stemmed goblets, creamers, and a slender celery vase.

HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE

Mark: THREE-IN-ONE vertically in side panel; G. W. COLE vertically in opposite side panel

Shape: Rectangular
Lip: Tooled single band collar lip finish
Technology: Air vented shoulders
Color: Aqua
Measurement: 4" Height
Date of Manufacture: 1894-1910

As a metal lubricant, cleansing and protecting compound, **Three In One Oil** was manufactured by G. W. Cole and Company of New York City. This bottle from the Privy Fill was trade-marked G. W. Cole on January 8, 1895 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 25,832), and the registrants stated that they had used this brand name since September 14, 1894. In about, or before 1910, the brand name embossing was changed to read **3-In-One-Oil Co.**, and was shortly thereafter machine made.

Lamps and Lamp Chimneys

While Skagway had electricity in one form or another almost from the beginning, not all businesses and residences had this service. A total of two hundred and eighteen lamp chimney fragments were identified from this excavation. Associated with the clear/frosted lamp chimney fragments in Unit 54 were three fragments of a kerosene lamp base made of flint glass in a three section mold. One hundred and forty-four white milk glass lamp shade fragments and a single light bulb element completed this utility/lighting assemblage.

Three types of lamp chimneys were used for either kerosene or electrified table top lamps in the Mascot Saloon and Pacific Clipper Line Office. These lamp chimney differences were identified by their rims, which were either crimped and blown clear manganese glass; a two-tone clear and frosted blown chimney with a ground base and crimped rim (flint glass); and one small drip point rim of clear, manganese glass made by semi-automatic methods. Of the three lamp chimneys present, the clear and frosted variants were the most prevalent.

Until an improved method of flaring and crimping lamp chimneys was invented by George W. Blair of the Fort Pitt Glass Works (Pittsburg, 1827-1900) in 1875/1876 (*Official Gazette* 1878:364-365), lamp chimneys were blown in two different methods (see Davis 1949:230). Another device for crimping lamp chimneys was patented by Thomas Bakewell Atterbury (of Atterbury and Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) on August 14, 1886. George Blair filed for the drip point lamp chimney patent on December 7, 1891 (*Official Gazette,* Design No. 21,616, Registered 7 June 1892). Specific dating information was not located on the drip point or frosted lamp chimneys.

The milk glass lamp shade was made in a three section mold having ground top and base rims. This had a simple pressed drape pattern around the top rim, not identified. One hundred and four of the fragments were centered in Unit 38, with the remaining fragments scattered in Units 39, 42, 43 and 55.

Light bulb fragments from Unit 67 were undiagnostic, as was the light bulb element from Unit 62. Corning Glass Works blew the first light bulb blanks for Thomas A. Edison of Menlo Park, New Jersey (and Edison Electric Light Company of New York City) in 1880 (Zerwick 1980:69).

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SALOON)

Beer Botties

Few of the six- hundred and thirty-two pale green, aqua, or amber identified beer bottle fragments excavated from the Mascot Saloon Complex were embossed with brewery or brand names. Printed bottle stoppers, etched beer glass fragments, and embossed glasshouse trademarks provided clues to the identities of some of the Mascot beer suppliers. A minimum count of twenty pre-1916 beer bottle containers were distributed beneath the Mascot Saloon and Pacific Clipper Line Office buildings. Nine modern beer bottles produced after the repeal

of Prohibition were also recovered from the surface. The pre-1916 beer bottles were distributed in the east area of the Mascot, the Pacific Clipper Line Office, and surrounding the privy area.

Mark: **AB** on base

Shape: Cylinder quart
Lip: Applied "blop" top
Color: Aqua
Date of Manufacture: 1904-1919 prohibition

In 1857, soap maker Eberhard Anheuser of St. Louis, and his son-in-law, Adolphus Busch took over the small Schneider Brewery originally established in 1850. Through a consolidation of name changes, E. Anheuser Co.'s Brewing Association (1875-1879) became Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association in 1879. The Association expanded, setting up a network of distributors during the 1880's and 1890's until they had agencies from coast to coast (Baron 1962:212). In addition to barreled beer and other bottled malt tonics, Anheuser-Busch took advantage of Pasteur's invention, and began bottling beer in 1873.

Anheuser-Busch purchased the Belleville Glass Works in Belleville, Illinois in 1886 under the name of Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company and manufactured their own beer bottles, (**A. B. G. M. Co.** trademark on bases of bottles). This particular bottle making factory blew no glass between 1894 and 1899. Resuming operations in 1899, they operated another five years, merging into the American Bottle Company in 1904, but withdrew a year later. Meanwhile, in 1904, another Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company was erected in St. Louis, Missouri which operated until 1928 (Scoville 1948:104). This St. Louis glass company produced the joined **AB** trademark.

One aqua base fragment recovered from the Mascot Privy (Units 51 and 56) bore the joined AB trademark blown at Anheuser-Busch's St. Louis works. This aqua quart likely was labeled with the familiar Eagle inside an A brand registered with the U. S. Patent Office on May 8, 1877 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 4,623).

Mark: **NB** on base

Shape: Cylinder pint
Lip: Pre-machine made
Color: Aqua
Date of Manufacture: Before 1919 prohibition

Thirteen associated and mended fragments of one sparkling aqua beer bearing the NB trademark were recovered from Units 61 and 67, Level 1. Neither the shoulders nor the lip of this bottle mended with fragments from other areas of the excavation to determine whether they were of automatic or handblown methods of glass manufacture.

Toulouse (1971:377) identifies the NB trademark with the Northern British Bottle Manufacturing Company in Shetteston, Scotland, which exported Scotch whiskey to the United States starting in 1903. Although they manufactured bottles as late as 1937, they would not have imported to the U. S. during the prohibition years of 1919 through 1934.

However, the mark was found on a beer bottle, not a whiskey bottle. To date, the NB trademark has not been positively attributed to a specific glasshouse manufacturing for the beer trade. It is believed that the NB trademark from a reported labeled beer was used by the National Union of the United Brewery Workers of St. Louis, Missouri. The label used by the Union Workers was a complex geometrically styled trademark with the A. F. of L. initials flanked by the words "Union Beer" first registered in 1895 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 26,726). NB has not been found on the bases of aqua soda bottles indicating that, if it is a Union Beer, the brewery workers bottled only beer.

Mark: **R & CO.** on base

Shape: Cylinder
Lip: Applied "blop" top
Technology: Off- hand blown
Color: Amber quart
Date of Manufacture: Before 1910

R. & Co., which appears on three bases and seventeen mended/associated amber beer bottle fragments, were excavated from Unit 9, Surface; the Privy Units 51 and 56; and Unit 58, Level 1. Amber quart beers bearing this trademark on the base were off-hand blown, and an associated lip finish is a crudely applied top.

The trademark, R & Co. has been attributed to Roth and Company (Toulouse 1971). This label for lager beer has the initial R in script over three hop catkins and two hop leaves (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 22,170 registered 13 December 1892). Whether R. & Co. is the trademark of Roth and Company, or of Ruff Brewing Company is unresolved. This trademark also appears on the bases of west coast Hutchinson style soda bottles.

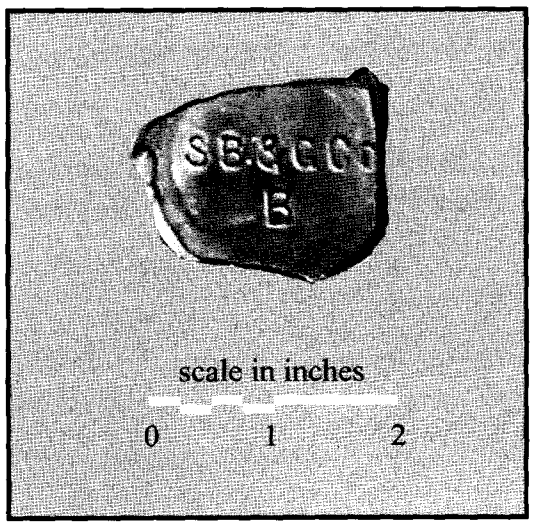


R & CO Base

Mark: **SB & GCo** on base

Shape: Cylinder quart
Lip: Applied "blop" top
Technology: Off- hand blown
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture:1893/1898-1907

Two Streator Bottling and Glass Company amber beer bottle bases were excavated from the back edge of the first addition to the Mascot Saloon (Units 55 and 58). Two additional base fragments were recovered from the front and back portions of the Pacific Clipper Line Office building (Units 88 and 115). Mold numbers present on these bases were numbers 11, 13, and 17. The mold number is missing from a partial base excavated from Unit 115.



SB&GCO on Base

Streator Bottling and Glass Works of Streator, Illinois was formed as the Streator Flint Glass Company in 1890, which blew only clear glass. In 1893 the company advertised as Streator Bottle and Glass Works. The company apparently was also known as the Streator Bottle and Glass Company. Both **SB & GW** and **SB & GCo** trademarks are found on Streator containers. Around the turn of the century, Streator was undergoing financial difficulties. In September, 1904 they merged with two other local glass manufacturers into the newly formed automatic-bottle-machine companies, American Bottle Company (Scoville 1948:104). Streator continued to operate as a hand blown shop during this merger from 1904 to 1907, or until the manufacture of machine-made bottles was successful in 1907 (Walbridge 1969:3).

Distributors using this bottle from Streator have not been identified through labels. Associated amber glass fragments from the Mascot Saloon and Pacific Clipper Line Office are crude, with applied lip finishes and uneven glass containing minute bubbles. These lack air-vents around the shoulders. Streator did manufacture air-vented aqua sodas in both the Hutchinson and crown top styles.

Bitters Bottles

Bitters bottles are generically categorized under medicinals, however there are two types of bitters; bar bitters and medicinal bitters. "Bitters" are thought to have originally been created about 1700 in England as a clever way of avoiding taxes on gin by adding herbs and spices to distilled spirits under the guise of a medicine (Ferraro and Ferraro 1966:20). Four brands of bitters excavated from the Mascot and sold by the barkeep were bar bitters.

Mark: **DR. J. HOSTETTERS/ STOMACH BITTERS** vertically

Shape: Square quart
Lip: Applied, tapered lip
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture: 1888-1900

Apparently one bottle of Dr. Hostetters Bitters, represented by a cluster of thirty amber glass fragments, were discarded during the Mascot Saloon's early days in Units 59 and 60, Level 1, with an associated tapered lip recovered from the surface of Unit 63.

A pictorial representation of the mythical battle of St. George slaying the dragon was affixed by labels on Hostetters bottles beginning on July 4, 1859 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademarks 3,135 Reg. 16 November 1875 and 16,921 Reg. 13 August 1889).



Hostetters

David Hostetter, patriarch of the business, was born in 1819 in Pennsylvania. There he established a dry goods business before joining the California gold rush on a short-lived prospecting career. An equally brief career in the grocery business was ended by the 1851 San Francisco fire, which forced Hostetter to return to Pittsburg. Testifying to the popularity and success of Dr. Hostetter's Bitters, David Herbert Hostetter (son) was one of 3,045 certified U. S. millionaires in 1902 (Ferraro and Ferraro 1966:20). An account of David Hostetter and the Hostetter Company have been published by Schulz, et. al, (1980:58-61).

California Bitters

Having a long history of sales and promotions from the late 1850's though 1958, Hostetters Bitters is the most commonly found bitters by bottle collectors and historical archaeological excavations during this time period. Turn of the century Hostetters Bitters bottles have nicely tooled lips. This lip finish was replaced in 1915 by dated (on the heel) automatic bottle machine made tapered lip bottles, and after 1924, by conventional screw top caps. The crudely applied tapered lip on the Hostetters Bitters recovered from the Mascot Saloon Group indicates distribution prior to 1900.

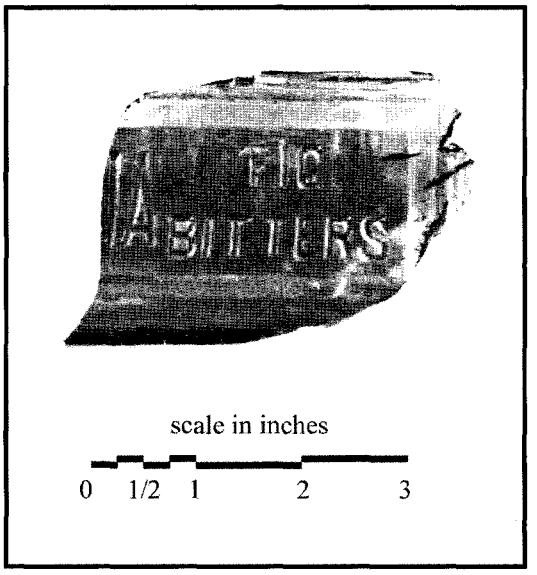
Mark: CALIFORNIA/FIG/BITTERS vertically in indented panel

Shape: Square pint
Lip: Tooled, tapered collar
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture: 1897-1902

Lash's Bitters

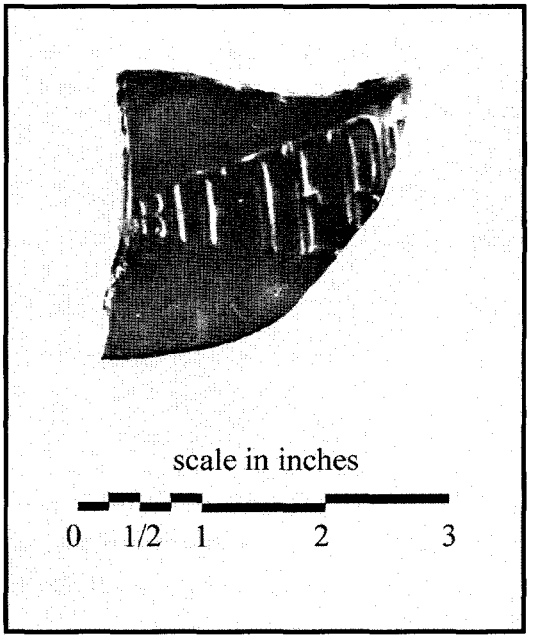
One glass fragment embossed **_IA/FIG/ BITTERS** was recovered from the Mascot Saloon surface Pier Fill cleanup near the Privy in the spring of 1987. This fragment may be associated with six amber paneled fragments found in the Privy, Unit 52, Levels 1-8.

California Fig Bitters in embossed bottles was produced between 1897 and 1902 by the California Extract of Fig Company located in San Francisco, California. The bottle embossing was changed to read "California/Fig & Herb/ Bitters" by a new owner in 1903. This later business lasted until the San Francisco earth - quake of 1906 (Wilson and Wilson 1969:18).



Mark: LASH'S/KIDNEY/AND/LIVER/ BITTERS vertically

Shape: Square pint
Lip: Tooled, tapered collar lip finish (not recovered)
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture: 1894-1905



Also during final project cleanup, one amber glass fragment embossed with the graduated word **Bitters** was recovered from the Mascot. This particular Lash's "kidney and liver bitters"

bottle variant was manufactured by John J. Spieker of Sacramento/San Francisco, California between 1894 and 1905 (Wilson and Wilson 1969:44). The word "Lash's" was registered with the U. S. Patent Office on April 14, 1891 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 19,348) claiming use of this brand since February 20, 1884. The label, showing a man on horseback attacking a lion (after Hostetters), was subsequently registered August 7, 1906 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 55,003), during a change to bottles embossed "Nature's Tonic Laxative" instead of "Kidney and Liver".

Mark: DR. J. G. B. SIEGERT & HIJOS in circle around shoulder and on base.

Shape: Cylinder pint
Technology: Three section mold
Lip: Applied, brandy
Color: Olive green
Date of Manufacture: 1873-1900



Siegert's Bitters Bottle

One intact Dr. Siegert's bitters bottle found in Unit 62, and twenty-five scattered fragments were excavated from underneath the Mascot Saloon. This fragment count includes one-half a base (Unit 65, Level 1). No associated lip finishes were recovered.

The Siegert's Bitters bottle recovered during this excavation were blown in a three section mold having a heavily "whittled" marked appearance from a purposely made mold, and an applied brandy finish lip.

Siegert's Bitters was first produced in 1824 as a medicinal stomach bitters by Johann Siegert, a surgeon in Angostura, Venezuela with Simon Bolivar's army. An application to register J. G. B. Siegert's Bitters for a United States trademark was filed on September 23, 1873 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 2,343, Reg. 6 April 1875) by William H. Knoepfel of New York City. The firm, composed of Johann Siegert's sons, Carlos and Alfredo, was then located in Venezuela (Schulz et. al 1980:64). Five years later, the firm re-applied to the U. S. Patent Office for registration of their bitters and a cordial (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 7,204) from Port of Spain, Island of Trinidad in the Caribbean.

Bottles containing Siegert's Angostura Bitters were originally embossed **Dr. Siegert Co. Bolivar.** The firm change to **Dr. J.G.B. Siegert & Hijos** occurred about 1872, when a transition in firm location from Venezuela to Trinidad was taking place. Later Dr. J.G.B. Siegert & Hijos bottles were made in two styles, the earliest of which is represented by the complete bottle from the Mascot. Later Siegert's bottles made about 1900 and later lack the whittle mark effect, and have tooled lips. In 1909, Dr. J.G.B. Siegert & Hijos became **Dr. J.G.B. Siegert & Sons, Ltd.** (Schulz et. al 1980:64). Although now marketed as **Angostura Aromatic Bitters** for food and flavoring seasonings, up until the advent of World War I, Siegert's was advertised as a medicinal and tonic bitters (Reed 1966).

Black Glass Containers

Sixty-seven olive amber and olive green black glass fragments were identified from the Mascot excavations. Five black glass bases from the 1904 addition of the Mascot (Unit 51, Privy Fill, two bases; Unit 54 Surface and Pier Fill; Unit 54, Level 1; Unit 68) and one rum bottle lip finish with lead seal was recovered from the perimeter of the original Mascot (Unit 22, Level 1). Two additional bases were recovered from Unit 99 of the Pacific Clipper Line Office and Unit 124 of Hern's Liquor Store.

Heavy concentrations of iron oxides present in sand used for glassmaking produce an extremely dark olive amber, or olive green glass, that is barely transparent. This glass appears black, and is termed "black glass" by manufacturers. During the period of manufacture of black glass, popular until the end of the Civil War, manufacturers advertised these crude cylinder containers as "junk bottles", or "porter" and "ale" bottles.

Freeblown and mold blown techniques of glassblowing left various pontil marks on bottle bases, a result of the metal "punty rod" that was used to hold the bottle while finishing the lip. A rough, or tubular pontil scar mark was left when the rod was broken away from the finished bottle. This pontil scar was then ground down, or refired to remove the jagged glass edges. Beginning in the ante-bellum period, this method of holding the bottle was slowly replaced by a base clamp ("snap case"), which left no basal mark. The snap case completely replaced pontil marked bottles by 1870 (McKearin and Wilson 1978:14). Five bases recovered from the Mascot had high basal kick-ups and iridescent refired pontil mark scars. Three section mold (Rickets patent used between 1823-1910) and free-blown methods of technologies were used in producing these types of scar remains (Munsey 1970:39).

The durability of black glass bottles meant that they were often refilled, relabeled, and recycled for a number of years. These bottles have been found labeled with shoe blacking, ink, and various other liquid contents. Pontiled black glass among the Mascot artifacts indicate either pre-gold rush explorers, bottle reuse, or perhaps capitalizing on old, unsold inventories.

> **Mark: FINE OLD/JAMAICAN/RUM. (ONLY GENUINE/WHEN BEARING/ OUR SIGNATURE).** Partial lead seal label.
>
> **Shape:** Cylinder
> **Lip:** Applied brandy finish
> **Color:** Olive-amber black glass
> **Date of Manufacture:** After 1884

One concentration of black glass in Unit 22, Level 1 produced the remains of a crudely applied brandy finish lip and remnants of a lead seal around the lip. A search through liquor bottle trademarked brand names located a brand registered January 22, 1884 by Edward and John Burke of New York, Dublin, Ireland and Liverpool, England. This registered brand (*The Official Gazette,* Label 3,845) reads: **BURKE'S FINEST OLD JAMAICAN RUM** which apparently is the lead seal brand found on the remains of this rum container.

Liquor Containers

Representing 43% of the glass, a total number of three thousand six hundred identified liquor bottle fragments were collected in this project. Excavated liquor bottle cylinders and flasks, shot glasses and bottle stoppers represent a selection of whiskeys, wines, champagne, cordials, and gin being served at the Mascot. Identified whiskey cylinders, and associated shot glasses and stoppers, were imported from west coast distributors in Seattle and San Francisco. Embossed flasks were manufactured by eastern glasshouses, but may have been filled by west coast bottlers. Two back-bar bottles, one of manganese-clarified glass, was recovered from the Mascot spread over a wide area from Areas 1 through 4, and the other made of selenium-clarified glass was recovered from the Pacific Clipper Line Office.

During laboratory analysis, a difference the size of liquor bottle fragments was noted. Larger sized fragments were distributed in a triangular shape, with its base in Units 23-25 and its apex in Unit 9, all in Area 1. These fragments were quite large in comparison with fragments from the remainder of this collection. The distribution of these large fragments suggests that these bottles had been broken in an area covered with flooring.

> **Mark: BENEDICTINE** on reverse shoulder
> Inverted horseshoe on front shoulder
>
> **Shape:** Squat cylinder
> **Lip:** Sheared lip, applied band (not recovered)
> **Color:** Olive green quart
> **Date of Manufacture:** 1890-1916

A single shoulder fragment of this liqueur bottle fragment was collected from the southern edge of the Pacific Clipper Line Office building (Unit 102). This fragment was identified as being part of a Benedictine bottle, having the distinctive inverted horseshoe on the shoulder.

This French liqueur, or cordial containing twenty-seven herbs and spices, traditionally is attributed to invention by a French monk about 1510. This formula was supposedly "lost" during the French Revolution when the monk's abbey was destroyed, but rediscovered by Alexandre LeGrand in the mid- 1800's from inherited records. Manufacturing of Benedictine began in 1863 and shipments into the United States began in 1867 according to research by Schulz, et al. (1980: 20).

U. S. Patent Office records indicate that **Benedictine** is a brand name first used on January 1, 1871. Registrations of **Benedictine** as a cordial were made in the U. S. Patent Office on September 5, 1876 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 3,966) by Alexandre LeGrand of Aine, Fecamp, France. The brand was again registered on November 7, 1896 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 29,166).

Between 1867 (?) and 1890, this bottle was apparently globular in shape, becoming straighter sided between 1890 and 1900. The reverse shoulder was not recovered, however the fragment indicates a straight sided bottle.

Mark: **F. CHEVALIER & CO. SAN FRANCISCO/HEBE BRAND** around shoulder

Shape: Cylinder quart
Lip: Triple ring
Color: Citron
Date of Manufacture: 1891-1903

Fragments of this **F. Chevalier** excavated from Units 32, 38, and 49 are "whittled" or cold mold marked, and citron (yellow-green) in color. The citron color is unusual, most of these bottles being dated in olive green between 1885 and 1895, and 1891 to 1895 for the pale green variant, with an aqua bottle being produced between 1896 and 1906 (Wilson and Wilson 1968: 47).



Chevalier

The **F. Chevalier Company** was established in either 1871 or 1873 by Fortune and Albert Chevalier (brothers) in San Francisco as agents for Castle Distillery of Kentucky. Wilson and Wilson (1968:47) and John Thomas (1977:7-8) cite Chevalier as beginning business in 1873. U. S. Patent Office documents state that F. Chevalier applied for their first trademark registration in November of 1872 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 1,049), and later documents the beginning of their business as November, 1871 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 40,644, June 23, 1903).

Hebe Brand bottles distributed by F. Chevalier are common. Contents of this particular bottle could not be identified. F. Chevalier whiskey brands were "Old Bourbon Castle Whiskeys" and "Old Castle Whiskey"; their bitters bottles were also embossed. Chevalier bottled gin, brandy, cordials, malt liquor, wine, and remedies in addition to bourbon and bitters. McGuire's compiled directory of San Francisco liquor dealers, wholesale and importers (McGuire 1967:7) lists F. Chevalier **& Co.** between 1872 and 1903, changing to simply The F. Chevalier **Co.** in 1904.

Mark: (a) **CROWN DIAMONDS** arched/**OLD MALT** flanking **WHISKEY** inside Circle surmounted by Crown. **KREIELSHEIMER BROS.** in script/ **SEATTLE, WASH.** horizontally

Type: Shot glass
Technology: Acid etched
Color: Clear, flint glass
Date of Manufacture: Ca. 1905/1906

Mark: (b) **CROWN DIAMONDS** arched (in red)/**OLD MALT** (in black) flanking **WHISKEY** (in white) inside Circle surmounted by gold Crown. **KREIELSHEIMER BROS.** in script/ **SEATTLE, WASH.** (in black) horizontally.

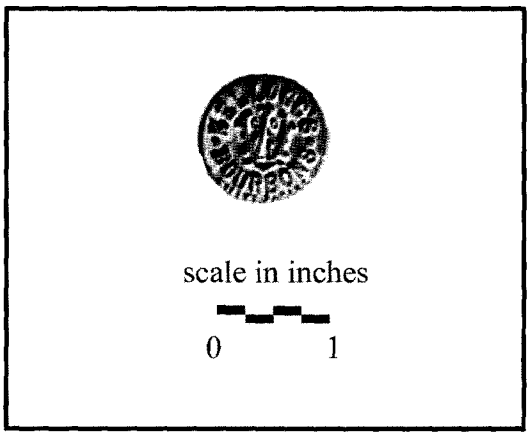
Type: Shot glass
Technology: Enameled white label framed in gold, labeled under glass
Color: Clear, flint
Date of Manufacture: Ca. 1905/1906

Two shot glasses, one acid etched from the Mascotte Privy, and the other colorfully labeled under glass from the Pacific Clipper Line Office represent two cases (one shot glass for each case) of Crown Diamonds rye whiskey shipped into Skagway. No embossed **CROWN DIAMONDS** rye whiskey bottles were identified from the Mascot.

Crown Diamonds whiskey was registered by the Kreielsheimer Brothers of Seattle, Washington in the U. S. Patent Office on January 9 and November 27, 1906 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademarks 48,755 and 57,651). Other published references, or local advertisements of this brand were not located.

Mark: KELLOGG'S/WL monogram/ **BOURBONS** on stopper

Lip: Cylinder tapered collared lip, inside screw threads
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture: *1896-1918*



Kellogg's Bourbon Stopper

Kellogg's Bourbon Whiskey bottle fragments from Mascot Unit 19 consisted of the shoulders, neck, and inside screw threaded lip finish with rubberized stopper intact. The complete bottle is embossed "Kelloggs/ Nelson County/Extra/ Kentucky/Bourbon/ Whiskey/W. L. Co./Sole Agent" which was not recovered. Inside screw threaded stoppers were invented by Samuel A. Whitney of the Whitney Brothers Glass Works in 1861 (McKearin and Wilson 1978:220).

Kelloggs, as a brand name, was applied for at the U. S. Patent Office on June 30, 1905 and registered June 19, 1906 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 54,152). Wilmerding and Company, manufacturer of the whiskey, consisted of intermittent partnerships of Calvin Kellog and Clute Wilmerding from 1869 to 1878. The company became Wilmerding and Company in 1879, lasting until 1894, when Clute Wilmerding died. The company then became the Wilmerding-Loewe Company in 1896 under the proprietorship of Louis H. Loewe until prohibition forced closure in 1918 (McGuire 1967:38).

Moore-Hunt

Mark: **TRADE MARK** inside Antlers on shoulder. **JESSE MOORE & CO., LOUISVILLE, KY.** in circle around/**G. H. MOORE/ *OLD*/ BOURBON & RYE. JESSE MOORE-HUNT CO./SAN FRANCISCO** horizontally on heel.

Type: Cylinder
Lip: Applied and tooled, tapered collar
Color: Amber, honey-Amber
Date of Manufacture: 1896-1918

By far the most common embossed bottles recovered from the Mascot were the Jesse Moore-Hunt whiskeys. One hundred and sixty-eight fragments of this brand were identified from the Mascot Saloon excavation. Distribution of the majority of these fragments were found in Units 24 and 25, near the back perimeter of the original Mascotte Saloon. One case, or at least twelve Jesse Moore-Hunt whiskey bottles had been discarded. This minimum number was determined by counting appearances of the letter **B** from "Bourbon", **TR** from "Trade Mark", and **KY** from "Kentucky".

Lips of the Jesse Moore-Hunt bottles showed lip chips produced by prying out cork stoppers with ice picks. Lip finishes of these rye and bourbon whiskeys ranged from crudely applied "glop tops" to neatly tooled lips. Bases of these bottles included both the late 1800's convex and early 1900's flattened western whiskey types. Colors ranged from honey-amber to dark amber with "whittled" cold mold marks to neatly made bottles with air venting on the shoulders. Founded in 1853 by George H. and Jesse Moore in Louisville, Kentucky, San Francisco distribu-



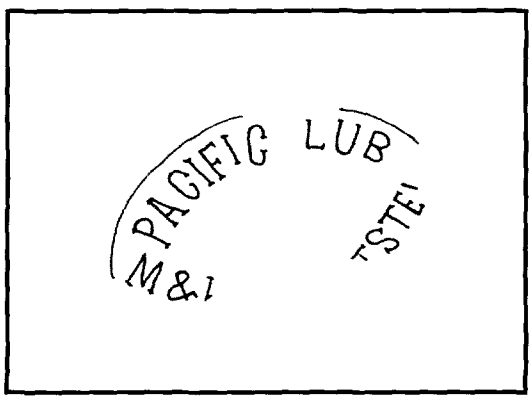
tion of their bourbon whiskey began in 1867 (Thomas 1977: 29). Henry Browne Hunt formed a partnership with Cornelius Deweese (silent partner) in 1875 (Wilson and Wilson 1968:87), being listed as **Moore, Hunt & Co.** (McGuire 1967:25), and embossing their bottles "Moore, Hunt & Co./Sole Agents" (Thomas 1977:30). The company was consolidated in 1896, becoming **Jesse Moore-Hunt Co.** (McGuire 1967:25; Fountain and Colcleaser 1979: 22). Jesse Moore-Hunt Co. is listed until prohibition, 1919 (McGuire 1967:25).

The stag antler symbol at the top was trademarked with the U. S. Patent Office on May 23, 1897 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 30,090) in which the applicants located both in San Francisco and Louisville stated that they had used this representation since 1860. This trademark was re-registered on May 6, 1906 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 50,175).

Mark: **PACIFIC CLUB/SEATTLE, WASH.** around/ **M. & K. GOTTSTEIN**

Type: Cylinder fifth
Lip: Applied, tapered collar
Color: Clear, manganese clarified
Date of Manufacture: 1889-1916

Fragments of this single **Pacific Club** whiskey were collected from the apparent southeast corner of the original Mascot structure, Units 18 and 22.



Pacific Club

Being agents of Elias Block and Sons (whiskey dealers of Cincinnati, Ohio), Moses, Myer (Meyer), and Kassel Gottstein established a wholesale liquor and cigar dealership in Seattle, Washington Territory in 1883. The Gottsteins adopted the trademark **Pacific Club** on March 1, 1888 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 16,661 Registered June 4, 1889). This embossing is found, along with the representation of an Indian native paddling a canoe, on clear pumpkinseed flasks and cylinder whiskey bottles along with the embossing: **Seattle, W.T.** (Piper 1987; Thomas, 1974: Flask #85; Wilson and Wilson 1968: 114). The territorial Indian symbol and W. T. was dropped from their bottles when Washington became a state, November 11, 1889.

Quaker Maid Whiskey

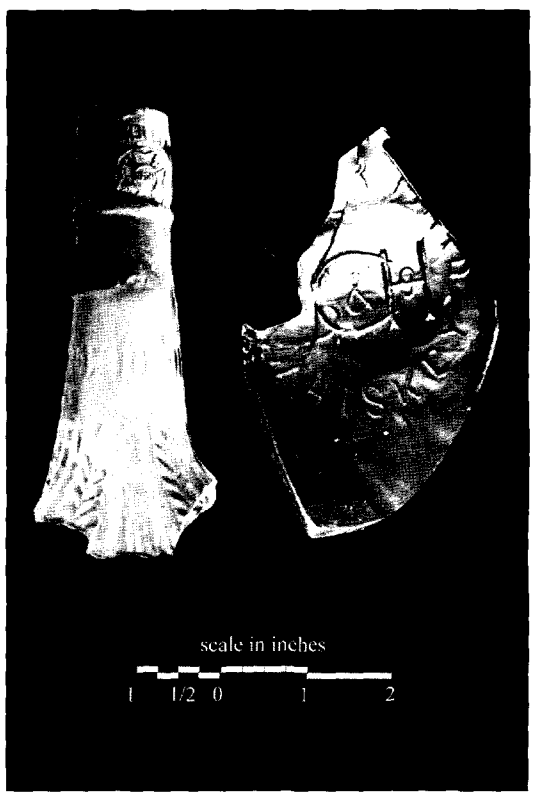
In 1895, the trademark **Pacific Club/OK/ Whiskey** was adopted according to the Gottstein's trademark registration (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 57,706 filed 15 June 1905). This earlier bottle found at the Mascot, presumably manufactured between Washington statehood (in 1889) and 1895, was made in both clear and amber (Barnett 1979: 98).

Historical research done for the project by author Ron Fowler of Seattle, Washington (Dolphin Point Writing Works) into the Seattle City Directories produced a chronological listing for the Gottsteins from 1889 through Washington State prohibition in 1916. From this listing, Moses A. Gottstein left the firm about 1898; Meyer evidently died in 1908, and Kassel Gottstein died 17 March 1912. M & K Gottstein continued as a firm, managed by sons of the Gottsteins and Arthur V. Bastheim until prohibition. "After prohibition the family was apparently an owner of the Longacres Race Track" (Fowler 1987: personal communication).

Mark: (QUAKER MAID) **WHISKEY** in circle around **S. & CO.** monogram

Mark: **QUAKER M**(AID)/**MEDAL** inside Maltese Cross/**EXPOSITION 1906** on lead seal around lip.

Shape: Cylinder
Technology: Pressed, fluted shoulders
Lip: Tooled TCL
Color: Manganese clarified
Date of Manufacture: 1906 – 1917



Two fragments of Quaker Maid Whiskey, the lip finish with dated lead seal and a portion of the bottle embossing, were collected during initial clean-up of the modern excavations trenches underneath the Mascot Saloon in 1986. One of the many variants of Quaker Maid Whiskey produced between 1900 and 1917 (Wilson and

Wilson 1968: 119), the lead seal is embossed "Exposition 1906" which refers to the Portland, Oregon 1906 Exposition. Either this bottle was made for the Exposition, or had won a medal during the Exposition, and was distributed later. No other information on the bottler, or the location of the bottler, was found.

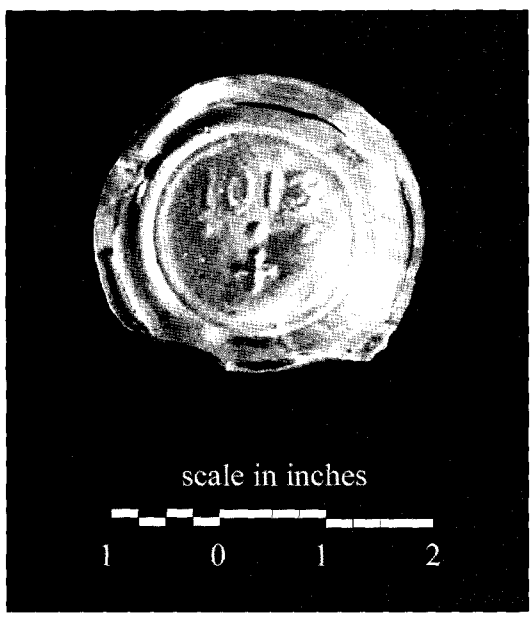
Mark:____ENHEY/SCHNEIDAM
debossed on shoulder

Shape: Cylinder stoneware jug, handled
Technology: Rust glazed stoneware exterior/unglazed rust interior
Date of Manufacture: 1880-1916

Two fragments of this gin style, handled stone - ware bottle were recovered; one base from Unit 44 Surface, and the debossed shoulder fragment from Unit 42, Surface and Pier Fill. Further identification and dating information of this bottle was not located, however it is assumed that importation of this gin was discontinued during the First World War. A similar style and shape of this bottle is pictured in Wilson and Wilson (1968:167).

Mark: 1013/.../+ on base

Shape: Cylinder quart
Lip: Applied brandy finish
Technology: Three section mold
Color: Pale green
Date of Manufacture: 1887-1910



1013 Base

Three-hundred and seventy-three fragments, including three lip finishes and seven bases, of this one style of "gin" bottle were excavated throughout the western, or front section of the Mascot. Eight associated pale green glass stoppers, of which the stem was originally wrapped with cork, were also excavated. The glasshouse was not identified, however the internal ledge (or recess) in the neck to take the cork wrapped glass stopper, was patented in England in 1884, and in the U. S. in 1887 by Thomas Cutcliffe of London (*Official Gazette,* Patent 356,176). A lead stopper seal recovered with one of these stoppers and base embossed bottles during a repaving project on Alaska Street in 1986 was embossed: "E & J Burke/The Nonpareil/Old Tom Gin". Being inconclusive evidence, other spirituous liquors besides gin may have come in this bottle.

Unembossed Liquor Containers

Mark: Unembossed **Case Gin**

Shape: Tapered Square
Technology: Shingle mold
Lip: Applied, tapered lip (not recovered)
Color: Olive green
Date of Manufacture: ca. 1890's

Several olive green "shingle mold" fragments representing possible gin case bottles were excavated from the base of the Mascot Privy fill. This tapered bottle is among the earliest of North American glasshouse products, being archaeologically documented prior to 1755 (McKearin and Wilson 1978:224- 228). Holding various liquids, including preserved brandied fruits in the wide mouth variants, so called "case gins" were made with few changes and modifications in shape. These tapered bottles range from free blown, to molded, to currently produced automatic bottle machine made. The "shingle mold", produced during the 1890's, having a texture of glass described as resembling cedar shingles, was apparently made by drawing the plastic glass across a marble slab.

By civil war times, olive green and olive amber case bottles were generically classed as gin containers for distillery shipments from the Rotterdam areas of the Netherlands. Specifically, these olive bottles are not found with labels containing other distilled spirits than gin. Clear, plain amber, and milk glass gin shaped bottles are found containing whiskey and bitters.

Mark: Unembossed **Back Bar/Decanter**

Shape: Globular
Technology: Fluted neck and shoulders
Lip: Sheared lip
Color: Manganese clarified
Date of Manufacture: 1880-1915

Six fragments of this back bar bottle lip finish, base and shoulder were recovered from Units 8

and 12, in Area 1 of the Mascot Saloon. One fragment of the fluted and neck and shoulder was recovered from Unit 64, in Area 4.

Back bar bottles of the pre-prohibition era were supplied to the barkeep by the distiller for advertising purposes. Generally, bar bottles were enameled, gold gilted, etched with a brand name, or labeled under glass. Occasionally, silver engraved hang-tags identifying the contents were suspended around the necks of plain, cut glass, or silver overlay decanters. None of these ornamentations were present on the fragments to assist in identifying the distillery of this artifact.

Mark: Unembossed **Back Bar/Decanter**

Shape: Cylinder
Technology: Fluted neck and shoulders
Lip: Tooled, tapered collar lip finish
Color: Selenium clarified
Date of Manufacture: 1911-1919

Made of a yellowish selenium clarified glass, fifteen fragments of an unornamented back bar decanter were collected during excavations from the back portion of the Pacific Clipper offices. These units under the Pacific Clipper Line Office (Units 99-102), and Area 6 East, the 1904 addition to the Mascot Saloon (units 104, 106 and 110) are separated from the Mascot by foundations. Design patents searched from 1892 through 1905 did not locate the two decanters excavated. These items remain unidentified.

While selenium-clarified glass was common through 1930, it is assumed that the manufacture of saloon ware discontinued with the on-set of National Prohibition in 1919, giving these items an end date of that time.

Mark: Unembossed **Cylinder Whiskey**

Shape: Cylinder
Technology: Turn mold
Lip: Applied, tapered collar lip finish
Color: Red-amber
Date of Manufacture: 1890's

Heavy, crude, and in some instances blood- red, these whiskey bottle fragments are associated with the original Mascotte Saloon structure and were excavated from the same heavily concentrated areas as the Jesse Moore-Hunt bourbon whiskeys.

Labeled red- amber bottles existing in western U. S. collections are obscure, but are dated as being blown in the 1890's (Thomas 1977:v). Intact lead seals (around the necks) of two of these red-amber turn-mold bottles excavated from the Peniel Mission excavations (DePuydt et al. 1997:195) were dated 1894 and 1895 respectively. These lead seals also bore a Crown/W inside a Shield which is the brand of Hiram, Walker & Sons of Walkerville, Canada trademarked June 2, 1891 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 19,652).

Mark: Unembossed **Demi-John**

Shape: Cylinder, one gallon
Technology: Two section, cold mold, straight sided
Lip: Applied, tapered lip
Base: Improved pontil
Color: Aqua
Date of Manufacture: 1864-1910

Containers for holding liquids in bulk, from a gallon to five gallons, were advertised by early 1700 North American manufactories as "demi-johns". Continuously mass produced with changing technologies into the automatic bottle machine era, fragments of this deeply "whittle marked" demi-john appear to have been blown from the late 1860's, when improved aqua lime - soda glass was patented in 1864, until perhaps as late as 1900, or 1910, when they were beginning to be machine-made.

Mark: Unembossed **Bordeaux Wine**

Shape: Cylinder turn mold, fifth
Lip: Sheared lip, applied band
Base: High basal kick-up
Color: Pale green, aqua
Date of Manufacture: After 1887

These turn mold wine bottles, manufactured between 1887 and 1900, contained either a California wine, a Bordeaux, France claret red, or a California wine with a Bordeaux label.

During the 1850's through the American Civil War, wine exports from France reached their peak, although often adulterated, and of poor quality. Phylloxera (plant louse) was introduced into Europe, apparently from resistant U. S. grape-vine cuttings, which nearly destroyed European vineyards by 1880. Development of the California wine industry to supply domestic markets, and the claret wines produced in New Orleans, pushed European market competition into exporting champagne wines and cognac brandy. Regional paranoia, or exaggerated reports of eastern U. S. preferences for French wines, produced practices among some of the California distillers of importing "cases...claret bottles (empty)...caps and labels, corks, tissue paper,

straw covers and boxes neatly printed or branded" (Schulz, et al. 1980:79) for refilling with California wine, and affixing French brands. Joseph A. Durand of San Francisco trademarked the first California wine in 1876: "Claret-Palmas & Maleyat/Bordeaux" (*Official Gazette,* Label 848).

Six California vineyards trademarked wines in the 1880's; eleven in the 1890's. Between 1900 and the 1906 earthquake, fourteen additional wine bottlers had trademarked domestic wines including the California Wine Growers Association of San Francisco. It is likely that the bordeaux wine bottle fragments recovered from the Mascot represent California origins.

Mark: Unembossed **Champagne Wine**

Technology: Tapered cylinder turn mold
Lip: Sheared lip, applied band
Base: High basal kick-up
Color: Olive green quart
Date of Manufacture: After 1887

From the fragments of champagne bottles discarded at the Mascot, it appears that a taste for European champagne accompanied gold rush stampeders into the Klondike. These champagne bottles are easily identifiable having been unaltered in style since they were first manufactured with the turn mold technology (patented 1887) to current automatic bottle machine made bottles. Not being machine-made, champagne bottle fragments recovered from the Mascot were imported into Alaska between 1887 and prohibition.

Mark: (a) Unembossed **Hock Wine**

Shape: Tall, tapered cylinder, quart
Technology: Two section mold
Lip: Sheared lip, applied band
Base: High basal kick-up
Color: Olive amber
Date of Manufacture: After 1870

Mark: (b) Unembossed **Hock Wine**

Shape: Tall, tapered cylinder
Technology: Turn mold
Lip: Sheared, applied band
Base: Shallow basal kick-up
Color: Teal blue
Date of Manufacture: After 1887

Remnants of two differently manufactured Hock Wine bottles were recovered from around the Mascot Privy, with one fragment being identified from the Pacific Clipper. "Hock Wine" bottles, so termed by North American glasshouses (Freeman 1964: end catalogue) are tall, slender bottles generally associated with French Rhine wines. Ten fragments of an olive amber Hock Wine were recovered from the Privy, including the lip and one-half the base. This amber bottle was made in a two section mold, an earlier variant of the later turn mold bottles. Eight fragments of a turn-mold Hocks wine, teal blue in color, were collected from the four units directly north of the privy (Units 53, 54, 58 and 59), with one fragment being recovered from Unit 99, along the south wall of the Pacific Clipper Line Office.

Post-Prohibition Beer Bottles

Clusters of nine machine made beer bottle fragments were excavated from the privy fill and the Area 4. One hundred thirty-eight machine-made amber fragments were recovered. These were all produced by two glasshouses: Owen-Illinois based in Toledo, Ohio, and Northwestern Glass Company of Seattle, Washington.

Mark: 21 **(O around I over Diamond)** 4606 on base

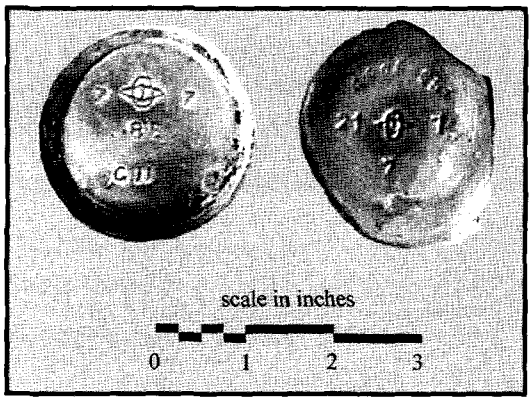
Shape: Cylinder, quart
Lip: Automatic bottle machine made crown top
Color: Amber
Date of Manufacture: 1936

Mark: (a) ___6-GB **(O around I over Diamond)** 6 on base
Mark: (b) 4606-GB 21 **(O around I over Diamond)** 6 on base
Mark: (c) A606-GB 21 **(O around I over Diamond)** 7 7 on base
Mark: (d) _____ 21 **(O around I over Diamond)** 6 4 on base
Mark: (e) _____ 7 **(O around I over Diamond)**7/18E/G11 on base

Shape: Cylinder
Lip: Automatic bottle machine made crown top
Color: Amber pint "stubby"
Date of Manufacture: 1936/1937

The trademark O around an I with a superimposed diamond was used by Owens-Illinois Glass Company (1929-1966) after April 20, 1929 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 283,344). The 18th Amendment was repealed for beer and wine on April 7, 1933. **Duraglas** embossed in script (and stippling representing "glass cans"), were added to the diamond symbol in 1940, denoting a change in glass composition. Bottle date coding accompanying the trademark give the years of

O around I over Diamond



1936 and 1937 as the dates of manufacture of these beer bottles. Owens-Illinois became incorporated in 1966 and currently manufacture a wide variety of bottles and glassware.

Mark: (a) NW/652/56/2 on base
Mark: (b) NW/655/57/11 on base
Mark: (c) NW/552/57__ on base

Shape: Cylinder
Lip: automatic bottle machine made crown top
Color: Amber pint "stubby"
Date of Manufacture: 1956/1957

Northwestern Glass Company of Seattle, Washington was the first successful glass works in the Pacific Northwest. Numerous other glassblowing operations dating from 1904 in Anacortes, Bellingham, and Seattle, Washington failed in five years or less of operation. Originally established as the North West Glass Company in 1929 to manufacture containers and bottles, operations ceased within a year. In 1931, the idle factory was incorporated as Seattle Western Glass Company. Seattle Western evidently produced no glassware, and it became Northwestern Glass Company in 1932, the same name under which it currently operates in South Seattle. From Northwestern's trademark coding, the definite years of manufacture is stated on the base - being the numbers following the first series of three numbers.

Tumblers, Mugs, and Goblets

When matched to the finished rims and bases, a total of one-thousand and sixteen tumbler fragments were collected from the Mascot Saloon. No liquor service glassware remains were recovered from either the Pacific Clipper Line Office or Hern's Liquor Store. Twenty-seven stemmed goblet fragments and fifty-eight beer mug fragments were also collected and identified in addition to tumbler remains.

Seven-hundred and nine of the tumbler fragments were clear, lead/flint glass and are associated with the dense distribution of whiskey bottles in Units 19, 24 and 25. A transition into manganese-clarified glass tumbler fragments was noted in the Privy Fill and surrounding areas; the major distribution of tumblers was in Units 49, 59 and 60. Bar tumblers, other than plain turn molds, were rare, however nine fragments of one or two fluted heel tumblers were recovered from Units 50 and 60. One vertically ribbed tumbler fragment was excavated from Unit 55.

Stemmed goblets, or wine glass fragments, manufactured in either lead or manganese glass were clustered in the privy and north of the privy. One manganese goblet base was recovered from Unit 14. Eight of the stem fragments were cut glass with pressed bowls and bases. Seven pressed glass stems were also identified. The design for these goblets was patented by Albert F. Meder of Wheeling, West Virginia on September 12, 1899 (*Official Gazette*, Design No. 31,499). Albert F. Meder was an official of the Hazel Glass Company (1886-1902, Wellsburg, West Virginia and Washington, Pennsylvania).

Plain, thick fragments of three, or possibly four handled beer mugs were identified in both lead and manganese glass. Three fragments were identified from Units 12 and 14, with the remainder of fifty-five fragments being distributed in the Privy and surrounding the Privy to the north and east.

One tumbler base, not associated with the Mascot Saloon business, and manufactured after prohibition was provenienced in Unit 64. This base bore the **H/A** trademark of the Hazel-Atlas Glass Corporation of Wheeling, West Virginia (1902-1964). This specific **H** straddling an **A** trademark was registered with the U.S. Patent Office on June 24, 1924 (*The Official Gazette*, Trademark 185,619), and Hazel-Atlas stated that they had used this trademark since July 23 of 1923. Hazel Glass Company (see above) and Hazel-Atlas Glass Corporation, in addition to bar tumblers, also manufactured a dozen varieties of Atlas canning jars first trademarked in 1906. This works was one of the first glass companies to adopt the automatic bottle machine for product and fruit jars in 1909 (Scoville 1948:105).

Mark: SEATTLE/BREWING AND MALTING/RAINIER BEER

Technology: Acid etched
Type: Shot glass
Color: Clear, flint 1893-1916
Color: Manganese clarified 1893-1915



Rainier shot glass

Mark: SEATTLE/BREWING AND MALTING/RAINIER BEER/(Rainier Beer Company Building/SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Technology: acid etched
Type: Beer Glass
Color: Clear, flint glass 1893-1916

Mark: RAINIER/SEATTLE/ BREWING AND MALTING/ CO./BEER

Technology: Red silk screened print
Type: White porcelain bottle stopper
Date of Manufacture: 1893-1914



Rainier Cap

Early photographs of the Mascot Saloon show a projecting sign over the front board walk advertising Rainier Beer. The Mascot also advertised Rainier and Pale Rainier beers in the local *Daily Alaskan* newspaper from November 1902 through 1914. The restoration crew found a large sign on the south side of the Pacific Clipper Line Office Building in 1986. It reads "RAINIER BEER / MASCOT BAR." As noted in Chapter 3 of this report, the Rainier Brewing Company sponsored the Mascot Saloon, providing its draft beer and probably paying for the free lunches.

Fifteen fragments representing a minimum vessel count of two acid etched Rainier Beer shot glasses, one blown of flint glass and one having manganese, were excavated from Units 18, 51 and 56 Privy Fill, Unit 52, Level 10-11, 54, and Unit 62. During the turn of the century, advertising shot glasses were a publicity item, each one being given by the distributor upon the purchase of a case of their special brew (Fountain and Colcleaser 1971:61). Seven fragments of one etched beer glass showing the Rainier Brewery were recovered from the Privy Trench.

Two porcelain beer bottle stoppers, silk screen printed in red, were recovered from the early portion of the Mascot, the surface of Unit 18, and Unit 22, Level 1. These white porcelain stoppers, unique in design, were fashioned in the form of a vertical handle atop a porcelain cap. The base of the cap originally was covered with cork and was inserted into the lip finish and neck of the bottle to seal it. Hamm's Beer of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Charles Weinarcht of Hoboken, New Jersey were the only other two known breweries using this corked porcelain stopper instead of the popular "lightning" porcelain stopper in vogue during this period (Anderson 1973: 87). In an ad placed by Rainier Beer in the October 2, 1914 issue of *The Daily Alaskan*, the Rainier bottle is shown with a crown top, which suggests that the so-called "blop" top Rainier Beer bottles had been replaced by metal crown top closures by this date.

First established as the Bayview Brewery in Seattle, Washington Territory in 1886, Seattle Brewing and Malting emerged from a consolidation of the Bayview Brewery and two other Seattle breweries in 1893 (Baron 1962:262). In the early 1900's, the brewery was located on South 9th Street (Fowler 1985:256). The trade-mark "Rainier" was filed August 31, 1899, and was registered with the U. S. Patent Office on September 26, 1899 (*The Official Gazette*, Label 7,141). No date of the beginning of the use of "Rainier" brand was given with the registration.

The brand was apparently used from the date of merger.

The Seattle Brewing and Malting Company brewed and bottled beer until January 1, 1916, the date of Washington State prohibition. During prohibition, the company bottled Rainier Soda, root beer, and sarsaparilla. Following repeal of prohibition, Seattle Brewing and Malting resumed bottling Rainier Beer. The trademark, Rainier, was transferred in 1940 by Sicks Rainier Brewing Company, who paid one million dollars for the exclusive right to this trademark (Baron 1964:331).

Since 1940, the trademark has changed hands a number of times. The Pabst Brewing Company now owns the Rainier trademark, having purchased it from Stroh's Brewing Company in 1996. They still manufacture Rainier beer (http://www.historylink.org/_output.CFM?file_ID=2523; http://www.pabst.com/ ourber.htm).

OFFICE SUPPLIES

Until the ball point pen was perfected in 1937, record keeping and writing by fluid inks in North American was restricted to the use of quill pens, separate pen nibs, and fountain pens (which became popular in 1884 (Rivera and Rivera 1973:iv). For record keeping during the Klondike gold rush era, most businesses purchased ink in bulk containers, then refilled small, elegant ink wells. The ink bottles from the Mascot were mass produced, disposable bottles in contrast to ink wells. These inks are representative of the early 1900's, and probably only one dates to the early gold rush period.

Mark: CARTER'S in arch on base

Shape: Squat cylinder
Lip: Tooled, rolled lip
Technology: Indented ring around shoulder
Air vented shoulders
Lip: Aqua
Measurement: Height 2 ½"
Date of Manufacture: 1905-1918

Earliest printed records of this type ink bottle used by Carter's Ink Company of Boston and New York appears in a 1905 label patent (*The Official Gazette,* Trademark 44,350) for a label showing an ink horn and quill on a ribboned seal. This aqua cylinder bottle, found in Unit 51, was used until about 1918 when it was then briefly manufactured in clear glass on an automatic bottle machine.

"The process of manufacturing inks and writing fluids by driving air through them...and for agitating them" was patented by John W. Carter (*Official Gazette,* Patent No. 124,544) of Boston, Massachusetts on March 12, 1872 (*Official Gazette* 1872:235). **Carter's,** as a trade marked name for ink and mucilage, was registered by Carter, Dinsmore & Company of Boston, Massachusetts and New York, New York on March 13, 1873 (*The Official Gazette,* Trademarks 10,000 and 10,101).

Mark: Ink, Unembossed

Shape: Squat, Square
Lip: Snap top
Color: Clear, flint
Measurement: 2 ½ " Height
Date of Manufacture: About 1902

Advost N. Ritz of Milwaukee, Wisconsin designed this square ink bottle fragment found in Unit 64 of the Mascot Saloon. This design was assigned to the Diamond Ink Company (also of Milwaukee) on December 1, 1903 (*Official Gazette,* Design No. 36,656, filed 18 October 1902). After receiving the patent, these bottles are embossed: Diamond Ink Co. Pat. 12-1-03 on the base, and ounce measurements are noted on the shoulder.

Mark: Ink or Mucilage, Unembossed

Shape: Squat Cylinder
Lip: Tooled double collar lip
Technology: Indented ring around shoulder and heel
Air vented shoulder
Color: Aqua
Measurement: Height 2- ½"
Date of Manufacture: 1885-1918

Over a dozen U. S. ink manufacturers used this style of ringed, cylinder bottle as a container for ink and/or mucilage. Having neither label, embossing, or glass manufacturer markings, this aqua ink bottle from the Mascot (Unit 59) is wide-range dated by the off-hand blown technology, tooled lip, and air vents.

UNIDENTIFIABLE BOTTLE

Mark: Bottle, Freeblown

Shape: Rectangular
Lip: Flared lip
Technology: Beveled sides, rounded shoulders
Free blown
Color: Cobalt
Date of Manufacture: After 1880

Clearly out of context with the Klondike gold rush, five fragile lip, neck and shoulder pieces of this bottle were recovered from Units 23, 27, and 29/34 Trench Fill. As is indicated by the presence of black glass pontiled bottles also excavated from the Mascot, these fragments may have been left by earlier explorers, or perhaps were treasured Native artifacts equated with cobalt faceted trade beads.

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Appendix C: Faunal Remains from the Mascot Saloon Site

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INTRODUCTION

The Mascot Saloon is located in Klondike gold rush National Historical Park in Skagway, Alaska. The building was constructed in 1898, during the height of the Klondike gold rush. It was enlarged in 1899, again in 1901 and 1904, and remodeled several times between 1901 and 1905 (Snow and Spude 1981, C. Spude this volume). Prior to the construction of the Mascot Saloon building, it is possible that this site was the location of a temporary saloon (Paul Gleeson, personal communication 1987). This possibility is examined thoroughly in the main body of this volume.

Archaeological excavations were conducted at the site in 1986 in conjunction with the preservation and rehabilitation of the Mascot Saloon and two adjoining structures, the Pacific Clipper Line Office and the Hern Liquor Store. A wide variety of historic materials were recovered during these excavations; this report focuses on the faunal remains.

The recovered materials were deposited during the early part of the Klondike gold rush and the first years thereafter (see R. Spude 1983; Snow and Spude 1981, and C. Spude this volume). Furthermore, because the buildings comprising the Mascot Saloon Group were built at different times and the horizontal stratigraphy is quite good, it is possible to attempt to examine changes in the pattern of everyday life during and after the gold rush.

In 1987 when this analysis was first reported, the collection of faunal remains was divided into four groups based on the point in time when construction prevented/severely limited further deposition. The materials recovered from the front portion of the saloon building should represent consumption that took place during the gold rush years. Likewise, the faunal remains recovered from under the Pacific Clipper Line office were covered over in August 1898, and should represent gold rush deposition. The largest collection of faunal remains was recovered from the rear portion of the Mascot Saloon building and should represent food consumed between 1898 and 1904. Subsequent analysis by Catherine Spude (this volume) refined the temporal identifications, yielding five spatial/temporal sub-assemblages. In 2004, the Park Service made it possible for this author to re-examine the faunal data in light of this revised spatial/temporal classification (see Table 1).

The following analysis will compare and contrast the collections reflecting the early gold rush and the later occupation. Also, it is now possible to include comparisons with the large body of work conducted in Skagway since 1986. The majority of the faunal remains are food refuse. This study will focus on the nature of the activities that produced those food remains. This in turn will yield information concerning the people involved in producing the faunal remains and will contribute to our knowledge of the Klondike gold rush and life in post-gold rush Skagway.

Two of the five sub-assemblages listed in Table 1 yielded an adequate number of faunal remains for analysis. The first is related to the gold rush Period "Mascotte" Saloon in 1897-1899 (Areas 1 and the Privy). The second is related to the immediate post-gold rush Mascot Saloon (Area 4). Most of these materials should date between 1897 and 1904. The other three sub-assemblages are small and disturbed and will not be used in the analysis that follows.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The approach used here follows Huelsbeck's (1991) consumer behavior framework in order to facilitate comparisons with other Skagway faunal analyses (Huelsbeck 1988, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, and Wake 2002). Analysis needs to consider factors that affect availability, consumer choice, and taphonomy, and analysis must classify the remains in a way that appropriately reflects availability and choice.

Most of the meat brought into Skagway probably came from the Pacific Northwest (see Huelsbeck 2001 for a more detailed discussion of meat availability in Skagway). Cattle were the dominant meat animal in the mid to late 19th century in the Northwest, but sheep surpassed cattle in frequency in the early 20th century. Pigs never were very common. Prior to the development of refrigerated shipping, live animals were shipped to Skagway. A photograph of Moore's wharf about 1900 reveals several pens of cattle (R. Spude 1983:29). Port of Tacoma records indicate that by 1930 no live

animals or fresh unfrozen meat was shipped to Alaska from that port (Huelsbeck and Cooper 1999).

Very few bones in any of the reported collections suggest non-commercial or "home" butchering (see Huelsbeck 1988 for one possible exception). Saw cuts are common and the individual meat cuts represented by the bones (with few exceptions) could be found in today's grocery store meat counters.

One aspect of consumer choice is purchasing power. The readily interpretable butchering pattern and good historic records makes it possible to draw some inferences about the price of the meat represented by the bones in the different assemblages. One must keep in mind that the fluctuating supply/demand conditions in Skagway, particularly during the gold rush, could greatly skew the average picture. For example, if suppliers couldn't get their meat over the passes to the interior, the supply in Skagway would increase and the price would drop. Nevertheless it is possible to draw some inferences about the purchasing power of the consumers whose activities are reflected by the assemblages. Schulz and Gust (1983a, 1983b) demonstrate that although the actual prices varied, the rank order of the cost of different cuts of beef remained very consistent. It is not entirely safe to assume such consistency for salt-port (Hattori and Kosta 1990) but there is very little pork in any of the Skagway assemblages. There is a considerable amount of mutton represented in Skagway assemblages and the approach of Henry (1983) as adapted by Huelsbeck (2001) is used to compare the relative cost of beef and mutton/pork in assemblages.

A variety of factors related to religion, ethnicity, marital status, etc., can influence consumer choice. These collectively can be referred to as foodways. Previous analyses have not identified religion or ethnicity as factors in Skagway, but the unmarried Catholic priest Father Turnell did favor single-serving portions (Spude et al. 1993). The economics of saloon free lunches would favor lower cost cuts that require long moist-heat cooking.

The faunal analyst always needs to consider whether taphonomic factors or human behavioral factors are responsible for shaping assemblages of animal remains.

Finally, the faunal remains must be classified and quantified appropriately. Lyman (1977) demonstrated that using meat amounts based on entire animals rather than wholesale cuts can be very misleading. Huelsbeck (1989, 1991) demonstrated that wholesale cuts rather than retail cuts can be equally misleading. Retail cuts inferred from physical evidence in the faunal assemblage will be the units of classification used here.

IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION

The faunal remains are in fairly good condition, as might be expected given that the deposits were covered by structures for most of the last 100 years. A total of 15 bones exhibited signs of burning, rodent gnawing, or scavenger (probably dog) gnawing. There are no significant differences between sub-assemblages with respect to taphonomic factors.

Table 1 lists the different kinds of animals represented in Mascot group faunal collections. The collections are dominated by the bones of domestic animals, particularly cattle and sheep. The "cattle-sized" bones and "sheep-sized" bones are too fragmentary for certain species identification but in view of the paucity of bones from other animals in these size classes (e.g. elk and deer respectively), it is likely that most or all of these bones actually represent cattle and sheep. Non-domestic animals were utilized much less frequently, based on the number of identified specimens. The collection includes a few deer bones, some non-chicken bird bones, and numerous clam shell fragments (see Table 1).

Most of the meat appears to have been purchased from a commercial butcher. Nearly all of the butcher marks are saw cuts and are located in accordance with the contemporary commercial butchering pattern (Levie 1970; Settlement Cookbook Company 1976:267, 284, 288, 292). Slight deviations from this pattern have been observed in other larger Skagway faunal collections (Huelsbeck 2001; Wake 2002), but not in this collection.

CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

The regional history of the livestock industry suggests that beef should be very common in Skagway prior to 1910-1920; mutton should be common, especially after 1920; and pork should be rare. After 1920, beef should decrease in abundance while mutton increases. Consumption patterns match these expectations.

The two subassemblages that are large enough to compare are quite similar. Bone fragments from cattle and cattle-size animals make up 24.4 % of the gold rush assemblage and 25% of the 1897-1904 assemblage (see Table 1). There is some difference in the sheep and sheep-size categories (42.2% vs. 38.7%). Deer, other mammal, chicken, and the other bird categories

combine for 11.2% and 10.5 % respectively.

Quantifying the data using identified retail cuts and estimates of edible meat per cut changes the picture considerably. While sheep and sheep-size bones dominate the bone count, beef dominates the represented meat amounts (see Table 2). Beef accounts for 77% of the meat represented in the gold rush assemblage but only 52% of the slightly later assemblage. Mutton (and pork/venison) accounts for 21.5% of the gold rush assemblage but 39% of the post-gold rush assemblage. Beef generally is more abundant in gold rush assemblages in Skagway, while mutton is more common in later assemblages.

Clam shells are common in both sub-assemblages. They are more abundant in the 1897-1904 subassemblage when documentary evidence indicates that clam chowder was a common feature of the saloon's free lunch menu.

Factors Affecting Availability

The history of the Northwest livestock industry (Huelsbeck 2001) indicates that early deposits in Skagway should be dominated by cattle more than 3 or 4 years old and sheep more than 1 or 2 years old. After 1910-1920 most of the cattle should be less than 2 or 3 years old and the frequency of lamb (sheep less than 1 year old) should increase.

Both major assemblages here conform to the expectations for the early period. Based on epiphyseal fusion (Silver 1970), the gold rush assemblage includes an animal more than 3.5 years old and the slightly later assemblage includes an animal more than 5 years old. Both also include bones from cattle less than 3.5 years old (3 bones) and less than 5 years old (1 bone). Neither assemblage contains a sheep less than 1 year old (3 > 1 year, 6 > 1.5 years, 1 > 2 years, 10 > 3 years). This is a very small sample of "ageable" bones on which to draw conclusions but it is safe to say that the meat consumed in Skagway during the two periods in question came from animals considerably older than those commonly consumed today.

Wild animals could have been hunted, captured, or gathered locally or may have been acquired commercially. The clam shells were not examined by a specialist but little-neck clams (*Protothaca staminea*) and butter clams (*Saxidomus gigantean*) are common in the collection. Both are available relatively near to Skagway and along the West Coast to the south.

Factors Affecting Choice

The primary factor affecting choice in other Skagway assemblages appears to have been purchasing power. When this collection first was analyzed it was compared to faunal collections recovered from Old Sacramento (Schulz and Gust 1983a). Both subassemblages considered here are rather similar to the Old Sacramento saloons: fewer soup bones than the jail, fewer high-priced cuts than the expensive hotel. The gold rush assemblage is closer to the less prosperous Sacramento saloon (the Hannan saloon) and the post-gold rush assemblage is closer to the more prosperous saloon (the Kleibetz and Green saloon). Contemporary accounts indicate that the owner of the Mascot prospered during the early 1900s (Snow and Spude 1981) and the faunal remains appear to reflect this relative prosperity.

Given the very different market/supply conditions between Skagway and Sacramento, it is worth comparing the Mascot assemblages with other faunal collections from Skagway. Collapsing some of the categories identified by Schulz and Gust (1983a) and adding similar categories for sheep/pig as was done by Huelsbeck (2001:A6-15) makes it possible to compare the purchasing power exercised by the consumers represented by the two Mascot assemblages and other Skagway assemblages (see Table 3). The Mascot Saloon assemblages are most like the assemblage from the Lynch & Kennedy Store property, thought to be associated with the Gilt-Edge Restaurant (Huelsbeck 1996), but with fewer high cost cuts. The main difference among the three assemblages is the lower proportion of round steak in the post gold rush Mascot assemblage. The samples are small and this difference could be a sample size effect, but it may relate to an aspect of the meat supply during the gold rush or to a food serving pattern at saloons/restaurants during the gold rush. Mutton is common in post gold rush assemblages in Skagway (Huelsbeck and Cooper 1999) and this shift away from beef appears to have begun shortly after the gold rush.

Looking at other Skagway assemblages, it is not surprising that the relatively well to do occupants of the Moore House consumed noticeably more expensive cuts than was the case at the Mascot. The greater abundance of higher cost cuts in the working class residential Block 39 is somewhat surprising. However, an occasional steak does not indicate a great deal of purchasing power. If one considers the method of cooking required by the represented cuts, the nature of the saloon assemblages comes back

into focus. They are dominated by cuts that require moist heat (see Table 4).

The assemblage from the Pantheon Saloon (Wake 2002) is similar to the saloon assemblages here but it has a much wider range of species represented, especially wild animals. It also has more high ranking cuts. This saloon may have had a clientele with more purchasing power. Unfortunately, sample size differences could be clouding the picture (more than 4000 remains from the Pantheon, 300 and 400 from the Mascot assemblages).

Most of the faunal remains undoubtedly represent meals consumed by patrons of the saloons located on this site and/or meals consumed by the owner of the building who lived on the premises (Snow and Spude 1981:1-14). Late 19th century saloons typically served free lunches (Schulz and Gust 1983a) and the Mascot Saloon was no exception, with free lunches varying from "clam chowder to spareribs and sauerkraut or Mexican enchiladas" (Snow and Spude 1981:8, citing contemporary newspaper accounts). The recovered faunal materials yield no indications of great variation in the menu served. However, the represented cuts are consistent with other faunal collections from saloons (see Schulz and Gust 1983). Schulz and Gust (1983a:49-50) note that the "economics of the free lunch dictated that the minimum possible time and effort be invested in the preparation and serving of food but that it be available in quantity. Both of these conditions were met by the use of roasts, which could be placed in the oven (or on the stove to boil) in the morning and left to cook unattended."

The majority of the cuts of meat represented in the collections are cuts that are best prepared over slow moist heat such as round steaks, roasts, and shanks. Steaks are represented in both collections. The steaks could have been cut up and used in stews, etc.; they may represent meals consumed by the proprietor, or they may have been a regular part of the menu.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The faunal remains from the Mascot Saloon site are in good condition. They do not appear to have been subjected to intense taphonomic processes and there are no differences in the taphonomic processes that affected the two subassemblages that are the focus of this report.

Domestic animals, particularly cattle and sheep, dominate the faunal collections from the Mascot Saloon site. Wild animals were utilized infrequently. Adult sheep and cattle were brought to Skagway and butchered with meat saws by professional butchers. The butchering pattern is very similar to that employed by butchers today.

Based on bone counts, there are no significant differences among different parts of the total collection. When the amount of meat represented by the bones is considered, the collection related to the gold rush saloon has relatively less mutton than is represented in the collection related to the post gold rush saloon. Beef is the dominant meat elsewhere in gold rush Skagway also. Mutton increases in frequency in later assemblages in Skagway, sharing the role of dominant meat in Skagway with beef. The immediately post gold rush assemblage here suggests that the shift from beef started very early after the gold rush.

Turn of the century documents indicate that the Mascot Saloon catered to a working-class clientele and that the owner was prosperous. When compared with faunal remains from Old Sacramento and other Skagway assemblages, the faunal remains reflect moderate purchasing power and some greater purchasing power (the owner?). Moderately priced and lower cost cuts dominate the assemblage but some higher priced cuts are present. Higher priced cuts are more common in the later subassemblage. The Pantheon Saloon appears to have had a more prosperous clientele (but comparable sample sizes would increase our confidence in this conclusion).

Purchasing power is mediated by the foodways of turn of the century saloons. The collections are consistent with the kinds of food refuse produced by turn of the century saloons that served free lunches. This is true of both assemblages in spite of an artifact assemblage from the gold rush saloon that suggests that food storage and food serving were not common activities (Spude this volume).

Table 1. Faunal Remains from the Mascot Saloon Site

Taxon	*Mascotte Front (1897-1898)*		*Mascot Back (1897-1904)*		*Area 6 W*	*Area 6 E*	*Areas 2 & 3*
	#	%	#	%	#	#	#
cattle	30	22.2%	27	21.8%	1	9	11
cattle-size	3	2.2%	4	3.2%	0	2	0
Sheep	34	25.2%	33	26.6%	1	3	3
Sheep-size	20	14.8%	9	7.3%	1	6	4
Pig	3	2.2%	3	2.4%	0	1	0
Deer	0	0.0 %	3	2.4%	0	0	0
Other Mammal	4	3.0 %	1	0.8%	0	0	0
Mammal fragment	30	22.2%	35	28.2%	10	1	7
Chicken	1	0.7%	4	3.3%	1	0	0
Bird	10	7.5%	5	4.0%	1	1	1
Subtotal	135	100.0%	124	100.0%	15	23	26
Clam	176		315		18	17	10
Total	311		439		33	40	36

Percentages were calculated excluding clam shell fragments to facilitate the comparison of the other taxa.

Table 2. Quantity of Food Represented

	Gold Rush			Post Gold Rush	
portion	meat weight (pounds)	# portions	weight	# portions	weight
piece of chicken	0.3	4	1.2	5	1.5
deer shank	0.8	0	0.0	2	1.6
pork picnic	3.7	0	0.0	2	7.4
pig foot	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.6
Sheep					
chop/steak	0.5	2	1.0	1	0.5
chuck	3.6	3	10.8	4	14.42
shank	0.8	10	8.0	5	4.0
leg	5.0	2	10.0	6	30.0
total mutton			29.8		48.9
Cattle					
rib steak	1.0	3	3.0	8	8.0
short loin steak	1.0	4	4.0	3	3.0
sirloin steak	1.0	2	2.0	2	2.0
fore shank	6.9	3	20.78	3	20.7
chuck roast	5.0	3	15.0	0	0.0
rump roast	5.1	2	10.2	2	10.2
arm roast	5.0	1	5.0	2	10.0
sirloin roast	5.0	0	0.0	2	10.0
round steak	3.0	14	42.0	2	6.0
ribs	5.0	1	5.0	1	5.0
total beef			106.9		74.9

[b]Lyman (1979:543)
[c]Estimate is based on the data for larger butchering units provided by Lyman (1979:543)

Table 3. Relative Frequency of Meat by Cut Price Class

Meat Cut/ Price Class	Mascotte Front	Mascot Back	Gilt-Edge R.	Moore House post 1910	Block 39
Beef					
Rib, loin, sirloin	8.4	30.7	35.9	43.9	40.0
Round, rump	48.8	21.6	46.2	36.8	43.5
Chuck, ribs	23.4	20.1	12.0	15.8	13.0
Shank, neck	19.4	27.6	6.0	3.5	3.5
Mutton/pork					
Chop/steak	3.3	0.9	11.7	13.0	19.8
Leg/roast	32.9	65.7	52.9	68.8	72.4
Ribs/brisket	35.5	25.3	0.9	4.8	0.0
Shank/hock	29.6	7.0	34.5	11.7	6.6
Neck/feet	2.0	1.1	0.0	1.7	1.2

Price class categories after Huelsbeck 2001

Table 4. Relative Frequency of Cuts by Cooking Method

Meat Cut/ Cooking method	*Mascotte Front*		*Mascot Back*		*Gilt-Edge Restaurant*		*Moore House post 1910*		*Block 39*	
	Beef/sheep		Beef/sheep		Beef/sheep		Beef/sheep		Beef/Sheep	
Steak/chop (fry)	27.3	11.8	52.0	5.0	52.5	28.9	47.7	45.5	34.5	52.2
Roasts (bake)	18.2	29.4	24.0	60.0	7.5	15.6	12.1	28.9	20.0	30.4
Round Steak (moist heat)	42.4	--	8.0	--	10.0	--	10.2	--	14.5	--
Shank/neck/rib (in liquid)	12.1	58.8	16.0	35.0	30.0	62.5	30.0	25.6	31.0	17.4

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Appendix D: The Multiple Regression Analysis

By Catherine Holder Spude, Ph.D.

SORTING HISTORICAL ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS WITH MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION

In the original draft of the Mascot Saloon Group archeological report, this appendix simply described the comparative collections used in the multiple linear regression statistics that assisted me in the functional analysis of the various area artifact collections. I have used this method for over a decade with considerable success, constantly adding comparative collections to the predictive assemblages, refining the data calibration sets to suit the research questions being posed, and carefully considering the nature of the data when interpreting the results of the statistic.

During the peer review of the draft report, one of the reviewers brought Russell Gould's Ph.D. dissertation to my attention (Gould 2002). About a third of his thesis involved a critique of my method. He disagreed with me on the utility of the method, and, due to his emphasis on my earliest work, and no critique of the later uses of the statistic, did not understand its refinements. While Gould had more than mastered the statistics, he seemed to possess only a rudimentary understanding of how the soft archeological data respond to the rigors of the math. My reviewer, baffled by all of the numbers, didn't know what to believe. This appendix is an attempt to sort out the mess. If you don't like numbers, you will just have to flip a coin on who to believe. Or you can go along with Dr. Gould and ignore the potential of the multiple linear regression method in sorting out or predicting the functional association of otherwise unassociated archeological deposits. If you are willing to take a chance on something that appears to work most of the time, I ask you to bear with me.

I first used the least-squares multiple linear regression to sort a functionally-mixed dump deposit near the Peniel Mission in Skagway, Alaska (Blee 1991). This method was developed for archeological application by Kohler and Blinman (1987) to estimate the relative contributions of differing ceramic assemblages to temporally-mixed Anasazi midden deposits in the American Southwest. In my original study, I defined statistical profiles of six types of historic artifact assemblages – Families, Transient Males, Saloons, Brothels, Hotels and Restaurants, and Military – to estimate the relative contributions of each of these socioeconomic groups to functionally-mixed historic period deposits (Blee 1991). The results of my analysis suggested that the method could be reliably used to estimate the contribution of these sorts of social or economic units to functionally-mixed deposits.

When I next used the method, I suspected that the Family Assemblage was highly variable and should not be used as a single unit (Spude *et al.* 1993: 129-134). In that study, I broke the single assemblage into two separate data sets. I demonstrated that families that probably consumed alcoholic beverages tended to generate considerably higher frequencies of both liquor-related artifacts and non-alcoholic beverage containers than families that probably did not consume alcohol (*Ibid.*: 82). Dividing the Drinking Families from the Temperate Families resulted in two comparative artifact assemblages with much stronger internal integrity and closer goodness of fit. While criticizing my earlier method (Blee 1991) in his archeological study of the Barnette Street waterfront in Fairbanks, Alaska, Gould (1998; 2002:9-35) ignored these later refinements (Spude et al. 1993:129-134). His criticism that the collections used to construct the Family Assemblage comparison data set were not parametric had already been partially addressed by the division of that set into two separate assemblages.

In his critique of the multiple regression method, Gould (2002) also ignored the extreme robustness of the multiple linear regression. While it is indeed a parametric statistic, it can readily withstand reasonable abuses of its assumptions, one of the characteristics that make the statistic so useful for archeological applications (Shennan 1988:142). Gould (2002) devotes 26 pages to proving that seven of Blee's 14 artifact categories are not normally distributed in the Family Assemblage, despite the fact that I have not used the non-parametrically distributed Family Assemblage in comparative work since my original study (Blee 1991).

Unlike the descriptive statistics normally employed by historical archeologists (e.g. South 1977), the linear regression does not measure, calculate or consider the standard deviation of each of the variables. It is strictly a measure of central tendency. Whether one collection can be said to lie within the standard deviation of another collection is irrelevant with the linear regression. Therefore, if it is known that a set of saloon collections, for instance, are part of the total universe of saloon collections, it does not matter whether one saloon collection meets a goodness of fit test with another saloon. What indeed is that fit testing? Is it testing whether a given saloon collection is statistically identical to all other saloon collections? Or is it testing whether all of the customers of one saloon were identical to all of the customers of another saloon?

This is not a facetious question. Indeed, the "likeness" that is being measured is critical to most comparative methods. Bowers and Gannon (1998) found the regression method unsuited to their analysis because they were not trying to discover *similarities* between collections, but rather *differences* between them. The regression indeed can be used to discover differences, but the comparative data sets I constructed in 1991 were designed specifically to *maximize* differences *between* assemblages and *minimize* differences *within assemblages* and *between collections*. The categorization method I developed was indeed not suitable for answering the questions posed by Bowers and Gannon (1998), hence not suitable for those questions being posed by Gould in his 2002 dissertation. It was easy, therefore, for him to debunk any typology that seeks to *maximize similarities*, such as mine and Rick Sprague's (Sprague 1981).

Regardless of the applicability to Bowers and Gannon's (1998) questions, I, like Sprague, maintain that historic documentation combined with accurate assessment of the dates of artifacts in a given collection are sufficient to demonstrate whether a given collection is from a saloon. Combined with other similarly documented saloon collections, one can indeed construct a comparative "Saloon Assemblage" that can be instructive in helping assess the degree of mixing of deposits.

THE NATURE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL DATA

First, it is important to understand that archeology is not a hard science, as much as we archeologists would like to make it so. Archeology, while it uses the tools of science, is a social science and is often rather soft in its applications. We archeologists must be pragmatists, understanding the nature of the data we have to work with, the tools we are given, and how to put them together in a way that makes sense and gives us information about the past. The more we know, the better. The better we think about what we know, the better we interpret what we have found, and make sound judgments about the remains of the past.

Statistics are just one of the many tools many of us choose to use, and the multiple regression method is just one of the statistics I happen to understand well. I also know the data I am using the statistic on. It is soft. It is based on estimates of the minimum numbers of items, not on real numbers of items. The statistic measures a linear projection of data, not a real number. That, too, is an estimate. That means the statistic itself is soft. But guess what. It works. Time after time, it works. I've tested it over and over again in cases where I know the answer independently, and every single time it gives me an answer that makes sense, an answer that I can interpret in the context of the other archeological and historical data. Once it gave me the right answer and I swore it was wrong. I "knew" it was wrong in that particular case for ten years. Then one day I read a historic newspaper and that newspaper proved that the statistic was right. It made a believer out of me. I will give the particulars below.

REBUTTING THE DEBUNKER

One of Gould's criticisms was that my classification system was not "theoretically based," but rather "common-sensical" (Gould 2002:10). He was mistaken. My approach to developing the classification system was deliberate, meant to be theoretical in nature (if it was not explicitly stated), and was very specifically directed to answering the explicit research questions at hand. It was never meant to be a universal system for answering all questions (Blee 1991: 82-83).

In fact, I have used different artifact categories every time I have used the method, depending on the research questions I asked (Blee 1991; Spude *et al.* 1993; Spude 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005). Because my research interests tend to focus on gender and sometimes on socio-economic issues, many of the categories tend to remain the same from study to study. However, I do not insist that the categories used in my studies and for my studies must be used in all cases. In fact, the method could be used as well with South's artifact pattern data, or with categories from

Sprague's taxonomic system (with certain caveats), or other devised systems as well. In fact, I insist that the categories be devised specifically to answer the questions being asked and that the method is best used for that type of research. That is why I always provide a list of the artifacts used in the statistic, so that others can reclassify them for their own needs.

In developing the classification system first used in my 1991 study, I focused on artifact categories that I expected to remain consistent within like households or business units but which varied between households or business units that were not alike. This "expectation" was not simply a heuristic one. It was developed from a combination of historic literature, photographic evidence and empirical observation of the archeological record. I refined the classification system as I collected additional comparative data and patterns began to emerge. In that sense, I tested the classification system with empirical observation. The process was no different than that described for pattern recognition by South (1977:35-38), which Gould asserts "works" (Gould 2002: 7-8).

The crucial contention by Gould, however, was that my (Blee 1991) Family Assemblage was not parametrically distributed. An argument could be made that out of the millions of family households in the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century, it would be impossible to tell if the artifact categories of 14 archeological collections were parametrically distributed. I made the assumption that they represented families because all collections were *known* to have been taken from family households. If archeological collections of all those millions of households in the United States from that time period could be sampled, those 14 *would have* to fall somewhere along that bell-shaped curve.

Now, obviously, it is impossible to tell if the mean of the 14 sample collections that I used (Blee 1991) were anywhere close to the mean of the actual population of those millions of family households between 1900 and 1920. However, every time even a single household collection is added to the data, the data become a little more accurate. In the interest of trying to get somewhere with our understanding of archeological phenomena, and knowing we will never have the data from all three million households, or even a tiny fraction of them, I believed it worthwhile to simply move on with the assumption that the data was representative *for the purposes at hand.*

My purpose in 1991 was simply to determine whether households with women in them had contributed trash to a dump site. The other potential contributors were households with no women and a number of business enterprises. It was necessary only to determine what artifact categories varied significantly in each of the household types and business types of interest, calculate the multiple linear regression, and the statistic would tell me what combination of households and businesses contributed to the trash.

The "test" of the statistic was the historic documentation and the artifacts themselves. Early deposits of one portion of the dump yielded a regression prediction of 65% Family and 29% Saloon deposits (Blee 1991:279-280). It made sense. A spoon engraved with the name "Geo. L. Rice," the owner of two saloons within half a block of the dump, verified the saloon contribution. Household items and personal items supported an interpretation of family contributions.

In another study, a multiple regression calculated for Cooper (2004; Spude 2004) yielded a combination of a Military and Transient Male deposition. Surprised at the outcome, Cooper searched the available military records in Skagway, Alaska, and found that the subject lot had indeed been leased by the U. S. Army during the time when the deposit was formed. Previously, she had had no inkling that the Army was in that part of the town. The method pointed her in the direction she needed to go to find records she never would have thought of investigating.

Perhaps more telling, however, was the sort of Unit 69, which lay next to the Peniel Mission. This building was the headquarters of a group of female, non-denominational missionaries who worked to reform drunks, prostitutes and indigents. The multiple regression yielded a prediction of 44% Hotel Assemblage and 26% Brothel Assemblage and 30% unexplained, an entirely unexpected result. I explained the Hotel portion of the prediction based on the soup kitchen function of the mission. I suspected that perhaps the Brothel assemblage had provided the only all-female household for the statistic to "grab hold" of, in the absence of other data (Blee 1991:283-286).

I later learned that my interpretation was erroneous.

In 1999, I began to read all of Skagway's daily newspapers from 1899 through 1910 for the contextual history portion of this Mascot Saloon

study. When I got to January 1905, I started following the case of Rose Arnold and Ruth Brown, who had been arrested for being inmates of a house of ill-fame. Rose and Ruth rented the house next door to the Peniel Mission, the house that sat right to the south of the excavation unit that yielded the subject artifact collection (*The Daily Alaskan,* 1905a; 1905b; 1905c; 1905d; 1905e; 1905f; 1905g; 1905h; 1905i; City of Skagway, 1903 - 1907: 218, 220, 228-229). The Hotel and the unexplained portion of the deposit no doubt did originate with the Peniel missionaries. I had no mission-related comparative assemblage. It turns out that the Peniel Mission was not the only contributor to that portion of the dump, and the Brothel contributor was exactly what it seemed. Despite my original doubts, the method worked exactly the way it was supposed to.

Returning to Gould's observation that my Family Assemblages were not parametrically distributed, I had indeed later recognized this phenomenon (Spude et al. 1993), a fact Gould missed. As outlined above, I divided the Family Assemblage into two groups, entitled the Drinking Families and the Temperate Families. For the purpose of that particular study, the question of greatest interest to me was the degree to which households engaged in drinking alcohol. Simply by dividing the Family households into two groups (those with high frequencies of Beverage Containers and those with low frequencies of Beverage Containers), a great deal of the bimodal distribution noted by Gould was removed. I still observed a good deal of variability in some of the artifact categories (for instance, the decorated dishes among the Temperate Families). However, I was not interested in that question in that particular study. In the category of particular interest for the research question being asked (i.e., did Father Turnell drink more or less alcohol than most other households of his time?), there was very little variability. The statistic helped me answer that question regarding whether he consumed alcohol to excess.

Obviously, if one were to define the "typical" American family in 1900, the vast majority of other American families would be left out. Likewise, to archeologically define a "Family" is just as unsatisfactory, and to do so leaves one open to nothing but criticism. But in using the multiple linear regression statistic, I have found that most of the time, when given a choice that includes some of the characteristics of a family-type household, in the absence of anything else resembling it, the statistic will gravitate to that model. In other words, if an unknown collection is from a family household of whatever kind, and the only model being presented by the statistic was the generic Family Assemblage defined by the original 14 collections described by Blee (1991), (as well as Transient Male Households, Saloons, Brothels, Hotels and the Military), the multiple regression would chose the Family Assemblage as the only likely significant predictor. If presented with two choices, Drinking Families or Temperate Families, the statistic would choose between one or the other.

Of course, American families were not homogeneous at the turn of the century, any more than they are today. In fact, they may have been even more diversified, considering the emphasis on class at the time. Potentially, thousands of "family" patterns could be defined archeologically. They could be divided ethnically, economically, by social class, by gender composition, by age composition, by rural or urban or suburban context, and by any or all combinations thereof. In fact, if we followed Gould's tautly argued thesis to its logical conclusion, every archeological manifestation is indeed unique (just as he argues), and there is no such thing as archeological patterning. At least one archeologist has disputed that South's pattern-recognition strategy does not work for that very reason (Warfel 1983). In that discussion, I would disagree, as I do with Gould.

THE PREDICTIVE ASSEMBLAGES

As I did with the Drinking and Temperate Families, so the division of "Family" collections into smaller and more parametric units could continue (Spude *et al.* 1993). Meeting Gould halfway, in order to obtain what appeared to be five parametrically distributed family data sets, this author examined a total of 40 family household collections: the original 14 from Blee (1991); seven from excavations in Skagway, Alaska undertaken since Blee's 1991 work; and 19 from the Cypress Block mitigation project by Sonoma State University, in Oakland, California. These Oakland collections proved to be imminently comparable to the Skagway collections. Skagway was an urban community. Of the 2383 people in Skagway in 1900, 5% were from the San Francisco area. Seventy percent of the Skagway population had come from urban communities (Table 1). Of the 40 family collections, 21 were found to form four family predictive patterns. Eight were from Blee's (1991) original 14 family collections; six were from new collections from Skagway, Alaska (Cooper 1998 and Cooper 2001), and eight were from Oakland, California (Praetzellis 2001a:64-78; 123-148; 156-178; Ziesing and Praetzellis 2001:133-147; Praetzellis 2001b:203-226; 238-260; and

Praetzellis 2001c:50-55, 91-106). Some of these data calibration sets are not of sufficiently large enough sample size to tell if they truly are parametrically distributed, but the way the artifact frequencies tend to cluster in each group suggests that there are no serious outliers nor are there bimodal distributions. *In that sense,* these groupings of families should satisfy Gould.

Of the 11 model assemblages, five represent family residential types having at least one woman in the household, and possibly some children; three are male-dominant household types, with no children present and possibly only one woman present as a cook or in some other service type role; and three are business types. The archeological sites that yielded the comparative collections are listed in Table 2.

The five Family type data sets are:

Drinking Families
Skagway Middle Class Families (this group includes some Oakland families)
Oakland Temperate Families
Transient Working Class Families
Sickly Temperate Families

The three Male-dominant data sets are:

Transient Male Households
Logging Camps
Military

The three Business data sets are:

Saloons
Brothels
Hotels and Restaurants

In cases where five or more collections constitute a model assemblage, a Shapiro – Wilk W' or a Shapiro-Wilk W test for normality was conducted to ensure that the collections in the assemblage were parametrically distributed. These additional tests were undertaken in response to the criticisms of the multiple regression method by Gould (1998, 2002).

THE CATEGORIZATION SYSTEM

As Blee (1991) originally found, artifacts associated with the construction, repair, maintenance and demolition of buildings are non-diagnostic in assisting the archeologist in determining such factors as the gender and socioeconomic status of people using a given material culture. To compare nails to bottles or window glass fragments to dishes makes very little sense unless one is trying to determine how much construction, repair, maintenance or demolition has occurred at a site.

In addition, Blee (1991) also did not count certain types of artifacts that were subject to differential preservation, depending on the environment in which they had been buried. That is a phenomenon that occurs independently of human behavior. Most organics were systematically eliminated in the model assemblages to control for differential preservation, as well as tin cans. The exceptions to this rule were corks and leather shoes, which tend to survive harsh environments better than most other organic materials. Wood artifacts and ivory were also included. However, textiles, papers, basketries, and other more fragile organics were eliminated from consideration.

The categorization system used here was devised to specifically select for saloons, and specifically to help understand the difference between the gold rush saloons and the later working class saloons. Breaking out Drinking Vessels, Recreation-Related Items, and Flasks all assisted me in isolating that saloon function. These were not separate artifact categories in other studies in which I have used the multiple linear regression. Likewise, I have sometimes submerged the Tobacco-Related items under the Male-Specific Items. In this case, the use of tobacco was an important activity in the saloon, so it would be helpful in identifying the saloon function. I believed it was important to pull it out as a separate category. Again, these categories were all devised from empirical observation combined with knowledge from historical literature and historical photographs. It was not a typology made up from whole cloth or "commonsensical" in nature.

Likewise, I was not interested in the socioeconomic status of the saloons. Therefore, I combined all of the dishwares into one category, instead of the "decorated" and "undecorated" categories I have used in the past where socioeconomic status was of some concern to me. In other studies, dishwares might be further divided into ware types, such as hard paste and soft pastes, which also can indicate relative cost.

Table 3 presents the frequency data for each of the 11 comparative artifact assemblages. These data are simple, unweighted means, making no allowance for the size of individual sample collections. Again, this strategy is a response made to a suggestion by Gould (2002:14).

Finally, in this study, bottle closures have not been included. In the study of the Mascot Saloon

archeological collection, I discovered that the frequency of bottle closures were a temporal variable. Because crown caps did not enjoy widespread use until after 1912 (Kaplan 1982), many of the saloon collections tend to have far higher frequencies of crown caps simply because they date later in time than the household collections. In order to remove this temporal variable from the mix, the bottle closures have simply been removed as a category.

As has been stated before, the multiple linear regression is an extremely robust statistic, making it ideal for archeological analysis. Robustness refers to its ability to tolerate abuse. For this reason, the author feels comfortable in assigning function to artifacts where some other archeologists might be more hesitant to do so, or may be more conservative. For instance, some archeologists are reluctant to assume all amber colored bottle glass dating from the twentieth century originated with either beer or liquor bottles. For those who are more conservative, they would call these bottles beer or liquor bottles only if they had some other evidence that leads to that conclusion. However, both in building the models and in analyzing sample collections, I have been consistent in constantly assigning amber bottles to the Liquor-Related category, *unless there was some other evidence suggesting otherwise*. The main point is to maintain consistency in categorization, not precisely in what the contents of each category are.

This argument follows also for the gender-related categories. A garter may be used by either a man or a woman to hold up a stocking. However, examination of the archeological collections used to date have shown that garters were generally only present in contexts containing women. Therefore, a garter appears to be a gender-linked artifact that is more *likely* to have been worn by a woman than a man. As the multiple linear regression is a statistic of probabilities, assigning artifact categories by probability is an abuse the statistic can not only tolerate, but accommodate quite easily.

THE COMPARATIVE COLLECTIONS

The artifacts taken from the Mascot Saloon were compared with artifact assemblages from sites containing 12 household collections (11 of which had women in them), ten transient male collections, four saloons, three brothels, four hotel and restaurant collections and four military collections. The data sets were composed of the following collections, which are described in greater detail in Blee (1991), Spude (2004) and the cited reports in this appendix.

The Family Assemblages

Four Family patterns emerged during this analysis (Table 2). These patterns presumably hold only for this particular artifact classification. It is suspected that the patterning is socio-economic in basis, although tying it to specific economic status is somewhat harder than might be anticipated.

The Drinking Household Assemblage

The Drinking Families are overwhelmingly characterized by high beverage container frequencies, representing a third or more of the collection (Table 4 and Figure 1). Food storage containers also tend to be somewhat high in frequency, but less than half that of the beverage containers. In two of the collections, medicinals

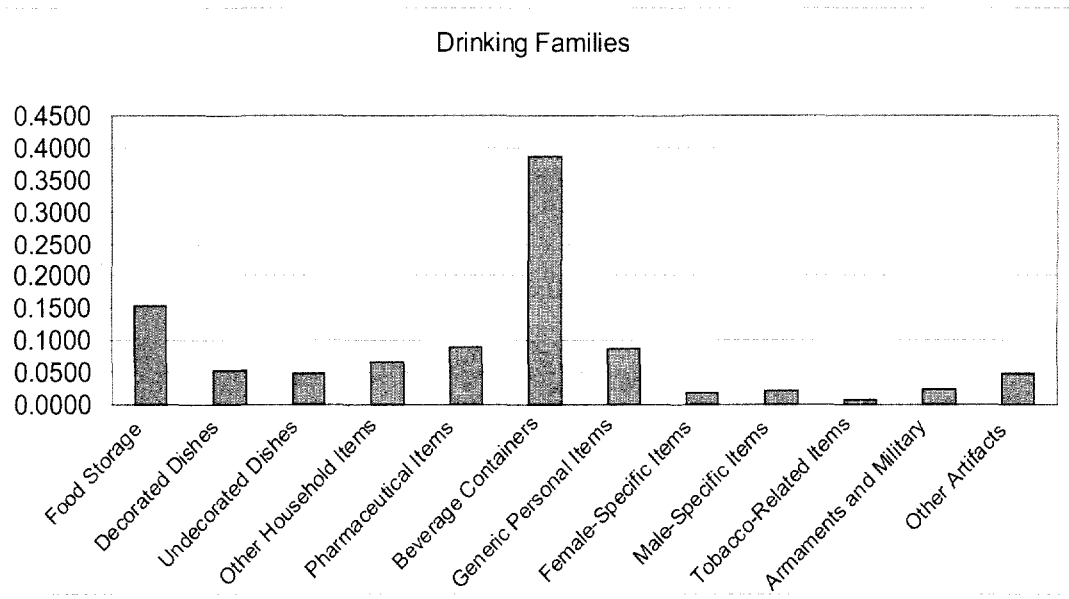


Figure 1. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Drinking Family Assemblage.

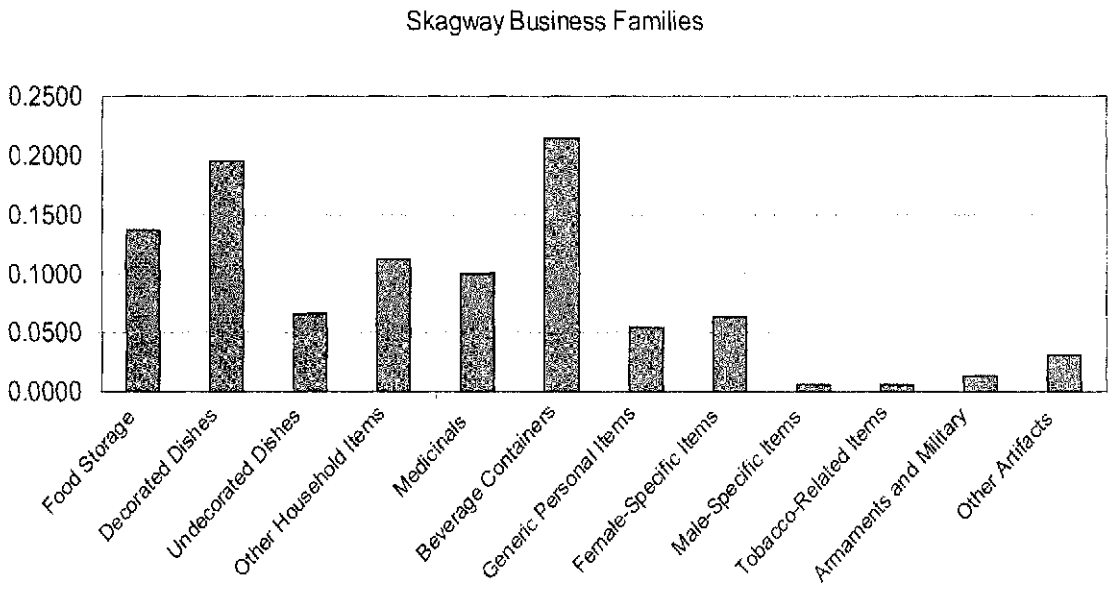


Figure 2. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Skagway Middle Class Family Assemblage.

– another potential source of alcohol and drugs – were also rather high in frequency. All other artifact categories are seriously depressed as a result.

The Weiss Ranch Dump, Washington, 1905-1907: In 1884, German immigrants John and Caroline Weiss, homesteaded the Alpowa, a ranching, farming and fruit-growing region of southeastern Washington. Their dump was located about 200 meters behind the main house (W. Adams, et. al 1977; Blee 1991:155-156, 346-351).

The Mulliner Dump, Simpson Springs, Utah, ca. 1900: In about 1890, the Mulliner family developed a stage stop on what was once the Pony Express Trail in west central Utah. They were somewhat isolated from other communities. Despite their lack of ready access to the railroad, the collection is fully compatible with the other households in this study (Berge 1980; Blee 1991:140-142, 330-333).

Father Turnell's Trash Pit, Skagway, Alaska, 1914-1918: Philibert Turnell, S. J. occupied the Catholic rectory in Skagway between 1901 and 1918. He deposited the trash in his abandoned privy pit after he connected his home to the city sewer system in 1914. From an aristocratic Italian family, Turnell brought his taste for fine ceramic wares and brandies with him to Skagway. Despite his personal use of alcoholic beverages, his efforts to turn to non-alcoholic drinks can be seen in large frequencies of grape juice and soda bottles (Spude et al. 1993).

Sites 81-13 and 27, Rochester Heights, Nevada, 1912-1918: Rochester Heights was a community in the Rochester gold mining district in the Humbolt Range, about 20 miles north east of Lovelock, Nevada. These two sites consisted of tent platforms and associated artifacts. Site 81-13 doubled as an assayer's office. The assaying artifacts were removed from the collection for comparison purposes in order to focus only on the household portion of the collection (Zeier 1986; Blee 1991:147-151, 339-342).

Skagway Middle Class Families

The five Skagway middle class families presented a cohesive pattern characterized by moderate drinking and elaborate table setting. The multiple regression found two similar collections among the 19 families examined in the Oakland, California collections. One of the latter, the Michael O'Brien Household, was headed by a railroad engineer. A paper-hanger headed the Chapman Household. Both could probably be considered middle class families like the Skagway business families. While the Food Storage Container frequency was very similar to that observed in the Drinking Families, the Skagway Business Families were more moderate in their drinking habits (Tables 2 and 4). The Beverage Containers were 60% that of what they were in the Drinking Families. On the other hand, the Business Families possessed a greater frequency of decorated dishes, five times the undecorated dishes and four times the frequency seen in the Drinking Families.

The Hockett Privies, Skagway, Alaska, 1901-1910 and 1908 - 1912: Charles Hockett was a conductor for the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad. He and his family, consisting of his wife, Lottie, their two children and Lottie's unmarried brother, occupied the house on Second Avenue

from 1903 through 1911. The couple was socially active and sent their daughter to private school in Juneau. Charles was an active member of the local Elks lodge and both Lottie and Charles bowled at the hall regularly. The two privies yielded 92 and 66 artifacts respectively (Cooper 1998:24-25).

The Hillery Privy, Skagway, Alaska, 1904 - 1909: Albert "Tad" Hillery worked for the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad as an express messenger and later as a brakeman. He married Jeanette DeGruyter, daughter of a local gambler, in 1906, and they had a child while still living in the house on First Avenue. Both of them were children when their parents had come to Skagway with the gold rush and they were considered pioneers. They were both socially active, especially in the local camera club. Their privy yielded 38 artifacts of interest to this study (Cooper 1998:37-39).

The Rapuzzi Privy, Skagway, Alaska, 1911-1914: Andrew Rapuzzi, another employee of the White Pass and Yukon Route railroad, owned this lot and house on Second Avenue during the time the privy deposits accumulated. However, there is no evidence that he lived at the house, nor could it be discovered who did. It appears that the users of the privy pit were a middle class family (Cooper 1998:28-29). The privy yielded 31 artifacts of use to this study.

The Kirmse House Dump, Skagway, Alaska, 1907 – 1930: Herman Kirmse was a German jeweler, descendent from a 700-year line of goldsmiths and doctors. He married Hazel Cleveland in 1901. They had three children when they moved into the old Moore House on Fifth Avenue in about 1908. Herman was killed in a drowning accident in 1912. Hazel continued to live at the house well into the 1930's. The Kirmses were popular, socially active people within the community. Herman was a member of the local Elks Lodge. The trash dump behind their house yielded 523 artifacts of use to this study (Cooper 2001:26-28).

Chapman Residence, Oakland, California, ca. 1890s: Harry Pierson Chapman was a paper-hanger from Indiana. He rented the residence at 828 Myrtle on Cypress Block 4 from 1892 to 1896. He was the principle occupant of the household during the time a privy and adjacent pit was filled with household refuse. An infant died in October 1894 at the same address, indicating there may have been other boarders in the flat at the time (Praetzellis and Steward 2001:136-155). Of the 320 artifacts recovered from Privy 3300 and Pit 3301, 271 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Michael O'Brien Household, Oakland, California, ca. 1900: Michael O'Brien, a railroad engineer, his wife Martha McLaughlin O'Brien and their children occupied the McLaughlin family home of several decades. When Michael died in 1900, trash from a general housecleaning and remodeling event was deposited in a refuse pit in the back yard (Praetzellis 2001c:50-55, 91-106). Of the 362 artifacts recovered from Pits 2870 and 2800, 334 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Oakland Temperate Families

Of the 19 family collections from Oakland, California, dating between 1880 and 1910, examined for this study, eight were found to cluster significantly together. One additional family collection, from Texas City, Washington, was predicted by this data set. Beverage containers were much less important to this group of households than either the Drinking Families or the Skagway Business Families. Only about a tenth of the collection was devoted to the drinking of liquor or soft drinks (Table 6 and Figure 3). Food storage was the dominant artifact category, representing twice the frequency of the beverage containers. The undecorated dishes, unlike in the Skagway Business Families, were almost as frequent as the Food Storage Containers, and twice as frequent as the decorated dishes. Medicinals, with their high alcohol content, are lower as well. The Oakland Temperate Families obviously did not drink as much liquor, nor did they decorate their tables with the fancy dish wares seen on the tables of the business families in Skagway.

Centini Family, Oakland, California, ca. 1908: The artifacts in this collection were recovered from two trash pits in the backyard of this Italian immigrant shoe store proprietor's residence in the Cypress Block 1 in Oakland, California. Michael Centini used his accumulated resources to invest in real estate rather than to accumulate goods; his family was often sickly and at least four children died in the house during their occupancy (Praetzellis 2001a:64-78). Of the 196 artifacts recovered from Pit 928/Pit 929, 116 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Carter Family, Oakland, California, 1889 – 1896: This African American household lived on Cypress Block 1 in Oakland, California during the time an abandoned well in their backyard was filled with household trash. James William Carter was a porter for the prestigious Pullman Palace Car Company. Their multi-family household included other porters with wives, children, and some single men who boarded with

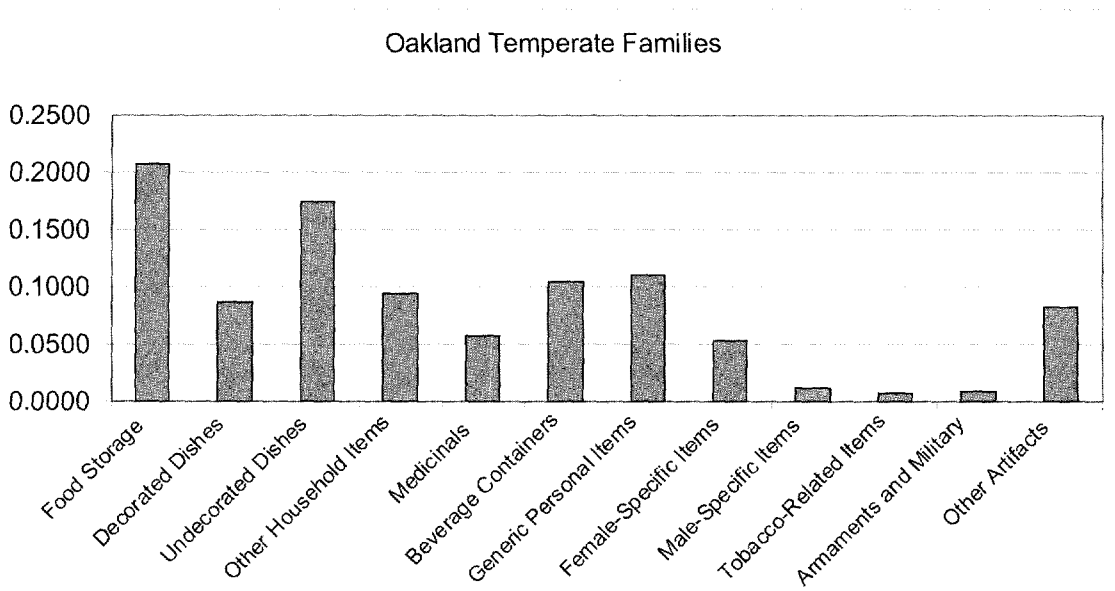


Figure 3. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Oakland Temperate Family Assemblage.

them (Praetzellis 2001a:123-148). Of the 953 artifacts recovered from Well 953, 628 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Brady Residence, Oakland, California, 1889 – 1902: Terrance Brady was considered a "well to do" plumber who lived on Cypress Block 1 during the time he and his wife filled a backyard, abandoned well with household trash. The couple was in their sixties and no longer had children in their household. Terrance was born in Ireland and his wife in England; both had been naturalized when they were young adults. Terrance was known to be a moderate drinker, as stated in the newspaper after he had been attacked and robbed of cash and a gold watch in 1904 (Praetzellis 2001a:156-178). Of the 409 artifacts recovered from Well 968, 254 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Kinsella Residence, Oakland, California, 1900: The Irish Mary Kinsella lived at 806 Brush Street, on Cypress Block 2, with her sister, another single woman in her sixties. An elderly Irish man boarded with them when a trash pit was filled in their back yard (Ziesing and Praetzellis 2001:133-147). Of the 142 artifacts recovered from Pit 1317, 107 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Fischer Residence, Oakland, California, ca. 1900: The upholsterer Gustave A. Fischer lived at 1862 Goss Street with his wife Louise and eight children. A refuse pit in their backyard appears to date towards the end of the occupation of the lot. The house was demolished in 1901 (Praetzellis 2001c:33-47). Of the 114 artifacts recovered from Pit 2855, 110 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

O'Brien Residence, Oakland, California, 1880-1900: Bridget Moore O'Brien, an Irish immigrant and the widow of a carpenter, lived at 1817 Goss Street on Cypress Block 24. She had borne 15 children, 11 of whom survived infancy. For most of time she occupied this residence, one or more of her adult children and their families shared the household with her. One of her sons was a lawyer; another was a plumber. Both earned good incomes and the family lived well. The material culture of this household was found in an abandoned well located under the house. It was filled with yard and kitchen waste, and unwanted personal items. Much of the deposition may have taken place during renovations undertaken upon Bridget's death in June 1899 (Steward and Praetzellis 2001:93-115). Of the 349 artifacts recovered from Well 300, 142 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Weisheimer Residence, Oakland, California, ca. 1905: The German-born John Weisheimer and his American wife Ellen lived at 1768 Atlantic Street on Cypress Block 21 from about 1900 to about 1905. Weisheimer worked as a painter for the Southern Pacific Railroad. They were childless in 1900, but the collection does include toys, suggesting they later had at least one child. When they moved out, the owner remodeled the house and discarded many of their perfectly useable possessions that they had left in the house down a well that was being abandoned. This material culture forms the basis for the comparative collection (Praetzellis 2001b:238-260). Of the 707 artifacts recovered from Well 7500, 356 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Robert Crocker Residence, Oakland, California, ca. 1900: Robert Crocker rented the small

house at 1825 Short Street on Cypress Block 28 with his wife and two children. He worked for the Southern Pacific Railroad as a laborer. A refuse pit in the back yard contained household trash (Praetzellis 2001c:50-55, 91-106). Of the 100 artifacts recovered from Pit 2402, 79 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

The Privy Features 1 and 4, Texas City, Washington, 1880-1920: Texas City, Washington was located on the Snake River below the Texas Rapids, a barrier to river travel. The community of 80 to 100 people became a major water and railroad terminus serving a farming hinterland in the 1800's It was all but abandoned during the Great Depression (Carley and Sappington 1984; Blee 1991:144-147, 336-338).

The Transient Working Class Households

The three Working Class Temperate Family collections were found in two different locations. Two were from Rochester Heights, Nevada, and one from Oakland, California. All three households contained unskilled or semi-skilled working class heads of households and relatively short term residency. Generic Personal Items comprised almost a third of the collections, on the average, with evidence of women in the household being strong (Table 7 and Figure 4).

Schrock's Renters, Oakland, California, ca. 1900: A 16-foot deep well at 812 Pine Street on Cypress Block 21 contained the discards of a family of semi-skilled workers, who remained unidentified. The husband may have been a milkman, teamster, box maker, mill hand, or machine hand. His household may also have included teenaged girls who hired out as servants. They certainly had children in the household, and the family ate well. The dish wares were older and of mixed designs, but the few newer pieces were stylish, as were the numerous items of clothing (Praetzellis 2001b:203-226). The clothing was not included in the comparative collection due to differential preservation. Neither were the 106 seed beads because these items ordinarily would have passed through ¼ inch screens, a process many of the other comparative collections had been subjected to. Of the 1,090 artifacts recovered from Well 7175, 548 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Site 81-11, Rochester Heights, Nevada, 1912-1918: As stated earlier, Rochester Heights was a community in the Rochester gold mining district in the Humbolt Range, about 20 miles north east of Lovelock, Nevada. This site consisted of a standing frame structure, apparently occupied

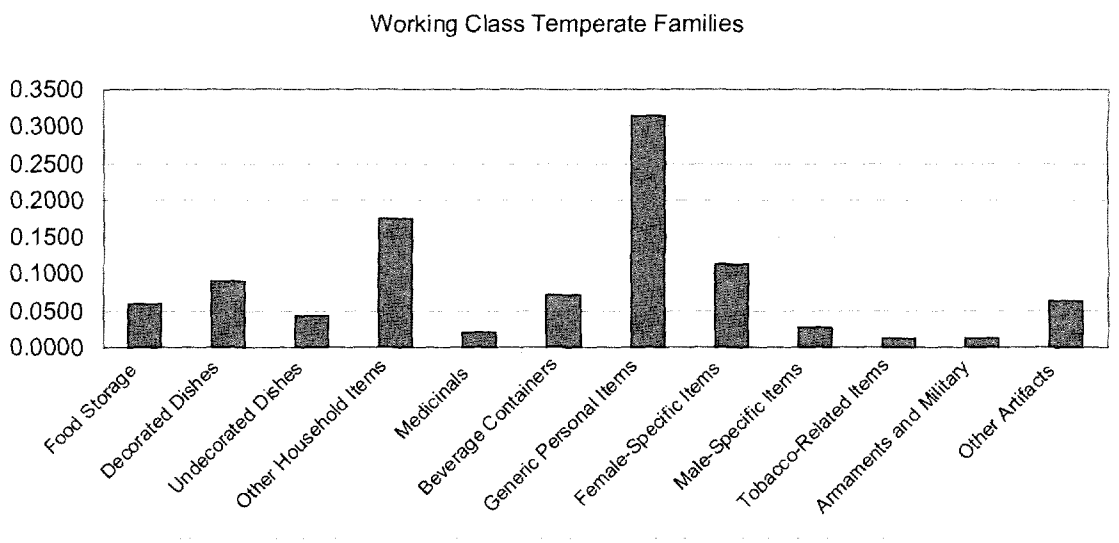


Figure 4. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Working Class, Transient, Temperate Family Assemblage.

Other Household Items tend to be greater in frequency than any single category of domestic artifacts, suggesting a wide variety of household items, but all in small frequencies. The high frequency of generic personal items is similar to the dominant characteristic of the Transient Male data set and one of the characteristics of the Hotel data set as originally observed by Blee (1991:159-179; 189-197).

by a family for a period of a few years (Zeier 1986; Blee 1991:339-342).

The Sickly Temperate Families

The Oakland families yielded another pattern, which in turn successfully predicted one of the Skagway families. Three of the Oakland families clustered rather tightly into a group that was characterized by very low Beverage Containers but rather high Medicinals, statistically resembling this one Skagway family. Two of the

Oakland families with these high Medicinal frequencies had a documented history of disease in the family. While the Medicinal frequency is the highest observed in any of the family data sets, and the highest in this particular data set, at almost a fifth of the assemblage, the Generic Personal Items are almost as high in frequency. The evidence of women in the household is strong, as it has been in all of the family data sets. Food Storage and Other Household Items (suggesting a diverse domestic material culture) are more important than table settings. Surprising, but perhaps only coincidental with this small sample size, was the rather high Arms frequency. These were the only family households that had somewhat high frequencies of cartridges.

The Moore House, Skagway, Alaska, 1898-1906: J. Bernard Moore was a primary stock-holder in the Moore Wharf Company, a corporation established to serve the transportation needs of miners coming in and going out of Skagway. With his father, Captain William Moore, he was, for all intents and purposes, the founder of Skagway. Eventually, he and his father received a quarter of the assessed value of the lots staked on their original 160 acre claim, which was over-run by stampeders in the early days of the Klondike Gold Rush. "Ben" Moore lived with his Tlingit wife, Minnie, and their three children at this house on Fifth Avenue from the time they built it in 1896 until they divorced in 1906. The Moores were socially active. There is no historic documentation that either were seriously ill. The personal dump and privy pit that yielded this collection contained 298 artifacts of use to this study (Cooper 2001:13-26).

Morgan/Mullen Residence, Oakland, California, ca. 1890: Bartlett Morgan was a druggist and County District Supervisor, who shared his home at 819 Market Street on Cypress Block 4 with his young daughter, his niece and her husband Oren Mullen. Mullen was a deputy county clerk. Morgan suffered from dyspepsia, and may have been treating it himself. A refuse-filled privy pit in their backyard provided the source of this comparative collection. An unusual find in the collection were 42 centrifuge bottles, which were normally something kept at the druggist's workplace. They have been classified with the pharmaceuticals in this study (Praetzellis and Steward 2001:162-180). Of the 275 artifacts recovered from Privy 3346, 244 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

Holderer Residence, Oakland, California, mid 1890s: Frederick John Holderer, a New York Singer sewing machine salesman, married Lydia Schreiber in 1890. The couple resided at 793 Wood Street on Cypress Block 19, where Lydia, her brother and parents had lived for some years before. They had two children before moving away in 1898. During that time, they deposited household trash in an abandoned privy pit in the backyard of the home (Praetzellis 2001b:33-49). Of the 172 artifacts recovered from Privy 4885, 109 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

The Vogt Residence, Oakland, California, early 1890s: William Rudy Vogt, his wife Augusta and their two sons lived at 822 Linden Street on Cypress Block 6. William Vogt was a carpenter who originally haled from New York; his wife was German. The oldest son was a plumber when he left home in 1890. Augusta died of ovarian cancer in 1885; the refuse in the two privy pits that provided the material culture for this comparative collection contained ample evidence of Mrs. Vogt's disease (Praetzellis and Steward2001:393-410). Of the 334 artifacts recovered from Privy 4236 and Privy 4237, 265 were used in the functional analysis for this study.

THE MALE-DOMINATED ASSEMBLAGES

The Transient Male Households

The material culture in transient male households differed dramatically from that found in households that were more permanent or in households that contained women. For the most part, these households did not include very much in the way of domestic artifacts or artifacts associated with the preparation, storing and preparation of food. The dominant artifact categories were personal. Even liquor appears to have been consumed off site (Table 9 and Figure 6).

Sites 81-1, 81-2, 81-5, and 81-25, Rochester Heights, Nevada, 1912-1918 : As described earlier, Rochester Heights was a community in the Rochester gold mining district in the Humbolt Range, about 20 miles north east of Lovelock, Nevada. These five sites consisted of tent platforms and associated artifacts, inhabited by bachelor males living on the sites for a few months (Zeier 1986; Blee 1991:159-164, 352-353).

The Bunkhouse and Boss's Cabin, Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon, 1890-1900: This camp was the residential base for the Dalles Lumbering Company, located about 20 miles northeast of Mt. Hood. The two proveniences that comprise this comparative collection consist of the boss's cabin and the bunkhouse, where about a dozen male workers lived. The camp was occupied for less than two years (Horn 1987; Blee 1991:164-166. 343-345).

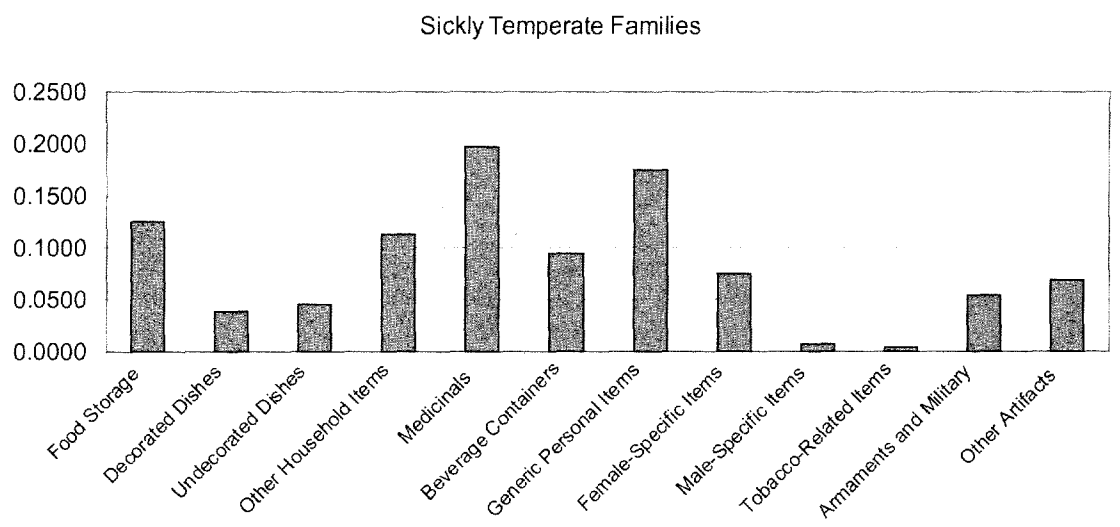


Figure 5. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Sickly Temperate Family Assemblage.

Marion Railroad Camp, Colorado, 1889: The Marion railroad worker's camp was located on the Lake City branch line of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad on the Gunnison River, about 20 miles east-southeast of Gunnison, Colorado. The laborers' collection was taken from 12 tent platforms associated with the railroad workers and the bosses' collection was drawn from four tent platforms used by the crew bosses (Rossillon 1984; Blee 1991: 166-169, 354).

The Logging Camp

Logging camps, while largely comprised of male members, often had females in them. Furthermore, all of the functions of family households took place, albeit on a somewhat larger scale. While logging camp collections resembled family households in the distribution of household or domestic material culture, they did tend to have larger frequencies of artifacts associated with men and with artifacts associated specifically with logging operations, such as saws, picks, chisels and other wood-cutting paraphernalia (Table 10 and Figure 7).

The Cookhouse and Dump, Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon, 1890-1900: As described earlier, this camp was the residential base for the Dalles Lumbering Company, located about 20 miles northeast of Mt. Hood. The dump received trash from the cookhouse, which was run by a female cook who lived on the site with her husband. The camp was occupied for less than two years (Horn 1987; Blee 1991:164-166. 343-345).

The Bunkhouse and Boss's Cabin, Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon, 1890-1900: As just described, this camp was of the residential base for the Dalles Lumbering Company. The two proveniences that comprise this comparative collection consisted the boss's cabin and the bunkhouse, where about a dozen male workers lived (Horn 1987; Blee 1991:164-166. 343-345).

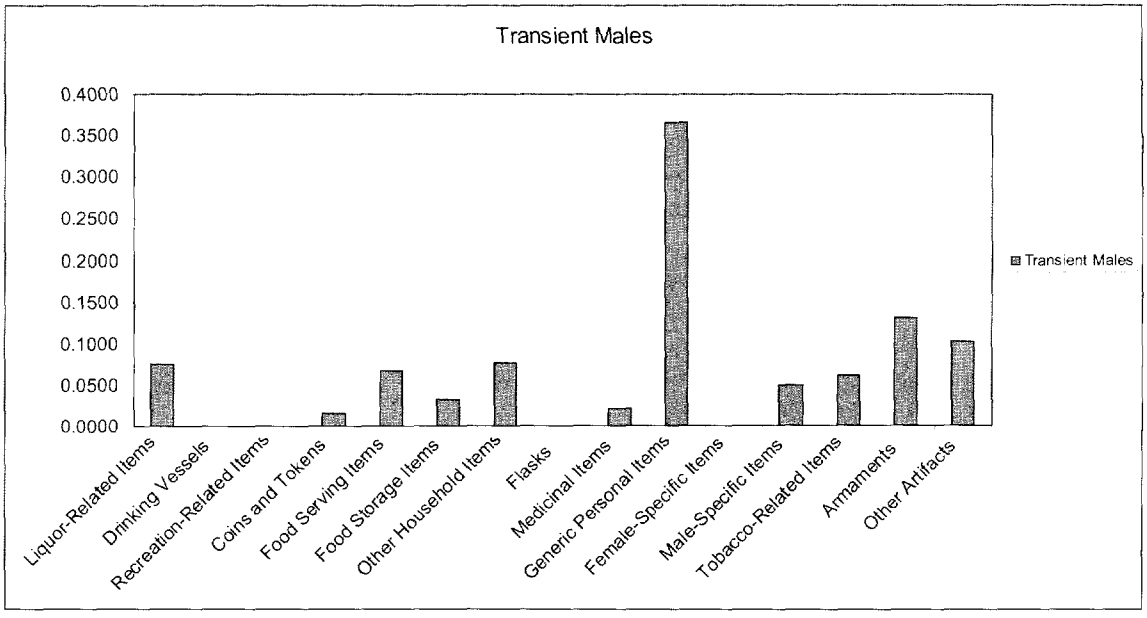


Figure 6. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Transient Male Assemblage.

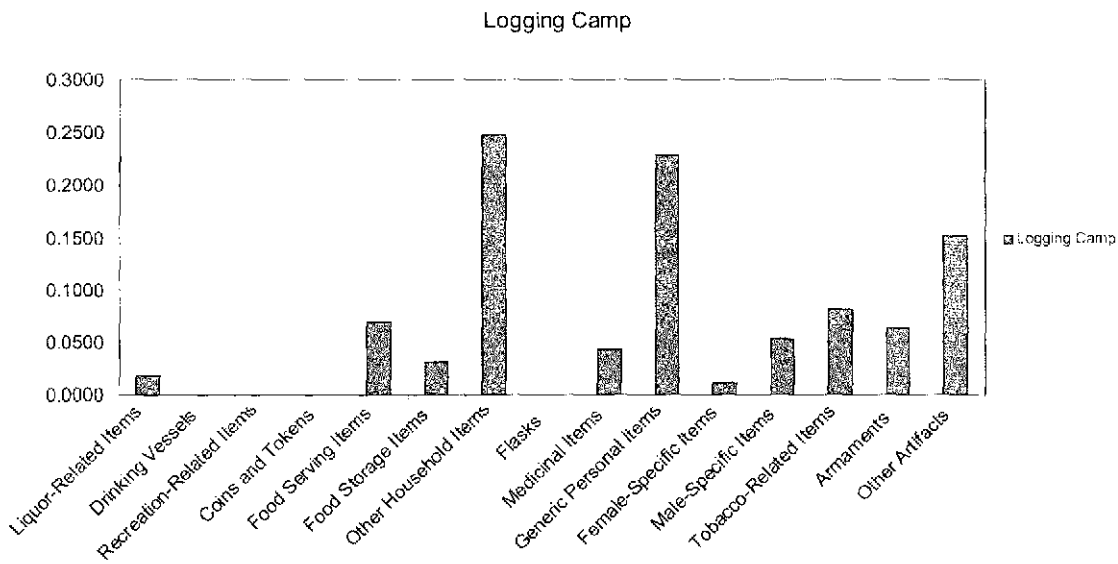


Figure 7. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Logging Camp Assemblage.

The Military

Military households, while largely comprised of male members, often had females in them. Furthermore, all of the functions of family households took place, albeit on a much larger scale in the military sites. While military collections resembled family households in the distribution of household or domestic material culture, they did tend to have much larger frequencies of artifacts associated with men and with artifacts connected specifically with military operations, such as munitions and military paraphernalia (Table 11 and Figure 8).

The 9th Cavalry, Ft. Walla Walla, Washington, 1902-1904: This army unit was one of only four African-American Army units to serve overseas before 1900. Upon returning from the Philippines in 1902, the 2nd Squadron was stationed at Fort Walla Walla, with approximately 377 enlisted men and 13 officers. The material culture used in this comparative collection was taken from two test trenches through a trash dump (Riordan 1985; Blee 1991: 209-211, 369).

The 1st Cavalry, Ft. Walla Walla, Washington, 1909-1910: The 2nd Squadron of the 1st Cavalry averaged 340 Euroamerican enlisted men and 15 officers. The collection was taken from a trash dump associated with this Army unit (Riordan 1985; Blee 1991: 211-213, 369).

Fort Bowie, Arizona, ca. 1885-1894: Fort Bowie was founded in 1862 in order to conduct a military campaign against Cochise, Geranimo and the Chiricahua Apache. Geranimo surrendered to the Army in 1886; as the Apache Wars subsided, the fort became unnecessary. It closed in 1894. Most of the collection came from test trenches at the fort dump. All proveniences were lumped, including some surface scatters from the Sutler's Store, blacksmith, Butterfield stage

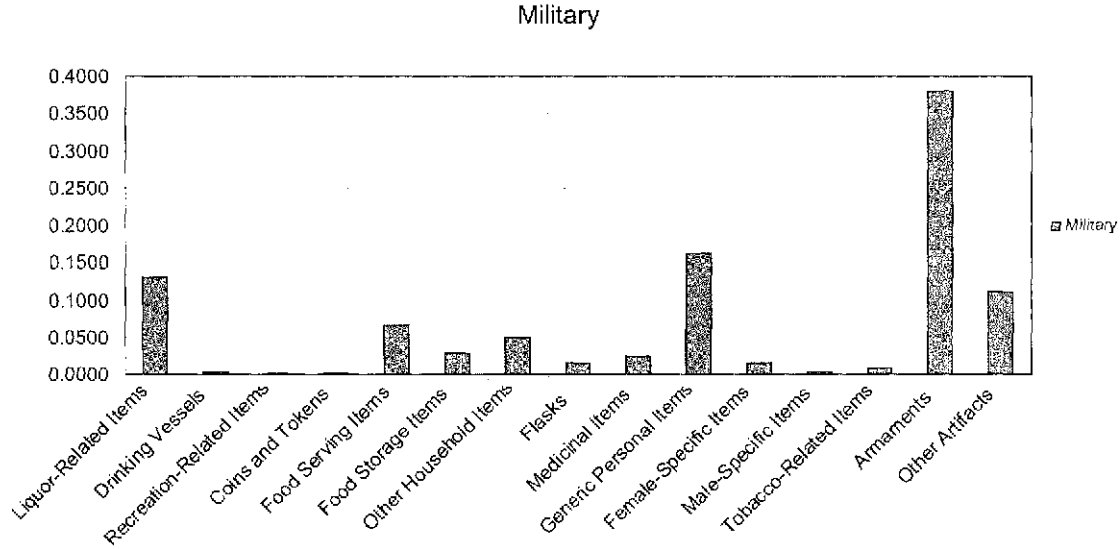


Figure 8. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Military Assemblage.

station, armory, hospital, officers' quarters and barracks. Most of the artifacts date from the time of the fort's abandonment (Herskovitz 1978; Blee 1991: 213-215, 370-373).

Writing-on-Stone Northwest Mounted Police Outpost, Alberta, 1888-1894: This outpost was established as the result of a minor gold rush to the Sweetgrass Hills in southern Alberta. It served as a center for the distribution of supplies to other, lesser outposts and as a headquarters for a special horse-mounted patrol group. The troops functioned primarily to police the illicit whiskey trade over the American-Canadian border and to curb the activities of Indian raiding parties operating in the area. The excavations included the NCO's quarters, barracks, barn, blacksmith shops and a portion of the camp dump. Most artifacts came from the latter provenience. What few liquor-related items that were in the collection were found in the vicinity of a shooting range. They may have represented confiscated goods rather than consumption by the troops (G. Adams, et. al 1977; Blee 1991: 216-218, 374-375).

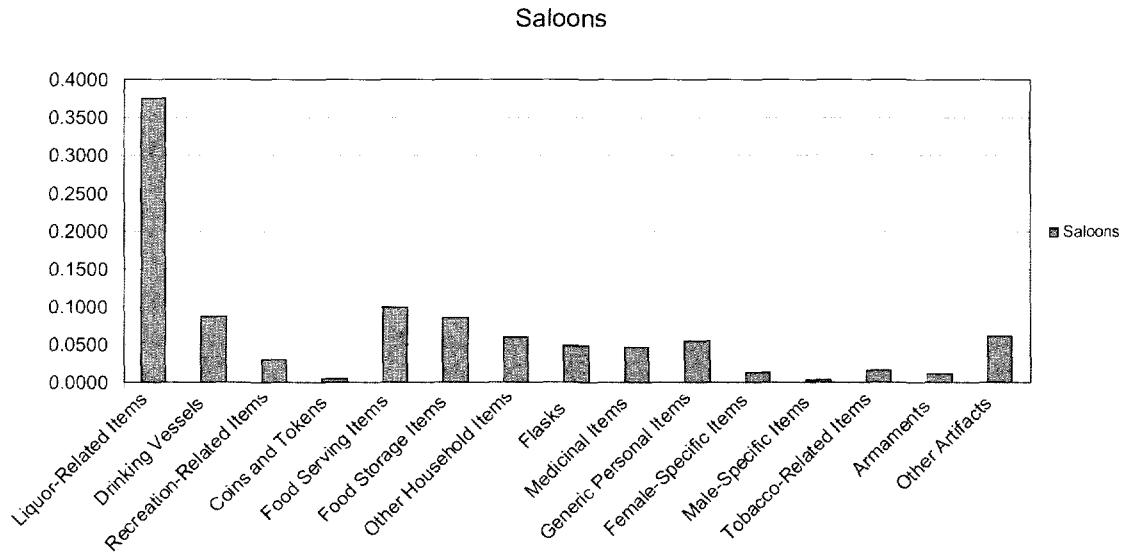


Figure 9. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Saloon Assemblage.

The Businesses

The remaining predictive assemblages consist not of domestic households, but of commercial enterprises. The most common businesses in Skagway and the male-dominated western mining towns were saloons, restaurants and hotels, those service-oriented enterprises that provided food, lodging and entertainment for bachelors away from home and the women who would ordinarily provide domestic services for them. Some evidence of domestic activities is present at all of these businesses, but it is very parsimonious and represents only that undertaken by the proprietor. An exception, of course, can be seen in the brothels, which will be discussed in more detail in that section.

The Saloons

Four saloons were used for most of the comparative statistics in this study. One, the Pantheon Saloon, was located in Skagway; two others were also in Alaska. The fourth was a saloon from a similar mining community in Colorado. In some of the comparisons, a fifth saloon is mentioned: a saloon from Knoxville, Tennessee (Table 12 and Figure 9). Because very little is known about this saloon historically, it was not included with the four saloons that make up the Saloon Assemblage. However, it was used in the one-on-one comparisons to see if any of the individual Mascot area collections were predicted by it. In only one case did that occur.

The Pantheon Saloon, Skagway, Alaska, 1903 - 1916: This saloon first opened for business across Broadway and one block north of the Mascot in 1903. It catered to the same type of working class customers that bellied up to the Mascot's bar. Due to hidden panels in the stairs and the increased value of the property during the Prohibition years, it appears that the Pantheon may have continued to operate as a speakeasy after local prohibition was enacted, however, the incidence of post -1916 artifacts is minimal (Kardatzke 2002).

The Corner Saloon, Lake City, Colorado, 1912: This saloon served working class hard rock miners in the same general vicinity of such notorious San Juan mining district communities as Creede, Silverton and Ouray, Colorado. It burned to the ground on December 27, 1912,

with its material culture intact (Baker 1990; Blee 1991:183-184, 360).

The California Saloon, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1904-1916: The stable population of men working along the Chena River waterfront between about 1904 and 1916 flocked to the California Saloon. A few artifacts appear to have entered the archeological record as late as 1923, but the overwhelming majority came from the pre-1916 saloon. The building had two stories, and until 1908, the second floor was rented to the "Tanana Club." Obviously a men's club, this "notorious hellhole" had a reputation for indulging in orgies and "various acts of immorality," which may explain the few female-specific items found in the deposits relating to this time period. After 1908, the proprietor remodeled the upstairs rooms for use as a pool hall and place where men could go to read the newspapers. Besides pool, the saloon offered bowling as entertainment. At least one Christmas, in 1911, the saloon served dinner. It is not known if the serving of meals was common at other times of the year, or other Christmases (Bowers and Gannon 1998).

The Miners' Home Saloon, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1907-1916: This saloon served the working-class transient miners and people engaged in transportation services at the start of a major thoroughfare into the Fairbanks mining district. The Miners' Home also served meals, and was used as the headquarters of the Miners' Union during the Tanana Valley Miner's Strike of 1907. Non-Americans seemed to prefer this establishment, as was suggested by the high frequency of imported brands of liquor. Besides gambling and pool tables, moving pictures were offered as entertainment in the saloon (Bowers and Gannon 1998).

Unnamed Saloon, Knoxville, Tennessee, ca. 1900: A brick-lined privy filled about 1900 with trash was believed to be from a saloon and restaurant at 709 S. Gay Street in Knoxville, Tennessee. Very little historical information was known about the inhabitants or customers of this establishment. While the collection was predicted entirely by the Saloon Assemblage (that is, it was not predicted as a mixed assemblage of a hotel/restaurant and a saloon), the frequency of Food Serving artifacts is somewhat higher than in most of the other comparative collections. Personal items are much higher in frequency, as are pharmaceuticals. Both of the latter suggest that people, including women, were living above the saloon and using its privy. They probably were not engaged in prostitution, as that function would have shown up as a mixture in the regression analysis done on this collection (Garrow et al. 1996).

The Mascot Saloon Collections are shown in Table 13 for contrast to the Saloon Collections.

The Brothels

It is always possible that prostitutes were associated with saloons, especially in the early, frontier days of a community. In those places where the prostitute material culture can be separated from the saloon material culture, it has a distinctive assemblage (Table 14 and Figure 10).

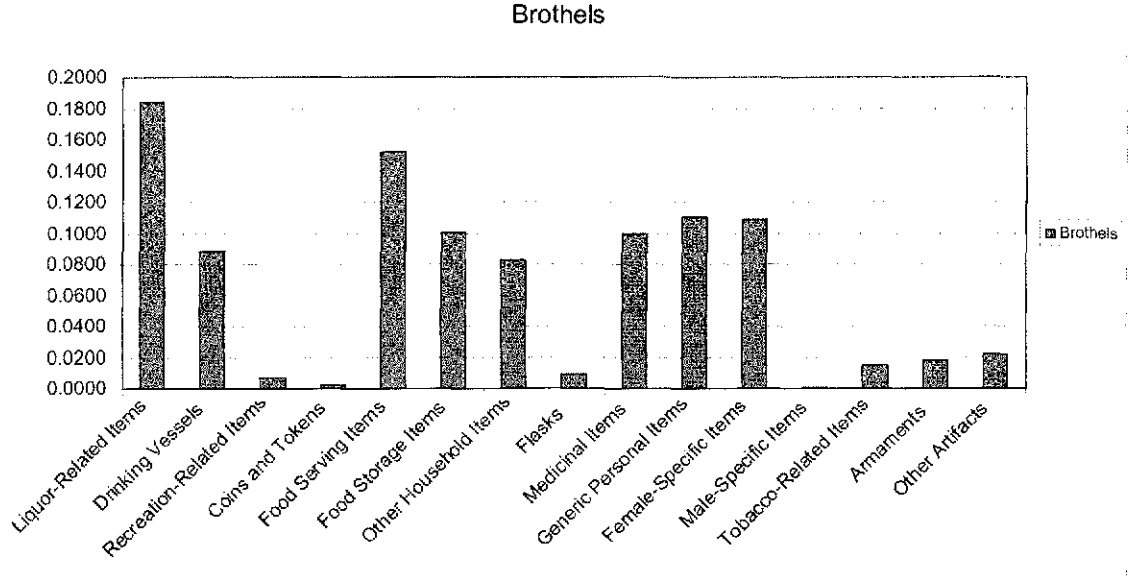


Figure 10. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Brothel Assemblage.

While almost numerous in liquor-related items, the pharmaceuticals, female-related items, and generic personal items are all much higher in frequency. The three brothels used to build the Brothel Assemblage were diverse. As the sample

size increases, it will eventually be possible to build separate models for parlor houses, cribs, and dancehalls.

Vanoli Sporting Complex, Ouray, Colorado, 1881-1915: The complex of buildings owned by the Italian John Vanoli family covered half a city block with the means of entertaining the hard-rock miners of the mining district surrounding Ouray, Colorado. The complex included two saloons, a combination theater and dance hall, a hotel with another dance hall and rooms upstairs for prostitutes, two bathhouses, a Chinese laundry and a varying number of prostitutes' cribs. This collection was drawn from ten privies, two dumps and a number of surface middens all directly associated with the prostitutes, although the degree of mixing with the other functions is unknown (Baker 1990; Blee 1991: 199-202, 367).

Hill 60, Blairmore, Alberta, 1904-1939: This collection was drawn from three dumps associated with Hill 60 – a Canadian military term for red-light districts, so-named by recuperating World War I veterans at a nearby army hospital. Some of the prostitutes were Japanese. This brothel operated during Canadian prohibition from 1917 to 1924, and may well have substituted for the legal saloons during that time period. Blairmore was a coal mining town, and the bulk of the clientele at the brothel were working-class coal miners (Kennedy 1983: Blee 1991: 202-205, 368).

Aliso Street Parlor House, Los Angeles, California, 1888-1901: Three privy vaults (the Privy 426 Complex) filled with domestic refuse formed the basis of this comparative collection. The parlor house served a somewhat higher class than clientele than the miners who patronized the Vanoli Sporting Complex and Hill 60 (Costello 1999).

The Hotels and Restaurants

The Hotel and Restaurant collections were dominated by items associated with the storage, preparation and serving of food, furnishings, and personal items, much more so than in the households (Table 15 and Figure 11). Restaurants were usually a part of every hotel. The single restaurant that contributed to this assemblage varied little from the three comparative hotels that contained restaurants.

Gilt Edge Restaurant, Skagway, Alaska, 1898-1903: The collection was part of the contents of a single privy pit associated with a restaurant that claimed – as many others did – to be "the most popular eating house in Skagway." Very little else is known of the restaurant (Stilson 1986; Blee 1991: 189-191, 361).

Rustic Hotel, Fort Laramie, Wyoming, 1890: The Rustic Hotel was a stage stop for the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Line in 1879 serving the miners headed to the Black Hills gold rush. It was located close to the military base at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, but was operated by a civilian family and served a civilian clientele. The grounds were ordered cleaned by the post surgeon in 1886, as he had deemed the place to be a health hazard. The four-room structure burned in April, 1890, leaving an intact material culture associated with the residents and guests occupying the hotel at the time of its sudden demise (Ehrenhard 1972, 1973; Blee 1991: 193-194, 362-364).

Stewart Hotel, Texas City, Washington, 1908 – 1920: The midden and trash in an abandoned ice house was associated with this hotel. It served railroad travelers and was the social center for the small community of Texas City. The hotel may have also housed a store and post office during its heyday (Carley and Sappington 1984; Blee 1991:191, 336-338).

Tremont Hotel, Denver, Colorado, 1864-1914: Denver served a mining hinterland in much the same capacity as Skagway: a transportation hub for the shipment of goods to the mining communities. The Denver Pacific Railroad reached Denver from Cheyenne in 1870. The Tremont Hotel figured prominently in the city's early history: from its second- story balcony, territorial governors William Gilpin and John Evans gave their inaugural speeches. By 1887, the hotel contained a parlor, dining room, kitchen, barbershop, billiard rooms, bathrooms, saloon and office (Carrillo and Jepson 1995; Blee 1991: 194- 197, 365-366).

RUNNING THE STATISTIC

To demonstrate how the multiple linear regression statistic works, I will show the detailed results of the calculations for two of the statistics described in this report. I ran the statistic on an IBM-compatible computer, using the statistical software Small Stata 6.0. As suggested by Kholer and Blinman, I did not suppress the constant to zero. With archeological data of this sort, it is impossible to have a negative slope. As the statistic progressed, I eliminated the largest negative slope in a step-by-step process, until no negative slopes remained. The assemblages yielding a result with a probability (p) of less than 0.010 are considered to be reliable predictors of the collection.



Figure 11. Distribution of Artifact Categories in the Hotels and Restaurants Assemblage.

Regressing the Predictive Assemblages on the Area 1 Collection

The first regression is for the sorting of the Area 1 collection to see if it was a mixed collection. In particular, I was interested in determining if the collection was entirely related to the saloon, or if some evidence of male residence or the previous NT&TC business could be isolated. The latter question was, of course, difficult to determine, as I had no shipping company comparative assemblage as a predictor. An unknown predictive function could account for the shipping company.

```
*TEST WHETHER AREA 1 IS A MIXED COLLECTION.
.
. reg  Area1 drinking SkagBus OakTemp TranWork SickTemp TranMale LogCamp Milita
> ry Saloons Brothels HotRest, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                  Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                F( 11,     4) =   36.81
   Model |  .255938609    11  .023267146                Prob > F      =  0.0017
Residual |  .002528208     4  .000632052                R-squared     =  0.9902
---------+------------------------------                Adj R-squared =  0.9633
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                Root MSE      =  .02514

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.       t     P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |   .0357376   .4010878     0.089   0.933    -1.077861    1.149336
 SkagBus |   .6382182   .5774474     1.105   0.331    -.9650329    2.241469
 OakTemp |  -.7295359   .5505192    -1.325   0.256    -2.258022    .7989505
TranWork |   .1862885   .4190599     0.445   0.680    -.9772083    1.349785
SickTemp |  -.5513766      .2587    -2.131   0.100    -1.269643    .1668896
TranMale |   .7729415   .3108563     2.486   0.068    -.0901339    1.636017
 LogCamp |  -.3799021   .1884352    -2.016   0.114    -.9030819    .1432778
Military |  -.1121499   .1331896    -0.842   0.447    -.4819437    .2576438
 Saloons |   1.104593   .5117065     2.159   0.097    -.3161319    2.525318
Brothels |  -.0245859    .459636    -0.053   0.960     -1.30074    1.251568
 HotRest |   .0285659   .2104857     0.136   0.899     -.555836    .6129678
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

The chart gives a wide number of statistics related to the calculation of the multiple linear regression, and this is just the first step in making the final prediction. In the upper right hand corner of the chart, the "number of observations" is the number of artifact categories, 15. R^2 is the correlation coefficient. At 0.9902, it is pretty close to 1.000. That tells us that the current combination of slopes is very close to a perfect 1:1 slope.

However, as I just mentioned, it is impossible to have a negative slope with archeological data. Therefore, we must eliminate the negative slopes. The second column in the lower chart, labeled "Coef." provides the slope coefficients. The predictive assemblage exhibiting the greatest negative slope is the Oakland Temperate Families. Eliminating it from the multiple linear regression calculation yields the following result:

```
. reg  Area1 drinking SkagBus TranWork SickTemp TranMale LogCamp Military Saloo
> ns Brothels HotRest, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                  Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                F( 10,     5) =   35.02
   Model |  .254828665    10  .025482866                Prob > F      =  0.0005
Residual |  .003638152     5   .00072763                R-squared     =  0.9859
---------+------------------------------                Adj R-squared =  0.9578
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                Root MSE      =  .02697

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.       t     P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |  -.2288928    .373216    -0.613   0.567    -1.188275    .7304895
 SkagBus |  -.0503517   .2702799    -0.186   0.860    -.7451283    .6444248
TranWork |   .4978227   .3722136     1.337   0.239    -.4589828    1.454628
SickTemp |  -.3105549   .1975527    -1.572   0.177    -.8183804    .1972706
TranMale |   .4739413   .2294271     2.066   0.094    -.1158197    1.063702
 LogCamp |  -.3915811     .20196    -1.939   0.110    -.9107359    .1275737
Military |  -.0250965   .1243143    -0.202   0.848    -.3446565    .2944635
 Saloons |   1.61081   .3653076     4.409   0.007     .6717567    2.549863
Brothels |  -.4197795   .3752723    -1.119   0.314    -1.384448    .5448886
 HotRest |  -.1798991   .1500498    -1.199   0.284    -.5656145    .2058163
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Now the largest negative slope is that of the Brothels. In the following charts, the largest negative slope is eliminated in each calculation, until no negative slopes (coefficients) remain.

```
. reg  Area1 drinking SkagBus TranWork SickTemp TranMale LogCamp Military Saloo
> ns HotRest, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                   Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                 F(  9,     6) =   37.22
   Model |  .253918206     9  .028213134                 Prob > F      =  0.0001
Residual |   .00454861     6  .000758102                 R-squared     =  0.9824
---------+------------------------------                 Adj R-squared =  0.9560
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                 Root MSE      =  .02753

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |   -.009787   .3242677    -0.030   0.977    -.8032415    .7836676
 SkagBus |  -.2277855   .2233742    -1.020   0.347    -.7743624    .3187914
TranWork |   .1780288   .2432906     0.732   0.492    -.4172818    .7733393
SickTemp |  -.2029832   .1761425    -1.152   0.293    -.6339884    .2280221
TranMale |   .5696796   .2172765     2.622   0.039     .0380233    1.101336
 LogCamp |  -.2510126   .1613785    -1.555   0.171    -.6458916    .1438664
Military |  -.1007668   .1064585    -0.947   0.380    -.3612614    .1597279
 Saloons |   1.289609    .230505     5.595   0.001     .7255831    1.853634
 HotRest |  -.2387128    .143449    -1.664   0.147    -.5897198    .1122942
------------------------------------------------------------------------------


. reg  Area1 drinking SkagBus TranWork SickTemp TranMale Military Saloons HotRe
> st, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                   Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                 F(  8,     7) =   34.56
   Model |  .252084088     8  .031510511                 Prob > F      =  0.0001
Residual |  .006382728     7  .000911818                 R-squared     =  0.9753
---------+------------------------------                 Adj R-squared =  0.9471
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                 Root MSE      =   .0302

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |    .160642   .3347091     0.480   0.646    -.6308193    .9521033
 SkagBus |  -.3238786   .2354201    -1.376   0.211    -.8805587    .2328015
TranWork |    .066232   .2549088     0.260   0.802    -.5365314    .6689955
SickTemp |  -.1781393   .1923808    -0.926   0.385    -.6330476     .276769
TranMale |   .4804577   .2298345     2.090   0.075    -.0630144     1.02393
Military |  -.1219422   .1157952    -1.053   0.327    -.3957543    .1518698
 Saloons |    1.19713   .2442423     4.901   0.002      .619589    1.774671
 HotRest |  -.2627384   .1564067    -1.680   0.137    -.6325816    .1071047
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. reg  Area1 drinking TranWork SickTemp TranMale Military Saloons HotRest, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                   Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                 F(  7,     8) =   35.29
   Model |  .250358307     7  .035765472                  Prob > F      =  0.0000
Residual |   .00810851     8  .001013564                  R-squared     =  0.9686
---------+------------------------------                 Adj R-squared =  0.9412
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                  Root MSE      =  .03184

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.       t     P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |  -.1640023   .2502648     -0.655   0.531     -.7411141    .4131094
TranWork |  -.0315666   .2580926     -0.122   0.906     -.6267291    .5635959
SickTemp |  -.2882304   .1844505     -1.563   0.157      -.713574    .1371132
TranMale |   .6396951    .209347      3.056   0.016        .15694    1.12245
Military |  -.1465553   .1206189     -1.215   0.259     -.424703    .1315924
 Saloons |    1.35195   .2285467      5.915   0.000     .8249203    1.878979
 HotRest |  -.2955172   .1629778     -1.813   0.107     -.6713446    .0803102
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. reg  Area1 drinking TranWork SickTemp TranMale Military Saloons, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                   Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                 F(  6,     9) =   32.39
   Model |  .247025885     6  .041170981                  Prob > F      =  0.0000
Residual |  .011440932     9  .001271215                  R-squared     =  0.9557
---------+------------------------------                 Adj R-squared =  0.9262
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                  Root MSE      =  .03565

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.       t     P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |  -.1397726   .2798748     -0.499   0.629     -.7728934    .4933482
TranWork |  -.2832048   .2436994     -1.162   0.275     -.8344912    .2680816
SickTemp |  -.3268455   .2051869     -1.593   0.146     -.7910105    .1373195
TranMale |   .6845254   .2328095      2.940   0.016      .1578738    1.211177
Military |  -.1647046   .1346167     -1.224   0.252     -.4692286    .1398194
 Saloons |   1.279518   .2520122      5.077   0.001      .7094265    1.849609
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. reg  Area1 drinking TranWork TranMale Military Saloons, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                   Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                 F(  5,    10) =   33.25
   Model |  .243800328     5  .048760066                  Prob > F      =  0.0000
Residual |  .014666489    10  .001466649                  R-squared     =  0.9433
---------+------------------------------                 Adj R-squared =  0.9149
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                  Root MSE      =   .0383

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.       t     P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |  -.2749734   .2864624     -0.960   0.360     -.9132514    .3633045
TranWork |  -.5136753   .2106369     -2.439   0.035     -.9830035   -.0443471
TranMale |   .7769258   .2421792      3.208   0.009      .2373168    1.316535
Military |  -.2296824   .1377964     -1.667   0.127     -.5367119    .0773472
 Saloons |   1.347048   .2668343      5.048   0.001      .7525038    1.941592
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. reg  Area1 drinking TranWork Military Saloons, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                  Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                F(  4,    11) =   21.13
   Model |  .228706083     4  .057176521                Prob > F      =  0.0000
Residual |  .029760734    11  .002705521                R-squared     =  0.8849
---------+------------------------------                Adj R-squared =  0.8430
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                Root MSE      =  .05201

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
drinking |  -.3609079   .3873672    -0.932   0.371    -1.213497    .4916816
TranWork |   .0541151   .1551135     0.349   0.734    -.2872873    .3955176
Military |   .0743732   .1358526     0.547   0.595    -.2246364    .3733828
 Saloons |   1.390811   .3619393     3.843   0.003     .5941882    2.187434
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. reg  Area1 TranWork Military Saloons, noc

  Source |       SS       df       MS                  Number of obs =      15
---------+------------------------------                F(  3,    12) =   28.20
   Model |  .226357543     3  .075452514                Prob > F      =  0.0000
Residual |  .032109274    12  .002675773                R-squared     =  0.8758
---------+------------------------------                Adj R-squared =  0.8447
   Total |  .258466817    15  .017231121                Root MSE      =  .05173

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Area1 |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
TranWork |   .0092592   .1466398     0.063   0.951    -.3102415    .3287599
Military |   .0626385   .1345218     0.466   0.650    -.2304594    .3557363
 Saloons |   1.079051   .1371953     7.865   0.000     .780128     1.377974
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. *SALOONS PREDICTED 1.08% +/- 13.7% AT A PROBABILITY OF 0.000.
```

As can be seen here at the end of the very last calculation, no negative slopes remain (second column). The fifth column (P>|t|) provides the probabilities associated with the coefficients. The only predictive assemblage with a probability of being incorrectly drawn from a normally distributed population is the Saloons. The slope predicted for the Saloons is 108% (second column, Coef.) with a standard deviation of 14% (third column, Std. Err). That indicates that all of the collection predicted by the Saloon Assemblage.

While the other two predictive assemblages did not yield significant results, it is interesting that they were from male dominated contexts, the Transient Working Class Families and the Military.

It could also be noted that the correlation coefficient of this combination of slopes (R^2) is 0.8758, still very close to 1.000, associated with a probability of being incorrectly drawn from a normally distributed population of less than 0.000.

Regressing the Individual Saloon Collections on the Area 1 Collection

The calculation of the statistic that predicted the similarity between the Area 1 collection and the Miners' Home Saloon over that of the other saloon collections, including the unknown saloon in Knoxville, Tennessee One other example provides another example of the multiple regression statistic (see following page).

```
reg Areal Corner Calif MinHome Panth Knoxvill, noc
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	15
Model	.247889359	5	.049577872	F(5, 10) =	46.87
Residual	.010577458	10	.001057746	Prob > F =	0.0000
Total	.258466817	15	.017231121	R-squared =	0.9591
				Adj R-squared =	0.9386
				Root MSE =	.03252

Areal	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Corner	-.2537849	.1740477	-1.458	0.175	-.6415874	.1340176
Calif	.0583033	.2170257	0.269	0.794	-.4252602	.5418667
MinHome	.8271502	.2208751	3.745	0.004	.3350099	1.319291
Panth	-.118611	.1268659	-0.935	0.372	-.401286	.1640639
Knoxvill	.4833016	.1973427	2.449	0.034	.0435947	.9230084

```
. reg Areal Calif MinHome Panth  Knoxvill, noc
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	15
Model	.245640427	4	.061410107	F(4, 11) =	52.67
Residual	.012826389	11	.001166035	Prob > F =	0.0000
Total	.258466817	15	.017231121	R-squared =	0.9504
				Adj R-squared =	0.9323
				Root MSE =	.03415

Areal	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Calif	-.0052154	.223227	-0.023	0.982	-.4965346	.4861039
MinHome	.7242224	.2197441	3.296	0.007	.2405689	1.207876
Panth	-.0800524	.1302761	-0.614	0.551	-.3667882	.2066834
Knoxvill	.3455391	.1819095	1.900	0.084	-.0548411	.7459193

```
. reg Areal Calif MinHome Knoxvill, noc
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	15
Model	.245200146	3	.081733382	F(3, 12) =	73.93
Residual	.013266671	12	.001105556	Prob > F =	0.0000
Total	.258466817	15	.017231121	R-squared =	0.9487
				Adj R-squared =	0.9358
				Root MSE =	.03325

Areal	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Calif	-.0264107	.2147502	-0.123	0.904	-.4943112	.4414897
MinHome	.7441044	.2116373	3.516	0.004	.2829864	1.205222
Knoxvill	.3012124	.1626067	1.852	0.089	-.0530772	.655502

```
. reg Areal MinHome Knoxvill, noc
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	15
Model	.245183424	2	.122591712	F(2, 13) =	119.98
Residual	.013283392	13	.001021799	Prob > F =	0.0000
Total	.258466817	15	.017231121	R-squared =	0.9486
				Adj R-squared =	0.9407
				Root MSE =	.03197

Areal	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
MinHome	.7226602	.1153121	6.267	0.000	.4735435	.9717769
Knoxvill	.3000565	.1560645	1.923	0.077	-.0371004	.6372134

```
. * Miners' Home Saloon predicted 72.27% +/- 11.53%, with p>0.000 and the
Knoxville saloon predicting 30.00% +/- 15.61% with p>0.077.
```

Here 72.27% ± 11.53%, with p>0.000 Miners' Home Saloon and the unnamed Knoxville saloon 30.00% ± 15.61% with p>0.077 predicted the Area 1 collection. Although we have no information on the people who used and occupied the Knoxville saloon, Bowers and Gannon (1998) provided some information about the customers of the Miners' Home Saloon in Fairbanks, Alaska. As discussed in the main text, this saloon catered to working class men who favored the unions and who tended to be from foreign countries. The statistical resemblance to the Mascot Saloon may suggest that the customers of the Mascot were also miners who leaned towards the working class, favored unions and came from foreign countries. Albert Reinert's later support of labor leader Sewald Torkelson reinforces the connections with the labor sector. The Mascotte may have begun the tradition of being sympathetic to labor concerns before Reinert's acquisition of the saloon. Reinert himself was German, and may have drawn German customers.

CONCLUSIONS

The multiple linear regression statistic holds promise for suggesting lines of inquiry and interpretation of archeological data regarding similarities between archeological collections. The development of the method is still in its infancy and is not widespread. However, when used in combination with other lines of inquiry, it has proved reliable. As I continued to test its utility, I become more and more convinced of its usefulness, and have come to trust its results. However, I continue to use it with caution. I continue to question how the statistic operates on the data, and to make sure the classification system is devised to answer the questions being posed for the research. As with any statistic, ask the wrong question, it will give you the wrong answer. Then, as Dr. Gould has so ably demonstrated, it becomes a piece of trash. If you still doubt, all I can do is ask you to keep an open mind.

Table 1. City of Origin of Non-Native Residents in Skagway in 1900 (out of 2383 people). Source: Manuscript 1900 census.

home city	*home state*	*# of people*	*% of Non-Indian Skagway residents*
Ann Arbor	Michigan	5	0.21%
Astoria	Oregon	30	1.26%
Bakersfield	California	2	0.08%
Boston	Massachusetts	14	0.59%
Brooklyn	New York	1	0.04%
Buffalo	New York	3	0.13%
Chicago	Illinois	83	3.48%
Cincinnati	Ohio	1	0.04%
Columbus	Ohio	3	0.13%
Des Moines	Iowa	1	0.04%
Denver	Colorado	32	1.34%
Detroit	Michigan	3	0.13%
Dubuque	Iowa	2	0.08%
Duluth	Minnesota	6	0.25%
Eugene	Oregon	2	0.08%
Everett	Washington	38	1.59%
Helena	Montana	5	0.21%
Indianapolis	Indiana	3	0.13%
Kansas City	Missouri	4	0.17%
Little Rock	Arkansas	3	0.13%
Logansport	Indiana	1	0.04%
Loleta	California	2	0.08%
Los Angeles	California	25	1.05%
Milton	California	3	0.13%
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	3	0.13%
Minneapolis	Minnesota	24	1.01%
Montreal	Canada	3	0.13%
New Whatcom	Washington	14	0.59%
New York	New York	36	1.51%
Newark	New Jersey	2	0.08%
Oakland	California	13	0.55%
Olympia	Washington	6	0.25%
Omaha	Nebraska	12	0.50%
Ontario	Canada	1	0.04%
Ottawa	Canada	4	0.17%
Pasadena	California	4	0.17%
Phoenix	Arizona	2	0.08%
Portland	Oregon	207	8.69%
Prescott	Ariz	2	0.08%
Pt. Angeles	Washington	3	0.13%
Pt. Townsend	Washington	11	0.46%
Sacramento	California	8	0.34%
Salem	Mass	2	0.08%
Salem	Oregon	5	0.21%
Salt Lake City	Utah	12	0.50%
San Bernardino	California	2	0.08%
San Diego	California	3	0.13%
San Francisco	California	122	5.12%
San Jose	California	1	0.04%
Santa Rosa	California	3	0.13%
Seattle	Washington	582	24.42%
South Bend	Indiana	5	0.21%
Spokane	Washington	16	0.67%
St. Joseph	Missouri	1	0.04%
St. Louis	Missouri	2	0.08%
Stockton	California	2	0.08%
Tacoma	Washington	191	8.02%
Topeka	Kansas	2	0.08%
Toronto	Canada	2	0.08%
Troy	New York	2	0.08%
Tucson	Arizona	2	0.08%
Vancouver	British Columbia	34	1.43%
Versaille	California	1	0.04%
Victoria	British Columbia	40	1.68%
W. Superior	Wisconsin	3	0.13%
Woodlawn	California	16	0.67%
Total		**1678**	**70.42%**

Table 2. Archeological Sites from Which the Comparative Assemblages Were Constructed

Location	*Site Name*	*Date*	*Reference*
THE DRINKING FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS			
The Alpowa, Washington	The Weiss Ranch Dump	1905-1907	W. Adams et. al (1977); Blee (1991:155-156, 346-351)
Simpson Springs, Utah	The Mulliner Dump	ca. 1900	Berge (1980); Blee (1991:140-142, 330-333)
Skagway, Alaska	Father Turnell's Trash Pit	1914-1918	Spude et al. (1993)
Rochester Heights, Nevada	Sites 81-13 and 27	-912-1918	Zeier (1986); Blee (1991:147-151, 339-342)
SKAGWAY MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES			
Skagway, Alaska	Hockett Privy # 1	1901 – 1910	Cooper (1998)
Skagway, Alaska	Hockett Privy # 2	1908-1912	Cooper (1998)
Skagway, Alaska	Hillery Privy	1904-1909	Cooper (1998)
Skagway, Alaska	Rapuzzi Privy	1911-1914	Cooper (1998)
Skagway, Alaska	Kirmse House	1907-1930	Cooper (2001)
Oakland, California	Chapman Household	ca. 1890's	Praetzellis and Stewart (2001:136-155)
Oakland, California	Michael O'Brian Household	ca. 1900	Praetzellis (2001c:50-55, 91-106)
OAKLAND TEMPERATE FAMILIES			
Oakland, California	Centini Residence	ca. 1908	Praetzellis (2001a:64-78)
Oakland, California	Carter Household	1889-1896	Praetzellis (2001a:123-148)
Oakland, California	Brady Residence	1889-1902	Praetzellis (2001a:123-148)
Oakland, California	Kinsella Residence	1900	Ziesing and Praetzellis (2001:133-147)
Oakland, California	Fischer Residence	ca. 1900	Praetzellis (2001c:33-47)
Oakland, California	O'Brien Household	1880-1900	Stewart and Praetzellis (2001:93-115)
Oakland, California	Wiesheimer Residence	ca. 1905	Praetzellis (2001b:238-260)
Oakland, California	Robert Crocker Residence	ca. 1900	Praetzellis (2001c:50-55, 91-106)
Texas City, Washington	The Family Privy Feature 1	1880-1920	Carley and Sappington (1984; Blee 1991:144-147, 336-338)

Table 2 (continued). Archeological Sites from Which the Comparative Assemblages Were Constructed

Location	*Site Name*	*Date*	*Reference*
THE TRANSIENT WORKING CLASS FAMILIES			
Oakland, California	Schrock's Renters	ca. 1900	Praetzellis (2001b:203-226)
Rochester Heights, Nevada	Sites 81-11 and 81-12	1912-1918	Zeier (1986); Blee (1991:339-342);
THE SICKLY TEMPERATE FAMILIES			
Skagway, Alaska	Moore House	1898-1906	Cooper (2001)
Oakland, California	Morgan/ Mullen Household	ca. 1890	Praetzellis and Stewart (2001:162-180)
Oakland, California	Holderer Residence	Mid 1890's	Praetzellis (2001b:33-49)
Oakland, California	Vogt Family	Early 1890's	Praetzellis and Stewart (2001:393-410)
THE TRANSIENT MALE HOUSEHOLDS			
Rochester Heights, Nevada	Sites 81-1, 81-5, and 81-25	1912-1918	Zeier (1986); Blee (1991:159-164, 352-353)
Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon	The Bunkhouse and Boss's Cabin	1890-1900	Horn (1987); Blee (1991:164-166. 343-345)
Marion Railroad Camp	Colorado	1889	Rossillon (1984); Blee (1991: 166-169, 354)
THE LOGGING CAMP			
Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon	Bingham's Cookhouse and Dump	1890-1900	Horn (1987); Blee (1991:151-154, 343-345)
Bingham's Logging Camp, Oregon	The Bunkhouse and Boss's Cabin	1890-1900	Horn (1987); Blee (1991:164-166. 343-345)
THE MILITARY			
Ft. Walla Walla, Washington	The 9th Cavalry	1902-1904	Riordan (1985); Blee (1991:209-211, 369)
Ft. Walla Walla, Washington	The 1st Cavalry	1909-1910	Riordan (1985); Blee (1991:211-213, 369)
Fort Bowie, Arizona	Fort Bowie	1885 – 1894	Herskovitz (1978); Blee (1991:213-215, 370-373
Writing-On-Stone, Alberta	Writing-On-Stone North West Mounted Police Outpost	1888-1918	G. Adams, et al. (1977); Blee (1991:216-223, 374-381)

Table 2 (continued). Archeological Sites from Which the Comparative Assemblages Were Constructed

Location	*Site Name*	*Date*	*Reference*
THE SALOONS			
Skagway, Alaska	The Mascot Saloon	1897-1904	Spude (2004)
Skagway, Alaska	The Pantheon Saloon	1903-1916	Kardatdzke (2002)
Lake City, Colorado	The Corner Saloon	1912	Blee (1991:183-184, 360)
The California Saloon	Fairbanks, Alaska	1904-1916	Gannon and Bowers (1998)
Fairbanks, Alaska	The Miners' Home Saloon	1907-1916	Gannon and Bowers (1998)
THE BROTHELS			
Ouray, Colorado	The Vanoli Sporting Complex	1881-1915	Blee (1991: 199-202, 367)
Blairmore, Alberta	Hill 60	1904-1939	Kennedy (1983); Blee (1991: 202-205, 368)
Los Angeles, California	The Aliso Street Parlor House	1888-1901	Costello (1999)
THE HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS			
Skagway, Alaska	The Gilt Edge Restaurant	1898-1903	Stilson (1896); Blee (1991:189-190, 361)
Texas City, Washington	The Stewart Hotel	1908-1920?	Carley and Sappington (1984); Blee (1991:191-192, 336-338)
Fort Laramie, Wyoming	The Rustic Hotel	1890	Ehrenhard (1972, 1973); Blee (1991:193-194, 362-364)
Denver, Colorado	The Tremont Hotel	1864-1914	Carrillo and Jepson (1995); Blee (1991:194-197, 365-366)
Oakland, California	The Pullman Hotel	1900-1915	Stewart and Praetzellis (2001:93-115)

Table 3: The Predictive Assemblages Used to Calculate the Multiple Linear Regressions.

artifact type	*Drinking Families*	*Skagway Middle Class Families*	*Oakland Temperate Families*	*Transient Working Class Families*	*Sickly Temperate Families*
Liquor-Related Items	33.08%	12.55%	7.83%	3.25%	5.42%
Drinking Vessels	0.62%	5.95%	2.97%	0.49%	3.16%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.03%	0.02%	0.00%	0.19%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.62%	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Storage Items	11.05%	13.31%	19.79%	10.81%	12.37%
Food Service Items	18.47%	25.64%	27.35%	6.85%	8.27%
Other Household Items	5.39%	10.69%	7.69%	17.41%	11.13%
Medicinal Items	7.63%	9.54%	1.45%	2.05%	19.33%
Flasks	3.48%	1.73%	5.09%	5.01%	1.13%
Generic Personal Items	8.35%	5.16%	10.87%	31.48%	17.14%
Female-Specific Items	1.80%	6.25%	5.55%	11.30%	7.23%
Male-Specific Items	1.45%	0.48%	1.99%	2.69%	0.78%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.87%	0.56%	0.88%	1.21%	1.48%
Armaments and Military	2.50%	1.31%	0.85%	1.14%	5.33%
Other Artifacts	5.31%	6.20%	7.64%	6.32%	7.07%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**

artifact type	*Transient Male Households*	*Logging Camp*	*The Military*	*Saloons*	*Brothels*	*Hotels and Restaurants*
Liquor-Related Items	7.60%	1.79%	13.12%	37.63%	18.42%	7.50%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%	8.71%	8.78%	1.44%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.18%	3.14%	0.69%	0.22%
Coins and Tokens	1.62%	0.00%	0.10%	0.55%	0.24%	0.32%
Food Storage Items	6.66%	7.00%	6.68%	10.01%	15.21%	28.68%
Food Service Items	3.27%	3.17%	2.73%	8.48%	10.03%	5.01%
Other Household Items	7.63%	24.73%	4.88%	5.90%	8.24%	17.16%
Medicinal Items	0.05%	0.00%	1.55%	4.89%	0.92%	0.25%
Flasks	2.15%	4.35%	2.54%	4.72%	9.93%	1.63%
Generic Personal Items	36.61%	22.79%	16.22%	5.43%	11.02%	22.86%
Female-Specific Items	0.00%	1.11%	1.46%	1.34%	10.92%	4.24%
Male-Specific Items	4.98%	5.33%	0.33%	0.36%	0.11%	1.61%
Tobacco-Related Items	6.09%	8.16%	0.83%	1.67%	1.51%	1.02%
Armaments and Military	13.06%	6.37%	38.01%	1.08%	1.80%	1.55%
Other Artifacts	10.27%	15.20%	11.12%	6.10%	2.18%	6.52%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**

Table 4. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Drinking Household Collections.

Artifact categories	*Rochester Heights 81-13*	*Rochester Heights 27*	*Weiss Dump*	*Mulliner Dump*	*Father Turnell*	*Total Drinking Families*
Liquor-Related Items	50.35%	32.09%	29.93%	24.44%	28.57%	33.08%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	1.70%	0.56%	0.84%	0.62%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Service Items	5.59%	17.16%	10.20%	10.56%	11.76%	11.06%
Food Storage Items	2.10%	17.16%	17.01%	26.67%	29.41%	18.47%
Other Household Items	9.79%	4.48%	4.42%	1.11%	7.14%	5.39%
Medicinals	9.79%	0.00%	14.29%	10.28%	3.78%	7.63%
Flasks	0.00%	0.00%	8.50%	8.06%	0.84%	3.48%
Generic Personal Items	9.79%	17.16%	2.38%	6.11%	6.30%	8.35%
Female-Specific Items	3.50%	0.75%	3.06%	1.67%	0.00%	1.79%
Male-Specific Items	0.70%	4.48%	0.00%	0.83%	1.26%	1.45%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.00%	1.49%	0.34%	0.00%	2.52%	0.87%
Armaments	0.00%	2.99%	3.40%	6.11%	0.00%	2.50%
Other Artifacts	8.39%	2.24%	4.76%	3.61%	7.56%	5.31%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**143**	**134**	**294**	**360**	**238**	**1169**

Table 5. Relative Frequencies of Artifacts in the Seven Skagway Middle Class Family Collections.

Artifact categories	*Hockett #2 Privy*	*Hockett #1 Privy*	*Rapuzzi Privy*	*Hillery Privy*	*Chapman Household*	*Michael O'Brien Household*	*Kirmse House*	*Total Skagway Middle Class Families*
Liquor-Related	15.22%	7.58%	22.58%	15.79%	4.06%	7.49%	15.11%	12.54%
Drinking Vessels	5.43%	1.52%	6.45%	7.89%	4.80%	13.47%	2.10%	5.95%
Recreation-Related	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%	0.03%
Coins and Tokens	1.09%	0.00%	3.23%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%
Food Storage Items	15.22%	13.64%	9.68%	13.16%	11.07%	20.06%	10.33%	13.31%
Food Service Items	34.78%	15.15%	22.58%	28.95%	27.31%	35.63%	15.11%	25.64%
Other Household	9.78%	7.58%	16.13%	7.89%	13.65%	8.68%	11.09%	10.69%
Medicinal	3.26%	24.24%	3.23%	13.16%	11.81%	6.89%	4.21%	9.54%
Flasks	3.26%	0.00%	3.23%	0.00%	2.95%	2.10%	0.57%	1.73%
Generic Personal	7.61%	6.06%	3.23%	0.00%	10.33%	2.40%	6.50%	5.16%
Female-Specific	2.17%	15.15%	6.45%	10.53%	4.43%	1.20%	3.82%	6.25%
Male-Specific	0.00%	1.52%	0.00%	0.00%	1.11%	0.00%	0.76%	0.48%
Tobacco-Related	0.00%	1.52%	0.00%	0.00%	1.48%	0.90%	0.00%	0.56%
Armaments	1.09%	1.52%	3.23%	0.00%	1.85%	0.30%	1.15%	1.30%
Other Artifacts	1.09%	4.55%	0.00%	2.63%	5.17%	0.90%	29.06%	6.20%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**92**	**66**	**31**	**38**	**271**	**334**	**523**	**1355**

Table 6. Relative Frequencies of Artifacts in the Nine Oakland Temperate Family Collections

artifact category	*Centini Residence*	*Carter Household*	*Brady Residence*	*Kinsella Residence*	*O'Brien Household*
Liquor-Related Items	2.59%	7.64%	8.66%	10.28%	7.75%
Drinking Vessels	2.59%	2.55%	1.97%	2.80%	2.11%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.16%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Service Items	18.10%	16.40%	21.26%	12.15%	11.27%
Food Storage Items	29.31%	28.66%	20.87%	26.17%	25.35%
Other Household Items	8.62%	6.37%	10.63%	6.54%	4.93%
Flasks	0.00%	1.11%	0.00%	0.00%	0.70%
Medicinal Items	2.59%	4.30%	11.42%	3.74%	3.52%
Generic Personal Items	15.52%	16.08%	7.87%	18.69%	15.49%
Female-Specific Items	5.17%	8.76%	4.72%	8.41%	11.97%
Male-Specific Items	0.86%	1.59%	0.39%	0.93%	7.04%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.00%	1.43%	1.97%	0.93%	0.00%
Armaments	0.00%	0.64%	0.00%	0.93%	1.41%
Other Artifacts	14.66%	4.30%	10.24%	8.41%	8.45%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**116**	**628**	**254**	**107**	**142**

artifact category	*Fischer Residence*	*Wiesheimer Residence*	*Robert Crocker Residence*	*Texas City-Feature 1*	*Total Oakland Temperate Families*
Liquor-Related Items	10.91%	7.30%	3.80%	11.57%	7.83%
Drinking Vessels	6.36%	1.12%	6.33%	0.93%	2.97%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.28%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%
Food Service Items	21.82%	25.56%	26.58%	25.00%	19.79%
Food Storage Items	35.45%	14.33%	40.51%	25.46%	27.35%
Other Household Items	0.00%	11.80%	5.06%	15.28%	7.69%
Flasks	5.45%	0.84%	1.27%	3.70%	1.45%
Medicinal Items	5.45%	10.96%	3.80%	0.00%	5.09%
Generic Personal Items	5.45%	7.87%	7.59%	3.24%	10.87%
Female-Specific Items	0.91%	3.65%	1.27%	5.09%	5.55%
Male-Specific Items	2.73%	1.40%	2.53%	0.46%	1.99%
Tobacco-Related Items	2.73%	0.84%	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%
Armaments	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.63%	0.85%
Other Artifacts	2.73%	14.04%	1.27%	4.63%	7.64%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**110**	**356**	**79**	**216**	**2008**

Table 7. Relative Frequencies of Artifacts in the Four Working Class, Transient, Temperate Family Collections

Artifact Category	*Schrock's Renters*	*RH81-11*	*RH81-12*	*Total Working Class, Transient. Families*
Liquor-Related Items	4.93%	0.00%	14.84%	3.25%
Drinking Vessels	1.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.49%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Service Items	12.96%	13.45%	11.72%	10.81%
Food Storage Items	15.69%	1.68%	3.13%	6.85%
Other Household Items	22.08%	16.81%	12.50%	17.41%
Medicinal Items	0.18%	1.68%	1.56%	2.05%
Flasks	2.92%	0.00%	0.00%	5.01%
Generic Personal Items	20.80%	36.13%	37.50%	31.48%
Female-Specific Items	7.66%	17.65%	8.59%	11.30%
Male-Specific Items	0.73%	4.20%	3.13%	2.69%
Tobacco-Related Items	1.28%	0.00%	2.34%	1.21%
Armaments	1.09%	0.00%	2.34%	1.14%
Other Artifacts	8.21%	8.40%	2.34%	6.32%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**548**	**119**	**128**	**795**

Table 8. Relative Frequencies of Artifacts in the Four Sickly Temperate Family Collections

artifact category	*Morgan/ Mullen Household*	*Holderer Residence*	*Vogt Family*	*Moore House*	*Total Sickly Temperate Families*
Liquor-Related Items	7.38%	7.34%	2.26%	4.70%	5.42%
Drinking Vessels	4.51%	3.67%	3.77%	0.67%	3.16%
Recreation-Related	0.00%	0.00%	0.75%	0.00%	0.19%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Storage Items	15.57%	13.76%	12.08%	8.05%	12.37%
Food Serving Items	6.97%	11.93%	6.79%	7.38%	8.27%
Other Household Items	9.43%	7.34%	17.36%	10.40%	11.13%
Medicinals	25.00%	11.93%	16.23%	24.16%	19.33%
Flasks	0.41%	0.92%	1.51%	1.68%	1.13%
Generic Personal Items	9.84%	28.44%	12.83%	17.45%	17.14%
Female-Specific Items	3.69%	8.26%	4.53%	12.42%	7.23%
Male-Specific Items	0.82%	0.92%	0.38%	1.01%	0.78%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.82%	0.00%	0.38%	4.70%	1.48%
Arms/Military	11.48%	0.00%	7.17%	2.68%	5.33%
Other Artifacts	4.10%	5.50%	13.96%	4.70%	7.07%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**244**	**109**	**265**	**298**	**916**

Table 9. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Transient Male Household Collections.

artifact category	*Marion Laborers*	*Marion Bosses*	*Bingham's Bunkhouse*	*Bingham's Boss*
Liquor-Related Items	3.49%	2.83%	1.34%	3.08%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	1.42%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Service Items	0.58%	0.47%	2.68%	3.08%
Food Storage Items	1.74%	1.89%	0.00%	0.00%
Other Household Items	1.16%	1.89%	8.72%	23.08%
Medicinal Items	1.16%	1.42%	4.03%	6.15%
Flasks	0.00%	0.47%	0.00%	0.00%
Generic Personal Items	59.88%	54.72%	30.20%	27.69%
Female-Specific Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Male-Specific Items	4.07%	6.60%	14.09%	0.00%
Tobacco-Related Items	19.77%	13.68%	12.75%	10.77%
Armaments	2.33%	1.89%	5.37%	12.31%
Other Artifacts	5.81%	12.74%	20.81%	13.85%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**172**	**212**	**149**	**65**

artifact category	*Rochester Heights 81-1*	*Rochester Heights 81-5*	*Rochester Heights 81-25*	*Total Transient Male Households*
Liquor-Related Items	0.00%	7.14%	2.35%	7.60%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	6.45%	7.14%	1.18%	1.62%
Food Service Items	9.68%	28.57%	8.24%	6.66%
Food Storage Items	3.23%	0.00%	25.88%	3.27%
Other Household Items	12.90%	14.29%	3.53%	7.63%
Medicinal Items	0.00%	0.00%	1.18%	0.05%
Flasks	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.15%
Generic Personal Items	51.61%	21.43%	48.24%	36.61%
Female-Specific Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Male-Specific Items	3.23%	0.00%	1.18%	4.98%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	1.18%	6.09%
Armaments	6.45%	0.00%	1.18%	13.06%
Other Artifacts	6.45%	21.43%	5.88%	10.27%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**31**	**14**	**85**	**896**

Table 10. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Logging Camp Collections.

artifact type	*Bingham's Cookhouse and Dump*	*Bingham's Boss Cabin*	*Bingham's Bunkhouse*	*Logging Camp Mean*
Liquor-Related Items	0.95%	3.08%	1.34%	1.79%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Food Serving Items	15.24%	3.08%	2.68%	7.00%
Food Storage Items	9.52%	0.00%	0.00%	3.17%
Other Household Items	42.38%	23.08%	8.72%	24.73%
Flasks	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Medicinal Items	2.86%	6.15%	4.03%	4.35%
Generic Personal Items	10.48%	27.69%	30.20%	22.79%
Female-Specific Items	3.33%	0.00%	0.00%	1.11%
Male-Specific Items	1.90%	0.00%	14.09%	5.33%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.95%	10.77%	12.75%	8.16%
Armaments	1.43%	12.31%	5.37%	6.37%
Other Artifacts	10.95%	13.85%	20.81%	15.20%
Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**210**	**65**	**149**	

Table 11. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Military Collections.

artifact type	*Fort Walla Walla 1st*	*Fort Walla Walla 9th*	*Fort Bowie*	*Writing-on-Stone*	*Military mean*
Liquor-Related Items	8.46%	12.51%	23.19%	8.32%	13.12%
Drinking Vessels	0.03%	0.32%	0.58%	0.13%	0.27%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.57%	0.13%	0.18%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%	0.13%	0.10%
Food Serving Items	8.99%	12.01%	2.96%	2.77%	6.68%
Food Storage Items	2.17%	3.31%	1.07%	4.36%	2.73%
Other Household Items	0.00%	0.00%	3.39%	16.12%	4.88%
Flasks	2.48%	3.14%	0.33%	0.26%	1.55%
Pharmaceuticals	2.83%	4.31%	2.74%	0.26%	2.54%
Generic Personal Items	19.83%	33.07%	4.99%	7.00%	16.22%
Female-Specific Items	1.96%	1.75%	1.06%	1.06%	1.46%
Male-Specific Items	0.10%	0.04%	0.63%	0.53%	0.33%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	2.41%	0.92%	0.83%
Armaments	43.60%	25.23%	44.91%	38.31%	38.01%
Other Artifacts	9.55%	4.31%	10.92%	19.68%	11.12%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**2860**	**2806**	**8132**	**757**	**14,534**

Table 12. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Saloon Collections.

artifact category	*Corner Saloon*	*California Saloon*	*Miners Home Saloon*	*Pantheon Saloon*	*Total Saloons*
Liquor-Related Items	47.41%	42.32%	51.18%	9.62%	37.63%
Drinking Vessels	2.29%	3.94%	7.09%	21.52%	8.71%
Recreation-Related Items	5.27%	1.01%	1.97%	4.30%	3.14%
Coins and Tokens	0.59%	0.61%	0.00%	1.01%	0.55%
Food Service Items	21.50%	4.34%	4.33%	9.87%	10.01%
Food Storage Items	4.08%	17.78%	3.94%	8.10%	8.48%
Other Household Items	9.35%	5.76%	3.94%	4.56%	5.90%
Medicinal Items	2.46%	1.52%	1.97%	12.91%	4.72%
Flasks	0.00%	4.24%	7.48%	7.85%	4.89%
Generic Personal Items	3.06%	5.45%	8.66%	4.56%	5.43%
Female-Specific Items	0.00%	2.12%	1.97%	1.27%	1.34%
Male-Specific Items	0.00%	0.30%	0.39%	0.76%	0.36%
Tobacco-Related Items	1.53%	3.84%	0.79%	0.51%	1.67%
Armaments	1.53%	0.61%	0.39%	1.77%	1.08%
Other Artifacts	0.93%	6.16%	5.91%	11.39%	6.10%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**1177**	**990**	**254**	**395**	**2816**

Table 13. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Mascot Collections.

Artifact Type	*Area 1*	*Areas 2-3*	*Privy*	*Area 4*	*Area 6*	*Area 6 Alternate*	*Gold Rush*	*Post Gold Rush*
Liquor-Related Items	46.34%	30.38%	18.10%	26.97%	41.49%	41.49%	36.73%	32.65%
Drinking Vessels	8.54%	13.92%	22.86%	20.39%	6.38%	6.38%	12.35%	17.35%
Recreation-Related Items	2.44%	1.27%	4.76%	1.97%	1.06%	1.06%	3.09%	1.53%
Coins and Tokens	6.10%	0.00%	0.95%	1.97%	0.00%	0.00%	3.40%	1.53%
Food Service Items	3.05%	5.06%	1.90%	2.63%	9.57%	9.57%	3.40%	6.63%
Food Storage Items	3.66%	6.33%	6.67%	7.24%	10.64%	10.64%	6.17%	6.63%
Other Household Items	0.61%	3.80%	7.62%	7.24%	8.51%	8.51%	3.70%	6.12%
Medicinals	0.00%	5.06%	7.62%	9.21%	3.19%	3.19%	3.09%	7.65%
Flasks	1.83%	8.86%	7.62%	4.61%	6.38%	6.38%	4.63%	4.59%
Generic Personal Items	15.85%	7.59%	5.71%	8.55%	1.06%	2.13%	10.19%	6.63%
Female-Specific Items	0.61%	0.00%	6.67%	0.66%	2.13%	1.06%	2.47%	1.53%
Male-Specific Items	0.61%	0.00%	0.95%	0.66%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%	0.51%
Tobacco-Related Items	3.05%	1.27%	1.90%	2.63%	2.13%	2.13%	2.47%	2.55%
Armaments	1.83%	1.27%	0.00%	0.66%	2.13%	2.13%	1.54%	0.51%
Other Artifacts	5.49%	15.19%	6.67%	4.61%	5.32%	5.32%	6.17%	3.57%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**164**	**79**	**105**	**152**	**94**	**94**	**324**	**196**

Table 14. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Brothel Collections.

artifact category	*Vanoli Complex*	*Hill 60*	*Aliso Street*	*Brothels*
Liquor-Related Items	23.12%	22.22%	9.91%	18.42%
Drinking Vessels	0.00%	13.66%	12.67%	8.78%
Recreation-Related Items	1.51%	0.00%	0.57%	0.69%
Coins and Tokens	0.39%	0.00%	0.32%	0.24%
Food Service Items	23.10%	16.20%	6.34%	15.21%
Food Storage Items	7.43%	11.11%	11.54%	10.03%
Other Household Items	6.64%	2.08%	16.00%	8.24%
Medicinal Items	8.89%	5.79%	15.11%	9.93%
Flasks	0.00%	0.00%	2.76%	0.92%
Generic Personal Items	19.18%	1.62%	12.27%	11.02%
Female-Specific Items	1.54%	23.84%	7.39%	10.92%
Male-Specific Items	0.01%	0.00%	0.32%	0.11%
Tobacco-Related Items	1.53%	0.23%	2.76%	1.51%
Armaments	4.31%	0.69%	0.41%	1.80%
Other Artifacts	2.36%	2.55%	1.62%	2.18%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**7,728**	**432**	**1,231**	**9,391**

Table 15. Frequencies of Artifact Categories in the Hotel and Restaurant Collections.

artifact category	*Gilt Edge Restaurant*	*Stewart Hotel*	*Tremont Hotel*	*Rustic Hotel*	*Hotels and Restaurants*
Liquor-Related Items	7.07%	5.77%	11.30%	5.85%	7.50%
Drinking Vessels	3.03%	1.92%	0.22%	0.57%	1.44%
Recreation-Related Items	0.00%	0.00%	0.45%	0.43%	0.22%
Coins and Tokens	0.00%	0.00%	0.56%	0.71%	0.32%
Food Service Items	26.26%	48.72%	23.04%	16.69%	28.68%
Food Storage Items	4.04%	9.62%	2.68%	3.71%	5.01%
Other Household Items	28.28%	12.18%	5.37%	22.82%	17.16%
Medicinal Items	1.01%	0.64%	1.57%	3.28%	1.63%
Flasks	1.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%
Generic Personal Items	16.16%	5.77%	38.70%	30.81%	22.86%
Female-Specific Items	5.05%	1.92%	6.71%	3.28%	4.24%
Male-Specific Items	5.05%	0.00%	0.11%	1.28%	1.61%
Tobacco-Related Items	0.00%	0.64%	3.02%	0.43%	1.02%
Armaments	0.00%	0.00%	3.47%	2.71%	1.55%
Other Artifacts	3.03%	12.82%	2.80%	7.42%	6.52%
total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**
n	**99**	**156**	**894**	**701**	**1850**

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