

**Combined Phase II/Phase III
Data Recovery and Treatment Plan
And Addendum for Site 45ST632
Associated with the Modernization of the
U.S. Customs and Border Protection
Boundary Land Port of Entry,
Stevens County, Washington**

Submitted to

Parsons
100 M Street, SE
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Lead Agency:
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Under the authority of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), this report is not for public release due to the specific site locations included.

2.0 Historic Overview of Site 45ST632

Boundary, Washington, is located in Stevens County, which was originally created in 1858 as Spokane County and was much larger in size. Stevens County is reputed to be the first county in the state settled by Euroamericans, and was named after Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of the Washington Territory (Winans 1904:1). Early non-native residents of this land were trappers and traders associated with the British Hudson's Bay Company, which dominated the Pacific Northwest fur trade in the early nineteenth century, but vacated its holdings in the region in 1853. The first Euroamerican inhabitants of northeastern Washington Territory were military personnel and missionaries who arrived in the 1850s. Missionaries moved to the region as early as 1838 to bring Christianity to the Native American inhabitants, and the first Protestant mission in the area was established at Tshimakain in 1838. Governor Isaac I. Stevens erected Fort Colville, in 1859, to help quash Indian uprisings and secure the new international boundary. There were two sites in the area named Fort Colville. The first was built by the British at Kettle Falls in 1825 and served as a trading post in the area. The Americans built the second in 1859, north of present-day Colville, once the international boundary commission had solidified the boundary and the British departed for Canada (Washington State Historical Society 1940).

Gold discoveries were made and reported in the mid- to late 1850s in Stevens County, along the Columbia River and its tributaries (Lakin 1976). In the winter of 1864-65, "about 100 miners wintered at Marcus" and, in that spring, started up the Columbia in search of gold (Winans 1904:50). Numerous deposits of placer gold occur along the banks of the Columbia River, although many are now covered by the Lake Roosevelt reservoir (Moen 1979:1; Washington Historical Records Survey 1942:33). According to Luttrell (1994:8.2), "terraces containing gold deposits were typically no more than 200 feet above the level of water." In many locations, the gold was recovered by placer methods and quickly played out (Bohm and Holstine 1983:20). Placer mining activities included any method, from simple panning to the use of rocker or sluice boxes, utilized to extract the gold flakes and nuggets found in gravel or sand "placer" deposits (Moen 1979:5). CBP Officer Steven Henry suggested that trench features extending eastward and southeastward from the shoreline of the Columbia River, close to the Old Boundary townsite, are the result of placer mining performed by Chinese workers in the late 1800s (Henry personal communication 2009).

Luttrell (1994) provides an overview of placer mining practices in the Upper Columbia River, including descriptions of the "Ethnic Chinese" miners who often took over supposedly mined out areas and reportedly extracted sizeable sums of gold (Luttrell 1994:8.5; Trimble 1986:144). The Chinese, who arrived via Hong Kong or California, were present during the Colville Valley strike in 1855, and worked up the Columbia River valley in the 1860s to 1870s (Luttrell 1994:8.5; Wilbert 1982:10,11). The accounting ledger of Marcus Oppenheimer, the owner of a settlement mining supply store that was eventually named Marcus (59 km [37 river mi] downstream from Old Boundary), records several sales to Chinese individuals as early as 1863. Oppenheimer's ledger includes the customers "Big Chinemen, Hun Hinemen, Ah Sun, Hong Joy, A Sing, and Doctor Chinemen" (Lakin 1976:27). A letter written by the County Commissioner of Spokane County in November, 1863, addressed to Dr. Isaac L. Tobey, Spokane County State Representative, requests that "Chinamen" be taxed "\$1.50 a month, or \$4.50 per

quarter", indicating increasing suspicion towards people who were "making good wages and paying no taxes" (Winans 1904:18).

General Land Office (GLO) surveyors noted abandoned placer mining works along the Columbia, attributing them to the Chinese, and describing them as ground that was broken up and washed. Although the Chinese set up camps in the vicinity of more profitable lodes, the settlements were often segregated from "white" camps as a result of racial discrimination (Luttrell 1994:8.5). It is unknown how many Chinese miners worked claims in northeast Washington – estimates range in the low thousands (around 1,500), with up to 1,000 individuals working the Kettle River and upper Columbia River. Larger camps along the Columbia included China Bend, whose placer lodes included Six-mile, Nine-mile, and Twelve-mile bars (Lankin 1976:27).

The 1898 GLO map, surveyed in 1896, shows the Project area, which is included within the International Placer Claim (United States Surveyor General 1898a). The Mineral Survey No. 358 plat, surveyed in 1897, details the boundaries of the Placer Claim and the layout of Old Boundary (Figure 3), which included eleven or twelve structures within the claim, including the "Boundary" post office (United States Surveyor General 1898b). In his historical research of northeastern Washington, Luttrell describes how some Chinese placer mining structures have been documented on GLO maps (Luttrell 1994:8.5); however, no such notations of Chinese placers or camps are included in the GLO plats or surveyor's notes (United States Surveyor General 1898b). The Mineral Survey Notes indicate that in 1896 the "population of the trading post is between 30 and 40 people" (United States Surveyor General 1898b:369). The surveyor also notes that the "buildings belong to squatters and a few prospectors and traders" (United States Surveyor General 1898b:369).

Spurred on by the Homestead Act of 1862, and again in 1900 by the opening of the northern half of the Colville Indian Reservation to non-native settlement, Americans hungry for land and looking for wealth (through minerals, timber, or agriculture) began to settle Stevens County in growing numbers. They came to prospect for gold and other minerals, to work as lumbermen or in the mills, to farm the fertile soils, and, more generally, to find their fortune in the West. These settlers came primarily via the rapidly expanding network of railways. Indeed, more settlers came to Stevens County by rail than by any other mode of transportation (Bohm and Holstine 1983:30).

A short-lived boomtown in the 1890s with a reported population of almost 900, Steele reported that Boundary was originally built to house and provision workers on an expanding line of the Spokane Falls & Northern Railroad (Steele 1904:164). An early photograph (Figure 4) depicts a muddy, ramshackle camp of over a dozen wooden buildings, with the railroad tracks clearly visible along one edge. According to reports from early in the twentieth century, Boundary had an "unsavory" reputation and consisted primarily of dance halls, saloons, gambling houses, and brothels (Steele 1904:164). By 1915, only a hotel, post office, and general store remained (Bamonte and Bamonte 1999:91). A speakeasy/bordello was reported to "straddle the border" and because law enforcement on both the American and Canadian sides of the

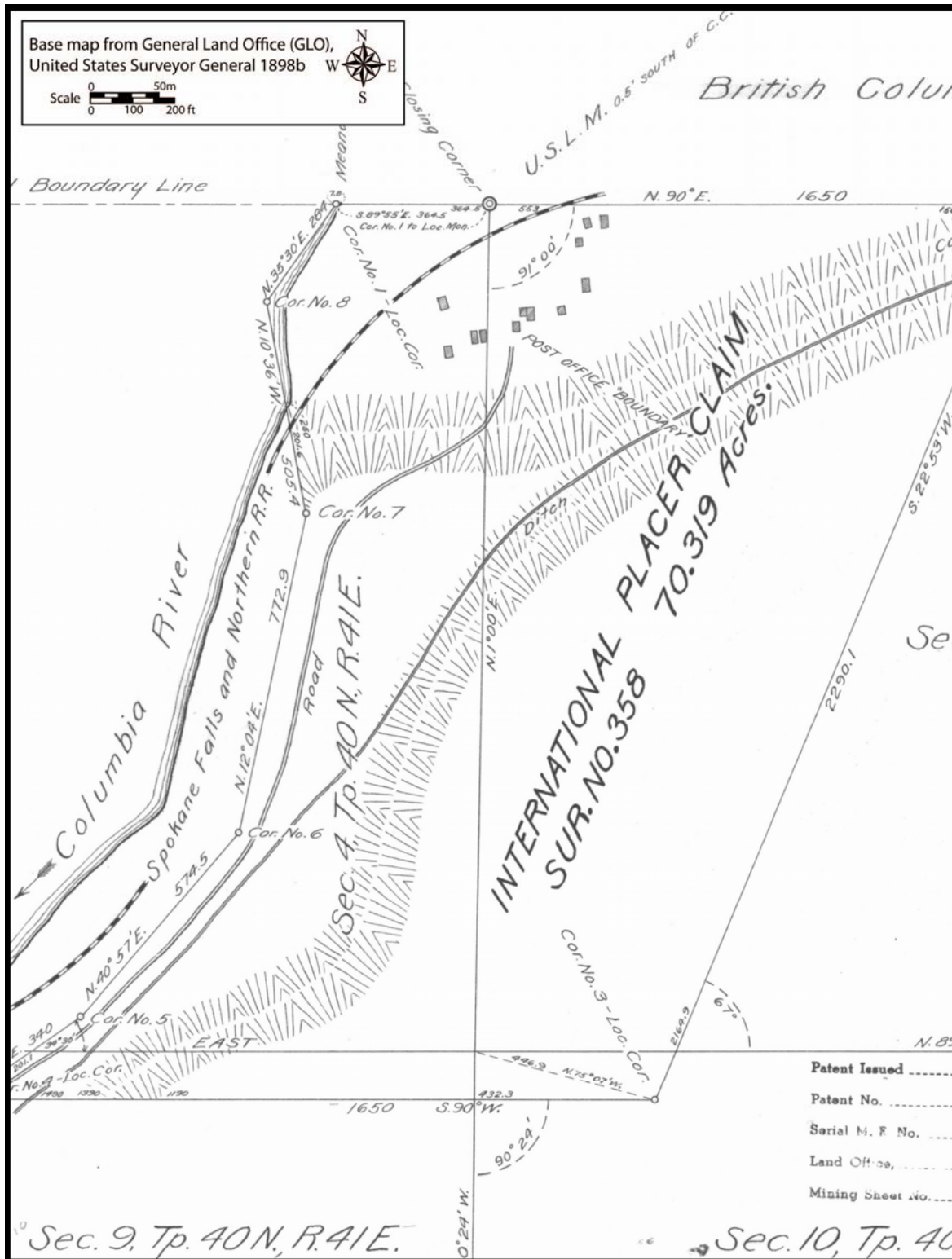


Figure 3. Enlargement of International Placer Claim 1898 mineral survey plat showing buildings at Boundary (map adapted from USGS 1898b).

international boundary was lax, the area was perceived as a "no man's land." Boundary retained its reputation as a wild western town through the Depression Era (Henry 2000:9). Although the LPOE is now sited at a place called Boundary, Washington, only traces of the original town by that name exist today.



Figure 4. Early photograph of Old Boundary (ca. 1910?), courtesy of CBP Officer Steve Henry

The following summary of the establishment of the Boundary LPOE is extracted from a 2007 report based on research by a team of historians from Michael Baker, Jr., Incorporated (Belfast et al. 2007:124).

Prior to the establishment of customs and immigration offices at Boundary, Little Dalles (about 17 miles south of the border, where a post office existed) was established as a subport of entry in northeastern Washington in the 1880s. In 1893, shortly after the railroad was completed to the town, Northfield became the port of entry. In 1894, the port of entry was moved to Marcus because of the large amount of wagon traffic between Marcus and British Columbia. In 1895, Northport (about 11 miles south of Boundary), was made the American port of entry (Steele 1904:149). The Northport customs office was located in the railway depot and was operated in the early days by Hugh McCool (Hirsch 1981:18)... In 1928, Benner and Hughes reported that the customs and immigration offices at Northport were furnished by the railroad; they did not recommend the construction of a highway inspection station since the road had not been improved at that time and international traffic was negligible (Benner and Hughes 1928:43). In 1966,

the port of entry was moved from Northport to the border towns of Boundary and Frontier.

4.0 Research Design

4.1 Old Boundary Townsite

The data recovery program at Site 45ST632 is aimed at expanding our knowledge of regional history by documenting aspects of the development of a late nineteenth-to-early twentieth century frontier and border townsite. Frontier townsites often served as a nexus for political, economic, and social activities, and played an important role in the development of local cultural identity. The development and implementation of this research design is guided by current research topics in historical archaeology and regional history, and utilizes the archaeological record at the Old Boundary Town Site.

The cultural remains encountered at the site during previous archaeological research indicate that the site contains structural features and remains, and possibly a variety of other features. Based on the analysis of artifacts recovered and features identified during the archaeological and geophysical surveys, as well as the historical research, the major components at the site appear to be several house sites, the Boundary Post Office, and possibly businesses. Only a few artifacts have been recovered from surface contexts that mostly date to the early twentieth century. Judging from the archaeological and geophysical surveys, the site has good potential for the presence of intact subsurface deposits and features.

The Old Boundary Townsite lends itself to an in-depth analysis of the site as a frontier and border townsite. Gilpin et al.'s (2009) research questions posed above are not necessarily placed within the framework of frontier and rural settlements and can be revised to understand the town in this context. As a frontier town, as well as a true border town, Old Boundary may stereotypically fall into the periphery of a core-periphery relationship. But as Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) point out, the core-periphery concept is flawed in regards to frontier outposts or towns because it places them as "passive recipients of core innovations" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:472) and fails to treat them as zones of cultural and ethnic interaction and innovation, frontier outposts and towns are not investigated on a microscale, and frontier settlements are not analyzed spatially or in a diachronic framework. By revising Gilpin et al.'s research questions we can better understand: (A) the townsite's place as a frontier and border town; (B) the interactions of Euroamericans, Eurocanadians, recent European and Asian immigrants, and Native Americans in a frontier setting; and (C) the possibility of a pre-contact Native American settlement.

This research design, therefore, is organized to follow along several lines of inquiry, posed by Gilpin et al. (2009) and revised to place them in the context of frontier and rural settlement studies:

- (1) Gilpin et al. (2009) posed the question on whether the different ethnic groups that may have inhabited Old Boundary be identified from the material culture and features at the site? For instance, CBP Officer Henry mentioned the possibility of Chinese placer miners living at the townsite, but initial archival research returned little in the way of affirmative results for this location. The research potential remains, however, for

inquiries into the location of possible Chinese and other ethnicities' settlements/areas of the town, or activity areas in and around Old Boundary. The opportunity exists at Old Boundary to better understand the complex interactions between different ethnic groups. Were there distinctive borders that separated different ethnic groups at the town? What role did Native Americans play in these interactions? Can evidence for cross-cultural interaction be identified through a diachronic analysis of the recovered artifacts and spatial arrangement of the town?

- (2) As Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) note, studies of frontier outposts or towns are often placed within a macro-scaled model of core-periphery interaction. There is little analysis of these towns as individual communities or households where this interaction happened. At Old Boundary we have the possibility to identify individual households and possibly get a better understanding of how individuals or households interacted on local, regional, and national scales through material culture.
- (3) The approach posed in the above research question (2) also lends itself to the study of the diet, everyday lives, and use of space by the town's inhabitants? In general, can we determine if there are private and public spheres at individual house sites, division of space along gender lines, or separation of commercial, residential, and industrial areas in the town? Are there diachronic changes in the town's organization?
- (4) The discovery of the pipe system is also interesting as this type of system is not typical for a town of Boundary's size and age. Can this feature be more firmly associated with the visible surface features and subsurface anomalies as a sanitary sewer or water system? What can be learned about the idea of communal hygienic practices or the need for running water in such a location?
- (5) Is there evidence for a pre-contact or historic Native American settlement in this location? Gilpin et al. (2009) note that ethnographic studies place an important Lakes Tribe village near Old Boundary, but the exact location is not known. Bouchard and Kennedy (1984) note that several sources place the site nearer the mouth of the Pend Oreille River, likely where the Canadian town of Waneta originally stood.

4.1.1 Ethnicity

Frontier towns and outposts often serve as arbitrary markers between groups or nations meant to inhibit or diminish cultural interactions. In reality they are not closed systems but rather they are the location of vibrant cultural encounters and are ideal locations "to study interethnic interactions between diverse peoples; the development of new material and cultural innovations; and the construction, negotiation, and manipulation of group identities" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:474). Old Boundary may not be the ideal laboratory for researching the development of new cultural identities, but it does seem to be a place where we can study interethnic interactions and the construction, negotiation, and manipulation of group identities.

At this time there is little known about the cultural heritage or ethnicity of the people who occupied the Old Boundary Townsite. As mentioned above, there is anecdotal evidence for Chinese miners living at the town, but our current research has not confirmed this. In addition, there may have been a significant Native American presence at the town, as tribes, such as the

Lakes, Colville, and Okanagan, lived in the general area, and, in fact, the Lakes tribe had a village either at or near the townsite. To elucidate more information on the different ethnic groups that lived at Old Boundary we will conduct additional archival research into deeds, tax records, census records, and oral interviews, which may provide us more data on the ethnicity of the town's occupants. These data can then be used to better understand in synchronic and diachronic manners the recovered archaeological materials, the town's spatial arrangement, and to place the town and assemblage into a comparative context with other late nineteenth and early twentieth century western mining and frontier towns.

The concept of ethnicity is one of the most common and sought out questions in historical archaeology. Early studies attempted to identify artifact patterns, or groups of artifacts, whereby identity of a specific ethnic group could be made. In these studies, archaeologists quantified artifacts and tried to determine the specific group, or groups, of artifacts that defined an ethnic group. There were also attempts to identify "-isms", or artifacts that explicitly were attributable to a group. However, ethnicity is a cultural construct and the lines that divide are often blurred by the quick creolization process that groups went through when they came to the United States. Recent scholarship has attempted to study this creolization process, whereby groups that have contact exchange various aspects of their culture rather than one being a passive recipient of a cultural innovator (i.e., dominant culture), ultimately leading to an ethnic identity that includes some portion of the other's culture and identity.

At late nineteenth and early twentieth century western mining and frontier towns, ethnic identity is predominately Euroamerican, with influences from recent European immigrants, Native Americans, African Americans, and Asian/Asian Americans. However, there were distinctive lines of segregation, present even in the smallest towns, dividing areas where those of the same heritage, ancestry, and/or religion lived, shopped, or socialized. This segregation meant that the interactions characteristic of the creolization process slowed, but ultimately this process became vibrant and active, and over time there became a syncretic blurring of ethnic lines whereby all ethnic groups came to mirror a dominant culture with retentions of their own ethnic heritage.

Ethnicity may be explored through several lines of inquiry. First, artifacts are key indicators of ethnicity and researchers at contemporaneous mining and frontier towns have identified artifacts characteristic of different ethnic groups, especially the Chinese. Differences along ethnic lines may be seen in the types and quantities of ceramics (specifically Chinese manufactured ceramics); faunal materials and how they were processed (e.g., butchering techniques); personal items; and glassware (medicine, liquor, and condiment bottles). As mentioned above, however, the creolization process often blurs the differences among groups' different heritage over time. It is possible, therefore, that diachronic changes in material culture, indicative of ethnicity, may be explored through the analysis of recovered artifacts such as a decrease in artifacts associated with a specific ethnic group. We must, when conducting these analyses, make certain that we are not announcing an artifact or group of artifacts as indicative of a certain ethnic group when in reality the artifact is idiosyncratic of one person or family. We will, therefore, place the Boundary Townsite into a comparative context with contemporaneous sites in Washington, as well as with mining and frontier towns across the west.

Second, ethnicity may be visible in the organization of space at the site on two levels: across the town and at the household level. In regards to the townsite as a whole, there may be segregation of different ethnic groups to certain portions of the town. Through the archival research into deed and tax records as well as through the recovered artifacts, we may be able to identify spatial patterns in the town's organization. Because we will be looking at the household level as well, we are likely to identify diachronic differences if they exist. At the household level, different ethnic groups may have held different occupations that may or may not have an archaeological signature. For instance, for someone who worked away from the domestic sphere (i.e., mining or working for the railroad) there would be little signature in the house or yard of their occupation. Conversely, some activities or enterprises such as laundries, which were often owned and operated by Chinese, may have significant house and yard signatures that can be identified archaeologically through the occurrence of such features indicative of wash houses and wood sheds that do not occur elsewhere. Using mechanical stripping to open large horizontal areas of the site gives us the ability to see these features, map their relative locations, and better understand their spatial relationship.

Third, through the archival research, and corroboration with the archaeological research, it may be possible to determine if there were differences in labor groups or tasks based upon ethnicity. As mentioned above (Section 2.0), GLO surveyors in the late nineteenth century noted the presence of Chinese placer miners in northeastern Washington. The Chinese, as well as other Asian groups, often worked for the railroad or operated laundries. Is there a difference in the material culture among those who may have worked on the railroad, in the mines, or operated a laundry?

And finally, can we gain a better understand in the role the Native Americans may have played in the cultural interactions at the town as well as in northeastern Washington. As noted in Gilpin et al. (2009), there was a Lakes Tribe village somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the Old Boundary Townsite. This village appears to have been abandoned by the time the Old Boundary Townsite was established but Native Americans continued to live in the area throughout its occupation. Through artifacts and archival documents we can possibly determine if Native Americans continued to live at the site and if so, how the cultural interactions between Native Americans and other ethnic groups are represented in the material culture.

Ethnicity may also mirror concomitant socioeconomic standing, whereby one ethnic groups is viewed by others as having a lower or higher socioeconomic standing. These perceptions may be based in reality, masked by the ethnocentrism of other groups, or masked by the group itself to hide its wealth in light of the poorer conditions of others. This latter situation may bring reprisals from others that could not only bring physical harm but adversely impact the business or service the people were providing. Through artifacts we can examine whether ethnicity and socioeconomic standing are reflective of each other or perceptions held by others. For instance, variances in the relative costs of ceramics, types and cuts of meat, construction materials and methods of a building, and personal items are different ways that we can examine socioeconomics while simultaneously studying ethnicity.

4.1.2 The Townsite in Understanding Core-Periphery Relationships and Everyday Life

As Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) noted, the study of frontier towns and outposts is often at a macroscale, placing the settlement into larger pictures of core-periphery relationships not taking into account the everyday lives of the people. The Old Boundary Townsite gives us the opportunity to not only place it within this larger framework of core-periphery relationships but to gain a better understanding of the everyday lives of the town's occupants.

The core-periphery concept is based in Wallerstein's (1974) world systems theory where there is a dominant core establishment that extracts resources from the peripheral settlements. In this colonizer model, the core is where innovation took place that ultimately made its way to the periphery. Archaeologists typically study this phenomenon by studying the flow of resources from the periphery to the core and the resultant flow of refined goods back to the periphery. In these models archaeologists plot the progression of certain goods from the core to the periphery on a macroscale with little regard to individual households and their specific situations and needs. Because the household is the single most important scale of study, this approach fails to take into account the individual in regards their needs of every day.

Our study of the Old Boundary Townsite can be placed into a macroscale approach that can contribute to broader studies of core-periphery relationships. Through the archival research we can gain insight into whether the placer mining at the town and in the general area was successful and what minerals or metals were being exported. Additionally, through the study of artifacts we can begin to understand how Old Boundary fit into larger regional, national, and international trade networks. For instance, bottles manufactured in Illinois and Canada and ceramics made in England have already been found at the site. Given the site's location on the Canadian border and the apparently lax control historically in the flow of people and goods across the border in this location could we possibly see a greater abundance of Canadian goods in the town that may not even appear in locations as nearby as Spokane? Are there diachronic changes in this pattern as the town slowly died and border restrictions changed?

The microscale archaeological inquiry into the everyday life of past people centers not only on the visible aspects of the archaeological record, like structural remains, but includes the more mundane aspects of everyday life, like evidence for building construction, renovation, and demolition; landscaping; and on-site facilities for obtaining water, food preparation and storage, and waste disposal. When placed into a comparative context with contemporaneous frontier, mining, rural, and urban sites questions can be asked regarding: (1) whether there are diachronic changes in construction materials and methods; (2) can information on purchasing habits, dietary choices, gender activities, or social interactions be elucidated from the recovered artifacts; and (3) what does the location of on-site facilities imply about the occupants' conceptions regarding the use of space? Also, can changes in the latter two of these aspects be identified through time?

A microscale, diachronic study of any townsite should not only address the physical aspects of the structures at the site but should also address the site's spatial arrangement. The basic framework for interpreting the organization of activities within a lot or town is an understanding of the spatial arrangement of architectural and landscape elements. The spatial arrangement of structures, features, and activity areas at commercial and domestic sites, as in a town like

Boundary, is not based in ethnicity, as discussed above, but closely tied to public (e.g., commercial-related) and private (e.g., family-related) spheres, and influenced by gender-specific activity areas. These spheres and activity areas can be identified archaeologically through the documentation of interior and exterior spaces, features, refuse areas, and evidence of landscaping activities.

Commercial sites, such as taverns and stores, were not only commercial ventures but also served as the primary residence of the proprietors. In these situations, the areas where the commercial business occurred are known as the "public sphere," and areas where the family conducted their day-to-day affairs are known as the "private sphere" (Brown et al. 1999; King and Miller 1987). An example is the study of the van Sweringen Site, a lodging house and domestic residence in Maryland. King and Miller (1987) used artifactual data from plowzone midden contexts to identify areas associated with private and public activities. During the earlier occupations at the site, the parts of the yard where few artifacts were found were interpreted as private family areas, while the public areas were used for trash disposal. In the later deposits this pattern became reversed as the public areas were clean of trash and the private areas became loci of activity and disposal. In addition, the midden around an outbuilding at the site had a higher ratio of beverage and food consumption vessels, suggesting it was used as a public drinking establishment.

Some researchers (Gibb and King 1991; Gibb 1996; Scott 1994; Seifert 1991) have shown that the spatial organization of rural and urban house lots and yards is based on the arrangement of gender-specific activity areas. For instance, rural and urban farmsteads are often arranged with an inner yard where activities typically associated with female roles occurred, e.g., food preparation and storage, and an outer yard where activities typically associated with male roles occurred, e.g., agricultural and animal husbandry (Moir 1988; Stewart-Abernathy 1986). The inner yard can have such features as a smokehouse, dairy, cellar, garden, or woodshed. The outer yard would have animal pens, blacksmithing sheds, and barns. The occurrence of artifacts associated with typically female or male activities led Gibb and King (1991) to identify gender-specific activity areas at three seventeenth century Chesapeake sites. For instance, at the St. John's Site in Maryland, they associated three midden areas with women's activities because of the relatively high occurrence of kitchen-related ceramics (cooking, storage, and consumption vessels) and faunal remains.

Research at domestic and commercial sites across the United States have shown that the use of space often shifts through time based on the occupant's changing concepts regarding the use of space. The house sites at the Old Boundary Townsite can be used to (1) bridge the gap regarding the use of space at domestic and commercial sites; (2) explore the possibility of identifying activity areas reflective of gender roles; and (3) determine the types of structure present at late nineteenth and early twentieth century communities. Diachronic change and synchronic differences in the spatial arrangement may be indicators of changing concepts regarding gender roles and the use of public and private space at rural western communities.

On relatively undisturbed sites like the Old Boundary Townsite, spatial archaeology has two dimensions: the distribution of artifacts and the distribution of surface and subsurface cultural features. In order to realistically study the use of space, and to adequately observe and recognize the nature of changing land use and different activity areas, it is necessary to (1) excavate intact

cultural deposits for artifacts, and (2) open large contiguous areas that will expose the region around a house or outbuildings to identify cultural features. Sampling the cultural deposits can capture the horizontal distribution of activity areas and chronologically distinct depositional areas. Several surface features have been mapped and the geophysical survey suggests that subsurface features are present at the site. The mapping and excavation of these features can provide several types of spatial data. The locations of buildings, fences, wells, privies, ditches, and other permanent structures can be determined directly. Also, the refuse deposits found in features can provide further information about the location of activities and the pattern of trash disposal.

4.1.3 Pipe System

The possible pipe system identified during the archaeological and geophysical survey is unusual for several reasons. First, sanitary water or sewer systems were common for larger cities at the end of the nineteenth century, but for smaller frontier towns, like Old Boundary, this type of system was not common. The residences and commercial establishments in most small frontier towns of this time period relied upon individual wells, or cisterns, for water, and privies for waste. The wells and cisterns were typically close to the structure they supplied, while privies were located away from the structure, often at the rear of the lot.

Second, the installation of a pipe system for water and/or waste management required a certain level of corporate or municipal investment in time, organization, and money. Based on current research, there does not seem to have been a strong municipal structure to the town of Old Boundary. So that suggests that there was corporate backing for the installation of the pipe. So if it was the latter, could it have been installed by the railroad or a mining company that wanted to add a certain level of convenience and comfort to a frontier border town?

Third, based on the results of the geophysical survey, the pipe system appears to correlate with several of the known structures, leading to the question of whether the system was available to all of the houses and/or commercial establishments. Differential access to the system would suggest diachronic changes in access as well as access that may have been based in ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or connection to the entity that funded the system's development.

At this point it is not known whether the pipe system was for water or waste management. If it was a corporate or municipal water system, then the question is where did the water come from? Obviously the Columbia River is a major water source and could have easily been tapped for larger amounts of water, but the river is lower in elevation than the townsite, so either a pump or vacuum system had to be installed to provide sufficient pressure for delivery. As the mineral survey plat (Figure 3) depicts, a ditch ran along the eastern edge of the town and may have provided water to the town. If the pipe system is for waste management, where did it run for waste disposal?

4.1.4 Native American Occupation and Interaction

As Gilpin et al. (2009) reported, north of the Boundary LPOE, near where the Pend d'Oreille River empties into the Columbia River, was a Lakes Tribe village, but there is conflicting information as to the precise location. Bouchard and Kennedy (1984, 1985) state that their

informant placed the village "between the present-day [Canadian] border crossing station and the south bank of the Pend d'Oreille River mouth" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985:124) on the Canadian side of the border, within the old townsite of Waneta. Their informant called this village site *nkwlila7* [sic], which apparently also referred to the lower Pend d'Oreille River (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:415, 1985:125). The site was a winter village during earlier occupations but, by the late 1800s, the site was occupied year round. Teit (1930) placed the village north of the Pend d'Oreille River mouth and used the term *nkoli'la* as the site's name. It is not clear from Bouchard and Kennedy (1984, 1985) or Teit (1930) whether this village site also crossed over the border into the U.S. Ray (1936:125) used the term *nquli'la'* as the village's name and placed it approximately a mile above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River on the Columbia River. Ray reported that there were four or five families living at the site and that these families used the "berry fields and salmon grounds" near Northport.

Bouchard and Kennedy (1985:124) report that Teit, in field notes from 1909, asserts being told that burials were uncovered during construction of houses at Waneta in Canada. Teit implied that there was in fact a rather large burial ground in the vicinity of Waneta. According to Bouchard and Kennedy (1985), Graham (1963) had heard that burials were uncovered during construction of a hotel in Waneta in 1894.

To date, no artifacts or cultural features have been found to suggest a Native American presence at the Old Boundary Townsite during the pre-contact or historic period. Any pre-contact village site may have been located on the lower terrace immediately adjacent to the Columbia River and outside of the project area. The closest information in the United States on pre-contact site location in this area is downriver near Northport. There, pre-contact sites are located on the lower terraces immediately along the river. We, therefore, may not find much evidence for pre-contact occupations in the project area.

Because of the uncertainty in the location of the historic period Lakes Tribe village in the area, it is possible that we may find evidence for historic occupations in the project area that pre-date the Old Boundary Townsite. If there is evidence for this village we will likely find information on the shift from the seasonal to year-round occupation of the site. In addition, information may be gained on historic period diet, interactions with Euroamericans and Eurocanadians, and trade networks. These data will be placed in a comparative context with ethnographic information from Bouchard and Kennedy (1984), Ray (1936), and Teit (1930).

During Old Boundary's existence, there were likely interactions between Native American's and the town's occupants. These could have been through trading opportunities, long-term employment, day labor, or marriage. Some of these interactions may not directly manifest themselves in the archaeological record (such as employment or labor) while others would have definite archaeological signatures either in types of faunal remains, ceramics, or tools. At this point we do not know if any Native Americans lived within Old Boundary, but it is likely they did or at least lived along the town's edges. These areas are generally outside the project area so definitive evidence for Native American occupation may not be found during this work.