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AN AGATE BASIN LOCALITY IN CHEYENNE COUNTY, NORTHWEST KANSAS

JACK L. HOFMAN

University of Kansas

DAN BUSSE

Bird City, Kansas

A Cheyenne County site yielded three Agate Basin projectile points and a limited variety of other Paleoindian and Archaic artifacts in an upland setting. The location may have served as a hunting overlook, and the specimens suggest retooling activities during Paleoindian and later periods. Some other finds of Agate Basin points in Kansas are noted, and issues in their identification are reviewed.

INTRODUCTION AND SETTING

Dan's Agate Basin site (14CN9) was recorded in May 2023 after the discovery of Agate Basin point fragments, found within a few meters of each other, along with a few other artifacts. Previously over a period of many years, other finds in the area included Paleoindian and Archaic-age point segments, a biface, and hearth stones. The site is in an upland pasture with native grasses. Surface exposures that have yielded artifacts are along a two-track trail through a pasture (Figure 1). The full extent of the site is unknown, but the recorded finds were scattered over a tract of about 150 m north-south and 25 m east-west. Recent work to repair and maintain the two-track path resulted in newly exposed ground where the Agate Basin points were collected. The find location and the prominent hill just to the north provide an ideal setting for viewing the landscape for miles in all directions. Upland sites with similar settings have been documented at Mount Sunflower (Hofman and Crable 2017) and the Harlan's Hilltop site (Crable 2023) in Sherman County, southwest of Goodland. Hunting overlooks and retooling stations in comparable settings occur throughout the Great Plains region (e.g., Hofman and Ingbar 1988).

The Cheyenne County site is on the High Plains surface within a meander bend of Little Beaver Creek and overlooks the drainage with good visi-

bility in all directions. Isolated outcrops of Ogallala Formation caliche caprock appear intermittently along this stretch of the creek, and there is one such outcrop about 150 m northwest of the Agate Basin find spot. That outcrop probably marks the location of a previously active spring.

Previous archeological research in the vicinity includes investigations of the Clovis-age Busse Cache (14SN1) (Hofman 1995, 1996, 1997), the Late Paleoindian Laird bison kill site (14SN2) (Hofman and Blackmar 1997; Mandel et al. 2004), and the 1867 Kidder Massacre site (Johnson and Allan 1999), all of which are in northern Sherman County about 16 km south of 14CN9. The Folsom-age bison kill at 12 Mile Creek in Logan County is about 95 km to the southeast (Hill 1996; Hofman 1996). The Hell Gap-age Jones-Miller site (5YM3) is in eastern Colorado about 60 km northwest of 14CN9 (Stanford 1975, 1999). Hell Gap components occur stratigraphically above Agate Basin and are dated slightly younger (Kornfeld et al. 2010; Stanford 1999). The Burntwood Creek bison kill site (14RW2) of Allen age (ca. 11,000 years old) is about 30 km to the northeast (Hill et al. 1992; Hofman 2010; Hofman and Crable 2023). Norton (14SC6) is another Allen complex kill site, located about 30 km south of 12 Mile Creek (Hofman 2010). The late prehistoric Willis-Beeson bison kill site (14CN6) is in northwestern Cheyenne



Figure 1. Location of 14CN9 and view northwest across site.

County about 20 km northwest of 14CN9 (Hofman and Crable 2020). These sites, along with the Agate Basin locality reported here, help document the prehistory of the area and the importance of the region for bison-hunting cultures for many thousands of years.

ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS

Each of the artifacts from the site is described here, with summary information on metrics and lithic materials provided in Table 1.

Agate Basin Points

The first Agate Basin point is a large base and blade fragment, missing the tip (Figures 2A and 8A). It was manufactured from a distinctive silicified wood of a variety that occurs in the Hahn Divide area of eastern Colorado and sometimes is referred to as Black Forest or Elizabeth petrified wood. This material is well represented in Paleoindian and later assemblages from east of the Front Range and

from the San Luis Valley to the west (Banks 1990; Greiser 1985; Hofman et al. 2002; Jodry 1999). The point displays a large impact break on the distal end that twists obliquely across the blade, ending with a burin-like fracture that extends down one edge toward the base. The base is slightly concave rather than convex, as is most common on Agate Basin points from the type site (Frison and Stanford 1982:Figures 2.48–2.57), although straight and slightly concave bases are also recurrent forms in the type site assemblage. The basal width is 15.88 mm. This point is very well made, being completely bifacially flaked with horizontal co-medial flake scars. The cross section is symmetrically bi-convex, and the edges are straight and slightly expanding from the base. The base and lateral edges are heavily ground. This point remnant measures about 4.5 cm in length, but the nature of the fracture across the blade makes it unsuitable for reworking, as it would be shorter than the smallest complete specimens from the Agate Basin (48NO201) or Hell Gap (48GO305) sites (Bradley 1982, 2009), which are about 4 cm in length. Agate Basin points commonly

Table 1. 14CN9 Artifact Descriptions.

Type	Portion	Material	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Thickness (mm)	Base width (mm)	Weight (g)	Notes
Agate Basin point	Base & blade	Fossil wood	44.97+	25.26+	7.37	15.88	9.50	Impact break burination
Agate Basin point	Base	Smoky Hill jasper	23.08+	25.12+	6.49	19.35	2.60	2 m from other Agate Basin point
Agate Basin point	Base	Smoky Hill jasper	25.54+	21.93+	6.49			3 m from first Agate Basin point
Allen point	Blade	Smoky Hill jasper	22.60+	22.71	5.14	NA		
Point	Edge	Smoky Hill jasper	15.44+	14.30+	5.43+	NA		Allen?
Preform	Blade	Smoky Hill jasper	25.78+	29.03+	5.44	NA		
Corner-notched point	Nearly complete	Hartville Uplift chert	27.29+	23.13+	4.68	15.90		Stem width = 14.74 cm
Point	Tip	Hartville Uplift chert	23.71+	16.89+	4.03	NA		Archaic
Endscraper	Complete	Edwards chert	26.51	24.74	10.38	NA		
Flake tool	Mid-section	Smoky Hill jasper	16.62+	17.25+	5.18	NA		Bi-lateral dorsal retouch
Flake tool	Mid-section	Smoky Hill jasper	25.98	19.80	4.07	NA		Graver with lateral dorsal retouch
Flake tool	Edge	Permian B chert	14.64+	15.19+	3.14	NA		Long biface thinning flake with lateral dorsal retouch
Bifacial thinning flake	Proximal	Tongue River silicified sediment	13.15+	17.55	4.69	NA		Platform = 14.64 x 4.34 mm
Preform	Base & blade	Flattop chalcedony	63.71+	33.61	9.39	NA		West across creek from site

+ indicates measurements of broken pieces.

were reworked (e.g., Bradley 2009:264–288), but the two pieces from 14CN9 are too small for such reshaping. Bradley (2009:265) suggested, “. . . part of the initial design was a built-in capacity to sustain significant damage and breakage, with the resulting fragments being useful as projectile points with a minimum of reworking. The relatively long lozenge shape allowed both proximal and distal fragments to be reworked into serviceable points, even with the ends being switched around.”

The second Agate Basin point is a base section made from a nearly white phase of Smoky Hill jas-

per (Figures 2B and 8B). The corners of the base are broken, probably due to impact damage while in the haft, and a hinge break across the blade is present about 2.5 cm above the base. The basal outline was apparently straight to slightly convex, but that is difficult to determine precisely due to the broken corners. The basal width is just over 19 mm. The lateral edges are heavily ground. The cross section is relatively thin bi-convex. The base is completely bifacially flaked with no evidence of a flake blank, and flaking is relatively broad horizontal parallel and co-medial.

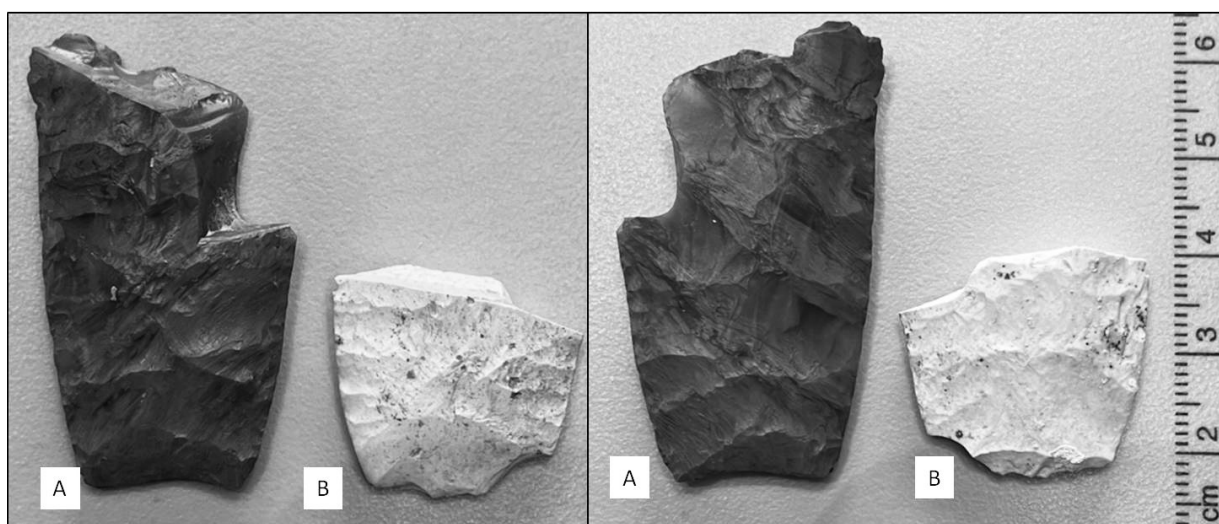


Figure 2. First (A) and second (B) Agate Basin point fragments; side 1 on left and side 2 on right.

The third Agate Basin point, found about 3 m from the first, is represented by a basal fragment made of Smoky Hill jasper (Figure 3A). The very slightly concave base has squared corners and is heavily ground on the base and lateral edges. The basal edge was shaped by five or six short retouch flakes on both faces. It has a snap and bend fracture across the blade. The cross section is nearly identical to that of the second Agate Basin basal fragment, but it is thinner than the larger fossil wood fragment. The squared corners and relatively thin cross section could result from the point having been broken at the top, commonly the thinnest portion of Agate Basin points (Ahler 2003), and then reworked to make the original broken tip into the current base and the original base into the tip that subsequently broke off. The trans-medial flake scars near the base may result from such reworking, which was relatively common on Agate Basin points (Bradley 2009; Frison 1991). Squared corners are a recurrent form; however, not all were reworked from broken pieces (Bradley 2010:482–483).

Other Points

The site collection contains four other projectile point fragments. In addition, a dart point preform, found about 450 m distant across Little Beaver Creek, is described here. Collectively, these artifacts reflect a long period of intermittent activity in the area.

ALLEN POINT MID-SECTION

This blade mid-section of an Allen point was fashioned from Smoky Hill jasper (Figure 4A). The segment is heavily damaged with a compound twist break across the distal end and an associated burin fracture extending toward the base on one edge. The proximal end has a bending fracture, and the basal corners are missing. One intact edge is ground. Flaking is parallel and slightly oblique from upper left to lower right.

PROJECTILE POINT EDGE

This specimen is a small edge portion from a biface made from Smoky Hill jasper (Figures 5 and 8C). It is dart point size but small and heavily weathered. The flake scar pattern on at least one face is parallel oblique, upper left to lower right from the edge. The heavy degree of weathering suggests considerable age, but whether it is from a Paleoindian or Archaic dart point or from some other bifacial artifact is unknown. No grinding is evident on the edge, but this could have been obliterated by weathering. Given the size and flaking, it could come from a second Allen point.

CORNER-NOTCHED ARCHAIC POINT

This corner-notched dart point has a broken tip, shoulder, and basal corner (Figure 6A). It was manufactured from slightly translucent purple Hartville Uplift chert. A prominent impact scar terminates the distal end, and the shoulder and basal corner frac-

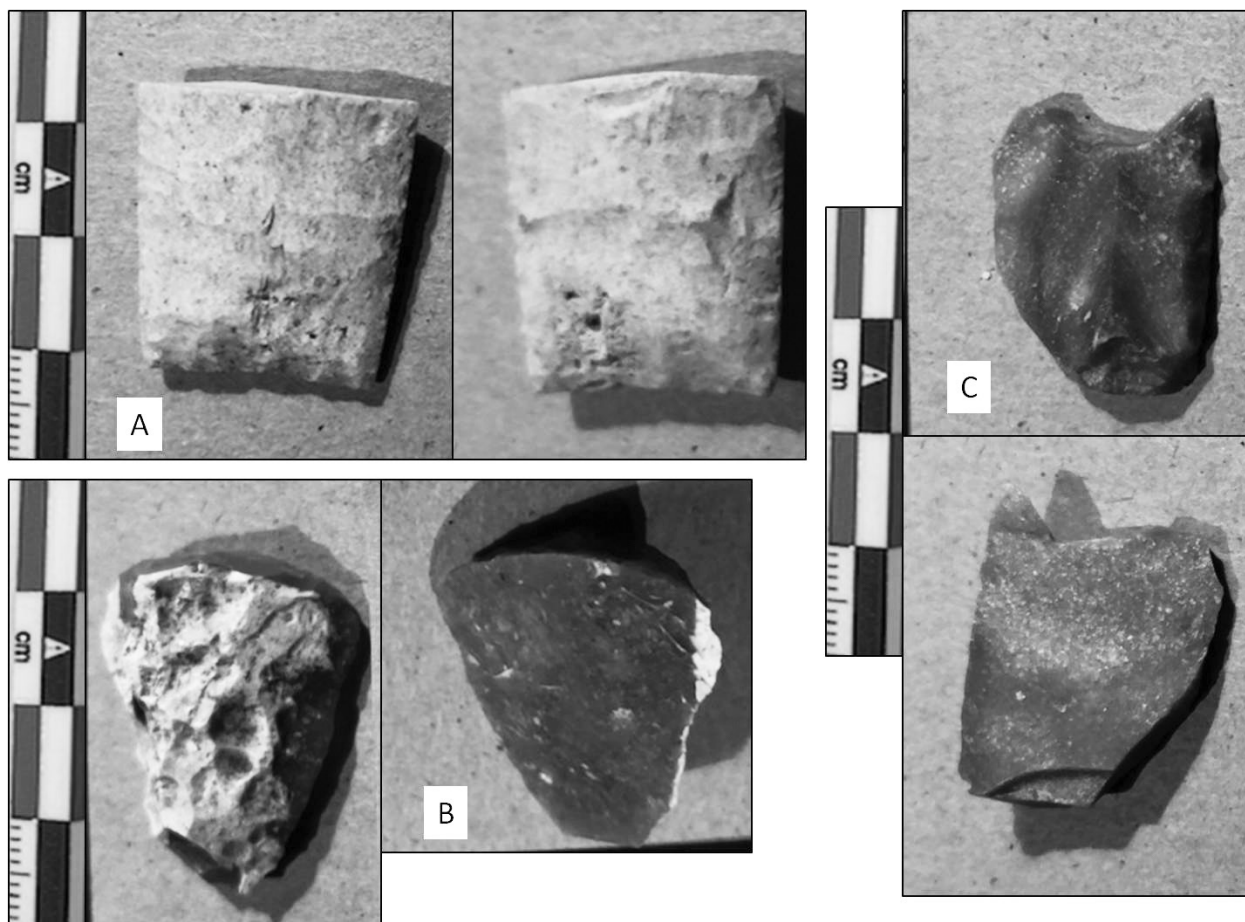


Figure 3. A. Third Agate Basin point base of Smoky Hill jasper, side 1 on left and side 2 on right; B. endscraper of Edwards chert, dorsal on left and ventral on right; C. retouched flake tool of Smoky Hill jasper with possible graver spur, dorsal above and ventral below.

tures probably result from impact with a hard material, such as bone.

DART POINT TIP

This projectile point fragment has a sharp undamaged tip and an oblique hinge break across the proximal blade (Figure 6B). It is of comparable size to the impact-damaged dart point and was chipped from the same lithic material, Hartville Uplift chert.

PREFORM

This preform (Figure 7) was made from a mottled white variety of White River Group chalcedony (Ahler 1977; Hoard et al. 1993). It was an isolated find, located about 1,100 m northwest of the Agate Basin points. The specimen has a perverse fracture across the blade and apparently broke during man-

ufacture (Figure 7B). Flaking includes *outré-passé* scars, a technique that is common on Clovis projectile point preforms (Bradley 1982:203–208; Bradley et al. 2010:68–77). Sellet (2015) has documented the presence of *outré-passé* flaking in Agate Basin point production, and this method was noted by Bradley (2009:265) as well. Possibly this preform with *outré-passé* flaking related to the Agate Basin activity at Dan's site, situated 1,100 m southeast across the drainage.

Other Artifacts

BIFACE

This biface mid-section is made from Smoky Hill jasper (Figure 4B). It is asymmetrically bi-convex with parallel co-medial flaking on both faces. The

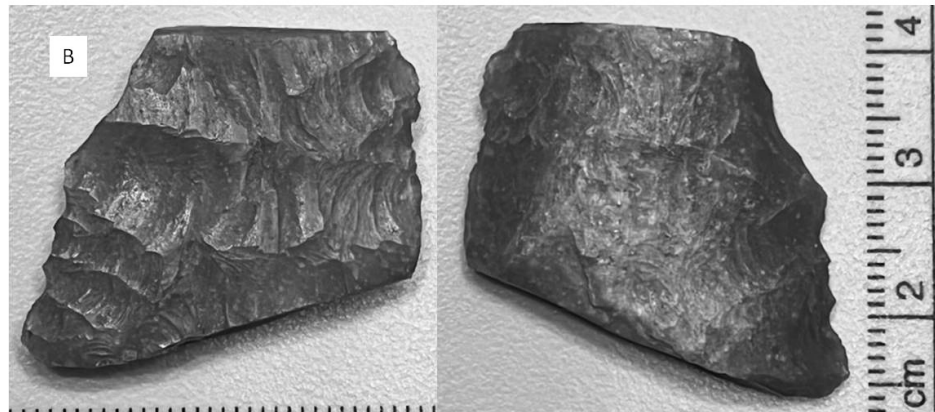


Figure 4. Allen point (A) and preform (B) mid-sections; side 1 on left and side 2 on right. Both specimens are made from Smoky Hill jasper.

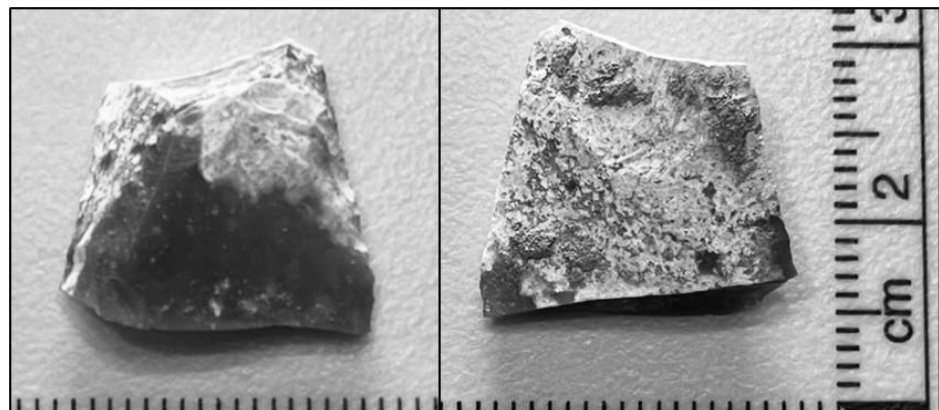


Figure 5. Projectile point edge, probable Allen point fragment made from Smoky Hill jasper; side 1 on left and side 2 on right.

piece has a bending fracture across the distal end and an oblique twisting fracture across the proximal end. The edges do not appear to have been retouched or finished, and this biface probably represents a preform that perhaps was broken during manufacture. The width suggests Archaic dart point styles rather than the narrow blades more common on many Paleoindian point types. However, finishing and final retouch of the edges could make this

preform narrower and within the range of lanceolate Paleoindian types.

ENDSCRAPER

An endscraper, manufactured from Edwards chert, was found a few meters from the first Agate Basin point (Figure 3B). White chalky cortex, pot-lidded by frost fracture, covered most of the dorsal surface, but cortex was removed by retouch of the

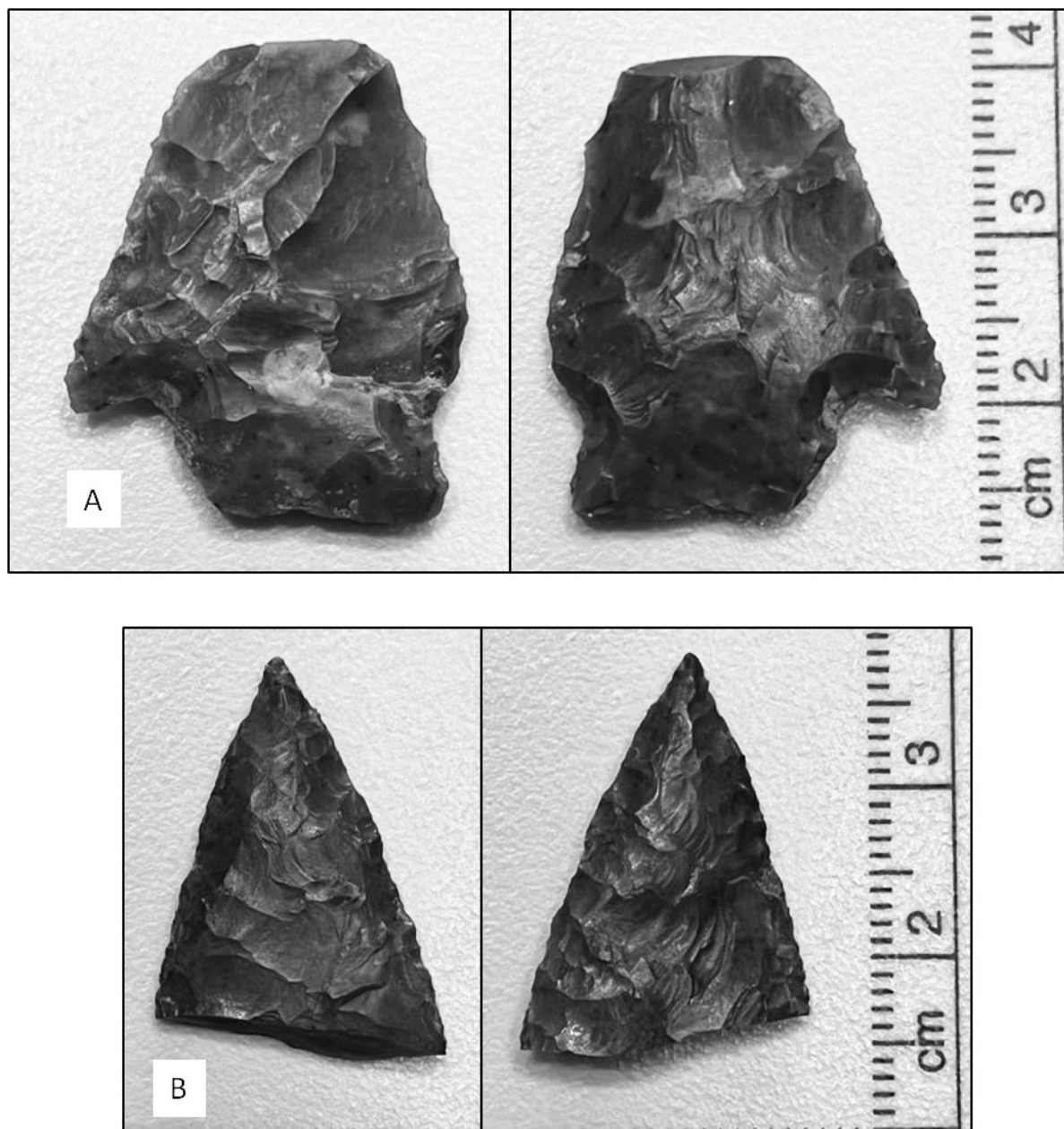


Figure 6. Corner-notched Archaic dart point and projectile point tip; side 1 on left and side 2 on right. Both are made from Hartville Uplift chert with primary sources in eastern Wyoming.

distal or bit end, one lateral edge, and the base or platform end of the flake. Fine retouch produced a smooth convex distal end. The bit edge is dulled, probably from use in hide processing. The original flake platform is missing, and the right lateral edge is retouched on the dorsal surface. Edwards chert comes from sources in central Texas (Banks 1990) and has been documented at the Burntwood Creek

site as an Allen point fragment and at the Norton site as an endscraper (Hofman 2010). Folsom points of Edwards chert also have been documented in Kansas (Asher 2015; Hofman 1994).

FLAKE TOOLS

A modified flake of Smoky Hill jasper is retouched on the dorsal face of both lateral edges (Figure 8D).



Figure 7. Bifacial preform with outré-passé flaking made from Flattop chalcedony (Chadron Formation); A. side 1 and B. side 2. This artifact was found 1,100 m northwest of the Agate Basin points.

The platform and distal end are missing. The modified edges are straight but convergent, suggesting that the tool may have had a pointed or rounded tip before it broke. The tool is relatively thick and could have served as a scraper.

A second flake tool of Smoky Hill jasper has retouch on one edge (Figure 3C). The proximal and distal ends were broken with compound fractures, so the platform is missing. The distal end has a concave fracture, resulting in a distinct spur or graver tip on the retouched edge. The tip of this projection exhibits some wear or polish from use. The concave edge also might have been used but was not deliberately retouched into its final form.

A thin flake of high quality gray Permian chert (Florence B) was retouched on the dorsal lateral edge (Figure 8E). It is a small edge margin of what apparently was a large flake, but the platform and distal ends are missing. The tool could have been useful for light-duty cutting tasks.

FLAKE DEBITAGE

A biface thinning flake of Tongue River silicified sediment (TRSS) is the only unmodified flake found on the surface of the site (Figure 8F). The specimen has a thick, heavily ground, faceted platform and apparently was derived from a bifacial preform. TRSS is widely recognized and has been referred to by multiple names, including Ogallala quartzite and Ogallala chert. It commonly occurs in gravel deposits of Rocky Mountain outwash materials of Pliocene age in the High Plains and prairie plains (Ahler 1977).

HEARTH STONES

Burned caliche stones are exposed in the two-track trail northeast of the cattle guard and probably are hearth remains. This feature is well north of the documented artifact locations. The uses of hearth stones were typically for cooking by stone boiling

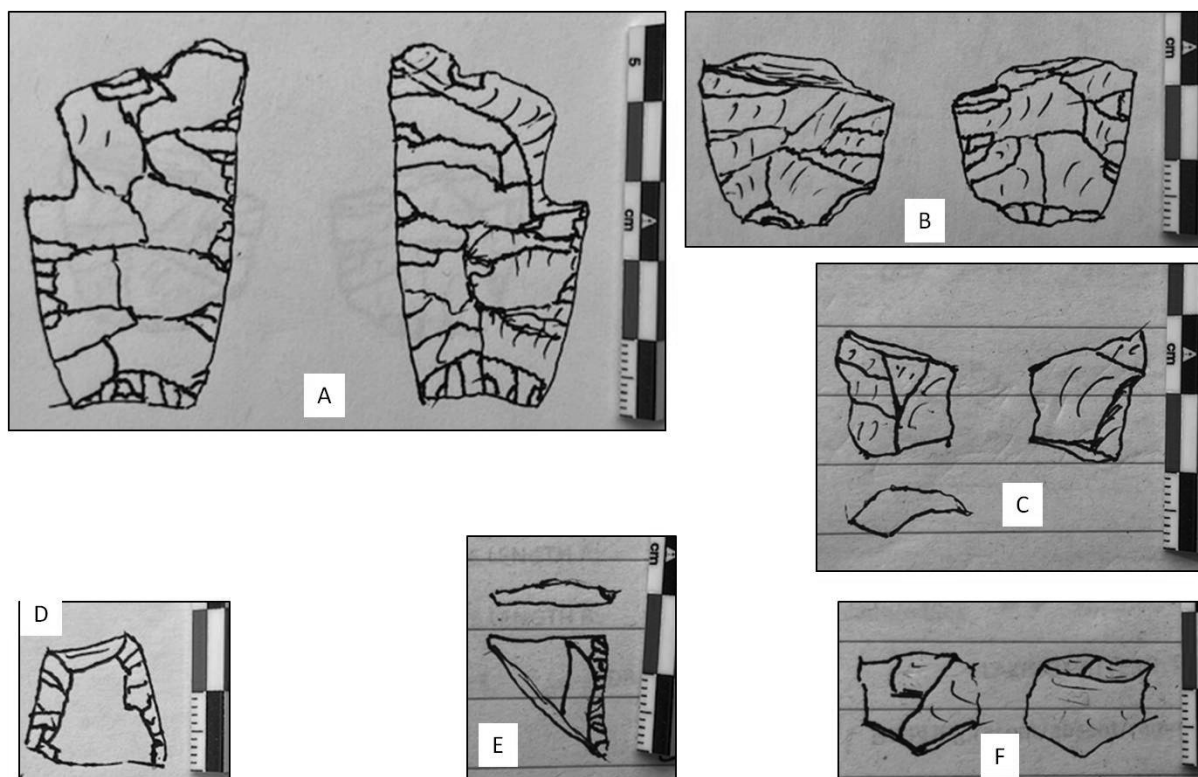


Figure 8. Sketches of selected artifacts from 14CN9: A. Agate Basin point, B. Agate Basin point, C. possible Allen point edge fragment, D. retouched flake tool of Smoky Hill jasper, E. retouched flake tool of Permian B chert, F. biface thinning flake of Tongue River silicified sediment.

or for heat retention during cool weather. The age of the hearth is unknown, but it could relate to almost any of the cultural components represented at the site. However, hearths with stones are uncommon at Paleoindian sites. Other hilltop sites in the region, including Mount Sunflower and Harlan's Hill, have hearths with caliche and quartzite stones and likely reflect activities of Archaic and Late Prehistoric peoples (Crabbe 2023; Hofman and Crabbe 2017).

DISCUSSION

Agate Basin points have been found throughout Kansas, although in small numbers. Detailed information pertaining to these finds rarely has been formally published other than notes or maps of occurrences (Brown and Logan 1987; Glover 1987; Hofman 1996:65–66; Stein 1984; Weatherill 1995; Yapple 1968). No artifact assemblages attributed to the Agate Basin cultural complex have been reported in the state. Agate Basin specimens have been documented in numerous private collections,

representing most ecological regions of Kansas; Table 2 provides summary information about a small sample.

The age of Agate Basin points, based on a range of radiocarbon dates primarily from the Northern Plains, is 10,500–10,000 radiocarbon years before present (Kornfeld et al. 2010:84–86; Larson et al. 2009; Taylor 2006), or at least 11,000 calendar years ago.

Origins of Agate Basin technology and hafting are unclear (e.g., Shelley and Agogono 1983), but most researchers concur that this type developed somewhere in the northern Rockies or to their west in the Great Basin (Bradley 1980, 2009; Davis 1993; Davis and Greiser 1992; Frison 1991; Pitblado 2003:107–110; Stanford 1999:312; Taylor 2006:186). Potential relationships between Agate Basin technology and other fluted and unfluted Paleoindian projectile point technologies have been widely discussed and debated. Technological insights offered by Bradley (1982, 1993, 2009) are particularly informative in this regard. The style is

Table 2. Selected Agate Basin Points from Kansas.

Site	County	Collection	Specimen	Portion	Material	Breaks	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Base width (mm)	Thickness (mm)	Weight (g)	Context	Notes
	Waubansee	S. Wilson		Complete	Florence B chert	Nicks	89.39	21.37	12.85	7.07	16.30	Creek	S Fork Mill Creek
Chalfield	Sherman	H. House		Complete	Florence B chert	None	77.91	22.45	16.07	6.00		Field	
14LV8	Leavenworth	J. Peter	7	Base	Pennsylvanian chert	Crenated	49.11+	27.37	19.09	10.10	12.10	River	Kansas River Finney Co
	Finney	C. Drew		Complete	Alibates flint	Impact	61.80	23.40	17.10	8.10		Sandhills	Museum Collection Finney Co
	Finney	C. Drew		Nearly complete	Smoky Hill jasper	Impact	51.00	18.80	14.70	7.00		Sandhills	Museum Collection
	Waubansee	M. Payne		Base	Florence B chert	Compound	48.30+	28.60		6.71		River	Kansas River
	Sherman	J. Coons		Base	Smoky Hill jasper	Snap	20.38+	21.63	17.51	6.20		Field	Smoky Valley
	Sherman	J. Coons		Complete	Dakota quartzite		57.54	21.83	15.60	5.99		Upland	SW of Rurelton
	Sherman	J. Coons		Base	Dakota quartzite	Hinge	27.49+	22.38	13.60	7.05		Upland	
	Rawlins	R. Frisbee		Base	Smoky Hill jasper	Impact	40.27+	25.57	16.18	7.42		Field	Reverse flute
	Crawford	D. Stites	98-CR	Nearly complete	Mississippian chert	Impact	81.76+	26.90	17.52	8.20		Stream	Packard type
	Crawford	D. Stites	98-CR	Complete	Mississippian chert	Nicks	82.69	21.76	16.19	8.50		Stream	Packard type

+ indicates measurements of broken pieces.

certainly more common in the northern Rockies, including Canada, and adjacent country than elsewhere (e.g., Davis 1993; Frison 1991; Larson et al. 2009; Wormington and Forbis 1965). Relatively few Agate Basin sites or components have been studied in detail. Those examined include Agate Basin and Hell Gap in Wyoming (Frison and Stanford 1982; Irwin 1971; Larson et al. 2009); Frazier in Colorado (Borreson 2002; Greiser 1985; Slessman 2004; Wormington 1988), Beacon Island in North Dakota (Ahler 2003), and Jim Pitts in South Dakota (Sellet et al. 2009). Taylor (2006:207) argued that some points of this type are present among the Hell Gap points in the Jones-Miller bison kill site, located a few miles west of the northwestern corner of Kansas. Agate Basin points are also represented at Blackwater Draw Locality 1 in eastern New Mexico (Hester 1972; Taylor 2006:194–195).

Agate Basin points typically have relatively thick bi-convex cross sections, usually with little or no deliberate basal thinning unless they are reworked from broken fragments. This morphology created the need for a hafting system that was quite distinct from those used for projectile points that were fluted or basally thinned and wide in relation to their basal thickness. Agate Basin points are not shouldered or distinctly stemmed but have a parallel to slightly expanding outline from the base to the mid-line and so were designed for a tapered or socketed hafting system, although they also could have worked well in a slotted haft (Frison 1991:57–58).

This point design and associated hafting system was widespread during Paleoindian time from South America (generally recognized as “El Jobo”) at sites, including Monte Verde (Dillehay 1997) and Taima Taima (Bryan et al. 1978; Ochsenius and Gruhn 1979), to the northern Arctic (e.g., Mesa Site) (Bever 2001; Kunz et al. 2003; Kunz and Reanier 1994, 1995). In the Plains region Agate Basin points are most common and probably earliest in the northwest (Bradley 2010; Frison 1991; Stanford 1999). It is commonly thought that Agate Basin technology had its origins farther to the north and west, perhaps beyond the Rockies in the Northwest or in Canada (Ahler 2003; Bradley 2009; Bryan 1988, 1991; Davis 1993; Davis and Greiser 1992; Irwin 1971; Stanford 1999; Wormington and Forbis 1965).

Projectile points with roughly similar form con-

tinued to be made and used in the Northwestern Plains and Rocky Mountain region for at least a few thousand years following the Agate Basin period. These, such as Angostura (Bradley 2015), Pryor Stemmed, and Lovell Constricted (Husted 1965, 1969; Wedel et al. 1968), probably were hafted similarly to Agate Basin points but are technologically distinct in terms of manufacturing and reworking patterns. Agate Basin points that break or are damaged in use can be reworked in multiple ways when the fragments are large enough. Because of the socketed hafting system, the pieces can be reoriented to make the base into a new tip or vice versa (Bradley 2009:265, 2015; Frison 1991). This same pattern is true for other point types, including Angostura (Kay 2015).

Agate Basin points and a variety of projectile points with relatively similar form or morphology also occur in the mid-continental region of the United States (Anderson and Semken 1980:Fig. 9.10k, 207; Hill 1994; Justice 1987; Luchterhand 1970; Morrow 1984; Ray 2016; Wyckoff 1989). Variations in what we might consider the “Agate Basin Type Cluster” include the Packard point, as distinguished by Ray (2016) and Wyckoff (1964, 1985, 1989). Some of the projectile points from the Kansas River, classified as Agate Basin by Wetherill (1995), are probably later Archaic types, as discussed by Ray (2016). Considerable confusion surrounds the type and its identification with isolated surface finds because projectile points with comparable morphology, but usually quite distinct technological differences, were present through much of the Holocene until at least 3,000 years ago. These include Nebo Hill, lanceolate McKean points, and other Archaic styles (e.g., Forbis 1985; Ray 2016; Reid 1984; Shippee 1948, 1957; Taylor 2006). Chapman (1975) did not include Agate Basin in his discussion of Missouri Paleoindian projectile points, and Turner and Hester (1993) did not incorporate Agate Basin in their guide to Texas projectile points.

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A STRANGER CUT THROUGH TIME: THE EVANS SITE (14LV1079), STRANGER CREEK VALLEY, NORTHEASTERN KANSAS

BRAD LOGAN

Kansas State University

The Evans site (14LV1079) is one of four sites in the Evans locality, a 480-acre tract below the confluence of Stranger Creek and Little Stranger Creek in Leavenworth County, northeastern Kansas. The others are Scott (14LV1082), Caenen (14LV1083), and Paul (14LV1043). Investigations by Kansas State University field schools in 2003 and 2004 resulted in their inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The Evans site has components of Middle-Late Archaic, Middle-Late Woodland, and Late Prehistoric age. Artifacts recovered during surveys of cultivated and scoured ground are diagnostic of Late Archaic, Woodland, and Late Prehistoric age. Test excavation revealed a tentatively identified Middle Woodland component 25–45 cm in depth near the western side of an erosional chute, now the channel of Stranger Creek, that bisects the site. Debitage and pieces of fire-cracked rock of a Late Archaic component are exposed at depths of 1–1.3 m on both sides of the chute at its northern end. Its age is inferred from a radiocarbon date on a buried soil 84 cm in depth in the same area. Middle Archaic activity is represented by in-situ concentrations ofdebitage at a depth of 2.3 m on the west side of the chute. Their age is inferred from a radiocarbon date on a second buried soil 30 m to their north at a depth of 2.15 m. Ex situ projectile points diagnostic of Archaic and Woodland origin have been found in the chute and on a gravel bar at its northern end.

The Evans site exemplifies the processes of valley aggradation, flood scouring, and stream migration that have resulted in site burial, exposure, and erosion by Stranger Creek. Research in the watershed promises to increase understanding of cultural adaptations and processes of change through much of the Holocene in the Lower Missouri River region. Middle and Late Archaic components can track adaptations to climate change from the mid-to-late Holocene, from a period of post-glacial maximum aridity (the Altithermal) to one like that of today. Investigation of the Middle Woodland component can shed light on the Kansas City Hopewell culture, whose western edge is the Stranger Creek watershed. Late Prehistoric activity can be compared to manifestations of prolonged occupation during the Steed-Kisker phase and Pomona variant at the Scott, Caenen, and Paul sites and others in the region.

INTRODUCTION

The Delaware Indians called it “Mah-ha-hau-nake,” which is said to mean “wandering aimlessly and hopelessly about,” and that must be the literal English interpretation of the name, for anything that rambles about over the country as sinuously as old Stranger Creek and then plunges headlong into such a dirty receptacle as the Kaw, is certain an aimless and hopeless wanderer (Remsburg 1910).

Stranger Creek is the last major tributary of the Kansas River before the latter’s confluence with the Missouri River. Its watershed drains an area of 1380 km² in northeastern Kansas, primarily in Leavenworth County but encompassing parts of Atchison and Jefferson counties. It is a dynamic stream characterized today, as through much of the Holocene, by valley aggradation, variable scouring or swamping during floods, and channel migration (Logan 1985, 1988; Logan and Johnson 1986).

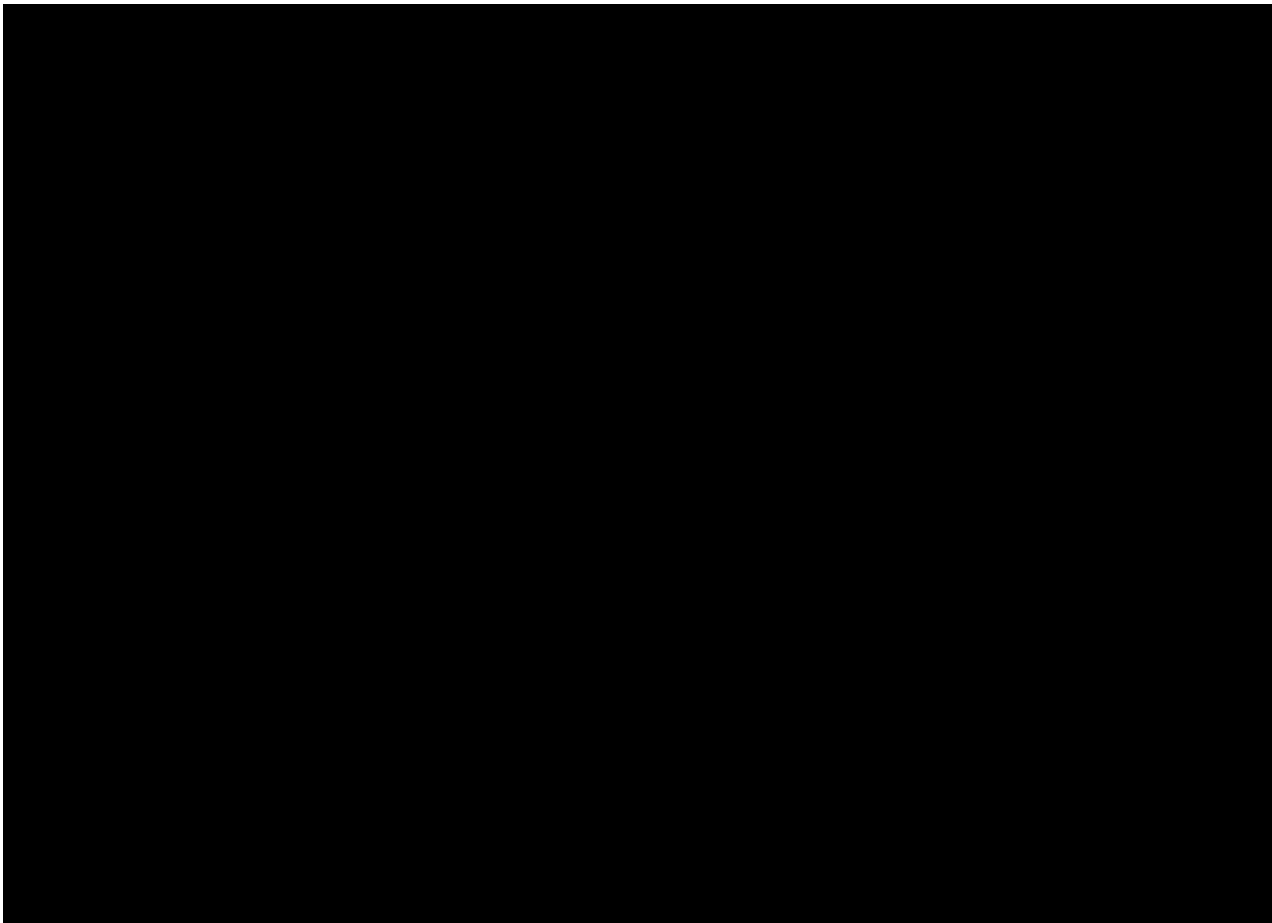


Figure 1. Google Earth view of Evans locality, showing sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places: Evans (14V1079), Scott (14LV1082), Caenen (14LV1083), and Paul (14LV1043). Note the old channel scars in the field west of Caenen and Paul. Inset shows the location of Evans locality in northeastern Kansas. North is at the top.

Its nature was remarked by George Remsburg, a journalist and amateur archeologist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose contributions to various media in the region provide some insight to its prehistoric cultures, albeit flawed by speculative interpretations typical of that time (Logan 1985:152–158; Wedel 1959:94). (Note: The Delaware, cited above by Remsburg, occupied their reservation that included the lower portion of Stranger Creek basin from 1829 to 1866.) The stream has removed from its lower reach much of the Newman terrace that dominates its tributaries where that landform provides safe occupation during times of flood (Dufford 1958). The extensive floodplain of lower Stranger Creek, the Holliday terrace complex, is subject to frequent flooding with consequent swamping or scouring in certain areas (Logan 1985:47–60; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1981).

One such area is the Evans locality, a 480-acre tract in Leavenworth County, bounded on the south and west by Stranger Creek, on the north by its tributary Little Stranger Creek and a section road, and on its east by a manufactured levee that prevents swamping of cultivated ground in that direction (Figures 1 and 2). As described in the author's doctoral dissertation (Logan 1985) and elsewhere (Johnson and Logan 1990; Logan 1988; Logan and Johnson 1986) and in this article, much of the valley fill is the result of at least 6,000 years of aggradation that has buried remnants of prehistoric human occupation.

The floodplain at the Evans locality, despite occasional inundations, attracted human settlement at various times during the middle and late Holocene. Presently lacking evidence of houses or storage pits for the Archaic period, occupations can only be interpreted as short-term seasonal encampments

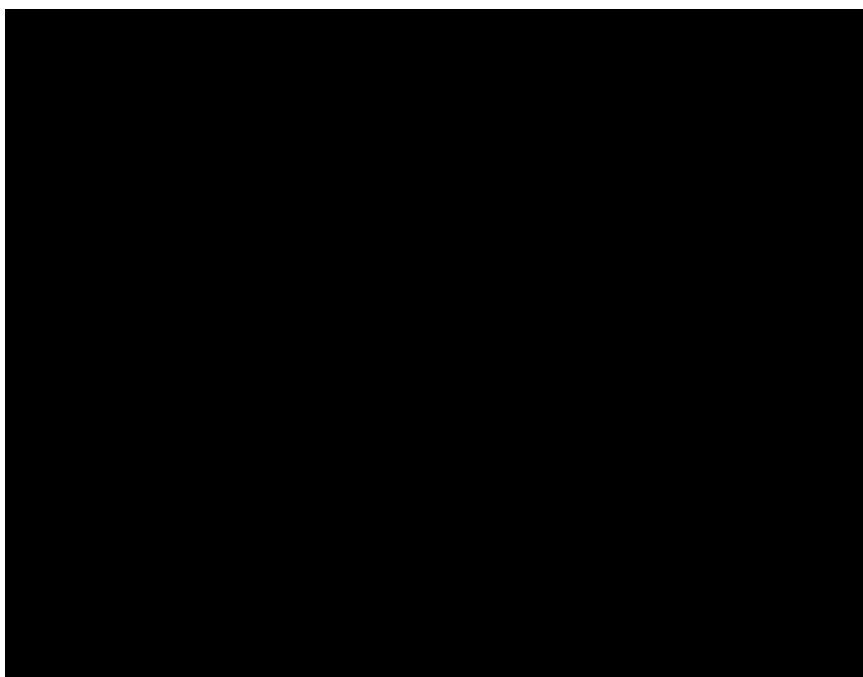


Figure 2. Evans site showing sub-areas: A) levee wash, B) northeast field, C) southeast field, D) chute, E) west field, F) gravel bar (inundated in this photo), G) Scott site lodge block excavation. Photograph by the author, October 2001.

by small groups. These groups consisted of one or a few families that used gallery woodlands along Stranger Creek for food, shelter, and fuel. Most of the terrain beyond these woodlands was prairie that offered a variety of wild plant and animal resources. During the Altithermal the stream may have been limited to intermittent pools. Indeed, during that time of maximum aridity much of Stranger Creek watershed may have dried up (compare Gröger 1973:245 for the adjacent Delaware River drainage). Pools formed by the intermittent stream in the lower portion of the major valley would have concentrated many resources that attracted hunter-gatherers for settlement. The valley floor then was at least 2 m lower than today. By Middle Woodland time, the surface had aggraded about 1.5 m. That climatic conditions had ameliorated, favoring more prolonged occupation, is suggested by the greater variety of artifacts of the Woodland period at the Evans site. While these are frequently found in cultivated areas, in part of the site they are 25–45 cm below surface, indicating that some areas have not been disturbed by plowing. Continued aggradation brought the valley floor to about its present elevation by Late Prehistoric time, though the nearby Scott (14LV1082) and Caenen (14LV1083) sites included lodge remains preserved below the level of cultivation (Logan 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005,

2010, 2011, 2023). When occupied at that time, the woodlands contained red elm, sycamore, and hickory, based on identified charred timbers from the floor of the Steed-Kisker phase house at the Scott site.

Sites in the Evans locality reflect the dynamic nature of the principal stream in regard to aggradation, meandering, and scouring and their effects on site burial, exposure, and erosion. The most extensive evidence of these processes has been documented at the Evans site. Heretofore that documentation was limited to a technical report (Logan 2004), an example of the “gray literature” typical of cultural resource management projects, primarily accessible to professional archeologists interested in the area. Here the research presented in that report is shared along with more recent findings. Most of the data was recovered by the Kansas Archaeological Field School (KAFS) from May 19 to June 6, 2003. A research and educational endeavor of Kansas State University (KSU), the field school then incorporated work at both the Evans and Scott sites. Subsequent laboratory work and report writing was supported by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund, awarded by the National Park Service through the Cultural Resource Division of the Kansas Historical Society (KSHS). While most of this article focuses on the KAFS work at Evans,

it includes previous and more recent findings there by its discoverer Scott Demaranville and a site visit by him and the author. Surveys in the Evans locality and of the site proper that preceded the field school investigation are summarized.

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS IN THE EVANS LOCALITY

That part of the locality north of the Evans site and areas to its north and east were surveyed in 1979 and 1981. No sites were observed during the first survey by Dr. Paul Brockington, then director of cultural resource management at the Museum of Anthropology, University of Kansas (KU), and the author, then beginning his doctoral research in the Stranger Creek basin with support from an HPF grant from the KSHS (Logan 1981). The survey covered the northern portion of the Evans locality, which 20 years later proved to encompass the Scott and Caenen sites. The negative results of that inspection demonstrate the limitations of pedestrian reconnaissance of cultivated fields without the benefit of sub-plow zone shovel testing or geophysical survey. Neither of those methods was possible given the scope of the project, a reconnaissance of the watershed, and the number of personnel assigned to it. Intensive survey in the fall of 1981, under the direction of the author and funded by a second HPF grant, was conducted beyond the tract by a crew of 19 persons in fields east of the levee and north of the section road. This resulted in the discovery of three lithic scatters of unknown prehistoric affilia-

tions (14LV1034, 14LV1036, and 14LV1037) and one historic site (14LV1035) (Logan 1983:52, 77).

Flooding in June 1982 exposed two sites found by Jerome Paul, whose home was on the ridge west of the tract. In October of that year the author reviewed Paul's collection from them and, in his company, visited both. One (14LV1044) is a rock-shelter ca. 1 m high, 1.75 m wide, and 2.5 m deep in a picturesque exposure of Tonganoxie Sandstone (Figure 3). Locally known as the "Cliffs," they form the western bank of Stranger Creek below its confluence with Little Stranger Creek. Over time the shelter had filled with sediment. Paul removed this fill, recovering a small sample of debitage, a biface, and a small amount of charcoal from a "burned area" on the floor (Logan 1983:79–80, 144–145, 166). Activity in this cave, just large enough to accommodate two sitting or kneeling adults, also attests valley aggradation, as it is within the current channel. The view across Stranger Creek is of the opposite bank, not the field beyond that bears a series of channel scars, evidence of the stream's lateral migration. This suggests that deposition of the cultural debris occurred when the valley floor was markedly lower, probably during the Archaic period. The second site (14LV1043), named for Paul, demonstrates the need for sub-plow zone inspection of the locality (Figure 1). It was exposed in a wash, formed by Little Stranger Creek during overbank flow when it drained southward across the Evans tract. Like nearby Caenen, it has a Pomona variant component and another of unknown affiliation. It was investigated as part of the KAFS-2004,

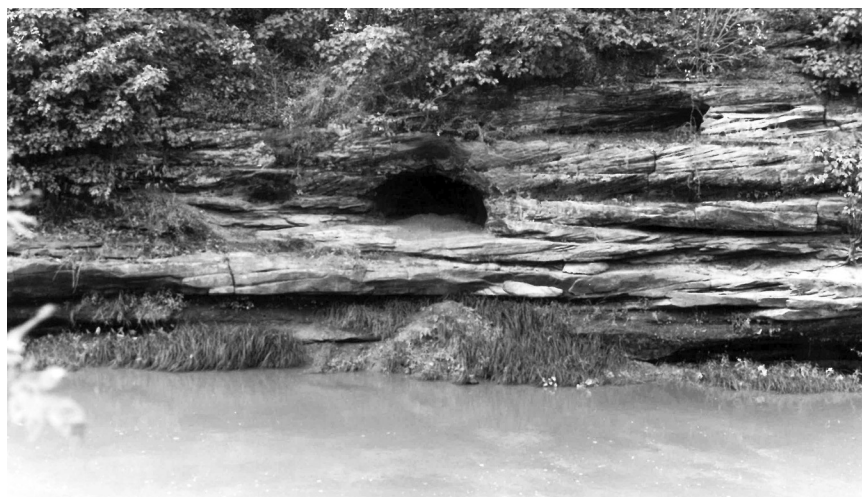


Figure 3. 14LV1044, a rock shelter in the "Cliffs," excavated by Jerome Paul. Fill from the shelter is at the entrance and below it at the edge of Stranger Creek. Photograph by author, October 1982.



Figure 4. Scott Demaranville standing at the location of the vandalized biface cache in the levee wash. Photograph by author, July 8, 1999.

findings of which are presented elsewhere (Logan 2004, 2005).

EVANS SITE (14LV1079)

The Evans site has long been subject to periodic survey by local artifact collector Scott Demaranville. In 1999 he informed the author about the site, later named for the brothers John and David Evans, locality owners. On July 8 of that year, the author reviewed the Demaranville collection and with Demaranville visited a few sites, including Evans. All had been subject to scouring during times of flood (Logan and Demaranville 2003). A wash is situated along the western side of the artificial levee, the eastern boundary of the Evans locality, indicating frequent flooding in this part of the valley (Figure 2). While its origin has not been verified, the wash likely began as a source of fill for the levee and has since been subject to scouring.

In the late 1990s a “pothunter” excavated a pit at the wash, where scouring had exposed a stone tool cache at least 1 m below the adjacent field (Figures 2 and 4). Though we do not know what artifacts were removed, the looter left many. In the fill near the pit, of unknown dimension but relatively small, Demaranville found 39 bifaces of exotic

cherts (Winterset and perhaps Permian), including 15 complete ovate preforms and others that had been broken by the pothunter during their removal (Figures 5–7). The finds also included two projectile point/knives (PPK), one with a corner-notched hafting element and the other reduced by the vandal to a contracting stem (Figure 8). Unfortunately, several artifacts had been damaged. Demaranville refitted some (Figures 6 and 7) and retrieved numerous pieces of associated debris (Figure 9). That many had been fragmented during “excavation” is evident from fresh breaks. The loss of artifacts that may have been “high-graded,” those left perhaps considered less desirable, is lamentable. During survey of the wash by the KAFS, another ovate preform was found about 20 m south of the cache. Corner-notched and contracting-stemmed PPKs in the region date from Late Archaic through Woodland times, though they are more prevalent during the Middle Woodland period (Chapman 1980:305–313; Justice 1987; Tiffany 2009).

Demaranville and the author collected artifacts from the Evans site during excavation of the Scott site (see below; Logan 2001, 2002). In October 2001 a concentration of debitage in a ca. 10-m² area at the levee wash was identified as Feature 1. It was photographed, a sample of debitage gathered, and

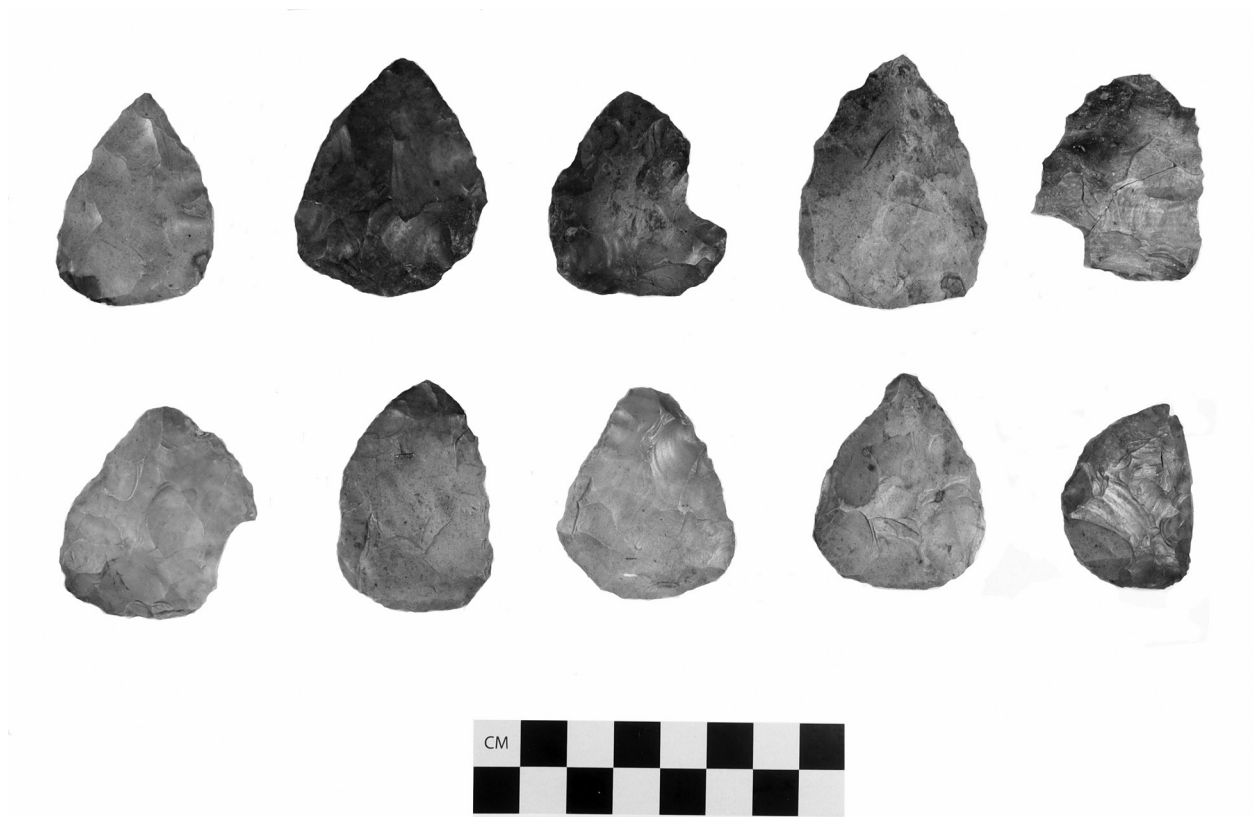


Figure 5. Levee wash cache ovate bifaces. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 6. Levee wash cache bifaces. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

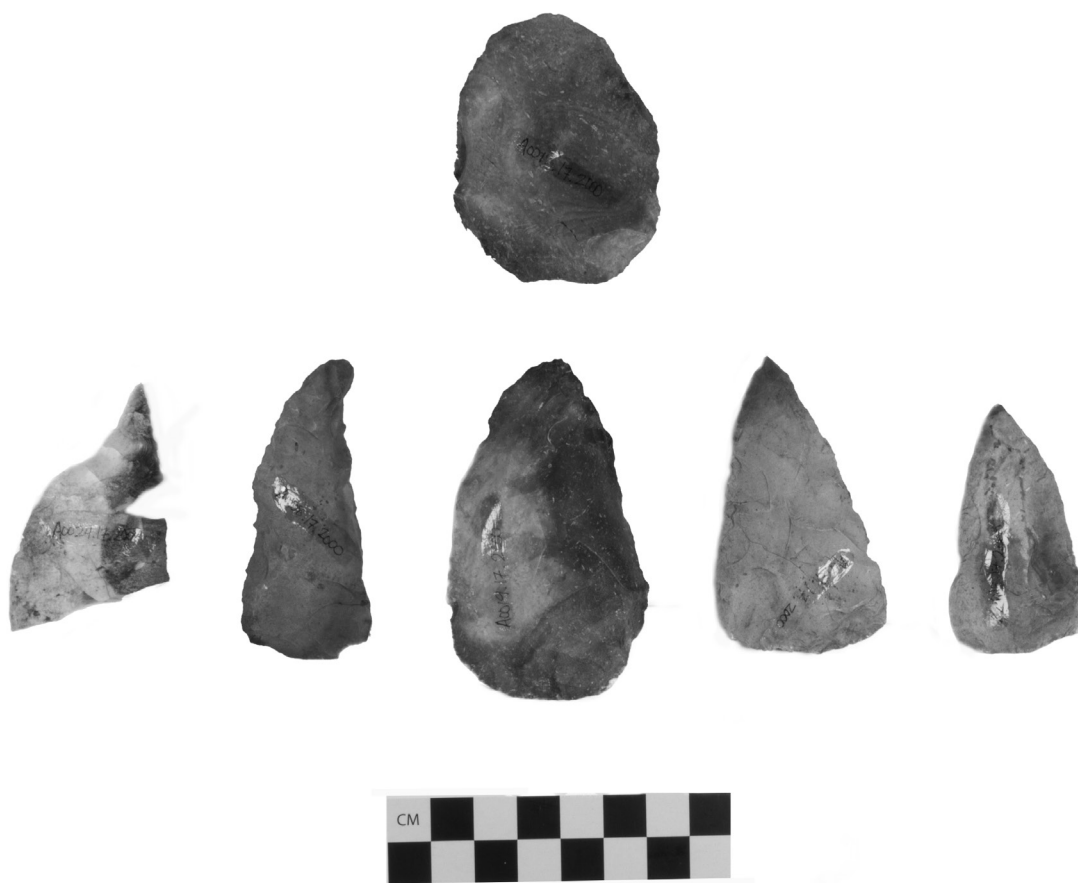


Figure 7. Levee wash cache bifaces. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 8. Levee wash cache PPKs. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 9. Levee wash cache fragments. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

soil for flotation retained (Archaeology Collections, University of Kansas [KU] Biodiversity Institute [KUBIAD]). During the KAFS the author acquired a few more pieces of debitage and the mid-section of a well-made biface. While no sign of the feature has been seen since, scattered pieces of fire-cracked rock (FCR) have been noted elsewhere in the levee wash. During subsequent inspections Demaranville found two bifaces and four projectile points (Figure 10). Three of the latter are corner-notched types broadly characteristic of Late Archaic-Woodland time; the fourth (Figure 10d) is a square-stemmed PPK that fits comfortably within the Early Woodland Stemmed Cluster, defined by Justice (1987:184–189).

Demaranville recovered several chipped stone tools from other areas, referred to here as the chute, west field, and the southeast field, the latter distin-

guished from the northeast field by a branch of the levee wash (Figure 2). Those from the southeast field include contracting-stemmed and corner-notched PPKs, which were predominant at the site in general and in this context are assumed to be of Late Archaic to Middle Woodland age (Figure 11). Some PPKs, such as those with a contracting stem lumped by Justice (1987:189–198) into his Dickson cluster, may be indicative of Early Woodland activity. Notably, however, that type persisted into Middle Woodland time (Chapman 1980:308–310). Most of the chipped stone tools from this area, particularly the corner-notched PPKs of the Steuben, Gibson, and Snyders types and Scallorn arrow points, are diagnostic of Middle and Late Woodland cultures (Chapman 1980:312–313; Justice 1987:198–214; Tiffany 2009). These came from a scoured area and higher ground. Demaranville found two dozen of



Figure 10. Recent levee wash finds by Demaranville, who provided the photograph.

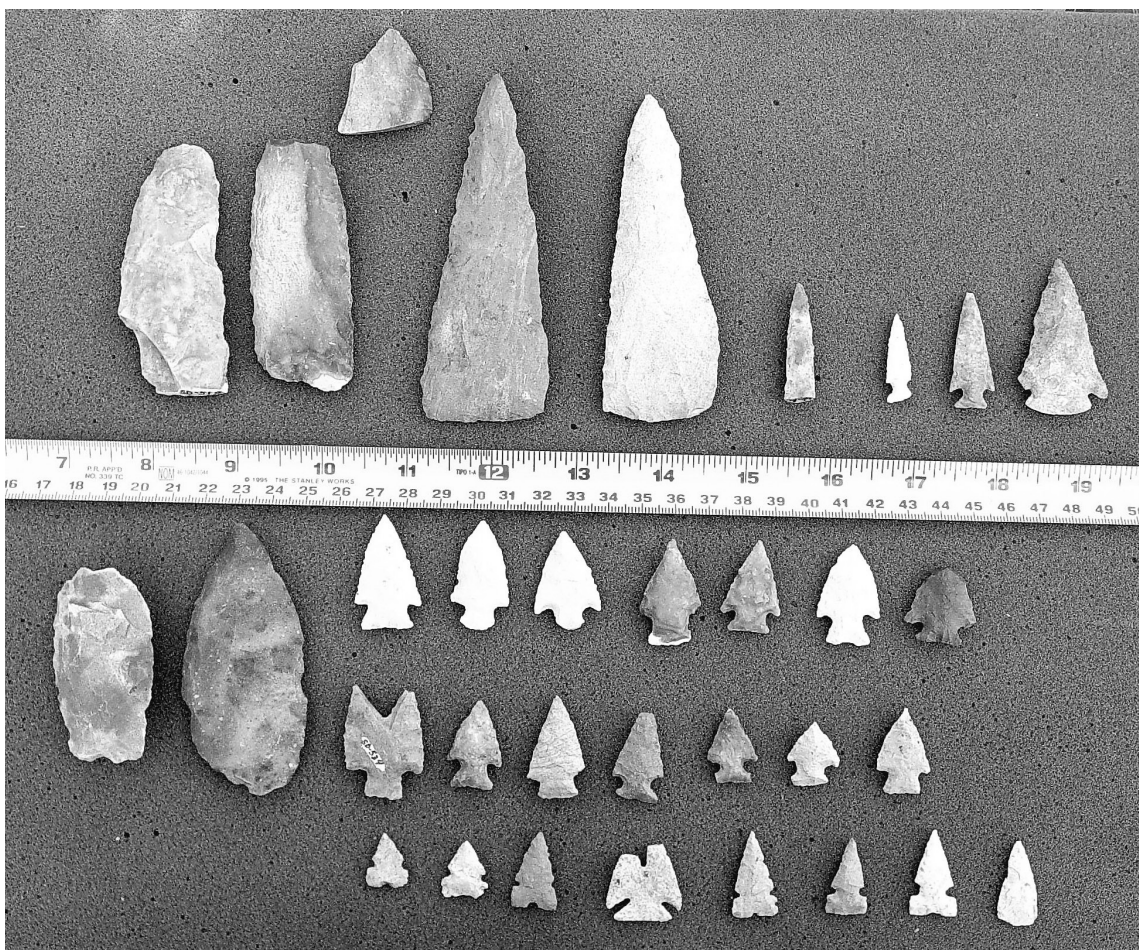


Figure 11. Southeast field finds by Demaranville, most recovered during a single visit. Photograph by author, May 29, 2003.

these near the bank of Stranger Creek during one visit in 1995 or 1996 (Scott Demaranville, personal communication November 7, 2023). The collection comprises six triangular notched arrow points of Late Prehistoric age, perhaps associated with prolonged settlement of the Scott, Caenen, and Paul sites. Subsequent surveys by the author and KAFS yielded a few finds, including two non-diagnostic bifaces, one likely used as a knife (Figure 12).

According to Demaranville and Henry Caenen, the farmer at the time of the KAFS, the chute formed around 1988. The feature does not appear on the 1948 USGS Jarbalo topographic map, but it is on the 2000 edition. An aerial map of the locality in the 1977 county soil survey does not show the chute, though it depicts scouring along the levee and in the southeast field, as well as the shallow scar of an older chute west of the one discussed here (Zavesky and Boatright 1977:map 28). While discernible during the 2003 work, the latter feature had been abandoned by then. During the KAFS a few artifacts were picked up along its slopes, indicating that erosion might have penetrated a buried component. It marks the western edge of the Evans site, as no artifacts have been reported beyond it (Figure 2). An aerial photograph of the locality, taken in 1979 for the first Stranger Creek survey project, shows incipient development of the eastern chute (KU-ACBI). Ten years later it had been deepened by periodic Stranger Creek floods. In doing so, it “cut through time,” exposing evidence of activity spanning thousands of years. By 2017 the chute had become the current channel of the stream (Scott Demaranville, personal communication September 26, 2017). During the following year Demaranville discovered a tree at the base of the new channel. A radiocarbon date on a sample of the tree, the deepest organic material yet sampled in Stranger Creek alluvium, reflects the complex nature of aggradation and erosion in the valley. It is discussed in a later section.

Demaranville acquired most artifacts in the chute at its downstream end, when it was shallower prior to the KAFS. They include several corner-notched and contracting-stemmed PPKs like those from the southeast field (Figure 13), which suggests that they were part of a shallower cultural horizon. Their assignment to a Middle Woodland component is supported by a few sherds of plain-surfaced



Figure 12. Bifaces found by the KAFS in the southeast field. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

sand-tempered ware recovered in the west field along the edge of the chute (Figure 14). One of these is rocker-marked, a decorative treatment of Kansas City Hopewell pottery (Figure 14d) (Shippee 1967; Wedel 1943). One sherd has eroded cord marking, implying Late Woodland activity (Figure 14b). The latter inference is supported by finds of Scallorn arrow points, though these first appear during late Middle Woodland time. The Evans site has yielded few sherds in contrast to the many pieces of pottery, most of Late Prehistoric age, at other sites in the locality.

Woodland ceramics have occurred at sites elsewhere in the Stranger Creek basin (Logan 1985, 2006a, 2011), including at 14LV1080, located a short distance downstream from 14LV1079. Here Demaranville has recovered dozens of artifacts indicative of Middle Woodland and later occupation (Figure 15). In addition to bifaces without hafting elements (knives or preforms) and drills are 91

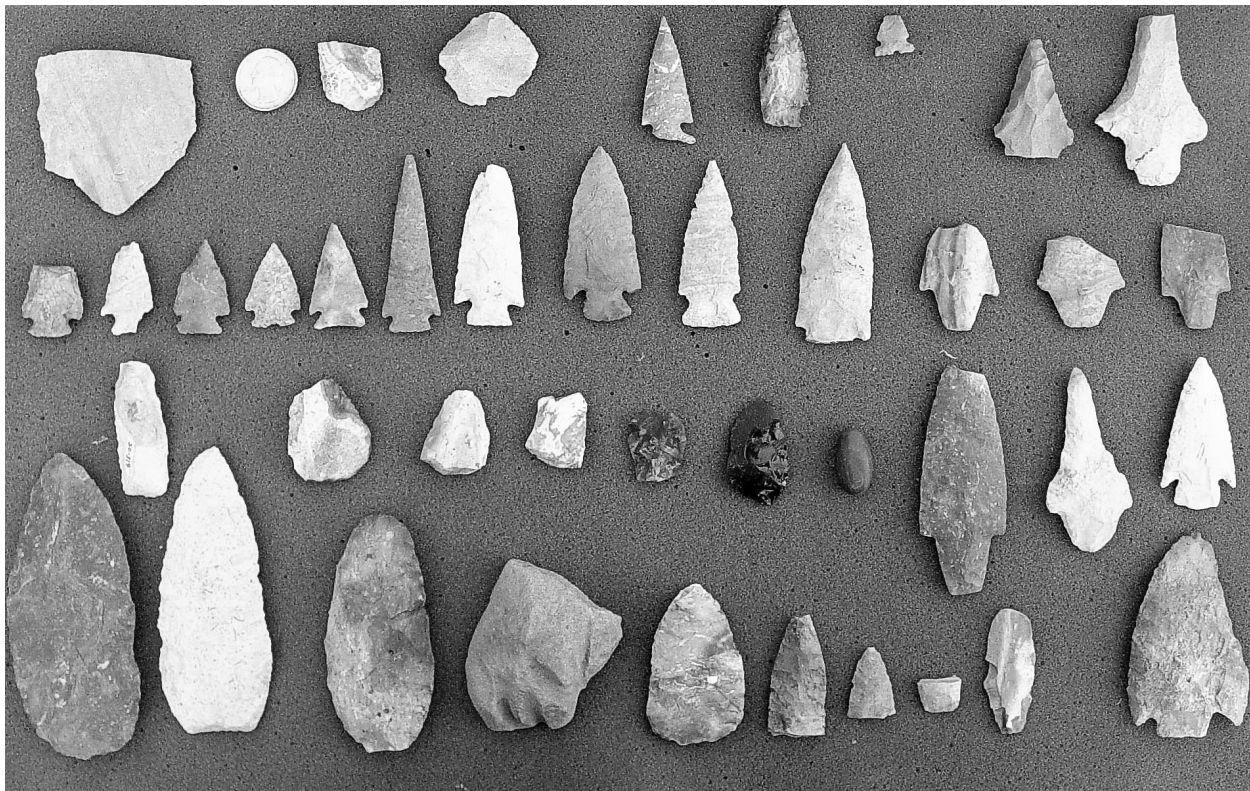


Figure 13. Chute finds by Demaranville. Photograph by author, May 29, 2003. Note the obsidian flake in the third row from the top, fifth artifact from the right.

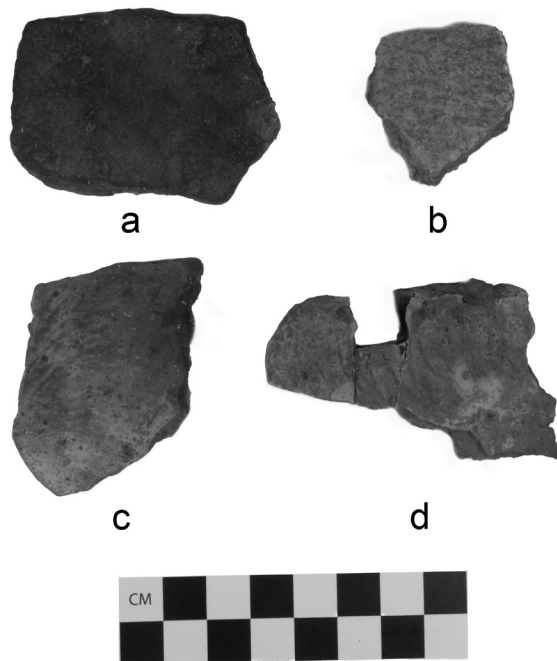


Figure 14. West field ceramic body sherds. The specimen at lower right is rocker-marked. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

PPKs of corner-notched and contracting-stemmed varieties, assigned in this case to the Kansas City Hopewell culture. A dozen Scallorn arrow points may be late Middle Woodland and/or Late Woodland. A like number of side- and side-and-basal-notched arrow points attest Late Prehistoric activity. Support for a Middle Woodland component is provided by two rim sherds decorated with Hopewell motifs, a plain undecorated rim sherd, and a few cord-marked body sherds.

On a brief visit to 14LV1080 with Demaranville in July 1999, the author collected rim sherds from two jars and four complete chipped stone tools, some at the edge of a meander scar where Demaranville had found others (Figures 16 and 17). The sherds from one jar exhibit decoration below the lip with dentate stamping above four rows of tool-impressed punctates, treatment more common during the Trowbridge phase or early Kansas City Hopewell (Figure 16, upper row). Sherds from the other vessel have crosshatching above a single row of punctates, decoration typical of the Kansas City phase or middle Kansas City Hopewell (Figure 16

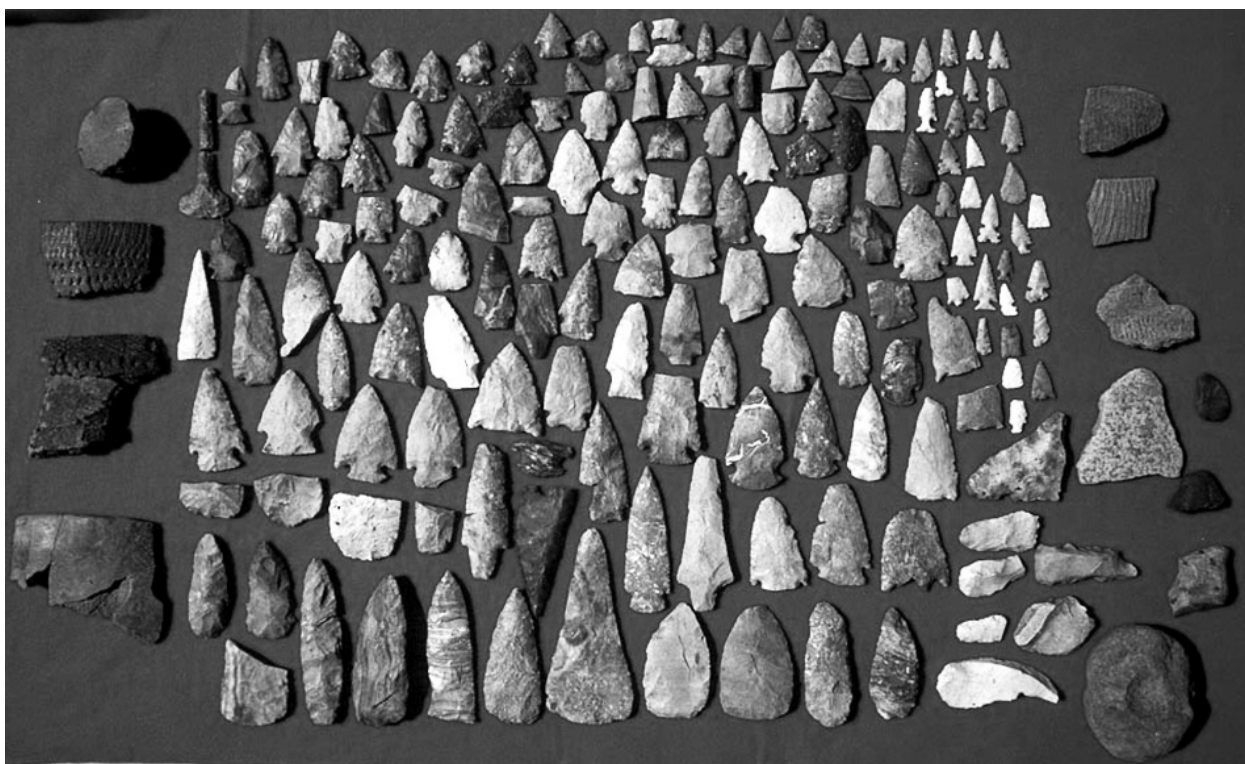


Figure 15. Finds from 14LV1080 by Demaranville. Photograph by author, July 8, 1999.



Figure 16. Kansas City Hopewell rim sherds found by author at 14LV1080, July 8, 1999. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 17. Chipped stone tools found by author at 14LV1080, July 8, 1999. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

lower row) (Johnson 2001; Logan 1993, 2006a, 2011, 2022a). Rim sherds from the same vessels are present in the Demaranville collection. Areas of burned bone and charcoal were noted that, given the many stone tools and sherds recovered, suggest prolonged occupation. The site may have cache pits, indicative at others along the lower Missouri River of prolonged year-round residence (Bell 1976; Johnson 1976b; Logan 2006a, 2006b, 2022a). The Middle Woodland component at Evans may reflect short-term use or a difference in site exposure. Extensive investigation of both sites is needed to test these hypotheses.

Among Demaranville's finds from the chute is an obsidian flake, geochemically sourced to the Malad, Idaho, area (Hughes 2003) (Figure 13). While its temporal and cultural affiliation are uncertain, such finds in the region are rare. They include a flake from the Trowbridge site (14WY1), a major Kansas City Hopewell base camp. Like nearly all such finds from Hopewell sites in Illinois and Ohio, the culture's core, that item was sourced to Obsidian Cliff in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming (Hughes 1995). If the Evans chute flake is Hopewell, it is

from a different source, albeit in the same general vicinity.

A series of investigations at the Evans locality was launched in June 2001, soon after a flood so severe that it closed I-70 where it crosses the stream 7.4 km (4.6 mi) below Evans. Scouring exposed the Scott site, named for its discoverer Demaranville, who informed the author about it. The latter directed a team of volunteers, excavating an 8 x 8-m block there in July and October 2001 and May 2002. This revealed the floor of the only completely excavated house of the Steed-Kisker phase west of the Missouri River (Logan 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2023). In 2003 the author obtained a grant to support follow-up work at the Scott site and investigation of the Evans site by the KAFS. During that project Demaranville told the author about finds he had made in the lower part of the wash from Little Stranger Creek wash below the Paul site. This resulted in the recording of the Caenen site, which was surveyed and tested at that time (Logan 2004). Block excavation by the KAFS the following year exposed the floor of a Pomona variant lodge (Logan 2005, 2010).

KANSAS ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD SCHOOL 2003

Work by the KAFS at the Evans site entailed surface survey, topographic mapping with an Electronic Distance Measure, excavation of four 1-m² test units in the northeast field, and excavation of a feature in the chute (data on file, KUBIAD). Professor William C. Johnson, KU Department of Geography, and Abby Varner, one of his graduate students, also conducted geomorphological investigations. These included extraction of cores with a Giddings machine and inspection and sampling of profiles on the sides of the chute.

As the following discussion details, cultural horizons at Evans are stratified at depths of ca. 1.88–2.3 m (Middle Archaic), 1–1.3 m (Late Archaic), .25–.45 m (Middle Woodland), and .25 m (Late Prehistoric). Cultivation has affected the uppermost component, and erosion along the chute has

exposed those more deeply buried. Middle Archaic PPKs from a gravel bar in Stranger Creek at the northern edge of the chute may have eroded from even deeper cultural levels. Thus, the site likely contains relatively intact deposits with evidence of occupation over a period of ca. 6,000 years, investigation of which can increase understanding of culture history and change in the lower Missouri River region.

Gravel Bar Finds

Side-notched PPKs from the gravel bar, which is composed primarily of quartzite cobbles, are diagnostic of the Middle Archaic period (Figure 18d-f). One is of the Logan Creek type (Hofman 1996; Kivett 1959; compare Hatfield 1998) (Figure 17f). A square-stemmed concave-based tool of Plattsmouth chert, a locally available material (Logan 1988), may be of Archaic age. It was found on the stream

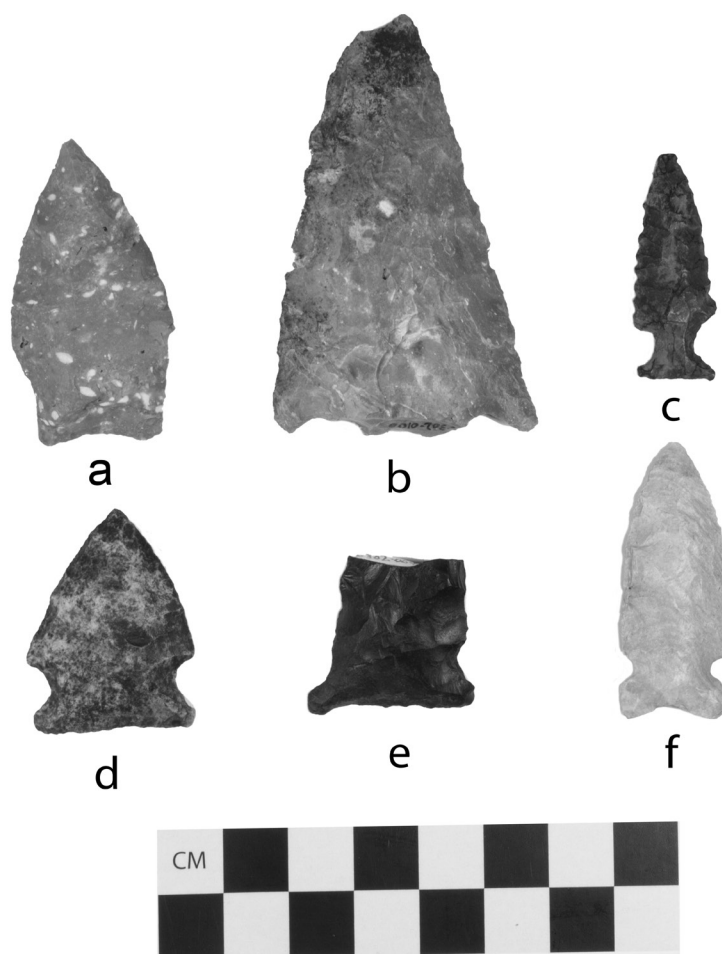


Figure 18. Gravel bar finds by the KAFS: a) square-stemmed concave-based PPK (Archaic?), b) probably a corner-notched PPK (Woodland?), c) Scallorn arrow point (late Middle-Late Woodland), d-f) side-notched PPKs (Archaic). Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 19. Gravel bar finds by the KAFS: a, c) biface tips, b) complete non-diagnostic biface. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

bank 30–50 cm above the bar (Figure 18a). These are complete and exhibit slight patina, indicating little transport or exposure to the stream after they eroded from their original context. A large notched PPK with broken stem is of Plattsmouth chert but unknown affiliation (Figure 18b). Other gravel bar finds have heavy patination that precludes chert type identification. These include the basal portion of a side-notched PPK (Figure 18e), a complete Scallorn point of late Middle or Late Woodland age (Figure 18c), and a complete undiagnostic biface (Figure 19b). A third side-notched PPK, possibly Archaic (Figure 18d), and two biface tips (Figure 19a, c) are lightly patinated, though the chert type is still unknown.

Despite their variable weathering and completeness, the presence of these artifacts on a gravel bar that, at the time of exposure and collection, covered an area of less than 500 m², suggests that they derived from the site or nearby. As described above, the bar consists of unmodified quartzite cobbles. Thus, it or comparable deposits in the area may have been the source of stones gathered by prehistoric peoples for hearths. Debris from these appears as FCR in a buried cultural horizon on both sides of the chute at its northern end and, though pos-

sibly ex situ, at the southern end of the chute (see below).

Chute Finds

A few artifacts were collected from the chute (Figures 20 and 21). The cultural-temporal affiliation of some is problematic. Two Scallorn points of heat-treated Toronto chert are late Middle or Late Woodland (Figure 20a, c). Two corner-notched PPKs that reflect those cultural periods are of exotic (Permian chert from the Flint Hills to the west) and near-local (Winterset chert from the lower Kansas River or Kansas City area) materials (Figure 20d-e). A drill of Plattsmouth chert (Figure 20f) that reflects local stone procurement (Logan 1988) also may be Woodland. A pristine corner-tang knife of Permian chert was retrieved among the exposed roots of willows in a small mound at the southern end of the chute where Demaranville had also found several artifacts of Woodland vintage (Figure 21). This mound, since removed by the stream, may have been a lag of alluvium once higher in the profile. Like others there, this artifact is considered ex situ. The knife is the base-tang type (Patterson 1936, 1937), considered useful for a variety of cutting

Figure 20. Chute finds by the KAFS: a, c) Scalloped arrow points, b) small square-stemmed point, d, e) corner-notched PPKs, f) drill, g) biface fragment. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



tasks (Kraft 1993:100; McReynolds 1984:9). Other than the tang, it is symmetrical along its longer axis with little resharpener. There is smooth wear around the tang, presumably from hafting. This rare find, indicative of forays to the Flints Hills or exchange with groups there, deserves additional discussion.

The most recent thorough treatments of corner-tang knives are by Kraft (1993) and Billeck (1994), who delineate their distribution from the Southern through the Central Plains, where they are dated from Middle-Late Archaic through Late Prehistoric times. Their greatest frequency is in Texas, where more than 650 had been recorded at the time of those reports, most assigned to the Late Archaic (Kraft 1993; compare Patterson 1937, 1938). That period in Texas spans what in the Central Plains is defined as the Late Archaic and Middle Woodland periods. They occur in much lower numbers in the High Plains and Northern Plains (Billeck 1994:Figure 2; Kraft 1993; Patterson 1937). Sixteen were known in Iowa, all in the southwestern part of the state (Billeck 1994). Prior to discovery of the artifact

from Evans, 39 corner-tang knives were recognized from Kansas, the state with the second highest number. Billeck suggests that this artifact type probably had a secular function, based on both habitation and mortuary contexts.

Review of the archeological literature located these references to corner-tang knives in Kansas: Arrowhead Island (14CF343), a Middle Woodland site at John Redmond Reservoir (Thies 1985:78, 82–83); Infinity (14MY305), a Cuesta phase (Woodland) site at Elk City Reservoir (Marshall 1972:72, 75; but notice that if one of the two knives illustrated is reoriented, it looks like a resharpened Calf Creek PPK); William Sherwood, Jr. (14MM509), a Hertha phase occupation at Hillsdale Reservoir (Blakeslee and Rohn 1986:949, 969); Avery (14CY301), a Woodland site at Milford Reservoir (Witty 1963:48,72); Anderson (14DO32), a Woodland and Late Prehistoric site at Clinton Reservoir (Johnson 1968:44, 47); and 14JF447, a Grasshopper Falls phase site at Perry Reservoir (Logan 1990:194). At least two other corner-tang knives are from other sites in the Stranger Creek

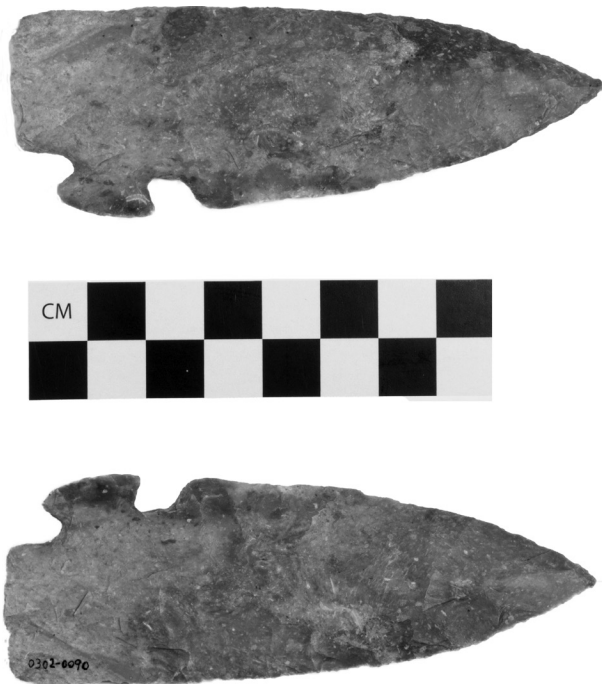


Figure 21. Corner tang knife from the chute. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

watershed: 14LV74 on Nine Mile Creek (Logan 1981:Plate 6) and 14LV1080 (Figure 12). Except for 14LV74, which is of unknown prehistoric affiliation (Logan 1985:418, 429), all these sites have Woodland components, and the artifacts apparently were associated with them. Interestingly, where raw material type is described, the knives are Permian or “gray” chert like that from Evans. If this artifact type in Kansas has its source among Woodland groups of the Flint Hills, then its dispersal might reflect exchange with groups in adjacent regions (i.e., Smoky Hills, Osage Cuestas, and Dissected Till Plains).

Feature 2

Archaic occupation of Evans also is indicated by two adjacent concentrations of chipped-stone debris and associated material, designated Feature 2, that reflect knapping of Toronto chert (Figures 22–25). The nearest outcrops of Toronto Limestone, in which this chert occurs, are 5–10 km west of the site (McCauley 1998; compare Logan 1988). The feature was noted as a cluster of a dozen flakes



Figure 22. Feature 2 excavation by KAFS students at left with location of profiles that exposed two buried soils marked by arrow at right.

in a rill on the western side of the chute near its northern end. These and other flakes ($n = 114$; mass = 150.5 g) and three non-chert stones (.5 g), displaced during feature excavation, were collected separately. Excavation of an area approximately 1.5 m x 1 m around the rill revealed the discrete piles of debitage, designated A and B, 1.88–2.10 m below the adjacent surface, which had been beveled by stream action, and 2.3 m below the surface at Test Unit 5 (see west field below). Both piles were exposed, pedestaled, plan mapped with respect to a north-south line between two nails placed 1 m apart, then plaster jacketed.

Excavation around the piles exposed a lighter scatter of flakes ($n = 33$; mass = 119.9 g), a core (102.5 g), a possible hammerstone (222.9 g), two pieces of sandstone (49.8 g), and a piece of burned limestone (2.7 g). Most of these were around Pile A. Because these were not displaced, all were mapped individually and assigned unique numbers. Each jacketed pile was removed to the KSU Archaeology Laboratory for micro-excavation by the author. A series of photographs was taken of each pile at intervals during progressive exposure of flakes. That process also entailed writing with pencil on each flake or a few contiguous ones a number that correlates with catalog numbers in the project database (KUBIAD). Each numbered flake or set was bagged or placed in a plastic vial. More than 110 numbers were assigned to flakes in Pile A; more than 90 were assigned to flakes in Pile B. This treat-



Figure 23. Feature 2 completed excavation. Near each pile and by the menu board are chert flakes and a core that are not directly associated with the debitage.

ment may facilitate refitting flakes into their parent core(s), assuming that they were dropped into place during the knapping process. If the piles were formed as part of a clean-up effort and discarded in a secondary area, the documented spatial relationship of the flakes may not be helpful. In either case the feature has potential for detailed analysis, an endeavor that awaits some patient researcher.

Pile A, the western concentration, covered a 25 x 30-cm area and ranged from 8 to 15 cm thick, though most flakes occurred in the upper 2 cm (Figure 24). It contained 573 flakes (414.9 g), of which 203 (365.2 g) were “photo-mapped.” The balance ($n = 370$; 49.7g) was removed by water screening the matrix through a fine-mesh sieve. Pile B covered a 15 x 20-cm area, ranged from 7 to 18 cm thick, and produced 395 flakes (239.3 g), of which 158 were photo-mapped and 237 (17.1 g) were from water-screened matrix (Figure 25). Most

of the flakes in that pile were also in the upper 2 cm. The Feature 2 flakes total 1,115 with an aggregate mass of 924.6 g. Unsorted by water action, they range in maximum dimension from <1 mm to 5 cm. Most are secondary and tertiary flakes that represent those stages in the reduction sequence of one or more flintknapping events.

Unfortunately, any activity more than 25 cm east of the feature cannot be known due to chute erosion. Evidence of associated activity to its west may be intact, but no digging was attempted there, because this would have entailed removal of a great deal of overburden. The area should be monitored periodically, as it is now subject to more intensive erosion by Stranger Creek. During occasional inspections over the past few years, Demaranville has not seen vestiges of the feature. Indeed, his more recent surveys of the chute/channel have yielded only a contracting-stemmed PPK, two bifaces, and a

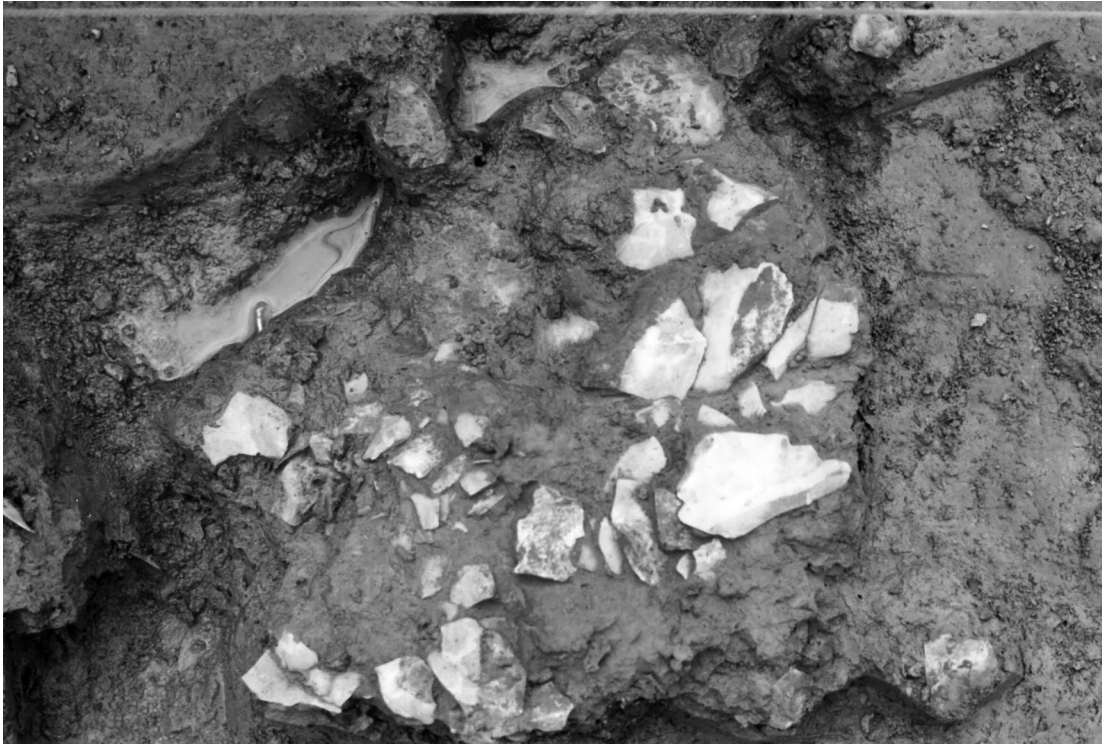
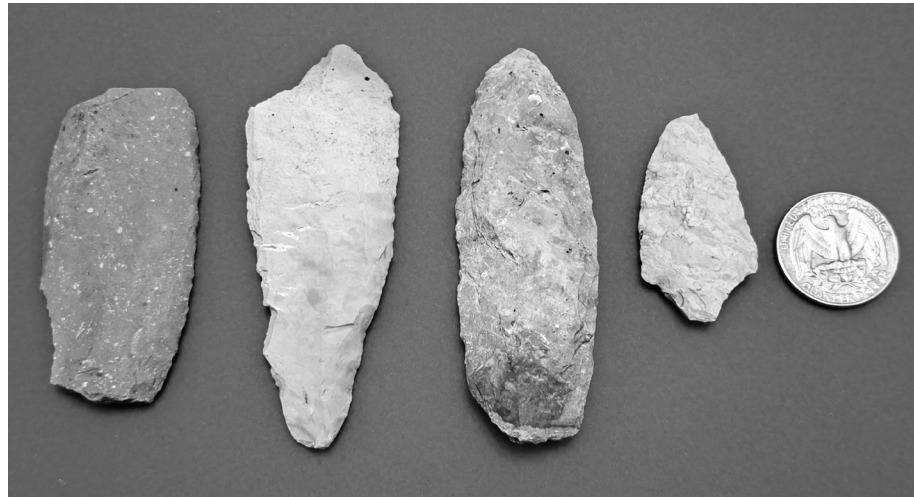


Figure 24. Feature 2 Pile A.



Figure 25. Feature 2 Pile B.

Figure 26. Artifacts found recently in the chute by Demaranville, who provided the photograph. The biface second from the right was recovered September 5, 2022; all others were found July 29, 2017.



retouched blade (Figure 26). Lateral migration of the stream along the new channel may expose more artifacts and features. Excavation of Feature 2 to the extent described was deemed sufficient to document a significant record of Archaic activity at the Evans site, a temporal assignment provided by its geomorphic context.

Geochronology

Though lacking diagnostic artifacts, the general age of Feature 2 can be inferred from radiocarbon dates obtained on a profile made by Johnson and Varner on the west side of the chute about 30 m to its north (Figure 22). The older date from a charcoal sample from a buried soil at a depth of 2.15 m is 5380 ± 70 BP cal BC 4349–4046 (Calib 8.2; two sigma range, 100 percent probability) (delta C13 value -21.0; ISGS-5487). The younger minimal date from a bulk humate sample of a soil at a depth of 84 cm is 3470 ± 70 BP cal BC 1974–1612 (Calib 8.2; two sigma range, 99.2 percent probability) (delta C13 value -16.9; ISGS-5485). These imply a late Middle to Late Archaic age for the feature. Neither buried soil was traceable from the profile to the feature due to slumping and rill erosion between them. The similar depths of the feature and lower soil horizon suggest that occupation during the older period is more probable. However, the variability in depths and radiocarbon ages along the chute/channel discussed below underscores the hypothetical nature of this inference and the need for dates more proximate to the feature.

A significant difference exists among radiocarbon ages on organics from the paleosols at the north end of the chute and wood samples buried at similar and greater depths on either side of its central portion. The variation in depths and dates indicate discontinuities in alluvial deposits that were not readily apparent. A buried soil was visible at a depth of 1.35 cm in a core extracted with a Giddings machine in the northeast field a short distance from the chute and consistent with the depth of cultural material exposed there. However, near the center of the chute on that side, a burned log uncovered at 2.20 m, comparable to the depth of Feature 2 and the older soil on the western side, returned a date of 3210 ± 70 BP cal BC 1628–1367 (Calib 8.2; two sigma range, 92.8 percent probability) (ISGS-5374) (Figure 27). The similar depths yet different ages of the older paleosol and wood sample attest different alluvial fills along the chute. The date of 5380 ± 70 BP from the lower soil in the profile north of Feature 2 is a more reliable estimate of its age based on proximity. Thus, the feature is interpreted as evidence of Middle Archaic flintknapping activities at the Evans site. However, dates on soils or wood in alluvium over even short distances in the area can vary considerably. Thus, the inferred age of the feature must be considered hypothetical.

A recent opportunity to gain geochronological information at the Evans site was provided by the exposure of a tree in the new channel first recognized by Demaranville in 2017 (Figures 28 and 29). On November 7, 2023, the author and Demaranville sampled the tree, then almost completely unburied.



Figure 27. Johnson and Varner recovering a wood sample from the east chute profile at right; view east of test excavation of the northeast field in the background at left.



Figure 28. Google Earth oblique view of the location of the exposed tree (symbol) in Stranger Creek channel.



Figure 29. Exposed root end of a buried tree in the new channel of Stranger Creek in 2017. Photograph by Demaranville.



Figure 30. Demaranville holding the prism at the tree on the west side of the new Stranger Creek channel on November 7, 2023.

It was identified as a specimen of oak (*Quercus* sp.), probably of the white oak group (*Leucobalanus*) (Puseman 2023; Mark Mayfield, KSU Herbarium, personal communication February 23, 2024). Its depth from a point on the eastern bank, obtained with an electronic distance measurement (EDM) device, was 6.74 m (Figure 30). The surface of the western bank near the tree was .182 m lower than the mapping point on the opposite bank. Regarding those points, the tree had once rested below 6.56–6.74 m of alluvium. The radiocarbon assay is 2822 ± 27 BP cal BC 1050–904 (Calib 8.2; two sigma range, 100 percent probability) (D-AMS 053516), coeval with the Late Archaic period. However, there is variation in the time during which alluvial deposition occurred across the Evans site. Thus, it cannot be inferred that the depth and time of tree burial at this particular location apply to other areas of the site nor to others along Stranger Creek in general.

For example, the depth of the tree is comparable to that of pieces of elm (*Ulmus* sp.), found in gleyed alluvium 6.82–7.02 m deep at the Resco site (14LV1046), located 13 km downstream from the Evans site. A sample of that wood dated 4260 ± 50 –60 BP cal BC 3018–2839 (Calib 8.2; two sigma

range, 61.8 percent probability) (DIC-3148), earlier than the oak from Evans (Logan 1985:295–300). The two ages reflect chronological variation in the processes of erosion and aggradation in Stranger Creek valley.

While the radiocarbon date on the oak tree may provide a *terminus post quem* for cultural horizons stratigraphically higher on either side of the channel in its vicinity, it is important to note that variability in depths and radiocarbon dates along both sides of the chute/channel indicates significant reworking of alluvium that makes such inferences problematic and thus hypothetical. Notably, the lack of variability in the fine material that composes the alluvium makes it particularly difficult to recognize the interface of cut-and-fill episodes. Possibly the westward gully that drains the levee wash and distinguishes the northeast and southeast fields marks such a contact (William C. Johnson, personal communication December 23, 2023). The oak tree is just opposite the confluence of the gully and the new channel.

The Evans site reflects in one small area the dynamic nature of Stranger Creek. During much of the Holocene, particularly the past 6,000 years, lateral migration of the principal stream has continu-



Figure 31. Demaranville standing near the north end of the western side of the chute where cultural material was exposed at a depth of 1.3 m. Photograph by author, July 8, 1999.

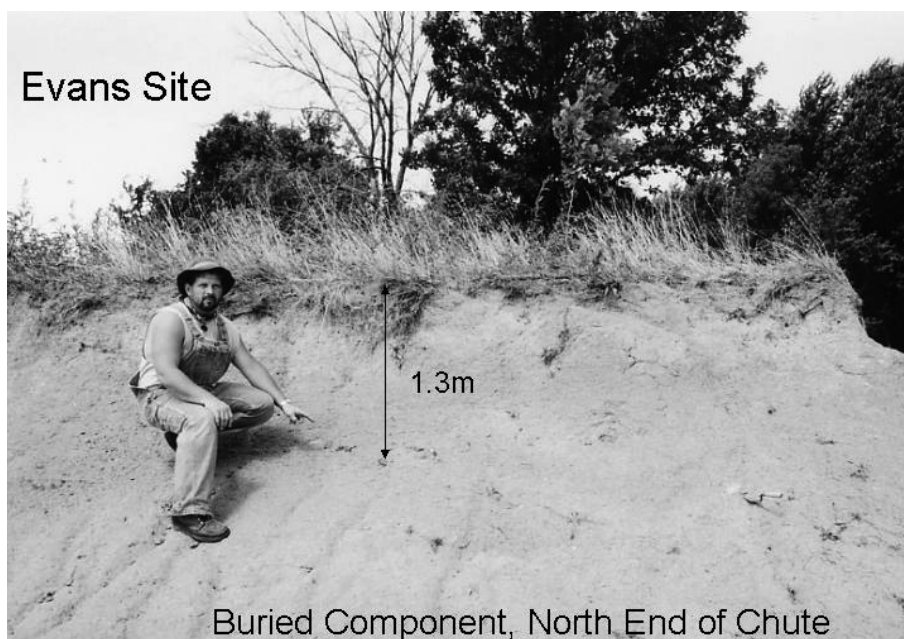


Figure 32. Demaranville pointing to FCR and debitage at a depth of 1.3 m on the west side of the chute at its northern end, which was the location of the Johnson-Varner profile. Photograph by author, July 8, 1999.

ally removed fill in some areas and redeposited it in others, resulting in the depth-age variation seen at Evans and with respect to other sites, such as Resco. Evidence of this lateral movement can be seen as old channel scars in the field west of the Caenen and Paul sites (Figure 1), as well as the abandoned chute that marks the western boundary of the Evans site. Thus, the process that buried evidence of prehistoric activity at Evans in some areas has exposed it in others. The new channel may be doing so at the location of the oak tree. Pieces

of quartzite were seen in the channel base near it but were not inspected closely. Whether these are in situ, however, is uncertain. They may have been recently exposed, much like those that make up the gravel bar at the north end of the old chute, redeposited from higher alluvium in the immediate area or translocated from the component at the northern end of the chute that is exposed 1.0–1.3 m below surface (Figures 31 and 32). The latter alternative is least likely, as it would have required transport by a stream with insufficient force to move such mate-

rial, even during severe floods. The area should be monitored periodically to identify their source and determine if they are culturally modified (e.g., FCR).

Test Excavation

Four 1 x 1-m test units were dug at 20-m intervals from a few meters of Stranger Creek southward on a line across the center of the northeast field, despite the few surface finds there (Figure 33). Given the vandalized biface cache and Feature 1 in the levee wash and the cultural horizon exposed at the northern end of the chute that bracket this field, it was presumed that excavation in that area might reveal a cultural horizon in good context. The depth of material on the eastern side of the chute required excavation deeper than 1.3 m in all but one unit. TU2 was stopped just below the plow zone at 23 cm. The units were dug in 10-cm levels, and the fill dry screened through ¼-inch mesh hardware cloth. This was done in TU1, TU3, and TU4 to 50 cm. Due to the time limitation of the field school, those were then shovel skimmed without screening to depths of 1.5–1.65 m. Only TU1 yielded possible artifacts: two moderate-sized pieces of unmodified ferrous oxide, possibly manuports for pigment processing. One was uncovered at 1.45 m, the other at 1.62 m.

Pieces of burned earth and charcoal were observed in the plow zone of all units. In the absence of other artifacts, a prehistoric cultural origin is questionable. The material might be from the burning of trees dredged from the adjacent channel of Stranger Creek some years ago by the Kansas City District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, a failed attempt to mitigate flooding (Henry Caenen, personal communication June 2001). Profile inspection of the three deepest units by Johnson and Varner confirmed that they had penetrated the upper buried soil, exposed in the northwestern side of the chute.

Explorations in the west field were more productive. Kansas Anthropological Association (KAA) members under the author's direction volunteered for four days during the week of June 16–22, 2003. KAFS surveys of the recently disced area had revealed a concentration of artifacts in its southern portion and at the northwestern margin of the chute, beveled by the surge of floodwater from Stranger Creek in June 2001 (see Feature 2 discussion above). The former area yielded five Scallorn arrow points, an unnotched arrow point, a drill mid-section (Figure 34), and undiagnostic bifaces (Figure 35); the latter area contained blocky end scrapers (Figure 36). During the time available the focus was on an area about 5 m from the beveled ground. Of two test units dug on the unscoured ground a few meters to



Figure 33. View west of KAFS-2003 test units 1-4 in the northeast field.



Figure 34. KAFS finds from the west field: above, drill mid-section; below left, triangular unnotched arrow point; all others, Scallorn arrow points. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 35. KAFS finds from the west field, all unhafted bifaces. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.

its west, one (TU5) produced artifacts to a depth of 60 cm. No artifacts were found in TU6, so excavation of it stopped at 30 cm (Figure 37). Artifact frequencies by depth from TU5 support interpretation of artifacts on the nearby beveled surface as a lag deposit from a sub-plow zone component (Table 1). All but three artifacts, all chipping debris, were recovered from 20 to 50 cm.

Six flakes of sufficient size (>2.5 cm along any dimension) for piece plotting were mapped from



Figure 36. KAFS finds from the beveled ground above Feature 2, all blocky end scrapers. Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Division, KU Biodiversity Institute.



Figure 37. View west of the excavation of test units 5 and 6 in the west field by KAA members. Arrow marks the location of Feature 2 in the chute.

34 to 43 cm below surface. If these are valid proxies for other artifacts from the unit, they suggest that most of the cultural horizon is at that depth. Nearly 57 percent of the number and 70 percent of the mass of debitage was at 30–40 cm. Tentative inference of this component as Middle Woodland is based on west field surface finds, particularly the Scallorn points and plain sand-tempered pottery, and on the blocky end scrapers from the beveled area. The tests did not reach the paleosols exposed on the west side of the chute. Elevations obtained with the EDM show Feature 2 was 2.3 m lower than the southwestern corner of TU5, where its cultural horizon might be encountered.

CONCLUSIONS

One goal of archeological research in northeastern Kansas is to track processes of cultural change

Table 1. Frequency of Artifacts in Test Unit 5 at the Evans Site.

Level/ Depth (cm)	Number/ % of Flakes	Mass/ % of Flakes (g)
1/00–10	1/00.9	0.7/00.8
2/10–20	1/00.9	1.7/02.0
3/20–30	16/14.7	8.4/09.9
4/30–40	62/56.9	59.1/69.6
5/40–50	28/25.7	15.0/17.7
6/50–60	1/00.9	<0.0/00.0

through prehistoric times, as they reflect adaptations to varying social relations and environmental factors. Evans exemplifies the kind of site with considerable potential for providing information toward that end with respect to the lower Missouri River region. It has yielded evidence of a series of occupations in stratified context. Future investigation can address questions about site use and cultural change over a period of 5,000 years of prehistoric time, possibly more. Valley fills in the Evans locality accumulated from at least 6,000 to 500 years ago, indicating significant aggradation during and after the Altithermal climatic episode.

Numerous diagnostic artifacts, primarily chipped stone tools, and two features attest that the site was occupied during the Middle and Late Archaic, Middle and Late Woodland, and Late Prehistoric periods. Excavations at Evans and the adjacent Scott site demonstrate that traces of all periods are below the range of modern farming activities. Channelization of Stranger Creek through the chute now preserves the western field at Evans from future cultivation. A Middle Archaic component is represented there at about 2 m in depth, comparable to a nearby paleosol that dates 4349–4046 B.C., by concentrations of debitage from one or more flintknapping events. Indicative of a lithic workshop, it may have been associated with other activities to its west, an area threatened by lateral migration of Stranger Creek. A Late Archaic component is inferred from flintknapping debris and FCR, exposed at depths of 1–1.3 m at the northern end and on both sides of the former chute. It is near and 50 cm below the A horizon of a paleosol on its western side dated to 1974–1612 B.C. Also assigned to this component or to one of later, perhaps Woodland, age is a vandalized cache

of bifacial preforms, exposed by scouring of the levee wash at the eastern boundary of the site.

At this time none of the Archaic components can be assigned to a specific archeological culture, such as Munkers Creek, Nebo Hill, or others of the Central Plains (Logan and Ritterbush 2001:414–419; Reid 1983, 1984; Schmits 1978; Witty 1982). However, future research at Evans may shed light on this poorly known time in the lower Missouri River region. It may close gaps in the current regional chronology, determine the degree of mobility by recovery of seasonal data, and inform about such aspects of lithic technologies as material procurement, reduction, and stylistic change.

More reliable evidence of occupation during Middle Woodland time by people of the Kansas City Hopewell culture is a small sample of pottery, many corner-notched and contracting-stemmed PPKs, a corner-tang knife, drills, blocky end scrapers, and perhaps an obsidian flake. Though most of these are from disturbed areas (plowed, scoured by stream overflows, or removed by erosion through the chute), chipped stone debris from 25–45 cm below surface in a test unit in the west field suggests an undisturbed horizon. Stranger Creek basin was the western edge of the core of Kansas City Hopewell and of a prairie-woodland ecotone (Küchler 1974; Logan 1985). Investigation of this component may improve insight into how people, who elsewhere focused on woodland-riverine ecosystems, utilized more varied plants and animals available in a mosaic of vegetation communities. For example, Middle Woodland settlements in the watershed may have been short-term encampments rather than base settlements, such as those at the Renner (23PL1), Young (23PL4), Aker (23PL43), Trowbridge (14WY1), and Quarry Creek (14LV401) sites (Adair 1996; Johnson 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1981; Logan 1993, 2006a, 2006b, 2011). Conversely, sites such as Evans and 14LV1080 may attest prolonged occupation comparable to those sites.

A sherd of cord-marked pottery and several Scallorn type arrow points may indicate a Late Woodland occupation. Evidence of Late Woodland activity can be compared to that from more extensively excavated contemporary sites in the region. It can enhance understanding of the fragmentation of Middle Woodland groups ca. A.D. 400–500 into dispersed family-centered habitations, char-

acterized by different means of social networking (Logan 2019, 2022b).

Late prehistoric activity is represented by a few finds of side- and side-and-basal-notched arrow points from the southeast field and the chute in the Demaranville collection. No diagnostic finds of that period were recovered during other investigations. These may have been lost or discarded during hunting forays from nearby sites, such as Scott, Caenen, or Paul, that were occupied by people of the Steed-Kisker phase and Pomona variant. Given lodge remains below the plow zone at the first two of those sites, more extensive investigations at Evans may reveal similar traces of prolonged stays. The terminal date of the temporal range given above is provided by a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1434–1501 (two sigma calibrated range) on a charcoal sample from the lodge at the Caenen site (Logan 2005, 2010:257). It is apparent from the flood-prone nature of the Stranger Creek valley and the sub-plow zone context of the Scott and Caenen houses that alluvium continued to accrete after their abandonments.

Evans is one of undoubtedly many sites in the Stranger Creek valley that hold remnants of prehistoric human activities spanning thousands of years through the Holocene, certainly since 6000 B.P. The stream has buried much evidence of prehistoric occupation through the dominant process of aggradation. Yet, during its lateral movements and periods of overbank flow, it has removed or exposed it at different times in different areas. In effect it has created a mosaic of fills of varied ages. Stranger Creek cuts through time, giving archeologists the opportunity to discover and study the processes of human adaptation in the region. Without continued survey and excavation, however, much information will be lost. Time is on the Stranger's side.

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Scott Demaranville has been my guide to the archeological resources of the Evans locality and other sites in Stranger Creek for many years. I had heard about Scott in 1979, when I began my doctoral research in the watershed. By chance, the first farmer I contacted to survey land was Gordon Sprague, Scott's grandfather, and the first site I recorded in Kansas (14LV86) was on his property. Gordon told me that Scott had artifacts from the site and elsewhere and directed me to his house nearby. Scott was then working in the Fairfax plant in Kansas City, where he still works, so his mother showed me his collection, which is even greater today. Thus, Scott has been key to my research in Stranger Creek basin since Day 1. In 1999 I took photographs of artifacts that he collected from the levee wash cache at Evans and from 14LV1080 before visiting those and other sites. During the KAFS-2003 I photographed his artifacts from elsewhere at the Evans site that appear here. In 2023 he shared photographs of more recent finds. I commend him for the careful provenience he has maintained with his collection and for generously sharing information about it.

In 2017 Scott attended my presentation to the Tonganoxie Historical Society on the Kramer Collection from two sites in the watershed (Logan 2009, 2017). He then told me that the chute had become Stranger Creek. That summer he had seen part of a tree in the channel, and by 2023 it was almost fully exposed. He provided critical help in obtaining permission to access the site, driving us there, getting to the tree (thanks for the waders, Scott!), and cutting pieces for radiocarbon dating. As we carefully descended the bank and crossed the stream two decades after having last inspected

the chute together, I was reminded of the words of Greek philosopher Heraclitus. He said, "No man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man." Heraclitus meant that reality continuously changes; all is in a state of flux. That is true of Stranger Creek and certainly true of the older men.

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PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP: NATIVE NATIONS AND WHITE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CENTRAL PLAINS REFLECTED BY PEACE MEDALS

JACK L. HOFMAN

University of Kansas

Peace medals were an emblematic element of the interactions between Native American Nations and the governments of the United States and Europe. Few peace medals have been documented in the archeological record of the Central Plains area, which became the states of Kansas and Nebraska. These tokens, however, reflect diverse periods of contact, distinct cultural groups, and different eras of white and Native relationships. Eighteen peace medals from Kansas and Nebraska are discussed here along with information about their potential origins and archeological and cultural contexts.

The interactions and relationships among European nations, the U.S. Government, and traders or agents of these governments with Native Nations have an erratic and disjointed history, filled with miscommunications, misunderstandings, lack of follow through, and perpetually changing U.S. political and social agendas (Brown 1971; Burnette 1971; Deloria 1969, 1973; Deloria and Wildcat 2001; Josephy 1968; Nichols 2008; Washburn 1971, 1988). Peace medals reflect one small aspect of the material record that is linked to these dynamic interactions, including the variety of encounters, contexts, and attitudes through the early history of European and U.S. relationships with Native Nations (Beckworth 1910; Belden 1966; Betts 1894; Julian 1977; Pickering 2011; Prucha 1971, 1988). They also are symbolic of the connections and status of their owners or wearers and, like the situations that resulted in their presentations, can have multiple and layered meanings. These ornaments were prized and commonly worn to represent the status of the owner and their belief in the agreements in which the individuals or groups were engaged, and to show that the wearers were recognized as leaders by other nations. Unfortunately, the rapidly changing U.S. administrations, often holding widely divergent views, attitudes, and goals concerning Native individuals and nations, commonly resulted in little credence being given to the decisions or commitments of prior govern-

ment leaders, administrations, or their agents. Some agreements were questionable, poorly understood, or had veiled intentions and consequences even at the time of signing. This resulted in a confusing array of broken treaties and uneasy alliances, as political pressures typically superseded prior treaty agreements. U.S. treaties with Native Nations in the Great Plains region sometimes pertained to needed alliances but were predominantly about land cessions, tribal displacement, or restriction to specified reserves. Throughout this process, however, peace medals served as emblems of status and rank among the leaders of Native Nations, and during their interactions with the U.S. and European government agents.

The use of U.S. presidential peace medals for confirming and solidifying relationships with Native Nations and leaders continued a tradition established by European nations, notably France, Spain, and Great Britain, in their dealings with Native Nations. Medals issued by each of these colonizing nations were awarded to Native leaders in attempts to gain their loyalty and support in trade or in military actions and alliances (Beckworth 1910; Betts 1894). British medals, usually issued with certificates (Prucha 1971:4, Figure 2), were commonly distributed in the West and old Northwest (east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River) during the Revolutionary War period, through the War of 1812, and until at least the time of the Black Hawk War of

1832 (Hagan 1958; Jacobs 1988). Early American expeditions following the Louisiana Purchase, such as Zebulon Pike's in 1805 up the Mississippi River, encountered Native leaders with British medals. The U.S. expedition leaders and agents made an effort to retrieve these foreign emblems and replace them with U.S. peace tokens, but in the early 1800s U.S. medals were in short supply, and this exchange process became protracted for years in some cases (Prucha 1971:18, 25–34). The abundance of British peace medals in the old Northwest was a concern to the U.S. government agents, who were attempting to gain the allegiance of the Native groups in that region. Thus, the British medals were being systematically collected and replaced by their U.S. counterparts prior to, during, and after the War of 1812 (Prucha 1971:34–44). Interestingly, the painting of Black Hawk in McKenney and Hall (1933) and the bust of Black Hawk in the Sac and Fox Cultural Center in Stroud, Oklahoma, depict Black Hawk wearing a King George III peace medal (Figure 1). This reflects the stronger relationship between the Sac and Fox, who were Black Hawk's followers, and the British, as compared to their combative relationships with the French and their troubled relationship with the U.S. through the first decades of the nineteenth century. During his 1806 expedition to the West and Southwest, Pike encountered Pawnee leaders wearing Spanish and American medals (Wedel 1986). The U.S. government's desire to gain alliances with Native Nations in the West and to demonstrate its control of the Louisiana Purchase, led to significant production and distribution of U.S. presidential medals in the region, beginning in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

BRIEF HISTORY OF PEACE MEDALS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The first official U.S.-issued peace medals were minted in the 1790s and issued to Native leaders in eastern North America (Prucha 1988). The earliest U.S. medals, widely used west of the Mississippi in the region of the Louisiana Purchase and beyond, were the round "seasonal" medals of George Washington's second term, which were solid silver and copper and had been minted in England (Prucha 1971:89–90), as well as newly minted Thomas Jefferson medals, which were two-piece, consisting



Figure 1. Bust of Black Hawk with George III medal, Sac and Fox Cultural Center, Stroud, OK.

of front and back silver discs with a wooden center, held together with a band. The U.S. mint was not able to produce the thick one-piece style until later (Prucha 1971:91). The Jefferson medals were minted in three diameters: 105, 76, and 55 mm. The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804–1806 used the available Washington seasonal medals, a total of 55 of the 3 types (Cutright 1968), to supplement other materials intended for the Corps of Discovery to give to Native leaders. The two-piece Jefferson medals also were used during this expedition and on subsequent U.S. expeditions of this period, including those by Pike in 1806 and George Sibley in 1811. Thirty-two Jefferson medals were taken on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and all but one were distributed (Cutright 1968). Original Jefferson examples have been documented in Oregon (Engeman 2006), Washington state, Idaho,

and North Dakota (Cutright 1968), Nebraska (John R. Bozell, personal communication April 20, 2020; Jerry and Nancy Carlson, personal communications 2020 and 2022; Kivett 1973; Munday 1927), Missouri, and elsewhere (Cutright 1968). Jefferson medals were issued to tribal leaders through 1814, and solid one-piece James Madison medals became available for distribution in 1815 (Prucha 1971).

Solid metal Jefferson medals, distinct from the original two-piece variety, were not produced until much later, after 1841 (Prucha 1971:94–95). They were the first to use the Peace and Friendship reverse design (Figure 2a), but the artwork on the Jefferson medals and on the post-1841 restrikes is distinct from that which followed from the Madison (beginning 1815) through the Zachary Taylor administrations (beginning 1849). These post-Jefferson medals had a different tomahawk and pipe representation with a bare wrist on the Native American hand (Figure 2b).

A variety of reverse designs were used following the Taylor version (beginning 1849), and the shape changed to oval for the Rutherford B. Hayes (beginning 1877) through Grover Cleveland (beginning 1885) years. A summary of U.S. presidential peace medal types and designs is provided in Table 1. No Hayes peace medals were issued to Native leaders, and the nature of and reasons for issuing these emblems after that time became highly variable (Prucha 1971:59–70, 1988). The last presidential

peace medals officially issued to Native individuals occurred during Benjamin Harrison’s administration, beginning in 1889. These were round with a distinctive reverse design, some of which included the names of Native leaders to whom they were presented.

Presidential medals continued to be manufactured and are still being produced for each presidential administration. In order to complete the presidential series for historical reasons, round medallions eventually were minted for John Adams, beginning in 1878, and for Washington, beginning in 1903 (Prucha 1971:138). These later tokens were intended for purchase by the public and collectors and not to be issued as peace medals for Native leaders, which creates the situation where many “authentic” items are recent productions that have nothing to do with historical events, individuals, or alliances. Because of their broad availability, such commemoratives sometimes have been “counterfeited” to appear as original historic medals presented to Native leaders by the U.S. Government (DeLorey 2020). This situation makes authenticated archeologically recovered specimens of particular historical importance.

BACKGROUND FOR KANSAS AND NEBRASKA PEACE MEDALS

Only five peace medals have been reported as found in Kansas. All are different and represent four dis-



Figure 2. Comparison of reverse sides of Jefferson and later peace medals: (1A. Jefferson; 1B. later version).

Table 1. Peace Medals of the U.S. Presidents.

Name	Date	Shape	Facing	Reverse	Notes
George Washington	1789–1795	Oval	Eagle	Standing figures on oval	Multiple versions of the oval two-piece medal were made.
John Adams	1797	Round	Right	Peace and Friendship (new reverse)	Produced beginning 1878; none used for tribes.
Thomas Jefferson	1801	Round	Left	Peace and Friendship*	Two piece used until 1814. One piece type minted after 1841.
James Madison	1809	Round	Left	Peace and Friendship*	Beginning early 1815
James Monroe	1817	Round	Right	Peace and Friendship*	1825 Treaties
John Quincy Adams	1825	Round	Right	Peace and Friendship*	
Andrew Jackson	1829	Round	Right	Peace and Friendship*	
Martin Van Buren	1837	Round	Right	Peace and Friendship*	
Fur trade medals common	1840s	Cast round			Most pewter, some brass
William Henry Harrison	1841				None produced.
John Tyler	1841	Round	Left	Peace and Friendship*	
James K. Polk	1845	Round	Left	Peace and Friendship*	
Zachary Taylor	1849	Round	Left	Peace and Friendship*	New reverse dies were used.
Millard Fillmore	1850	Round	Right	Standing figures with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	Only two sizes
Franklin Pierce	1853			Standing figures, with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	
James Buchanan	1857	Round	Right	Circle farm scene with two Native Americans around edge	
Abraham Lincoln	1861, 1862	Round	Right	Circle farm scene with two Native Americans around edge	
Andrew Johnson	1865	Round	Right	Robed figures at alter	Unique design, Medicine Lodge Treaty
Ulysses S. Grant	1869, 1871	Round	Right	On Earth Peace Good Will Toward Men	Unique design
Rutherford B. Hayes	1877	Oval	Left	Standing figures, Peace, cabin	Date on reverse; none given out.
James A. Garfield	1881	Oval	Left	Standing figures with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	Date on front; no longer made in bulk.
Chester A. Arthur	1881	Oval	Right	Standing figures with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	Date on front
Grover Cleveland	1885	Oval	Right	Standing figures with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	U.S.A. and date on front
Benjamin Harrison	1889	Round (Oval made but not issued.)	Left	Progress, two circles with figures. Tipi to cabin. Names inscribed on some of these.	Dates on reverse, 1890–91; Oto-Missouri, Cheyenne and Arapahoe, Kiowa. Last of Peace Medals issued.
Grover Cleveland	1893	Oval	Right	Standing figures with flag, Labor, Virtue, Honor	Seven medals to Cheyenne River Agency in 1896

*The Peace and Friendship design has a crossed tomahawk and peace pipe above a clasped shaking hands image. This is the most common reverse design for peace medals. The cuff design on the Indian used on the Jefferson reverse was changed to a bare wrist on subsequent medals. The bowl of the peace pipe in all of these is turned down to match the downward tomahawk head. The tomahawk on the Jefferson medal was of simple form, not the pipe/tomahawk used on later medals. The pipe on the Jefferson medal reverse is a solid clay pipe; subsequent medals have an elbow pipe with a separate stem. Descriptions and illustrations of the diverse designs used on the reverse of peace medals are provided by Belden (1966) and Prucha (1971) among others.

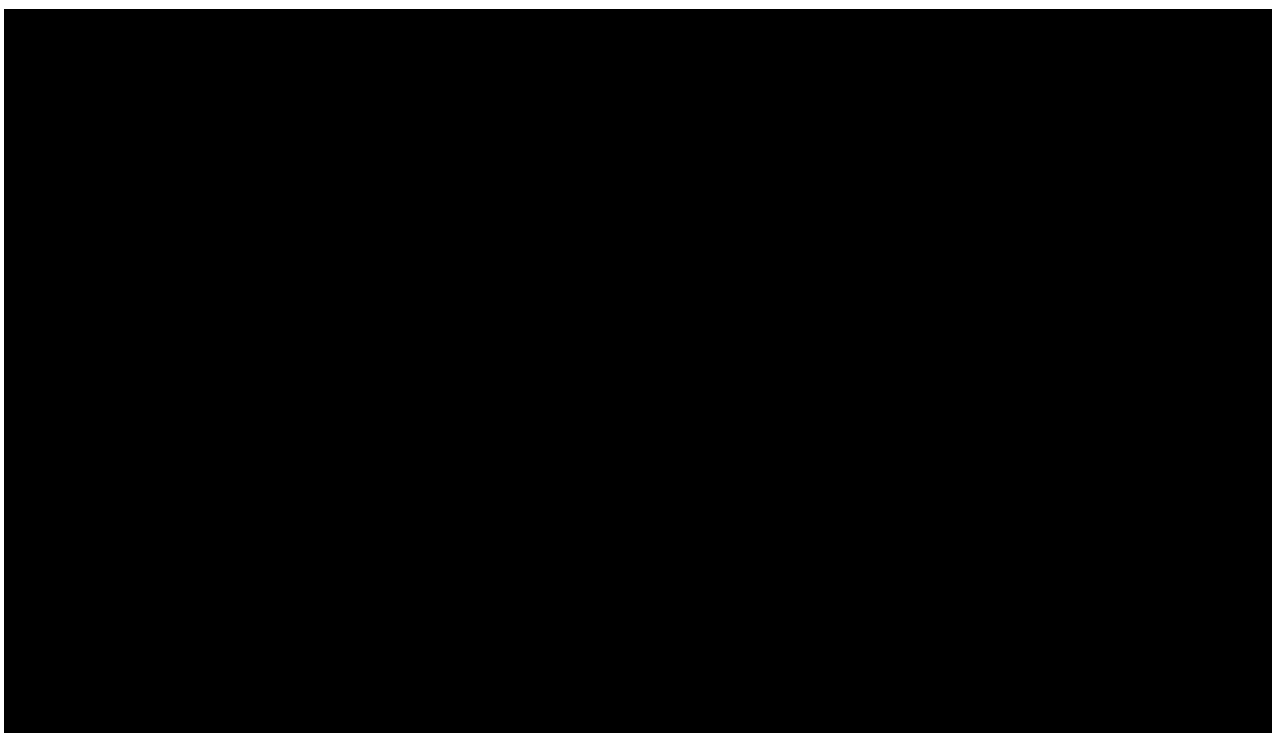


Figure 3. Locations of Kansas peace medal sites: 1. Waconda Springs, 14ML6; 2. 14ED304; 3. 14FR31; 4. 14OS60.

parate find locations (Figure 3). Peace medals were highly curated objects and commonly were handed down or buried with the owner. Examples of those handed down include the large oval two-piece Washington medal, given to Seneca Chief Red Jacket, which was passed down in his family to subsequent leaders (Prucha 1971:9). Cutright (1968: 165–166) recorded that a large Jefferson token presented to Mandan chief Big White (Sheheke) by Lewis and Clark was passed down through multiple generations of his descendants.

Medals commonly were buried with their owners. Local historian and publisher Charles Ramsey Green (1913:9–11) noted that all of Fox Chief Keokuk's best possessions and medals were buried with him on the Kansas reservation in 1848. Keokuk's remains were moved to Keokuk, Iowa, in 1883, and what became of Keokuk's personal effects at that point is unclear. Goodyear (2011) provided a valuable history of Keokuk's various ornaments, based on paintings and photographs. Bentley (1958) reported that the Madison medal in the Princeton University Library once belonged to Keokuk, but it had been found at the Little Big Horn battlefield by a Montana cattleman. This circuitous

oral history associated with the Princeton Library Madison medal reflects the status and importance attributed to these objects by those involved with or interested in them, either as keepsakes or for their roles in family histories and traditions.

Another example may be Nye's (1968:214–215) report of a Washington medal, worn by Frank Given (*An-pay-kau-te* in Kiowa). The medal reportedly was inherited from his father in 1871; however, the Washington piece shown in the photograph is a style that was not minted until 1903 (Prucha 1971:138).

Medals were exchanged, traded, or captured as well. One interesting transfer occurred after the untimely death of Jesse Chisholm in March 1868. When Chisholm was buried in Oklahoma, his friend Ten Bears, a Comanche leader and signer of the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty (Yost 1970:29–31), placed a medal in the grave with Chisholm's body. According to Mead (2008:220–222), "Ten Bears, Chief of the Comanches, took off the bronze medal that had been presented to him by the Government and that he had worn for many years, and laid it on the breast of his departed friend, . . . and it was buried with him."

Another peace medal apparently used as a burial

offering was reported from the Poafpybitty site in western Oklahoma (McWilliams and Jones 1972). An 1871 Ulysses S. Grant peace medallion was found in the grave of a young Kiowa man, dating it to 1872–1875.

The names of specific Native leaders to whom these medals were awarded often were not clearly recorded (e.g., Belden 1966:24, 38; Hoffman 1896:18, 46; Prucha 1971:68). This was even the case for some of the last ones issued under Benjamin Harrison, which had recipients' names engraved on their reverse faces (Prucha 1971:134–135). Whether all of the Native signers of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of October 1867 received tokens at that time is undetermined, but several of those signers (e.g., Satanta and Ten Bears) are known to have had them later. Hidatsa leaders along the Missouri in what is now North Dakota were among individuals who were not enamored by these gifts. They were suspicious of them and in turn gave them to others, hoping that they would bring bad luck (Cutright 1968).

A well-known photograph of Satanta (*Set-tain-te*, Kiowa) shows him wearing a round medal of uncertain type or origin (Nye 1968:186–187). Satanta was a signer at the Medicine Lodge Treaty in October 1867 and likely received a medal there. At that time the Andrew Johnson medals were available, as they had been minted and provided to the Indian Commissioner by January 1866 (Prucha 1971:124). They bear a date of 1865 and a unique reverse design with two figures shaking hands in front of an altar. The large size, measuring 76 mm or about 3 inches in diameter, Johnson medal might have been what Satanta was wearing. Photographs and records indicated that the use and distribution of medals in the Kansas area were common throughout the nineteenth century.

Many photographs exist of Native Americans in the Central and Southern Plains regions wearing medals of various kinds (e.g., Blaine 1990; DeMallie 2001; Prucha 1971). The ornaments came from multiple sources, including fur trade companies that realized their importance to the Native leaders and groups with whom their agents interacted and with whom they wanted to maintain alliances. The Hudson's Bay Company issued three categories of tokens from 1790 to 1805 (Beckworth 1910:834, 836). The American Fur Company of J. J. Astor and

the Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Company of Saint Louis issued medals that were widely distributed, especially during the early 1840s (Belden 1966:Plates 20–22). Typically these were made of pewter, although sometimes of brass. A large but unknown number were manufactured. One of the Chouteau medallions had a bust of Martin Van Buren that was based on and closely resembled the image used on the U.S. Mint's Van Buren presidential peace medals of 1837 (Prucha 1971:70, 139–142).

The known Kansas peace medals include official U.S. Government items, a British piece, and a fur trade artifact. The 11 peace medals from Nebraska summarized here represent United States, Spanish (Mexican), British, and French governments. One medal is of uncertain origin but clearly was manufactured after the American Revolution. These Nebraska medals all come from Pawnee sites and date to the period from the late 1700s until Pawnee removal to Indian Territory in 1874.

KANSAS PEACE MEDALS

Descriptions are provided below and in Table 2.

Chouteau Medal from 14ML6

According to records at the Kansas Historical Society (KSHS), this medal (specimen 1906.9.1) was found in the mud at Great Spirit Spring (Waconda Spring, 14ML6) almost 4 miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kansas, in June 1871 by Ogden Norman Green (1845–1922). In 1869 Green had homesteaded with his family near Lincoln, Kansas. Waconda Spring, an artesian spring, was a sacred place to the Pawnee (Parks and Wedel 1985:155–158, Table 1, Figures 4 and 5) and to other tribes, including the Kansa (Parks 2014:85–89; also see Blakeslee 2010; Patrick 1906; Swineford and Frye 1955). Mineral water from the spring had been bottled beginning in the 1870s, and a spa was developed at the spring in the 1880s (Parks 2014; Parks and Wedel 1985:155). The spring is now submerged beneath Glen Elder Reservoir.

The object found by Green is heavily abraded and worn (Figure 4a, 4c) but compares very well with a Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company medal, illustrated by Prucha (1971:140, Figure 62; also Belden 1966:66, Plate 20). Although the Waconda

Table 2. Peace Medals from Kansas and Nebraska.

Site Number	Medal Type	Date	Size (inches/mm)	Material	Context	Date Found	Notes
14ML6	Chouteau	1843	3.5/88.5	Pewter	Spring	1871	Fur trade
14ML6	Fur trade	1844		Pewter?	Spring	late 1800s	Fur trade
14ED304	Monroe	1817	2.5/62	Silver	Sand dune	1945	
14FR31	Fillmore	1850	2.5/62	Silver	Agricultural field	1870	
14OS60	George III	1814?	3.0/76	Silver	Agricultural field	1900	British
25WT1	Carolus III	1778	1.5/39	Silver	Burial	1920–1930s	Spanish
25WT1	Carolus IV	1797	1.5/39; 4.25/109	Silver	Burial	1920s	Spanish
25WT1	George III	1762	2.5/60	Silver	Burial	1920s	British
25WT1	Washington	1790s?	3.0/76	Silver?	Burial	1941	Fur trade
25WT1	Jefferson	1801	3.0/76	Silver	Burial	1920s	Reverse side
25PK1	Jefferson	1801	2.25/55	Silver	Village	1940s	Obverse side
25NC6	Jefferson	1801	3.0/76	Silver	Village	1970s	Obverse side
25NC6	Fillmore	1850	3.0/76	Silver	Village	2000s	
25NC6	Buchanan	1857	3.0/76	Silver	Burial	1933	
25BU1	Ferdinand	Pre-1820?	1.75/41	Pewter	Burial	1968	French
Brewster, Blaine Co	Monroe	1817	2.0/51	Silver	Agricultural field	1884	
Blair, Washington Co	Madison	1809	2.5/62	Silver	Agricultural field	pre-1900	
Nebraska History	Washington	“1789”	3.0/76	Silver	Ceremony gift	1914	White Eagle

Springs specimen is not entirely legible, enough of the picture and lettering are present that it can be identified conclusively as one made for and issued by Chouteau (Figure 4b, 4d). The obverse shows the bust of Van Buren, facing right, and is a close approximation to the image used on the official U.S. Mint Van Buren peace medals (Figure 5) that bear the date of his inauguration (1837) but were minted in 1838 and 1839 (Prucha 1971:106–107). According to Prucha (1971:107), “In April, 1838, William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to ask for six large medals to send west with the trader Charles Bent for Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs.” However, the demand for medallions was typically greater than those officially presented by agents of the U.S. Government. Fur trade items were made quickly and cheaply and were widely distributed without bureaucratic delays. Evidently

B. Mead, who designed or made the Chouteau medals, had a copy of the Van Buren presidential medal to use as a model.

Also on the obverse of the Chouteau examples is a band encircling the bust of Van Buren, and the top portion of this band has raised letters: “PIERRE CHOUTEAU JR & CO.” This was separated from the words on the bottom of the band: “UPPER MISSOURI OUTFIT.” These phrases are separated by ivy leaves, two on the left and three on the right. The original medals apparently were supplied with a loop at the top, but the Waconda Springs specimen does not have one. Rather, a hole was punched through at the top near the rim (Figure 6). On the reverse are the words “PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP 1843” in four lines, separated by crossed pipe and tomahawk and by clasped hands.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company was established in 1838 and continued until 1864. The



Figure 4. Chouteau medal from 14ML6: 3A. obverse of 14ML6 Chouteau medal, 3B. obverse of comparative medal; 3C. reverse of 14ML6 Chouteau medal; 3D. reverse of comparative medal. Comparative medal image from Prucha 1971.



Figure 5. Van Buren U.S. Mint peace medal obverse (left) and comparative Chouteau version of Van Buren medal (right).

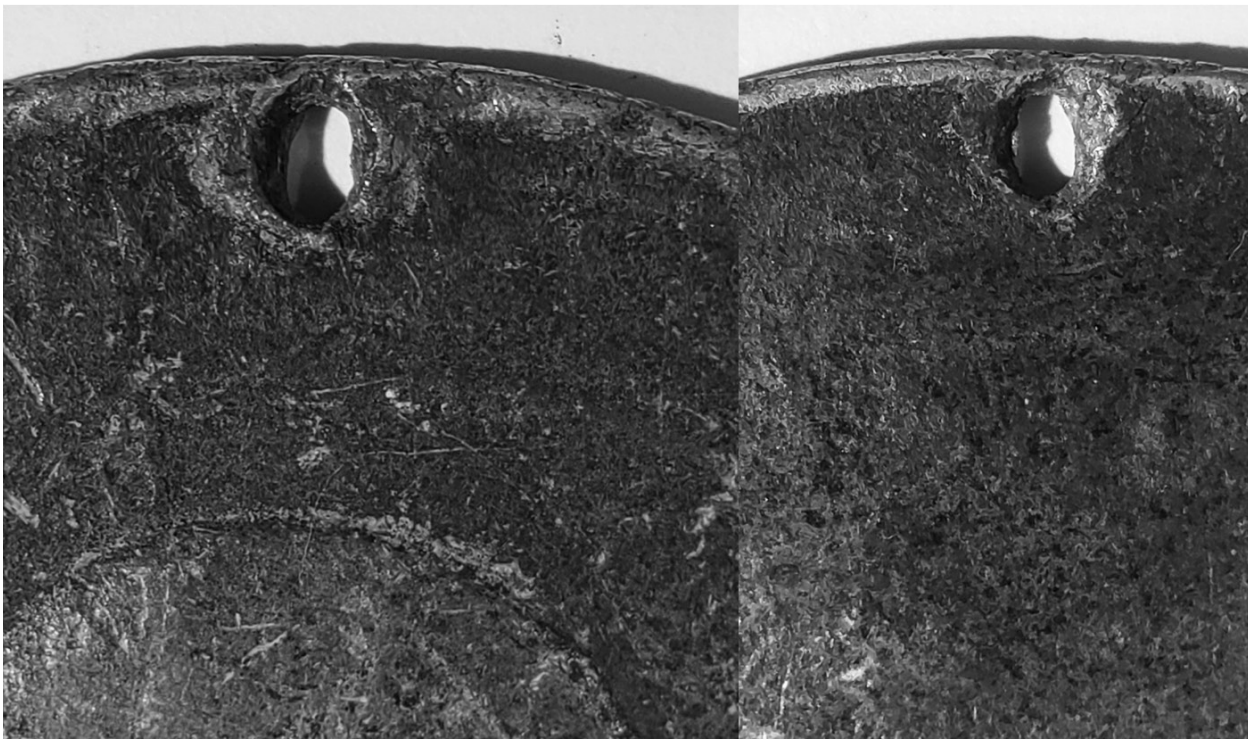


Figure 6. Close-up view of hole punched (not drilled) through top of Chouteau peace medal from 14ML6.

“Upper Missouri Outfit” (UMO) of the American Fur Company’s western department was concerned primarily with bison robe trade, as opposed to the beaver pelt trade in the Rocky Mountains. The UMO was centered near the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers in extreme western North Dakota at Fort Union, which operated from 1829 through 1867 (DeVore 1992). Earlier in 1832 or 1833, some of the pewter UMO fur trade medals were cast with “FORT UNION” and “U.M.O.” on the reverse with crossed pipes and tomahawks and clasped hands with the words “PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP” (Belden 1966:41, Plate 20; Prucha 1971:139, Figure 61). The obverse of these had a left-facing bust, presumably of John Jacob Astor, and the words, “PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.” Some of these medals were copper with silver plating (Belden 1966:41). Astor sold the western department to Pratte, Chouteau and Company of St. Louis in 1834, and it became the Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company in 1838 (DeVore 1992:2; Mattison 1962; Sudbury 2009). Chouteau medals were produced in large but unknown quantities and widely distributed in the early 1840s.

The 14ML6 medal reverse has two images: a crossed tomahawk and peace pipe above and clasped hands below. The words “PEACE AND

FRIENDSHIP” are engraved, with “PEACE” in the center above the tomahawk and peace pipe, “AND” in the center above the clasped hands, and “FRIENDSHIP” below the hands. The date “1843” appears at the bottom center below “FRIENDSHIP.”

While this same general pattern was used on the official U.S. Mint peace medals, several features (Figure 7) are distinctive. The clasped hands are almost identical to the presidential types from the Madison (1809) through Taylor (1849) administrations. One slight variation is that the first finger on the bare-wristed Native American hand is extended on the U.S. presidential medals but is closed or wrapped against the cuffed wrist in the Van Buren version of the Chouteau fur trade medal. The tomahawk and peace pipe also are different in style; the peace pipe is turned with the bowl upward in the fur trade medal, whereas the bowl is turned downward on U.S. presidential examples. The design and position of the “Peace and Friendship” wording diverges as well. On the U.S. presidential medals the words “Peace” and “Friendship” are curved and follow the outline edge, and the word “and” is slightly curved and conforms to the shape of the clasped hands in the center. In contrast, these words are all horizontal—straight and not curved—on the fur trade artifacts. On the U.S. presidential medals the dates



Figure 7. Comparison of reverse sides of Chouteau peace medal (right) and official U.S. Mint Van Buren medal (left).

appear on the obverse, but on fur trade counterparts the dates are at the bottom of the reverse.

According to Prucha (1971:141), the use of the non-official (non-U.S. Mint-produced) fur trade medals was explicitly prohibited on March 22, 1844, by the Secretary of War. Supposedly production and distribution ended soon after that date. Belden (1966:39–43) provided an interesting summary of the non-government American-made fur trade medals. Beckworth (1910:836) described these medals fairly well but stated that the Chouteau medals had the bust of Chouteau on the obverse and were made from silver. There are a number of inaccuracies in Beckworth's paper; even so, it is improbable that an entirely different series of medals was created by the Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Company that have not been noted by other researchers. Other pewter medals, but apparently not the Chouteau examples, were produced by individuals, by casting rather than minting, even after the Secretary of War's prohibition. One of these, which had the nearly full face of Washington on the obverse, was worn by Yellow Hair, a Brule Sioux (Prucha 1971:69, 141–142, Figure 21). Beckworth (1910:834) incorrectly attributed these pewter medals to those that the U.S. Government presented to Native leaders at Fort Harmar in Ohio in 1789. These cast pewter medals were made primarily during the late eighteenth century (Prucha 1971:70, 141–142), and Belden (1966:44–46, Plate 22) noted that at the turn of the twentieth century these were still being made by an individual in Pender, Nebraska. The NSHS collection contains some cast copies, so U.S. Mint presidential peace medals also were being duplicated by the later part of the eighteenth century.

Second Fur Trade Medal from 14ML6

Information on this artifact is limited and comes from an account by Schoewe (1953:139), who stated, "Many relics, in cleaning out the spring, have been fished from its waters, including bows and arrows, rifles, arrowheads, colored stones, beads, and medals, one of which bore the stamp of 'The Fur Company of 1844' and the figure of a white man and Indian making friends over the pipe of peace." Schoewe's source of information is uncertain, but the description does not match that of the object found by Green in 1871. Prucha (1971:141)

reported that fur trade medals were made in a variety of designs in Saint Louis, including one similar to the KSHS example found by Green and also with the bust of Van Buren, but with the inscription, "UNION FUR COMPANY B. MEAD, D. S. 1844 ST. LOUIS, MO." around the edge. B. Mead's factory was in St. Louis, and his name appears in small letters below the bust or at the base of the reverse on some specimens.

Both peace medals from Waconda Spring are believed to represent offerings that were intentionally deposited in the spring to honor or appease the water-dwelling spirits or guardians. The offering of gifts to the underwater spirits is a widespread pattern in native North America and has a long tradition. For instance, McMillan (2019) described the ritual offerings and prehistoric activities at a series of springs in the Missouri Ozark region and suggested that this behavior might have begun as early as the Dalton period, some 10,000 years ago. Other evidence from the Clovis site in eastern New Mexico indicates that the tradition of making offerings at springs might extend back to earlier Paleoindian time (Boldurian and Agogino 1982; Boldurian and Cotter 1999:115–116; Haynes and Agogino 1966).

Monroe Medal from 14ED304

In about 1945 Walter Smith Julian found this medal while plowing a sandy field in Edwards County, Kansas, east of the Arkansas River (Wulfkuhle 2003). The silver object has a punched hole at the top near the rim for suspension (Figure 8). It is of the second size, measuring 62 mm or about 2.5 inches in diameter. Second and third size medals had a different design on the obverse than the largest size; most notable is the drape around James Monroe's jacket on the largest ones (Prucha 1971:99). The 14ED304 artifact has a cut across the hands on the reverse that seemingly was caused by a farm implement, such as a disc. The details are quite sharp, and the name of the engraver, Moritz Furst, is clearly visible under the bust of Monroe on the obverse. The reverse has the Peace and Friendship design with crossed tomahawk and peace pipe above the clasped hands. The Native wrist is bare, as was standard for medals after Jefferson's administration until 1849. There were no associations with this specimen, and presumably it was lost.



Figure 8. Monroe medal from 14ED304 and comparative medal.

Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Wichita, Kansa, and Osage among other nations were active in this area during the nineteenth century. However, two treaties were made along the Santa Fe Trail in August 1825 in an attempt to gain safe passage for travelers along this route (Parks 2014:16). On August 10, 1825, a survey party, lead by commissioners Benjamin Reeves, George Sibley, and Thomas Mather, signed a treaty with Osage leaders at Council Grove. Then, on August 15 and 16 they met with representatives of the Kaw or Kansa and signed a treaty with them. Sibley had been the Indian trader agent at Fort Osage in northwestern Missouri until it closed in 1822 (Gillespie 1992), and he had a longstanding relationship with the Osage and Kansa. These treaties involved \$500 cash and \$300-worth of merchandise (Parks 2014:16), which would be equal to about \$12,600 and \$9,000, respectively, in today's money. Monroe medals were apparently among the materials provided to the Native leaders at these treaty meetings. During this same year, treaties with numerous other Native Nations, including the Cheyenne, were made in an effort to gain unobstructed use of the Santa Fe Trail.

In 1825 President Monroe approved a bill for survey of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri to New Mexico and for negotiating treaties with Native

Nations along the route. John Quincy Adams began his term in 1825, but peace medals with his likeness were not produced until December 1825 (Prucha 1971:103) and so were not available at the time of these treaties.

The Monroe medals were made in three sizes: 76 mm, 62 mm, and 51 mm. Evidently all were silver (Prucha 1971:99–100). Only 232 were manufactured, beginning in 1820, and ostensibly 203 were still on hand in July 1822, when they were turned over to the Secretary of War from the then recently abolished Office of Indian Trade (Prucha 1971:100). At that time only 8 large, 12 medium-sized, and 9 small medals had been distributed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established in 1824, and the first series of ornaments produced through that office was for John Quincy Adams. These were exchanged for medals of British and Spanish origin that were being encountered in the West (Prucha 1971:100–101). It was customary for remaining medals to be melted down and the metal used to offset the cost of producing a new series of presidential medals (Prucha 1988). Monroe medals were given out at a treaty with the Otoe in Council Bluffs in 1825 (Sheldon 1923:22), and the Cherokee leader George Lowrey also wore a Monroe medal from a treaty in the East (Prucha 1971:55, Figure 13).

The origin or original owner of this 14ED304

medal is unknown. In addition to the Kansa and Osage, a number of other tribes were active in the area of the Great Bend of the Arkansas River during the early nineteenth century. Therefore, it is likely, but not certain, that this Monroe specimen found in Edwards County might have been among those issued at either the August 1825 Council Grove or McPherson treaty meetings with the Osage and Kaw, respectively.

Fillmore Medal from 14FR31

This silver medal was found by farmer George Washbaugh while plowing a field in Franklin County, Kansas, in 1870 (Figure 9). It was within the area of the Sac and Fox Reserve and might be attributed to the period between 1846 and 1869 when the Sac and Fox occupied the region before removal to Oklahoma (Green 1914; Hagan 1958). The discovery was reported by the editor of the *Ottawa Independent-Journal* [OIJ] (6 October 1870:3). The article, entitled “A Suggestive Relic,” is reproduced below.

On Monday last, Mr. Wm. L. Delano brought to the *Journal* office a medal which was turned up, while plowing, by Geo. Washbaugh. The medal is of solid silver, as bright and beautiful as if turned out by the hand of Demetrius himself. On the obverse is a likeness of the placid “Millard Fillmore, President of the United States;” the date 1850; and in small letters under the bust of the President, “O. Ellis.” On the top of the reverse are the, in this case, ambiguous words, “Labor, Virtue, Honor,” with the flag of the Union; and an American, a commissioner, no doubt, eloquently explaining the arts of husbandry and corresponding civilization, being surrounded by the emblems thereof, to a very artistic likeness of a very erect and traditionally noble aboriginal, who is standing in a listening attitude, the great primeval forest in his rear, and “J. Willson,” in small letters, at his feet. No doubt, if we had time to look up so important a matter, we would find the souvenir was issued as a token of eternal friendship between the “Great Father” at Washington and a chief of our Sacs and Foxes, the latter being just on the verge of giving up, without being really positive of the matter, all his and his

tribes possessions in the Sac and Fox Reserve to the benefit and behoof of the big sachems who then held big war dances in Tammany Hall, New York. The medal was found on the farm of Mr. Delano, on the Appanoose Creek, on what is known as the “Parkinson Settlement,” on the “Two-Mile strip,” lying between the Sac and Fox Reserve, and is supposed to be the spot where the chief Appanoose, from whom the creek takes its name, lived and died; and the belief is, that the medal once belonged to that good and credulous chief, and consequently to his legal administrators. It is of solid silver, 2½ inches in diameter.

Green (1913:10–11) indicated that Appanoose was buried in the same plot as was Keokuk, some few miles south of the location of his village and not far from the Greenwood Sac and Fox Agency. He (Green 1913:10) wrote that Keokuk was buried with all his best possessions and that four more Indians were buried in that row.

Chief Appanoose was brought there from his camp on a stream a few miles north afterwards named for him. He must have died in Mr. Luce’s time, the burial ground I never have seen, it is away from any railroad town perhaps three miles south of a little station called Richter across the Marais des Cygnes on the south side in Greenwood Township, Franklin County.

Keokuk was buried in 1848, about three years after he moved to the reserve in Kansas Territory. It is not certain when Appanoose died, but he and several others apparently were buried in a cemetery row near the Sac and Fox Greenwood agency (Green 1913). Keokuk was buried a few miles from the agency, and his body was exhumed and reburied in Keokuk, Iowa, in 1883. Presumably Appanoose’s grave was not disturbed at that time or since. Interactions between the Sac and Fox tribes and the U.S. Government have a long history, including an 1804 disputed treaty (Hagan 1958:16–25), the Black Hawk War along the Mississippi River in Illinois and Wisconsin (1832–1834), followed by removal of the tribal factions to Iowa and Missouri, then to Kansas, and eventually to Oklahoma. However, some remained in Kansas and some returned to



Figure 9. Fillmore comparative medal like that found at 14FR31.

Iowa (Hagan 1958; Herring 1990; Josephy 1958). Presidential medals were presented to Keokuk, Appanoose, and other leaders long before they moved to the Kansas reserve. Appanoose, Keokuk, and Wapella were in Washington and Philadelphia in 1837 and received medals at that time (Goodyear 2011; Hagan 1958). Previously, the British had presented medals to Sac and Fox leaders and others in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Beckworth 1910:833–834; Betts 1894:284–286; Hagan 1958; Hoffman 1896).

Prucha (1971:114–115) indicated that the number of Fillmore medals struck was determined by the amount of silver left in the remaining Taylor medals after his death. “There were of these 112 large medals, 162 medium medals, and thirty-two small ones, and the silver from them was used for the new medals.” Only two sizes, 76 mm and 62 mm, of Fillmore medals were made; the third and smallest size of 51 mm was discontinued. The Appanoose Creek medal was the 62-mm medium size. The current location of this artifact found on Appanoose Creek is unknown. Another Fillmore example of the 76-mm size was found on a Pawnee village site near Genoa, Nebraska (Jerry and Nancy Carlson, personal communications 2020 and 2022).

George III Peace Medal from 14OS60

Emery B. Ingles recovered this medal while plowing his field along Appanoose Creek in eastern Osage County, Kansas. Ingles purchased his farm in 1893, and presumably the object was found after that date. Sometime around the turn of the century, Ingles sold it to neighbor Rufus Collins McEathron for \$5.00. McEathron was a major in the Union Army during the Civil War, and in 1867 or 1868 purchased a farm in northeastern Franklin County a couple of miles from the spot where the medal was found (Violet King, personal communication March 2020). The item is still in the family but is not presently accessible. It has been studied and photographed by the family and, based on comparison with photographs, is a 76-mm-diameter George III medal (Figure 10).

A number of versions of George III medals were issued, but the type from 14OS60 was commonly distributed by the British during the period of the War of 1812 and Black Hawk War through the early-1830s (Beckworth 1910; Betts 1894; Prucha 1971). George III’s reign lasted from 1760 until 1811, but medals in his honor continued to be circulated long after that date, especially during his son’s



Figure 10. King George III comparative medal like that found at 14OS60. Image from Prucha 1971.

rule, which ended in 1820. Following the Black Hawk War in 1832, the Sac and Fox remaining east of the Mississippi River were removed to Iowa. The different Sac and Fox factions stayed in Iowa until removed again to two different reserves in Kansas. The Sac and Fox of Missouri were removed in 1837 to the Great Nemaha Reserve in Doniphan and Brown counties, Kansas, on the Nebraska border. The Sac and Fox of Mississippi (Oklahoma) were moved in 1846 to a reserve in Franklin and Osage counties in the Marais des Cygnes River valley with the Greenwood Agency in Franklin County, Kansas. This reserve was diminished in 1861, and the agency was moved to Quenemo in Osage County, Kansas. The Sac and Fox remained there until the reserve was opened for White settlement in 1869, and most were moved again, this time to Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where their reserve was established near Stroud in Payne and Lincoln counties between the Cimarron and North Canadian rivers.

The Sac and Fox, including the band led by Appanoose, were active in this area of their Kansas reserve between 1845 and 1869 where the medal was found, as this area was still within the diminished reserve, established in 1861 (Carswell 1982;

Green 1913, 1914). Previously, until the end of the Black Hawk War of 1832, they occupied the region of present-day Illinois, Wisconsin, northern Missouri, and Iowa (Hagan 1958). During this period Black Hawk's followers among the Sac and Fox were closely allied with the British, who were centered near Detroit (Hagan 1958). Both Appanoose and Mokohoko were among the leaders allied with Black Hawk rather than Keokuk during this period (Green 1913, 1914; Hagan 1958; Herring 1990:98–118; Josephy 1958:209–253). Keokuk's followers were cooperating with and more closely allied with the Americans than the British through the Black Hawk War. During these first decades of the nineteenth century, many Sac and Fox interacted with British agents and traders and also made trips to visit the British near Detroit. The Sac and Fox received numerous British medals, as the British attempted to maintain the allegiance and support of the Sac and Fox through the duration of the Black Hawk War. Possibly the 14OS60 specimen was brought to the Sac and Fox Reserve in Kansas Territory from their earlier homeland in the Illinois country when they were in regular contact with the British.

NEBRASKA PEACE MEDALS

This section summarizes information about 12 peace medals from archeological investigations in Nebraska and an additional twentieth-century example. Most, if not all, of the Nebraska artifacts were from known or likely Pawnee Nation sites, with the exception of the Madison medal from Washington County in eastern Nebraska, which more likely was associated with the Omaha. Wedel (1986:180–185) described, illustrated, and discussed specimens from the Hill site (25WT1) and their possible origins. These were from grave contexts and have been repatriated in conjunction with the Pawnee Nation (John R. Bozell, personal communication 2021). Likewise, the French artifact from the Linwood site (25BU1) was from a burial and has been repatriated. A number of other peace medals from Nebraska historical and archeological sites are known and briefly identified here. All these finds are from Pawnee village sites and not from burial contexts, with the probable exception of the James Buchanan medal from Genoa. Basic information about the Nebraska medals is provided in Table 2. Figure 11 shows the locations of the Nebraska sites.

Spanish Coin/Medal of Carolus III from the Hill Site (25WT1)

Wedel (1986:182, Plate 9.7 upper) described this coin/medal in detail. The coin, which measures 39 mm in diameter and was perforated for suspension, is a 1778 Spanish peso, minted in Mexico City. It bears the likeness of King Charles (Carolus) III, who reigned from 1759 to 1788, on the obverse and the coat of arms on the reverse.

The coin's date corresponds with the period when the Riverbend City site (14RP1) was occupied (ca. 1770–1800) and may predate the beginning occupation of the Hill site, which is about 25 miles upstream from Riverbend City. The Hill site is thought to have been abandoned by 1811, when the Kitkahahki were living at the Horse Creek site on the Loup River about 22 miles west of Genoa.

Spanish Coin of Carolus III in Silver Medallion from the Hill Site

Wedel (1986:181, Plate 9.6; Prucha 1971:12, Figure 4) illustrated and described this Hill site specimen as a Spanish peso with the date of 1797 and the

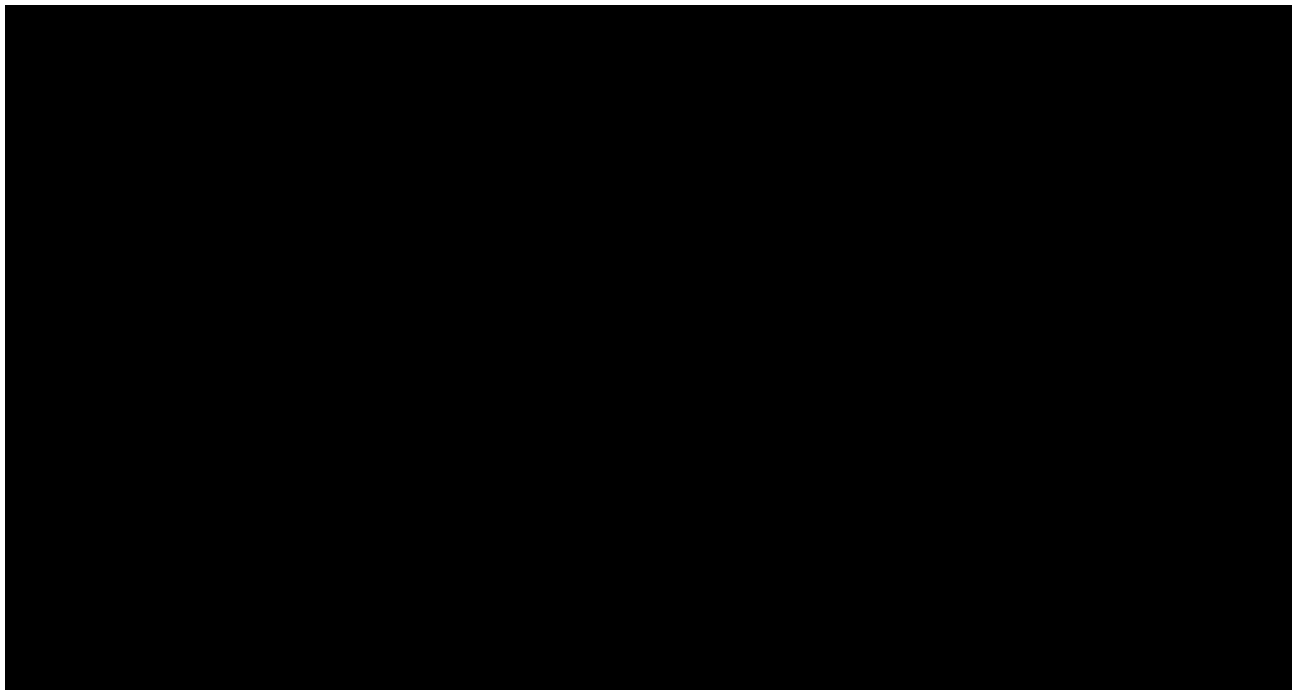


Figure 11. Locations of Nebraska peace medal sites.

likeness of King Charles IV (“III”) on the obverse. The coin is 39 mm in diameter and is set within a 109-mm-diameter engraved silver disk with a loop attached at the top for suspension. The reverse side of the coin is not visible. Charles IV reigned from 1788 to 1808. Prucha (1971:Figure 4) gave the diameter of this medal as 88 mm, but, given the size of the coin at 39 mm, Wedel’s measurement is clearly more accurate. Wedel (1986:183–185) also discussed the likely Mexican sources of the Spanish medals found at the Hill site.

Interestingly, a Carolus III coin with engravings and a perforation for suspension was found at the Engineer Cantonment site (25WN106) in eastern Nebraska. The occupation of that site dated to 1819–1820 (Carlson 2018:115–117, Figure 5.3.2.5). During the first decades of the nineteenth century, U.S. currency was in short supply, while Spanish coins were relatively more common in the region (Carlson 2018:117). The Engineer Cantonment Spanish coin had been carried or curated for some time, as evident from its worn condition.

Hyde (1951:130) illustrated a Spanish Carolus III medal, found by A. T. Hill in a Pawnee grave in Nebraska. No scale or further description beyond the obverse and reverse photographs were furnished. The medal has an elongated loop for suspension. The obverse has a likeness of Carlos III, facing right. Encircling the bust are the words “CARLOS III REX DE ESP EMP DE LAS INDIAS.” The reverse has the words “AL MERITO,” encircled by a wreath. No further details are available, and the current whereabouts of this medal are unknown to the author. Hyde (1951:125, 150–151) indicated that the Pawnee repeatedly received Spanish medals between the 1770s and 1806 from their interactions in St. Louis and with Spanish expeditions, such as that of Facundo Melgares in 1806.

British Medal of George III from the Hill Site

This medal displays the likeness of a young King George III on the obverse and a coat of arms on the reverse but no date. Wedel (1986:182, Plate 9.7 middle) attributed a date of 1762, based on information in Jamieson (1936). It measures 60 mm in diameter, has a perforation at the top for suspen-

sion, and appears to be in relatively good condition with only modest wear apparent. This older style is smaller than the 76-mm medals provided by the British to Native leaders who aided them during the War of 1812; those are dated 1814 (Prucha 1971:xiv, Figure 1).

Washington Fur Trade Medal from the Hill Site

Wedel (1986:182, Plate 9.7 lower) described this Hill site medal as being found in 1941 during WPA and Nebraska Historical Society excavations. It is the obverse portion of a two-piece medal that measures 76 mm in diameter. The words “GENERAL WASHINGTON” curve around the edge above a bust of Washington, facing left in military uniform. A perforation at the top allows for suspension. Wedel did not specify the metal from which it was made.

This was not a sanctioned U.S. Government-issued medal (Prucha 1971; Wedel 1986:236–237). It might have been produced by the American Fur Trade Company of St. Louis or some other company working to establish good trading relationships with the Pawnee or others. When Pike first encountered the Pawnee south of the Hill site in 1806, he recorded that one leader was wearing a Washington medal. Wedel (1986:185) attributed this object to the American Revolutionary period prior to Washington’s presidency (1789–1797). The original Washington presidential medals, presented to several Native leaders in the eastern United States and territories, were oval, cut from silver sheet metal, and hand engraved (Beldon 1966; Prucha 1971:73–87). Their sizes and designs varied. Other medallions with Washington’s likeness were made. Interesting pewter examples of Washington presidential medals are in the Gilcrease Institute collection (catalog numbers 6526 and 1727), but they represent the period of Washington’s presidency and differ from the Hill site specimen. Belden (1966:Plate 22) illustrated pewter fur trade medals with Washington’s likeness that are similar to those in the Gilcrease collections. Such tokens were most common after the time of the Hill site occupation (Prucha 1971:51–53), so the origin of the 25WT1 specimen remains somewhat of a puzzle.

*Jefferson Medal (Reverse Side)
from the Hill Site*

This is the reverse only of a Jefferson sheet metal silver medal of the second size (76 mm) (Munday 1927: facing page 174; Wedel 1986:183). Munday's illustration, which appears to be approximately actual size, showed that it has four small holes perforated near its edges. The holes are spaced equidistant at the top, at the bottom, and on both sides of the disk.

This is the type of two-piece Jefferson medal, connected with a band, that was carried by the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806 (Cutright 1968; Prucha 1971:90–95). Pike had some of these on his 1806 expedition, as did Sibley when he met with the Pawnee in 1811 (Prucha 1971:28–32). The fact that this half medal was found as a burial association indicates that it was used and prized even in its incomplete condition. Perhaps the other half was separated deliberately for use by another individual, signifying a special bond or alliance.

*Jefferson Medal (Obverse Side)
from the Clarks Site (25PK1)*

This obverse of a small Jefferson medal (History Nebraska collection catalog number 2019.122.45) was found during investigations in the 1940s (Bozell 2020; Kivett 1973). Lacking the band that originally held the front and back together, the current diameter ranges from 51.48 to 50.61 mm. The diameter of the small size medals was 55 mm, including the band. It has a series of eight perforations, reflecting varied attachments and an interesting history of use (Figure 12). The possibility that this is the front side of the reverse found at the Hill site was considered. However, Wedel (1986:183) indicated that the 25WT1 specimen was of the second size; therefore, the smaller Clarks site obverse is clearly from a different piece.

The Clarks site artifact could have originated with Lewis and Clark, as they carried such medals intended for distribution to Pawnee leaders (Prucha 1971:17). Likewise, Pike and Sibley distributed medals to the Pawnee (Prucha 1971:28–32; Wedel 1986:183), although specific numbers and recipients were not recorded during these expeditions.

*Jefferson Medal (Obverse Side)
from Genoa (25NC6)*

A third Jefferson peace medal was recorded from the Pawnee site near Genoa (25NC6). Only the obverse side was found by landowner Elden Berlin while working on a fence in the 1970s (Jerry and Nancy Carlson, personal communications 2020 and 2022). Whether this artifact was intentionally split to make two medals or if it was separated by weathering and cultivation disturbance is unknown. This disk is of the second size, 76 mm in diameter, and has three perforations at the top (Figure 13). The center and largest hole is nearly worn through the edge, which may be the reason for the additional perforations. The piece is extremely weathered, with most of the lettering around the edge and many of the features on Jefferson's bust worn away.

This obverse is the same size as the reverse found at the Hill site, but there is no way to determine whether they represent halves of the same medal or two separate objects. However, clearly the Genoa obverse is significantly more worn and had been in use much longer than the Hill site reverse illustrated by Munday (1927), even though the 25WT1 specimen also displays considerable wear.

Fillmore Medal from Genoa

This Fillmore presidential medal, found on the ground surface at Genoa after 2000 (Jerry and Nancy Carlson, personal communications 2020 and 2022), is damaged by a bend in the center; whether intentional or the result of contact with farm machinery is uncertain. Like all presidential medals after the initial Jefferson series, the Fillmore examples are solid silver. Only two sizes were made: 76 and 63 mm. Both this and the Fillmore specimen from 14FR31 in Franklin County, Kansas (Figure 9) measure 76 mm.

The Fillmore medals, minted and ready for distribution in June 1851, were the first in the presidential series to have an entirely different reverse design. Instead of the Peace and Friendship pattern, a well-dressed civilian and a Native American face each other in front of a large American flag with an axe and a plow between them. At the top the three words, "LABOR, VIRTUE, HONOR," are



Figure 12. Jefferson medal with perforations from Clarks site.



Figure 13. Jefferson medal from Genoa site.

enclosed in links of a chain. The subsequent presidential medals for Franklin Pierce used this same reverse design.

Buchanan Medal from Genoa

The Buchanan presidential medal was found in 1933 near the west edge of the Genoa site (25NC6) on the Philip Cuba farm. Apparently it was recovered from a burial. Buchanan medals were made in 76 and 63 mm diameters, and this one is the bigger size. A 1933 newspaper article reported that it was “approximately two inches in diameter” (*Nance County Journal* 1933), but a photograph of Cuba holding the medal shows it to be larger. The object exhibits some wear and dings, but all features are clear. One hole is at the top for suspension (Jerry and Nancy Carlson, personal communications 2020 and 2022).

Buchanan’s term began in 1857, which is the date on the medals, but they were not minted until the spring 1858. The reverse was changed again, with a dramatic depiction of a Native scalping another person at the top. At the bottom a Native woman has a quiver of arrows to her left and a bow and pipe to her right. In the center within a circle are pictured

a house, church, children playing, and a Native man in headdress plowing a field (Figure 14B). The same reverse design was used on the subsequent Abraham Lincoln presidential series. Later minted copies of the Buchanan medal replicated the design on earlier Fillmore and Pierce examples (Figure 14D). The Buchanan medals that were presented to Native leaders had the original reverse design, like that found on the Buchanan specimen from the Genoa site.

*Ferdinand Medal from the
Linwood Site (25BU1)*

Salvage archeological investigations at the Linwood site resulted in recovery of a medal in association

with burial 6901, the grave of a child (Steinacher and Carlson 1984:5–7, Plate 1B, volume cover). This pewter object, measuring 41 mm in diameter, is badly corroded (Figure 15). The obverse depicts a man in military dress facing to the left with the name “FERDINAND” on the left edge. The reverse face is exfoliated, and nothing is legible.

The person depicted has been identified as Charles Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duc de Berry (1778–1820). According to Steinacher and Carlson (1984:7), “The Duke de Berry was a military and political figure involved in the restoration of the Bourbons after the defeat of Napoleon. He was a nephew of Louis XVIII . . .” This medal is of interest as the only one of French origin documented archeologically in the Central Plains region. Although there is



Figure 14. Buchanan comparative medal like that from Genoa site, showing reverse designs.



Figure 15. Ferdinand medal drawing from Linwood site.

no date on it, given the duke's reign, it likely was distributed early in the nineteenth century.

Monroe Medal from Blaine County

Hanson (2005:8–10) reported that a 2-inch (51 mm) Monroe medal was found by Alva D. Copp along the North Loup River near Brewster in Blaine County in 1884. According to Hanson, this medal was later donated to the Museum of the Fur Trade in Chadron. It exhibits some wear and has been perforated at the top center for suspension.

The Monroe medals were minted and became available in 1820 but bear a date of 1817. Very few medals of the 51 mm size are known to have been awarded. The Monroe medal found in Edwards County, Kansas, is 62 mm in diameter (Figure 8).

Madison Medal from Washington County, Nebraska

A silver Madison medal was found in Washington County, which borders the Missouri River in east-central Nebraska, sometime prior to 1900 (Antiques Road Show 2015). It was collected from a field by a hired hand while farming. The landowner paid the finder three hogs for the object, which has been handed down in the family for at least four generations. The medal is of the second size, 62 mm, and

has a single perforation near the top edge. A deep cut on the edge to the right of the suspension hole on the reverse continues onto the obverse, scratching Madison's head (Figure 16).

Madison medals carry the date 1809 but due to various delays were not minted until the end of 1814. A limited number were available for distribution in late December (Prucha 1971:96–98), and most were distributed in 1815 and later, following the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814, which was ratified in 1815 and ended the War of 1812.

White Eagle's Washington Medal

Washington presidential peace medals that are solid silver, round, and 76 mm in diameter were not minted until 1903 (Prucha 1971:138). They were made with the traditional Peace and Friendship reverse design and have the date of 1789 below Washington's bust on the bottom of the obverse. Because of the date and design, these medals sometimes have mistakenly been thought to be much older. The History Nebraska collection in Lincoln includes a Washington presidential medal of particular interest (catalog number 11055–1307; Figure 17), although clearly not an archeological specimen. This 3-inch-diameter, round, silver medal was presented to Pawnee (Skidi) Chief White Eagle in August 1914, when he traveled from Oklahoma to Nebraska to aid the identification of Pawnee sites. This medal actually measures 69.06 mm in diameter, 5.56 mm in thickness at the edge, and 7.37 mm in thickness at the center. White Eagle's name is engraved around the edge.

White Eagle's travel apparently was arranged by Melvin Gilmore, then director of the Nebraska Historical Society, who had the medal inscribed with White Eagle's name and presumably presented it to him during that trip, which included visits to White Eagle's 1831 birthplace (Blaine 1997:12–13, 198) and the Clarks site (Wedel 1986:237). This was perhaps the last formal presentation of a U.S. presidential peace medal to a Pawnee leader. After White Eagle's death on July 25, 1923, it passed through several hands and was obtained in 1990 by the Nebraska Historical Society, according to the online collection records of History Nebraska, Lincoln.

Such uses of peace medals for specific events



Figure 16. Madison medal from Washington County, Nebraska. Image from Antiques Roadshow.

or situations undoubtedly occurred repeatedly in a variety of less formal or non-U.S. Government contexts. In recent years presentations of special government medals were made to Pawnee individuals, and to those of numerous other Native Nations, for their service as code talkers during World War II.

The code talker medals are also available through the U.S. Mint.

DISCUSSION

The few documented peace medals found in Kansas reflect a small part of the long and complex history of their use in the region. The few known Kansas examples appear to depict events, including the opening of the Santa Fe Trail (1825), the fur trade era (1840s), and the Indian removal and early reservation period (1840s-1860s). They also exemplify the tradition of making ritual offerings to spirits that dwell in springs or important traditional places on the landscape. At present they do not reflect the initial U.S. westward expansion period of the Louisiana Purchase, the period of Indian wars (1860s-1880s), or the final reservation period. However, images and documents clearly show that medals were important, widely used, and highly valued by Native leaders in the Kansas area during these periods as well.

The Nebraska peace medals summarized here reflect a more diverse range of interactions. Appropriately, those artifacts known to have been excavated from graves, such as at the Hill site, have



Figure 17. Washington medal presented to White Eagle in 1914.

been repatriated. At the Hill and Linwood sites, Spanish, British, and French medals represent the period prior to the Louisiana Purchase and American expansion west of the Mississippi River. Jefferson medals from the Hill, Clarks, and Genoa sites attest to this earliest period of westward expansion and interaction, as embodied by the Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Sibley expeditions. The Madison medal from an area controlled by the Omaha Nation probably reflects the period after the War of 1812, when American control of the western fur trade began to expand significantly. The Fillmore and Buchanan medals from Genoa, in addition to the fur trade artifact from the Hill site, represent the early reservation period and the compression of Pawnee lands during the early and middle nineteenth century. The Washington medal presented to White Eagle accents the end of the presidential peace medal tradition in the early twentieth century.

Peace medals tended to be highly curated and cared for, commonly being buried with their owners or handed down for continued use. Others were traded, given as gifts or offerings, or captured. Occasionally they were lost or cached but never retrieved by their owners, which appears to be the case for some of the Central Plains examples. In the Great Plains region peace medals made by and for European nations were widely used prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 (Betts 1894). The Sac and Fox, among other tribes who lived in the Northwest Territory areas that became Wisconsin and Illinois, received British medals, while the British were centered at Detroit, especially prior to 1812. The Spanish and French also used medals extensively in efforts to gain and maintain alliances with tribes throughout the West. Lewis and Clark, Pike, and others made deliberate efforts to gather these foreign medals and exchange them for U.S.-minted ones during the early period of western expansion.

Important comparative collections of peace medals are available and provide a most useful source of information for historical research. The holdings of the American Numismatic Society are expansive and well documented. Regionally, the Gilcrease Institute collection in Tulsa, Oklahoma, is diverse and informative (Pickering 2011). An interesting array of peace medals in the History Nebraska collections can be viewed online. These collections all

have online access, which is very useful for comparative study.

The production of “counterfeits” has received much attention (e.g., DeLorey 2014) for multiple reasons. The great majority of peace medals in circulation today are not “authentic” items given by government officials to Native leaders but are of relatively recent manufacture. Minting of medals has continued on a regular basis, and they are still being made. Numismatists tend to focus on the specifics of art, design, manufacture, minting, rarity, and quality or condition, with historical context being of somewhat secondary importance. Value is generally assessed along these lines, and restrikes, later minting, or counterfeiting can greatly diminish an object’s worth for numismatic interests.

On the other hand, in the cultural-historical or anthropological context, the medal’s context of use and its cultural or symbolic value are more important than its monetary or collecting value. From a historical or anthropological perspective, a cast pewter fur trade medal may be as important, or more so, than one of silver produced by the U.S. Mint, simply depending upon the context of its use and the quality of associated provenance or documentary information. A Jefferson peace medal from Oregon, which is weathered, damaged, and in poor condition, retains great historical significance because of its relationship to particular people and historical events (Engeman 2006). The same is true in varying degrees of the medals found in Kansas and Nebraska. The Central Plains examples reflect pieces of historical events and times, representing multiple groups and distinct stages in changing Euro-American and Native Nations relationships. They also reflect, as in the case of the Waconda Springs specimens, the relationships that the people of Native Nations had with their land and deities.

The nature of U.S. Government interactions with Native people throughout the Great Plains region changed dramatically during the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, as did the use of peace medals (Prucha 1971:57–70). How the tokens were viewed, valued, and used by Native leaders and others also changed. Interestingly, medals retained social value and importance among Native Nations, even through periods of open conflict with U.S. military forces. The continuity and tradition of peace medal usage is

reflected through documents and images pertaining to numerous Native Nations. Among the Pawnee, as one Central Plains region example, leaders were wearing peace medals when met by Pike in 1806, and various leaders are illustrated throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries wearing them (Blaine 1990; Sheldon 1923). Pawnee peace medals are known from archeological contexts (Kivett 1973; Munday 1927; Wedel 1936, 1986), and they remain as elements in traditional dress among the Pawnee today (Blaine 1990; W. Echo-Hawk 2018; B. Echo-Hawk 2019, 2020).

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CAMPGROUND ON THE OREGON TRAIL: ARTIFACTS FROM THE PRIVATE PROPERTY SURROUNDING HOLLENBERG STATION AND COTTONWOOD CREEK

GARRETT SEUSER
Junction City, Kansas

Hollenberg Pony Express Station was built in 1857 along the Oregon-California Trail to trade with emigrants, soldiers, and other travelers. It is situated east of present-day Hanover, Kansas, just north of Cottonwood Creek. It holds the distinction of being the only station along the trail in its original location with its original dimensions. It served as a trading post, mail station, blacksmith shop, and farm. The State of Kansas purchased the site in 1941, and it was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. In 1991 the Kansas Archeology Training Program field school was conducted on the state-owned property where the station itself (14WH316) sits. However, the points where the trail approached and crossed Cottonwood Creek and the supposed campgrounds used by the many travelers are on private land. Here an extensive metal detection survey was undertaken by the author over the course of three years and is ongoing. A large number of artifacts were recovered, suggesting widespread use of the locality as multiple campsites.

In October 2020 research was conducted, and permission was granted by three landowners for a metal detection survey of the private property surrounding the Hollenberg Pony Express Station. While the station itself sits on a knoll north of Highway K-243, several dozen contiguous acres were thought to have once been campsites used by civilian and military travelers.

According to a sign installed by the Kansas Historical Society near the station, the tracts on either side of the crossing are identified as “campgrounds.” Several other sources list Cottonwood Creek as U.S. Mail Station No. 8 and a good campground (Allen 1859:25). In February, March, and July of 1857, the General Land Office surveyed the area and labeled the trail the “Leavenworth and Salt Lake Road,” which is shown as crossing an unlabeled Cottonwood Creek in the northeast quarter of Section 10. Using this information, the author and his crew commenced their survey and recovered well over 1,000 historic-period artifacts.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The area of investigation is situated in a unique geographical setting, occupying three physio-

graphic regions: Flint Hills, Glaciated Region, and Smoky Hills. The Oregon-California Trail itself went through present-day Marysville, crossed the Big Blue River, and meandered in a northwesterly direction over hilly country before reaching Cottonwood Creek. It connected with the southern or Independence branch, coming up from Alcove Springs about 9 miles beyond the Big Blue crossing. The trails intersected at a conspicuously named Mountain Creek. Two and a half miles after that junction is Cottonwood Creek crossing. The trail followed a decline into a small valley bordered by two dueling bluffs and went straight to a perfectly level crossing. Ruts are still visible for the last 600 yards of the approach.

HISTORICAL SETTING

In the years before Gerat H. and Sophia Hollenberg arrived, Cottonwood Creek was known as Ketchum's Creek or Ten Mile Branch (Barry 1972:912). It was identified as such by Captain Howard Stansbury of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers while on his journey across the plains. His journal entry for June 10, 1849, stated that his company camped “to the right of the road” at Ketchum's

Creek, which had been named for a member of Andrew Sublette's party who died and was buried near the creek on June 28, 1844 (Werner 1988a). Stansbury's expedition officially opened the road from Fort Leavenworth to the western forts. He mentioned that it was "already broad and well-beaten as any turnpike in our country" (Connelley 1918:228).

Soon after, thousands of emigrants and soldiers alike traveled from Fort Leavenworth to the West. Three miles prior to Cottonwood Creek was the junction of the St. Joseph and Independence branches of the Oregon-California Trail (Werner 1988b). Preceding that was the branch that specifically left from Fort Leavenworth and connected in Marysville. However, 19 miles before Marysville was a branch that joined the main St. Joseph route. In other words, all of the trails had consolidated by the time they crossed Cottonwood Creek, likely making it the first campground after the trails merged.

FIELD METHODS

Because the entire site covers more than 200 acres, it was necessary to divide it into different areas of concentration for the metal detection survey. Over three years the author and his crew have covered more than 75 percent of the acreage.

Gridding one 10 by 10-yard parcel at a time was the technique employed. Equipment included the Minelab Equinox 600, XP Deus, Garrett AT Pro, and the Garrett ProPointer AT. A Predator Model 55 Barracuda shovel with a 5 by 9-inch blade was used to dig an 8-inch diameter circle around an artifact and carefully extract it from the hole.

RECOVERED ARTIFACTS

A variety of artifacts were distributed across a vast spread of country. To do the artifacts justice, this paper avoids melding them together by discussing the concentrations separately. The site is split perfectly in half by the section line. Area 1 contains a bluff that rises 70 feet above the creek, overlooking the station itself and the land immediately below it to the road (K-243). Area 2 encompasses the other bluff and the fields immediately beyond the crossing to K-243, and the ground below the bluffs and the crossing itself is Area 3.

Area 1 – The Bluff

The bluff merits its own discussion, as it is the largest in terms of area searched and is the location of some of the more significant finds. The bluff itself incorporates 18.72 acres and has never been plowed or sprayed with chemicals. The trail approaches the bluff from the southeast. Based on the artifact distribution, it is evident that travelers veered off the trail to camp across the bluff.

BLUFF TOP

AMMUNITION

Multiple bullets were collected from the same hole on four separate occasions. At the bluff's edge 14 .52 caliber ringtail Sharps and 13 .58 caliber Minié balls occupied the same hole (Figure 1). In a different place two .54 caliber Minié balls were recovered.

The U.S. Army adopted the Minié pattern bullet in 1855, along with the new M1855 Springfield Rifle-Musket (Pritchard 2003). The bullets were made in .54, .58, and .69 calibers. The .54 caliber was issued to troops carrying the M1841 rifle, which would have been the Mounted Riflemen and the 10th Regiment of Infantry (Nielson 2012:54). In another portion of the bluff, six .36 caliber Remington "teardrop" conical bullets were found together. Nearby were 39 .28 caliber buckshot balls. In a separate spot two fired .52 caliber conical bullets, often called "Hanoverian" pattern, were discovered 34 yards apart (Figure 2). They receive that moniker as they are the typical style of those imported from Europe.

BUTTONS

Buttons are the next most prevalent artifacts. There are two two-piece cuff-sized (14.8- and 13.8-mm diameters) dragoon buttons with backmarks of *Scovills & Co Extra* (Figure 3). A single one-piece pewter coat-sized (19-mm diameter) button, bearing a plain *U.S.* on the front with a backmark of *WP Phila* was recovered (Figure 4). Near that was a general service coat-sized (19-mm diameter) button with a backmark of *Extra Quality* (Figure 5).

Isolated near the bluff peak were three two-piece eagle buttons with "R" on the shield, indicating Mounted Riflemen (Figure 6). One was coat sized (19.5-mm diameter), and two were cuff sized (15.7-

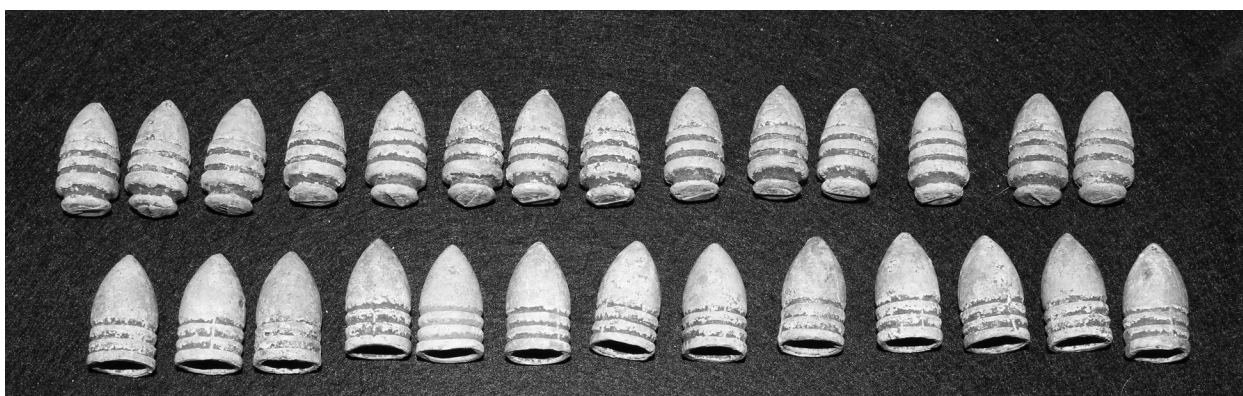


Figure 1. Top row: fourteen .52 caliber ringtail Sharps bullets, as used by the Cavalry and Dragoons. Bottom row: thirteen .58 caliber Minié balls, issued post-1855. All 27 bullets were recovered from the same 8-inch diameter hole.



Figure 2. Two .52 caliber "Hanoverian" bullets. They are so named because they are of the 1850s European conical mold style. Both were fired, as evidenced by small rifling marks and markings on top of the bullet that indicate being rammed down a barrel.



Figure 4. Pewter U.S. coat button. This design dates to the 1808-1830 production period. Backmark *WP Phila*; diameter of 19 mm.



Figure 3. Standard cuff-sized Dragoon button of the 1850s. Backmark of *Scovills & Co Extra*; diameter of 14.8 mm.



Figure 5. General service coat button. This standard design extended from the late 1850s until the mid-1870s. Backmark of *Extra Quality*; diameter of 19 mm.

and 15.5-mm diameter). They retain their gilded gold plating, signaling that they belonged to an officer. Further research on their backmarks, *Young Smith & Co New York*, revealed that the manufacturer existed from 1834 to 1848 (McGuinn 1996:122). In May 1849 the Mounted Riflemen were on their famous march from Fort Leavenworth across the Oregon Trail. American ethnologist George Gibbs recorded in his diary that the company passed through Cottonwood Creek on May 23, 1849 (Settle 1989).

COINS

Coins also were spread throughout the bluff. A well-worn dime, bearing the date 1838, was retrieved near the edge of the bluff, as was a nearly mint condition 1853 half dime from the New Orleans mint. A distance of 171 yards from the other coins were an 1853 half dollar and half dime within the same hole. Apparently both had circulated for very little time before being lost. Even farther away, nearly in the ruts of the approach, was the only foreign coin found at the site: an 1841 British halfpenny, bearing the bust of Queen Victoria on the obverse.

BLUFF BASE

At the base of the bluff, a single button was retrieved. Measuring 15.5 mm in diameter, it is a cuff-sized general service eagle button with a backmark of *Scovills & Co. Extra*. A gold-plated pocket watch chain was the only other artifact from the base.

SUMMARY OF AREA 1 AMMUNITION

A total of 118 lead bullets of calibers ranging from .28 to .69 were recovered in Area 1, on top of and below the bluff. Both round balls and conical patterns were found. Of the 118, 96 likely were dropped, as no rifling nor deformation is present. Those dropped include 19 .58 caliber Minié balls, 14 .52 caliber ringtail Sharps, 39 .28 caliber buckshot, 10 .36 caliber Remington teardrop bullets, 5 .54 caliber Minié balls, 4 .44 caliber conical bullets, 12 .44 caliber round balls, 3 .69 caliber round balls, 2 .52 caliber “Hanoverian” bullets, and a single .52 caliber Spencer cartridge.

Area 2 – The Field

Numerous artifacts were recovered in Area 2 in four distinct artifact concentrations.

CONCENTRATION 1

The first concentration was about 110 yards beyond the crossing and covered .56 acres, measuring 98 yards long by 42 yards wide. It yielded six cuff-sized dragoon buttons with backmarks of *Scovills & Co Extra*. Two of them measure 14.8 mm in diameter, while the other four are 13.8 mm. Another dragoon button, this one being coat sized, measures 19 mm in diameter and bears a backmark of *Scovills Waterbury* (Figure 7). It differs from the others, as it is the style first produced and worn by officers, starting in 1833. Within the same vicinity



Figure 6. Mounted Riflemen coat-sized officers button. The backmark of *Young Smith & Co New York* existed from 1834 to 1848. Diameter of 19.5 mm.



Figure 7. Dragoon officers coat button. This design is indicative of earlier styles from the 1830s and 1840s. Backmark of *Scovills Waterbury*; diameter of 19 mm.



Figure 8. U.S. great coat button. These buttons were worn on military-issued great coats of the 1830s through 1850s. Backmark of *United States*; diameter of 19 mm.

were two U.S. great coat buttons with backmarks of *UNITED STATES* (Figure 8). Both have diameters of 20 mm. Collected nearby was an anomalous cuff button, bearing a “V” in the shield (Figure 9). The “V” stands for the Regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen, which was formed by Congress on February 11, 1847; it existed for and during the Mexican War until August 25, 1848 (Heitman 1903:143). The cuff button measures 14.8 mm in diameter and bears a backmark of *Scovills & Co.* Not much is known about what happened to the regiment’s uniforms and accouterments after the

Mexican-American War. Speculation is that the soldiers were mustered out or joined other mounted units. Spare buttons left over from production might have been used to replace lost buttons on later uniforms, although no sources confirm this. Spread across the same locality were 14 pewter one-piece eagle buttons, too degraded to obtain many details except for a faint letter “I” on two specimens. Published sources have no information about these buttons, but they match patterns from the 1820s through 1840s and may be undershirt buttons. The author has acquired exact buttons at sites along the

Figure 9. Voltigeur cuff button. These extremely rare buttons were only produced ca. 1847-1848 for the Regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen during the Mexican-American War. Backmark of *Scovills & Co.*; diameter of 14.8 mm.



Fort Riley-Fort Leavenworth Military Trail and at Camp Scott south of Fort Bridger in Wyoming.

In the aforementioned area a single coin, an 1853 half dime, was found inches away from a .58 caliber musket tompon or barrel plug. Four .44 caliber and three .36 caliber roundballs were recovered along with a broken file used by travelers to prepare horses' hooves for shoeing.

CONCENTRATION 2

Forty-four yards northwest of the first concentration was another tighter artifact concentration, measuring 39 yards long by 12 yards wide. Three dragoon coat-sized buttons, all measuring 19 mm in diameter, were found within yards of each other. Two bear the backmark of *Steele & Johnson*, while the other has *Scovills & Co Waterbury*.

Other artifacts include two half dimes, one from the New Orleans mint dated 1849 and the other dated 1841 with a hole punched through its middle. A lead-filled bridle rosette in the shape of a shield was discovered along with a broken Company "D" hat letter insignia. Two knapsack hooks were collected, but no bullets were recovered.

CONCENTRATION 3

Just 56 yards to the southwest of the first concentration was the third major concentration, following the treeline bordering the old railroad tracks. It followed a narrow strip 150 yards long by 30 yards wide, covering .62 acres. The artifact assemblage comprised three .54 caliber roundballs; two .58 caliber Minié balls; two shoulder scale attachment pieces; two shoulder scale attachment keys; a buckle belonging to a forage cap of either the 1839 or 1851 pattern; a broken cuff button, measuring 14.8 mm and bearing the backmark of *W. Lang Boston*; a Catholic religious medallion; a silver-plated crucifix; and a token bearing the date 1863 with *\$100 BOUNTY PENSIONS, BACK PAY, & C. COLLECTED AND CASHED* embossed on the reverse (Figure 10).

CONCENTRATION 4

Approximately 279 yards beyond the crossing is a knoll with an elevation 30 feet higher than the aforementioned areas. It covers 4.82 acres and encompasses four distinct artifact clusters. The first is at the southwest tip of the knoll, where 33 .52



Figure 10. Reverse of an 1863-dated token. It reads *\$100 Bounty Pensions, Back Pay, & C. Collected and Cashed* and is listed in collector books as Fuld 73/525.

caliber roundballs were scattered over a half acre. Mixed in that group was a single .69 caliber Minié ball. All appear to be dropped and unmolested in any way. No other artifacts were observed there.

In the middle of the knoll in a 5 by 5-yard square, four .58 caliber Minié balls and four .58 caliber Type III Williams' Cleaner bullets were found, along with a cuff-sized infantry button (14.4-mm diameter) with no backmark.

At the very peak a distinctive button was retrieved. This coat-sized button (20-mm diameter) displays a flaming cannonball atop crossed cannons with a banner reading *Ordnance Corps* (Figure 11). It is the post-1851 design of buttons worn by officers of the Ordnance Corps. The post returns of Fort Leavenworth and Fort Kearney note only one instance of troop movement of the Ordnance Corps along this specific trail. Captain Jesse Reno left Fort Leavenworth on July 26, 1857, along with 11 enlisted ordnance men, 37 dragoon recruits, four 12-pound guns, and two 32-pound howitzers, bound for Utah. They reached Fort Kearney on August 13, 1857.

Bordering the knoll edge, five fired .44 Henry Rimfire casings were recovered within a 3-foot space. Two of the casings indicate multiple attempts to fire the cartridge.

Area 3 – Between the Bluffs

As the trail passed between the bluffs down to the crossing itself, two distinct artifact concentrations were located to either side of the trail just before the crossing. On the right side artifacts included an 1848 Zachary Taylor campaign button (Figure 12) and two smashed roundballs turned into poker chips. To the left of the crossing is a flat tract of land .76 acres in size, that yielded multiple artifacts: a U.S.-marked bridle rosette, two cuff-sized general service buttons with *Scovills & Co* backmarks, an 1853 half dime, an 1852 3-cent coin, a pewter *Goodyear & Co* button, and a scattering of 46 .20 caliber buckshot.

CONCLUSION

Large artifact concentrations scattered over a broad expanse of ground attest that the property was widely used for camping by westward military and emigrant traffic. The artifacts give intimate clues and offer unique stories about how they were lost and who may have lost them. With time and further exploration, the author and crew hope to uncover more.



Figure 11. Circa 1857–1858 Ordnance Corps officer's button.



Figure 12. 1848 presidential campaign button for Zachary Taylor. The inscription reads *Rough and Ready*, a nickname bestowed upon him after the Second Seminole War and became his campaign slogan. Taylor won the election, being the last Whig president, and was the second president to die in office, passing away on July 9, 1850.

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ARCHEOLOGY OF THE BAKER HOUSE (14MO701): THEY COULD SMELL THE PIES BAKING AS THE HOUSE BURNED DOWN

CHRISTINE D. GARST

Topeka, Kansas

In 1972 and 1973 the Kansas State Teachers College, now Emporia State University, held archeological field schools near Council Grove at the Baker house and store (14MO701), structures that had burned in 1862. This article summarizes the archeology of the 1972 field season at the Baker house and discusses the artifacts recovered that year. The article serves as a companion piece to Garst's article on the Baker store in The Kansas Anthropologist 42:115–138.

On the evening of July 3, 1862, Arthur I. Baker and his new wife, Annis Segur Baker, were just back from a trip to Emporia. Family and possibly a few friends were at their house. The women were busy in the hot kitchen, making apple pies for the next day's Fourth of July celebration. In just a few short hours both the house and the nearby store were burned to the ground, and Arthur Baker was murdered, his body smoldering in the ashes of the store. Annis Segur Baker and her family were hiding in nearby Rock Creek, clinging to branches and roots while listening to the murderers beating the bushes for them. They clung to life, while the smell of baking apple pies filled the air.

In 1972 Kansas State Teachers College (KSTC), now Emporia State University, conducted an archeological field school at the site of the burned house under the direction of Dr. Jeffery Brown. The field school recovered more than 10,000 artifacts, which traveled with Brown when he moved to the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. He died in 1980 before he could report the project findings. The collection was returned to KSTC in 1986. Along with artifacts from the 1973 excavation of the Baker store, KSTC later donated the collection to the Kansas Historical Society (KSHS). Many years later Garst (2021) reported her analysis of the Baker store assemblage. This narrative completes the investigation of the Baker house collection.

Brian Fagan (2023), professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of California at Santa Barbara and author of more than 40 popular archeological books, including this author's intro-

duction to cultural anthropology textbook, asserted that scientists are obligated to share their research, making publishing essential. According to him, archeologists should not write simply about artifacts but about human beings and how they used the recovered objects, how these artifacts got into sites, what use they might have been to society, and how these collections might relate to contemporary people. In other words, always tell a story. This is the story of Arthur and Annis Baker's home and what its contents on that fateful July night might tell about their lives.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The historical background is drawn from such sources as Bird (1972), Kansas State Teachers College (1972), Shimeall (1978, 2012), and the Thies collection and notes in the 14MO701 site files at the KSHS Archeology Office. The reader is urged to consult these works for a richer portrait of the timeline related below.

- 1824: Arthur Ingram Baker was born in Tyler County, Virginia (later West Virginia), to Joshua Wells and Agnes Miller Inghram Baker.
- 1847–1854: Baker became first a blacksmith, then a trader with the Sac and Fox tribe in Kansas.
- 1849: Arthur I. Baker married Sarah J. Sewell, perhaps in Iowa.
- 1851 (approximately): Susan J. Baker was born to Baker and his first wife Sarah J. Sewell Baker.

Susan was listed in the 1860 census, but then all trace of her disappeared from the records.

- 1854–1862: Baker, his wife, and daughter, moved to the Council Grove area, following family that was already established there. Baker launched himself as a farmer, rancher, blacksmith, lawyer, probate judge, store proprietor, hotel owner, land speculator, attorney, surveyor, and editor of the *Council Grove Press*, writing pro-Lincoln, pro-Union, and pro-North editorials. Despite his unionist proclivities, Baker owned three slaves, which he sold by 1856. Baker ran as a Free Soil candidate for the Kansas Territorial legislature but was not elected. Baker's proposed town of Agnes City was incorporated. Baker's road to fortune and fame ended in dead ends for several of his enterprises, but rather than stopping he seemed to take a different path to the next undertaking each time.
- March 1861: Sarah Sewell Baker, Baker's first wife, died.
- April 1861: The Civil War began.
- May 1861: Baker helped form a local pro-Union militia, known as the Frontier Riflemen, and was elected its captain. The militia was rejected for active service.
- 1861: At some point Baker and his neighbors Bill and Jim Anderson crossed into Missouri to allegedly claim a Confederate commission. There he was later arrested by the Union military for being a secessionist. The *Emporia News* [EN], 7 December 1861:3, reported as follows.

We learn from some reliable gentlemen of this place who have just arrived from Fort Lincoln, that A. I. Baker, of this county, was taken by Capt. Greenough, in Missouri, a few days ago, and is now held as a Secession prisoner at Fort Lincoln. John Ratliff, of Council Grove, who was with Baker at the time of his capture, was shot through the heart. Baker claims to be a Union man, but a suit of secession soldier clothes which he had on, and other suspicious circumstances, are against him.

- December 1861–April 1862: Baker was held at Fort Scott, tried or court martialed for treason, and acquitted. He remained in prison for four months and then returned to Rock Creek. S. N. Wood, former editor of the *Council Grove*

Press, sat on court-martial proceedings. Baker was once the editor of this same newspaper.

- April 1862: Upon his return to the Rock Creek neighborhood, or possibly even before leaving, Baker began to court neighbor Mary Ellen Anderson, aged 16, daughter of William Anderson, Sr. and sister to Bill and Jim Anderson, who had so recently traveled to Missouri with Baker. Brothers Bill, later known as "Bloody" Bill Anderson, and Jim later joined Quantrill's raiders, pro-Confederate partisan guerrillas, better known as "bushwhackers." In April and May of 1862, relations between the Andersons and Baker were friendly, and the Anderson family expected that a marriage proposal would be in the offing.
- Mid-May 1862: Baker jilted Mary Anderson and, after a very brief courtship, married 17-year-old Annis M. Segur, who was born on April 24, 1845. One source (Wikipedia 2023d) labeled Mary as Baker's former lover, a strong word for the times but echoed in more contemporary sources. It has been suggested that Baker severed his ties with Mary to distance himself from the pro-secessionist Anderson family and appear a loyal Union man.

Before or soon after the wedding (sources disagree), a team of horses was stolen from Baker's new father-in-law Ira Segur. As Justice of the Peace, Baker issued a warrant for Lee Griffith, an Anderson cousin, identified as being involved in the thievery. A posse was formed, and the horses were located 80 miles west of Council Grove in the possession of a man, who was described only as "a Mexican," reflecting the prejudice of the time. This man apparently was held in "Judge" Baker's house to await trial. The warrant for Griffin still stood.

- May 11–12, 1862: William Anderson, Sr. threatened to kill Baker if the warrant was not removed. Anderson, by some accounts drunk, went to the Baker house, threatened Baker with his gun, and was fatally shot by Baker. Anderson's family vowed revenge. A warrant was then issued for the arrest of the Anderson brothers. The unnamed, but not quite invisible, "Mexican" was lynched by an angry mob that night.
- May 14, 1862: Arthur Baker and Annis M Cecur (sic) were married this day by the Reverend J.

Spencer of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, on the 14th day of May, A.D. 1862 in Morris County. The Reverend Spencer did not register the marriage until July 3, 1862, the day of Baker's death (Find A Grave 2024).

- End of May 1862: Baker stood trial in his home for the murder of William Anderson, Sr. and was acquitted (Green 1913).
- July 3, 1862: A knock on the Baker house door was answered, and an alleged wagon master was there, needing supplies from the store. Around 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening, Baker and his brother-in-law and store clerk George Segur headed to the store to gather supplies. Amid the assembling of supplies, Jim and Bill Anderson and others entered the store and shot Baker and Segur. Both received critical, though not immediately fatal, wounds. Baker and Segur retreated or fell down the cellar stairs into an apparently safe zone. Then the Anderson's rolled a barrel of sugar or flour over the trap door and set fire to the store. Next the Baker house either caught fire or was set alight and burned to the ground.

After Baker and Segur left the house, Annis Baker and her sister continued with their preparations of the pies for the next day's celebration. On page 12 of Bird's 1972 version, as related by interviewee Michael Shimeall, the following was recorded.

Mrs. Baker and a sister, so the story goes, were preparing apple pies for the oven when the knock came at the door that was to lure Arthur Baker to his death. At the first sound of shots, the women and possibly one young boy ran from the house toward the creek, where they hid themselves by hanging onto tree roots dangling down over the bank. They hung there through the night, listening to the sounds of the Anderson boys and their friend beating the bushes for them, and smelling their pies baking in the burning house.

Accounts differed as to the number of people in the house that fatal night and may have included several family members and others who did not accompany the men to the store.

- July 3–4, 1862: George Segur had managed to escape the cellar through a window or vent or by

digging his way out. He crawled to Rock Creek, where he was discovered the next morning. He told of Baker urging him to escape, though Baker himself was too badly wounded to attempt it and shot himself in the head to avoid the encroaching fire. Segur identified the Anderson brothers and their cousin Lee Griffin before succumbing to his wounds and burns.

The area was in uproar after the event. The Baker property was not the only stop that night, and people feared where the Andersons would strike next. Border raids continued, helping to keep the memory of Baker and Segur's deaths alive. However, the national tragedy of events in the Civil War superseded the local one. Later people occasionally visited the site, perhaps helping themselves to the occasional salvageable item, but eventually the site's location became obscured. Ironically, some local folk began to confuse the Baker house and store site with that of the Anderson farm 5 miles away.

SITE SETTING

As noted in the Baker Store article (Garst 2021), the house and store, then in Breckinridge now in Morris County, were built along Rock Creek near the Santa Fe Trail. The store was about 100 ft southeast of the house (Figure 1). Shimeall (2012) remarked that the house was "... a scaled-down version of the Kaw Indian Mission in Council Grove." A local Morris County historian Don Scheisser told Thies of having seen the "burned-out Baker home at the Rock Creek crossing as a teen-ager in the early 1950s." He remembered clearly seeing the rock walls "... still extending up to the second-floor level ... a hundred yards or so to the south, a trash-filled depression marked the still visible remains of Baker's store" (Randall M. Thies to Janice Huston, letter, 17 December 1996. 14MO701 site files, Archeology Office, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

By 1994 the site was overgrown by weeds and small trees and in part under cultivation, and there was no longer any trace of the house or the 1972 excavations (Costa and Costa 1994). The site was visited in 2017 by KSHS archeologists Tim Weston and Virginia Wulfsuhle and National Register Historian Rick Anderson. They recorded GPS coor-

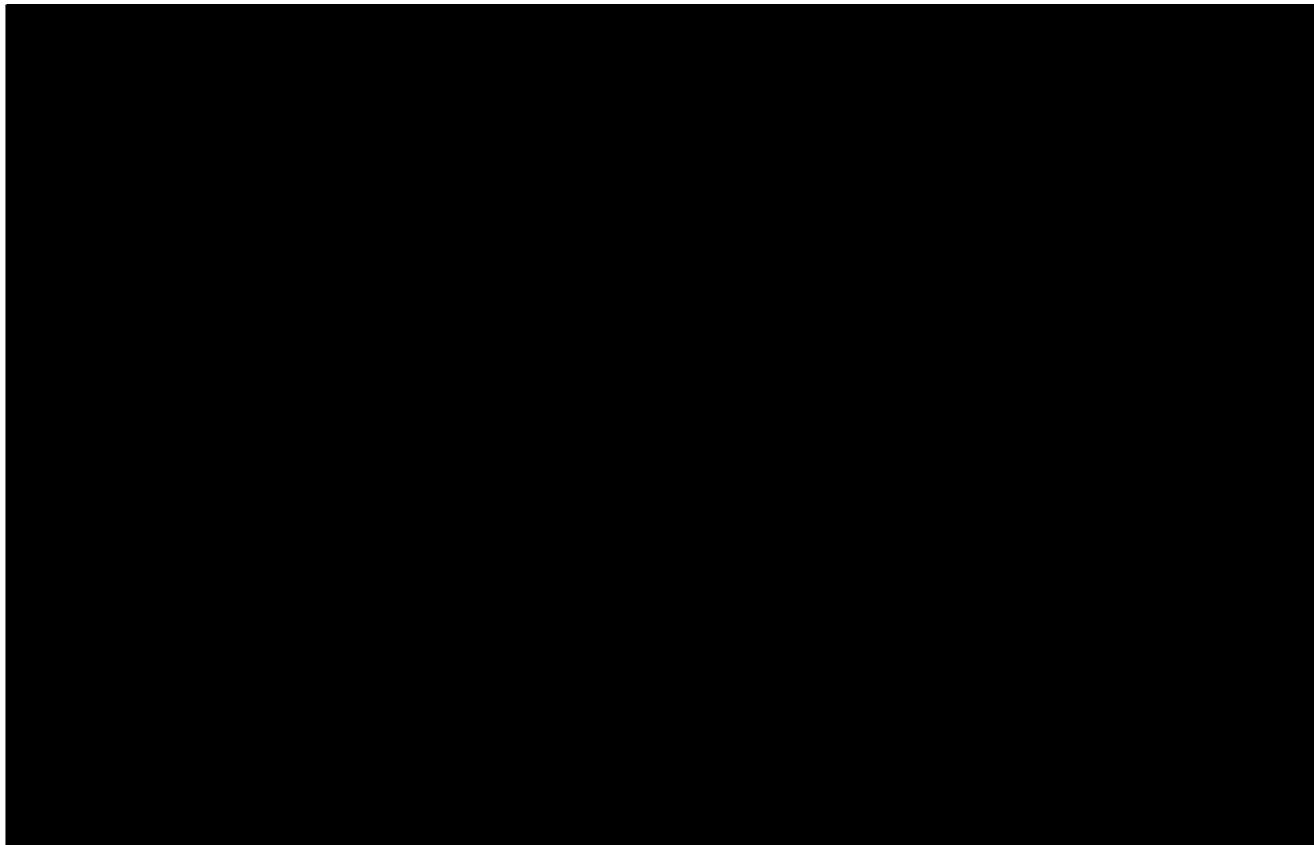


Figure 1. Map of 14MO701, showing the approximate locations of the Baker house in relation to the Baker store, Rock Creek, and the Santa Fe trail. GPS coordinates have been superimposed on the imagery. Map created by Sherri Chaturvedi.

dinates of apparent building stones at the western edge of the site overlooking Rock Creek (Figure 1). This is the same creek that survivors of the night of July 3, 1862, crawled or ran to and hid from their pursuers.

FIELD METHODS

Thies (1994) reconstructed the following list of students participating in the 1972 KSTC field school: Susan Ast, Alice Emerson, Ann Gustad, Terry Hanna, Steve Hanschu, Larry Hartwell, Kevin Haywood, Rodney House, Karen Marchand, Richard Ring, Michael Shimeall, Warren Sicka, Jo Snell, John Strunk, and Henry Young. First a large haystack covering the house site was removed, followed by “back-bending removal of stones followed by cautious trowel-work in carefully mapped three-foot-wide squares” (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11; Figure 2).

Fifty-three excavation units were placed within the house and immediately outside the walls (Table 1). All units were 3 by 3 ft unless otherwise stipulated. Each row had five units inside and one unit outside the house walls except for row “R.”



Figure 2. Students clearing the area of the Baker house. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

Table 1. Excavation Units Designation, Levels, Location, and Comments.

Horizontal	Vertical	Feature	Notes
A-1	L* 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, heavy concentration of wood
A-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
A-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
A-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped
A-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, door sill, builder's trench
A-6		Outside house	Wall fall
B-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, west & north walls
B-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, north wall
B-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, north wall, 7" x 9" x 3" rock in center next to wall
B-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, bound on north by wall that extends 17" into the square, charred wood, door hardware
B-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, builder's trench & door sill on east wall, inside wall on north
B-6		Outside house	Wall fall
C-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, bounded on south & west by wall, charred wood
C-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
C-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
C-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
C-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, floor & slabs on east, builder's trench in center, inside wall on south
C-6		Outside house	Wall fall
D-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 floor sill, mapped, mortar, charred wood
D-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, depression in floor level
D-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, nail concentration
D-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
D-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, floor inside of east wall
D-6		Outside house	Wall fall
E-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3, corset stays, button concentration
E-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, charred wood
E-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, row of rocks on L 1 north to south
E-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 mapped
E-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped
E-6		Outside house	Wall fall, decorated rocks
F-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, east of outside wall, flooring
F-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped
F-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, picture frame
F-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, gravel covers L 1 & 2, picture backs?
F-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, east wall, floor sill, sea horse figure
F-6		Outside house	Wall fall, sill rocks east edge of square
G-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, charred wood
G-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, outside wall on north, possible hearth in northeast 36" x 44"
G-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 mapped, L 3 partially excavated, hearth, fireplace rocks, hearth rock fall
G-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, outside wall on north, hearth on west 41" x 36"
G-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, flat rock southwest corner, flooring, musical instrument, upholstery tack, toothbrush 37" x 35"

continued

Table 1. (continued)

Horizontal	Vertical	Feature	Notes
G-6 (erroneously labeled G-5)		Outside house	Wall fall
M-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, two stone sills on west, center wall on south, door hardware, gun butt
M-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	Not mapped, center wall on south
M-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 & 3 mapped, flooring
M-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, tongue-and-groove planks, crockery
M-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, charred wood, door hardware, large amount nails, plaster, fired rock
M-6		Outside house	Wall fall
N-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 & 2 mapped, north wall, stove pipe, flooring
N-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside House	L 1 & 2 mapped, stove pipe, melted glass
N-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, north wall, planks
N-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, north wall, charred wood beams, mortar
N-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 & 3 mapped, north center wall, east outside wall, builder's trench, plaster, needles, buttons
N-6		Outside house	Wall fall
O-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	Not mapped
O-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, plank, chamber pot fragments
O-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 mapped
O-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, clusters of ceramics
O-5 36" x 42"	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, door hardware, metal hoop (barrel band?), needles, numerous buttons
O-6		Outside house	Wall fall, decorative stone
P-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, lead, percussion cap
P-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 3 mapped, tree root disturbance, gun part, latch hinge
P-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, tin cans, coffee pot parts
P-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, utensils
P-5 36" x 42"	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, utensils, decorative rock, pipe fragments, toothbrush, chamber pot fragments
P-6		Outside house	Wall fall, sill rock in middle of square
Q-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, gun parts
Q-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 & 2 mapped
Q-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, chimney fall, hearth, fireplace mantle?
Q-4	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, chimney fall, fireplace mantle?
Q-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	All L mapped, ammunition, melted glass, metal arrow point, buttons
Q-6		Outside house	Wall fall, glass
R-1	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, gun parts, buttons, flooring
R-2	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 2 & 3 mapped, gun parts, ammunition, door hardware, mortar
R-3	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 mapped, hearth, charred wood
R-4	L 1	Inside house	L 1 mapped, burned plank, hearth stones
R-5	L 1, 2, 3	Inside house	L 1 mapped, crockery, flooring
General site	Clean up		No further data

* = Level

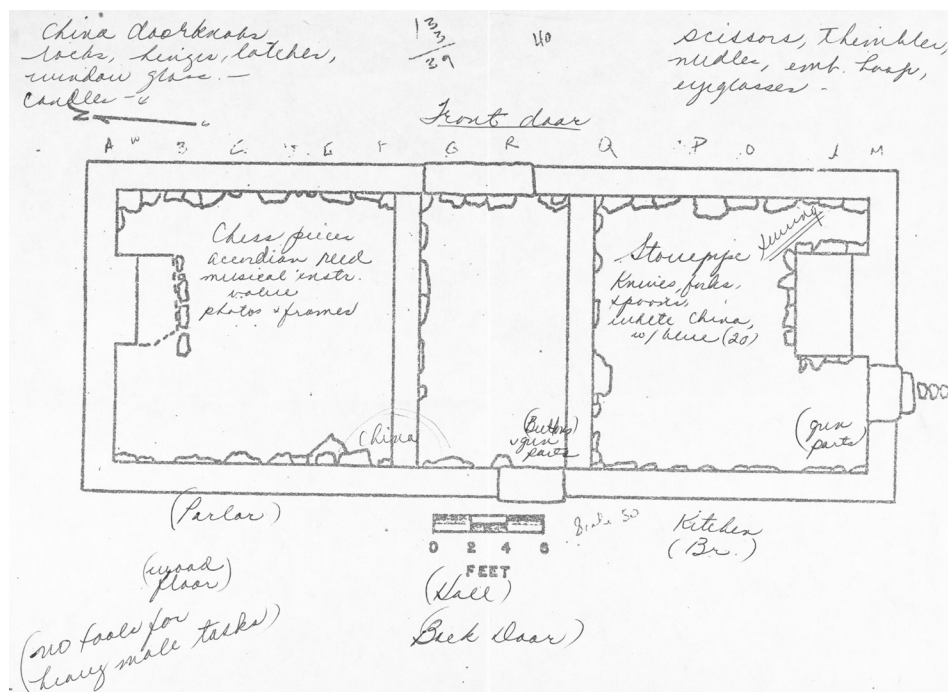


Figure 3. Plan view of the ground floor of the Baker house excavation with notations of selected artifacts' general loci. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

The units were excavated in three levels (depth unknown), except for the one designated as R-5.

A copy of a mimeographed map with notations regarding artifact locations is the only known record locating the excavation units (Figure 3). The map shows the footprint of a house, consisting of three rooms on the ground floor: a "parlor" with a fireplace on the north, a central hall with doors on the east and west, and a "kitchen" on the south with another door that included a step and steppingstones next to the southern fireplace (Figure 4). Faintly lettered on the right/east of the house map is a list of the excavation unit designations: A through G on the northern half and R through M on the southern half.

The point at which the numbering of five units inside the house and one unit outside the house walls began was not specified. However, using R as an example, the six excavation units placed west to east along the R line were designated R1, R2, etc. Figure 3 shows that gun parts were noted along the west side of the R line, and the unit information in Table 1 mentions gun parts only in R1 and R2. Thus, R1 must have been located on the west side of the excavation area.

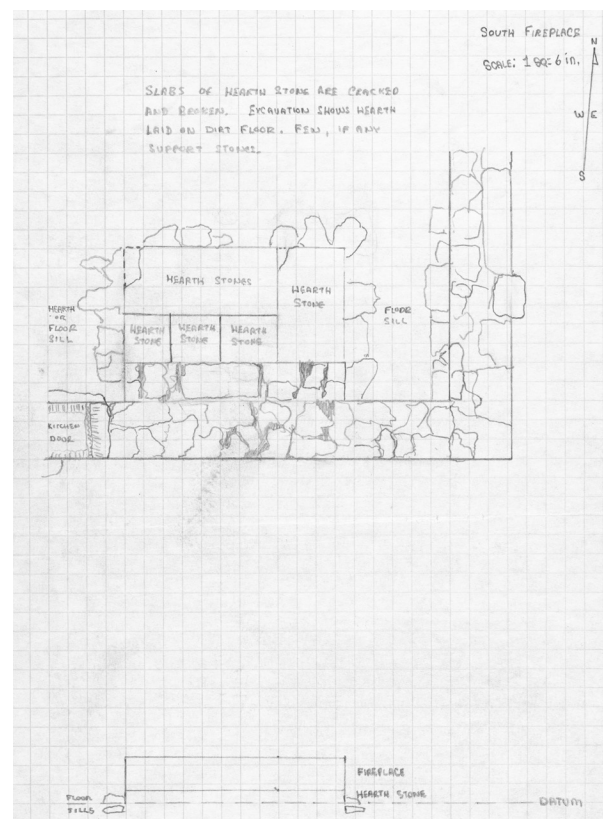


Figure 4. Detailed map of the kitchen's south chimney and hearthstones. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What was the economic status of Arthur I. Baker?

One of Dr. Brown's research questions was sparked by his interest in the economic status of people on the frontier. He thought that the Baker site, known to have burned in 1862, might have preserved artifacts along with documentary evidence that would shed light on Baker's status (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11).

2. What can the 1972 collection reveal about the presence of women at the Baker house?

Baker had lost his first wife and only recently married his second when he was murdered. Was this short period enough to shed light on the women in his life and their activities? While not proposing a gender study, what can be learned about Annis from the archeological record? Can anything further be discovered about Baker's daughter Susan?

ANALYSIS OF 1972 ARTIFACTS

The 1972 excavation recovered 10,154 counted artifacts and an additional 745 g (1.6 lbs) of weighed materials. These numbers are based on 2023 counts. There may have been fewer specimens in 1972 that later were broken in their storage boxes. They were cleaned, cataloged, and in some cases reconstructed by the field school students.

Not understanding how artifacts were cataloged originally, KSHS staff and volunteers undertook to enter provenience and catalog information in a different manner. Provenience was based on information written on sack fronts and the objects themselves: year, bearing, depth, and excavator. If a single piece, it was assigned a number and identification. Cataloged artifacts were sorted into 25 functional categories, each associated with a specimen number, item count, weight, material, function, type, subtype, portion, color, decoration, and comments, where possible. Materials in organics and by-products functional categories were not counted but weighed in grams. See the Appendix for a summary of all artifacts. The functional divisions were clustered in four major groups: Domestic, Building-related, Work, and Other.

More artifact photographs were taken than can be reproduced here. Occasionally, the reader is directed to Kansas Memory, KSHS's online digital archive for primary source documents and images. Additional pictures can be viewed by querying "14MO701" in Kansas Memory.

Domestic Group

Domestic materials encompass those artifact categories that traditionally relate to the domestic or household aspects of the home: Containers, Table and Utilitarian Wares, Flatware, Cookware, Furniture and Appliances, Organic, Clothing, Personal, Toiletry, Recreation, and Communication. These 11 combined categories comprise 7,082 artifacts, as well as others that were weighed only ($n = 594.2$ g or 1.3 lbs), amounting to more than the other three groups combined.

CONTAINER

There are 1,902 cans, closures, jars, and bottles. A tobacco tin, a pill tin lid, cans for baking ingredients, meat, and fruit or vegetables, and can fragments are present. Five were recognized as hole-in-top cans (Figure 5). The central cap on such cans was for food insertion, and a small vent was left open during cooking (Bureau of Land Management 2015). Later the vent was closed with lead. This process was used from the 1820s through World War I. This signifies that in 1862 people had access to food items, such as condensed milk and sardines, that they lacked previously. This might have made meals quicker to assemble, if not cheaper.

Most of the closures were metal caps, including a single canning lid and liner and a metal strip from a twist-key opener. The latter likely represents an intrusive deposit, as the twist-key opening was not introduced until 1866, four years after the house burned (Wikipedia 2023a). Other jars consist of one of milk glass and four possible canning jars. Two canning jar rims were intended to be sealed by pouring liquid (melted) wax between two parallel rings, separated by a groove, and then topped with a heated metal cap (Figure 6). Some canning jar sherds may have been misidentified as bottle fragments.

One might wonder why more tinned foods apparently were purchased, as opposed to canning fresh



Figure 5. Hole-in-top cans. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 6. Ring and groove wax sealing canning jar rims. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

produce from the garden. Recall that Baker had been living a bachelor existence until shortly before his demise, and tinned food undoubtedly was easier, especially because he probably had a ready supply of canned goods in the nearby store. Additionally, canning jars and reliable jar closures were in the early days of mass production. John Mason had taken out his patent on the screw-on metal canning lid with rubber seal just four years prior to the destruction of the house (Meredith 2019).

Over half ($n = 1,066$, 56.1 percent) of the containers are bottle fragments. The contents of most could not be determined, many being amorphous lumps of melted glass. Twenty-six were classified as wine bottles, either because they retained basal

kick-ups or were a dark olive color. Condiment bottles, shaped like cathedrals, once held hot sauce. A single aqua base with the partial lettering “N’S/ AIRON/HAIR/YORK” indicated that the bottle once held hair tonic from New York.

Many other bottles were classed as having a medicinal or pharmaceutical function, based on their neck finishes (patent style) or lettering (“DR ST,” “LINIMENT,” and “DOCTOR D. JAYNE”). One likely medicine bottle section retained a cork and a lead or foil wrapper remnant (Figure 7). Finally, a few sherds represented medicinal bitters, specifically Old Cabin Bitters, based on the log cabin design (Peachridge Glass 2013). As was often the case with frontier medicines, bitters contained a large amount of alcohol.

TABLE AND UTILITARIAN WARE

This functional category had 4,168 artifacts. Most were in broken and burned condition, often masking their purposes. The fragmented state of these dishes and the fact that there are 1,294 more pieces in this category than there were in the 1973 collection invite speculation. Did the Andersons hurriedly torch the store but take their time in the house,



Figure 7. Foil and cork sealed medicine bottle fragment. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 8. Reconstructed dishes on a shelf in Dr. Brown's office at KSTC. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

smashing the contents thoroughly before lighting fires? Were the Bakers storing barrels of dishes in their house, waiting to restock the store's shelves? Either scenario is feasible, but the former must

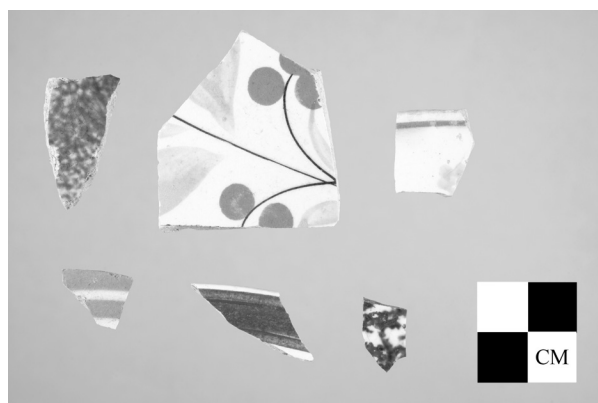


Figure 10. Dish sherds decorated in spongeware, handpainted, and banded patterns. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

remain a guess, while the latter might be substantiated by the information below.

The KSTC students reconstructed many items. Later, additional vessels were reconstructed (sometimes for the second time) by KSHS staff and volunteers. A total of 86 individual vessels were cross mended to form complete or partial dishes (Figure 8).

Materials include whiteware, glass, earthenware, milk glass, ferrous metal, stoneware, porcelain, and yellowware. Most dishes are undecorated whiteware. During or after the 1972 excavation, someone laboriously sketched many of the patterns displayed on selected dishes. These meticulous pen-and-ink drawings can be viewed on Kansas Memory. Table 2

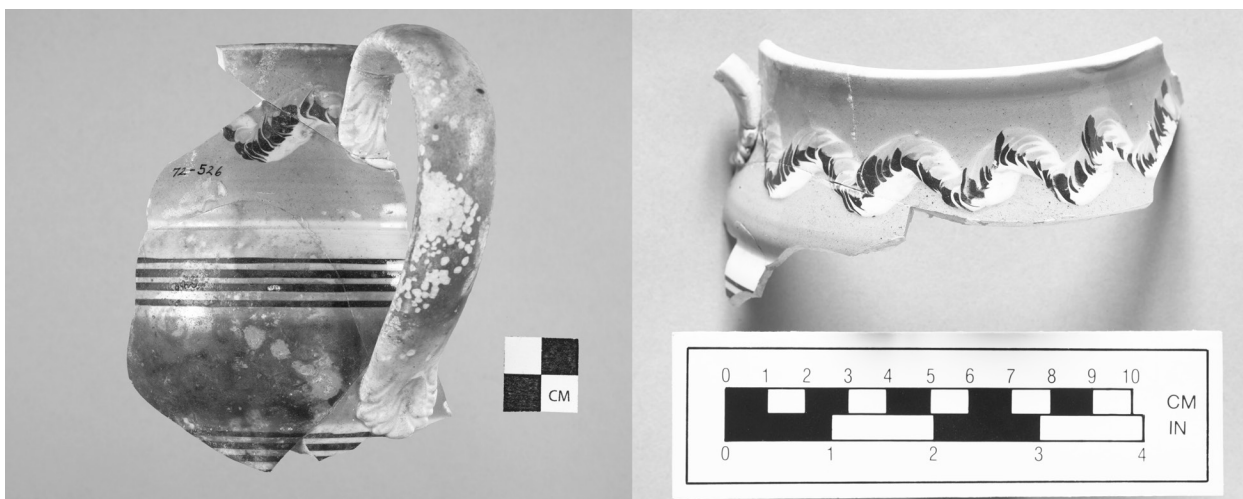


Figure 9. Mochaware decorated in an earthworm pattern at the top and banded around the midsection. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

Table 2. Tableware Decorative Types.

Types	Date Span	Description	Reference
Annularware/ banded ware	1785-present	A decorative technique with horizontal bands in varying widths & colors. It can occur as primary or in conjunction with other motifs. Examples include a variety of colors & widths.	Florida Museum of Natural History 2023; Figure 10
Flow blue	1828–1929	A transferware with deliberately blurred designs. Examples are all blue patterns.	Samford & Miller 2002
Gilt	1860-present	A thin coat of gold, silver, or bronze applied over the surface of the vessel, generally porcelain. Examples are small sherds.	Gilding 2023; Wikipedia
Painted wares	1830s–1870s	Decorated with underglazed painted motifs, dates assigned colors & styles. Examples are chrome colors (at least three) & have both elaborate & simplified patterns.	Samford & Miller 2002; Figure 10
Mochaware	Late 1700s 1880s	A type of annularware used to decorate bowls, mugs, & jugs. Examples are decorated with variegated wave & loop patterns, called snail trails or earthworms, & bands.	Colonial Sense 2023; Dervin 1980:124; Figure 8
Molded	3,000 B.C.E–present	Liquid clay slip poured into a decorated mold, & moist clay pressed into the mold. Examples include the Berlin Swirl motif & other small sherds.	Simon Fraser University 2008
Relief molded	1840s–1860s	Complex molded designs covering most of the vessel surface. Example is a pitcher or jug in tankard form, decorated in a naturalistic style.	Samford & Miller 2002
Rockingham	1840s–1860s (in United States)	A mottled brown & yellow glaze sometimes over molded relief motifs. Examples are small sherds.	Samford & Miller 2002
Shell edge	1775-1890s	Edged wares generally with molded rim motifs in green & blue. Examples are blue with impressed repetitive patterns.	Samford & Miller 2002
Spongeware	1820s–1930s	An earthenware with a spattered or sponge-dabbed background color. Examples are blue & red.	Samford & Miller 2002; Figure 10
Transferware	1783–early 1900s	Decorated using engraved plates to print on paper that is then transferred by pressing onto pottery. Examples include floral & landscape motifs.	Samford & Miller 2002; Wikipedia:Transferware 2023

discusses the decorative types, and some examples are picture in Figures 9 and 10. Others can be viewed by entering “14MO701” as a query on Kansas Memory.

Identifiable tablewares consist of saucers, plates, bowls, and cups with and without attached handles. Two maker’s marks were associated with importers. The Filley family of St. Louis, Missouri, were prolific importers from 1820 to 1860 of Queensware and china from such Staffordshire, England, man-

ufacturers as T. J. and T. Mayer, Mayer Brothers & Elliot, and James Edwards and Sons (Table 3; Walthall 2013:166). The import trade was begun by Giles Filley, who sold it to his cousins Edward A. and Samuel R. Filley. They hired a younger brother Chauncey as a clerk, and soon he opened his own import business (Walthall 2013:166). Complete or partial maker’s marks represent E. A. & S. R. Filley and Chauncey Filley.

The back of one saucer in the shape of the state of

Table 3. Pottery Maker's Marks.

Potter	Location	Date Span	Reference
Mayer Brothers and Elliot (subsequently Liddle, Elliot, and Son) (Berlin Swirl pattern)	Longport, Staffordshire, England	1855–1862	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:271
Francis Morley and Co. (Sobraon pattern)	Shelton, Staffordshire, England	1845–1859	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:291–292
Samuel Alcock and Co. (Sobraon pattern)	Staffordshire, England	1826–1859	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:92
J. & G. Meakin (possible “Kansas shape”)	Hanley, Staffordshire, England	1851–1970+	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:275–276
Joseph Heath	Tunstall, England	1845–1853	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:229
John Ridgway and Co.	Hanley, Staffordshire, England	1841–1855	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:319–320
James Edwards (registry diamond 80816)	Burslem, Staffordshire, England	1842–1852, registry mark year indicates 1851	REGISTRY MARK KM:505676
John Maddock	Burslem, Staffordshire, England	1842–1855	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:261
Edward Corn (subsequently W. & E. Corn) (“CORN/SLRM”)	Burslem & Longport, Staffordshire, England	1853–1904	Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1996:163

Kansas bears the identifier “IRONSTONE.” Images of wares in the Kansas shape can be found on Internet sites that sell them. An Etsy site, <https://www.etsy.com/listing/1230694803/antique-english-white-ironstone-pitcher> claims that they were produced by J. and G. Meakin (Table 3), but this could not be confirmed in the Meakin pottery information.

Two dish patterns are associated with specific potters (Table 3). The Berlin Swirl pattern tablewares are decorated with a series of paired plumes. They were manufactured by two potters: Elliot, Mayer, and Elliot from 1855 to 1858 and Mayer Brothers and Elliot (later Liddle, Elliot, and Son) from 1858 to 1869 (Michael 2017). Another pattern listed for both saucers and plates is a flow blue named “SOBRAON,” which was used by English potters Francis Morley and Co. and Samuel Alcock and Co. Some maker's marks may be viewed on Kansas Memory by querying “14MO701.”

The KSTC students and maybe Dr. Brown made a tally of saucer and cup fragments and the excavation units in which they were recovered. Saucer sherds were found in all rooms, with the majority

located in the north parlor, and they represent a minimum number of 14 different dish sets. Portions of cups in the north and south rooms represent 10 sets. This is an excessive number of tableware sets for one home and likely indicates that stock for the nearby store was being kept in the house, potentially in second-story spaces. As the fire progressed, these eventually would have fallen to the ground floor, perhaps accounting for the numerous small pieces.

Less than a fifth of the tablewares ($n = 773$, 18.6 percent) can be distinguished as either serving or tablesetting. The identifiable serving dishes include saltshakers, a serving tray, a possible tureen, creamers, pitchers, serving dishes and bowls, mixing bowls, and platters. One syrup pitcher section in a tankard shape bears a molded relief of a tree stump, covered by a leafy vine (Figure 11). This seems to fit Samford and Miller's (2002) description of “naturalistic forms,” where plants are depicted in detail. They give an example of Mayer's pottery *Convolvulus* pattern being used on “a jug molded to represent a tree stump, against which morning



Figure 11. Stoneware jug decorated with relief molding as a tree stump. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

glories grow.” The Baker house jug was painstaking pieced together, first by KSTC students and again later by KSHS Archeology Lab volunteers.

Utilitarian artifacts include chamber pots, vases, and crockery. One of the 1972 field school par-

ticipants enumerated the excavation units in which chamber pot fragments were recovered (Figure 12), revealing that many were in the kitchen. Chamber pots generally were used at night when a trip to the outhouse proved a great inconvenience. Were the numerous pots stored in the kitchen, or did they drop from the second story? A kitchen is a busy enough area without having to make one’s way around boxes or crates of store merchandise, so they might well have fallen from above. Many pieces were large enough to be recognized as chamber pots, so they likely were stock for the nearby store. One crock sherd was labeled “CAMP POINT, ILLINOIS,” but no further information could be located about the potter.

FLATWARE

Flatware includes knives, spoons, and handles, some of which carry embossed decoration. Six pickle forks, a serving fork, grater or strainer fragments, and several utensil handles were recovered during the 1972 excavations.

COOKWARE

All cookware artifacts were identified as fragments of bean pots, based on their shape. While catalogers sometimes had difficulty in differentiating similar sherds as either bean pots or chamber pots, one feels confident that the owners had no such difficulty.

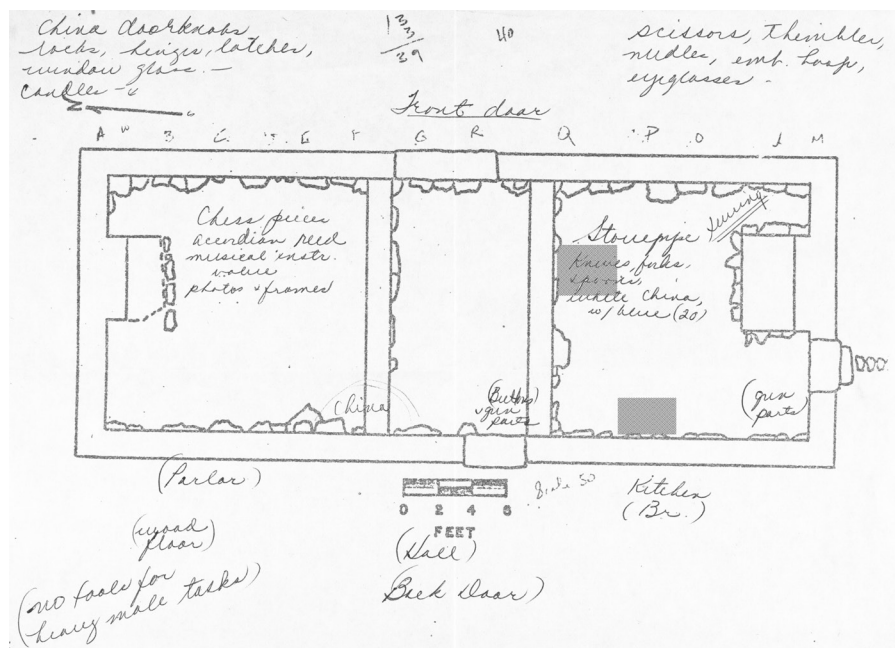


Figure 12. Image of mimeographed map noting the approximate locations (gray squares representing units) of 104 of the 169 chamber pot fragments. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

Many or all could have functioned as tableware rather than cookware.

FURNITURE AND APPLIANCE

In this category are a variety of locks, hinges, latches, drawer pulls, and doorknobs. Several of the yellowware (ceramic) doorknobs were glazed in the mottled brown Bennington or Rockingham style, which was a “. . . popular alternative to plain ceramic or pressed glass doorknobs during the mid to late 1800s” (Breitenstein 2023), adding some style to something as simple as a door.

A coffee mill hand crank, a coffee pot handle, and metal basket filter remnants were salvaged from the site. With no handy coffeehouses on the frontier, the coffee pot was a standard feature in most 1862 households. Metal filters were used by the late 1700s in coffee brewing (Coffee Corner 2019). Also recovered were several clock components.

Fourteen small fragments, identified as cook stove parts, might have come from a heating stove instead; their incomplete nature renders them difficult to classify. In a 1972 interview Dr. Brown noted that looting likely had taken place at the site, as they had found a stovepipe segment but no stove. “I’m not about to admit we missed anything the size of the stove” (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11). Cast iron is very durable and might have survived the fire to be reused elsewhere. The stovepipe had been particularly evident in excavation

units N-1 and N-2 near the kitchen hearth (Table 1). Over time the stovepipe sections in their storage boxes could have disintegrated into unrecognizable scraps, making it difficult for later catalogers to visualize their original purpose.

Numerous pieces of daguerreotype, tintype, or ambrotype glass and frames were retrieved from the parlor (Figures 3 and 13). All three forms were available by 1854, although new daguerreotypes ceased to be made in the 1860s (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 2023). Before the invention of these different processes, family portraits were limited primarily to the well-to-do, who could afford art painters. By the time the Bakers set up housekeeping, photographic images were becoming increasingly common. One frame bore the label “HOLMES BOOTH & HAYDENS,” a reference to the company of Waterbury, Connecticut, that manufactured photographic equipment and cases for daguerreotypes (Historic Camera 2019).

ORGANIC

The food fauna, food flora, other fauna, and the “other” portion of the Organic class were not counted, but rather weighed only. Combined, they weighed 594.2 g (20 oz). Most of this was in the form of mud dauber’s nests, clam shells, and small bits of bone. A single walnut shell and a bone with cut marks were present. This seems a very small amount of organic material, perhaps due to food waste disposal being away from the house.

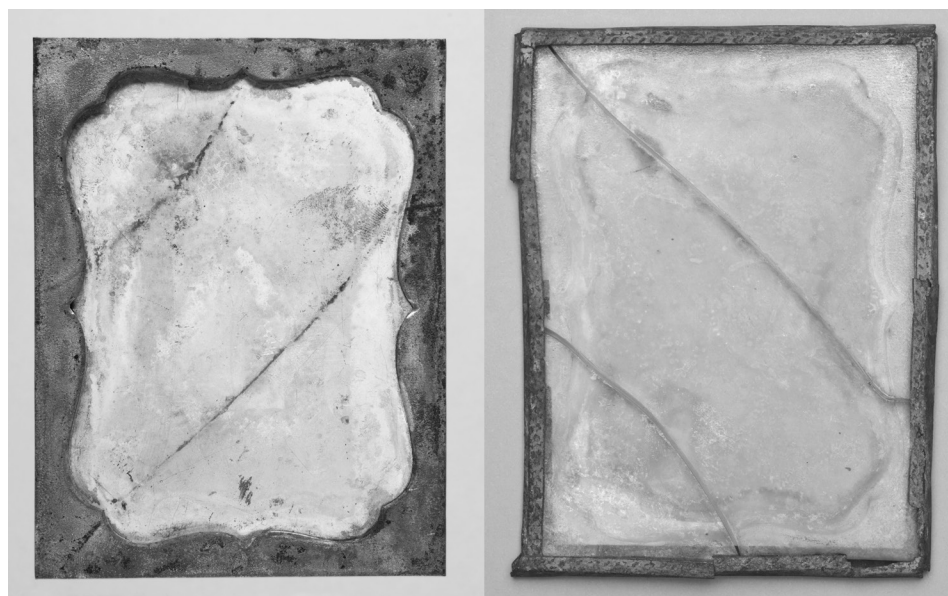


Figure 13. Picture frames with glass for a tintype, ambrotype, or daguerreotype. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

CLOTHING

Numerous overall suspender hardware, belt buckles, and clips were recovered. Shoe grommets, a collar or cuff stud, snaps, and a hook and eye were found. Sixty-five whalebone stay fragments were salvaged (Figure 14). Stays were used to give structure to clothing, such as corsets, collars, and hoop skirts. Did the stays belong to one of Baker's wives or his daughter? At first the most obvious explanation seems that they were an extra set belonging to Mrs. Annis Baker, who could hardly have been in Emporia earlier that day without wearing a corset. However, the first Mrs. Baker's (Sarah's) clothes might have remained in the house, or the elusive daughter Susan already was wearing a corset. By today's standards, 11 years old seems too young to wear such confining apparel, but Aberman (2022) noted, "childhood corsetry was commonly practiced in the 19th century, as mothers imposed this womanly expectation on their daughters."

Most of the clothing-related items are buttons (n = 449, 80.8 per cent). There are various attachment types: 2-, 4-, and 5-holes, loop, and shank. Shapes include dish, domed, piecrust, prosser, and cone, and they come in all sizes. Many are solid colors, but others are decorated with floral, embossed, or calico patterns (Figure 15). One hard rubber "Goodyear" button is back marked with "NOVELTY RUBBER COMPANY" advertising. Goodyear buttons first appeared in the 1850s and still can be obtained today

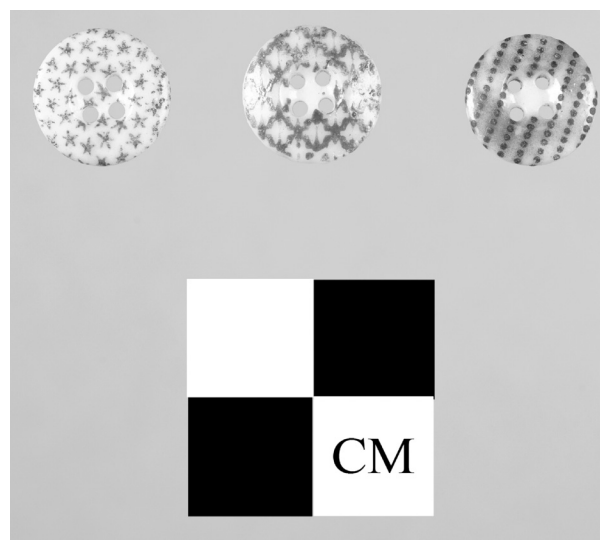


Figure 15. Calico buttons with patterns of blue stars, green plaids or squares, and black dots. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

(Marcel 1994). Interestingly, while the Goodyear Company held the patent, it never made the buttons, leaving that to other companies, such as the Novelty Rubber Company that manufactured buttons from 1853 to 1886 (Vintage Buttons 2016).

PERSONAL

Both women and men are represented among the personal artifacts. Glass and wood beads, a pendant fragment, a chain, and a possible watch fob were discovered. A complete pair of embroidery scissors

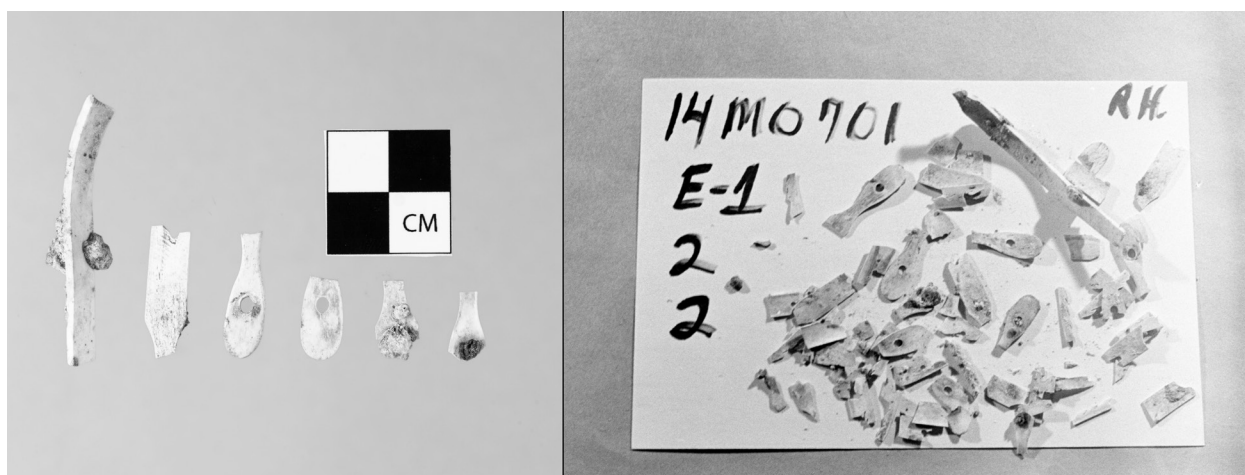


Figure 14. Whale baleen corset stay fragments on a 3 x 5-inch card, taken shortly after excavation in 1972, and a close-up of some of the stays taken 51 years later. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 16. Short embroidery scissors with sharp tips (now missing) to cut thread neatly. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

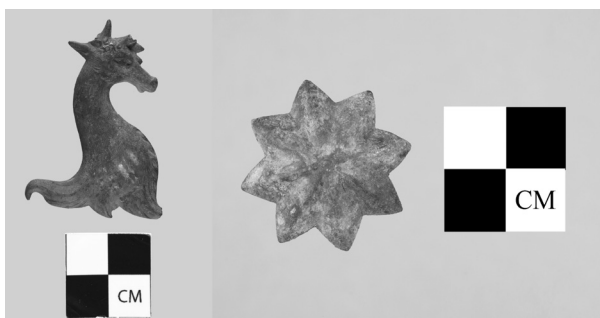


Figure 17. Decorative elements, possibly for a trunk. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

(Figure 16), crochet needle segments, thimbles, and a decorative piece, maybe for a handbag or sewing basket, were acquired near the hearth area of the kitchen, which might have doubled as a seating area for informal family gatherings. Dr. Brown assumed that a frame and lenses of eyeglasses retrieved with the contents of a sewing basket belonged to Annis Baker (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:12).

A lock and hasp, an escutcheon plate, two embellishments (Figure 17), a handle, and a rivet were thought to be trunk components. A possible closure for a ledger, a slate board, slate pencil, lead pencil, ferrule (an element that fastens an eraser to the pencil), and fountain pen fragments were collected. Small pieces of slate boards and slate shingles look a lot alike, and some may have been misidentified.

Clay smoking pipes were very common in the nineteenth century and inexpensive, ranging from 50¢ to \$1.20 for a gross. They are represented by

a complete specimen (Figure 18), a partial face pipe with a turban, and reed-style bowl fragments. Additionally, a sherd decorated with two shields and an incomplete label “451/A. CRE/ E. GALLARD” likely came from the Cretal-Gallard factory of Rennes, France. An example of a commonly produced pipe displays the advertising “Glasgow” for Glasgow, Scotland. This, or one of its variant spellings, was a marketing ploy, used regardless of where the pipe was manufactured (Peña and Denman 2000:90). The many segments recovered from the parlor area might have resulted from more than a single smoker, as this room might have served Baker in his official capacity as Justice of the Peace.

TOILETRY

Bone toothbrush heads, a folding handle for a straight edge razor, and pieces of mirror backs are in this category. The handle of a straight-edge razor, also called a cut-throat razor, gives a personal sense of Arthur Baker. He could have sported any number of styles of beards or mustaches or been completely clean shaven. Additionally, a button hook handle and several other handles thought to belong to toiletry items were recovered. Buttonhooks were used by men and women alike to aid in buttoning gloves, shoes, and other clothing.

RECREATION

It was not all work and no play in the Baker household. Excavation yielded toys, such as fragments of an iron vehicle and a doll, in addition to marbles, chessmen, and a possible board game piece (Figures 19 and 20). An interesting discussion on the TXARCH-L list serv (2016) noted that some artifacts identified as marbles might have been pie weights instead. These high-fired ceramic spheres, meant to keep an empty pie crust flattened while baking, were used primarily for pudding or cream pies. It is not known if any of these objects helped create a pie, but one does wonder what type of pie was baking on the night of July 3, 1862; the story goes that it was apple. Also salvaged were harmonica or accordion reeds and woodwind keys.

A gaming token depicts a bust of George Washington and the lettering “GENERAL WASHINGTON” (Figure 21) on the obverse side. The reverse side portrays a female head,



Figure 18. Clay pipe decorated in a rib and scallop pattern with a heel at the base of the bowl. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

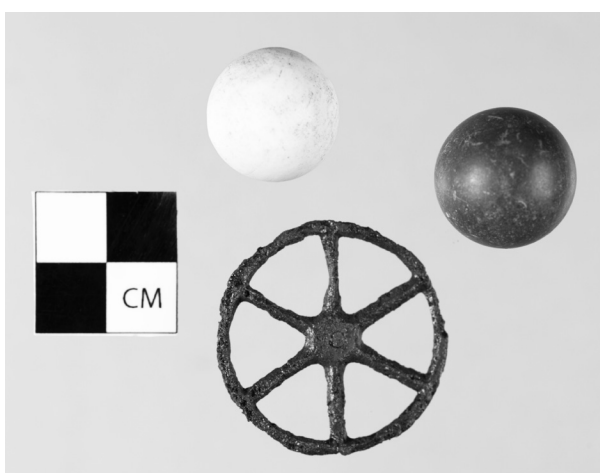


Figure 19. Marbles and an iron wheel, cleaned with electrolysis. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 20. Bone gaming pieces, some possibly used to play chess. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 21. Spiel Marke depicting General Washington and Lady Liberty, greatly discolored in the fire. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

often described as Lady Liberty, and the lettering “COMPS—” and “LIBERTY.” Other examples have the lettering “LAUER. COMPOSITIONS-SPIEL-MARKE” (Yale University Art Gallery 2023), denoting that the token is a type called a Spiel Marke, which is German for “play money,” and was made by Ludwig Christian Lauer in Nuremburg, Germany (University of Notre Dame 2023).

The gaming pieces and musical instrument fragments were retrieved in the parlor area, implying that the room was a relaxing haven for the family at times. In examining the Recreation category the unaccounted-for daughter from Baker’s first marriage again comes to mind. Could she have owned some of these toys and games? Were she alive in 1862, she would have been around 11 years old, growing out of girlhood into womanhood. Or were they cherished remembrances of a daughter now gone? Sadly, the answer has been lost in the passage of time.

COMMUNICATION

The only Communication artifacts to survive the fire were scraps of newspaper with no associated dates. There were some, mostly nonsensical, headlines visible: “HYPOT OLD BRO RE J” and “JOINT PR MA.”

Building-related Group

Building-related artifacts include Construction Material, Window Glass, Hardware Fastener, Hardware Miscellaneous, Utility, and By-product. The 1972 excavations recovered 3,010 artifacts in this group, as well as other materials that were weighed, not counted ($n = 150.8$ g or .3 lbs). The Baker’s stone house, reportedly modeled after the Kaw Mission in Council Grove, had two stories and measured 44 by 18 ft with three rooms downstairs and an unknown number of rooms upstairs (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11). The Kaw Mission was the home of Baker’s mother Agnes, who was a matron there, and his sister Eliza, who was married to missionary Thomas Huffaker.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL

The walls and foundation of the house are represented by stone, rocks, and bricks. One cornerstone section exhibits chisel marks in a herringbone pattern.

tern on two sides (Figure 22). Some portions of wood flooring have tongue-and-groove fittings. Further evidence of walls are plaster remnants, some painted white; lathe from the house interior; and stone, brick, and mortar from its exterior. Fifty-six slate shingle fragments were recovered. As noted previously, distinguishing between slate shingles and slate boards is not always easy, and some may have been categorized incorrectly.

Dr. Brown or a student drew a detailed plan view of the kitchen hearth (Figure 4) between the east wall and the kitchen door. This was the spot where the missing kitchen stove once sat. Figure 23 shows the finished excavation and the remaining wall courses.



Figure 22. Structural or foundational stone corner fragment with chisel marks in a herringbone pattern. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 23. View of the excavated Baker house from the kitchen toward the parlor. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

WINDOW GLASS

Most of the window glass is aqua in color with a few samples that are clear.

HARDWARE FASTENER

The collection holds 1,312 pieces of Hardware Fastener. While there are a few wrought and wire nails, most ($n = 1,109$, 84.5 percent) are cut square nails. Nelson (1963) noted that wrought nails generally date from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, machine cut (wire) nails from the 1790s to the early twentieth century, and modern wire nails from the 1850s to the present. The types of nails include common, clinch, roofing, horseshoe, finishing, nails with plaster attached, and fragments.

Other hardware fasteners include screws (slotted, wood, and flat), most of which were machined, though a few were wrought; staples (box and fence); and washers (flat and finishing). Carpenters often use finishing washers on furniture to create a flush surface. Latching hooks, grommets, tacks, bands, fasteners, and roofing discs for tarpaper complete the list.

HARDWARE MISCELLANEOUS

Unidentifiable metal fragments ($n = 549$, 71.7 percent) comprise most of the artifacts in the Hardware Miscellaneous category. The stovepipe, discussed under Furniture and Appliances, might have disintegrated into small pieces and currently be listed here as scrap metal. Strap metal accounts for 174 specimens, several with traces of their former functions still attached: washers, rivets, a brad, a screw, nails, and mortar. A small amount of fence and barbed wire, in addition to baling and stock wire, were recovered. Also collected were a segment of bar stock, a portion of a mouse trap, and a metal ring.

UTILITY

One fragment was identified as part of a heating stove, but its incomplete condition makes it difficult to classify: cook stove or heating stove? There are also lamp or lantern components, but surprisingly no glass survived that definitively can be recognized as remnants of a lamp or lantern chimney. Finally, a strand of electrical wiring is judged to be post 1862.

BY-PRODUCT

This category includes specimens of charcoal and lead sprue. The latter possibly resulted from bullet making.

Work Group

The Work Group encompasses five functional categories: Tools; Harness Hardware; Horse-drawn Vehicles and Farm Machinery; Knives, Firearms, and Ammunition; and Railroad. Fifty-five artifacts are assigned to the group.

TOOLS

Ten tool fragments were recovered: a handle with a ferrule, three ferrules (one for a paint brush and one for a trowel), file ridges, an auger bit, whetstone pieces, and a plier part. According to Dr. Brown's notation on the house diagram (Figure 3), "no tools for heavy male tasks" were found. Perhaps Baker kept his tools in his smithy.

HARNESS HARDWARE

Harness buckles, clips, a trace hook, leather strap fragments, rein rings, and a ring for a single or double tree were collected.

HORSE-DRAWN VEHICLES AND FARM MACHINERY

A pulley component and a cast-iron piece are designated as farm machinery, while a wagon brace and a possible bearing sleeve are associated with horse-drawn vehicles. As most of the excavation units were placed inside the house, the scarcity of items in this category is not surprising.

KNIFE, FIREARMS, AND AMMUNITION

A single complete pocketknife was discovered (Figure 24). Two gun nose caps (one octagonal in shape and maybe for a musket), three butt plates (one for a handgun), a gun tumbler, a trigger guard, and a gun worm (used for removing unspent charges) were also gathered. Very little ammunition was found: a few lead balls, a brass cartridge case, and a musket cap primer. Additional ammunition may have exploded and burned during the house fire. In numerous interviews Dr. Brown noted that gun parts and ammunition occurred near the doors and windows.



Figure 24. Complete pocketknife, cleaned with electrolysis. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

The excavation yielded a metal arrow point (Figure 25), which was somewhat surprising to Brown, who judged that it was in the level above the household goods (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11). While some Indigenous Americans made arrow points from metal scraps, such as barrel bands, this one appears to be a late nineteenth-century trade item.

RAILROAD

One standard gauge railroad spike might have been used in construction of the house or deposited there later.

Other Group

Seventeen artifacts are in the Other Group that consists of three functional categories: Artifacts Prior to Baker Occupation, Military, and Unidentified.

ARTIFACTS PRIOR TO BAKER OCCUPATION

As Baker deliberately settled near a good water crossing to take advantage of the trail traffic for his store, it is not surprising that others used this area long before Baker or other European-Americans arrived. Indications of prehistoric activity appear in the form of two debitage flakes (one of obsidian), a likely chert knife section, and a burned bone with incised lines.

MILITARY

A single knapsack buckle (Figure 26) and two insignia (a "2" and a star) were uncovered. Six military

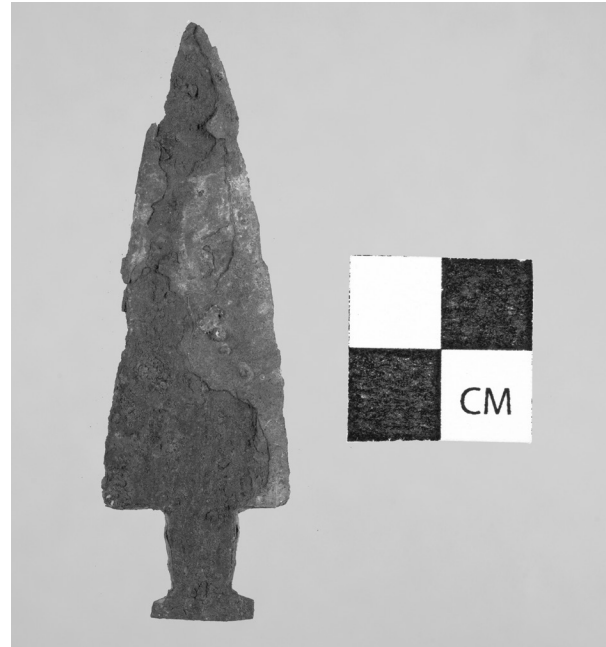


Figure 25. Metal arrow point, likely a trade item. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

buttons include one General Service, one Infantry, and one Artillery button.

UNIDENTIFIED

Only four items were left unidentified. One was made of ferrous metal, and the material of the rest could not be determined.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this analysis address the research questions.

1. What was the economic status of Arthur I. Baker?

Dr. Brown was quoted as saying, "although his [Baker's] way of life was not luxurious, it was comfortable" (Kansas State Teachers College 1972:11). His sturdy two-story house with at least some decorated stonework and multiple heat sources would have been comfortable. It was filled with such amenities as wood floors and fancy doorknobs and might have been designed as the showcase house in Baker's Agnes City. The Bakers had picture frames and sewing baskets on the tabletops, musical instru-



Figure 26. Brass adjustable knapsack buckle. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

ments and games in the parlor, and, when they traveled, they had nice trunks within which to pack their clothes. Had Baker lived, had Agnes City survived, surely the Bakers would have been leading citizens.

2. What can the 1972 collection reveal about the presence of women at the Baker house?

Baker's presence is felt not only through the documentation and artifacts from the store, but also from artifacts in his home. What happened to the ladies in his life? It is unknown what happened to Susan, his daughter by his first marriage. He and his second wife apparently had no children. In most of the sources, sometimes conflicting, there is no mention of Baker's daughter, only tantalizing hints: a census record listing, toys, games, musical instruments, and possibly stays.

Annis Baker's presence is fleeting in written sources but more strongly felt in the household artifacts. It seems that women almost become part of the archeological record—they are represented by dishes and buttons but not the stories behind the objects. Annis Baker may have gone to the Kaw Mission to live with her in-laws for a time after Baker was murdered. Later she married Jonathan B. Somers, but tragically both were drowned near the Kaw Mission on May 14, 1872, while trying to cross the flooded Neosho River in a buggy (Mark Brooks, personal communication November 2, 2023).

The jilted Mary Anderson may have found a longer lasting happiness than Baker and his wife,

but not before suffering her own tragedy. She was present with two of her sisters in the 1863 collapse of a building being used as a jail in Kansas City, Missouri. The structurally unsound building housed female relatives of pro-slavery Missouri bushwhackers, on the grounds that the women had aided and abetted their menfolk. One sister died, one was only slightly injured, and Mary was severely wounded. Two years later her situation presumably brightened when she married Alexander Doak, later having three children. Mary died in 1903.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report could not have been written without the hard work of Dr. Jeffrey Brown (Figure 27) and his 1972 field school class. As the *Emporia Gazette* (1972:15) noted, "His digging into the history of Lyon County has unearthed valuable information about the way our near ancestors live. His concern with the recent historic past of the county is an example we all might follow."

Randall M. Thies, KSHS archeologist from 1985 to 2008, researched, presented, and had an abiding interest in the Baker story. His notes and stories were drawn upon heavily.

I would not be where I am today without my mentor Karl de-Rochefort Reynolds, teacher of numerous subjects, including Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, at Cloud County Community College, who lit my archeological spark and gave



Figure 27. Principal Investigator Dr. Jeffery Brown and a student consulting on a project at KSTC in Emporia. Courtesy of Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

me a sound grounding in possibilities and potential. As always, this work is truly for my dad, who imparted his love of history to a willing daughter.

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Appendix 1. Artifact Summary by Function and Count or Weight.

Function	Artifact	Count or Weight
Container		
Bottle	Type unknown bottles	950
Bottle	Beer, wine bottles	35
Bottle	Pepper sauce bottles	2
Bottle	Medicinal, patent bottles	78
Bottle	Hair tonic	1
Jar	Type unknown jars	5
Can	Type unknown cans	780
Can	Tobacco cans	1
Can	Pharmaceutical cans	5
Can	Hole-in-top cans	5
Can	Meat, fruit, vegetable, coffee cans	20
Can	Baking cans	1
Closure	Caps, lids, liners, key strip	19
Total		1,902
Tableware & Utilitarian Ware		
Tablesetting	Plate sherds	754
Tablesetting	Saucer sherds	298
Tablesetting	Cup sherds	309
Tablesetting	Bowl sherds	381
Tablesetting	Unable to further identify	255
Serving	Platter sherds	80
Serving	Serving bowl sherds	221
Serving	Mixing bowl sherds	128
Serving	Dish, sauce dish sherds	291
Serving	Pitchers, cruets, creamers	170
Serving	Shaker	1
Serving	Unable to further identify	150
Tablesetting or serving	Unable to further identify	777
Beverage glass	Tumblers, stemware, shot glasses	11
Utilitarian ware	Crockery	153
Utilitarian ware	Vases	20
Utilitarian ware	Chamber pots	169
Total		4,168
Flatware		
Cutlery	Butcher knife & knife blades	2
Flatware	Tablespoons & teaspoons	7
Flatware	Table, butter, steak knives	9
Flatware	Handles	19
Utensil	Handles	3
Utensil	Grater, strainer fragments	51
Utensil	Pickle fork	7
Total		98

continued

Appendix 1. (continued)

Function	Artifact	Count or Weight
Cookware		
Cooking	Bean pot sherds	66
Total		66
Furniture & Appliances		
Furniture	Clock	3
Furniture	Daguerreotype or tintype fragments	39
Furniture	Legs, decorative pieces	7
Appliance	Cook stove parts	8
Appliance	Coffee mill, coffee pot parts	7
Furnishings & structural	Keys	3
Furnishings & structural	Locks	32
Furnishings & structural	Latches, hooks	7
Furnishings & structural	Doorknob parts	13
Furnishings & structural	Drawer & cabinet pulls	3
Furnishings & structural	Hinges	20
Total		142
Fauna, Flora, Other		
Food fauna	Beef, poultry, rabbit, unidentified	73.6 g
Other fauna	Mussel, unidentified	130.5 g
Food flora	Walnut	2.2 g
Other flora	Stem	4.4 g
Other	Mud dauber's nest	383.5 g
Total		594.2 g
Clothing, Footwear, Fasteners		
Clothing	Whalebone corset stays	65
Footwear	Shoe grommet	1
Clothing fasteners	Buttons	449
Clothing fasteners	Buckles, overall slides, snaps, hooks, eyes	41
Total		556
Personal		
Bead	Beads	4
Jewelry	Chains, pendants	11
Eyeglasses	Eyeglasses frame, lens	4
Other	Handbag fragments, trunk fragments	21
Office supply	Ledger hook, fountain pens, ferrules, slate pencil & boards	37
Sewing & scissors	Needles, thimbles, embroidery scissors, scissors	10
Smoking	Pipe fragments	19
Total		108

continued

Appendix 1. (continued)

Function	Artifact	Count or Weight
Toiletry		
Dressing	Button hook fragments	3
Grooming aides	Folding razor fragments	3
Grooming aides	Mirror fragments	7
Grooming aides	Toothbrush fragments	5
Toiletry	Handle fragments	4
Total		22
Recreation		
Musical instrument	Harmonica or accordion reed, woodwind keys	3
Sports equipment	Sinker	1
Games	Chess piece fragments	6
Toy	Doll, figurine fragments	3
Toy	Marbles	2
Token	Lady Liberty/George Washington token	1
Total		16
Communication Items		
Printed	Newspaper fragments	4
Total		4
Construction Material		
Flooring	Wood	44
Foundation/structural	Brick	2
Foundation/structural	Concrete, mortar	84
Foundation/structural	Stone	10
Roofing	Slate shingles	70
Wall	Plaster	26
Wall	Lathe, lathe with plaster	103
Total		339
Window Glass		
	Aqua & clear window glass	563
Total		563
Hardware Fastener		
Hardware fastener	Roofing discs	2
Hardware fastener	Bolts, carriage bolts	6
Hardware fastener	Grommets	5
Hardware fastener	Washers	16
Hardware fastener	Fasteners, bands, spacers	7
Hardware fastener	Tacks	18
Hardware fastener	Box staples, fence staples	15
Hardware fastener	Screws	71
Hardware fastener	Wrought nails	5

continued

Appendix 1. (continued)

Function	Artifact	Count or Weight
Hardware Fastener (continued)		
Hardware fastener	Cut nails	1,109
Hardware fastener	Wire nails, unidentified nails	58
Total		1,312
Hardware Miscellaneous		
Trap	Mouse trap bar	1
Fence	Wire, barbed wire	6
Miscellaneous	Wire strands	30
Miscellaneous	Bar stock, ring	2
Miscellaneous	Chain links	4
Miscellaneous	Scrap metal	549
Miscellaneous	Strap metal	174
Total		766
Utility		
Electrical	Wire	1
Lighting	Lamp collars, parts	8
Lighting	Lantern handle parts	2
Plumbing	Pipe, tubing	9
Total		20
By-Product		
Fuel	Charcoal	9.7 g
Sprue	Lead sprue	141.1 g
Total		150.8 g
Tool		
Boring tool	Auger bit	1
Fastening tool	Plier part	1
Shaping tool	Files	2
Sharpening tool	Whetstone fragments	2
Tool	Ferrules	4
Total		10
Harness Hardware		
Harness	Buckles	8
Harness	Clip, hooks, rings	9
Harness	Strap	3
Total		20
Horse-drawn Vehicles & Farm Machinery		
Horse-drawn vehicles	Wagon brace, bearing sleeve	2
Farm machinery	Unidentified farm machinery parts	2
Total		4

continued

Appendix 1. (continued)

Function	Artifact	Count or Weight
Knives, Firearms, Ammunition		
Edged weapons	Pocket knife	1
Edged weapons	Projectile point (trade item)	1
Firearms, muskets	Gun parts	7
Firearms, muskets	Cleaning kit part	1
Ammunition	Primers	3
Ammunition	Lead balls	3
Ammunition	Cartridge case: unidentified	3
Ammunition	Shotshell: 20 gauge	1
Total		20
Railroad		
Track	Spike	1
Total		1
Prehistoric Artifacts		
Modified bone	Incised & burned	1
Chipped stone	Biface or knife	1
Chipped stone	Debitage	2
Total		4
Military		
Uniform	Military buttons	6
Insignia	Insignia	2
Equipment	Knapsack buckle	1
Total		9
Unidentified Items		
	Assorted material	4
Total		4
Total Artifacts Counted		10,154
Total Artifacts Weighed		745 g

THE CHILDREN OF FORT HAYS AND THEIR TOYS

PAULINE E. HINTZ

*Kansas Anthropological Society
Louisburg, Kansas*

For more than 50 years boxes of artifacts from excavations at Fort Hays (14EL301) have sat on the shelves at the Kansas Historical Society. Within these boxes are 122 special items—the remains of toys. Whose toys were these? What stories do they tell about the fort's children: the blacksmith's children, the soldier's son, the captain's daughters? These artifacts cannot provide a complete picture of any specific children, but they can allow a glimpse into children's lives at a frontier fort.

FORT HAYS

In the 1850s and 1860s the Smoky Hills Trail made its way across Kansas Territory, traveled by settlers and gold-seekers headed west. As the railroad began to stretch across the frontier, both pioneers and railroad workers required protection from “Indians who objected to the white invasion of their hunting grounds” (Oliva 1996:35). The United States military established Fort Fletcher along Big Creek near the Smoky Hills Trail in 1865. Two years later the fort was relocated to its current site and renamed Fort Hays, providing troop escort for wagon trains, stagecoaches, and freight convoys and protection for crews building the railroad in western Kansas.

From 1867 to 1889, the fort was home to an ever-changing population of scouts and soldiers, most notably from the 7th Cavalry, 5th Infantry Regiment, and the Buffalo Soldiers of the 10th Cavalry. George Custer, Philip Sheridan, Marcus Reno, William Cody, and James Hickock are among the most recognizable characters associated with Fort Hays; frontier annals are filled with their exploits. But what of three-year-old William J. Corrick, the son of a soldier and laundress living there in 1870 (U.S. Census Bureau 1870)? What was his story? Or little Frank McCaffery, less than one year old in 1880, the son of the sergeant of the commissary (U.S. Census Bureau 1880)? Who tells his tale?

Children are rarely the main characters in written

histories or the primary focus of archeological investigations. Often they are merely footnotes to their parents' lives. If not for census records, most children of the American frontier, especially those of little means, would remain anonymous. However, in the last 20 years, archeologists have begun to ask the question, “Where have all the children gone?” (Kamp 2001). “Though children represent roughly half of most human societies, their actions, performances and existences are frequently ignored in archaeological studies” (Klear 2013:1). Their toys are found at archeological sites, cataloged, and boxed but seldom studied in their own right. The artifacts, much like the children, become an afterthought in history.

Between 1966 and 1970 extensive excavations were conducted at the Fort Hays State Historic Site (14EL301) (Figures 1 and 2). Kansas Historical Society (KSHS) investigations focused on officers' row, an enlisted men's barrack, the hospital complex, bakery, coal house, sutler's (post trader's) store, and dump. The goal of later excavations in 1996 and 1997 was to document the location of the post flagpole (King 1999). These investigations gathered information about the structures that once made up the military installation and amassed a collection of thousands of objects: bullets, buttons, bottles, and all manner of militaria. Within this vast array were 122 items from late-nineteenth-century toys, mostly dolls and marbles. What stories do they tell of the lives of the youngest inhabitants at Fort Hays?

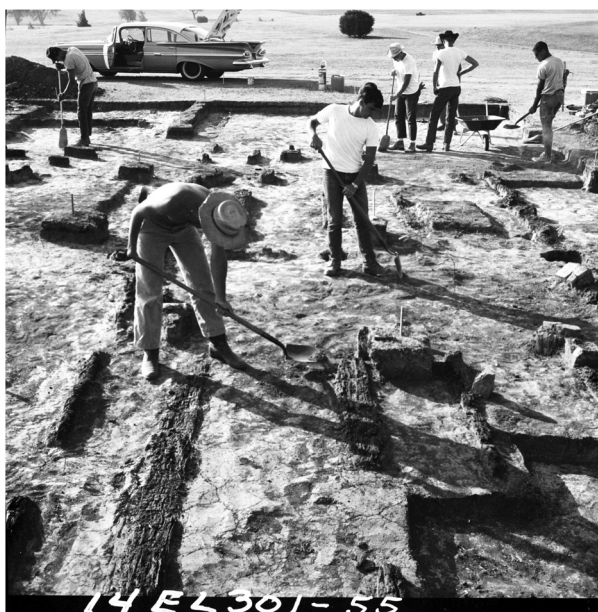


Figure 1. 1966 excavation of the post trader's store and quarters. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

Families at the Fort

Children came to frontier forts with their families or were born there. When faced with the prospect of long periods of separation, many officers decided to move their families with them to the West. Ten frame structures were erected along officers' row at Fort Hays. The largest housed the commanding officer, his family, and any servants he employed. One building was designated for unmarried officers. Each of the other eight dwellings were shared



Figure 2. 1968 excavations along officers' row, revealing a toy dish. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

by two officers, their wives, and children. Housing along officers' row was assigned by rank and changed frequently, as personnel came and went. When new officers arrived, a lower ranking officer and his family could find themselves bumped, not only from their house but off officers' row altogether, forced to live in a tent (Oliva 1996:59) (Figure 3). In the summer of 1870, 10 children were living in the homes along officers' row, including Emma and Anna Mecham, the physician's daughters (U.S. Census Bureau 1870).



Figure 3. A soldier and his family of six children, living in tents at Fort Hays, 1867-1870. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

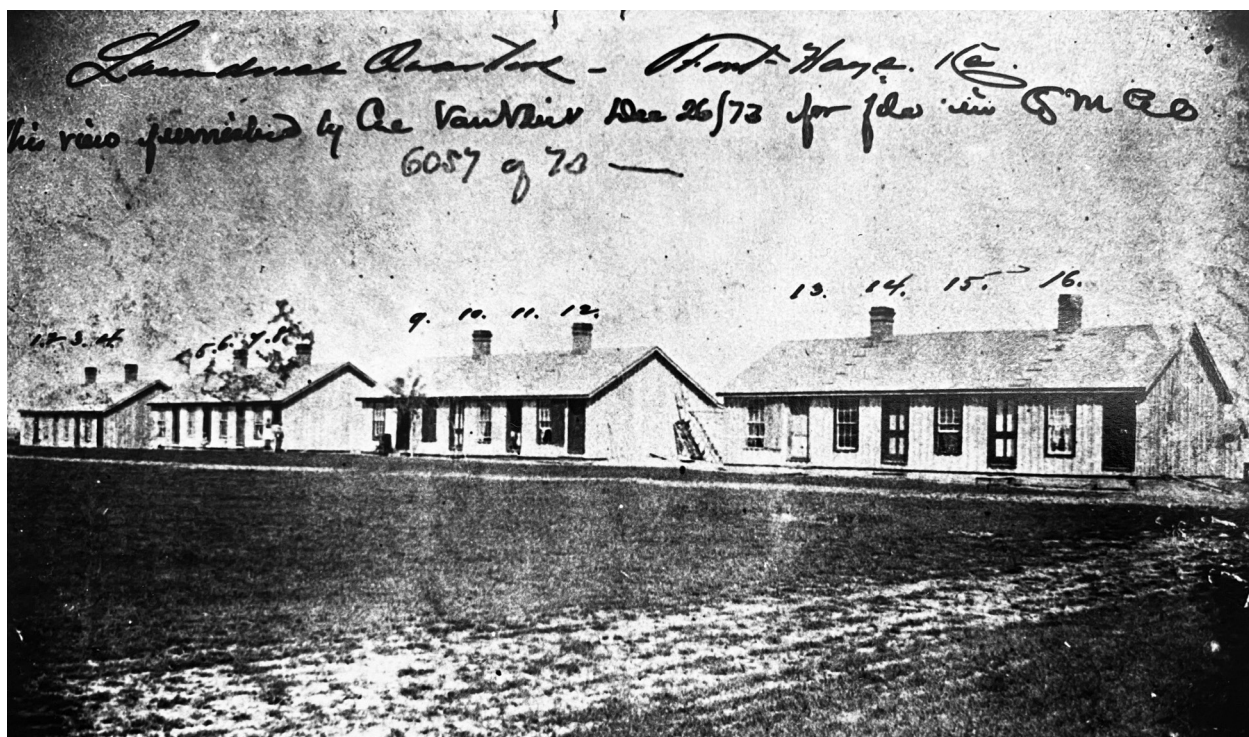


Figure 4. Fort Hays laundresses' quarters in 1873. Archives, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

It was less common for enlisted men to bring their wives and children during their service. Fort Hays had four quarters constructed for families, each containing two 12 by 12-foot rooms. Sixteen families lived in these four buildings, with two families assigned to each room (Mechem 1870). These were often referred to as the “laundress’ quarters” (Figure 4). Some wives of enlisted men took in soldiers’ laundry, charging \$1 per month for enlisted men and \$8–12 per month for an officer’s wash (Fort Hays State Historic Site 1869), greatly supplementing their family income. Two-year-old Charles Walsh lived with his laundress mother (U.S. Census Bureau 1870).

In addition to soldiers, the U.S. Army Quartermaster Corp employed civilians to fill many of the jobs needed to operate the fort (Figure 5). While this number fluctuated, at one time there were 470 civilian employees (Fort Hays State Historic Site 1868). As with the soldiers, civilian blacksmiths, clerks, laborers, hospital staff, and the post trader lived and worked at the fort with their families. For example, Mollie and Nora Roney were the shoemaker’s daughters (U.S. Census Bureau 1870).

Another group of children lived at Fort Hays

between November 1868 and June 1869 (Figure 6). Late in the fall of 1868, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer and the 7th Cavalry attacked Black Kettle’s Cheyenne village along the Washita River in Indian Territory. Fifty-three prisoners were brought to the fort, where they lived in a quickly erected stockade next to the guardhouse. Fifty of these prisoners were women and children (Oliva 1996:38). “Little” Bittle (Isadore Bittle), a partially blind Arapahoe boy, suffered a broken leg in the fighting at the Washita River. For nearly seven months the 12-year-old was a captive until Arapahoe Chief Little Raven arranged for his release and return to Indian Territory (Joel Shockley, personal communication 2024; Washita Battlefield National Historic Site 2022).

Life at a Frontier Fort

Officers’ adult children have provided first-hand accounts of their lives at western forts in the nineteenth century. Whether their experiences were typical of all children of military and civilian personnel is debatable. Imogen Hoyle Taulbee, who grew up to be an officer’s wife herself, reminisced about her



Figure 5. Two young boys in short pants and straw hats, sitting on the porch of the Fort Hays commissary in 1873. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 6. Captive women and children from the Battle of the Washita River at Fort Dodge in route to Fort Hays (Fort Hays State Historic Site 2024).

childhood at Fort Riley, saying, “It was a beautiful life” (Coffman 1986:314). Charles M. Hough spent a portion of his teenage years at Fort Douglas in Utah, and years later after retiring as a federal judge, recalled, “Nothing I have ever found in the world is so peaceful as a fairly disciplined and physically finished camp or fort” (Coffman 1986:315). However, the infantry officer’s son also knew that life at a fort could be “a howling desert or a place of delight, depending on the point of view” (Coffman 1986:314). Captain Charles Throckmorton’s viewpoint, while serving at Fort Stevens Oregon, was clear: “I think garrison is the worst place on earth to raise children and only wish I were able to send mine out of it” (Coffman 1986:325).

Life for adults at Fort Hays was filled with chal-

lenges. Soldiers experienced isolation, boredom, and a great deal of discomfort. To at least some degree children experienced these same conditions, but life on the frontier had special trials for children. Diarrhea, measles, malaria, and respiratory maladies were common. The quality of food was poor, having to be transported from great distances. The heat blazed in the summer, and the winds howled across the Kansas plains in the winter. In 1880 the child mortality rate was 35 percent (UN DESA 2019). Mothers died in childbirth, and fathers succumbed to disease. Despite all this, children played

“Play has always been a bit of a mystery. It serves no obvious practical purpose, but it has long been recognized as an important part of how children discover and learn about the world around them”

(Ross 2023). Exploring and experiencing the world of the fort and the plains surrounding it provided children with time for discovery and play. There were opportunities to ride horses, fish, play soldier, run, jump, race, and play hide and seek. Toys were everywhere. A toy, quite simply, was something to be played with: cans to kick, hoops to roll, and rocks to throw. Anything could be a plaything—a toy. At the fort a “toy” was whatever children could find.

Such creative play works against creating an accurate picture of children’s toys in the archeological record. A game of pick up sticks can be mistaken for a pile of twigs. The kicked can, when cataloged 100 years later, is just another tin can, never revealing its brief life as a toy. Homemade dolls assembled from cloth scraps or corn husks disintegrate over time. So, “toys do not really begin to appear consistently in the archaeological record until the second half of the nineteenth century. This circumstance probably has less to do with lack of playthings for children and more to do with the toys not surviving underground due to the materials (wood, leather, fabric, gesso) of which they were made” (Samford and Williamson 2014).

ARTIFACTS

In the 14EL301 collection, 122 items are classified as “toys,” including 42 marbles, 51 doll fragments, 25 miniatures, 1 slate board, 1 leather ball, 1 porcelain duck head, and 1 possible bike axle.

Marbles

Forty-two marbles were found, the majority (31) made of fired clay. Only nine of these ceramic marbles are glazed: one deep blue, six white, and two with simple decorations consisting of a green spot on one and two black bands on the other. Eleven glass marbles are well worn with cracks, divots, and crazing from age and use. Swirls of color are still visible beneath their battered surfaces. Most of the marbles range in size from 12 to 20 mm. Two marbles are larger, measuring 40 and 50 mm. Records do not provide any detailed information for three of the marbles (Figure 7).

Marbles are the most common toy recovered from nineteenth-century archeological sites

(Carskadden and Gartley 1990). The ceramic and glass marbles played with by the Fort Hays children were mass produced and imported from Germany, as were most marbles in the late 1800s. American production of ceramic marbles did not begin until the 1890s. Labor intensive to produce, “handmade [glass] marbles were manufactured by cutting individual marbles from a rod of glass, shaping them with a device known as marble scissors, and using one of several processes to round and polish the final product” (Samford 2018).

Mass production made marbles an affordable children’s toy, with prices falling below a penny each. The 1880 *Sears Roebuck Catalogue* listed a bag of 50 assorted marbles for only 10 cents and advertised, “This bag of assorted marbles is what the average boy wants and must have; we aim to supply him in a satisfactory manner . . . making 50 assorted marbles of the right sizes for popular use, all in a bag that the boy can use and appreciate” (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1880:1133).

Dolls

Before the Civil War most dolls were homemade, using cloth scraps and household materials, fashioning cloth bodies stuffed with rags, horsehair, or sawdust. While a popular plaything in the late nineteenth century, these dolls did not stand up well over time and have not been found in the cultural remains at 14EL301. Porcelain dolls have survived, although broken and incomplete. Fifty-one porcelain doll fragments were unearthed in the excavations. Of the porcelain doll arms, legs, torsos, and faces, 36 were recovered from pit toilets, a well, a midden, and the fort dump, presumably discarded after they were broken.

The first porcelain dolls were produced in Germany in the 1840s and were the most popular type of doll for much of the remainder of the nineteenth century. Most (84 percent) of the dolls in the collection are made of white glazed porcelain. Of these, six are recognized as “Frozen Charlotte” dolls, ranging in size from 1 to 3 inches tall (Figure 8). These popular dolls were produced in Germany from 1850 to 1920 and initially were referred to as “Penny Dolls” because of their affordability. They were made of one piece of porcelain with fixed arms and legs. Traditionally the smallest were baked



Figure 7. Well-worn marbles of varying sizes, found at 14EL301. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 8. Frozen Charlotte doll, found in excavations of House 8 on officers' row in 1968. Photograph by Hintz.

into Christmas puddings, and the larger sizes often were used as bath toys (San Diego Archaeological Center 2019). In the late 1800s these little figures were dubbed "Frozen Charlottes," referring to the poem, "A Corpse Goes to a Ball" (Smith 1843). The verse is based on tales of a young woman freezing to death on her way to a New Year's dance, too vain to wrap herself in a blanket so as to not crush her dress. The poem concludes:

He took her hand in his — O God!
 'Twas cold and hard as stone;
 He tore the mantle from her face;
 The cold stars on her shone —
 Then quickly to the lighted hall
 Her voiceless form he bore —
 His Charlotte was a stiffen'd corpse,
 And word spake never more.
 ~ Seba Smith

This artifact assemblage contains 17 doll head fragments, which provide additional diagnostic information. Nine are made of white porcelain, and eight are porcelain painted to represent white Euro-American faces. The fragments with visible faces are decorated with unblinking eyes and painted brows, ruby lips, and rosy cheeks. Only one has holes for eye sockets and an open mouth with inserted porcelain teeth (Figure 9). This type of doll was first produced in Germany in the 1880s (Foulke 2020) and was more expensive than the "steady eyed" versions (Figure 10) (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1880:1132).

Of the five painted porcelain heads with marks, only two are complete enough to be identified. On the back of one head fragment, where it would have been covered by a wig, is the partial mold number "189" and the letters "AM." This object was produced by the German manufacturer Armand Marseilles, who began making porcelain doll heads in 1885. This factory was soon one of the largest and most well-known toy producers in the world (Doll Reference 2022).

Another doll head is imprinted with a distinctive horseshoe mark, indicating production by the Ernst Heubach company, another prolific German manufacturer of porcelain dolls. The Heubach porcelain works was established in 1858 and began producing porcelain doll heads, arms, and legs for its own



Figure 9. Porcelain doll head fragment with open mouth, inserted teeth, and eye holes. Photograph by Hintz.

dolls and a variety of other manufacturers in 1885. These components could be assembled into complete dolls in factories or attached by the buyer to a homemade cloth body (Doll Reference 2023).

Dolls of the 1800s were created with hair similar to popular styles of their day, making it possible to date them (Figures 11 and 12). Five doll heads in the collection are intact, allowing examination of their porcelain hair. The “high brow” doll head features short curls, a part in the middle, a flatter top, and a high forehead. Three dolls have this hairstyle, dating them to the 1860s and 1870s (Turner 2021). The “low brow” doll head was first produced in the 1880s (Kovels’ Antique Trader 2004). The most common style of its time, it had profuse curls and waves and bangs that swept low across the brow. Two dolls, one with black hair and one with blonde, have low brow hairstyles, dating them between 1880 and 1920 (Turner 2021).

Miniatures

The Fort Hays collection contains miniatures, mostly children’s tea sets: five plates, six teacups,

1132 SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO., Cheapest Supply House on Earth, Chic

DRESSED SAILOR DOLLS.

Sailor Girl Dolls.
No. 29T735 Sailor Girl Doll, bisque head, flowing hair, solid eyes, dressed to represent a girl in sailor costume. A very pretty doll. Length, 13 inches. Price, each, 50c
Shipping weight, 20 ounces.

No. 29T737 Sailor Girl Doll, similar to above. Length, 11 inches and smaller body. Price, each, 25c
Shipping weight, 15 ounces.

Sailor Boy Dolls.
No. 29T739 Sailor Boy Doll, dressed to represent a boy in sailor costume, companion doll to sailor girl. Length, 13 inches. Price, each, 50c
Shipping weight, 20 ounces.

No. 29T741 Sailor Boy Doll, similar to above. Length, 11 inches. Price, each, 25c
Shipping weight, 15 ounces.

Infant Dolls.
No. 29T743 Infants in long white dresses. Dress and hood embroidered and lace trimmed. Bisque heads with curls, stationary eyes. Something new and pretty. Length, without dress, 8½ inches. Price, each, 25c
Shipping weight, 13 ounces.

Rag Dolls—The American Maid.
Indestructible Dolls, something like our grandmother used to make for the baby; serviceable, well designed and planned in every respect. In two sizes.

No. 29T747 American Maid Rag Doll. An indestructible doll, well designed and serviceable. Something the baby cannot break. Lace trimmed dress and bonnet. Length, 13 inches. Price, each, 25c
Shipping weight, 13 ounces.

No. 29T749 American Maid Rag Doll. This is greatly improved over the first numbers of rag dolls brought out. The face is shaped, and doll is dressed in bright colored frock and bonnet. Rag dolls are very popular. Length, 13 inches. Price, each, 25c
Shipping weight, 13 ounces.

The Minerva Indestructible Doll Head.
No. 29T785 The Minerva Indestructible Doll Head with moving glass eyes, open lips showing teeth, and very fine sewed curly wig. The Minerva heads made of the best flexible sheet brass can be given to the smallest child with perfect safety, as the metal is covered with a pure, wholesome paint which is manufactured especially for the purpose. Come in sizes as follows:

Style	Height, inches	Inches across shoulders	Shipping weight, ozs.	Price, each
1	4½	3½	9	\$0.50
3	5½	4½	12	.75
5	6½	5½	14	1.25
7	7½	6½	16	1.50

Bisque Doll Heads, Stationary Eyes.
No. 29T789 First Quality Bisque Doll Heads, the faces are especially beautiful, showing teeth, have stationary eyes, curly flowing wigs, either blondes or brunettes, and full model bust. Sizes:

Style	Height, inches	Inches across shoulders	Shipping weight, each	Price, each
1	3½	3	10 oz.	\$0.10
3	4	3½	12 oz.	.15
5	4½	3¾	18 oz.	.20
7	5	4¼	22 oz.	.25
9	6	5	25 oz.	.38
11	6½	5½	28 oz.	.50
13	7	6	30 oz.	.97
15	7½	6½	35 oz.	1.50

As the heads increase in height and width, other proportions increase materially.

Bisque Doll Heads, Moving Eyes.
No. 29T791 Same as No. 29T789, but with moving eyes.

Style	Height, inches	Inches across shoulders	Shipping weight, each	Price, each
1	3½	3	10 oz.	\$0.10
3	4	3½	12 oz.	.15
5	4½	3¾	18 oz.	.20
7	5	4¼	22 oz.	.25
9	6	5	25 oz.	.38
11	6½	5½	28 oz.	.50
13	7	6	30 oz.	.97
15	7½	6½	35 oz.	1.50

Figure 10. Nineteenth-century advertisements for dolls. *Sears, Roebuck and Company Catalogue No. 12* for 1880, page 1132.

three teapots, and one vase. Five are pewter, and 10 are white porcelain (Figure 13). Tea sets were popular toys in the last half of the nineteenth century, produced by porcelain factories as accessories for the dolls that they were making (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab 2011). These miniatures were considered toys for middle and upper class girls, providing them a model for their role in society and future household responsibilities (Fairfax County Park Authority 2018). The 1880 *Sears Roebuck Catalogue* advertises numerous miniature tea sets, including a 17-piece set that is a “larger size and very interesting for a child” at a “splendid 75-cent value” (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1880:1133).

A miniature metal cannon was excavated from a pit toilet along officers’ row, two small metal wheels were found in the hospital complex, and a miniature metal donkey was found in the vicinity of the post trader’s store and quarters (Figure 14). It is not possible to determine if a few small objects were children’s toys or belonged to an adult: two white porcelain head fragments from a miniature animal and four figurine fragments.



Figure 11. “High brow” doll head, dating to the 1860s–1870s, found in the vicinity of the post trader’s store and quarters. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 12: “Low brow” doll head, featuring sweeping bangs across the forehead, dating between 1880 and 1920, found in the pit toilet behind House 1 on officers’ row. Photograph by Hintz.



Figure 13. Miniature tea cup, found in the excavation of House 6 on officers’ row. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 14. Miniature donkey, found in the 1966 excavations at the post trader’s store and quarters. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

Other Items

The collection also includes a leather ball, a slate board fragment, a porcelain duck head, and one possible bicycle axle.

WHOSE TOYS WERE THESE?

The focus of the Fort Hays excavations in the late 1960s was the hospital complex, post trader’s store and officers’ row. Toys were found in each of these areas (Figure 15; Table 1). The proveniences of these artifacts within 14EL301 help to tell their stories and the stories of the children who once played with them.

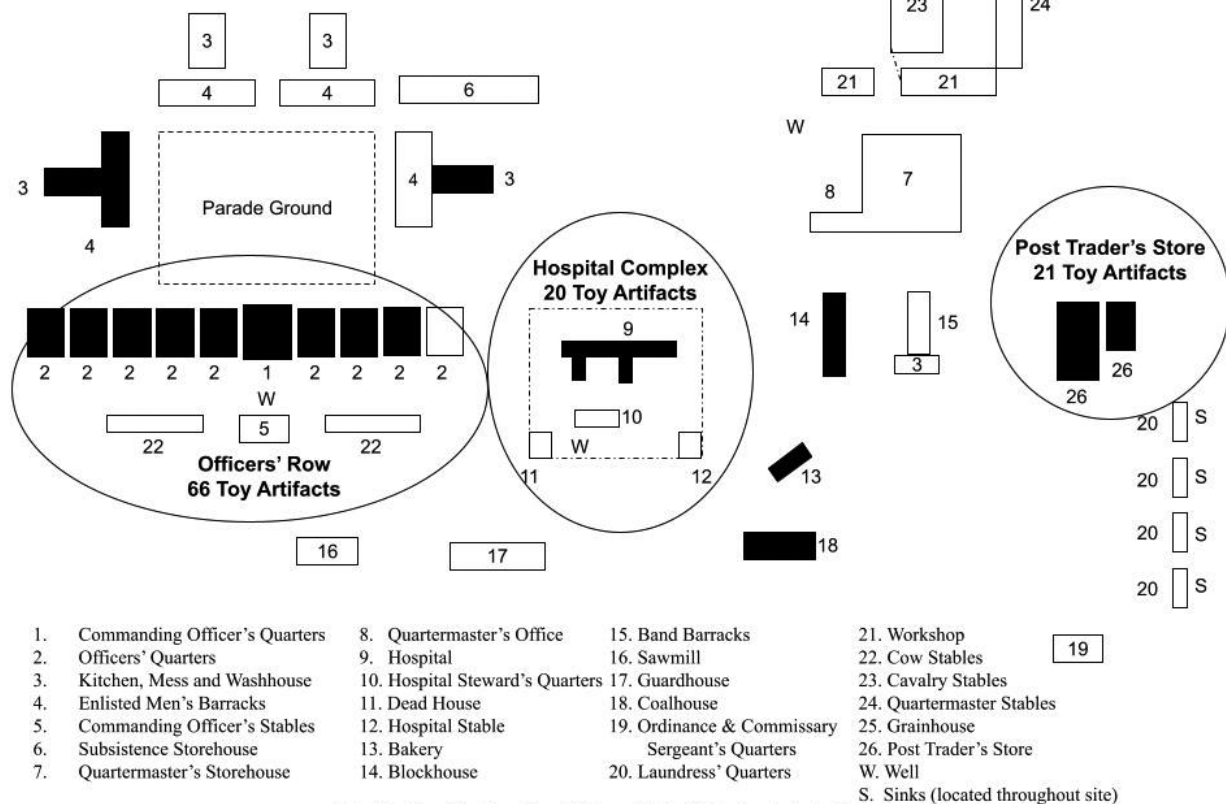
The post trader’s store and hospital complex

PLAN OF FORT HAYS - CIRCA 1879

Shading indicates archeological excavation

Summary of toys found in excavations 1966-1990

15 additional artifacts found in Fort Dump and unknown locations



Adapted from *Plan of Fort Hays - Circa 1879*, Kansas Historical Society Records, Topeka, Kansas.

Figure 15. Map of 1966–1970 archeological excavations at Fort Hays, summarizing findings of toy artifacts. Adapted from *Plan of Fort Hays – Circa 1879* (Kansas Historical Society 1970).

served enlisted men, officers, and civilians, making it difficult to identify to which children the recovered toys belonged. However, it can be said with a fair degree of certainty that the toys acquired along officers' row belonged to officers' children. A social separation existed between officers and others at the fort, and this applied to their children as well. A circular distributed in the summer of 1880 advised,

All enlisted men, laundresses and officers servants are forbidden to hereafter occupy the porches of the line of the Officers quarters or to remain or pass on the walk immediately in front of said quarters, except when absolutely required, the parties mentioned, with their children, will in the future at all hours keep on the side of the parade grounds opposite the officers quarters (Fort Hays State Historic Site 1880).

Hospital Complex

Surrounded by a picket fence, the hospital complex contained a stable, the dead house, the steward's quarters, and the hospital itself. Excavations within this complex in 1968 and 1969 unearthed 20 toys, including marbles, fragments of dolls, and miniatures. Seven of eight items found in the vicinity of the hospital and the surgeon's quarters were marbles. The remaining 12 objects, including all five doll fragments, were recovered from the pit toilets, cistern, and well house associated with the hospital.

The Fort Hays hospital served civilians as well as soldiers and was the "finest and best-equipped hospital in the region as long as the post was active" (Oliva 1996:61). Alexander Polly, born about 1864, came to live at the fort with his family around 1867 (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). His father was a hos-

Table 1. Distribution of Toy Artifacts from 14EL301 Excavations, 1966-1970.

Location	Number of artifacts per location/house	House	Number of marbles	Number of doll fragments	Number of miniatures	Number of other artifacts	Other items
Officers' row							
	6	House 1	0	5	1	0	
	4	House 2	1	1	2	0	
	3	House 3	2	1	0	0	
	16	House 4	11	3	1	1	Slate board
		(Commanding officer quarters)					
	3	House 5	2	0	1	0	
	25	House 6	8	11	6	0	
	1	House 7	0	1	0	0	
	2	House 8	0	1	0	1	Leather ball
	3	Houses 7 & 8 midden	0	3	0	0	
	3	Officers' row toilet complex	2	1	0	0	
Officers' row subtotals	66		26	27	11	2	
East barracks	1						
Hospital complex	20		0	0	1	0	
Post trader's store & quarters	21		7	5	8	0	
Fort dump	4		6	13	2	0	
Unknown location/no record	10		0	3	1	0	
			3	3	2	2	Bike axle Toy bird head
Totals of all artifacts	122		42	51	25	4	

pital steward who became a druggist, while his mother served as the hospital matron. The cholera epidemic of 1867 claimed the lives of 36 soldiers at the fort and 150 civilians in the community (Oliva 1996:69). Exposed to the disease while tending the sick at the post hospital, three-year-old Alexander's mother was one of the fatalities. Local legend refers to her as the "Blue Light Lady," said to roam the hills above Fort Hays, seeking to comfort soldiers, as she did while alive (Kansas Historical Society 2018). Alexander's father remarried, and in 1873 the family left for Texas, opening a stagecoach station in 1874 (Find A Grave 2011; Lipscomb County Historical Survey Committee 1976). The 1870 census is the last known record of Alexander Polly.

As for the seven marbles found within the hospital complex, whose were they? Alexander's? As most boys of his day, he likely knuckled down with his favorite marbles, but it is impossible to know if these belonged to him. The photograph in Figure 16, taken in 1873, shows the hospital complex, including the surgeon's office and the dispensary where Alexander's father worked.

Post Trader's Store

During the series of archeological investigations in 1966, the "sutler's store" was among the first areas to be excavated. Within the vicinity of the store, artifacts included 6 marbles and 10 doll fragments. Three broken doll limbs were retrieved from the store's pit toilet.

As the only civilian establishment allowed at Fort

Hays, the post trader's store was a hub of activity at the military frontier post (Figure 17). The Army allotted a license to one merchant to provide goods that were not available through the military supply chain. Peaches, pencils, pineapple, blue jeans, butter, and beer were among varied merchandise sold at the store. Officers could purchase liquor and shoot billiards in one part of the building, while enlisted men could buy beer, gamble, and relax in another (Oliva 1996:50). The store was open to all soldiers, regardless of rank, and their families.

In 1870 George Williams, Prussian-born like his parents, was the son of a soldier and a laundress (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). At 14 he was older than most children at the fort and would have navigated the camp independently, perhaps making his way the short distance past the laundresses' quarters along "Suds Row" to the post trader's store. Did any of the toys uncovered beneath the store belong to George? While he might not have been interested in dolls and marbles like younger children, the store would have been a fascinating center for all types of recreation. George would have had plenty to entertain him there, watching his father and other soldiers play checkers, dominoes, or a game of ten pin on the store's one-lane bowling alley.

Officers' Row

From 1966 through 1968, officers' row was the primary focus of KSHS archeological investigations. As the site of the first house along the row had been covered by a road, archeologists started number-

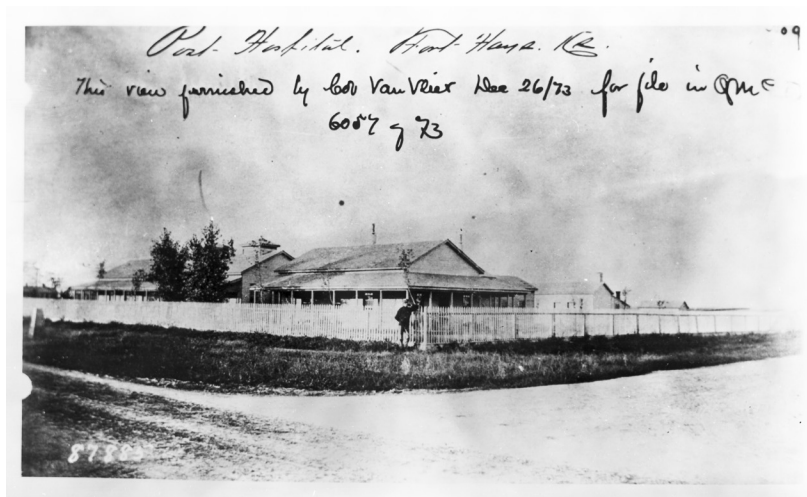


Figure 16. Fort Hays hospital complex in 1873. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 17. The post trader's store. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

ing the structures at the first remaining foundations; thus, House 1 in the excavation records was originally the second building in the row (Kansas Historical Society 1991). Similarly, the commanding officer's quarters, fifth in the row, were designated as House 4.

The 66 artifacts from officers' row classified as toys include 26 marbles, 27 doll fragments, 11 miniatures, a small leather ball, and a segment of slate board. A little more than half were recovered from pit toilets and a midden. Most glass marbles (6

of 11) and tea sets (9 of 15) in the collection were found in this area.

A great deal of activity took place along officers' row (Figure 18), located on the south side of the parade grounds. From early morning assembly through evening dress parade, regular drills, frequent games, and occasional regimental band concerts occurred there. Ever-changing housing arrangements also caused much hubbub along officers' row, depending on the personnel transferred to the fort. More than 50 commanding officers served

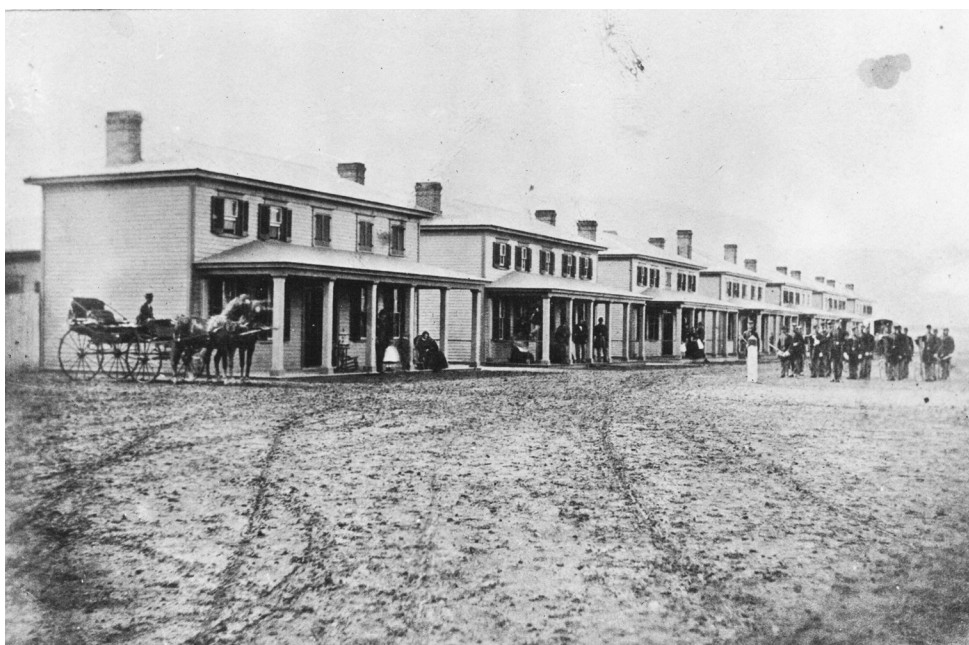


Figure 18. In 1869 the 5th Infantry band performing on the parade grounds for spectators on the porches along officers' row, including a little girl in a white pinafore at the first house. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

the fort between 1867 and 1889 (Oliva 1996:80). Many assumed that post multiple times, with most holding the position for only a few months at a time. Each time personnel were reassigned, officers' row was set in motion, with officers, their wives, and children packing belongings and moving from dwelling to dwelling.

The commanding officer's home, the largest along officers' row, was made up of "four rooms on the first floor, each 15 by 13 feet, and a kitchen 17 by 13 feet, with a hall, 31 feet by 8 feet 4 inches, running from front to rear. The four attic rooms are used for servants, dormitories, &c." (Mechem 1870:306). The front porch faced north to the parade grounds, and the enlisted barracks were beyond that. Beneath the stoop and in the cellar, 11 marbles were discovered. Within the foundation a Frozen Charlotte doll and two doll fragments were exposed. In the pit toilet was a broken toy teapot.

In the 24 years that Fort Hays was functioning, many different families occupied this house, including the Ovenshines (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). In 1970 Hattie, Emma, and Samuel, Jr. lived there, as their father, serving in the 5th Infantry Regiment, was the commanding officer. He would hold that position multiple times between 1867 and 1876. Like other officers' families, the children needed to be provided an education, but they would not have attended school on post. Fort Hays intermittently ran a post school, "at which all children of school age will attend except officers . . . and will be held from 9 to 12 a.m. and from 2–4 p.m. daily Saturdays afternoon and Sundays excepted under charge of the chaplain who is made responsible for the proper discipline and instruction and attendance" (Fort Hays State Historic Site 1871). Children of enlisted men and civilians attended school during the daytime, while soldiers could attend in the evening. As for officers' children, they would have been taught at home either by their mother or a person hired as a teacher. In the cellar of the commanding officer's house, a broken slate board (Figure 19) was found, and it is not hard to imagine the Ovenshine children or other residents drawing and practicing their lessons on it.

Eventually, there were seven Ovenshine children. Alexander became a brigadier general like his father and Englebert a colonel in the U.S. Army. Emma was the wife of a brigadier general. Mary and

Hattie married Army officers. Sallie never married and is buried with her parents at Arlington National Cemetery, as are four of her siblings (Find A Grave 2015). Samuel, Jr. did not survive childhood on the frontier and is buried at Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery (Find A Grave 2000).

In the summer of 1870, two doors down officers' row from the Ovenshine children, lived seven-year-old Robert Ross Reno (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). Most (23 of 25) artifacts associated with House 6 were retrieved from a pit toilet south of the house. Over the years glass and ceramic marbles, Frozen Charlotte dolls and doll fragments, and both porcelain and pewter tea sets were discarded. A unique object in this collection is a metal toy cannon (Figure 20). As nineteenth-century girls played with their tea sets, boys played soldier to prepare them for their adult roles. Whether this was Robert's cannon is obscure. What is clear is that Robert never became a soldier, much less an officer like his father. By 1874 Robert and his mother had left Fort Hays and returned to Pennsylvania, where she died when he was 11 years old. As an adult, Robert married and worked in Tennessee as a traveling salesman for a distillery. He struggled with alcoholism and gambling. In 1898 he sent a message to his wife, announcing that he was going to the gold fields of Alaska (Find A Grave 2002). In April 1920 R. Ross Reno applied for a U.S. passport in Key West, Florida, setting sail for Cuba aboard a Peninsular & Occidental sailing ship (U.S. Department of State 1920). Robert's whereabouts are unknown after that date (Figure 21).

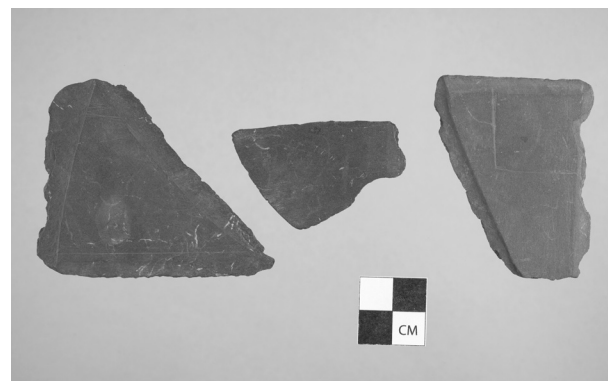


Figure 19. Slate board fragments, found in the cellar of the commanding officer's house. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.



Figure 20. Corroded toy cannon, excavated from the pit toilet behind House 6 on officers' row. Courtesy of kansasmemory.org, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

CONCLUSION

There are tens of thousands of artifacts from Fort Hays curated on the shelves at the Kansas Historical Society in Topeka. Of those, 122 are the toys that are the basis for this report. Undoubtedly more are tucked away among the boxes, including a dozen additional toys discovered since this report was first written. These objects have been examined, measured, and recorded; however, surely they once were precious possessions of children whose stories have not been revealed. Whether the commanding officer's daughter or the laundress' son, their narratives merit telling. Specific toys cannot be tied to any individual boy or girl, but they can help develop a collective understanding of a child's life at the fort. By focusing on the children's stories, rather than those of their parents, these young people are given a voice. Their lives matter, and they are as important a part of history as the grown-ups around them. They are worth being remembered, and their toys have helped do that.

POST SCRIPT

As interested as I was in the toys from 14EL301, I was most intrigued with the children who had played with them. Census records and fort archives gave me their names but not their stories. One internet search led to another and another, until



Figure 21. 1920 passport photograph of Robert Ross Reno (U.S. Department of State 1920).

either the story ended or the name simply disappeared from the historic records. An exception was Samuel Ovenshine, Jr. I was able to trace his six siblings over time but not Samuel. Then one day, I either misspelled "Ovenshine" or the search engine auto-corrected to "Overshine," which took me to a grave at Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery for Samuel Selden Overshine. Long ago, someone had misspelled his name in the cemetery records.

On a February afternoon in 2024, my husband and I went to visit little Samuel's grave at the post in Leavenworth. While we were there, two men working among the graves asked if they could help us. I began a jumbled story of Fort Hays and toys and Samuel's misspelling. After an hour or so of checking records, looking at the gravestone, and making entries in "the system," Samuel Selden Ovenshine, Jr.'s name was recorded correctly in the National Cemetery Administration's grave locator.

A month later I wrote an email that began, "Good afternoon, I believe you are all descen-

dants of Brigadier General Samuel Overshine. As odd as this may be, I think I have a story for you about a relative—Samuel Selden Overshine, Jr. (1868–1873).” I soon received responses from three Overshine descendants, a brother and sister and then a cousin from a distant branch of the family tree, until now not known to each other. Only one of them knew of little Samuel. They told me of the Overshines’ decorated military history from the Civil War through Korea. They have the handwritten letters from Samuel’s brothers, describing their childhoods on the prairie and lives at frontier forts. Samuel’s mother’s 1863 journal, written in beautiful cursive script while in New Mexico, has survived, as have some engraved silver pieces that have passed through the generations to her namesake Sallie.

I am happy that these relatives have found each other, but I am most pleased that they have become acquainted with little Samuel. His tale has been told and will continue to be shared. He is remembered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks to Chris Garst for her wise counsel and unfailing positivity while I worked on this project. Virginia Wulfschle has been an encouraging editor for a first-time writer. I am grateful to Tammy Younger, Site Administrator at Historic Fort Hays, for being so eager to share information from the site’s records. And most of all, to the children of Fort Hays, including Samuel S. Overshine, Jr. (Figure 22), thank you for letting me borrow your toys.

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Figure 22. Gravestone of Samuel Selden Overshine (1868–1873) in Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery. The inscription reads, “He took them up in his arms and blessed them.” Photograph by Hintz.

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SIOUX QUARTZITE IN KANSAS: ITS GEOLOGICAL ORIGINS AND USE BY PEOPLE

ROBERT J. HOARD

Topeka, Kansas

Sioux quartzite is a hard, pinkish-red rock that is occasionally found in northeast Kansas. The recent removal of a Sioux quartzite boulder known in the Kaw language as ǀnʰzhújeʹwaxóbe, the Sacred Red Rock, from Robinson Park in Lawrence, Kansas, has brought Sioux quartzite broader public appreciation. This article discusses the geological origin of Sioux quartzite and the many ways it has been used by people over the years.

Sometimes a rock is more than just a rock. Ninety-three years ago descendants of White settlers removed a 28-ton pinkish-red quartzite boulder from a location along the Kansas River in the vicinity of the Tecumseh community and placed it in Robinson Park, also along the Kansas River, in Lawrence, Kansas (*Lawrence Kansas News* 2023). It was erected on a mortared foundation of pink quartzite cobbles, and a plaque commemorating the settlement of Lawrence by White people was affixed to it (Figure 1). For almost a century it remained in this setting, where it could be admired for its tremendous size and solemn beauty. Then in 2023 the Red Rock, as it was commonly known, was removed and rematriated to the Kaw Nation. The Kaw Nation know the Red Rock as *ǃn'zhúje'waxóbe*, (pronounced EE(n) ZHOO-jay wah-HO-bay), and it is sacred to them.

Kanza Elder Curtis Kehkabhah (2021) explained the importance of *Ín'zhúje'waxóbe*. He stated that all of the earth is made of celestial matter. This is true of *Ín'zhúje'waxóbe* and other large red quartzite boulders in the region that came to earth from the heavens. These huge boulders needed tremendous strength to endure the journey through space and through the earth's atmosphere. After reaching earth, *Ín'zhúje'waxóbe* made another journey from its original landing site at the confluence of the Shunganunga and Kansas rivers. Kehkabhah stated that, if this second journey across the earth's surface resulted from being pushed by glacial movement, it is a further test of strength, endurance, and durability. The Kaw people realize the great difficulty of this journey and admire it. In their prayers

they ask for the toughness and the durability of *ᵐn'zhúje'waxóbe* for themselves. The Sacred Red rock is inspirational to the Kaw people, and that is why it is so important today.

In 2023 the Kaw Nation led a group, which included representatives of the City of Lawrence government, the University of Kansas, the Spencer Museum of Art, and the Kanza Heritage Society, to arrange the return of the boulder, *Iṅ'zhūje'waxóbe* to the Kaw Nation (*Iṅ'zhūje'waxóbe*/Sacred Red Rock Project 2023). As a result of the negotiations, the Mellon Foundation (2023) provided \$5,000,000 to fund the repatriation. On August 30, 2023, a crane lifted the boulder in preparation for its journey to Allegawaho Memorial Heritage Park, property owned by the Kaw Nation about 4 miles south-east of Council Grove in Morris County (Adams 2023). It was installed there during a repatriation ceremony on June 22, 2024.

In Kansas similar pinkish-red boulders, some quite large, are seen situated as ornaments in yards or elements of rock walls. What are these rocks, and why do people feature them?

The kind of rock considered here is Sioux quartzite. It is an orthoquartzite, a type of sedimentary rock, formed elsewhere 2.5 billion to 542 million years ago. It is found in scattered and relatively rare bedrock outcrops in Minnesota, northeastern Iowa, and southeastern South Dakota (Ojakangas and Weber 1984:2, 13). The Sioux quartzite formation is made up of three rock types: orthoquartzite, conglomeratic quartzite, and mudstone. Notably, the mudstone, which lies between thick Sioux quartzite layers at Pipestone National Monument in south-



Figure 1. *ṽ́ zhúje wáxóbe*, the Sacred Red Rock, in its 1929-2023 setting in Robinson Park, Lawrence, Kansas.

eastern Minnesota (National Park Service 2023), is referred to as Catlinite, the red pipestone widely used by Native Americans on the Great Plains (Graham 2017).

This article focuses on the orthoquartzite variety that dominates the formation and is referred to

as Sioux quartzite (Ojakangas and Weber 1984:2). While formed far to the north, pieces of this hard rock were dislodged and transported to the Central Plains during the pre-Illinoian glacial period, 2.6 million to 191,000 years ago (Lyle and Layzell 2020). Geologists refer to large rock fragments that

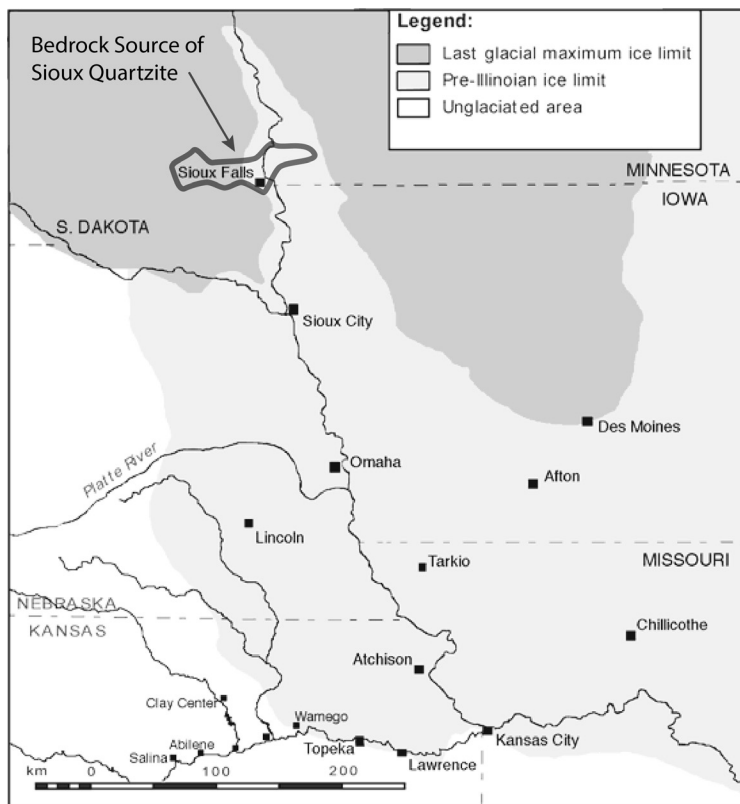


Figure 2. Locations of known bedrock deposits of Sioux quartzite and glacial deposits and maximum extent of pre-Illinoian and late Pleistocene ice sheets. Adapted from *Glaciers in Kansas* (Lyle and Layzell 2020).

are transported long distances by glaciers as glacial erratics (Buchanan 2010:211). The Sioux quartzite boulders found in Kansas were pushed into the region about 600,000 years ago (Kansas Geological Survey 2024) (Figure 2).

Sioux quartzite ranges in color from purple to white, but most typically it is pink to red or brownish red. It is very hard, ranking 7.5 on the Mohs hardness scale (National Park Service 2023). In its native setting the stone is angular and blocky, but the pushing and grinding glacial action rounded any hard edges (Buchanan 2010:64–65).

Sioux quartzite is rarely concentrated in Kansas but instead is widely scattered across the landscape, solely in the northeastern portion of the state. Many Sioux quartzite boulders and cobbles can be seen on the top and slopes of Mount Mitchell in Wabaunsee County north of Interstate 70 on Kansas Highway 99 (Mount Mitchell Heritage Prairie Park 2024) and in the surrounding area.

Because Sioux quartzite has an appealing color, is very strong, and is relatively uncommon, people find it attractive and functional. As a result, it is used to build stone walls, sometimes even stone

structures, or simply placed in a yard to be admired. Boulders are occasionally used as grave markers, and in particular instances they are considered sacred.

USES OF SIOUX QUARTZITE GLACIAL ERRATICS IN EASTERN KANSAS

Buildings and Walls

Small to medium-sized cobbles are used to decorate building foundations and ornamental structures, such as foot bridges, fountains, and free-standing walls. An example is Legion Memorial Park in Auburn, Nebraska (Kosobucki and Ebers 2004) (Figure 3). This park, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, features numerous structures made of Sioux quartzite cobbles, including the entrance gate, restroom buildings, bridges, a water fountain, the base of a picnic shelter, and a band shell. Most of these were built in the 1930s by the Works Progress Administration, whose workers were known for incorporating local materials into their projects.

The Breezedale neighborhood on Massachusetts Street south of 23rd Street in Lawrence is a district

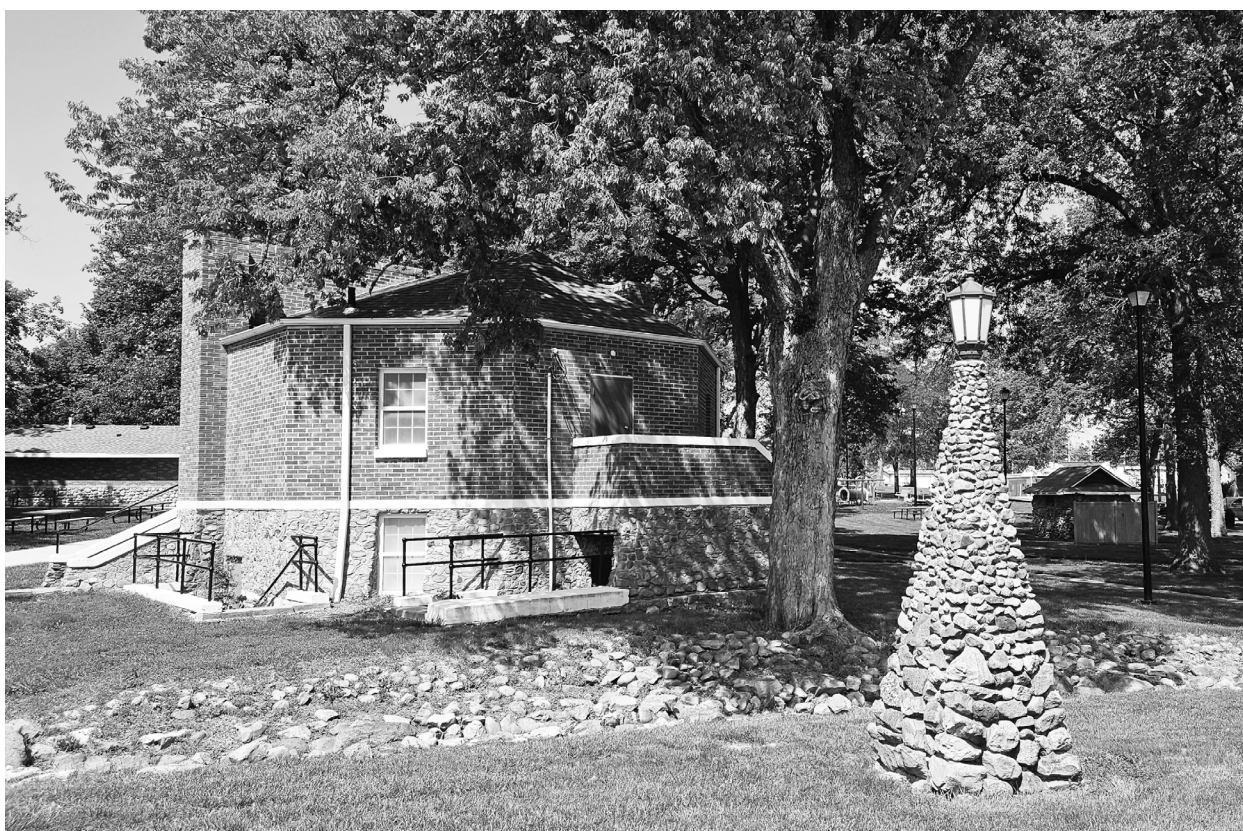


Figure 3. Legion Memorial Park, Auburn, Nebraska. Sioux quartzite is widely used as a decorative building material in this National Register of Historic Places-listed park.

listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Nimz 1997). Sioux quartzite cobbles are embedded in the foundations and porch column of one Breedale home (Figure 4).

The City Park in Wamego, just north of the Kansas River, contains a number of building foundations and decorative features comprised primarily of Sioux quartzite cobbles. One serves as a pedestal for a sculpture. The park also features a 20-ton boulder with an upper layer of Sioux quartzite, the orthoquartzite, and a lower layer of Sioux conglomeratic quartzite that is rarely seen in Kansas (Figure 5).

Monuments with Plaques

Mount Mitchell is a large isolated limestone hill along K-99 in the Kansas Flint Hills in Wabaunsee County, a bit south of the Kansas River (Mount Mitchell Heritage Prairie Park 2024). The hill is preserved as a park, a natural area, and a heritage area. As noted earlier, glacially deposited Sioux

quartzite cobbles and boulders are plentiful there. On the western slope of Mount Mitchell, a Sioux quartzite boulder with an attached brass plaque serves as a monument to George Temple Fielding III, killed in the Pacific theater during World War II (Figure 6).

Other Sioux quartzite boulders with commemorative plaques attached can be found in Topeka, Lawrence, and other places as well. Figure 7 shows a Sioux quartzite boulder in Topeka's Palm Park with a plaque commemorating the lives of U.S. airmen shot down by a Russian fighter jet during a peaceful reconnaissance mission in 1960.

Sioux Quartzite as Architectural and Memorial Elements at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas

Sioux quartzite is found in numerous locations on the Washburn University campus in Topeka. Boulders, singly or in groups, are placed in plant-



Figure 4. A house in the Breezedale National Historic District, Lawrence, Kansas.



Figure 5. A sculpture resting on a pedestal of Sioux quartzite cobbles (left) and a boulder, comprised of both Sioux quartzite and Sioux conglomerate (above), City Park, Wamego, Kansas.



Figure 6. George Temple Fielding III monument, Mount Mitchell, Wabaunsee County, Kansas.



Figure 8. Ritchie Rock, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 7. Palm Park memorial, Topeka, Kansas.

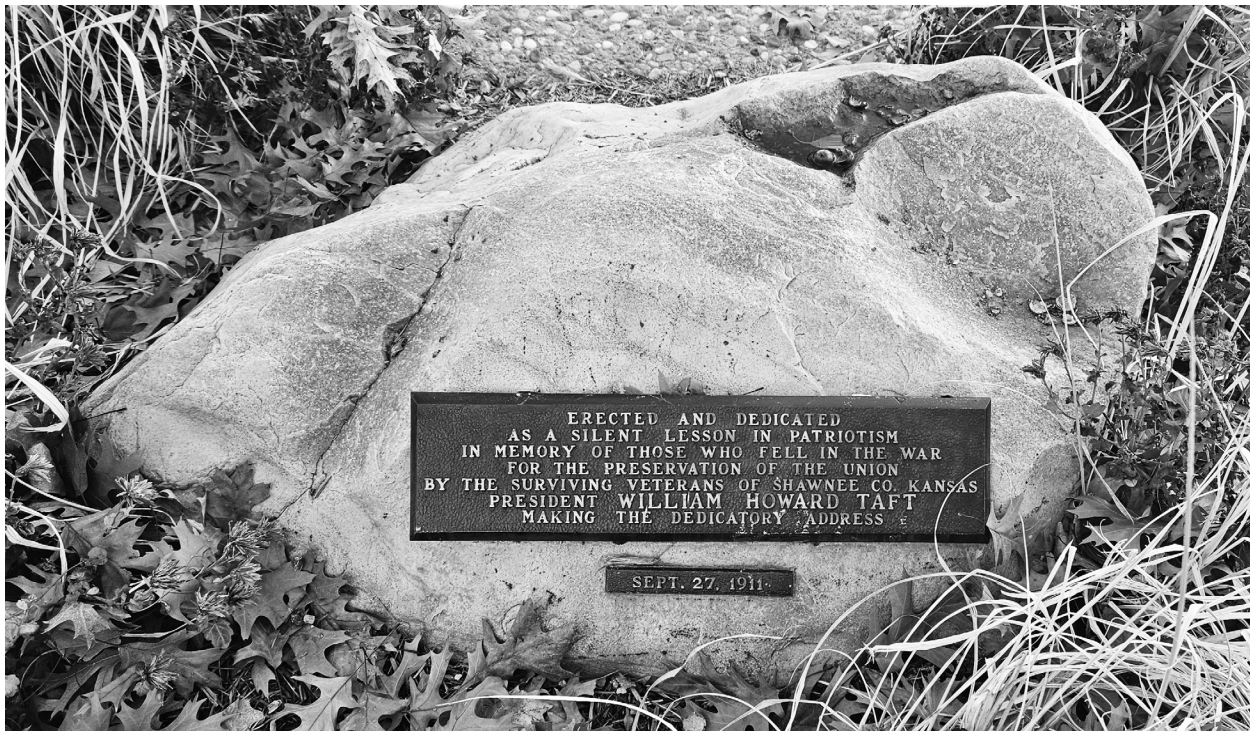


Figure 9. Flagpole Rock, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.

ings and near buildings across campus. Several of the boulders have special significance.

The Ritchie Rock (Figure 8) is a Sioux quartzite boulder with a plaque dedicated to John Ritchie, a founder of the City of Topeka. In 1859 Ritchie bought 160 acres to establish Lincoln College (now Washburn University), which opened in 1866. The 1906 senior class placed the boulder in Ritchie's honor (*Imparato* 2011a:47). A boulder and plaque, referred to as Flagpole Rock, commemorates President William Taft's 1911 dedication of a flagpole that honors fallen Civil War soldiers (*Imparato* 2011b:48) (Figure 9).

Another boulder with a plaque marks a grove of six London planetrees (*Platanus × acerifolia*), planted in 1988 to honor past and present presidents of Washburn University (Figure 10). The Morton Rock in memory of longtime maintenance employee John A Morton, was dedicated in 1999 (*Imparato* 2011b:48) (Figure 11).

The most obvious use of Sioux quartzite on the Washburn University campus is a free-standing concrete and Sioux quartzite wall along the northern boundary of campus (Figure 12). The wall

follows 17th Street and features curved decorative entrances. Initially it was funded by the 1906 chapter of the Washburn Dramatic Club, which hired a mason to build a stone entrance gate at 17th Street and College Avenue. In 1907 the faculty did the same, funding the gate at 17th and Boswell Streets. Subsequent funding from the Dramatic Club in 1913 and the Class of 1914 built the wall segments connecting the entrance gates that exist today. Completed in 1915, it extends nearly a quarter mile (*Imperato* 2011a:47).

Grave Markers

While granite, marble, and bronze are the materials most typically used for grave markers, Sioux quartzite is sometimes used to mark a final resting place. A few markers in the Oak Hill Cemetery in Lawrence are engraved Sioux quartzite boulders. Notably, most Sioux quartzite grave markers are minimally modified other than the engraving of names and birth and death dates, while granite, marble, and bronze markers are shaped into more symmetrical monuments.

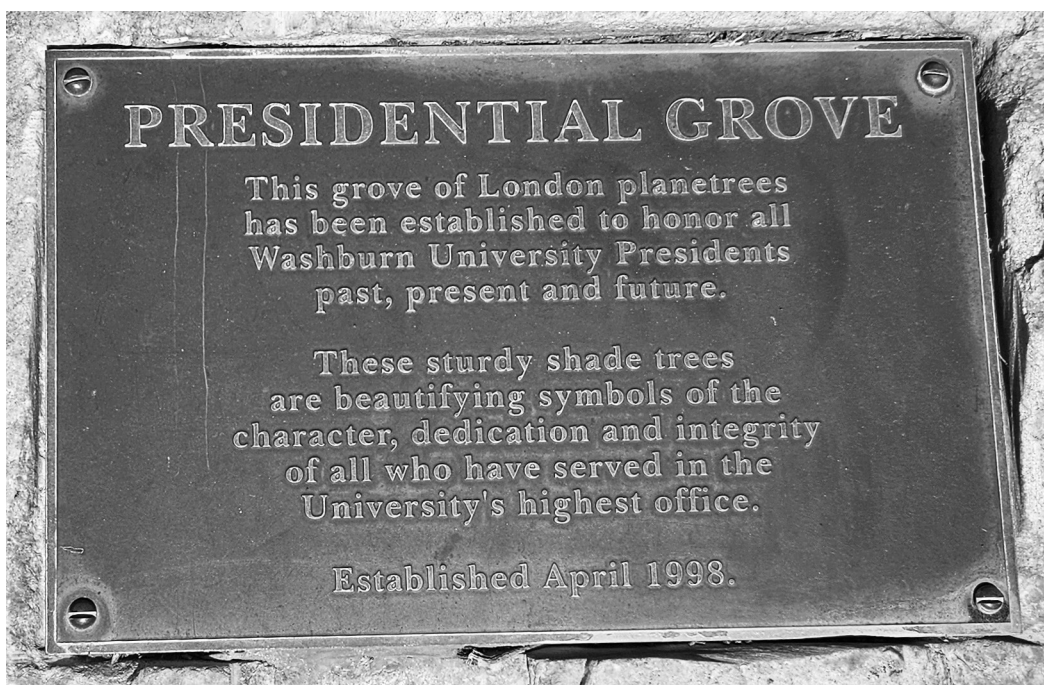


Figure 10. Presidential Grove, marking a planting of London planetrees with a commemorative plaque, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.

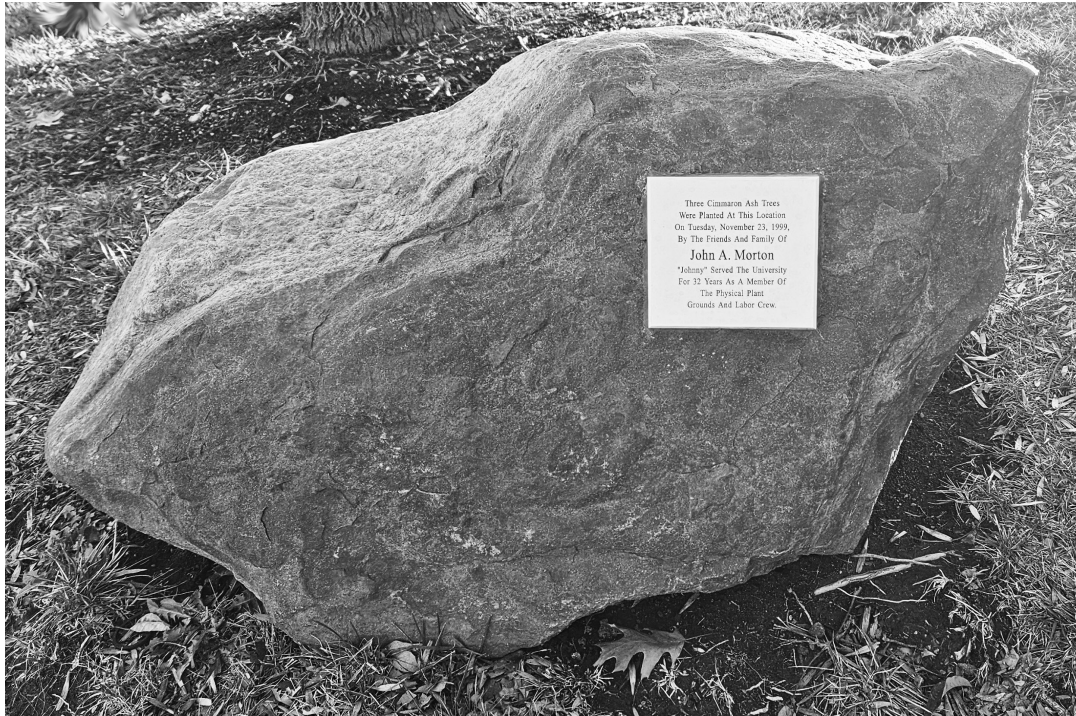


Figure 11. John A. Morton Rock, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 12. Sioux quartzite glacial cobble wall and entrance, bordering the north side of Washburn University campus, Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 13. Sioux quartzite boulder grave markers, Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas.

Landscape Ornaments

It is not unusual to see an unmodified Sioux quartzite boulder as a landscape feature in the yard of a residence, a public agency, or a business. Examples are presented in Figures 14 and 15. Their pink to red color makes an attractive contrast with green vegetation and provides an interesting focal point.

CONCLUSIONS

Most rocks do not attract much attention. But sometimes a rock is noteworthy because it is visually

appealing, uncommon, or especially strong or useful. For the Kaw Nation the Sioux quartzite boulder *Ín'zhúje'waxóbe* exemplifies attributes that humans strive to achieve (Figure 16). On a more mundane level, Sioux quartzite is appreciated for its toughness and appearance, and so it is used as an architectural and landscape highlight and even to remember those who have passed. Once Sioux quartzite is recognized and its origins and qualities are understood, it will be noticed with surprising frequency.



Figure 14. Sioux quartzite boulder, entrance, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 15. Sioux quartzite boulder gracing a residential yard in Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 16. On June 22, 2024, the *lⁿ zhúje wáxóbe* rematriation celebration took place at Allegawaho Memorial Heritage Park near Council Grove, Kansas. The Sacred Red Rock had been transported from Lawrence to this location on Kaw Nation land and installed earlier in the year. At the ceremony a welcoming prayer was followed by remarks by members of the Kaw Nation and others involved in the rematriation. *lⁿ zhúje wáxóbe* has returned to its homeland.

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BOOK REVIEWS

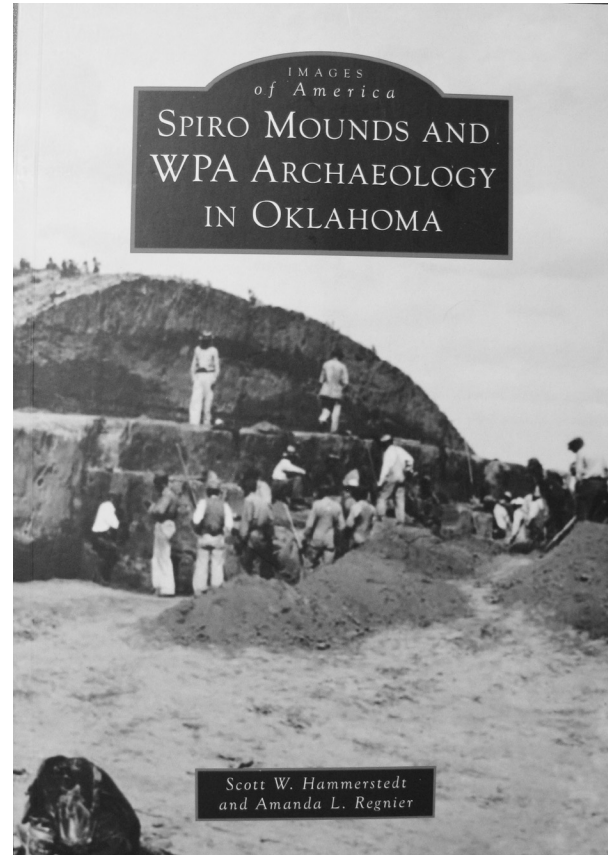
Images of America: Spiro Mounds and WPA Archaeology in Oklahoma. SCOTT W. HAMMERSTEDT and AMANDA L. REGNIER. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, South Carolina, 2023. 128 pp., 177 figures, 5 maps, and further reading. \$18.88 (paperback). ISBN: 978-1-4671-6003-2. Reviewed by Jim D. Feagins.

Images of America: Spiro Mounds and WPA Archaeology in Oklahoma is not a coffee table book; rather, it is primarily a picture book and a very good one. It is not oversized and comes only in paperback, but it contains one or more pictures with captions on almost every page. The book is an excellent work to follow *The Ritual Landscape of Late Precontact Eastern Oklahoma: Archaeology from the WPA Era until Today* (Regnier et al. 2020). Also, see Feagins (2020) for a review of that book.

The book's text is found only in a two-page introduction and in brief introductory paragraphs for each of the seven chapters: Spiro, Oklahoma Historical Society, The Pocola Mining Company, The WPA Archaeologists, Excavating at Spiro and Beyond, Analyzing the Artifacts, and 1960s-1980s. By far most of the content is in the form of historic black and white pictures with captions. There the volume truly shines.

It would be helpful for the reader to have read at least one of the many volumes about Spiro—from Henry Hamilton's "The Spiro Mound," which comprised the entire 1952 volume of *The Missouri Archaeologist*, to the more recent book *Recovering Ancient Spiro: Native American Art, Ritual, and Cosmic Renewal* (Singleton and Reilly 2020). Of course, there are a great many other books about the Spiro Mounds written in between those dates, and the site has been referenced in thousands of publications, as it is literally one of the most important sites in North America.

Numbered captions would have been helpful. The photographs are interesting and quite adequately explained in general, apart from a few relatively minor errors. One of those is found in the caption for a photograph on page 33 that shows an on-the-ground display of tools commonly used by



archeologists. This exhibit presumably was made for visiting members of the public sometime during the excavation of the Eufaula Mound in the 1930s. The authors list "a leveling rod, theodolite, tape measure, twine, shovel, brushes/trowels, and what may be a homemade hoe," perhaps understandably missing the relatively small ice pick. However, misidentifying the large adjustable folding plane table, often used with an alidade for site mapping, as "some type of homemade hoe" is rather amazing, as well as amusing! In the forefront of the upper photo on page 70, a plane table is shown, set up for mapping the excavated post-mold pattern for a prehistoric structure at the Reed site.

A wealth of important information about the history of archeology is presented by the huge number of photographs. It makes for enjoyable viewing and quite an interesting read of captions. Its contents and low price make it a worthwhile purchase from

Amazon or from the publisher at www.arcadiapublishing.com or 888-313-2665.

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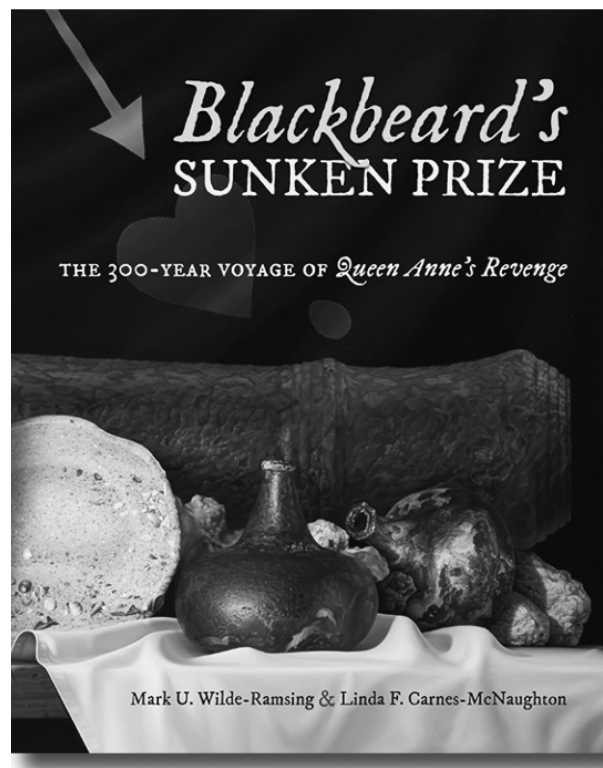
Blackbeard's Sunken Prize: The 300-Year Voyage of Queen Anne's Revenge. MARK W. WILDE-RAMSING and LINDA F. CARNES-MCNAUGHTON. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2018. xiii + 205 pp., 220 illustrations (most in color), 14 maps, 3 graphs, 4 tables, 14 vignettes, acknowledgments, notes, and index. \$28.00 (paperback, 8.5 x 10.5). ISBN: 978-1-4696-4052-5. *Reviewed by* Denise Wallace.

Admittedly the archeology and history of *Blackbeard's Sunken Prize: The 300-Year Voyage of Queen Anne's Revenge* has little direct bearing on a mid-continent area, including Kansas and Missouri. However, it is a fun read, illustrates how history and archeology can enhance each other, and is quite worthy of a review.

Written for archeologist and layman alike, it includes maps, graphs, tables, photographs of artifacts, and informational vignettes. The narratives created were based on historical documents and anecdotal lore, recounting events surrounding Blackbeard and the ship *Queen Anne's Revenge* (*QAR*), including references to legal depositions from the early 1700s.

While you may have heard of the pirate Blackbeard, you may not be familiar with his ship *Queen Anne's Revenge* and why its discovery is so noteworthy. On about June 10, 1718, the *QAR* (formerly known as the French slave ship *Concorde*) was grounded on a sandbar about a mile off the North Carolina coast in the vicinity of Beaufort Inlet (formerly Topsail Inlet). She had been the conquest and flagship of the notorious pirate Blackbeard for less than a year when he abandoned her on that sandbar. Five months later he died after a fierce fight on Ocracoke Island. Speculation as to why he abandoned the ship and what was left behind had fueled many a quest for the lost ship and her potential bounty. A licensed salvager company in search of another shipwreck came across the cannons and anchors of what was then only known as an early eighteenth-century battleship that was soon to be revealed as a highly significant underwater archeological find in the United States.

"Not until we published a 2012 article in the *Journal of Historical Archaeology* with our colleague Dr. Charles Ewen that presented overwhelm-



ing circumstantial evidence did the professional archeological community fully accept that the ship's identification was correct," note the authors Mark W. Wilde-Ramsing and Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton (p. 154).

***QAR* PROJECT TASKS**

According to author Mark Wilde-Ramsing, "we took a phased approach aimed at determining what the site represented, what condition it was in, its historical and archaeological significance, and how best to share the exciting discovery with an eager public. Most importantly, we sought to protect its remains" (p. 57).

The authors divided the tasks in the archeological project, the *Queen Anne's Revenge* Shipwreck Project, according to their respective areas of expertise. They explain that "one of us led the archaeological investigations, literally diving deep into the shipwreck, while the other played a leading role in investigating and interpreting its artifactual evidence housed at the conservation laboratory, all the while searching archives on both sides of the Atlantic for clues" (p. x). The book evolved out of

the online *QAR* Technical Series (2008) as well as an article for *Pieces of Eight: More Archaeology of Piracy* (2016) titled “Blackbeard’s *Queen Anne’s Revenge* and Its French Connection.” As the 300th anniversary of the *QAR*’s sinking approached, it was the appropriate time to write a book about it.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES REVEAL DETAILS OF THE *QAR*

Piracy, being a punishable offense, involved arrests and trials, particularly in Charleston, South Carolina. With those trials came testimonies of pirates and each ship’s crew. The court records show testimony of some who had been with Blackbeard, or Thatch or Thache (pronounced Teach) as he was also known. Yet nothing was said about the sunken vessel. Nevertheless, historical records did reveal the activity and routes of the *QAR*, a French frigate measuring less than 100 feet in length and listed as 250 tons. The authors reveal that they also relied on “bits of information gleaned from trends in early eighteenth-century French warfare, shipbuilding, and trade, as well as contemporary accounts from Blackbeard’s victims and eyewitness testimonies . . .” (p. 20).

Even with this testimony, these waters are not as easy to navigate as wide open waters. This area of North Carolina, known as the Outer Banks, is a string of islands “laced with shallow waterways and tricky inlets, which, in the ‘days of sail,’ hampered legitimate waterborne commerce but also provided secluded harbors and hideouts,” explain the authors (p. 35). Finding the *QAR* would prove to be a challenge.

EQUIPMENT AND TECHNIQUES USED

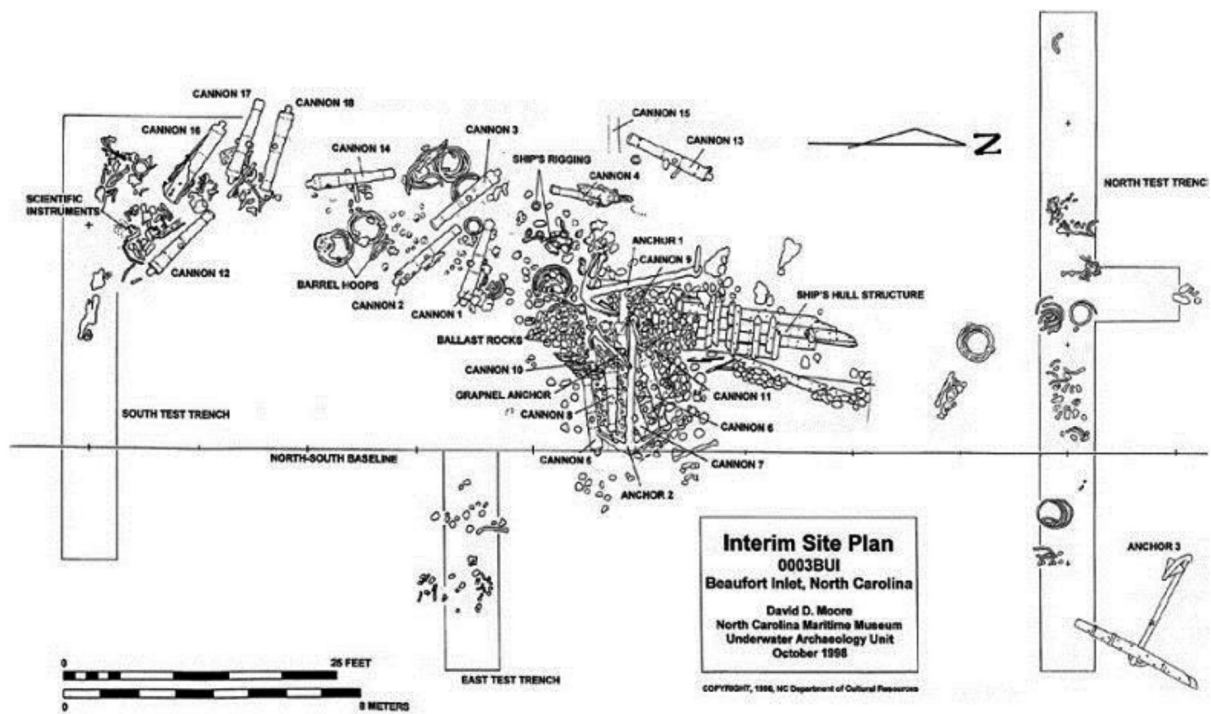
Underwater archeology in general in North Carolina started in 1979 with the first of four summer field schools as a joint effort between state archeologists and the Maritime Studies Program at East Carolina University. This was the beginning of a database of shipwrecks, landing locations, and numerous inundated structures.

The search in the 1990s for the *QAR* led down several false paths until finally one provided the

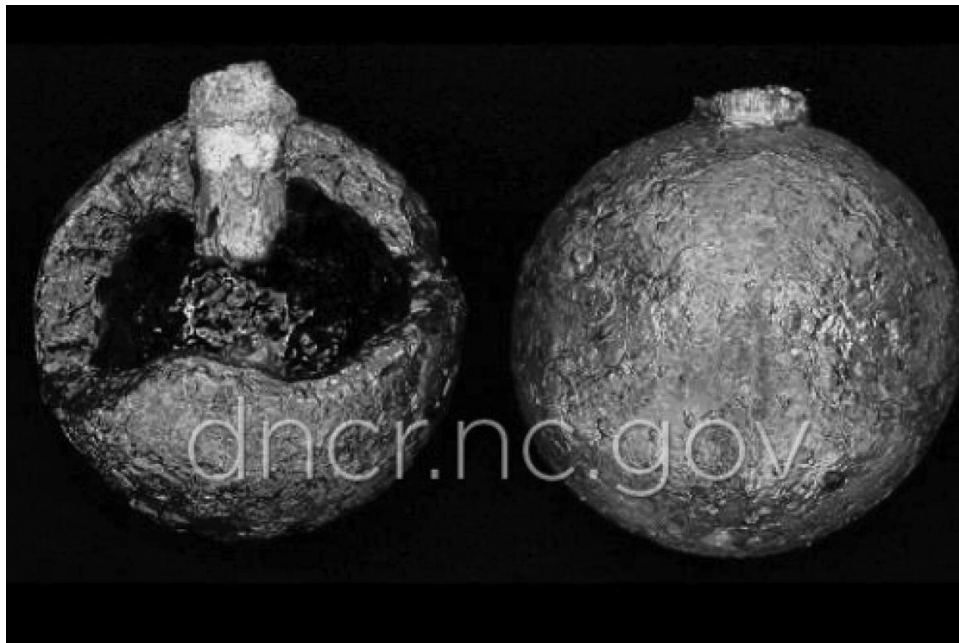
necessary diagnostic finds. Shipwreck researcher Mike Daniel began by using historical accounts and maps to narrow his search to the “eighteenth-century entrance channel and the sandbars where ships of that period were likely to have grounded” (p. 8). Based on that information and keeping in mind that waterways shift, he chose to use remote sensing instruments, coupled with a physical site inspection by professional divers. While several signals were returned, one target according to the authors “particularly interested Captain Daniel because of its strong, wide, and long magnetic reading. The first dive inspection was inconclusive since the water visibility was nearly zero. Daniel was intent on giving the site another look, which he was able to fit in on the day before they were to leave the area. His persistence paid off” (p. 1). Given that a larger pirate ship would have a significant magnetometer signal due to the tons of iron cannons and anchors typically onboard, and that this site was reflecting the appropriate volume of magnetic signature, Daniel suspected that this was their quarry. The authors explain the process.

Captain Daniel sent his two professional divers in, one at a time. The first diver, using a metal detector, reported lots of metal, what appeared to be a cannon and an anchor, and what turned out to be a lead cannon touchhole cover. The second diver confirmed three cannons and brought up a ship’s bell and the barrel of a blunderbuss. Daniel then donned his wet suit and scuba gear and entered the water to see for himself; he was able to identify a large cluster of cannons, maybe a dozen or so. He also brought up a lead sounding weight. Collectively they had gathered a small but exciting trove of artifacts that provided critical evidence of the time period and ship’s mission . . . This was likely the site of the *Queen Anne’s Revenge (QAR)*, once known as the flagship commanded by Edward Thache, better known as Blackbeard (pp. 1–2).

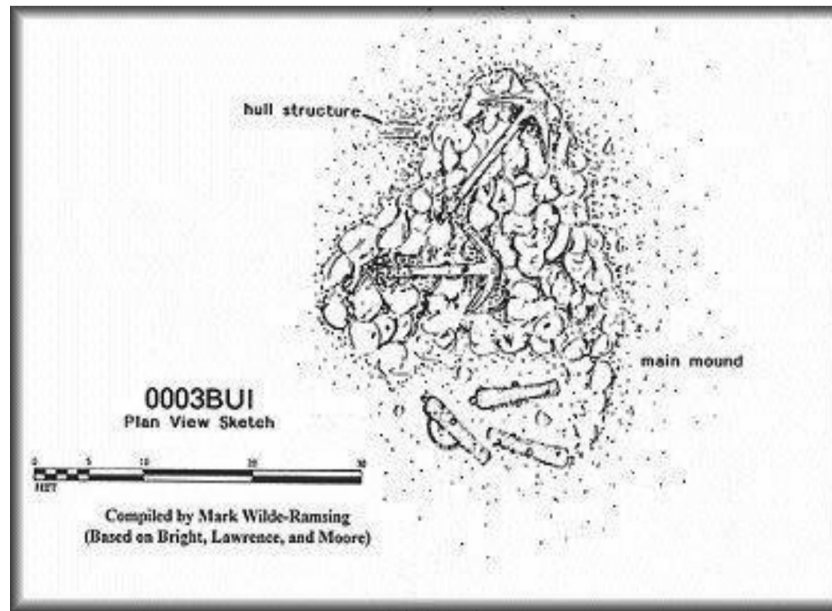
In the conservation lab an air-scribe was used to remove corrosion from the surface of the bell. After much careful work, two numbers were revealed: one (1) and seven (7). If the bell were made after 1718, that would rule out the shipwreck as being the *QAR*. With continued patient use of the air-scribe, the full year of the bell’s casting was revealed to be



October 1998 Site Map



Cannon balls from the QAR.



1705. This, combined with the ship's size, wreck location, and type and quantity of the other iron artifacts, was enough to eliminate all other known wrecks and identify this as Blackbeard's flagship.

Given that currents and weather events, such as hurricanes, move contents of the water, it was necessary to understand what effects these had on the site over the past 300 years. The team employed the InterOcean S-4A electromagnetic current meter and accompanying sensors to collect data for nearly a year. Fifty feet from the *QAR* wreckage they mounted the meter to a rigid stand, located just above the seabed. Dr. John Wells, marine geologist and director of the Institute for Marine Sciences at the University of North Carolina, along with his colleagues applied their knowledge and skills to interpret the data. The results, in part, yielded that the Beaufort Inlet had highly mobile sands, resulting in littoral drift. According to the authors, further studies conducted by this team include "two cartographic studies, five bathymetric surveys, one year-long current meter survey [mentioned above], two sediment coring studies, two side-scan sonar surveys, one sub-bottom sonar survey, and numerous multibeam sonar surveys" (p. 41). The divers conducted a gradiometer survey and a thorough metal detector survey. Another expedition used photogrammetry to record all the exposed remains to create a photo-mosaic.

What cargo and contents were expected to be on a pirate ship, given that they would not have been able to stop at major ports to restock? Whatever provisions they could confiscate from any encounters, of course! However, after 300 years of marine and weather action upon the artifacts, not all would have survived or now be recognizable. Nevertheless, the authors note that "over the years, underwater archaeologists and the many individuals who support them have recovered tens of thousands of artifacts from the wreck site of *Queen Anne's Revenge*" (p. 15).

The authors summarize some of the project statistics. When the last diver ascended from the wreck site on November 5, 2015, state archeologists and support crew had spent 242 days on the site in full recovery mode. A total of 3,176 dives had been made during which 2,926 hours and 45 minutes were spent on the ocean floor. The effort resulted in full archeological recovery of 285 excavation units or 1,725 ft² of seabed or just over 60 percent of the estimated *QAR* site area (pp. 72–73).

They estimate that "three or four years of field operations will be needed to bring up the remaining 40 percent of the *QAR* site, depending on how aggressively we are able to proceed, which ultimately depends on available funding" (p. 164).

A project of this magnitude could easily involve several disciplines. The authors revealed that "[n]

early 50 outside researchers from a wide diversity of professional specialties in the physical and cultural sciences are inspecting every aspect of *Queen Anne's Revenge*, from its smallest artifacts (grains of gold) to cannons and anchors weighing over a ton. Their collective analyses are helping to solve the puzzle of this early eighteenth-century ship, its cargo, and the pirates who sailed it" (p. 81). Dendrochronology was used for the few remaining planks from the ship. In the conservation department reverse osmosis, among other techniques, has been employed.

[UN]RELATABLE ASPECTS

Unusual Accommodations

Kansas field laboratories have often been set up in unusual or make-shift locations. Elementary schools vacant for the summer are common. Sleeping in the school gymnasium or in your camper at a local spot is *de rigueur*. This project, however, had something more guarded: the U.S. Coast Guard Station at Fort Macon. The station provided dock space and secure storage, and it was within walking distance of the barracks.

Sifting for Artifacts

This project employed a diesel pump that drove hydraulic dredges, which divers used to move volumes of sand and bring that sediment to the surface. It was then that the sifting for artifacts began. Just think of it—no Kansas clay to fight while looking for the diagnostic artifact!

Mystery Artifacts and Plastic Containers

A crooked, corroded, and curved piece of iron that was not easily identifiable remained a mystery for several years. It sat isolated in a whipped topping container on a shelf in a corner of the lab. Searching the archives for ship inventories from other wrecks yielded nothing. Then a *National Geographic* magazine photograph happened to feature a similar item, and it was identified as a leg iron (p. 14). These iron shackles, known as bilboes, were plentiful on slave ships like the *Concorde* (l/k/a *Queen Anne's Revenge*).

Last Minute

Researchers found the wreck the day before they were to leave the area. Of course, we have all experienced this in fieldwork in Kansas on any given dig. Often it is even in the last hour of the excavation that we find the diagnostic artifact that provides a sense of relief and vindication, as well as a keen need to investigate further.

NEGATIVES

Most of the historical background vignettes, each one-half to two pages long, were contributed by other authors. I would have liked to have known more about them, perhaps in an author's page or paragraph providing a biographical synopsis.

As with any writing endeavor, there is the possibility for typographical errors. This one had a few minor ones, plus two that totally missed the mark: bilbaos (plural form of a Spanish sea port) instead of bilboes (shackles) and one date that read 2017 but should have been 1717. If not egregious, they were at least annoying.

SUCCESS AND FUTURE POTENTIAL

Armed with state funding and major corporate support, the project was a success. The authors boast that "[r]esearch generated from the *QAR* project has resulted in dozens of research papers presented at professional meetings for archaeologists, conservators, and geologists, as well as subsequent scholarly articles" (p. 172). They add that there are now "diverse and long-term programs associated with the project's educational outreach" (p. 173). The *QAR* Dive Live and Dive Down programs are a part of that. The primary repository of the *QAR* artifacts is the North Carolina Maritime Museum in Beaufort. The project's website, www.qaronline.org, began broadcasting daily reports during the 1997 expedition. It has evolved into supplying background information, newsletters, conservation reports, research papers, and other related materials. This has certainly been a rich contribution to marine archeology for the state of North Carolina. It can also serve as a rich resource in other ways. Given that the explanations in the book are fashioned to accommodate the lay person, yet also

serve to enlighten the professional on procedures and methods of other disciplines used in this project and potentially available for similar or other applications, there is the possibility that this book's layout could be used as a template for a public outreach tool about noteworthy Kansas archeological sites.

Kansas does not have the vast waterways of the

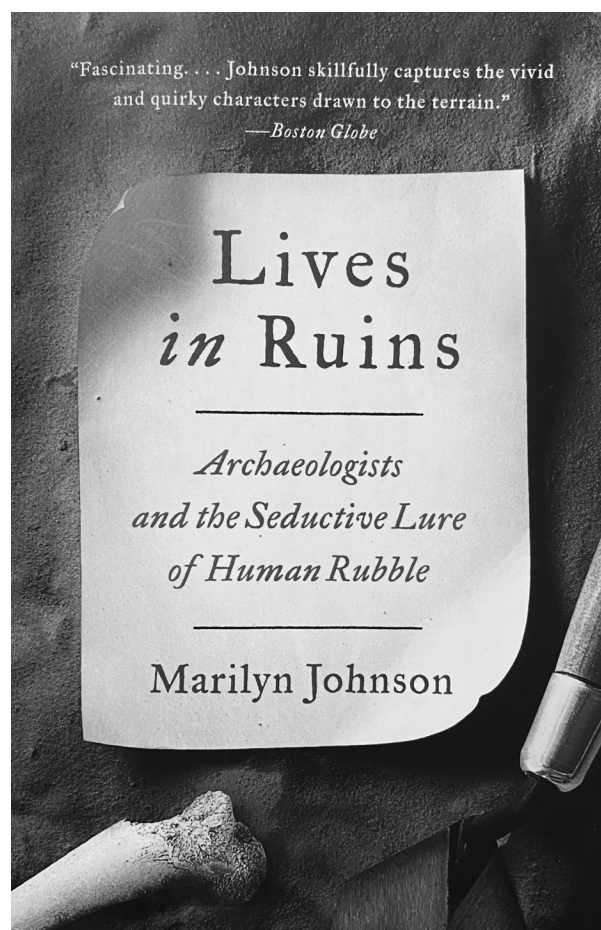
eastern United States coast nor Missouri's "muddy MO." Still, the possibility exists that treasure, however one defines it, might be waiting at the bottom of Kansas' lakes, rivers, and streams for the right inquisitive mind to discover it. (No pot-hunting allowed!)

Lives in Ruins: Archaeologists and the Seductive Lure of Human Rubble. MARILYN JOHNSON. HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 2014. 274 pp., acknowledgments, select bibliography, and index. \$12.89 (paperback). ISBN 978-0-06-212719-8. *Reviewed by* Pauline E. Hintz.

From the opening page Marilyn Johnson sets the tone for this often light-hearted, always informative book, addressing two topics that vex professional and amateur archeologists alike. #1: “No dinosaurs appear in these pages. If you are looking for scientists who study dinosaurs, you want to pick up a book about paleontologists. This book is about archaeologists, people who study people and the things that they leave behind—their bones, their trash, and their ruins” (p. 1). Soon thereafter, #2, the inevitable Indiana Jones reference: “The Hollywood image of the dashing adventurer bears little resemblance to the real people who, armed with not much more than a trowel and a sense of humor, try to tease one true thing from the rot and rubble of the past” (p. 2).

Lives in Ruins: Archaeologists and the Seductive Lure of Human Rubble is Johnson’s third book. Her specialty is “quirky subcultures,” including obituary writers (*The Dead Beat*), librarians (*This Book Is Overdue*), and now, archeologists. With her long-time fascination for archeology as a foundation, she collects experts to guide her through the world of archeologists, much like they collect stone tools or square nails, to determine “what sort of people choose to read bones and dirt for a living” (p. 9).

With chapter subtitles like “Taking Beer Seriously” and “Picking Up an Archaeologist,” the reader expects an irreverent romp but is soon impressed by Johnson’s carefully researched accounts of discoveries hidden in Irish peat bogs, the mysteries of North American effigy mounds, and the intricacies of producing bone grease, “the Crisco of the Neolithic” (p. 10). She tells stories about archeology but focuses on the archeologists for whom she conveys a great deal of admiration and respect. “Archaeologists are explorers and adventurers—Hollywood got that part right—but not exactly in the way you’d think . . . The drama takes place in a muddy hole, with our heroes surrounding it, respectfully, on their knees” (p. 11).



BOOT CAMP

“Field School is a rite of passage” (p. 15), and Johnson began her exploration into archeology at a field school on St. Eustachius in the Caribbean, chosen as much for its variety of colonial period features and artifacts as it was for the availability of indoor plumbing. Contract archeologist Richard Gilmore led a team investigating an eighteenth-century sugar processing facility, as Johnson learned to lay out and open units, excavate, screen and wash artifacts, and keep records. She also learned not to remove the nails marking the corners of her unit. After unearthing a delicate piece of seventeenth-century pottery, she describes the feeling as her discovery was added to the collection, becoming a part of “an archaeological record in which I now had a stake” (p. 36). She clearly recounts the moment when a novice archeologist realized that she was part of something important.

At New York's Stony Brook University Johnson enrolled in "The Archaeology of Human Origins," taught by paleoanthropologist and lithic specialist John Shea, who once wrote a fan letter to Geico and its "intelligent and maligned cavemen," thanking them for making "it so much easier to teach paleoarchaeology" (p. 41). Shea's wit made the class entertaining, but his expertise in experimental archeology afforded his students a serious opportunity to put into practice what they had studied. As Johnson struggled to fashion obsidian into a usable tool, she learned more than the art of knapping. She gained a respect for the people of the past, who were far more complex and interesting than she had once thought.

Attending her first professional conference, Johnson picked up two more mentors/subjects for her examination of archeology/archeologists. Patrick McGowan's life changed when he shifted his research focus from ancient pottery to the pottery's contents. Analyzing the residue in amphorae from King Midas' tomb led to crafting a series of Ancient Ales (<https://www.dogfish.com/blog/ancient-ales>), based on 3,000-year-old residues from archeological sites around the world. The author paints an entertaining portrait of McGowan as a rock star in this very specific niche in archeology whose fans surround him with both drinking-buddy camaraderie and genuine respect for his research expertise.

In a more subdued encounter at the same conference, Johnson met 80-year-old archeologist Sara Milledge Nelson, educated at the University of Michigan, when "most of her professors made it clear that training women was a waste of time" (p. 77). Proving them wrong, during her long career she became an expert in East Asian archeology, with an intense interest in China's Goddess Temple. She brought light to stories of ancient women, who never garnered the same level of attention as their male contemporaries. As light and witty as the previous chapters are, this one quietly conveys one of the most powerful observations of the book. "To some extent, archaeologists find what they're looking for, and if you never look for evidence of powerful women, even if the hills and valleys are full of queens and warriors, they'll be invisible" (p. 82).

Johnson continues the shift to a more serious

tone with "My Life in Ruins," a sobering version of the risks of the archeological career path, including high unemployment, low earnings, and a scarcity of resources. The author reconnected with Richard Gilmore, who shepherded her through her first field school. He and his wife left St. Eustachius as policies changed, funding dwindled, and their safety became uncertain. Johnson's once heroic characters became very human, as back in the United States they faced the harsh realities of three years of unemployment. Here she winds a new theme through the book: the archeologist's partnership with heartbreak. Years of research yielding no results. Promising results are not funded. Sites are destroyed "through carelessness or venal intent, whose treasures get plowed under or sold on eBay" (p. 97). Such was the case for Mike and Rose Fosha, who worked for decades to understand and preserve Deadwood, South Dakota's China Town. Late one night, in direct violation of Deadwood's preservation ordinances, bulldozers left in ruins the Wing Tsue Emporium, the last edifice of the once-bustling community. A heartbreaking change in the landscape—both literal and metaphorical—and history was lost.

Johnson adds to her collection of experts, introducing marine archeologist Kathy Abass. Her interest lies at the bottom of Newport Harbor, where 13 British ships were deliberately sunk in 1778 to prevent the French from coming to the aid of the rebellious colonists. Among these ships was the *Endeavor*, the famed ship that took Captain James Cook sailing around the world. Without sentimentality the author describes the tenacity required for Abass' 20-year search of the harbor for evidence of the ships and their artifacts, while also searching on land for patrons, sponsors, and donors to fund her research. She is "formidable in her passion, a scholar with a marketing plan" (p. 111).

These chapters in Boot Camp, fully half the book, provide a detailed and intriguing glimpse into the world of the professional archeologist. Choosing big personalities within the field, Johnson has found appealing characters who convey the commitment, intelligence, and passion to persevere. She recounts their struggles with resources, realities, and politics, as her modern-day heroes visit the classic literary conflicts: archeologist versus person, nature, self, and society.

THE CLASSICS

In this short section Johnson follows Joan Breton Connelly's hunt for Cleopatra's ancient Temple of Apollo on the Cypriot Island of Yeronisos. Everything about this dig was classical: the location, the mythology, the methodology, the "poetry of excavation" (p. 140). In an unexpected twist, Connelly was hired by The History Channel for the documentary *Indiana Jones and the Ultimate Quest* (Burns and Boella 2008), the story of Hollywood's classic archeologist. Connelly, who also hates snakes, used the fictional Jones to support her platform for preserving the world's cultural heritage, noting (but not harshly) that the cinematic Jones was a hero in the 1930s, a protector of culture and antiquities from Nazis and other evil forces. Today, he would be considered a looter. She effectively used the iconic Hollywood raider to warn about the "terrible toll looting took on the world's cultural heritage" (p. 128).

Johnson continues lightly with the Jones illustration and its positive impact on the field of archeology. She is amused that every archeologist she met while working on this book brought up Indiana Jones, many of whom adopted either his hat or his swagger or both. "Archeologists get a kick out of the envy they excite. Do orthopedists get a poster boy? Do book editors? Who is out there making dental hygienists cool" (p. 129)? One imagines that for the professional archeologist, the numerous Jones metaphors grow a bit old at this point, but for the amateur, they are a wonderfully relatable example of the allure of archeology.

ARCHEOLOGY AND WAR

Archeologists often conduct their investigations in the rubble created by time. Johnson thoughtfully introduces archeologists who work amid the devastation wreaked by humans through warfare. She follows Bill Sandy, a self-described "trowel for hire" (p. 155) contract archeologist, investigating New York's Fishkill Supply Depot. While surveying the property ahead of development as a strip mall, Sandy found an important Revolutionary War-era burial ground. Johnson describes a wreath-laying ceremony, conducted on land surrounded by McDonalds, Home Depot, and Blimpies, and poi-

gnantly observes, "across the centuries, we felt the shameful lack of honor for the dead" (p. 168).

Later, in "Bearing Witness" the author writes of being introduced to forensic archeology by Erin Coward, who after 9/11 sifted debris from the World Trade Center as it rolled past her on conveyor belts. Johnson's narrative is sobering. Her respect for the archeologists doing this grim work is immense. It is a somber portrayal of the dedication archeologists have to telling the story of people whose voices were violently silenced.

In "Archaeology in a Dangerous World—A Historic Alliance" Johnson details the seemingly unlikely partnership of archeologists and the military, combining efforts to create "wartime protection of cultural property world wide, the cultural equivalent of the Red Cross" (p. 193). Corine Wegener is a museum curator, employed by the Department of Defense to develop training protocols and simulations for deployed soldiers to recognize "avoidance targets" during conflicts. While this partnership is not without its critics, Johnson applauds the efforts of Wegener and her fellow "Monuments Men" for promoting "the idea of a shared cultural responsibility that persists through war and conflict" (p. 196).

HERITAGE

In this final chapter Johnson's trip to the UNESCO International Committee's Archaeological Heritage Management Conference in Peru brings her journey with archeologists to an end. In these last pages, she asks the "big" questions. "What parts of human history are worth preserving" (p. 231)? Why has it been so difficult to shift the focus of "cultural heritage as icons and buildings to thinking about it as another way to document the lives of ordinary people" (p. 233)? What is archeology and why does it matter? She concludes that archeology "was not about shards and pieces of bone or treasure; it was about kneeling down in the elements, paying very close attention, and trying to locate a spark of the human life that had once touched that spot there" (p. 240).

CONCLUSION

In *Lives in Ruins* Marilyn Johnson has captured the science and the adventure of archeology. It is a

unique passion, shared by curious people, scraping and sifting to uncover the lives of those who went before and to preserve their heritage. She colorfully describes archeologists' challenges and frustrations, as well as their patient optimism. "You may think there's nothing there, but there's never nothing there" (p. 127). She understands that it is not what is found but what is found out that matters.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dan Busse



Dan was raised in Cheyenne County, Kansas, and has had a strong interest in the history and prehistory of the region since childhood. He has been active in documenting the history and archeology of northwest Kansas since the 1950s, including the discovery of the Busse cache in 1968. He attended Dana College, where he met his wife Lynn, and graduated with a degree in biology in 1969. He returned to Cheyenne County, where he is a rancher and farmer with a strong passion for wildlife conservation and archeology. In recent years he and Lynn usually spend summers in West Yellowstone, Montana.

Jim D. Feagins



Jim Feagins is a private archeological consultant who also serves as part of the adjunct archeological staff for the St. Joseph Museum. He received a B.S. degree from Pittsburg State University and a MNS degree from the University of Oklahoma. After 30 years as a science instructor for Consolidated School District No. 4, Grandview, Missouri, he retired in 1995. Active in promoting archeological education, he is president emeritus of the Missouri Archaeological Society. He also served as president of the Kansas City Archaeological Society and as a vice-president of the Missouri Association of Professional Archaeologists and the Kansas Anthropological Association. He is a life member of the KAA.

Christine D. Garst



Christine Garst has a Master's degree in anthropology from the University of Kansas. After 23 years of service, she recently retired from the Kansas Historical Society where she supervised the Archeology Lab and its volunteers. Her interest in rural historical archeology stems from growing up on a farm in north-central Kansas, and other research pursuits include gunflints, petroglyphs, and the analysis and reporting of orphan artifact collections.

Pauline E. Hintz



Pauline Hintz holds a Bachelor's degree in special education from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and a Master's degree from the University of Missouri-Kansas City in reading education and school administration. She is now a retired educator who finds herself with more time on her hands to explore her interest in archeology. In the summer of 2014, she heard about "a dig" in Osawatomie, bought a trowel and tape measure, and figured she did not have much to lose if it did not go well. Since that time, Pauline has been a member of the Kansas Anthropological Association and has enjoyed participating in the KATP field schools and the KAA Certification Program. She has a keen interest in and great regard for the lives of children past, present, and future.

Robert J. Hoard

Robert Hoard was the state archeologist of Kansas from 2000 to 2022. He is interested in the identification of traded items from archeological sites to determine exchange routes through time. He also studies the technical attributes of prehistoric pottery, especially the earliest pottery in the High Plains. Much of his fieldwork has been in the North American prairies and plains, including the Lamb Spring Paleoindian site in Colorado, but he also worked in Florida at the Little Salt Spring site, and in the state of Pohnpei of the Federated States of Micronesia at the World Heritage-listed site of Nan Madol. When not involved in archeological work, he builds dry-laid native limestone fences in the Flint Hills and identifies and preserves wild plants and their habitats.

Jack L. Hofman

Beginning in 1971, Jack Hofman has conducted archeological research throughout the Great Plains, Illinois, Tennessee, and in France. He attended the University of Oklahoma, University of Wyoming, and received his Ph.D. from the University of Tennessee. He taught at the University of Kansas from 1991 until 2019. Current research includes study of Pawnee and Sac and Fox post-contact cultures, technological and cultural changes in the Great Plains from early prehistoric through historic periods, investigation of prehistoric bison hunters, and documentation of archeological evidence for fire making.

Brad Logan

Brad Logan is research associate professor emeritus of anthropology at Kansas State University. He received his M.A. at the University of Nevada, Reno (1977) and his Ph.D. at the University of Kansas (1985). His field and research experience over a period of 45 years occurred in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, southern France, and lower Austria. Prior to his position at KSU, he was senior curator at the University of Kansas, Museum of Anthropology and director of its Office of Archaeological Research. He is a native Kansan and a life member of the KAA.

Garrett Seuser

Garrett Seuser is a high school and middle school social studies teacher, employed by the Wakefield USD in Clay County, Kansas. He graduated with a B.S.E. from Emporia State University in 2020 and was selected as the Undergraduate Student of the Year in the Social Sciences Department. In 2023 he was awarded the Oregon-California Trails Association's Educator of the Year and received the Elton Beougher Memorial Grant for discovering archeological sites on the Smoky Hill Trail. Also, he was recognized by Nathan Edson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution's as the 2024 Outstanding Teacher of American History. As an avocational archeologist, he documents military and emigrant campsites along the westward trails in Kansas.

Denise Wallace

Denise has an extensive background in world cultures and foreign languages. Her Master's degree in anthropology with a combined emphasis in archeology and ethnobotany from Tulane University has afforded her the training and skills to work with both present and past cultural groups. She is a Certified Project Archaeology Instructor. Denise has worked in Panama and Peru, advocating cultural patrimony and on ethnobotanical uses with Indigenous tribes. She has conducted botanical surveys in Missouri, Kansas, Panama, and the Peruvian Amazon. Her archeological work ranges from Phase I-III work to artifact cataloging and curation in Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, and Portugal.

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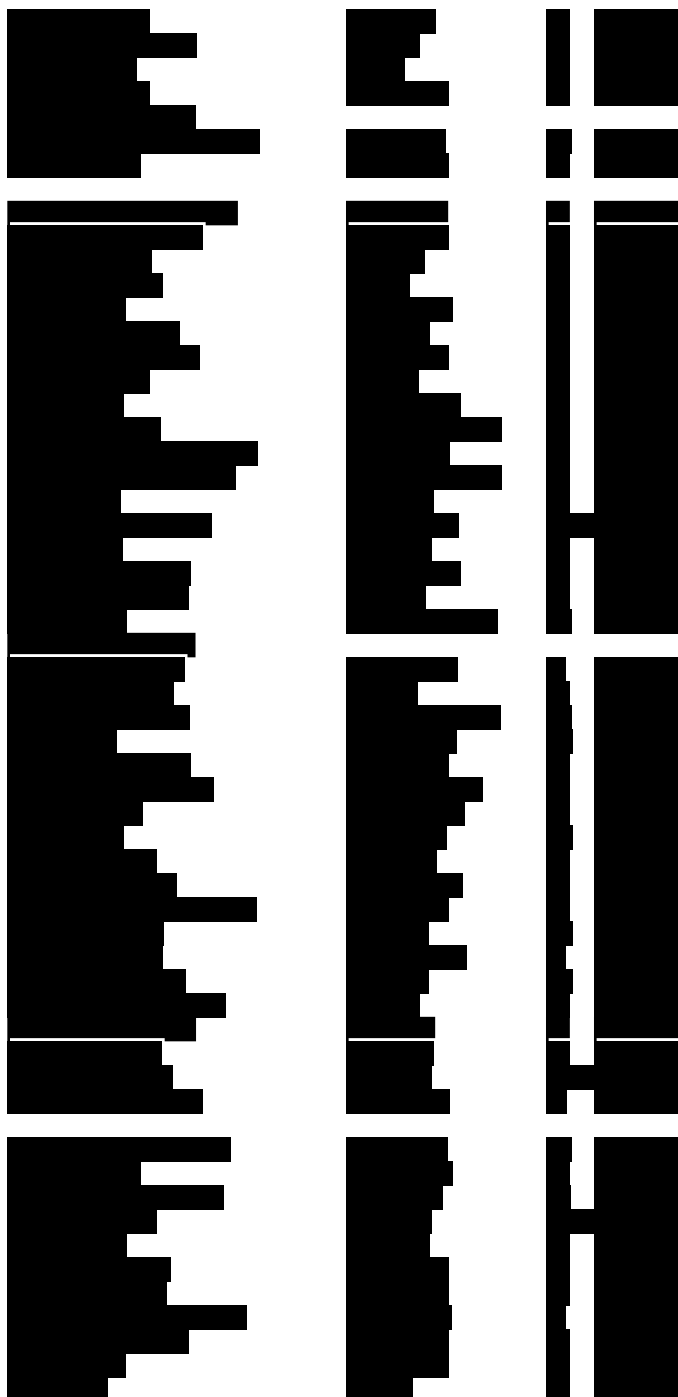
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The varied readership of the journal should be kept in mind when preparing papers. Jargon should be avoided. Third-person narrative is strongly preferred unless the piece is a personal reminiscence in which first-person voice is acceptable. Contractions should be avoided. The style authority is *American Antiquity* (see <https://www.saa.org/publications/american-antiquity>).

Manuscripts should be prepared using as little internal formatting as possible. Tables and figures should not be embedded in the text, but each submitted as a separate file. Illustrations are encouraged, and their preparation is the responsibility of the author. Digital photography with original resolution less than 300 dpi is not optimal for print publications. High resolution digital images are preferred, but 35-mm black and white or color prints or slides are accepted. All illustrations should be designed to fit within 6 x 8.5-inch margins, including caption. If protected by copyright, securing written permission for use is the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts may be submitted on a portable storage device (flash or jump drive), as e-mail attachments, or by Dropbox, OneDrive, or other cloud storage sites. If computer technology is not available, a hard copy may be submitted.

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