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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Context #1: Yellow River Subagency, 1829–1840
Context #2: Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853
Context #3: Turkey River Subagency, 1840–1848
Context #4: Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830–1848
Context #5: Trading, 1830–1848

C. Form Prepared by

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organization Office of the State Archaeologist / Bear Creek Archeology ___ date September 5, 2012

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground — Name of Multiple Property Listing

Iowa and Minnesota — State

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq*.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.0. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

INTRODUCTION

The Neutral Ground was a novel experiment in the annals of U.S. history, one of only a handful of land tracts ostensibly created to serve as a buffer between hostile American Indian tribes. Northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota's Neutral Ground became a temporary home for the Winnebago or Ho-Chunk tribe. Language in an 1825 treaty provided for the creation of a Neutral Line in Iowa to separate the Santee Dakota (Sioux) groups on the north from their enemies, the allied Sauk and Meskwaki (Sac and Fox) tribes. This line ran diagonally, southwest to northeast, across what would become northeast Iowa. Five years later, 20 miles on either side of the 200-mile-long line was added in another treaty cession, to form the Neutral Ground in what was then unorganized territory west of the Mississippi River (now, the states of Iowa and Minnesota; Fay 1966; Figure 1).

Officially, the Neutral Ground was created to further separate the Santee Dakota from the Sauk and Meskwaki. However, by 1830 the U.S. Government already had plans to remove the Ho-Chunk from Wisconsin, and the Neutral Ground was seen as a convenient place to temporarily house that group. The tract was not only a physically surveyed strip of land running across two future states, but also a political device, designed to control and corral several groups of American Indians. The U.S. Government sought to make territories along the Mississippi River available for Euro-American settlement and for natural resource exploitation. This desire to increase Euro-American landholdings brought with it the displacement of native peoples from their homelands. The Neutral Ground and its related historical properties reflect territorial-period Ho-Chunk lifeways, as well as provide insight into federal Indian removal policies related to westward-pushing Euro-American settlement pressures.

The *Historical Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* thematic nomination can be organized into several contexts. The Yellow River Subagency Context, 1829–1840, relates to the earliest governmental efforts to gain administrative control and anglicize the Ho-Chunk through separation from their Wisconsin homeland, education of Ho-Chunk children in a schoolhouse setting, instructing the tribe's men in European farming methods; and by sanctioning trading posts to provide goods and food stuffs to villagers. The second context, Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853, pertains to military activities in the Neutral Ground, including the establishment of a palisaded garrison. Troops frequently patrolled the large land tract, trying, often unsuccessfully, to keep the Ho-Chunk from returning home to Wisconsin, and aiming to prevent unlawful Euro-Americans and other Indians from entering the Neutral Ground. The context Turkey River Subagency, 1840–1848, represents the government's second attempt at administrative control. The Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830–1848, context deals with all aspects of the Ho-Chunk Neutral Ground experience, from housing and hunting, to religion and burials. Finally, the Trading Context, 1830–1848, includes illegal, as well as licensed, trading posts. By the 1830s, the federal government recognized the usefulness of trading as a back door to future land cessions. If the government allowed Indians to become financially indebted to traders, they would be obligated to pay off the debt through land sales.

HISTORIC CONTEXT INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the late 1820s and continuing until the Ho-Chunk removal from northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota into central Minnesota in 1848, the cultural landscape of northeast Iowa changed in response to U.S. Government-led Indian removal policies. Within the Neutral Ground, these changes were varied. The Ho-Chunk altered the landscape, establishing villages to house the 2,000+ Ho-Chunk who were removed from Wisconsin. Trails connected villages to each other, to natural resources, or to the forts, subagencies and trading posts. Some changes were government and military-instigated: the government called for the construction of a subagency (called the Yellow River Subagency) as a base for education of Ho-Chunk children. The government decided this subagency was too near Wisconsin, elevating temptation for Ho-Chunk to return to their homeland, so the Turkey River Subagency was constructed further west. The placement of this subagency, a great distance from Fort Crawford, necessitated the construction of Fort Atkinson, where dragoons could be stationed to police the Neutral Ground. Foremost among the soldiers' duties were the containment of Ho-Chunk within the Neutral Ground, and the ejection of illegal entrants, such as whiskey traders, uninvited missionaries, and Euro-American farmers. Commercial interests changed the Neutral Ground landscape too. Trading posts and illicit whiskey stores were erected to serve the Ho-Chunk or soldiers stationed at the fort. Many of these Neutral Ground-era establishments left remarkable archaeological traces in farm fields, pastures, parks, and yards. At least one, Fort Atkinson, still has standing buildings and structures.

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* contexts are based on historic overviews developed in several previous archaeological and archival studies (e.g., Carr 1998; McKusick 1966; Merry 1988a; Peterson 1995, 1999; Peterson and Becker 2001; Rogers 1993; Stanley 1995; Whaley 2003). Reque (1944) and Stanley (1992, 1993) formulated historic contexts for Fort Atkinson, the military post associated with the 1840s Neutral Ground. Whittaker (2005, 2006a-d, 2007) has conducted the most recent archaeological and archival work at the fort. Peterson and Becker (2001) discussed the historic context of a Neutral Ground trading post, and developed a Geographic Information System (GIS) that included the probable locations of numerous 1840s sites in northeast Iowa. Each of the following contexts relate to the use of the Neutral Ground as a temporary home for the Ho-Chunk.

The five contexts are:

Yellow River Subagency, 1829–1840
Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853
Turkey River Subagency, 1840–1848
Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830–1848
Trading, 1830–1848

The beginning date, 1829, refers to the year of construction of the Jefferson Davis Sawmill, which was subsequently used to process lumber in the construction of the Yellow River Subagency. The end date, 1853, is the year Fort Atkinson was sold by the United States government to a private party.

Whittaker (2007:5–8) created a timeline to describe the significant events in the formation, occupation, abandonment, demise, and modern investigations of Fort Atkinson. A simplified version of the timeline is reprinted below, with a few additions.

Pre-Neutral Ground Events:

1673: French Explorers Marquette and Joliet explore upper Mississippi River.
ca. 1750: Prairie du Chien established as a trading post (Scanlan 1937).
1803: Louisiana Purchase, which includes the area that will become Iowa, is officially U.S. territory, but British and French influence still strong.
1812: War with British starts.
1815: End of war; U.S. dominance in region established; at about this time northeast Iowa is divided among Santee Dakota to north and Meskwaki and Sauk to south.
1816: First Fort Crawford built at Prairie du Chien.
1820: Nebraska's Fort Atkinson established near modern-day Omaha; unrelated to the Neutral Ground's fort, except in name.
1825: Neutral Line created between Santee Dakota and the Meskwaki and Sauk, runs diagonally across northeast Iowa.
1827: Nebraska's Fort Atkinson decommissioned.
1828: Fort Winnebago constructed in Wisconsin to control Ho-Chunk.

Neutral Ground-era Events:

1829: Second Fort Crawford established in Prairie du Chien (47CR247), Wisconsin; military-run sawmill (13AM294; now known as the Jefferson Davis Sawmill) constructed along the Yellow River in Iowa to provide lumber for Fort Crawford and Yellow River Subagency construction.
1830: Treaty signed at Prairie du Chien, involving Meskwaki and Sauk, Santee Dakota, Ioway, Omaha, and Otoe; Neutral Line expanded into Neutral Ground.
1832: Size of Neutral Ground cut to less than half its 1830-defined size; Sauk warrior Black Hawk attempts to return to Illinois, Black Hawk War ensues. After several skirmishes, the Sauk are slaughtered by U.S. troops led by Henry Atkinson, with Santee Dakota help. Later, Nathan Boone surveys Neutral Ground, camps near future Fort Atkinson site; Ho-Chunk give up rights east of the Mississippi River in exchange for the Neutral Ground.
1833: Yellow River Subagency (13AM289) opens in Iowa.
1834: Northeast Iowa becomes part of Michigan Territory.
1836: Iowa District of Michigan Territory becomes part of Wisconsin Territory.
1837: Ho-Chunk give up more land rights east of the Mississippi River in exchange for a portion of the Neutral Ground.
1838: Iowa Territory established.

Fort Atkinson Military Era (details given in the "Fort Atkinson" Context):

1840: Construction of Fort Atkinson (13WH57) log buildings begins; Yellow River Subagency closed, Turkey River Subagency opened (13WH111); Joel Post house is a way station. Ho-Chunk pressured into resettling in the Neutral Ground.
1841: First stone buildings constructed at Fort Atkinson.
1842: Most Fort Atkinson buildings completed; Reynolds' makes a map of the fort.
1843: Three Ho-Chunk arrested at Fort Atkinson for killing two traders and two children in Fayette County in the "Teagarden Massacre" (Moeller 1954).
1845: Most Sauk and Meskwaki removed from Iowa, many Meskwaki return clandestinely.
1846: Fort Atkinson troops sent to Mexican American War; Iowa troops take over the Fort; 2,400 Ho-Chunk in 22 bands live in Neutral Ground; Iowa becomes a state.
1848: Ho-Chunk removed from Neutral Ground to Minnesota; Turkey River Subagency closed.
1849: Last troops leave Fort Atkinson in February, squatters move in, and government caretakers nominally in charge; Euro-American settlement of Neutral Ground begins in earnest.

Fort Atkinson Post-Military:

1851: Fort Atkinson described as deteriorated.
1853: Area surrounding the fort is sold to a private party, Caroline Newington.
1855: Squatters living in fort; several buildings collapsing.
late 1850s: Demolition of most of fort; north barracks used as a farmhouse; magazine and blockhouses became stables.
1858: Minnesota becomes a state.
ca. 1858 or 1859: St. James chapel built (13WH109), probably from stone salvaged from fort.
Late nineteenth century: several civilian buildings built on Fort Atkinson grounds, including Behrens and James houses.
ca. 1900: Fort Atkinson area business leaders rally to save fort; first known photos of fort buildings.
1912–1919: West end of north barracks collapses or is torn down.

Fort Atkinson as a Historic Site:

1920s: Much of Fort Atkinson purchased by Iowa Board of Conservation; northeast cannon house reconstructed; powder house restored.
1930s: Ellison Orr (1935, 1940) investigates historic Indian and Indian-related sites in area.
1939–1941: Sigurd Reque (1944) researches the fort and exposes many foundations.
1957–1964: Behrens and James houses, both post-military, demolished (Whittaker 2006d).
1958–1962: Stockade reconstructed; museum established; buildings restored.
1962: Fort rededicated as a state-owned historic site.
1966: McKusick (n.d., 1975a-b) archaeologically excavates bakehouse and latrines in fort.
1968: Fort Atkinson dedicated as a State Preserve.
1973: Daly (1973) archaeologically investigates the nearby St. James chapel (13WH109).
1977: First annual Fort Atkinson Rendezvous.
1982: Kean (1982) archaeologically probes for outbuildings.
1993: Vogel (1993) completes form for the nomination of the Fort Atkinson Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

1996: Stanley (1996) revises NRHP form as a single property, Fort Atkinson, based on comments received on original form in 1993; all reviewer's comments not addressed and processing of form is stalled.
1998: Carr (1998) analyzes the fort's architecture and the archaeological material unearthed by McKusick.
2000-2001: University of Iowa archaeological field schools conducted at Neutral Ground era sites in Fort Atkinson vicinity, including excavations at a trading post (13WH160) and a possible village (13WH158) (Doershuk and Peterson 2000; Doershuk, Peterson, and Fishel 2003; Doershuk et al. 2001; Peterson and Becker 2001).
2005: Archaeological field school held at the fort; ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey of Dragoon stables and possible fort-related cemetery (13WH210; Whittaker 2005).
2006: Intensive GPR survey of the fort related to stockade reconstruction; photographic history of Fort Atkinson compiled; GPR survey results utilized to determine placement of archaeological test units related to stockade reconstruction (Whittaker 2006a-d, 2007); stockade reconstructed and expanded.
2008: Completion of first draft of this Multiple Property Documentation form and associated Fort Atkinson nomination.

General Overview: United States' Neutral Grounds

There have been several formal and informal buffer zones established throughout the United States' history, but only a few were created to separate hostile tribes from one another. Buffer zones of other function include the 167-x-34-mile Neutral Strip ceded to the U.S. by the State of Texas in 1850. The Missouri Compromise forbade slavery north of 36° 30' latitude, so after Texas joined the Union as a slave state, this strip north of that line was left with no territorial ownership. Comanche and allied tribes controlled much of this area until about 1875, after which Euro-American settlers began to illegally occupy the area. This neutral ground finally became part of Oklahoma Territory in 1890, and is today known as the Oklahoma Panhandle. There were no forts specifically established to oversee this area.

In two other examples of buffer grounds established for other reasons, the 50-square-mile White Clay Extension in Nebraska was created on the south edge of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1882 and remained in effect until 1904. Established at the request of Oglala Lakota and their agent, its purpose was to curtail the alcohol trade by providing a buffer between the reservation and illegal alcohol traders (Johansen 2007:98). There were no forts erected to enforce this buffer zone policy. Finally, Louisiana's Neutral Ground had neutral status as a disputed territory from 1806–1821. This strip separated Spanish Texas from the United States' newly acquired Louisiana Purchase. Neither settlers nor soldiers were supposed to live in this contested area, although it quickly became a hotbed of illegal activity. National Historic Landmark Fort Jesup, Louisiana, was constructed after the treaty that resolved the border dispute; soldier's duties included restoring order to Louisiana's Neutral Ground.

Only a few tracts in the United States were ostensibly created to serve as buffers between hostile American Indian tribes: Iowa and Minnesota's 200-x-40-mile Neutral Ground; central Minnesota's Neutral Ground; and Kansas' 50-x-25-mile Neutral Lands. In addition, Lovely's Purchase is considered a privately purchased Neutral Ground, whereby Cherokee Agent William Lovely tried to abate Osage and Cherokee hostilities by personally buying a large land tract from the Osage in 1816 and calling it a buffer zone between the two

groups. The following year, Lovely died, and the neutral zone essentially died with him. This buffer zone is along today's Oklahoma-Arkansas state line (Miller 2008). Kansas' Neutral Lands were meant to separate the Osage from other tribes. No fort was ever erected in relation to the Kansas tract and no tribes were forcibly moved onto that parcel. National Historic Landmark Fort Scott monitored the Osage, but this fort was not constructed until 17 years after the Neutral Lands were established.

There were only two forts in the United States built to oversee an American Indian-inhabited buffer zone that separated hostile tribes from each other. One of these is Fort Atkinson, located in northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota's Neutral Ground. The other fort is found in the central Minnesota Neutral Ground which was created in 1847 to separate the hostile Ojibwe and Santee Dakota. The government purchased the tract from the Ojibwe and sold a portion to the Ho-Chunk and the remainder to the Menominee. This tract, near Long Prairie, is where the Ho-Chunk were relocated after leaving their earlier home in northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota. Fort Ripley was built in 1848 to keep the central Minnesota Neutral Ground peace between the Ojibwe, Santee Dakota, Ho-Chunk, and Menominee (Minnesota Indian Affairs Council 2010; Treuer 2010:80, 92).

Administration of Iowa and Minnesota's Neutral Ground

Federal Indian policy was transformed between the late 1700s and mid 1800s. The U.S. Constitution enabled Congress to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes. Government trading houses called "factories" were established, Indian territories were designated and the Congress adopted an Indian assimilation policy. Indians were given agricultural implements, livestock, and related farming implements in the hope they would adopt a Euro-American lifestyle. In 1822, the factory trading system ceased to operate. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was created in 1824 to relieve the War Department of some of its responsibility with regard to the American Indian population (Stanley 1995). Most importantly, the overall attitude toward Indians was transformed from one of assimilation to one of relocation. Now, the goal of the government was not so much to pull the Indians into Euro-American culture, but rather to culturally and physically distance them from it. In 1830 the Removal Bill was passed and treaties were negotiated with tribes to create boundaries to Indian land, to extinguish title to that land and to prepare American Indians for immediate or imminent removal to locations west of the Mississippi River (Williams 1980). This national removal policy transformed forever the lives of Native peoples across the midcontinental United States.

Information about the earliest indigenous groups who inhabited the Neutral Ground is incomplete. Ethnohistoric data is scanty for the protohistoric period when the region was occupied by the Siouan-speaking Ioway and Eastern Dakota tribes, who were first encountered by the French in the mid-1600s. By the mid-1700s, much of the area was within the territory of the Algonquin Meskwaki and Sauk, who had recently been pushed out of their homelands along the Great Lakes. Contesting Meskwaki and Sauk hegemony over northeast Iowa were the various bands of the Santee Dakota Sioux, whose principal villages lay along the Mississippi and St. Peter's (Minnesota) rivers in what is now Minnesota. For generations, Algonquins and Siouans engaged in intermittent warfare with each other, and with each other's colonial allies (Hexom 1913; Stanley and Vogel 1990:59–61). During this early historic (pre-Neutral Ground) period, northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota were securely within the commercial orbit of traders based at Prairie du Chien (Rogers and Vogel 1989:19–21).

No early European accounts mention Indians living in the modern Fort Atkinson area, although there was a small Meskwaki village around the mouth of the Turkey River and a Mdewakanton Dakota village on the Upper Iowa River, both dating from ca. 1800. Roving bands of Santee, Ioway, Meskwaki, and Sauk doubtless utilized the natural resources of the area at one time or another (Stanley and Vogel 1990:55–60).

The Ho-Chunk are cultural and linguistic relatives of the Ioway, Oto, and Missouria, together forming the Winnebago-Chiwere subdivision of the Siouan language family (Parks and Rankin 2001). At the time of European contact, the tribal homeland was central Wisconsin (Figure 2). The Ho-Chunk were nearly destroyed by the Illiniwek in the late seventeenth century, but recovered and flourished as middlemen in the western Great Lakes fur trade (Lawson 1907; Lurie 1978; Mahan 1957). Although the Ho-Chunk may have ventured west of the Mississippi prior to the Neutral Ground period, particularly in hunting ventures or to meet with members of other tribes, Wisconsin was the Ho-Chunk homeland. Not until their forced relocation into Iowa, beginning in the 1830s, did large numbers of Ho-Chunk begin to live within the Neutral Ground.

United States Indian policy during this period was based mainly on the dual policies of extinguishing Native territorial sovereignty and voluntary emigration to designated reservations located beyond the line of Euro-American settlement (see Royce 1899). During the first decades of American control in the Upper Mississippi Valley, the Sac and Fox (Sauk and Meskwaki) were the key to control of what is now eastern Iowa. To stabilize the balance of power in the region, in 1825 the United States brokered a treaty between the Sauk and Meskwaki tribes and their traditional enemies, the Santee Dakota. The key feature of this treaty, the so-called “Neutral Line” between the Santee and Sauk-Meskwaki hunting territories, is contained in Article 2:

> It is agreed between the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux, that the line between their respective countries shall be as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the Upper Ioway River, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway River to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork to the Red Cedar River, in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines River, and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet River; and down that river to its juncture with the Missouri River [Fay 1966:11–12].

This line was meant to define the boundary of each tribe’s hunting grounds and decrease hostilities between these often-warring groups. The line was impractical and not marked “on the ground.”

Intertribal warfare continued and the Americans sought to establish a *cordon sanitaire* between the two nations. In 1830, American Indian and United States delegations met at Prairie du Chien and agreed to establish a “neutral ground” between the Sauk and Meskwaki and the Santee Dakota. Using the old demarcation as the centerline, each tribe ceded a strip 20 miles wide; this 40-by-200-mile tract was surveyed by the government in 1832–1833. Nathan Boone, youngest son of frontiersman Daniel, was appointed to survey of the Neutral Ground boundaries (Petersen 1960b). Officially, the Neutral Ground was created to further separate the Santee Dakota on the north from the Sauk and Meskwaki to the south. However, by 1830, the government already had plans to remove the Ho-Chunk from Wisconsin (Street 1899), and the Neutral Ground was seen as a convenient place to temporarily house that group. Hovde (1979:93) suggests that the U.S. Government also wanted the Ho-Chunk moved into the Neutral Ground to act as a physical barrier between the warring tribes.

In 1827, the Ho-Chunk concluded a treaty ceding their lands in central Wisconsin. An 1829 treaty ceded half the Ho-Chunk tribe's territory south of the Wisconsin River. Land south of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers was ceded in 1832, in the Treaty of Fort Armstrong (Hexom 1913; Turner 1951). The Neutral Ground was considered a partial payment for Wisconsin lands. The 1832 treaty specified that Ho-Chunk were to receive only the eastern half of the Neutral Ground, with the Red Cedar River forming its westernmost extent. The post-1832 Neutral Ground included all of present-day Winneshiek County, the majority of Allamakee and Chickasaw counties, and portions of Bremer, Clayton, Fayette, Floyd, Howard, and Mitchell counties in Iowa and parts of Minnesota's future Fillmore and Houston counties (Figure 3).

Most Ho-Chunk were unwilling to leave their homeland. Not only was Wisconsin their ancestral home, but the Santee Dakota and the Sauk and Meskwaki were known to be especially hostile toward each other; the Ho-Chunk did not want to live in a buffer zone between warring tribes. Ho-Chunk premonitions of hostilities proved warranted: they suffered three large-scale attacks by the Sauk between 1834 and 1839. The third attack by a Sauk war party on a Ho-Chunk hunting camp occurred in the fall of 1839. Two Ho-Chunk were taken captive and twenty were killed. Retaliation was planned but not carried out, and peace between the two nations was established in July of 1840.

Another reason the government had difficulty persuading the Ho-Chunk to remove to the Neutral Ground was the interference of the American Fur Company. The Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, subagent, John H. Kinzie, and his interpreter, Pierre Pauquette, asked some of the Ho-Chunk not to leave Wisconsin (Street 1899:607). Kinzie and Pauquette were not only government employees, but also employed by the American Fur Company. Removal of the Ho-Chunk would negatively impact the fur trade by driving the Santee Dakota from their traditional hunting grounds. A small group of Ho-Chunk settled near or along the Yellow River in present-day Allamakee County in the early 1830s. A school, discussed below, was erected for the Ho-Chunk children.

A council was held in Washington, D. C. in 1837. Most Ho-Chunk still resided in Wisconsin and protested further removals west of the Mississippi. Several young men, sons and relatives of tribal leaders, who nevertheless did not hold positions of authority within the tribe, were sent to talk with government officials. The young men were forced to sign a treaty ceding remaining Ho-Chunk lands east of the Mississippi River. They understood that they would be given eight years to relocate to that portion of the Neutral Ground extending forty miles west of the Mississippi, but that they were not to hunt within 20 miles of the Mississippi River. In actuality, the treaty read "eight months" for removal to the Neutral Ground. The treaty allocated $10,000 to be paid to the tribe annually for 27 years. The Neutral Ground was to be a temporary home for the Ho-Chunk, with the promise of relocation to better land as soon as possible. Soon after the treaty was signed, the Ho-Chunk were told to leave Wisconsin (Kellogg 1924; Petersen 1960a).

The Ho-Chunk declared the 1837 treaty invalid, signed by men who did not represent the tribe. This treaty split the tribe into two factions, a treaty-abiding group (the "treaty bands"), which moved to the Neutral Ground, and a renegade group, which hid from government troops, leading a vagabond existence in Wisconsin. A special agency was established for the "outlaw" Ho-Chunk and Potawatomi at Plover, Wisconsin, in 1864, lasting until 1869. The agency moved to Necedah and then to New Lisbon. In 1870, the special

agency was abolished (Hill 1974). Finally, in 1881, the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk were allowed to purchase 40-acre farmsteads scattered across 10 counties. By this time, Euro-Americans had already purchased the best lands.

Not surprisingly, most Ho-Chunk were reluctant to remove to the Neutral Ground, and for the first several years only a few small bands crossed the Mississippi River. Under pressure from Euro-American settlers and the military, the treaty bands exited Wisconsin in the summer of 1840. Those Ho-Chunk who moved onto the Neutral Ground found themselves plagued by a host of problems: depredations by hostile Indian groups, indebtedness to fur traders, shortfalls in their government annuities, unscrupulous whiskey traders, encroachment by Euro-American settlers, and general malaise (Hexom 1913; Radin 1970).

In 1840, two boats transported the Ho-Chunk down the Wisconsin River to Prairie du Chien, then across the Mississippi to the Neutral Ground. The government continued to have difficulties containing the Ho-Chunk west of the Mississippi River. The Ho-Chunk were supposed to remain twenty miles west of the Mississippi River, but they were attracted to the river's good hunting, fishing, and trading. The Ho-Chunk frequently returned to Wisconsin to visit tribal members living there, for hunting trips, and in attempts to permanently move back. In September 1845, the Turkey River subagent estimated that half of the Ho-Chunk had returned to Wisconsin or were living along the Mississippi (Mahan 1926; Petersen 1960a-b). To entice the Ho-Chunk to move, annuity payments were made in the Iowa Territory after 1840 (Nichols 1965a).

As early as 1841, the government began plans to remove the Ho-Chunk from the Neutral Ground to a new reservation in Minnesota, and thereby open up northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota to Euro-American settlement. Other attempts to remove the tribe from the Neutral Ground took place in 1843, 1844, and 1845; all were unsuccessful. The Ho-Chunk did not want to move to a place already settled by the Santee Dakota (Diedrich 1991; Mahan 1926). Ho-Chunk Chief Gull summed up their feelings in October of 1846:

> All the land we have been talking about was made by the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit made some of it for his white children and some for his red children. He knows to whom he allotted all this land. He gave the Indian a country and he meant that his red children should live upon it, where he had placed them. We think the Great Spirit is displeased when we alter his arrangements, and that he is angry at his red children for giving up the lands he has placed them upon. We fear that our Great Father does not live in the fear of the Great Spirit or he would not ask us again to move from our lands. We have already given our Great Father a large and valuable portion of lands the Great Spirit gave us, and we greatly fear that his wrath will descend upon us if we move again [United States Department of State n.d.].

When Iowa became a state in 1846, the Ho-Chunk were the only tribe "legally" remaining in eastern Iowa.

The treaty of October 13, 1846 required the Ho-Chunk to move to a reservation between the Watab and Crow Wing rivers, northwest of present-day St. Cloud, Minnesota. A total of $190,000 was to be paid to the tribe over 30 years, with five percent interest being allotted to the tribe annually (Schoolcraft 1847). The subagency was located at Long Prairie, Minnesota, and was soon given the designation of full agency. In 1848, between two and three thousand Ho-Chunk were reluctantly moved from the Neutral Ground under

escort of combination military forces and contracted volunteers who were paid according to the number of Ho-Chunk that were taken to Minnesota. Once again, the Ho-Chunk decried the 1846 treaty as invalid: they did not want to move further from their Wisconsin homelands and did not want to live between more warring tribes, this time the Dakota and Ojibwa (Hovde 1979:32). A caravan of 115 government wagons and about 50 privately owned wagons, mostly belonging to traders and Ho-Chunk, transported the majority of the Ho-Chunk to Wabasha, Minnesota, in June, 1848. There, the wagons and people were transferred to barges and steamboats. At St. Paul, they disembarked and proceeded to the reservation near Long Prairie. Nevertheless, individual Ho-Chunk continued to return to the former Neutral Ground to hunt until the early twentieth century (Carman 1988:73–74).

In 1855, the Ho-Chunk were again moved, this time to a reservation newly established south of Mankato, Minnesota, along the Blue Earth River. The agency was located on the Le Sueur River (Friedrich 1980; Hill 1974; Merry and Green 1989). After the Dakota Uprising of 1862, the Ho-Chunk were removed from Minnesota to Crow Creek in South Dakota. The majority of the Ho-Chunk left Crow Creek, establishing themselves among the Omaha in Nebraska or returning to Wisconsin. A reservation was created for the Winnebago on the north end of the Omaha reservation in 1865 (Hill 1974; Lurie 1978). Eventually, two government-recognized Ho-Chunk/Winnebago groups emerged. One is based on the Winnebago Indian Reservation south of Sioux City in Nebraska; the second is the Ho-Chunk Sovereign Nation, primarily in Wisconsin, which owns tribal lands outside of the formal reservation system.

Context #1: Yellow River Subagency : 1829–1840

Prairie du Chien served as a hub that connected the Great Lakes with the Upper Mississippi Valley. The strategic position of Prairie du Chien,Wisconsin, along the Mississippi River made the settlement of vital importance to Indians, traders, European and Euro-American settlers, and government officials from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. Fort Crawford was built there in 1816, on a terrace prone to flooding, and is referred to as the "First" Fort Crawford, in use until 1829. A major flood in 1826 prompted approval of a new fort. A higher point in Prairie du Chien was chosen as the Second Fort Crawford location (archaeological Site 47CR247; Mahan 1926). Colonel Zachary Taylor supervised the construction on the second fort, beginning in the summer of 1829. Lumber for the second Fort Crawford was supplied by a mill built on the Yellow River, in present-day Allamakee County, Iowa. General labor was provided by military personnel. Private carpenters, stonemasons, and plasterers led the skilled labor. By the summer of 1830, the northern quarter of the fort was completed. The remainder was finished over the next four years, delayed by cholera, the Black Hawk War, and bad weather (Mahan 1926; Twinde 1999; Twinde-Javner 2005; Figure 4).

Of vital importance to the administration of the Neutral Ground, Prairie du Chien and Fort Crawford are nonetheless immediately outside the eastern boundary of the Neutral Ground. Fort Crawford soldiers aided in the removal of the Ho-Chunk to Iowa in 1840 and the periodic rounding up of renegade Ho-Chunk for deportation into Iowa. Prior to the construction of the Turkey River Subagency in modern Winneshiek County, Iowa, distribution of annuity payments took place from Prairie du Chien. The military ceased use of Fort Crawford in 1856. In 1868, it was sold to private citizens (Mahan 1921, 1926; Twinde 1999).

The Neutral Line was established in 1825; the Neutral Ground (20 miles wide on either side of the line) was demarcated in 1830. The earliest known Neutral Ground-related landscape change related to the Ho-Chunk relocation was the Government's construction of a sawmill in 1829, to furnish wood for the construction of the Second Fort Crawford. Shortly afterward, the mill was used to saw wood for the Yellow River Subagency.

<u>The Jefferson Davis Sawmill, Archaeological Site 13AM294</u>

The Jefferson Davis Sawmill was the first sawmill constructed in what is now Allamakee County, Iowa; it may have been the first mill in what is now the State of Iowa. The sawmill was probably referred to as the Yellow River Sawmill during its use; the "Jefferson Davis" name was applied at a much later date by local historians, in honor of the famous president of the Confederate States of America who briefly served as mill superintendent 30 years prior to his presidency. This mill was in operation until 1834 or 1835, and reportedly burned to the waterline in a forest fire (Rogers and Vogel 1989:48).

The Yellow River, a Mississippi River tributary, was north of Second Fort Crawford, thus providing the fort with easy access to timber that could be floated down the Mississippi. This spot on the Yellow River was chosen as it provided the most power to the sawmill. The mill was operated by soldiers, but was constructed by a master millwright who later remained at the fort as a carpenter (Prucha 1953:167). Pine logs were rafted down from logging camps to the sawmill. Oak logs from the sawmill were sawn on site (Mahan 1926; Orr 1941). Work detail at the mill typically consisted of 75-member-teams (Mahan 1926:130; Scanlan 1937:137).

Colonel Zachary Taylor's son-in-law, Jefferson Davis, was mill superintendent during part of 1831. Davis had prior experience as sawmill superintendent near Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin. Davis was born in Kentucky in 1808. He attended St. Thomas' College at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, and graduated from West Point in 1828. He was stationed at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin Territory in 1829, and soon transferred to Fort Winnebago. He was again transferred, this time to superintend the sawmill on the Yellow River in 1831. Davis was stationed at Second Fort Crawford at the end of the Black Hawk War, and escorted Black Hawk to Jefferson Barracks in Missouri where the Sauk warrior stood trial. Davis' U.S. Army career closed with his resignation in June, 1835. In 1845, Davis won a seat representing Mississippi in the U.S. House of Representatives, followed by two elections to the Senate (1847 and 1857) and a stint as Secretary of War in 1853. In 1861, he became President of the Confederacy. Following the Civil War, he was arrested under charges of conspiracy to kill President Lincoln. Davis spent two years in prison, but was eventually cleared of all charges. He died in New Orleans in 1889 (Dodd 1907; Eaton 1977).

In 1833, the sawmill was turned over to the Indian Department for use. It was then used to create planks for the Yellow River Subagency (Whaley 2003). The mill was also used to quarantine sick men during a cholera epidemic at Fort Crawford (Mahan 1926:137). With the completion of Second Fort Crawford in 1834, the mill was abandoned and burned a few years later (Orr 1941). The land upon which the mill sat was soon after sold to a private citizen. Archaeologist Ellison Orr visited the location twice in the late 1920s:

> There it was—very plain to us now—though we had passed it earlier, had looked at it and failed to see it A rocky bar across the river, the probable remains of the filling of a log crib dam, and the ends of two logs lying across each other with two inch augur holes through both—that was all. A pin had been driven through the augur holes to hold the logs together but that was gone. Just a bit of the log ends at the water's edge and near the right bank—all the rest as a matter of imagination. A little south of this at the foot of the bluff, a considerable excavation had evidently been made and the earth and rock taken from it, probably used in constructing the dam. About one hundred feet down the stream from the bar and log ends discovered on our first trip, we found on the second one, two other log ends protruding from the mud and gravel along the left [north] bank. These like the first found, lay across each other, as do the logs forming the corner of a log house, and had been fastened together like the others with a two inch pin [Orr 1930].

Orr also found a turbine wheel, possibly related to the Jefferson Davis Sawmill, buried along a road in the town of Bunker Hill.

The next archaeologist to visit the site was R. Clark Mallam (1976:20–22), who noted, "Today, four upright oak pilings are visible along with two shoring timbers, possibly remnants of the braced flow-way. A considerable amount of limestone debris extends into the river channel from the south bank. This debris probably represents the filling for the log crib dam which Orr noted."

Rogers and Vogel (1989:49–50) visited the site in November, 1988. As a result of their investigation, the Jefferson Davis Sawmill was designated archaeological Site 13AM294. Rogers and Vogel (1989:50) recommended the site potentially eligible to the NRHP. The authors described the site:

At the location of the log dam remnant a large cut log was visible barely sticking above the surface of the river on the south bank and at least one log was observed sticking upright out of the water on the north bank. The "rocky bar" noted by Orr was also visible upstream of the logs. In addition, two areas at the bluff base to the south of the dam remnant were observed, either one of which may correspond to the "considerable excavation" noted by Orr. One of these areas was located at the end of a bluff base ravine and was evidence by a depression approximately 15 m in diameter. The other area was more subtle and encompassed the north face of the should be examined by soil core probing to determine their nature.

No observable evidence of the "log ends" observed by Orr 100 feet downstream was found during the present investigation, nor was it specifically noted by Mallam. However, the river level appeared to be much higher than during Orr's visit, and the evidence may still be there underwater. This area should be reconnoitered during a period of low water to pinpoint the location of the sawmill. An additional recommendation is for the north bank of the river to be examined by shovel testing for evidence of the historic occupation related to the sawmill operation. At the time of the present investigation this area was covered with high grasses.

Dawn Whaley (2003:5–6), archaeology student at the University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, visited the site twice, noting:

Upon assessing the Jefferson Davis Sawmill I found that little surface material associated with the sawmill remains. There are squared timbers protruding at an angle in the water on the north (right) bank. These are possibly the same timbers that Ellison Orr noted in 1929. These timbers were only visible due to the low water level, and probably are not visible in the spring or summer months when the water levels are high. There is also a considerable amount of limestone on the north and south banks that are not naturally found in the Yellow River. The original site report, as well as Ellison Orr's account, indicates a possible area south of the dam that may have been excavated to fill the dam's log crib. This area was evident on our visit.

The second visit to the site was two weeks later on November 27, 2002. On this visit Bob Palmer and Vicki Twinde of MVAC accompanied me. Because of the cold weather, we tried to do as much as we could in as little time possible. First we took some more photographs with a 35 mm camera as well as some digital photographs. We then began to measure the site using a 50 m tape. As we were on the north side, we plotted the wooden beams and any rock along the shore and into the stream. Mr. Palmer and I then proceeded to wade across the river to map the other side. While traversing the river, I noted that there were wooden beams protruding from the bottom of the stream at about a 30-degree angle, two feet apart, on the eastern side of the dam. Ms. Twinde and I mapped the distance of the river and then proceeded to map the southern portion of the site.

On further investigation of the southern side of the river, Mr. Palmer indicated that there was a depression in the ground by the bluff. This depression may indicate a possible structure connected with the sawmill. There is no physical evidence of a building; however, further investigation of this area may reveal that it was the location of the superintendent's quarters, enlisted men's quarters, or the mess building.

Whaley (2003:23–24) recommended the Jefferson Davis sawmill eligible to the NRHP under Criterion B, for its association with Jefferson Davis, and Criterion D, for its potential to yield information about frontier and military life, along with specific information regarding early sawmills. Her limited investigations at the site suggested that historical integrity remains high.

A thorough search of National Archives microfilm relating to the Jefferson Davis Sawmill has not occurred. Given the reports of the large work crews and the use of the mill as an infirmary, there are certainly other related elements remaining on site besides the mill proper, log dam, and borrow pit. The soldiers would have required housing, either in tents or semi-permanent wooden barracks. A refectory (dining hall) and kitchen, along with privies, were also probably present on site. Additional investigation into period correspondence, coupled with archaeological investigation, should reveal a great deal more information about the uses and layout of the sawmill area. The importance of the sawmill to Neutral Ground history lies in its relationship to the Yellow River Subagency.

The Yellow River Subagency, Archaeological Site 13AM289

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun created the Office of Indian Affairs within the War Department on March 11, 1824. In 1832, a Commissioner of Indian Affairs was appointed who reported to the Secretary of War. The United States Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior in 1849 and renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Hill 1974).

Two domains were created under the Office of Indian Affairs—superintendencies and agencies. The superintendents oversaw the "relations among the Indian tribes within their jurisdiction and between these tribes and persons having business with them, and supervised the conduct and accounts of agents responsible for the affairs of one or more tribes" (Hill 1974:1). Agents reported to the superintendent or, occasionally, directly to the Office of Indian Affairs. The responsibilities of agents included the preservation or restoration of peace, allotment distribution, education, and "civilization" of American Indians. An ongoing mission of agents in the mid-1800s was an attempt to "induce the Indians to cede their land and move to areas less threatened by White encroachment" (Hill 1974:1–2).

The president appointed superintendents and agents, subject to the recommendations and approval of the Senate. An 1834 act allowed the president to discontinue or transfer agencies, but gave no authority to create additional agencies. To circumvent this act, subagencies were created. Essentially, subagents carried out all the responsibilities of full agents, although subagents were paid less and were often assigned to smaller or less important jurisdictions. In 1878, superintendencies were abolished and agents reported directly to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Hill 1974).

Articles I to III of the Winnebago Treaty of 1832 detailed the boundaries of ceded lands in Wisconsin, the lands acquired in the Neutral Ground, and payment sums of $10,000 annually for 27 years. Articles VII to X called for the provision of 30-days soldiers rations to the Ho-Chunk; payments to persons for services rendered and debts incurred by the tribe; delivery of several Ho-Chunk men to the government who were accused of murder or attempted murder; and land grants to four Ho-Chunk individuals. Articles IV to VI pertained to the establishment of a school and supporting buildings, these being at the Yellow River:

Article IV.

It is further stipulated and agreed, that the United States shall erect a suitable building, or buildings, with a garden, and a field attached, somewhere near Fort Crawford, or Prairie du Chien, and establish and maintain therein, for the term of twenty-seven years, a school for the education, including clothing, board, and lodging, of such Winnebago children as may be voluntarily sent to it: the school to be conducted by two or more teachers, male and female, and the said children to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, according to their ages and sexes, and such other branches of useful knowledge as the President of the United States may prescribe: Provided, That the annual cost of the school shall not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars. And, in order that the said school may be productive of the greatest benefit to the Winnebago nation, it is hereby subjected to the visits and inspections of his Excellency the Governor of the State of Illinois for the time being; the United States' General Superintendents of Indian affairs; of the United States' agents who may be appointed to reside among the Winnebago Indians, and of any officer of the United States' Army, who may be of, or above the rank of Major: Provided, That the commanding officer of Fort Crawford shall make such visits and inspections frequently, although of an inferior rank.

Article V.

And the United States further agree to make to the said nation of Winnebago Indians the following allowances, for the period of twenty-seven years, in addition to the considerations herein before stipulated; that is to say: for the support of six agriculturists, and the purchase of twelve yokes of oxen, ploughs, and other agricultural implements, a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; to the Rock river band of Winnebagoes, one thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco, per annum; for the services and attendance of a physician at Prairie du Chien, and of one at Fort Winnebago, each, two hundred dollars, per annum.

Article VI.

It is further agreed that the United States remove and maintain, within the limits prescribed in this treaty, for the occupation of the Winnebagoes, the blacksmith's shop, with the necessary tools, iron, and steel, heretofore allowed to the Winnebagoes, on the waters of the Rock river, by the third article of the treaty made with the Winnebago nation, at Prairie du Chien, on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine [Kappler 1972:346–347].

Only a small fraction of the Ho-Chunk population moved west of the Mississippi River prior to 1840. In the fall of 1833, about 68 Ho-Chunk occupied an abandoned Sauk village at the mouth of the Turkey River, 25 miles from Prairie du Chien. Several other families built homes further north. In September, 1835, Chief White Ox established a village on the Red Cedar River (possibly in modern Chickasaw County); 200 Ho-Chunk had reportedly moved to the area for hunting that winter (Van der Zee 1915:323–324). By 1839, Two Shillings' band camped near the Yellow River School, and the bands of Little Priest and Whirling Thunder were living on a farm about 15 miles west of the school. The Ho-Chunk population in the immediate vicinity of the Yellow River Subagency was about 300 persons in 1839, half of them children (Galland 1840; Van der Zee 1915:337).

General Joseph M. Street was appointed agent, overseeing the Ho-Chunk from Prairie du Chien,. He choose a subagency location that had suitable timber, was near the Jefferson Davis sawmill, had ample space for building construction, rich soil for agricultural fields, and which was in relatively close proximity to Prairie du Chien, six miles distant. He choose this spot along the Yellow River in 1833. Street considered building contracts in the spring of 1834, but was called to the Sac and Fox Agency at Rock Island, leaving

Fort Crawford Commander Colonel Zachary Taylor (future President of the United States, 1849–1850) in charge of constructing the buildings at the Yellow River School. Taylor's participation appears to have been limited.

Construction at the Subagency halted due to weather in 1834, but "temporary quarters" were present by the fall of that year, as School Superintendent David Lowry occupied them over the winter. The school was completed early in 1835, and it opened for Ho-Chunk education (Mahan 1926:202, 207; Street 1899:616, 618). The main building, used as a school and residence, was constructed of limestone quarried nearby (Figure 5). The Yellow River school building was described as

> a two-storied schoolhouse, the lower floor of stone, the upper floor of planks cut at the military sawmill three miles distant. The building was 42 feet long, 32 feet wide, with four spacious rooms per floor, each heated by a huge fireplace. Additional space was derived from a finished garret, floors were oak planking and the entire structure was shingled with pine shakes [Rayman 1978:366].

Indeed, the fireplaces must have been huge. Hancock (1913:58–59) described the chimney as ten-foot-square, and so prominent that it was used as a "witness tree" in the original government land survey of 1848. He continues, stating that about 200 acres were cultivated in association with the Mission. In all likelihood, Hancock meant to say "ten square feet," based on the photograph in Figure 5.

Rogers (1993:11–12) notes that the Yellow River Subagency (13AM289), and its descendant, the Turkey River Subagency (13WH111) served a variety of functions:

> The Subagency provided health care by hiring doctors, and it operated a model farm, demonstration mill, and school. It also distributed annuity payments and expedited pacification and acculturation processes. The annuity payments typically included goods such as Mackinac blankets, cloth, clothing, bed ticking, sewing supplies, "assorted ribbons," "clay and fancy pipes," "assorted beads," vermilion, and livestock such as beef cattle, and also could include cash payments. Annuity payments, their transport and distribution, seem to have been a chronic problem for both the Subagents and the Winnebagos (Stanley 1992:Appendix C). Merry and Green (1989:2) have noted that "above all, the agency saw to the political and economic administration of the Winnebago resettlement, including interpreting and effecting federal treaty policy to the Winnebagos, as authorized in the Rules and Regulations of the Indian Office."

Early historic references to the locale as a "mission" include John Fonda (1869:529), who lived in the Fort Crawford vicinity in the 1830s and who, in his 1869 reminiscence stated, "The Indian Agency was removed this year [1832] to Yellow River, and the Rev. Mr. Lowrey appointed Agent. It was afterwards removed to Fort Atkinson, Iowa. The mission buildings can be seen now on Yellow River, about five miles from its mouth." Moses Paquette, who attended the school at least during 1838, referred to it in an 1887 interview as the "Presbyterian Indian mission on the Yellow river Iowa" (Thwaites 1892:405). Prominent historian Reuben Gold Thwaites also referred to the Yellow River locale as a "mission" in the interview footnote. Paquette noted that the Brunson sisters taught the children, while Lowry "preached to us and superintended the agency" (ibid:406), going on to note that, "Of course the religious teaching was wholly of the Presbyterian cast and the children were very good Presbyterians so long as they remained at the mission…" In other words, although the Yellow River Subagency was a government administrative center and school, it was run by a Presbyterian minister, and thus had a religious slant.

It appears Agent Joseph Street hired Cumberland Presbyterian minister David Lowry in late 1833 or early 1834, with the expectation that Lowry would be the principal teacher or the school superintendent (Street 1899:617–618). Other sources state that it was President Andrew Jackson who appointed Lowry as school superintendent in 1835 (Mahan 1926:207, 215; Petersen 1960a-b).

Catholic priest Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli began preaching to the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk in 1832, and was apparently well received (Butler 1898:159). Mazzuchelli reported that Winnebago chiefs in 1834 demanded that a Catholic priest should be appointed school director; referring to the subagency as the "Mission Presbyterianna" (Figure 6) The priest said:

> …nevertheless a Calvinistic minister was assigned in his [Mazzuchelli's] place. So he [Lowry], with his wife and sons, had a fine residence, as much land as he wished, and the aforesaid annual sum with other sources of income which it would take too long to specify. In this school a few Indian children of Canadian or English fathers received the first rudiments of education, but the chief benefit fell to the minister, who then became the Indian Agent with a good salary from the government. If it were asked how many adult Indians were converted to the Presbyterianism, I believe that no one could answer this difficult question (Mazzuchelli 1966:116).

Mazzuchelli arrived in the United States from Italy in 1828, and did not yet fully understand how personal influence and favoritism affected political decision making, so he petitioned U.S. President Andrew Jackson:

> I address myself to you, Father of this country, to obtain what ordinary means have proved ineffectual. In June of the year 1833 the Winnebago Chiefs of Fort Winnebago and Rock River have called on Mr. John Kenzie [*sic*] then their Sub-agent, to have me appointed by Government the Superintendent of the schools promised them by the U.S. in the Treaty of the year 1832 […] Capt. Robert A. McCabe, who held Mr. John Kenzie's office in the year 1834 wrote several times to the Government warmly recommending by appointment. The Winnebagoes are now very much dissatisfied of their schools built by Government on Yellow River, about eight miles from Prairie du Chien, under the Superintendency of the Rev. D. Lowry placed in that office against their will. The fact is that he and the Agent could not persuade the Indians to put their children into that school [letter from Mazzuchelli to Jackson, May 10, 1835, as reprinted in Alderson and Alderson 1974:not paginated].

Mazzuchelli's letter generated comments from the Secretary of War, the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and the temporary agent at Prairie du Chien, Zachary Taylor. Taylor dismissed the priest's concerns, essentially stating Mazzuchelli was being used by the American Fur Company. The trading company had vested interests in controlling the Ho-Chunk and hoped to manipulate the actions of a foreigner serving as superintendant. Taylor suspected the Ho-Chunk did not truly care who was appointed director of the Yellow River School (Alderson and Alderson 1974). No formal action was brought in terms of Lowry's appointment over Mazzuchelli, although the priest continued to have an interest in the Neutral Ground.

Lowry's wife, Mary Ann, assisted her husband in teaching and administrative duties. Agent Street hired several farm laborers and secured four teams of oxen and two horses for the farm. Street inspected the school in April, 1835, and found six students in attendance. The following year, several more laborers were hired, and more oxen procured. By December, 1837, enrollment was 41 pupils. Eleven of the students boarded on-site, while the others lived nearby with their parents. Two more teachers were hired, Kentucky natives Bradford and Patsey Porter. The treaty of that year also provided $500 toward employment of a school interpreter (Street 1899).

As previously mentioned, in November, 1837, a Ho-Chunk delegation traveled to Washington, D. C., where another treaty was signed (Kappler 1972). This treaty sold all remaining lands east of the Mississippi to the government. The tribe was required to move into the Neutral Ground and had to vacate a portion of it within 20 miles of the river; this caveat was meant to prevent them from returning to Wisconsin. According to the treaty, the tribe needed to leave Wisconsin by February, 1839, but the government did not begin to strictly enforce the relocation policy until 1840.

Street was ordered to establish the new Sac and Fox Agency in southeast Iowa in 1838. The following year Lowry replaced Street as administrator of the Yellow River facility. By then, the position had been reduced from agent to that of subagent. John Thomas obtained a short-lived appointment to supervise the school. Thomas then took over supervision of the adjacent farm operation, and Abner McDowell took over as school supervisor; his wife Nancy was an assistant teacher. Sisters Minerva and Lucy Brownson (Brunson) were hired as teachers, along with husband-and-wife teachers Joseph and Evaline Mills (Mahan 1924:450–451; Thomas 1843; Van der Zee 1915:343–345).

Education initially stressed domestic and agricultural learning. Agent Street belived the Ho-Chunk "hands should be educated" (Street 1899:606). Students received clothing from the agency, all sewn by female Ho-Chunk students. Reportedly, the girls made more than 200 clothing items, including trousers, dresses, skirts, coats and aprons. By 1838, the girls were sewing two to three hours each day; most Ho-Chunk children had requested their clothes be "cut and made like those worn by white children" (Lowry 1838:520). Lowry noted that children did not consistently attend school, and that teaching progressed slowly, due "not to lack of intellect, but to ignorance of the English language and to lack of cooperation on the part of the Winnebago parents" (Stanley 1995:52). To encourage enrollment of their children, each child received a daily allotment of pork, salt, and cornmeal to take home at the end of each day (Mahan 1926:21, 451). It appears that English was the language of nearly all instruction at the school. Lowry adamantly believed that teaching English encouraged the elimination of distinctions between tribes; he felt if everyone spoke English, they would get along better (Lowry 1838:520–522).

In 1838, 36 pupils attended the Yellow River School: 14 girls and 22 boys; four half-breeds and 32 "full Indians" (Lowry 1838:519). Eleven students boarded at the school; the others returned to their "wigwams" each night. In 1839, 79 students attended, 43 boys and 36 girls (Street 1899). In its final year of operation, only the Brunson sisters, and newly reappointed Superintendent Thomas served as paid teachers. The 58 students enrolled in the summer of 1840 were divided into four classes, grouped from beginners to advanced pupils. A visitor to the school that year noted the students gave a performance on astronomy (Seymour 1840). The highest class was expected to understand

> [...] geography, arithmetic, read fluently, spell accurately, write a fair legible hand, and have a daily exercise in English grammar. From the interest manifesting in this exercise, I have no doubt they will advance rapidly in a knowledge of this science, when furnished with books. [The second class] are studying geography, have a daily exercise on the maps, read fluently the Eclectic First Reader, spell words of two or three syllables, write better than most white children at their stage of advancement, and are learning to read, write and combine numbers. Third class are reading easy reading lessons, spelling words of two syllables, and learning to write [Brownson 1840:367–368].

The "model farm" aspect at the Yellow River was not a rousing success, although Lowry's reports suggest some progress was made in teaching European agricultural methods to the Ho-Chunk. He stated that the 1838 crop yield was 500 bushels of corn, 1,000 of potatoes, and 1,500 of turnips. In its final year of operation (1840), the model farm employed a blacksmith, a striker, and 10 farmers, all Euro-Americans. Such a quantity of farm employees suggests they, not the Ho-Chunk, were conducting much of the farming at the subagency. In his 1838 report, Lowry noted that 38 Winnebago families had planted 76 acres in crops, chiefly corn, potatoes, and beans, with the government providing the seed. He reported that six log cabins had been erected as Ho-Chunk residences, along with a log storehouse for Indian use. The agent encouraged the use of cabins, versus the traditional wickiups, because cabins encouraged Ho-Chunk to abandon their "roving ways." That year a horse stable, blacksmith shop, coal house, and a residence for the smith's family were also built. An additional 40 acres was fenced and partially plowed 15 miles west of the Subagency, for the use of the Ho-Chunk (Lowry 1838:520–521).

In 1840, the last year at Yellow River, 50 Ho-Chunk families were reportedly farming. Most were using the 130 acres of plowed ground immediately adjacent to the school, although a few families used two 10-acre plots nearby, and 10 families used the plots 15 miles west of the Subagency (Thomas 1840:338–339). Before the arrival of Euro-Americans to Wisconsin, every Ho-Chunk family would have planted crops to provide for the coming year, in addition to harvesting wild plants and animals. It is unclear if Lowry defined farming as using European methods or if he included traditional methods as well.

The school closed in October, 1840, coinciding with the new school opening at the Turkey River Subagency (Mahan 1924:450). The Yellow River property passed into private ownership in 1842. John Linton sold the property soon after to his brother, Thomas. The school building was used as a house; it may have also served as a hotel, tavern, and post office (Hancock 1913:61; Mahan 1924:452; Merry and Green 1989). The building is depicted on the 1849 General Land Office surveyor's map with a cabin symbol, and the words "Old Mission House" (Office of the Secretary of State 1981). The school was dismantled about 1900, and the stones were used in the construction of a nearby barn basement. Rogers and Vogel (1989:50) noted that no above-ground traces of the barn remained in 1989.

Orr (1935) redrafted the 1849 government land surveyor's map (Office of the Secretary of State 1981) of the "Old Mission" vicinity in Section 19 of T96N-R3W. The original map shows a bluff line, the Yellow River, two large cultivated fields, and the cabin labeled "Old Mission." Orr's map additionally shows a spring, a swamp southeast of the mission, and "graves" immediately north of the river. The source of Orr's information on grave locations is not known.

Carl Merry (1988b) first recorded the site in the Iowa Site File on the basis of archival information. The following year, Rogers and Vogel (1989:51) archaeologically verified the site location:

> The only observable remnants evidencing the Mission are a stone retaining wall constructed with stones from the Mission and a spring. The retaining wall is located in front of the present house structure owned by the Johanningmeier family. The spring is situated to the northeast of the house and is covered by a low spring house structure. According to oral history testimony, this is the same spring utilized by the Mission

School. Hancock (1913:58) noted that the spring was "a few rods northeast of the house," and further that "the water from (the) large spring close by in the bluff in the rear, and of sufficient height, was taken directly into an upper story by wooden pipes, and furnished all the water needed."

The area where the school structure was located is currently part of a cattle lot, and has been impacted by cattle tromping in the muddied area below the spring and by construction of later farm outbuildings including a long shed which is presently located below the spring. Because the Mission had a cellar and a substantial chimney footed in this cellar, it is possible that subsurface evidence of this structure remains. All indications from the post-occupation impacts including the dismantling of the structure and the salvaging of the stone suggest that the remains are highly disturbed. However, the historic significance of this site is high, and it is recommended that the location be investigated by subsurface testing to determine if intact remains are present.

Stanley (1995:114) revisited this and several other sites within Yellow River State Forest in order to "provide conceptual frameworks" to aid in forest management (Figure 7). Stanley (1995) estimated the Subagency site size at 75-x-50-m, excluding the former subagency agricultural fields. Several farm buildings and a manure lagoon had been constructed to the east of the site; the buildings probably were built between 1960 and 1965. No subsurface testing was conducted in the immediate vicinity of the buildings. Stones from the original Yellow River Subagency schoolhouse had been incorporated into a modern retaining wall. Although there had been observable damage to the site landform due to building and lagoon construction, Stanley (1995:123) was optimistic about the potential for intact deposits, especially privies, across some portions of the site. The former landowner indicated that the massive chimney base of the school building fireplace was incorporated into the modern house, and its base remained intact. Archaeological excavations at the later Turkey River Subagency (13WH111; Peterson 1995) revealed a wealth of burned 1840s artifacts within the school chimney base.

Nathan Boone Campsite

This son of Daniel Boone had a direct relationship to the Neutral Ground. Nathan Boone was one of the surveyors of the Neutral Ground in 1832. He reportedly camped in the NE¼, Section 7, T96N-R9W (Oslund 1940). This location would be no more than one-mile northwest of the future location of Fort Aktinson, which was constructed in 1840. Boone's campsite location is very specific to within a 160-acre area. It is unlikely a firm designation as "the" Nathan Boone camp site can be made. Unless surveying equipment is found, the material assemblage from a one-night-stay in 1832 will look very similar to the assemblage of the many others who likely camped in closer proximity to the fort over the following 10 to 20 years.

Neutral Ground Boundary Marker

A large stone in Section 4, Fremont Township, Fayette County, reportedly stands 20-ft in circumference and 10-ft-high (Donna Story, email communication, July 28, 2011). Local history suggests this stone may be situated along the southern boundary of the Neutral Ground and may have been a recognized boundary marker.

Other Resources Possibly Related to Context #1

There are several other properties that seem to date to the Neutral Ground era, but their exact funtion is not presently known. For the time being, these resources are included in the Yellow River Subagency context

due to their physical proximity to that site. Future research correlate them to another or an additional context.

13AM309: A single ball clay pipe stem was found in Section 24, T97N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. Steve Lensink of the Office of the State Archaeologist recorded this site in 1989, based on the contents of a private artifact collection and information from a park ranger at the Yellow River Forest Campground. The stem may have been utilized as a bead, given the considerable smoothing exhibited on both ends.

13AM337: A possible 1830s-1860s component was identified at this site with an intact campfire feature. Site 13AM337 is located in Section 28, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. This site was recorded by James Collins of the Office of the State Archaeologist in 1993 (Collins 1993). Artifacts included prehistoric materials, faunal materials, white earthenware, tin can fragments, and bottle glass, all potentially from the Neutral Ground period. Over 1-m of Camp Creek member deposits overlay the historic component, effectively sealing the site from disturbance. Given that the site is situated within two miles of the Yellow River Subagency (13AM289), this site may be related to the Neutral Ground period.

13AM378: This dugout is located in Section 19, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. David Stanley of Bear Creek Archeology recorded the site in 1994 (Iowa Site File). No artifacts were recovered due to poor visibility, but given the location of this dugout in relation to site 13AM289 (the Yellow River Mission), this site may be associated with the Neutral Ground.

13AM380: This dugout is located in Section 20, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. David Stanley of Bear Creek Archeology recorded the site in 1994 (Iowa Site File). No artifacts were recovered due to poor visibility, but given the location of this dugout in relation to site 13AM289 (the Yellow River Subagency), this site may be associated with the Neutral Ground.

13AM381: This relic trail, called the “Old Mission Trail” is located in sections 19, 20, and 30, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. David Stanley of Bear Creek Archeology recorded the site in 1994 (Iowa Site File).

13AM384: This indeterminate function site is located in Section 29, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. David Stanley of Bear Creek Archeology recorded the site in 1994 (Iowa Site File). Burned earth, charcoal, and possibly daub were recovered from ground surface. Given the location of this site in relation to site 13AM289 (the Yellow River Subagency), site 13AM384 may be associated with the Neutral Ground.

13AM385: This river ford called the “Old Mission Trail” is located in Section 20, T96N-R3W, Allamakee County, Iowa. David Stanley of Bear Creek Archeology recorded the site in 1994 (Iowa Site File). It may be associated with the Yellow River Subagency.

Summary of Historic Properties related to Context #1: Yellow River Subagency, 1829–1840

Property types related to the Yellow River Subagency Context include the Yellow River Subagency school building at 13AM289; related subagency-era cultivated fields and surrounding fencerows; burials (Euro-American or Ho-Chunk); the dam, structural ruins associated with the mill race and Jefferson Davis sawmill at 13AM294; the Nathan Boone campsite; and roads and trails leading to the Subagency. Early settlers or the Ho-Chunk may have used the dugouts as shelters. Archaeological remnants of all buildings at the Subagency may remain at the site. Expected archaeological evidence of buildings at the subagency would likely take the form of limestone foundation alignments, limestone building piers, or chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings, post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface, with no foundations. Post molds may be in evidence along fencerows, although the exact locations of fence lines are not presently known. In addition, other yet unidentified, but related properties likely exist. These properties would include the Ho-Chunk villages of Two Shillings, Little Priest, Whirling Thunder, and possibly others.

Stanley (1995:115) identified several other sites in close proximity to the Subagency that may be associated with it. These sites include a relict trail (13AM381), a river ford (13AM385), and two possible dugouts (13AM378, 13AM380). Other nearby sites of unknown function that seem to contain Neutral Ground era artifacts have also been recorded (13AM309, 13AM337, 13AM384). Shovel testing in a plowed field south of modern building at the Yellow River Subagency, in a plowed field suggests the potential for 1830s historic plowzones related to Neutral Ground-era fields, preserved below about 30 to 50 cm of more recent historic alluvium (Stanley 1995:81–82).

Context #2: Fort Atkinson: 1840–1853

The relocation of the subagency from near the Mississippi River inland to modern day Winneshiek County necessitated the construction of a fort, one closer to the new Turkey River Subagency than Fort Crawford and able to more effectively and expediently implement governmental, and thus military, policy as it affected the Ho-Chunk and interlopers onto the Neutral Ground. This new military outpost was named after General Henry Atkinson, famous for his leadership of the 1819 Missouri and the 1825 Yellowstone expeditions. Atkinson is also remembered as directing the establishment of forts Atkinson (in Nebraska) and Leavenworth; for his service as the commander of troops during the 1832 Black Hawk War, including at the Battle of Bad Axe; and for the establishment and commanding of Jefferson Barracks, the first infantry school for the Army, in St. Louis. Atkinson supervised the removal of Pottawattami from Missouri into Iowa in 1837, and of the Ho-Chunk from Wisconsin into Iowa in 1840 (Nichols 1965b).

A widely circulated bit of misinformation about Fort Atkinson is that it was "the only fort in the country built to protect one tribe of Indians [the Ho-Chunk] from another tribe [the Santee]" (discussed in Williams 1980:4). More correctly, Prucha (1953:27) summed up the Fort Atkinson *raison d'etre* in his study of the Army's role in the development of the Old Northwest:

> To keep the errant Winnebago on the Neutral Ground, to protect them from their Indian foes around them, and to prevent the encroachment of settlers and whiskey traders on the Indian lands, the War Department established a new fort on the Turkey River fifty miles west of Prairie du Chien, which was named Fort Atkinson. So long as the Winnebago remained on this reservation they had the protection of United States soldiers. When they moved on, the fort was no longer necessary, and the troops were transferred elsewhere.

After the Louisiana Purchase, a series of military and scientific expeditions were dispatched to explore the Upper Mississippi Valley, including what is now northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota. In 1816, Fort Crawford, intended as a key bastion in the defense of the western frontier, was established at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Armstrong at Rock Island was erected to control the fur trade. Three years later, Fort Snelling was built at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. In addition to their primary mission of providing for frontier defense, these military garrisons had an important secondary function as nuclei for commercial and agricultural development (Beers 1935; Mahan 1926; Prucha 1953).

Whittaker (2007:12) notes the relationship of Fort Atkinson to other Upper Mississippi Valley forts:

> Fort Atkinson was under the jurisdiction of Second Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien, which was the main source of outside provisions and logistical direction. Fort Atkinson and Second Fort Crawford were part of a constellation of military forts meant to pacify Native Americans and regulate white settlement of the upper Midwest; other forts in the region in the 1830s–1850s included Fort Snelling in Minnesota, Fort Winnebago in Wisconsin; Fort Des Moines No. 1, Fort Des Moines No. 2, Fort Sanford, Fort Dodge, Camp Kearney, and Fort Croghan in Iowa; and Fort Armstrong in Illinois.

Soldiers could not effectively patrol the Neutral Ground from Second Fort Crawford. Fort Atkinson served as the new military garrison, located about 5 miles north of the Turkey River Subagency and about two days riding west from Prairie du Chien. The fort was originally to be built on the Red Cedar River

about 50 miles west-southwest of the eventual Fort Atkinson location. The Ho-Chunk, however, informed Indian subagent David Lowry that they would not move farther west than the Turkey River. Lowry then advocated a post on the Turkey River which eventually became Fort Atkinson (Williams 1980).

Fort Atkinson is located within the corporate limits of the City of Fort Atkinson, Winneshiek County, Iowa, within the SW¼ of Section 8, T96N–R9W (Figures 8 and 9). The area presently owned by the State of Iowa encompasses 7.08 acres. Construction of the fort began in June 1840 (Historical Department of Iowa 1900; Nichols 1965a). Company F, 5th U.S. Infantry, was dispatched from Fort Crawford to provide security for about 50 construction workers. Because Fort Atkinson lay beyond the normal lines of communication, the Army cut a wagon road from its depot on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite Fort Crawford, the first link in a complex of government roadways known collectively as the Military Road. Eventually, two military routes were opened between Fort Crawford and Fort Atkinson: the original one from the "upper ferry" crossing from Prairie du Chien, the other, the preferred route, from the "lower" crossing near present day McGregor, Iowa (Andreas 1970; Parker 1855; Stanley 1993, 1996).

Fort Construction

As the Ho-Chunk began their forced immigration into the Neutral Ground in late June, 1840, they found the military protection promised them was already in place. Materials for construction of the new fort were assembled at Second Fort Crawford and at other military depots along the Mississippi and hauled to the site by crews of civilian teamsters. The bluffs south and southwest of the fort provided limestone for foundations and some of the buildings, including the northern barracks, blockhouses, and powder magazine. Walnut interiors for the buildings were probably cut at a mill near the Turkey River Subagency, five miles south (Carr 1998:27; Mahan 1921:336). The stockade was made of about one-third oak, the rest linden (basswood). Although built as defensive works, the fortifications were never actually intended to repulse an attack–rather, the massive stone buildings and 11-foot 9-inch tall wood pickets were intended to make a favorable impression on Euro-American visitors, and probably, as a show of strength to the Ho-Chunk (see Prucha 1953:117).

Much of the actual construction labor was performed by civilian contractors hired by the Army quartermaster at Fort Crawford. Provisioning the new outpost was in the hands of the civilian post sutler, Henry M. Rice, a future United States Senator for Minnesota. Although the initial military contingent was commanded by an infantryman, Captain Isaac Lynde, construction was superintended by an artilleryman, Captain Edwin V. Sumner, a West Point-trained civil engineer. Upon completion of the fort, Sumner assumed command, which he retained until the troops were withdrawn in 1846. The garrison consisted of a company of infantry, later augmented by a company of mounted infantry or dragoons. After the regular army pulled out at the start of the Mexican War, the fort was manned by two companies of volunteer militia, infantry and dragoons, commanded by captains James Morgan and John Parker (Mahan 1926).

Williams (1980:38–48) provides an excellent synopsis of Fort Atkinson construction, utilizing a good deal of National Archives period correspondence:

Capt. [Isaac] Lynde, in command of Company F, 5th Infantry, had left Ft. Crawford on May 5th with orders to proceed to the Turkey River. The sites for the post and the Indian agency 5 miles downstream had been selected by David Lowry, the Indian agent, and two officers, Lt. Whipple, who was to superintend construction, and the Assistant Surgeon, William S. King. On May 31, 1840, Company F arrived at the Turkey River site and established Camp Atkinson, named in honor of the general. Capt. Lynde had arrived at the site with orders for his men to build log cabins to house subsistence stores sent from Ft. Crawford. Before he returned to Jefferson Barracks in June, Gen. Atkinson had given Lt. Whipple orders for the construction of the new post. There were to be a barracks and an officers' quarters, both 2 stories high and made of logs hewn flat on two sides. The barracks would also house a temporary hospital. The two log buildings were to be sited at a right angle to each other with picket work enclosing the spaces at the corners of the buildings. The building of the fort proceeded apace that summer, but indecision and bureaucratic snafus would delay the completion of the buildings for more than two years.

On July 22, 1840, Lt. Whipple reported on the progress at the fort to the Quartermaster General in Washington. With the 81 men of Company F and 7 carpenters he hired, Whipple announced optimistically that he planned to have the buildings up and roofed with the logs chinked, interior walls built, and the ceiling plastered before winter set in. He was also planning to have stables constructed before the first snow. The officers' quarters, he told Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup, was 120 feet long by 19 feet wide and divided into 12 rooms, 6 on each floor. The other building, intended originally to be the soldiers' barracks and the hospital, was 140 feet by 20 feet and was now going to do extra duty as a commissary and sutler's store. Whipple closed his report with an innocent enough request. "Should we find ourselves backward in completing work in view, will it meet your approval to increase the number of mechanics to a greater extent than we at present contemplate?" he asked.

Whipple hardly anticipated Jesup's response. "No appropriation has been made by Congress for the work constructing at your post," the Quartermaster General wrote back in August. "Consequently the employment of hired mechanics cannot be sanctioned." The work of building Ft. Atkinson, Whipple discovered, would have to be conducted by regular Troops who volunteered to do the extra duty for the small additional pay they could earn. The carpenters Whipple had hired would have to be dismissed. Thus the pattern for the construction of Ft. Atkinson was set. It would be a start-and-stop operation with some of the work performed by hired mechanics while the balance was done by troops on extra duty. Financing would be erratic too. Some funds would come out of the general appropriation for frontier defense with special funds granted by Congress to settle long overdue accounts. The problem of finances would continue to plague quartermasters throughout the existence of the post.

Winter came quickly to northeastern Iowa in 1840, and the work on the new post was halted sooner than expected; In late October, Capt. Lynde reported to the Adjutant General in Washington that his men had moved into the new quarters, although the interior work on the buildings that Lt. Whipple had planned was not yet complete. The plans called for accommodations for two companies, but by November only Capt. Lynde's company was in residence at the post. That month, the Quartermaster General reported on the progress of the work to Congress. "Barracks and other buildings for the accommodation of a company have been erected under the orders of General Atkinson," Thomas Jesup reported, "and it is proposed to provide, during the next season for the accommodation of another company." He went on to comment on the temporary nature of the post. 'The presence of the white population, however, will compel the Winnebagoes, in a few years, to seek a home farther west or north," Jesup pointed out. "I propose therefore, that as little expense as possible, having due regard to the comfort, health, and security of the garrison, be incurred.

No doubt it was the health and comfort of the garrison Capt. Lynde had in mind in January of 1841 when he suggested a change in construction materials to be used in the additional buildings at the new post. "The Buildings are very uncomfortable this winter," Lynde complained to Gen. Brooke of Ft. Crawford, "and three

times the Government allowance of Fuel would not make them inhabitable." Only interior plastering and exterior weatherboarding would make these log buildings comfortable, and these steps would add considerably to the buildings' cost. Instead, Lynde suggested that stone be used for all future buildings. Adequate building stone, he pointed out, was much more abundant than good timber. "There is as good a quarry for building stone as could be wished, within fifty yards of the nearest point of the Garrison," he told Brooke, "and which [sic] can be quarried with as little expence [sic] as any I ever saw." He argued that the stone could be quarried by enlisted men without the use of blasting powder, but he also pointed out that workmen would have to be hired to do the masonry and carpentry work "as I have only three very indifferent carpenters in my Company and only one Stone Mason." Still, he argued that stone buildings would be cheaper to erect than more log ones. "From a thorough examination into the comparative expences [sic] of building with Stone & Logs, in this prairie country," Lynde argued, "I am thoroughly convinced of the cheapness of the former."

Lynde's suggestion was forwarded on to Thomas Jesup in Washington with Gen. Brooke's approval. By March, the War Department had decided that the additional company to be stationed at Ft. Atkinson would be a company of dragoons. But in order to accommodate the additional men and their horses, additional officers' quarters, barracks, and stables would have to be erected at the post quickly. Gen. Atkinson wrote Jesup advising him of the necessity for the new buildings at the Turkey River post. He requested that Jesup order the quartermaster in St. Louis to make preparations for the new buildings, and in April a contract was let that would turn Capt. Lynde's suggestion into a reality. On April 27th Augustus A. Blumenthal contracted "to quarry Stone and put up a Block of Stone Barracks at Fort Atkinson Iowa Territory in a plain, substantial, workmanlike manner."

While work began on the stone barracks, the log buildings remained unfinished. In June, Capt. Lynde requested permission to finish the work. That part of the log barracks used as the hospital was only partially floored, and both buildings were in sore need of plastering and weatherboarding. "Every driving storm comes in between the Logs," he told Jesup, "and, at this time, my quarters are wet with a rain storm of last night." Jesup relented the following month, and authorized the work, including the hiring of a carpenter and a plasterer, provided that the weatherboards were obtained from the sawmill at the Indian Agency and that the troops aided in the plastering.

The winter of 1841–42 was passed in the still incomplete barracks and quarters. To complicate matters, there were nearly half again as many men at the post this winter than the previous one. In June 1841, Company B of the 1st Dragoons had arrived to take up a 5 years' residence at the post. Then, in September, the 5th Infantry, including Capt. Lynde's Company F, was ordered to Florida under the command of Brig. Gen. Brooke. Replacing Brooke in command of Ft. Crawford was Col. William Davenport of the 1st Infantry who ordered Capt. J.J. Abercrombie of Company K to garrison his men at the Turkey River post.

The spring of 1842 found Ft. Atkinson "in a very rough state." Capt. Edwin Sumner, who arrived at the post in June from a recruiting tour in the east to take charge of the mounted troops, reported that the stone officers' quarters was still at least a month away from completion while the stone barracks had as yet no roof. In Washington, Quartermaster General Jesup was anxious to have the work at Ft. Atkinson completed. Jesup directed Capt. S.M. Plummer, the Acting Quartermaster at Ft. Crawford, to superintend the construction at Ft. Atkinson, and asked that he make a detailed estimate of the amount of money needed to finish the work. When he arrived at Ft. Atkinson, Plummer discovered outstanding debts of nearly 8,000 dollars in the accounts of the post and estimated that the cost of completing the buildings would equal that sum.

The work remaining at the post was reported by Capt. J.H. Prentiss who arrived on an inspection tour 2 days after Plummer. Prentiss observed that 57 mechanics and laborers were at work on the buildings and the picket work. "The Stone Block for officer's quarters was nearly ready for occupancy," he reported, "but that for the men is not yet covered in." He estimated that the stone barracks might be finished in 2 or 3 months if

additional funds were provided. The post, he added, still lacked a powder magazine. The day Prentiss arrived, a contract was let for the digging of a well. Also under construction was a commissary storehouse.

Under Capt. Plummers direction, the work advanced rapidly. A little over 3 weeks after he arrived at the post, Plummer was able to report considerable progress. "Since my report of June 16th the block of Officers Quarters therein refered to have been very nearly completed," he wrote Thomas Jesup. "The block of Soldier Quarters will be covered in tomorrow. The Commissary Store house is two thirds up and the Magazine nearly as far completed. The Well has been placed under contract agreeable to the order of the Commanding Officer, and has been sunk about twenty feet. Nearly three sides of the works have been picketed-in and the remaining Side will probably be completed in the course of two or three weeks." Plummer estimated that the work would be finished, "including the covering in of the Blockhouses, in 2 and a half months."

The summer of 1842 was one of the busiest at Ft. Atkinson. Not only were the buildings rising rapidly, but official visitors arrived in quick succession to inspect the works. Capt. Prentiss' June inspection tour was followed by a July visit from the Inspector General. Colonel George Croghan, a veteran with a record of lengthy service on the frontier, praised Capt. Plummer's work and that of Lt. Schuyler Hamilton who was at the post. But Croghan was in charge of the Subsistence Department highly critical of the expenses incurred for what was ostensibly a temporary post. "Twenty eight thousand dollars & more have already been expended upon this post, nearly fourteen thousand beyond the amount appropriated by Congress, and five thousand dollars more are wanted to complete the work," the Inspector General pointed out, "No temporary work such as this ought to be, should cost more than five hundred dollars or require a longer time than a month in its erection."

By the end of the summer the stress of rushing the work to completion was beginning to take its toll. Capt. Plummer's eyesight was failing under the burden of reading and preparing the mountain of paperwork and he returned to Ft. Crawford "to put myself under the care of Dr. McDougall." His successor, Lt. Hamilton was faced with new overcrowding at the post. In August, a new company of dragoons, Company I of the 1st Dragoon Regiment, arrived from Ft. Gibson. With 3 companies at the post, the barracks and quarters were once more taxed to their limit. In addition, new stables would have to be built to accommodate the new company's horses and mules.

Despite the crowded conditions, the fort was essentially complete by the summer of 1842. In September, Lt. A. N. Reynolds sketched the post for the War Department's records [Figures 9 to 12]. His plat showed the location of 24 buildings at the post. Inside the picket work were 2 blockhouses, a powder magazine, 2 barracks, an officers' quarters, a non-commissioned officers' quarters, a commissary, a sutler's store, and the guard house. Outside the 11 foot 9 inch stockade were 14 additional buildings. These included 4 large stables, a granary, a bakehouse, a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop, 3 laundresses' huts, a root house, and an ice house. A few buildings were not yet entirely finished, but by October Lt. Hamilton was able to report that "the 3 Co. one of which is now absent can be Quartered here very well."

One year later, in October 1843, Hamilton wrote the Quartermaster General "the Garrison is entirely completed and the only expense that can arise during the ensuing year will be the pay of a few men on Extra duty to keep [the buildings] in repair and a small expenditure of plank nails & Glass &c." During the previous year, Hamilton had directed the final major work on the buildings: the roofing of the blockhouses and the finishing of the exterior stairs on the men's barracks. He had also saved one major construction project from total failure. In December of 1842, the contractor for the well gave up in despair after having dug over 70 feet through solid rock without finding water. Hamilton turned the abandoned shaft into a cistern and kept it at a nearly constant level of 40 feet of water hauled from nearby springs. Other work at the post since October 1842 was largely cosmetic. The officers' quarters were spruced up with paint, railings were put on the porches and Venetian blinds were hung to give the officers more privacy. A flag staff was erected as a kind of capstone to the project.

Small improvements were made on Ft. Atkinson during 1844. In May of that year, Company E, 1st Infantry, replaced Company K, 1st Infantry, at the post, and Lt. Joseph B. Plummer relieved Lt. Hamilton of his duties as Acting Assistant Quartermaster. Despite being only 4 years old, the log officers' quarters and men's barracks, which were never completely satisfactory, were in almost constant need of repair. "The matter [sic] between the Logs had fallen out to some extent, thus leaving them open and exposed to the weather," Plummer reported. ''They require finishing to render them comfortable." Incidental repairs were done on other buildings as well. Hearths, fireplaces, and chimneys were fixed, 17 rooms were painted, and doors were made for the slaughterhouse and the root cellar. In addition, lattice work was added in front of the doors of the officers' quarters to protect the rooms from wind and rain. The last major building was built this year. Capt. Edwin V. Sumner, the commanding officer, ordered the addition of a kitchen onto his quarters. The work of putting up the log structure, roofing it, and plastering the interior was carried out by men on extra duty while the materials were paid for by the other officers of the garrison.

Although the expense of the commanding officer's new room was met by the officers of the post, their motives may have been less than altruistic. Kitchens and room assignments became a major bone of contention the following year. According to the General Regulations, every officer of captain rank was entitled to 2 rooms plus a kitchen. Other commissioned officers below that rank were entitled to 1 room and a kitchen. On a return visit in August of 1845, Inspector General George Croghan noted the possibility of a shortage of rooms at the post. The post was in good repair, but "there will be a want of suitable rooms to furnish the regulation allowance to the Chaplain, who I am informed is shortly to join, provided the two compn [sic] when met together again have their compliment of officers," Croghan observed. A brevet 2nd lieutenant, Rankin Dilworth, who succeeded Lt. Plummer as Acting Assistant Quartermaster, had a solution. Before Croghan had arrived on his inspection tour Dilworth had requested clarification from the Quartermaster General on the proper allowance of rooms for officers since ''we will soon be very limited in our quarters on account of the probable return of two absent officers and the appointment of a Chaplain for this post." In his report, Col. Croghan noted that Dilworth suggested "the propriety of building a kitchen to add to, or rather to complete accommodation for another comp. of officers." Actually, the eager lieutenant had in mind the building of not 1 but 3 new kitchens to bring the allowance of rooms up to regulations. However, the War Department, sensitive to the large expenditures already made on what was considered a temporary post, was finished building Ft. Atkinson. The question of new kitchens or new buildings of any kind for the post was settled by no less than the Secretary of War. Henry Stanton wrote Lt. Dilworth on August 30, 1845, "it is not deemed expedient to authorize the construction of any additiona1 buildings at Fort Atkinson." There would be no more building at Fort Atkinson.

Like most of the Army's western frontier posts, Fort Atkinson was based on a simple plan, whereby the nucleus was the centrally located parade ground, surrounded by barracks, officers' quarters, and storehouses, all inside a protective wall, with stables and less important buildings, like laudresses huts, outside the stockade (cf. Robinson 1977). True to form, Fort Atkinson was laid out in a rectangle, with a stockade enclosing a parade ground of approximately one acre. Four main buildings, two blockhouses, and a powder magazine were erected (Figures 10-12). Ancillary buildings were constructed in both stone and wood; most of these were erected outside the stockade. H. J. Goddard's (1923a) reminiscence's include the following description of the fort:

There were four buildings running east and west and north and south. The east building was commissioned officers quarters. The south building was occupied by the private soldiers, and the east end was fitted up for a school and church room. The north building was the soldiers' quarters, and the east end was fitted up for a hospital. The buildings were enclosed with a stockade. It was made of hewn logs set up endwise in the ground, and was 12 feet high, sharpened at the top with a sharp spike in the top. There was a block house or

a cannon house in the northeast comer of the stockade, also one in the southwest corner of the stockade. The magazine was in the southeast corner of the stockade, and the guard house and the Sutler store in the northwest corner. The commissary building was in the northwest comer of the stockade. There was a big gate at the east end of the north building, also one at the west end, and one at the west end of the south building. The carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, bakery, hotel, barn, grocery, horse barns, and a dwelling house were outside the stockade on the north side of the Fort.

When completed, the fort complex included 24 buildings within the stockade and another 14 buildings outside the stockade, all built to Army specifications. Buildings within the stockade included two barracks for the enlisted men, two blockhouses, a powder magazine, an officers' quarters, a non-commissioned officers' quarters, a commissary storehouse, a sutler's store, and a guardhouse. Officers' latrines and a cistern were also located within the stockade. Outside the safety of the stockade were an ice house, a root house, three laundress' huts, a carpenter shop, a blacksmith shop, a bakehouse, a quartermaster building and stable, a granary, three dragoon (mounted infantry) stables, and two buildings of unknown function. The main buildings were essentially vernacular, built of local materials (limestone and timber) based on standard plans and layouts dictated by the military.

In addition to the buildings constructed at the fort proper (archaeological Site 13WH57), several other buildings, structures, or features were built or created in direct association with it. National Archives research by Reque (ca. 1944) revealed that there was a slaughterhouse somewhere near the fort. Numerous roads and trails converged on the fort, leading to the Turkey River Subagency to the south, Fort Crawford to the east, the Red Cedar River Ho-Chunk villages to the west of the fort, and the Ho-Chunk villages of the Upper Iowa River, to the north (Peterson and Becker 2001). There was a 60-foot-long wooden trestle bridge over the Turkey River (Prucha 1953:117), although its precise location is not known. Also, the military authorized the use of two "way stations," constructed at the quarterway and halfway points along the main road from Fort Crawford to Fort Atkinson. These way stations have not been archaeologically relocated.

Joel and Zeruiah Post built and operated the first halfway house, a small log building with stables. The halfway house doubled as the Post's home and as a government-sanctioned tavern during 1840 and 1841. Archaeologist Ellison Orr had first-hand knowledge of this site. Although it has never been given a formal site designation, Orr's father, Darius, once owned the property where the first halfway house was located. As such, Ellison Orr provided detailed locational information. Orr noted the building was "at a point 2.00 ch S (40 m) of a point 15.00 ch (301 m) E off ¼ Sec Corner between Sec. 29 and 33, T96N-R6W" *(Postville Herald* 1929). Another Orr (1940:3) report states the half way house a minimum of 270 east of the previously described location. He wrote that the first Post residence was, "a small log structure about 15 by 20 feet, and stables, at the north end of the loop around Robert's Creek and on the NW NE of Sec. 33, T96, R6, on the farm now owned by Darius Orr." The Post's moved their halfway house in 1841, to a location within the present day City of Postville. This building was located, "about 10.00 ch (201 m) N and 5.00 (100 m) E of the SW corner Sec. 33, T96N-R6W" (Orr 1940), now a residential area within the city limits.

Less is known about the quarterway house. John Ossian Porte settled on the NE¼, Section 10, T96N-R8W, probably in 1849. Porte erected a "frame building, 18 x 20 in size, near the site of the old Quarter House, used years before by persons on their way from Fort Crawford to Fort Atkinson, and so named as it

was considered a quarter of the distance between these places" (Sparks 1877:131). Porte used it as a tavern and stage stop.

Finally, the fort utilized numerous civilian subcontractors, especially teamsters. Many of these persons may have been temporarily housed within the fort proper. Others, with long-term contracts, were authorized to construct residences within the Neutral Ground. One of the few known examples is the home of Franklin Wilcox, who lived "forty rods (201 m) south of the fort, on the road leading to the Indian Agency." Wilcox provided accommodations to persons visiting the fort and subagency and was employed as a "striker" in the blacksmith shop at the subagency (Alexander 1882:3; Reque 1930+; Sparks 1877:12). Although this spot is within the town limits of Fort Atkinson, it lies at an undeveloped location, between a road and Rogers' Creek, in the SW¼, SW¼, and the SE¼, SW¼, Section 8, T96N-R9W, Winneshiek County. If this location is correct, the Wilcox home was 6.2 km (3.85 miles) northwest of the Subagency. The Wilcox's lived in the vicinity of the fort from 1842 to 1846 (Burnett 1994). Franklin Wilcox's daughter, Mary, provided much of the known information about Chief Whirling Thunder (Burnett 1994). Mary attended school with Ho-Chunk children at the Subagency. Prior to residing near the fort, Franklin Wilcox, his wife, daughter, brother Nathaniel, and Robert Gamble arrived in Fayette County between 1838 and 1840, probably in Section 32, T92N-R8W, moving closer to the fort in 1842 (*Fayette County Union* 1949; Iowaz 2001a-d).

Life at Fort Atkinson

Reque (1944) devoted much of his manuscript to documenting soldier's rolls and the movements of troops around the Neutral Ground. Only a general summary of troop movements is recounted herein. Similarly, a general accounting of daily life at the fort is detailed in Carr (1998), Reque (1944), and Williams (1980).

Several companies and commanders received semi-permanent stations at Fort Atkinson. These were:

1840 Company F, 5th U.S. Infantry, dispatched from Fort Crawford to provide security during construction of Fort Atkinson. Commander was Captain Isaac Lynde.
* Sutler was civilian Henry M. Rice, future U.S. Senator from Minnesota.
* Construction overseen by Captain Edwin V. Sumner.

1841 Company B, 1st Dragoons arrives in June; stays until June, 1846; Commander Edwin V. Sumner.
* Company F, 5th Infantry, ordered to Florida in September.
* Company K, 1st Infantry, arrives September; commanded by Captain J. J. Abercrombie.

1842 Capt. S. M. Plummer, Acting Quartermaster of Ft. Crawford, appointed to superintend the completion of Fort Atkinson building construction. Plummer withdraws prior to completion due to failing eyesight. Lt. Schuyler Hamilton takes his place.
* Company I, 1st Dragoon Regiment arrives from Fort Gibson in August; departs in November; Commander Captain James Allen.
* Lt. A. N. Reynolds completes detailed sketch map of Fort Atkinson for the War Department.

1843 Hamilton reports in October that fort construction is entirely completed; repairs and several small construction projects continue until fort is abandoned.
* Company B, 1st Infantry arrives April 29, departs May 29; Commander Captain S. Burbank.

* Company A, 1st Infantry arrives July 29, departs September 2; Commander Captain Osborne Cross.

1844 Company K, 1st Infantry departs May.
* Company E, 1st Infantry arrives May; Commander Captain Albert S. Miller.
* Hamilton relieved of Acting Quartermaster; replaced by Joseph B. Plummer.

1845 Joseph Plummer is replaced by Brevet 2nd Lt. Rankin Dilworth.

1846 Fort Atkinson troops sent to Mexican American War (Company B and Company E).
* Fort manned by two companies of volunteer militia.
* John Parker commands Company A, 1st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, July 1846-July 1847.
* James Morgan commands Company A, 1st Iowa Volunteer Dragoons, September to November 1846; company disbanded.

1847 James Morgan re-enlists most of his troops, now called Morgan's Company, Mounted Iowa Volunteers, July 15, 1847 to September 11, 1848.

1848 The Ho-Chunk are escorted by the military and private subcontractors to their new reservation in Minnesota in June.
* Company C, 6th Infantry, commanded by Capt. F. L. Alexander, in charge of the fort from September 1848 to February 1849.

Monthly post reports are available in the National Archives, and some were transcribed by Reque (1944). His research indicated that, between June, 1840 and September, 1846, the roll of men stationed at Fort Atkinson ranged from a low of 57 in April, 1846, to a high of 196 men in August, 1842. Reque similarly transcribed a census for each company.

Although its primary mission was frontier defense and Ho-Chunk containment, the troops at Fort Atkinson were also busily engaged with road construction and agriculture. Conditions were less than pleasant, yet life on the post was not exceedingly hard, except for the bad food. The lack of settlers exacerbated the supply problem at the fort. The post quartermaster, Lieutenant Schuyler Hamilton, wrote to T.S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General of the Army, under the date of March 29, 1844 that:

> The country within 50 or 60 miles of Fort Atkinson being but thinly settled, the Supply of the last years contract of oats nearly drained it of that article, and the crop of corn raised was very light, and as this Post will require about 9000 bushels of grain for the year commencing in Sept[ember] next it will be impossible to draw the Supply from that Source unless at a very high price [National Archives n.d.e]

At Fort Crawford in 1835, one account notes some military personnel had American Indian mistresses (Murray 1854:149–150). If a similar situation existed at Fort Atkinson, no mention has yet been found. Some officers and enlisted men did have wives and children living with them at the fort. Wives of enlisted men could serve as paid laundresses. At Fort Worth (Texas, 1849–1853), the laundresses huts probably served as both workroom and residence for the laundress and her family (Selcer 1995:44). The three laundress huts depicted at Fort Atkinson in 1842 may have also enjoyed this double use. Approximately 20 to 25 in-residence children were present in the mid-1840s (Mahan 1921:342). In 1842 or 1845, Reverend Jared L. Elliott arrived, to serve double duty as chaplain and schoolmaster (Heitman 1890:253; Henry 1873:20); Elliott stayed at the fort until 1848 or 1849.

There were social distinctions between officers and enlisted men, and between men with wives at the fort and those without. Married men lived and ate with their families. Single enlisted men lived and ate apart from the single officers.

Bread and soup were common on the menu. Privates rotated through kitchen duty, with most of the cooking done on a stove. Fireplaces at the fort were primarily used for heating, not cooking (Williams 1980, 1982). Fresh beef was available from the garrison's cattle herd, and the gardens adjacent to the fort provided some fresh vegetables Despite these resources, most of the food was imported overland from Prairie du Chien. In 1844, the year's supplies included "125 barrels of pork, 160 barrels of flour, 40 bushels of salt, and 500 gallons of vinegar" (Williams 1980:53). The sutler's store provided goods, such as utensils and furniture, to soldiers at preset prices.

Mahan (1921:339–340) offers a sample of daily life at Fort Atkinson. However, he provides no reference citations; it seems likely that he was generalizing about life at any Midcontinent fort of the period. Mahan discusses meals, dragoon patrols, and the soldier's duties at the fort, including cleaning, standing as sentinels, drills and inspections, and feeding horses. He lists recreational activities of card playing, singing, smoking, storytelling, and napping. If a soldier possessed any useful skills, such as carpentry, masonry, baking, or blacksmithing, that skill would be put to use on the fort. Williams (1980, 1982) utilized numerous Fort Atkinson primary source documents for his summary of daily life. He pointed out that much of a soldier's typical day was consumed with mundane tasks, such as "working the gardens, cutting firewood, caring for livestock, hauling water and stores, and similar chores," including butchering animals and cutting ice, along with military duties, like standing guard and patrolling.

No attacks ever occurred on Fort Atkinson. No known period correspondence suggests that it was a worry at the time, either. Patrols served several purposes. Troops were sometimes sent to Wisconsin, to assist in finding and capturing Ho-Chunk individuals and families and forcing them into the Neutral Ground. Other times, patrols were meant as a show of force only, to remind the Ho-Chunk that the Army was both monitoring and protecting them, and to remind the Santee Dakota to the north, the Sauk and Meskwaki to the south, and Euro-American settlers on the east to stay out of the Neutral Ground. Patrols ranged in size, depending on their mission and perceived danger. Soldiers were sometimes sent to temporary posts elsewhere. Thirty-two soldiers were sent to the Sac and Fox Agency (modern Wapello County) to assist with annuity payments in August, 1842. One three-week-long patrol in the spring of 1843 included 14 men on a trip to the newly constructed Fort Des Moines No. 2 (Williams 1980:59).

Private teamsters were hired to haul supplies, but some livestock, including horses, oxen, and mules, were always kept at the fort, although their numbers fluctuated greatly. For example, in December, 1842, two six-mule teams and two six-ox teams were stabled for general work and a four-ox team was kept to haul water up the bluff. Animals were expensive to keep. The 17 oxen and 12 mules stabled at the fort in 1845 consumed an estimated 1,900 bushels of oats, 1,300 bushels of corn, and 74 tons of hay. However, the garrison maintained a herd of beef cattle in a pasture near the fort, so it is unclear is some of these supplies were needed for those animals as well (Williams 1980:51, 53).

Archaeological studies have demonstrated that alcohol was readily available within the fort walls (McKusick 1975a; Reque 1944; Whittaker 2007; Wiltfang n.d.), although its distribution method within the fort is not understood, as alcohol ceased to be included as a daily Army ration in 1830. Several illegal locales supplied this need to Indians, soldiers, and other passers-by alike. Most infamous were the twin whiskey taverns of Sodom and Gommorrah (Alexander 1882; Sparks 1877). These illegal trading posts, and others such as Whisky Grove and the Teagarden Cabin, are discussed in the "Trading" Context.

Williams' (1980:57–58, 64) period correspondence research demonstrates that disciplinary problems at the fort were not uncommon. During over half of the 103 months that troops were stationed there, no soldiers were confined to quarters or placed under arrest. During the other months, one to four soldiers on average faced disciplinary action. The worst month on record, August, 1843, had 17 men either under arrest or confined to quarters. This number represents 10 percent of the 169 men stationed at Fort Atkinson that month. Desertions were something of a problem, with at least one desertion reported for half of the 72 reviewed months.

An on-staff doctor was available at the fort. Of the 103 months the fort was in operation, only six months had no one reporting to the hospital. Williams (1980:61) found that during about 30 of the months, eight or more men were sick each month. Between June, 1840 and February, 1849, seven deaths were recorded at the fort. Ground penetrating radar (GPR) work, coupled with archival information, suggest the fort cemetery may be located at archaeological site 13WH210, situated one-quarter mile northwest of the fort. Whittaker (2005:1) noted:

> GPR survey of a suspected fort-related cemetery at Site 13WH210 revealed two spots which are consistent with grave plots and several other spots which are more tenuous. According to information provided by an elderly woman in 1941 who had first-hand knowledge of the fort, this site was the location of the Fort Atkinson cemetery. Because the historical evidence for a cemetery is supported by limited evidence from GPR and soil coring, this site should be considered the likely location of the Fort Cemetery and should be afforded all the protection granted early historic cemeteries, as well as being a contributing element to the historic significance of Fort Atkinson.

Abandoning the Fort

Williams (1980:65–66) provides a complete discussion on the abandonment of the fort:

> On May 27, 1846, a War Department circular reached Ft. Atkinson announcing that a state of war existed with Mexico. The army's attention shifted from protecting the frontier to fighting the Mexicans on their own land. Troops from the Upper Mississippi Valley and other frontier areas were ordered to Mexico and the Southwest, and the duty of guarding the frontier fell to volunteer state and territorial militias. When Company B, 1st Dragoons, left Ft. Atkinson on June 20, 1846, a significant period in the history of the fort ended. The following month Company A of the 1st Iowa Volunteer Infantry under the command of James Morgan took up residence at Ft. Atkinson. They were joined in September by a second company of volunteers, the Iowa Volunteer Dragoons, but the War Department, perhaps feeling the pinch of the expensive war in Mexico, disbanded the company in November. In order to facilitate patrolling of the Neutral Ground, Morgan disbanded the volunteer infantry and re-enlisted nearly everyone of the old company in the Mounted Iowa Volunteers.

These volunteer troops continued to perform much the same duties as the regular army. In September of 1847, for example, Morgan's mounted troups attended the payment of annuities to the Winnebagoes at the Turkey River Sub-agency.

The previous October a group of Winnebagos had traveled to Washington and were persuaded to cede all claims they held to the Neutral Ground. In return, they were given about 8,000 acres in Minnesota north of the St. Peter's River and west of the Mississippi. In June 1848, the Winnebagos were removed from Iowa just as they had been from Wisconsin. The forced migration of the Winnebago did not end in Minnesota. They would be moved once more in Minnesota, then removed from that place to South Dakota in 1862, and then finally to a reservation in Nebraska. But with the removal of the Winnebago from Iowa, the reason for Ft. Atkinson was removed as well. Morgan's company of mounted volunteers was disbanded in September of 1848 when they were relieved by Company C of the 6th Infantry, Capt. T.L. Alexander commanding. Capt. Alexander's troops were the last to serve at Ft. Atkinson. On January 23, 1849, the Adjutant General issued the following order: "Fort Atkinson, being no longer required for military purposes, will be abandoned, and the garrison assigned to some other station by the commander of the 6th Military Department." The last company of infantry marched out of the gates of Ft. Atkinson on February 24, 1849.

After the removal of the Ho-Chunk to their new reservation in the Minnesota Territory, there was no further necessity for maintaining a military presence in the Neutral Ground, and in 1848 the Army dropped Fort Atkinson from its list of garrisoned posts. The fort and the military reservation remained government property, and the War Department hired caretakers to clean up and keep out squatters. Alexander Faulkner was the first fort minder, but after a short tenure he was replaced by George Cooney, a political appointee and local character. In 1849, the State of Iowa sought to acquire the old fort and two sections of military reservation land for use as an agricultural school, but the Federal government refused to relinquish it. Meanwhile, land-hungry squatters settled in at the fort buildings. The fort deteriorated rapidly. In a statement dated September 18, 1850, and filed with the records of the Army Quartermaster general, Josiah Goddard reported the majority of the buildings and three-fourths of the pickets were badly decayed. Much of the fort was vandalized, and quantities of building stone and oak timbers were carried off by settlers for use on their own homes and farms (Goddard 1923a). Williams (1980:66-68) states:

People had begun to settle near the fort, and pilfering of government property was difficult to control. Stone by stone and log by log the buildings decayed or were destroyed. In 1851, the caretaker of the fort, Lewis Harkins, sent to the War Department this statement of the condition of the buildings:

The buildings outside the Fort or Picketing are—

1st Two large frame Stables one hundred and twenty feet long, by thirty two feet each, each one sound and good.
2nd One large and commodious Granery, sound and good.
3rd One Bake house in a far gone state of decay.
4th One blacksmith's shop, sound.
5th One Carpenter's shop, sound and in repair.
6th One Quarter Master's house in a decayed state.
7th Two small Stables, one sound, the other very much decayed.
8th Three small houses occupied by Soldiers' families, one sound, one very much decayed.

The buildings inside the Fort or Picketing are—

9th Two block houses and Magazine built of stone in good and sound repair

10th One Commissary Storehouse, sound and good.

11th One block of Officers Quarters, sound and good built of stone.

12th One block of Officers quarters built of hewed logs, sound and good except the lower parts, at the bottom and the lower stoop floor, some few decaying.

13th One block of Soldiers' quarters built of hewed logs, sound and good, except that the floors of the lower stoop, and the posts at the bottom, are decaying.

14th One other block of Soldiers Quarters built of Stone, soundd and good except that the flooring of the lower Stoop, is much decayed, as well as the posts at the bottom.

Harkins also reported that the picketing was "in a very rapid and far gone State of decay," the fence around the gardens was "in a bad state of repair," and that about 70 panes of glass had been broken out of the windows around the fort. Three buildings were unaccounted for in Harkins' report: a log dragoon stable, the log ice house, and the stone root cellar.

In 1853, most of the military reserve was sold at auction for $3,521 to Mrs. Caroline Newington, a British resident living in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and represented by John M. Flowers & Brothers, a syndicate of British and Canadian real estate speculators. The fort itself was not sold until 1855, when it was acquired for Newington by Flowers, who had the property surveyed and platted as the town of Fort Atkinson (Goddard 1923a; Sparks 1877).

Recent History and Archaeological Investigations

Local community members were concerned about the state of the remaining fort buildings, and lobbied for state acquisition of the property. Starting in 1921, the Iowa Board of Conservation (the predessor of the Iowa State Conservation Commission, and today's Department of Natural Resources) began acquiring portions of Fort Atkinson. Locals rebuilt and stabilized the northeast blockhouse, which had been in near complete ruin. In 1939 and 1941 the State Conservation Commission hired a Luther College professor, Sigurd Reque, to conduct archival and archeological investigations associated with the roughly five-acre preserve. Reque exposed building foundations surrounding the parade ground. Comparisons of aerial photographs (Whittaker 2006d), indicate most of his excavations were performed in 1941. There is no formal report of this research, but there are extensive records, maps, and field notes that ought to be edited, interpreted, and published (Reque 1930+). Reque compiled archival data from the National Archives, an institution that holds all of the records maintained by the War Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Reque (1944) authored an incomplete and unedited manuscript that outlines the history of the fort and includes detailed descriptions of the buildings and structures, a list of military and civilian personnel, and examples of some of the correspondence.

Reque's excavations focused primarily on exposing the west, east, and south barracks' foundations. Bear Creek Archeology, Inc., (Stanley 1999) made a significant effort to utilize Reque's notes and sketch maps to relocate the Luther College excavation trenches on a modern map, but found the maps and notes were very incomplete. As a result, it is not clear exactly what Reque excavated in the 1940s. However, Reque's Fort Atkinson manuscript does allude to the archaeological work. Reque exposed a portion of the picket line and he noted the existence of "grooves or trenches dug into the bedrock stratum" (Reque 1944:112). Portions of

the imbedded pickets were also noted. It is not known how much of the picket line was exposed or where. It also appears that excavations were conducted at the commissary store, the guardhouse, and the sutler's store (Stanley 1999).

The stockade was reconstructed, a museum built inside the extant barracks, and general building restoration took place, all between 1958 and 1962. That latter year, the fort was rededicated from state park status to a state-owned historic site. In 1966 the Office of the State Archaeologist carried out further archeological investigations designed to complement the work of Reque (McKusick 1966, 1975a-b, n.d.; Figures 12 and 13). Two years after McKusick's excavations, Fort Atkinson was dedicated as a State Preserve. As with the earlier investigation, most of McKusick's work has not been presented in a published format. Again, there are extensive maps, field notes, unpublished manuscripts, and a considerable artifact collection, which need to be studied, edited, and put into a publishable format. Aside from this data, there is an extensive collection of letters, journals, logs, plat maps, and other types of documentation of the military occupation of Fort Atkinson. Stanley (1999) found that no permanent datums were established by McKusick (1966, n.d.). McKusick's maps were based on Reynold's 1842 sketch map of Fort Atkinson and probably on Reque's sketches.

Stanley's (1999:6) review of McKusick's field notes revealed some information regarding the excavation of the fort's bake house and privies.The notes indicated that the bake house was the first foundation located and excavated in 1966. The feature was soon determined to be the bake oven. McKusick stated that the bake house itself had been removed from the site in 1860 (McKusick field notes; June 20, 1966 entry). Next, privies were excavated. McKusick stated that, "In order to obtain a sample of artifacts from the garrison period six officer's privies were identified and located using the 1842 Reynold's map." Privies #1-6 were completely excavated in 1966. During the last week of the 1966 excavations the suspected foundation of Privy #7 was identified based on a southwest structure mentioned by Reynolds. The privy was excavated to a depth of about two feet below the surface. Excavation was halted due to heavy rain. The following day 70 gallons of water were bailed out of Privy #7. Heavy rain continued, making it impossible to complete the excavation. According to the field notes, all privies were capped with concrete prior to backfilling. It is not clear just what this means. It could mean that the excavated privies were backfilled to a certain extent and then capped or it could mean that they were filled entirely with concrete and then covered with soil.

In any case, the interiors of privies #1–6 have been essentially destroyed from an archeological standpoint because they were completely excavated, not sampled. McKusick's photos indicate that the privies were originally limestone-lined. Privy #7 may still retain some archeological deposits but one can only imagine what the effects of filling this privy with concrete would have on whatever deposits might still exist. Importantly, excavation occurred on the interiors of the privies, but not immediately adjacent to the exteriors of the foundation walls.Artifacts may still remain at privy builder's trenches.

Whittaker (2007:12) described the McKusick and Reque excavations and artifacts.

> Most of the material he [Reque] recovered were from the post-military occupation of the fort by civilians. Loosely following the standards of the time, Reque shoveled out the visible foundations and kept the larger artifacts he encountered, separating artifacts only by foundation location. Reque excavated all three barrack building foundations, the sutler store, the guard house, and the commissary. This material was improperly stored at the fort for ca. 25 years, until McKusick produced a basic catalog of the Reque artifacts, discovering that most were probably post-military. McKusick discovered that many of the better fort artifacts had been pilfered, the remainder of the military-era artifacts were curated at the OSA. Post-military artifacts excavated by Reque were re-buried at the fort by McKusick. McKusick (n.d., 1975a, 1975b; Archie 1966; Carr 1998) excavated six latrines and a bakehouse at the fort in 1966, and found that the latrines contained primarily military-era materials, possibly from the fort's officers, but it cannot be ruled out that much of this material is from the occupants of the fort after the military left. Only small amounts of structural remains were recovered from the bakehouse.

The next work was indirectly related to the fort: a small-scale survey of the nearby St. James Church (13WH109; Daly 1973). This building slightly post-dates the fort, although church building materials (limestone) may have been salvaged from dilapidating fort buildings. The following year, Margaret Tobey (1974) conducted a (now out-of-date) analysis of the ball clay pipe fragments from the fort. The 20-minute-long film, *Fort Atkinson, A Pledge to the People*, was produced in 1975 (McKusick 1975c). The "Ancient Iowa" film series documents Iowa history and prehistory from an archaeological and anthropological viewpoint. Historic photographs, scenes of Reque's excavations, reconstructed artifacts, and overviews of the fort as it looked in the 1970s are presented. Another artifact analysis, this time of excavated bottles, occurred in 1976 (Wiltfang 1976). In 1980, Williams (1980) prepared an historic analysis and planning recommendations for property owned by the Iowa Conservation Commission (now, the Department of Natural Resources).

Kean (1981) focused on locating the buildings illustrated on Lieutenant Reynolds' 1842 sketch map that lie outside the original picket line, and thus, mostly outside the state-owned portion of the site. Survey methods consisted of pedestrian survey and subsurface probing with a tile probe. Kean's survey was an exercise in "eyeballing" the location of outbuildings from Reynold's map onto an aerial photograph. Several foundations were identified at building locales mapped in 1842, including laundress' hut A, the bakehouse, quartermaster building, granary, and dragoon stables A and B. Several other probable building foundations were located, including those of laundress' hut B, the icehouse, and the root house. Because the private landowner only allowed probing, limited quantities of artifacts were collected. The following year, ceramics from Fort Atkinson excavations, probably utilizing items recovered in 1966, helped establish a ceramic seriation for the Midwest between 1780 and 1870 (Loftstrom et al. 1982; McKusick and Loftstrom n.d.).

A guide to the Neutral Ground-related documents and artifact collections housed at the Office of the State Archaeologist and the State Historical Society of Iowa was prepared in 1988 (Merry 1988a). This guide outlined published and unpublished papers, field notes, photograph collections, and map collections associated with the culture history and history of archeological investigations at Fort Atkinson.

Bear Creek Archeology, Inc., conducted an archaeological survey of a proposed sewer collection and treatment system for the City of Fort Atkinson (Stanley 1992). Two shovel test transects (60 tests total) and a 1-x-1-m test unit were excavated parallel to Second Street, just north of the state-owned portion of 13WH57, Fort Atkinson. The shovel tests were positioned between the suspected locations of Fort-related buildings, as shown on the 1842 Reynolds map. The test unit was positioned at the probable blacksmith shop location. Limestone rubble in all of the shovel tests suggested that plowing had impacted at least some of the foundations outside the fort. Other, non-rubble artifacts were found in 50 of the shovel tests. At the 1842-mapped location of one of the dragoon stables, a possible limestone foundation was exposed. A datum in the form of a two-foot-long, one and ½-inch-diameter steel rod was established near the corner of Eighth Avenue and Second Street during the 1991 testing. As previously mentioned, Stanley (1999) amassed considerable archival material and created a detailed topographic map of the Fort Atkinson site. He found the 1991 datum stake had been removed.

Whittaker (2005, 2006a-c) conducted ground-penetrating radar (GPR) surveys of Fort Atkinson, revealing numerous previously undocumented features (Figure 14). The GPR surveys later proved to be an effective tool for locating historic features (Whittaker 2007). Of the 15 features identified by excavation in areas previously surveyed by GPR, only one was not identified by GPR: a questionable prehistoric feature that may be non-cultural. A few features were incorrectly identified, including a layer of bedrock that was misidentified as a foundation, and several ambiguous features that could not be interpreted in the GPR images. Whittaker (2006d) also compiled and summarized the photographic and map history of the fort.

Whittaker (2007) is the most recent archaeologist to work at the fort. His excavations revealed 24 features in 23 test units, excavated prior to grading improvements at the museum housed in the North Barracks and the construction of a reproduction stockade fence and stairway. Many features were deemed potentially significant, but the proposed construction avoided all but an 1840s builder's trench . The 1840s trench was sampled. It contained few artifacts from the military-era occupation, instead revealing mid-to-late nineteenth century fill. In other areas a stockade wall constructed with a backhoe in the late 1950s obliterated the 1840s stockade. A foundation unearthed north of the museum may date to the fort period; Whittaker recommended avoidance by the proposed construction. Other 1840s-era features identified by Whittaker which were not be disturbed by the subsequent construction included stone-lined latrines, a root cellar, and three areas of limestone rubble. Whittaker also undertook mapping of fort features, including a number of previously unrecorded latrine depressions made visible by dry weather.

Other Properties Possibly related to Context #2: Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853

There are several other properties that seem to date to the Neutral Ground era, but their exact function is presently not understood For the time being, these resources are included in the Fort Atkinson context. Future research may correlate them to another context.

13AM401/Patrick Keenan cabin: Site 13AM401 is located in Section 17, T98N-R5W, Allamakee County. Joe Thompson of Bear Creek Archeology recorded this site in 1997 (Thompson 1997). A bell-shaped cistern, and possible cabin depression were identified. Artifacts included brick, limestone, glass, and whiteware. The site form states that Patrick Keenan constructed this cabin in the late 1840s. The site's relationship to the Neutral Ground Ho-Chunk occupation is not presently understood.

13WH10/Indeterminate function historic component: Site 13WH10 is located in two separate locations in Section 5, T99N-R9W, Winneshiek County. This site was recorded in the Iowa Site File in 1960, based on the findings of Gavin Sampson. The collection from this multicomponent (Paleo-Indian through early historic) site is held by Luther College. Personnel from Bear Creek Archeology reexamined the artifacts in 1994 (Stanley et al. 1995). Historic items from the site potentially date from the Neutral Ground era and include three ball clay pipe fragments, and one each of a small caliber bullet, possible pan handle, belt buckle, chain fastener, and a possible trigger guard (Iowa Site File, supplemental form). Bear Creek personnel revisited the site. No artifacts were recovered during pedestrian survey and limited shovel testing.

13WH13/Indeterminate function historic component: Site 13WH13 is located in sections 8 and 9, T98N-R7W, Winneshiek County. This site was recorded in the Iowa Site File in 1959, based on the findings of Gavin Sampson. The collection from this multicomponent (Archaic through early historic) site is held by Luther College. Personnel from Bear Creek Archeology reexamined the artifacts (Stanley et al. 1995). The only historic item in the collection is a ball clay pipe stem. The site has not been revisited.

13WH55/Indeterminate function historic component: Site 13WH55 may be located in Section 10, T99N-R9W, Winneshiek County. This site was recorded in the Iowa Site File in the late 1950s or early 1960s based on the findings of Gavin Sampson. The collection from this multicomponent (Paleo-Indian through historic) site is held by Luther College. Personnel from Bear Creek Archeology reexamined the artifacts (Stanley et al. 1995). The only historic items in the collection are two ball clay pipe fragments. Bear Creek personnel attempted, but were unable, to relocate the site due to poor surface conditions.

Summary of Historic Properties related to Context #2: Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853

Property types related to the Fort Atkinson Context include the fort itself (13WH57) and the probable fort cemetery (13WH210). Fort Atkinson has four Neutral-Ground era standing buildings. Three are original to the fort: the Powder Magazine, the Southwest Blockhouse, and the North Barracks. One building, the Northeast Blockhouse, is a 1920s reconstruction. There are also two other Neutral Ground-era properties at 13WH57: the cistern and the fort's limestone quarry site. All other resources associated with the identified historic context are archaeological in nature. Other related property types include dwellings in close proximity to the

Fort erected by civilian subcontractors (such as Franklin Wilcox); remnants of the quarterway house and the two halfway houses; fencelines related to enclosing the fort gardens; roads and trails leading to the fort; remnants of the 60-foot long wooden trestle bridge that was constructed over the Turkey River; and campsites related to soldier's marches and patrols across the Neutral Ground. In addition, other yet unidentified, but related properties likely exist.

Remnants of all of the known fort elements may remain at the site. Within the stockade were two barracks for the enlisted men (a portion of one is still standing and used as a visitor's center), two blockhouses (one still standing, one standing as a 1920s reconstruction), a powder magazine (still standing), an officers' quarters, a non-commissioned officers' quarters, a commissary storehouse, a sutler's store, and a guardhouse. Officers' latrines and a cistern were also located within the stockade. Outside the safety of the stockade were an ice house, a root house, three laundresses' huts, a carpenter shop, a blacksmith shop, a bakehouse, a quartermaster building and stable, a granary, three dragoon's stables, and two buildings of unknown function. Expected archaeological evidence of non-extant elements at the fort usually take the form of limestone foundation alignments and/or piers and chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings, post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface, with no foundations laid. Post molds may be in evidence along fencerows, although the exact locations of fence lines are not presently known. A concentration of intensely heat-affected limestone may signify the presence of the "stone bake oven." The blacksmith's shop may be identified by a high concentration of iron near ground surface.

Context #3: Turkey River Subagency: 1840–1848

In an 1840 attempt to discourage the Ho-Chunk from returning home to Wisconsin, the governmental administrative offices, school, and other associated facilities were moved 34 miles west, from the Yellow River near the Mississippi River to an area overlooking the Turkey River. In addition, a large military outpost, named Fort Atkinson, was built (Figure 9).

Yellow River Subagent David Lowry chose the site of the new Turkey River Subagency (archaeological site 13WH111), four miles southeast of Fort Atkinson and three-quarters of a mile from the Turkey River, around a natural spring. Lowry remained subagent until July 5, 1844, when James R. McGregor replaced him. On June 2, 1845, Jonathan E. Fletcher became subagent and remained with the tribe for 11 years (Petersen 1960a-b).

Like the Yellow River Subagency, historical documents sometimes referred to the Turkey River property as a "mission" because a Presbyterian minister (Lowry) was initially the subagent. Religious instruction was part of the daily curriculum (Van der Zee 1915: 346). No 1840s reference to the property as a "mission" has yet been located in governmental correspondence. Mary Wilcox Burnett (1994:42) lived at the subagency as a child from 1842–1846, while her father worked there. Burnett's grandfather was a Presbyterian minister, and occasionally gave sermons at a location young Mary called the "Mission church at the subagency." Willard Barrows (1869:124), a government land surveyor in Iowa during 1839 and in the early 1840s, noted that, in 1842, he met some Ho-Chunk boys who "had attended the Mission School at Fort Atkinson, on the Turkey River, established and maintained by the government." Later in the year, Barrows (1869:131) met Wabessa-wawa (White Goose) who "had been a pupil in the Mission School of the Rev. David Lowry…" In his account, Barrows refers at least seven times to the Turkey River Subagency as a mission. Historian Bruce Mahan, writing in 1921, referred to the Turkey River property as the site of the "agency house and mission" (Mahan 1921:335).

Turkey River Subagency, Archaeological Site 13WH111

Office of Indian Affairs documents relating directly to the Turkey River Subagency are housed at the National Archives, with microfilm copies on file at the State Historical Society of Iowa (Table 1). These sources include correspondence, contracts and bonds, and property books, providing a wealth of information on the day-to-day workings of the subagency, primarily from the government's point of view.

Period correspondence (Table 1) details the removal of the Ho-Chunk to and from the Neutral Ground and the problems in getting them to cooperate in this removal. It includes information on a wide variety of other topics including complaints and grievances related to the Ho-Chunk; illegal traders and the traffic of alcohol; education of Ho-Chunk children; and attempts to establish a Catholic mission in the Neutral Ground. Contract and bond records give accounts of annuity payments and distribution, building specifications and construction, trade goods orders, and the hiring of farm laborers, teachers, principals, blacksmiths, interpreters, and doctors.

The National Archives records also provide a summary of subagency building specifications (from Rogers 1993:11–12; Figure 15):

> Building specifications for the subagency include an Agent's House, which was to be "of hewed logs 2 stories high and divided by a partition of the same materials into 2 rooms below and 2 above," with a central stone chimney (U.S. Department of State 1967a:301). The foundation was to be made of stone and "good lime mortar" (U.S. Department of State 1967a:301). A "piazza" [porch or veranda] was to extend the full length of the front of the building supported by six posts. Pine shingles were to be used as roofing material. The interior walls were to be finished with lathe and a plastering of whitewash, with doors to be hung on 4 inch butts and "finished with a latch." (U.S. Department of State 1967a:311).
>
> The windows of the first story were specified as "3 lights 8 x 3 of 8 x 10 glass," with sashes of pine and finished with "a button and hooks fastened inside and "with patent spring fastenings and neatly painted green" (U.S. Department of State 1967a:311). Windows on the second floor were "4 lights x 3 of 8 x 10 glass finished in and supplied in the same manner and of the same kind of materials with those of the 1st story" (U.S. Department of State 1967a:311). Interior paint on the doors was to be "2 coats of white lead properly mixed with oil," with the two front doors "to be painted green outside" (U.S. Department of State 1967a:311).
>
> Other buildings noted in the specifications included: a stable "a convenient distance from the Agency House"; a meat house; a chicken house; a privy at the rear of the Agency House; two houses, two stories in height and having stone foundations, for the principal and teachers of the school; two privies "a suitable distance" from each of the houses; two blacksmith shops "in the vicinity of the Agency"; a school building "12 logs high—placed on a foundation like that of the Agency House and divided by a log partition into 2 rooms 20 x 20 ft in the clear"; two privies in the area of the school; a refectory with a three-room floor plan and built of logs on a stone foundation; a stone bake oven built near the refectory; and a barn built in 1842 and located "near the Subagency" (U.S. Department of State 1967a:301–310, 133–135). There may also have been a "recitation room and boarding house, steward's room and kitchen" by 1842, although it is not clear how many separate buildings these functions represent or if these even represent additional buildings to those described above (U.S. Department of State 1967a:133). An addition was made to the "house now occupied by the boys of the Indian School" in 1842, with the school yard and the yard and garden of the Agency house enclosed at the same time (U.S. Department of State 1967a).

In a letter to David Lowry dated April 4, 1840, Governor Dodge estimated the subagency building costs (Reque 1944:29–30; Figures 16 and 17):

* Agent's house, $2,500
* Stable (for the Agent) $75
* meat house (for Agent) $75
* kitchen (for Agent) $25
* privy (for Agent) $25
* an "enclosing yard" (i.e., the cost to fence in the buildings related to the Agent's house), $100
* house for school "principle" and boys' lodging rooms, to include a rear addition to be used as a kitchen and a private bedroom, $1,500
* same as above, but for women teachers and girls, $1,500
* recitation rooms, $600
* dining room, kitchen, and house for family in charge of refectory, including a large, stone bake oven, $1,000
* three blacksmith's shops, $200 each
* one grist mill, $3,000

In addition, the costs of paying the miller ($600), plowing and fencing the large agricultural fields surrounding the subagency ($10,000), plus contingency costs, brought the construction estimate to $22,000. John Hinkle was contracted to erect "several buildings as set forth in the specifications" and to break 100 acres of land and break and fence 300 additional acres of prairie for the subagency (U.S. Department of State 1967a:305). By 1842 only one-quarter of the 1,500 acres of the broken prairie was under cultivation.

General Land Office surveyors mapped the Turkey River Subagency and surrounding agricultural fields in 1848 (Office of the Secretary of State 1981; Figure 16). Fourteen buildings were mapped: the Agency house, a log stable, a framed house, the "smiths shops," the spring house, the store house, two dwelling houses, the cook house, the school house, the warehouse, the "men's house," the carpenter's house, and an ox stable. Five agricultural fields were also mapped. Not only were the buildings and fields mapped, but also the distance in chains and horizontal angle from a datum point was listed. Other buildings are occasionally mentioned in correspondence or annual reports, such as the 16-x-20-ft joiner's shop, built in the fall of 1843 (Terrill 1844:429). An 1851 map depicted the subagency at the time of abandonment (Figure 17).

Among the carpenter's many tasks was making coffins for the Ho-Chunk (Fletcher 1846:249); no Ho-Chunk or Euro-American cemetery location is known in association with the subagency, although reports suggest numerous Ho-Chunk were buried in close proximity to the subagency. Rogers (1993:23) summarizes these accounts:

> There are numerous oral history accounts of burials and burial mounds in the vicinity of the Subagency. These accounts focus attention on the high, narrow ridge which forms a natural boundary to the north-northwest of the Subagency site and from which a commanding view can be had of the surrounding territory. Reportedly, there were mounds once visible near the northeast end of this ridge top, with other suspected burial grounds all along the spine of the ridge (Joe Kuennen, personal communication 1993). Some accounts note that the Winnebagos who continued to return to the Subagency vicinity well into the twentieth century would "bow down to the hill" treating it as a revered or sacred place. Some human skeletons may also have been plowed up on this ridge top through the years, while other accounts suggest the presence of upright burials along the side slopes (Adrian Kuennen, personal communication 1993; Milton Smith, personal communication 1993). Another potential burial ground was to the northwest of the Huber farmstead where Indian graves were plowed up and more than one skeleton disinterred but reburied. Reportedly, the Hubers subsequently avoided plowing this area and left it in grass. A single historic period Indian burial may be located on the blufftop on the east side of the Turkey River where it was reported that an Indian was buried sitting up, with a hut built over it. However, this burial was also reportedly vandalized shortly after the hut was erected. Another Indian burial ground may have been located south of the Subagency where Charlie Babcock reportedly excavated 20 graves. The Indians returned at a later date and questioned the property owner, William Steffes, about the opened graves but took no action (Mary Richmond, personal communication 1993). This location may have been in the field on the south side of the road due south of the Subagency site, or perhaps on the blufftop on the south side of the creek.
>
> During the eight years that the Subagency was in operation an unknown number of Winnebago men, women, and children died at this site. It is likely that large burial grounds are in existence but not well documented, and any further investigations in this locality should be mindful of this potential and take care not to disturb any human remains. The Burials Program of the Office of the State Archaeologist will be apprised of this potential, with the recommendation that the program carefully examine this area and attempt to better document these burial locations

Staff changed frequently. J.W. Hancock was principal during 1842; John L. Seymour served in that capacity from 1842–1843; H. N. Thissell during 1845; David Lowry returned as superintendent in 1846. One of the domestic economy teachers (1845–1847) went on to some reknown: Almira McNaughton Lockwood Fales. Decades after working at the Turkey River Subagency, she became known as one of the "Florence Nightingales of the Civil War" while serving as a nurse (Brockett and Vaughn 2006; Newcomb 1874:295–296; Thissell 1845).

Like its predecessor, the Yellow River Subagency, Turkey River had a model farm for the Ho-Chunk boys and men to learn European agricultural methods, and a school, where the Ho-Chunk children were conscripted to attend. The model farm was a failure, conflicting with traditional Ho-Chunk practices whereby the women were responsible for most farming tasks (Peterson 1995; Rogers 1993). The farm blacksmiths made "hoes, axes, hatchets, knives, traps, and fishing spears" and farm implements, and shoed horse and oxen, all for the Ho-Chunk and for subagency use (Fletcher 1846:249). John Thomas (1842:420–421), farm superintendent and miller during the farm's first year of operation (1841) noted that 450 of the 1,400–1,500 acres of plowed farm fields had been planted; 175 acres was worked by Indians and mostly planted in corn, the rest was worked by Subagency staff; 25,000 rails for field fencing had been made and laid in place; 50 tons of hay was made at the subagency; and another 30 tons was made on the "Coden River," 50 miles to the west (probably a transcription error of "Cedar"). Another 50 acres had been plowed for Ho-Chunk use on the Upper Iowa River. Crops worked by subagency staff included oats, wheat, corn, potatoes, buckwheat, turnips, beans, and garden vegetables.

Thomas further reported that the mill race had "broken away" around March 1, 1841. It was fixed and the dam extended. The grist mill and dam were a source of repeated difficulty. In 1843, the Subagent reported it was in disrepair, as the Ho-Chunk had vandalized it.

> [They] forced off the locks and roved through it for their own amusement. It is completely exposed to the weather on the south end, and is rapidly going to destruction. The mill dam is gone for about 120 feet—a portion of it, say 40 feet or thereabouts, where the stream is from four to six feet in depth—the remainder is above water, brush having been laid down, and covered with stone. The dam can be repaired, and an appropriation for that purpose should be made as speedily as possible. It is difficult to estimate the cost of the repairs, but I should think $400 or $500 judiciously expended would suffice to set the mill in operation. The mill is situated so far from the agency buildings, that when not in operation it is liable to the intrusion of the Indians, unless a constant watch is kept up. To obviate this, I would suggest the propriety of causing to be erected, in its immediate vicinity, a small dwelling house, suitable for the residence of the miller, and where he should constantly reside [McGregor 1844:426].

Repairs were always an issue for the subagent and farm superintendent. The government was anxious to remove the Ho-Chunk from Iowa, and hence, reluctant to expend money on "temporary" improvements. Only three years after their construction, several buildings were in dire need of repair. Chinking had fallen out of the log walls of the agent's house, leaving gaping holes for the entire length of the logs. This problem generally applied to all the log buildings. The subagent suggested the interiors be lathed and plastered. The roof of the subagent's house was so leaky that there was "not a spot where a table can be placed in wet weather, and be secured from damps" (McGregor 1844:427).

The farm had some livestock on hand during its first year, including 17 oxen, two yearlings, three cows, and five horses. Thomas (1842) provided a list of "farming utensils" on hand at Turkey River "3 two-horse wagons, 1 two-ox wagon, 1 cart, 10 ploughs, 10 scythes and snathes, 10 axes, 12 hoes, 4 harrows, 8 ox-yokes, 2 sets double harnesses, 2 one-horse carts, 1 set cart harness, 2 Franklin stoves, 1 cook stove, 2 seven-plate stove, and 7 ten-plate stoves."

By 1844, Benjamin Terrill (1844:429; McGregor 1844:427) was the farm superintendent, overseeing seven Euro-American laborers in winter and 16 in summer. Plowing and fencing continued. He reported problems with the Ho-Chunk "stealing crops," presumably from the fields. Nine bands of Ho-Chunk had fenced farm fields covering 415 acres total; these fields were between one and 40 miles distant from the subagency. Terrill reported that the government plowed these lands and Ho-Chunk women worked them.

At annuity payment time, school shut down for several weeks to a month, when children were expected to stay with their families. Similarly, many children left school during the winter hunt. Children were taught the same subjects as at the Yellow River. Students were divided into classes according to ability. By 1842, vocal music was part of the curriculum. The boys generally spent one to two hours daily doing farming tasks. Items sewn by the girls included shirts, pantaloons, gowns, coats, chemises, aprons, pillow cases, bedticks, sacks, and corn bags. Five girls who boarded at the school were very skilled in cooking. Principal Seymour recommended the girls should also be taught knitting and spinning, so that the students could provide socks and stockings for themselves and the male students (Hancock 1842b; Seymour 1843; Van der Zee 1915:345–346).

By 1843, there were six teachers: the superintendent, four regular teachers, and one sewing instructor. Reportedly, 15 children walked 5 miles each way, to and from school; other children either had shorter walks or boarded on site. Monthly attendance ranged from 51 to 108 students. The largest total school attendance was during the 1846–1847 school year, with 249 students (Seymour 1843, 1844; Van der Zee 1915:346–347). That year, the subagent suggested two additional schools be constructed for the Ho-Chunk, one on the (Upper) Iowa River, and one on the Cedar. Three Ho-Chunk bands had settled at that latter place, and there were more than 100 children residing there (Fletcher 1846:250). This plan was never implemented.

Because the presence of missionaries within the Neutral Ground was regulated by the subagent, missions are also discussed within the Turkey River Subagency context. As previously mentioned, Lowry can himself be considered a missionary, given his training as a Presbyterian clergyman and the daily religious instruction received at the subagency school by the Ho-Chunk. However, at least three other missionary attempts or events took place in the Neutral Ground.

The first of these attempts was by the Italian-born Catholic priest Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, who began preaching to the Ho-Chunk around Portage, Wisconsin, in April, 1833 (Butler 1898:159). In October, he visited Detroit to have his 18-page book *Collection of Winnebago Prayers* or *Ocangra Aramee Wawakakara* published. The book, written in the Ho-Chunk language, was meant for the use of the Ho-Chunk people, containing prayers, songs, the commandments, and a key for pronouncing the words phonetically.

This is reportedly the first known publication in a Siouian dialect (Alderson and Alderson 1974). He established a Ho-Chunk school near Fort Winnebago, which operated during the winter of 1834–1835, with about 20 students. Mazzuchelli had little financial support for the school, and was forced to close it. As previously mentioned, he was apparently promised the position of school superintendent at the newly built Yellow River Subagency, but was passed over in favor of David Lowry.

Catholic Priest Remigio Petiot attempted to establish a church in the Neutral Ground in 1842, under the advice of Monsignor Matthias Loras and possibly encouraged by Mazzuchelli, who was then preaching to Catholics in the lead mining region of southwest Wisconsin, northwest Illinois, and east central Iowa (Alderson and Alderson 1974). Mazzuchelli (1966:260) noted a "few Christians who converted before 1835, had persevered on the right path," meaning that some of the Ho-Chunk he had ministered to in Wisconsin still remained faithful Catholics, and were living in the Neutral Ground as of 1842. However, Petiot became convinced that it would be impossible to increase the numbers of Ho-Chunk Catholics, given the leanings of those in daily charge of the Neutral Ground, so he "remained there only a few months."

In 1845, Father Cretin was remonstrated by Iowa Territory Governor Chambers, who stated that a school already existed in the Neutral Ground (the Turkey River Subagency). Not only should the Catholics stop efforts to establish another school, but the entry of priests into the Neutral Ground was forbidden. Finally, numerous missionaries visited the subagency and were taken on tours of one or two villages (i.e., the visit of a Methodist Episcopal minister in Lowry 1843:357). The exact purpose of these visits, whether fact-finding or investigating the possibility of establishing missions, is unclear.

Archaeological Investigations

Site 13WH111, the Turkey River Subagency, was first recorded as an archaeological site by Carl Merry in 1988 (Green 1988) as part of an overview study of the Turkey River Valley. The study included archival research, limited surface field investigation, and oral history interviews. Merry and Green (1989:6) recommended that "a carefully researched, problem-oriented archaeological survey design should be developed and implemented in order to locate and evaluate" Ho-Chunk-related sites in the Neutral Ground. Stanley (1992) conducted an archaeological study which focused on Fort Atkinson. He also provided new historical data on the Turkey River Subagency and recommended future investigation of the subagency locality. Rogers (1993) conducted a more in-depth study of the subagency and environs. Her investigation consisted of surface survey and collection, and resulted in the formulation of a five-year research design for study of the area.

Rogers' work divided the subagency site into three activity loci. Locus A was the former location of 14 buildings forming the heart of the subagency. Locus B was upslope from Locus A, and included the locations of the log stables, a frame house, the agent's house, the men's house, a warehouse, and an ox stable. Rogers excavated 12 shovel tests in the vicinity of the log stables and frame house. She found the area had "a good potential for intact features and deposits related to the subagency occupation" (Rogers 1993:17). The temporal range of the 324 artifacts recovered during subsurface testing dated from Subagency to modern times. Surface collection of Locus B led to the recovery of an additional 62 artifacts, most of which were found in the current landowner's garden plot, where the log stables once stood. Of particular interest was an 1837

"hard times" political token collected from the garden (Figure 18). This token was used as currency during the fiscal crisis of 1837–1841 and may have had a meaning beyond monetary worth for the Ho-Chunk: a running mule is depicted on one side of the coin and a turtle with a safe on its back appears on the obverse. The Ho-Chunk creation myth revolves around a tortoise which carried the earth on its shell. Locus C was the probable location of one of the two blacksmith shops, 500 m north of Locus B, at the foot of a high, upland ridge. The potential for buried cultural deposits due to slope wash is great at this location. Only eight artifacts, mostly metal, were located here during 1993 surface collection.

Government land surveyors mapped the 14 buildings at Locus A in 1849 (Figure 16). Six of the structure locations, including the carpenters' shop, cook house, two dwelling houses, storehouse, and school house, were contained within what is now a cultivated field east of the a modern farmstead. A controlled surface collection of this locus led to the recovery of 1,845 artifacts, with very little temporally intrusive material.

Peterson (1995) conducted the most recent investigation of the Turkey River Subagency, focusing on Locus A. This study involved archaeological research and geomorphological investigation to determine the potential for buried Subagency agricultural fields and archaeological deposits. Rogers (1993) suggested that Subagency-era agriculture fields may be buried in or under historic alluvium or colluvium. Mandel (1995:26) found there is low potential for buried subagency-era cultural deposits at most of the mapped Subagency agricultural fields on the 6-m-high late Wisconsinan terrace.

Excavations at Locus A of Site 13WH111 determined that intact cultural deposits exist at this location. A fireplace foundation and associated ash layer, and a linear foundation north of the fireplace were found. The fireplace/chimney base was located 40 feet due east of the point on the school which was mapped by the 1849 government surveyor. The school is specified as two rooms of 20-x-20-feet each. If the building was constructed to specifications, the fireplace would have been located on the east end; therefore, it appears the fireplace/chimney base represents the remains of the school fireplace. A substantial, linear foundation was located 9.6 feet north of the fireplace/chimney. It is unknown if this foundation represents an exterior wall of the school, the supports from an interior wall of the school, or the foundation of another building, which was not mapped by the government surveyor. The presence of a limestone wall, a chimney/fireplace base, and an ash and charcoal layer below the plowzone indicate there is the potential for further significant archaeological research at Locus A of Site 13WH111.

A total of 19,019 artifacts were recovered from Locus A in 1995. Limestone and mortar comprised the overwhelming majority of these artifacts. Other artifact types included glass, ceramics, bone, metal items, and trade goods (including pipe fragments, brooches, tinkler cones, earrings, gun parts, and beads). The vast majority of the artifacts were from the 1840s time period. Two percent of the artifacts were located during surface collection. During subsurface testing, 33 percent of the cultural materials were recovered from the plowzone. The remaining 12,416 artifacts, or 65 percent of the assemblage, were located below the plowzone. This high percentage of artifacts recovered from below the plowzone additionally demonstrated a substantial portion of the cultural deposit at Locus A remains intact. Other subsurface features, such as privies, trash pits, and other foundation remnants, are likely preserved at Locus A.

Peterson noted that the archaeological integrity of at least a portion of Locus A was high, and the potential for the archaeological record to provide additional, unique information about the Ho-Chunk occupation of the Neutral Ground was outstanding. She recommended Site 13WH111 as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Summary of Historic Properties related to Context #3: Turkey River Subagency, 1840–1848

Property types related to the Turkey River Subagency Context include its primary component, the subagency itself (13WH111). Mapped buildings there included the Agency house, a log stable, a framed house, the "smiths shops," the spring house, the store house, two dwelling houses, the cook house, the school house, the warehouse, the "men's house," the carpenter's house, and an ox stable. In addition to the mapped buildings, specifications called for a chicken house, a barn, a privy behind the Agency House, two privies behind the dwellings, two blacksmith shops, a meat house, and a refectory (dining hall). Although only three outhouses are mentioned, additional 1840s privies may have been located within the subagency complex. Remnants of all buildings, except the springhouse, may remain at the site. A modern, concrete structure presently surrounds the still-running spring.

Other related property types include roads and trails leading to the subagency, related cultivated fields and associated fencerows, and remnants of the subagency mill. Cultivated fields at outlying Ho-Chunk villages were plowed by subagency employees; these fields are therefore associated with both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts. Euro-American burials within about 2 miles of the subagency and from the 1840–1848 time period are definitely associated with this context. Ho-Chunk burials within easy walking distance (roughly, 10 miles) of the Subagency are associated with both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts. No subagency-related burial locations have been positively identified. In addition, other yet unidentified, but related properties likely exist. Ho-Chunk encampments or villages that date between 1840 and 1848 and which are in close proximity (roughly 10 miles or less), would have had frequent interactions with persons at the subagency; these camps and villages are associated with both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts.

No extant Subagency buildings are known, although one log cabin may have been rebuilt from original Subagency materials at the St. Anthony of Padua Chapel to the northeast of the Subagency (Alan Becker, personal communication 2001). Therefore, physical evidence of the subagency takes the form of archaeological deposits. Previous geomorphological investigations revealed a low potential for intact cultivated field remnants lying below post-settlement alluvium in the Turkey River Valley near the Subagency (Mandel 1995). The General Land Office surveyor's map of 1849 depicts four roads or trails converging upon the subagency. Some remnants of these roads may be present in timbered areas along the Turkey River and modern roads may have been placed upon 1840s roadbeds. Archaeological investigations have revealed that a portion of the Ho-Chunk schoolhouse, including a chimney remnant and limestone foundation, is present beneath the plowzone at the Subagency.

Expected archaeological evidence of other subagency elements would likely take the form of limestone foundation alignments and/or piers and chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings such as the chicken house, post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface. Post molds may be in evidence along former fencerows. The blacksmith's shops may be identified by a high concentration of iron near ground surface.

Context #4: Ho-Chunk Lifeways: 1830–1848

First-hand accounts and scholarly summaries of Ho-Chunk lifeways exist; many of these directly pertain to the Period of Significance (1830–1848; Burnett 1994; *The Friend* 1843; Hancock 1842; Hexom 1913; Petersen 1960a-b; Peterson and Becker 2001; Reque 1930+; Schoolcraft 1854); some accounts are generally related to the period (Lurie 1978; Mahan 1926; Peske 1971; Radin 1923; Smith and Feldkamp-Price 1994). The present discussion by no means presents a thorough history of the tribe prior or antecedent to the Neutral Ground era.

Probably due to heavy population loss in the late seventeenth century, Ho-Chunk began to intermarry with surrounding tribes, especially the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menominee, and Sauk (Lurie 1978:692); thus, the Siouan-speaking Ho-Chunk adopted many cultural traits from their Algonquian neighbors. As contact with fur traders increased, the lifeways of the Ho-Chunk changed. Settlement began to disperse away from Green Bay and Lake Winnebago, expanding south and westward, with as many as 40 different villages scattered across central and southern Wisconsin. However, the concept of a "head chief," crossing several village borders, was maintained (Lurie 1960; Radin 1923).

At the time of European contact, the Ho-Chunk were sedentary horticulturists, occupying most of present-day central Wisconsin, with a heavy concentration around Lake Winnebago. Ho-Chunk villages were located along waterways and had adjacent cemeteries and agricultural fields. Fields extended a mile or more back from the villages and rock piles were often found nearby, the result of field preparation (Peske 1971:67). Lurie (1978:692) summarizes agricultural practices, "Large gardens were planted and tended in the summer and a good part of the dried harvest of corn, beans, squash, and wild foods was stored in pits or fiber bags for winter use...Organized hunts associated with the large Lake Winnebago villages may even have occurred when the tribe was located at Green Bay." Berries, wild rice, onions, nuts, fish, and cattail roots were also important elements in the Ho-Chunk diet (Kay 1984; Smith and Feldkamp-Price 1994).

Accounts from the Neutral Ground-era show a similar subsistence pattern, with the additional mention of watermelon, pumpkin, oats, peas, potatoes, turnips, and buckwheat, as garden crops. Tobacco was grown in small amounts in the historic period. Stands of wild rice were also tended, although probably not in the Neutral Ground (Hexom 1913; Petersen 1960a). By 1846, Subagent Fletcher reported that "of the [2,400] Winnebagoes, two bands consisting of about 300 in number follow the chase for a subsistence. The balance are, more or less, engaged in agricultural pursuits [...] they all, however, depend partly on hunting and fishing for a living" (Reque 1930+; letter dated 15 August 1846 from Fletcher to James Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs). Hunted animals included virtually all available wildlife, with buffalo and deer having especial importance.

In the Fort Atkinson vicinity, corn was "cached" in 3-foot-deep holes. Dried fruit, nuts, and other longer-lasting items may also have been stored in these pits. Early settler A. Jacobsen recalled these features in 1905, saying the Ho-Chunk "had evidently intended to return at some future time as they had made large cellar-like holes in the ground in which were deposited all kinds of goods covered with the bark of trees. Such things as corn, feathers, axes, and kettles were in good preservation when exhumed by the new settlers" (in Hexom 1913:n.p). Lawson (1907:122) noted that corn was dried and shelled before it was placed into cache pits.

Sometime in the 1700s, the rectangular-shaped dwellings of the Ho-Chunk evolved into the domed wigwams or chipotekes that continued in use until the early 1900s (Lurie 1978). Separate winter and summer lodges were built:

> The winter lodges were built in areas that were protected from the severe winter weather and were near trees for fuel, canoe making, and sugaring. The summer lodges were in places that had fine, loose soil for farming and were close to lakes or rivers for fishing and clamming […] Both men and women helped in the building of the winter lodge. The men cut poles for the framework for the wigwams and collected birchbark for the roofs. The women tied together reed mats and, with rolls of bark, covered the hut. Extra mats were woven and were used as a ground cover for sleeping [Smith and Feldkamp-Price 1994:6].

The large villages were occupied during the late summer and early spring. During other seasons, people dispersed for large and small scale communal hunts, regrouping at the large villages after maple sugaring activities in the spring (Richards 1993:275).

Subagent Jonathan Emerson Fletcher provided a description of Ho-Chunk buildings erected near the Turkey River Subagency:

> These lodges are built by setting posts or poles in the ground, and covering them with bark. The shape of the lodges is similar to that of a log cabin, and differing in size according to the number of persons in the family or families who occupy them. Said lodges are from twelve to forty feet in length, and from ten to twenty feet in width, and about fifteen feet in height from the ground to the top of the roof. These lodges are built near the field or fields they cultivated, and are occupied several summers. A lodge forty feet in length, and sixteen in width, will accommodate three families of ten persons each. There are no windows in these bark lodges. They generally have two doors, and a space through the center; with benches or berths on each side for sleeping. The fires, one for each family, are made along the space through the center of the lodge. The smoke escapes through apertures in the roof. These lodges were formerly built by the women; lately, however, the men assist in building them....The Winnebagos use skins, mats made of flags, or bark, for enclosing their winter lodges [Schoolcraft 1854:56–57].

In another account, Fletcher describes the winter homes as having a round or elliptical shape, while conical lodges were in used chiefly during the summer (Hexom 1913; Eastman 1852).

A member of the religious Society of Friends, who visited the Turkey River Subagency in 1843, provides another eyewitness account:

> These Indians live in rude lodges, or wigwams, as they are sometimes called, built in the usual Indian style, by forcing forked sticks in to the ground for posts and ribs, preparatory to covering them with oak bark. The sides are either made of bark, mats made of flags, or skins fastened to the plates, and extending to the ground. These wigwams are from ten to twenty-five feet in length, and from ten feet wide. The inside of the building is fitted up with a sort of frame-work on each side, made of poles about two feet high, and three feet wide, intended as a sort of bedstead, on which they fasted skins or mats, where they lounge and sleep, leaving a space through the centre four feet wide. At each end there is an aperture or door. The fire is built in the center, the smoke escaping through a hole in the top.

> There are not unfrequently as many as three or four families, amounting to twenty persons or more, occupying one of these miserable hovels. When about their homes, they live principally upon soups, made of wild fowl and venison, turnips and potatoes. They also eat an abundance of boiled corn. Some corn-bread, and a very little wheat flour are used by them [*The Friend* 1843].

An early settler further stated that canvas, if available, was sometimes used to cover the roofs of lodges (Hexom 1913).

Mary Wilcox, who spent several years of her childhood at the subagency in the 1840s, considered Whirling Thunder's village her second home. She described his lodge and several of its occupants:

> Whirling Thunder's lodge was a large one, handsomely decorated. One picture represented a flying enemy with Whirling Thunder in hot pursuit; another, a stag pierced by an arrow, with head and antlers high in the air as he sank on his knees to rise no more. The pictures, or picture-writing, excited my curiosity. If the outside was so grand, what must the inside be? I went boldly in and viewed the scene. Two women occupied the lodge. One was tall, dark, and sad, her eyes as black as a starless night. She moved slowly, with grace and dignity, and with an air of utter hopelessness. She did not smile upon me or caress my curls or heed me in any way, but silently continued her work. In another part of the lodge, reclining on a panther skin, was a young woman. She was beautifully attired in a fringed fawn skin tunic; her neck and breast were bound with ornaments of beads and shells, and a large silver brooch confined her tunic at the neck. Her shapely limbs and delicate feet were covered by leggings and moccasins of buckskin. Her long black hair hung down her back and was decorated with feathers. At her feet sat a smiling infant, naked and beautiful as a Cupid [Burnett 1994:19–20].

Census information suggests the average village in the Neutral Ground contained 168 inhabitants (Hancock 1842a-b). Village layout is, however, not understood. Areas ripe for future investigation include population density across the Neutral Ground, loci of settlement, factors that determined village placement, and general village layout. Within each community, spatial relationships amongst activity areas, buildings, structures, outlying gardens, and burial grounds are not known. One especially interesting report notes that farm laborers at the subagency assisted one of the Ho-Chunk men in building a cabin and the man "finished it to his own taste—half house, half wigwam" (Terrill 1844:429).

Accommodation and Resistance

Direct contact between peoples of European and Ho-Chunk descent had been ongoing for 200 years by the time the Ho-Chunk arrived in the Neutral Ground, with indirect contact through inter-tribal trade of European goods and accidentally, disease, predating archivally verified contact. Contact resulted in varying degrees and types of cultural exchange, in the form of change in Ho-Chunk material culture, warfare, social organization, daily activities, and dietary habits, to name a few. French contact with native groups was designed to maximize European fur trade profits. Traders provided guns and traps, and cheap baubles such as beads, in exchange for profitable furs. British trade in the late eighteenth century followed a similar pattern. Later, U.S. governmental efforts attempted to force submission of individual tribes to U.S. political, economic, and military policy that involved acquisition of Indian lands through many means.

Manufactured and imported trade goods were easily acquired through the credit system and governmental interference heightened by the 1820s in the Mississippi Valley. Once Ho-Chunk land cessions began and tribal members were forced to live at locations chosen by the government, illnesses and goods were not the only influence upon their daily lives. The U.S. government made efforts to replace traditional Ho-Chunk spiritual beliefs with Christianity. The government plowed immense tracts of land, on which the Ho-Chunk men were supposed to use European agricultural methods, thus disrupting centuries-old traditional agricultural practices where women were in charge of farming. The government burned canoes to prevent return to Wisconsin. Large numbers of traders were allowed to gather in the Neutral Ground, particularly at the time of annuity payments. Sometimes, annuity monies would be spent for an entire family within one day. An unregulated credit system ensured that the tribe would be so indebted to traders that the recompense must be land cessions. The government failed to recognize the authority of many lineal chiefs, and often appointed men who could be manipulated by the government as "head chiefs" (U.S. Department of State 1967b:400–403; Bieder 1995:139–141).

Despite attempts to force pacification and cultural change on the Ho-Chunk during the 1830s and 1840s, the failure of these efforts was substantial. Very few tribal members appear to have converted to Christianity during the Neutral Ground period. Chief Whirling Thunder reportedly banished a Ho-Chunk woman who wanted to be the first of her band married in a Christian ceremony in the mid-1840s (Burnett 1994:49). Attempts to bring men in from the hunt to practice European agricultural methods were not successful during this period either. Traditional seasonal hunts occurred and women harvested traditional crops. During September 1845, the subagent estimated that half of the Ho-Chunk had returned to Wisconsin or were living along the Mississippi (Mahan 1926; Petersen 1960a-b), suggesting the canoe-burning did little good. The concept of chiefs based on lineage or moiety was maintained.

In the most simplistic of terms, the Ho-Chunk borrowed or incorporated European lifeways, beliefs, and objects that were compatible with traditional ideology. This borrowing may have altered the historical methods appropriate to certain tasks or social structures (e.g., replacement of the bow with the gun; changes in marital practices). However, the underlying culture that bound the Ho-Chunk together remained intact, despite the government's best efforts at subjugation. Peoples who maintain a group cultural identity despite outside domination have "common understandings concerning the meaning of a set of symbols" (Spicer 1980:347). A common identity and shared sense of history bind members of a group together, and results in cultural mechanisms that maintain boundaries between, in this case, the Ho-Chunk and interfering whites. Much in the same way as population devastation in the mid 1600s resulted in intermarriage with other tribes and reorganization of socioeconomic patterns to aid in Ho-Chunk survival (Lurie 1978:692), so too did the tribe adapt to later circumstances brought about by Europeans. European introductions that could not be reconciled with traditional beliefs (such as male-dominated farming) were rejected. Only a small percentage of Ho-Chunk children attended the school at the subagency (roughly 10 percent of all the children; compiled from Hancock 1842a-b and Petersen 1960a-b), further evidence of resistance to governmental domination efforts.

Not only can individual artifacts be analyzed as relating to accomodation and resistance, but also the sites as a whole and the features within a site must be considered as possible sources of information regarding resistance strategies. Village layout, individual features, and the material assemblage should be compared to earlier and later Ho-Chunk settlements, as well as to contemporaneous Euro-American and other Indian settlements, in an attempt to discern archaeologically decipherable symbols of identity and markers of cultural change and continuity. For instance, in the case of the Blackfeet, changes in tipi and buffalo corral size, growth of polygamy, and subsistence changes have been correlated to the introduction of the fur trade (Lewis 1966). Some resistance strategies, such as Ho-Chunk refusal to partake in new treaty negotiations designed to oust them from the Neutral Ground in 1843, 1844, and 1845 (Diedrich 1991; Mahan 1926), may become apparent through further research into period governmental correspondence.

Although no Ho-Chunk villages have yet been field verified in Iowa, some surface collections from probable Ho-Chunk habitation sites (13AM217, 13AM410, 13BM1, 13BM2, 13HW16, 13WH131, 13WH135, 13WH157–158, and 13WH174) have exposed noteworthy material assemblages. Excavations at site 13WH158 were inconclusive in determining site function: use as a Ho-Chunk encampment, as a Catholic mission, or as a trading post are equally possible (Doershuk et al. 2001; Doershuk, Peterson and Fishel 2003). TAlthough an iron arrowpoint was found, this site dates from the 1840s, long after guns were readily available to the Ho-Chunk. Obvious trade items found at the site included a blue glass seed bead, a cylindrical shell bead, and a gunflint (Figure 19). Other artifacts include ball clay pipe fragments, white earthenware, hand wrought and machine cut nails, and bottle glass. At site 13WH174, typical trade items, such as gun parts, beads, and brass ornaments, were missing from the small assemblage. A hand-pecked sandstone marble was recovered, along with ball clay pipe fragments, white earthenware, redware, stoneware, and bottle fragments. Sites 13WH131 and 13WH135 similarly yielded ball clay pipe fragments, glass, and imported ceramics. Very small amounts of faunal material have also been found at all of the potential Ho-Chunk habitation sites.

Trade lists provide data regarding items exchanged with the Ho-Chunk. These lists may be coupled with future archaeological data to better understand changes occurring during the Neutral Ground period. Many such lists exist (see Peterson and Becker 2001 for examples). For example, Subagent David Lowry confiscated the goods of Samuel Parker, an agent of a large trading firm operating in the Neutral Ground. Parker sent his employees to trade with the Ho-Chunk on the Red Cedar River. His men were arrested for “trading beyond the limits of their license” (Trennert 1981:116–117). Lowry provided a list of confiscated items, which included buffalo robes; skins of elk, beaver, deer, raccoons, wolves, and a bear cub; blankets, yarn, ribbon, and cloth; mirrors, bells, vermillion, combs, knives, and jewelry.

Because non-Indians wrote most of the 1840s documents regarding Ho-Chunk lifeways, archaeological manifestations of village life become very important in understanding general village lifeways and specific resistance strategies. Oral histories, translations of Ho-Chunk oratory, and archaeology are the only other sources representing the 1840s Ho-Chunk viewpoint.

Population

The Ho-Chunk moved seasonally, so amassing an accurate census was a challenge for government officials. Utilizing historical population estimates and regression formulas, Kay (1984) approximates Ho-Chunk population between 1830 and 1836 at 4,000 to 4,600 persons, nearly all of whom lived in Wisconsin. Two cholera epidemics (in 1832 and 1834) ravaged the population shortly before the move west of the Missisippi; 1834–1835 was particularly gruesome, with an estimated 25 percent of the Ho-Chunk population killed by a smallpox outbreak (Lawson 1907:112; Thwaites 1892:401).

By the 1840s, several Ho-Chunk bands resided within a day's travel of Fort Atkinson, including those headed by Winneshiek, Little Decorah, Cut Nose, and Whirling Thunder. Other bands located in more remote parts of the Neutral Ground. According to Lowry (1842:417), in 1842 all these bands combined numbered 1,883 men, women, and children: 254 living along the Upper Iowa River, 756 living at or near the subagency, and 873 living on "Sioux lands." Many Ho-Chunk never moved to the Neutral Ground, but avoided government troops in Wisconsin. Groups of Ho-Chunk would be forcibly removed, taken into Iowa, only to return, again, to their homeland. Hence, the 1840s population figures represent only Ho-Chunk in the Neutral Ground, omitting persons still in Wisconsin.

Reports documenting Ho-Chunk population during their Neutral Ground history vary in total population count and in the chief or village tally. One source which utilized governmental correspondence listed 22 bands containing 2,400 Ho-Chunk in the Neutral Ground, with an additional 75 "half-breeds" concentrated mainly in the area of the subagency in 1846 (Fletcher 1846:247; Van der Zee 1915:339). The Winnebago Census of 1842, prepared by J. W. Hancock, school superintendent at Turkey River, lists 2,183 Ho-Chunk in 13 villages (Table 2; from Hancock 1842a-b). This census suggests that an average village of that period contained 168 inhabitants (Table 2). Further research, particularly into 1840s-period governmental correspondence available in the National Archives microfilm, is needed to better approximate village locations, band divisions, and population.

It is unlikely that the above mentioned villages/camps represent locations of the various bands during the entire Neutral Ground occupation. Rather, the villages could relocate seasonally. The summer and/or winter villages may have been placed as the same locations for several consecutive years. In other words, there may be several different, and correct, locations of the villages of any one band over time.

In the case of several Ho-Chunk families or clans, there are numerous individuals of similar name, most notable being "Decorah" and "Winneshiek." Often, governmental or other period authors did not specify which individual they were referring to. Chief Winneshiek (a.k.a., Wa-don-ja-goo-gah or We-lou-shi-ga or Coming Thunder) is apparently a Sauk name; his mother was the sister of White Cloud (Wabokieshiek; the Prophet), who was half Sauk and half Ho-Chunk (see Hexom 1913; Stanley 1995:46). Chief Winneshiek signed at least the 1828 and 1855 treaties, and is referred to as the "head" chief in some secondary source documents (e.g., Hexom 1913). Winneshiek had several children, the most well known being Younger Winneshiek (No-gin-kah; Striking Tree; Little Winneshiek) and John Winneshiek (Ko-sho-gi-way-ka). In addition, Winneshiek's brother, Young Winneshiek (Ah-hoo-sheeb-gah; Short Wing; d. 1887) was a well-known orator (see Stanley 1992:48–51 for discussion of Neutral Ground-era Ho-Chunk genealogy).

Similar to the situation with Winneshiek, there were many members of the Decorah family living in Iowa and Wisconsin. The Decorah name originated in the union of a Ho-Chunk woman, Wa-ho-po-e-kau (Hopokoekau; Glory of the Morning), and a French fur trader, Sabrevoir de Carrie, from about 1730 to 1738. Spoon Decorah was the eldest son of this pair (a.k.a., Chokeka or Chau-ka-ka or Chou-ga-rah Decorah or the Ladle) and he apparently died in 1816 (Lawson 1907); Chah-post-kaw-kaw (the Buzzard Decorah) was the second-born son. When Neutral Ground era governmental correspondence only refers to "Decorah," it is difficult to know which person is meant, as Spoon Decorah and Buzzard Decorah had many descendants (Lawson 1907), a few of whom include Little Decorah; Konokah (Old Gray-Headed Decorah; White War Eagle; Schachipkaka; Hee-tsh-wa-sharp-skawkau; d. 1836); Big Boat Decorah (Wadge-hut-ta-kaw, Big Canoe; One-Eyed Decorah; d.1864; see Stanley 1992:47–49); and Waukon Decorah (Wakun-ha-ga; Washington Decorah; Snake Skin; d. 1868). To further add to the confusion, at least one son of Big Boat Decorah was named Spoon Decorah. Other prominent Ho-Chunk of the Neutral Ground period include Flight of Geese [wife of Spoon Decorah and daughter of Nawkaw, (Carrymaunee; Walking Turtle)]; Yellow Thunder (Wah-con-zaj-gah; d. after 1862); and Dandy (Little Soldier).

Predicted Ho-Chunk Village Locations

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified 11 possible village or camp locations which relate to the "Ho-Chunk Village Life: 1830–1848" context and which have very specific location information. There are numerous other villages for which very minimal locational information exists.

Winneshiek's Village (at least three locations): Based on the present data, three locations of Winneshiek's village are suggested. One is based upon Iowa Site File data, which may have derived from the research of Ellison Orr. The other two possible locations are based solely on information provided by Orr.

Site 13AM217 is recorded as the location of Winneshiek's Village in Section 2, T99N-R5W, Allamakee County, Iowa (Stanley and Stanley 1986; Rogers and Vogel 1989). This site has not been archaeologically verified. Orr's reading of the GLO surveyor's notes suggested that to reach the village a person must "leave bottom and ascend hill to site of chief Winneshiek's village on line between Sec. 1 and 2," suggesting an uplands location. Site 13AM217 is on a floodplain or terrace setting. Orr found further locational information in a county history book, not consulted for the present document.

Orr (1935:100) also described a second possible location of the village :

> Somewhere near Frankville it [the Upper Iowa River] forked, a branch of it running northeast across Ludlow township; past where is now the Eels School House in Union Prairie township, where there is a fine spring; then for a mile its route is followed by Highway No. 9 past the County Farm; down across the head of a branch of Silver Creek and up on to the divide to the east; from there coinciding with the present road across the remainder of French Creek township down to the prairie bottom land of the Iowa River, where on the north part of sections 5 and 6 was Chief Winneshiek's large village. Just to the west of this village was the "Indian Thicket" near where is now the Chilson's Ford Bridge…A little to the southeast [of the thicket] was the large Hartley spring gushed out of the foot of the bluff…The first white settlers coming into the valley in the early 50s found the weathered and broken frames of the wigwams of this village still in evidence [Orr 1935:100].

A predicted site location was not ascribed to the above-referenced village, for several reasons. It is unclear if Orr truly is describing sections 5 and 6 or meant Section 2. His hand-drawn map of T99N-R5W shows Chief Winneshiek's Village in the approximate location of site 13AM217, not in sections 5 and 6. Further oral historical, documentary, and archaeological research is needed.

If the location of Antoine Grignon's trading post can be pinpointed, Winneshiek reportedly had a village four miles north of that trading post as of October 23, 1845. This village was located on the south side of the Upper Iowa River (United States Department of State 1967b:1058).

An 1844 map may show Winneshiek's village at another location (Kearny 1844, discussed in Stanley 1992:49). Stanley notes that a village is shown at a location approximately seven miles west of modern-day Houston, Minnesota, along the Root River. As of May 1844, four separate bands lived in the vicinity of the Root River, including those of Winneshiek and Big Canoe (United States Department of State 1967b:382–385).

Decorah's Village: The predicted locations of this village are based upon a primary source document that details the location of a Decorah family village. The document suggests a single location, but there are two landforms that fit the description, hence two possible site locations. Both predicted locations are in T98N-R8W. One is in Section 27, the other in Section 34.

A Turkey River Subagency doctor wrote:

> […] it was proposed that we make a trip to Trout Run, a stream then noted for the size and number of its trout. The agency was situated but a short distance below a large village under the chieftainship of Decorah. At the head of a small piece of bottomland immediately below the village, burst out a spring from the base of a precipice—it was 10 or 15 feet wide and a couple of feet deep—it ran down the bottom land and emptied into the Iowa River. Here was located the mansion of one of the sons of Chief Decorah. This mansion was built after the usual Winnebago style, perhaps 30 feet by 15. On either side was erected a dais—this was their lounging place by day and their sleeping place by night [Andros 1845].

Other sources state that a 50-acre field was plowed for the Ho-Chunk in 1843 or 1844 at the outlet of Trout Run (Hexom 1913:n.p; Reque 1938:5). The GLO map does not reflect the presence of a plowed field at this location. The census enumeration of 1842 lists Little Decorie and his village of 80 persons along the Upper Iowa River (Hancock 1842a-b).

Information that seems to be describing a different location is found in governmental correspondence. One-Eyed Decorah and Black Hawk (not the Sauk warrior Black Hawk) had a village on the north bank of the Upper Iowa River, three to four miles up river from Winneshiek's village on the south bank of the same river. This particular village of Winneshiek was four miles north of Grignon's trading post (United States Department of State 1967b:1058).

Whirling Thunder's Village: At least two locations are proposed for this village. One was located,

> Near the Little Turkey river, a fork of the Turkey river, at a point about one and one-half miles from Waucoma in Fayette county, was a farm of about 100 acres broken up (supposedly by the government) and owned by a chief called Whaling Thunder [evidently Whirling Thunder]. Here Whaling Thunder died, and on his land was a group of about thirty graves, six Indians being buried in a grave (H.J. Goddard in Hexom 1913:n.p.).

A GLO map shows an "Indian Field" in sections 2 and 3, T95N-R10W, Fayette County. Waucoma and the Little Turkey River are located 2.9 km (1.8 miles) from this field. There are trail crossroads 0.6-, 1.0, and 2.1-km (0.4, 0.6, and 1.3 miles) to the south and southeast of the field. The Subagency (site 13WH111) is located 8 km (5.0 miles) the northeast of the field. Hancock (1842) lists Whirling Thunder's village in the "vicinity of Sub Agency." Because no "Old Indian Village" was mapped near the Indian Field, the predicted location of Whirling Thunder's Village was placed at the GLO-mapped location of the field. However, future archaeological investigations should also concentrate on areas peripheral to the field, areas reported as "wet" or formerly wet by landowners (former spring locations), or other locations where landowners may have noticed artifacts or other local oddities.

The second, separate, site location in the vicinity of the City of Monona is very vague. David Olmsted arrived in Clayton County in 1840. He wrote,

> We selected a beautiful location about 13 miles west from the present town of MacGregor in the township now known as Monona [T95N-R5W]. We immediately commenced the erection of a cabin on the edge of a grove near an excellent spring of water…About two miles to the Northwest of our place was a village of Winnebago Indians under the chieftainship of the venerable and celebrated "Whirling Thunder…they also raised a good crop of corn (Olmsted n.d.).

The latter comment suggests this was a summer village. A location 13 miles (21 km) west of McGregor would be halfway between Monona and Luana. These two towns are 5.5 km (3.4 miles) apart. It seems likely that Olmsted's initial residence should have been outside of the Neutral Ground. The southern boundary of the Neutral Ground is located approximately 0.6 km (1 mile) northwest of Monona.

The GLO map depicts two cabins, "Moore's" and "Scott's," within Monona's modern limits. It is possible that one of these cabins was Olmsted's, as it is known that he sold his claim to participate in trade with the Ho-Chunk (Olmsted n.d.; Trennert 1981). Several trail crossroads are shown just west of Luana. Further research is necessary to pinpoint both the early Olmsted claim and Whirling Thunder's other village.

Chief Little Hill's Camp (13AM131, 13AM135): Oslund (1940) states this camp was located in Section 34, T96N-R6W, Winneshiek County,, in agreement with the 1842 census which lists Little Hill's band of 340 living in the vicinity of the "School," (site 13WH111; Hancock 1842a-b). Section 34 is situated no further than 0.3 km (0.5 miles) from site 13WH111, the Subagency.

Two sites are recorded in this vicinity, both with Neutral Ground-era components, and both possibilities for Chief Little Hill's Camp. Site 13WH131 is located within Section 34. Site 13WH135 is in Section 33. Some areas within Section 34 remain to be archaeologically surveyed (see Rogers 1993 for surveyed areas). Only pedestrian survey has been conducted at sites 13WH131 and 13WH135.

White Ox's Red Cedar River Village: There was a Ho-Chunk village along the Red Cedar River by 1835 (Van der Zee 1915:323–324). More than a decade later, "an attack by the Sioux in the spring of 1847 interrupted farming operations along the Red Cedar River that season" (Mahan 1926:232; see Battleground discussion). This is likely the same village depicted on the GLO surveyor's plat map in Section 4, T94N-R14W, Chickasaw County, 4.1 km (2.5 miles) northeast of the present-day city of Nashua. "Ploughed ground," totaling 216 ha (534 acres) is mapped 1.0 km (0.6 miles) south of the mapped village location. "Clark's" trading post (C5) is 0.4 km (0.2 miles) south of the village. Three trail crossroads are mapped within 0.6 km (0.4 miles) of the village. The village is positioned 0.6 km (0.4 miles) east of the present course of the Little Cedar River and 50 km (31 miles) southwest of the subagency (site 13WH111).

Subagent Fletcher (1847b:864–865) noted that several bands lived along the Red Cedar, and these "were among the most industrious and prosperous of the tribe." He also noted that a government-operated blacksmith shop was present near the Red Cedar agricultural fields, for the use of the government farm laborers and the Ho-Chunk.

Womanokaker's Village (13BM1, 13BM2): J. Ries recorded site 13BM1 in Section 23, T91N-R13W, Bremer County, in 1962, based on information from a county history book that states a village of about 500 Winnebago lived at this location. Ries also recorded site 13BM2 in the same quarter-quarter section as site 13BM1. The site form again contains a quote from the same publication, noting that "quite a number of Indians infested what was known as the Big Woods for a time, but were not in any way hostile." The GLO surveyor mapped a plowed field, labeled "Dow's," in Section 23, T91N-R13W, very near the plotted locations of sites 13BM1 and 13BM2. Site 13BM42 has been tentatively identified as the Krech residence and is located within the site 13BM1 and 13BM2 predicted quarter-quarter section.

Site 13AM410: Site 13AM410 may be the location of a Ho-Chunk village in Section 35, T100N-R5W, Allamakee County (A9). Art Hoppin of Bear Creek Archeology, utilizing archival information, recorded this site in 1998. No field verification has been conducted, but the site form notes that, if this location is correct, it is "probable that flood deposits have covered the site, so there may be no evidence of it on the surface."

The GLO surveyor mapped "Chilson's" cabin as 0.7 km (0.4 miles) northwest of site 13AM410. Chilson is not a known trader, but the name appears in Orr's reference to Winneshiek's Village. Site 13AM217, very tentatively identified as Winneshiek's village, is located 0.87 km (0.54 miles) southeast of site 13AM410.

Orr's (1935) transcription of the GLO map of that township shows "teepee" shapes, his typical notation for an Indian village, as the approximate location of site 13AM410. However, this village is not shown on the final field plat map of this township, nor is it noted in the surveyor's notes.

Site 13HW16: Site 13HW16 is the location of a historic Indian village depicted on the GLO maps in Section 22, T100N-R12W, Howard County (Collins 1990). James Collins recorded this site in 1990 based on archival information. The 1853 GLO field notes stated "an old Indian Village or encampment" is within the above-referenced quarter-quarter section. Field verification is needed. Given the location of this site and that remnants were visible as late as 1853, Ho-Chunk site affiliation is possible. However, the village is 7.5 km (4.7 miles) north of the northern boundary of the Neutral Ground, making Santee Dakota affiliation equally likely.

Camp/Village 1: In Orr's reading of the GLO surveyor's field notes, he found in T98N-R4W, Allamakee County, as the surveyor was traveling between sections 20 and 21 "at 27.50 (chains; 553 m) on this line enter bottom prairie bears NE at about 10.00 ch (201 m) west of this point is an old Indian village about 6 wigwams" (reproduced in Rogers and Vogel 1989:Appendix E, pg 61–62). This location abuts Village Creek, perhaps aptly named.

Camp/Village 2: A local informant interviewed by Rogers and Vogel (1989:56, 157–158) stated there was a village site located in the sheltered valley at the base of Mount Madden. He recalled some Ho-Chunk living in the area until after the turn of the twentieth century, but there is the possibility that Ho-Chunk also lived in that vicinity during the Neutral Ground period. This spot is located within T98N-R2W, Allamakee County, Iowa, on the north side of the confluence of Wexford Creek and the Mississippi River (presumably, Section 32).

Camp/Village 3: The Ho-Chunk reportedly cultivated three to four acres of land close to site 13WH160 and had a camp nearby, possibly as late at 1849 (Goddard 1923a-b). Site 13WH160 (a trading post) is in Section 18, T98N-R9W, Winneshiek County. This trading post is very near the township line, so the village may be in either that township or T98N-R10W.

Yellow Thunder's Village: Stanley et al. (1995:43) note that Yellow Thunder's (Wah-con-zaj-gah's) village is shown on the Kearny (1845) map on the Upper Iowa River, in the general vicinity of the present-day village of Bluffton. Bluffton is located in sections 9 and 10, T99N-R9W, Winneshiek County. The consulted GLO maps do not depict a village in that township. The 1842 Ho-Chunk census lists Yellow Thunder's village on the Rock (probably should be Root) River (Hancock 1842a-b).

Big Wave's Winter Camp: This camp is likely located in northern Black Hawk County, although southern Bremer County is another possible location, since Bremer County is only one-half mile north of the Newell Cemetery, mentioned below. Reference to this village was found during research into Site 13BH23, the burial location of two individuals who were likely Ho-Chunk (OSA Burial Project 1178). Two secondary source documents apparently reference the site 13BH23 burials, but also mention one or two winter villages in the same vicinity.

Both documents (Finchford Community Bible Church Ladies Aid 1954; Messerly and Messerly 1969) state that James Newell came to the "Turkey Foot" area in 1845. This is the location of the confluence of three rivers: the Shell Rock and the east and west forks of the Cedar River. The Newell Cemetery is a small rural cemetery located in Section 3, T90N-R14W, Black Hawk County. Presumably, the Newell residence is located nearby and a search of county records could confirm the location of this very early and well-known settler.

In any case, a Ho-Chunk winter village was reported in the vicinity of the Newell house. In December 1846, Winneshiek, Big Wave, and 250 other Ho-Chunk reportedly camped

> for the winter in a grove near the Newell cabin. In February, 1847, a band of Pottawattamies, 250 in number, came and camped on the Cedar also. Shortly afterwards both bands celebrated their meeting with a feast and dance. In the spring the Winnebagos broke camp to ascend the Shell Rock to make sugar, while the Pottawatamies came down the Cedar towards Sturgis Falls (now Cedar Falls; Finchford Community Bible Church Ladies Aid 1954).

Camp/Villages 4 and 5 (13WH157, 13WH174, 13WH244): Frank Kapler described two village locations, one of which may be site 13WH157, 13WH174, and/or 13WH244:

> Old John Hayek bought my father's farm which was about 1½ miles west of grandfather Bachel's farm and the village of the Indians was half way between the Hayek farm and grandfather's farm, so my mother told me. There was another Indian village and cemetery a little way north of old Conrad Riehle farm about 1½ miles south of the German church (October 12, 1968; from Klimesh 2000).

The Riehle farm was probably in T97N-R10W. The 1849 GLO-surveyors mapped an "Old Indian Village" and "Old Indian Farm" (cultivated field) in Section 25. This spot is one mile west of the Turkey River, on an upland with excellent views in all directions. Four trails converge at this village on the GLO map. All three of the above mentioned archaeological sites are in very close proximity to this mapped village. Further research into early landowners should discern the exact locations of the Hayek, Bachel, and Riehle farms.

O'Regan Bench (13AM21): The 1849 GLO surveyor noted when walking along the line between sections 6 and 7, T99N-R5W, that, "about 20 chains [402 m] south of the quarter section corner on the north boundary of Sec 6 there is an old Indian village unoccupied at this time." Given its location within the Neutral Ground, there is a good probability that this is a Ho-Chunk village along the Upper Iowa River.

Very interestingly, this location precisely corresponds to a very well known Oneota village and cemetery, the O'Regan Bench. Both historic and prehistoric materials have been recovered from this site (see Rogers and Vogel 1989; Stanley and Stanley 1986). Almost as interesting is this site's location in proximity to the GLO-mapped trail system. There are several trail hubs, the most prominent being at Fort Atkinson, the Turkey River Subagency, at White Ox's Red Cedar Village, and four miles east of the O'Regan Bench, along the Upper Iowa River. The surveyor also depicts a trail running north-south, 220 m west of the O'Regan Bench.

Assorted village locational information, non-specific: Very vague references exist for several other village locations. While site-specific information cannot come from these sources alone, future researchers may couple these data with other information to pinpoint site locations. The census enumeration of 1842 villages provides vague references for the locations of specific villages, including at Root River, Upper Ioway River, Vicinity of Sub Agency, and School (Hancock 1842a). Three Ho-Chunk villages, including those of Yellow Thunder and Little Decorah, both on the Upper Iowa, and an unnamed village on the Root River in Minnesota, are depicted on a map drawn by Kearny (1845), and discussed in Stanley (1992:45, 79).

Little Decorah had a village on the Upper Iowa River, and there was another village two miles above that of Little Decori in October, 1845. This second village was on the north bank of the same river (United States Department of State 1967b:1058) and may have been occupied by Elk and Young Coramano. Twelve Ho-Chunk were present at the village, along with one mat-covered wigwam and four or five "hay" wigwams. The village of Wakon and Old Coramano was two-and-one-half to three miles above the village of Elk, and also on the same side of the river. No one was present at the village, but three hay wigwams were standing, and provisions had been buried there. Lurie (1978:693, 699) refers to Kar-i-mo-nee as Old Naw-Kaw's successor. Naw-Kaw was the head chief of the Ho-Chunk until his death in 1833. Perhaps one of the Coramano's referred to above was actually an hereditary chief, and not recognized as such by the government in the 1840s. Treaty signers of 1837 include "Keesh-kee-pa-kah, Kar-i-mo-nee his x mark."

The general location of a winter village or general winter hunting site is suggested by the note that "the farm hands [at the subagency]. . .had put thirty tons [of hay] on the Coden [possibly Cedar] River at a place some fifty miles west [of the subagency], intended for the Indians during their winter hunt " (Van der Zee 1915:338).

A Ho-Chunk encampment apparently was located very near a Catholic mission in the 1840s. Huber (1924) wrote that a French priest had a mission church "among the Winnebagos." Goddard (1923a) states that a mission and trading post were located in the vicinity of Site 13WH158, on the west side of the Turkey River, and that an associated church and graveyard were located on the east side of the river. Site 13WH158 is located on the west side of the river.

Father Remegius Petiot of Dubuque reportedly visited the Ho-Chunk or had a mission in their midst in 1842. Kucera (n.d.) states that Father Joseph Cretin "took charge of the mission the next year, 1843," building a log chapel "about a mile East of our present St. John's cemetery and called it Our Lady of the Wilderness. Near this chapel was an Indian cemetery in the horseshoe bend of the Turkey River." Reportedly, Cretin also built a Ho-Chunk school 5.5 miles southeast of Fort Atkinson, in use from 1845 to 1848 (Bailey 1913; Kucera n.d.).

The Rev. Loras C. Otting, Director of Archives and Historical Records of the Catholic Archdiocese of Dubuque, reported that this archive is the correct repository for related material (Otting 2001). However, information related to the Ho-Chunk occupation of Iowa, Catholic missions in the area, and fathers Petiot and Cretin's relationship with the Ho-Chunk is spotty at best. Related archival material available in Dubuque includes *Baptisms among the Winnebagos* by Rev. R. Petiot, an early baptism book which begins in 1839. Rev. Otting also noted the existence of the *Annual Report from St. Mary of the Indian Mission*, written in Latin by Rev. Joseph Cretin. This document dates to 1849 and is presumably related to Ho-Chunk activities in Minnesota. The archive also has many original documents, written in French, of Cretin and Petiot, although none deal directly with the Ho-Chunk mission. The Archdiocese archives also hold a Monstrance. This vessel designed to hold the Blessed Sacrament was used at the Indian Mission on Turkey River.

Predicted Ho-Chunk Maple Sugaring Camps

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified several possible maple sugaring camp locations which relate to the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830–1848" context.

Billmeyer Site (13FT78): Jim Collins recorded site 13FT78 in 1990, based on archival and oral historical information. No field check has been conducted. Site 13FT78 is located in sections 34 and 35, T95N-R9W, Fayette County. A set of nested "brass and copper kettles" was found at the site in 1949 by the landowner. These kettles, depicted in the *Fayette County Union* (1949b), are consistent with trade goods available during the Neutral Ground period. The GLO map of 1849 depicts an "Old Indian Sugar Camp" at that location. This predicted site is 9.5 km (5.9 miles) south of the Subagency (site 13WH111).

Sugaring Camp 1: Orr (1935) mapped an Indian Sugar Camp near the center of Section 16, T96N-R4W, Allamakee County, north of the river. The "sugar bush" was located, "on a sloping terrace lying in an ox-bow of the Yellow River. The oxbow is located in the center of the SW¼, Section 16.

Site 13FT154: The 1849 GLO surveyors mapped a "Sugar Camp" in sections 15 and 16, T94N-R8W, Fayette County. The camp is along Glover Creek, and 1.0 km (0.6 miles) southeast of modern-day West Union. Based on archival information, this location was designated site 13FT154.

Site 13WH238: The 1849 GLO surveyors mapped a "Sugar Camp" in Section 9, T100N-R8W, Winneshiek County. The camp straddles the Iowa-Minnesota border. Based on archival information, this location was designated site 13WH238.

Sugaring Camp 2:: The 1854 GLO surveyors mapped a "Sugar Camp" staddling the boundaries of sections 12 and 13, T107N-R7W, Houston County.

Predicted Ho-Chunk Battlefield

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified one possible battlefield location in the Neutral Ground which relates to the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways: 1830–1848" context.

Battlefield site (13CW20): James Collins recorded site 13CW20 in 1988, based on archival information (Fairbairn 1919). This site, in Section 3, T96N-R14W, Chickasaw County, has not been field verified. According to a county history account, a dramatic Ho-Chunk and Sioux battle took place at this location in 1847. However, the same account states that the skeletons were "entire" and the "stench" in the area was quite strong, as of 1854 or 1856. These latter statements call the 1847 date of the battle into question. The predicted site location is 19 km (12 miles) due north of a predicted 1840s Ho-Chunk village.

Predicted Burials and Sacred Sites

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified several possible burial locations which relate to the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways: 1830–1848" context.

Site 13FT63: Shirley Schermer recorded site 13FT63 at two locations in Section 26, T93N-R7W, Fayette County, Iowa. Site location is based upon archaeologist Charles R. Keyes' notes from March 3, 1926. Keyes stated there was a "large Indian cemetery…ca. 1 mile southeast of Wadena…200–300 graves on the sandy point of land above the bottomland in angle between Brush Creek and the Volga River…log huts over many graves…Algonkian style…cemetery is opposite the old log Indian Agency."

Keyes' relationship of the site to the "old Indian Agency" cannot refer to either site 13WH111 (Turkey River Winnebago Subagency) or 13AM289 (the Yellow River Mission)—both sites are too far removed. The "Agency" may refer to site 13FT3—the Culver Trading Post, located 1.2 km (0.75 miles) to the west of site 13FT63. If this assumption is correct, a portion of Hancock's (1913:404) description of burials near site 13FT3 may be the same as those discussed by Keyes:

> A few rods northwest [of the trading post; site 13FT3] an Indian chief was put to rest on his way to the happy hunting grounds. A log inclosure was built in which the dead chief was seated with gun and tomahawk, and there remained till time and worms destroyed the body; but what became of gun and tomahawk is unknown. Scattered here and there in the vicinity are, or were, other Indian graves. Formerly human bones and implements of war and chase were turned up by the plow. Quite a large burying ground was discovered on the farm owned in early days by Milton Crow. The old man fenced it out and left it undisturbed while he lived on the farm.

Hancock's quote also suggests there is a historic Indian grave in much closer proximity to site 13FT3 than site 13FT63. Further research is needed to determine where the Milton Crow farm was located.

Ho-Chunk Cemetery 1: Early settler H. J. Goddard (in Hexom 1913) stated: "An Indian grave was on the top of a hill in Jackson Township, Section 20. The Indians told me that a chief called Black Bear was buried there…The grave was surrounded by a stockade made of boards split out of logs and was seven feet high; it enclosed a space about seven by eight feet in area. The boards were spiked together." There are several hills within this section of T96N-R10W, Winneshiek County.

Ho-Chunk Cemetery 2: The Ho-Chunk cultivated three to four acres of land close to site 13WH160 (Section 18, T96N-R9W) and also had a camp nearby, possibly as late at 1849 (Goddard 1921). Indian burials with painted wooden grave markers were reported to have been located in the vicinity of the camp. Goddard (n.d.) describes the cemetery: "At the head of some of these (graves) were hard wood posts three feet high set in the earth, on which were painted characters of different colors, indicating a mark of distinction. That of their Chief Winneshiek was marked by a stockade also." Jacobson (1921:43) noted that there was a Winnebago camp site near the Goddard farmstead (site 13WH160), and "on the bank of a little creek north of their old camp was their burial place. Several graves can be seen yet that mark the resting place of some of these Indians. Many beads can be picked up around these graves."

A Howard County resident is thought to be describing this same site. Potter (1879) notes:

> I have often visited the remains of an Indian youth in the field of Mr. Goddard, near Ft. Atkinson. Four posts about 8 feet in height, were placed in the ground just far enough apart to admit the rude coffin, which rested

> upon crosspieces placed near the top. When I was last there the coffin had so gone to decay the head and one side of it had fallen out, the hair of the young brave was waving in the breeze, his bones bleaching in the sun. The body was wrapped in what had once been a beautiful blanket, trimmed with ribbon of gaudy color and bead work.

Ho-Chunk Cemetery 3: Frank Kapler (Klimesh 2000) wrote about another cemetery in a December 12, 1968 letter. He mentions the Riehle farm, which was probably in T97N-R10W. The St. Clement Cemetery is in Section 25 of that township.

> …an Indian cemetery used to be just a little way north of Tony Riehle's farm but it is all grubbed out and put in plow land years ago. There were a lot of graves dug up there and a lot more left. During my childhood, the road from the south of Spillville to St. Clement followed the property lines up the hill and then a sharp 90-degree turn to the south. Directly across the north fence-line of the "church forty" was a grove of native flowering shrubs, plums I believe. My understanding was that until then, owners had respected the area as the burial ground of the Indians as well as of three Czechs who were denied burial in St. Clement cemetery due to a dispute.

The grove of native shrubs is not depicted on the GLO map. However, a location north of the church and cemetery should be in Section 25. This location is about one-half mile north of an 1849 GLO-mapped "Old Indian Village" and "Old Indian Farm" (cultivated field).

Kapler also noted: "This side of Tony Riehle farm there used to be an old Indian cemetery just a short ways south of the German church. A lot of Indians buried there and right across the hollow from Tony Riehle farm used to be an old road house." An October 12, 1968 letter may be describing this or a separate cemetery (Klimesh 2000):

> Old John Hayek bought my father's farm which was about 1½ miles west of grandfather Bachel's farm and the village of the Indians was half way between the Hayek farm and grandfather's farm, so my mother told me. There was another Indian village and cemetery a little way north of old Conrad Riehle farm about 1½ miles south of the German church.

Graves: The 1853 General Land Office surveyor recorded a large area of "Graves" straddling sections 33 and 34, T101N-R5W, Houston County, Minnesota. This could possibly represent the graves of early Euro-American settlers. However, given the large size of the graves polygon (five to ten acres), its position on a high elevation, the lack of an early town anywhere nearby, and its placement only two miles east of a prominent trail that led into northeast Iowa, this spot more likely is a Ho-Chunk burial ground. The surveyer's notes and field sketch map should be consulted to ascertain whether he provided more information.

Predicted Other

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified one religious mission, one cabin, and a clamming site which may relate to the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways: 1830–1848" context. Arguably, a separate context could be developed about religious properties. However, so little is presently known about religious missions among the Neutral Ground Ho-Chunk that is was included in this context for the time being.

Catholic mission: Oslund (1940) states there was an "Old Catholic Mission" in Section 9, Washington Twp. Hexom (1913), describing the same general area states that there was a mission,

> one mile east of the fort, on the Turkey river, established by Catholic missionaries. Here there were a number of graves, and at the head of each was a cross. It is unknown whether any of the graves were those of converted Indians or not. The buildings belonging to this mission were burned down by a prairie fire in the early fifties [1850s].

Winnebago Ct. Cabin: The 1849 GLO surveyors mapped a structure on the Iowa-Minnesota border, either in Section 10, T100N-R4W, Allamakee County, Iowa, or Section 34, T101N-R4W, Houston County, Minnesota. The words "Winnebago Ct. Cabin" were written next to the cabin. Function is not presently understood. The modern course of Winnebago Creek is less than 100 m (330 feet) north of the predicted site location. The City of New Albin now lies 300 m (980 feet) to the southeast.

13AM357/Historic clamming site: Site 13AM357 is located in Section 7, T100N-R3W, Allamakee County. Robert Boszhardt of the Mississippi Valley Archaeology Center recorded this site in 1994. A white cylindrical glass bead, ox shoe, lead disk, lead sprue, and clamming equipment, along with Oneota-affiliated artifacts such as pottery and a triangular point were recovered. Given the historic items and the property's location, this site may include a component that relates to the Neutral Ground-era Ho-Chunk.

Agricultural field remnant at the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post (13WH160): Site 13WH160 is located in Section 18, T98N-R9W, Winneshiek County. While marking out the edges of the site for the Archaeological Conservancy in 2010, the present author (Peterson) visited for the first time when the vegetation in the timber on the north edge of the site was down. At that time, she noted a 1.7-acre ridged field remnant immediately north of the trading post building foundations. Although this field may be associated with the traders, a village was reported near this trading post, and a ridged field would more likely be Ho-Chunk than Euro-American.

Summary of Historic Properties related to Context #4: Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1829–1848

Property types related to the Ho-Chunk Lifeways context include roads and trails between the villages, agricultural fields plowed by the government for Ho-Chunk use, and Ho-Chunk burials, traditional cultural properties, sacred sites, battlefields, encampments, maple sugaring camps, and villages. In addition, other yet unidentified, but related properties likely exist. Expected features within the villages are aligned post molds, representing lodges and outdoor shelters or activity areas; dwelling floors; food storage pits; refuse pits; food processing pits; hearths or fire pits; unsheltered outdoor activity areas; and storage pits for non-food items, to name a few. Amorphous sheet middens may or may not be present. Because no Ho-Chunk sites have been subjected to excavation in Iowa, village layout and feature type are difficult to predict. Quantity of features and the distribution thereof is similarly not understood. Archaeological sites that are tentatively associated with this context as Ho-Chunk villages or encampments include 13AM217, 13AM410, 13BM1, 13BM2, 13HW16, 13WH131, 13WH135, 13WH157–158, and 13WH174. Other related properties include maple sugaring camps (13FT78, 13FT154, 13WH238), Ho-Chunk battlefields (13CW20), burials (13FT63), a clamming site (13AM357), a Catholic mission, and a "Winnebago Ct. cabin."

Context #5: Trading: 1830–1848

A basic understanding of the development of the fur trade is necessary to fully understand the Neutral Ground trading context. Fur traders along the Great Lakes, and later, the Mississippi Valley and tributaries, were the primary transmitters of European goods and non-native foodstuffs to the Ho-Chunk from the late 1600s until the 1820s. By the end of this period, treaty provisions called not only for monetary payments during annuity disbursement, but also the distribution of blankets, animals, and foodstuffs as part of the annuity. Even so, traders found business profitable among the Ho-Chunk, as evidenced by continual applications for trading licenses granted by the subagent.

How could native groups who had previously killed only those animals they needed, groups with intense reverence for wildlife and the spirits embodied within, kill so many animals with the coming of the fur trade? Although the economic advantages of increased animal harvests, in the form of greater accessibility to manufactured goods, certainly played a role in the change from hunting for sustenance to hunting for imported food, goods, and alcohol, this change could not have occurred unless something within native belief systems allowed for the increased slaughter.

Kay (1985) points out that native ideology did not have to change to incorporate the practice of wildlife depletion; the basic beliefs already existed. As a whole, Native Americans believed in taking from nature only enough to supply basic needs. As items of European manufacture replaced native-made goods, such as blankets and clothing, these imported items became necessities. However, “the number of animals required to make Native items were usually much less than the number of pelts needed as exchange units in order to purchase equivalent European substitutes” (Kay 1985:123). Therefore, after the fur trade gained momentum, overhunting could, in effect, be practiced to supply basic needs, without altering basic ideology. In fact, some historians have attributed poor returns and financial losses of traders directly to overhunting by Native groups. According to Kay, overhunting by the small population of native groups could not possibly have approximated the impact of white settlers.

Unlike the western mineral mining frontier, native groups on the fur trade frontier were generally viewed as valuable assets, at least in the minds of early traders. Without the Ho-Chunk, Sauk, Meskwaki, and other groups in Iowa, the fur trader could not have been successful. In addition, traders often relied on natives for survival, obtaining needed winter stores of meat from the Indians.

A widely held view of fur trading conjures images of Indians bringing furs to traders. In exchange, the traders supplied whiskey and baubles such as beads, tinklers, and smoking pipes. In reality, the fur trade relationship was much more complex and revolved around more than furs. Fur traders also made profits by allowing Indians to become highly indebted, and then having these debts paid via deduction from annuity payments. Beginning in 1825, the federal government allowed the direct payment of Indian debts to traders from annuity payments. Along with traders, the government saw this direct payment as good practice. The government hoped to receive land cessions from nearly every tribe. Often, traders had great influence over tribes, even more than the Indian agent. Appease the trader, and the trader would convince the Natives to

sign away more land. The practice of debt payment to traders became incorporated into most treaty negotiations by 1831. By the late 1830s, $200,000 annually was recovered by traders via direct annuity payments. By 1842, this amount had risen to over $2,000,000 (Clayton 1966:214–216). During the 1840s, it appears that the traders' primary source of income was from annuity monies, not furs.

The influence of traders over their Indian neighbors was often considerable. During treaty negotiations, traders might act as interpreters, although this act was frowned upon by the government. Iowa Territory governor Robert Lucas (1840:32–14, 33–33) stated:

> In my last years report I stated that the benevolent designs of government towards the Indians could never be consummated until the power and influence of the traders were counteracted. That they exercised a power and control over the Chiefs-that their interests were opposed to the policy of government, and that frequently their influence were exerted to embarrass the officers of government in the discharge of their official duties-that the laws were not only evaded but violated by persons in their employ.
>
> This Company [the American Fur Company] has for many years controlled this tribe [Sac and Fox] without a rival. I have heard some of the members of that Company boastingly declare that they had broken down all persons who had hitherto demand to oppose their interests, and that they could and would continue to do so. A part of this tribe, has lately become sensible of the blighting policy of this company, and are now struggling to burst the fetters by which they have been bound, by declaring their independence of the Company-and their determination no longer to permit them either to control their actions as a people or to grasp their annuities as a pretended right.

Harvested Animals

From 1822 until 1890, Great Britain received 74 percent of all U. S. fur exports. To a lesser extent, furs were also exported to Russia and France. American fur traders divided their pelts into four categories:

> . . .furs, skins, robes, and hides. Under "furs" were grouped all of the fur-bearing rodents (including the fiber-producing beaver), felines, canines, weasels, and marsupials. "Skins" almost always meant those of deer, bear, or raccoon. A "robe" included buffalo cow or a young bull dressed with the fur on, and a "hide" was the full pelt of a summer-killed buffalo cow, dressed without the hair, or of a short-haired bull. When the term "fur" alone is used, it is meant to include skins also. (Clayton 1966: 210–211)

Beaver, the dominant animal of the fur trade until the mid to late 1830s, was utilized as a source of fine felt. Clothing producers pounded, stiffened, and rolled the downy gray beaver felt into hats. In the case of raccoon, Indian-processed pelts were more highly valued by exporters; these pelts were carefully cured and softened by chewing (Clayton 1964:14, 1966:217). Depending upon the region, American Indians traded other items in addition to furs. In the Midwest, these included honey; maple sugar; bee's wax; feathers; meat, such as venison, bear, turkey meat, and deer; tallow; reed matting; and finished clothing items, such as moccasins (Russell 1985:96).

Trading Posts in the Neutral Ground

The number of trading posts once present in the Neutral Ground is not known. Several posts date to the 1830s. A very conservative estimate would put the number from the 1840s at around 40 separate trading locations. This number is based upon a quarterly trader's list generated by the subagent, that contained 16 licensed traders in 1844 (Reque 1930+; Table 3). Most of these trading houses were likely not year-round operations. Rather, they served "the needs" of the Ho-Chunk strictly at annuity payment time; i.e., these

were seasonal or moveable posts (tent, wagon, or ephemeral construction). Further review of Office of Indian Affairs records should yield additional traders' lists, resulting in a firmer basis on which to estimate the number of trading posts.

One 1840s Neutral Ground visitor stated, "The licensed traders are numerous, and generally plant themselves at the time the money is paid over [annuity payments], in the immediate vicinity of the place where the payment is made [the Subagency]" (*The Friend* 1843). Large numbers of illegal posts, often selling alcohol, were reported within the Neutral Ground. Subagent McGregor denied trading licenses to two men during the 3rd quarter, 1844: to John Sleff ("whiskey seller") and James Stewart ("foreigner").

These 16 traders had capital ranging from $1,000 to $15,000, with H. M. Rice holding the largest amount. Most of the locations are given in reference to direction and distance from the subagency, with the exception of three trading posts located at "Swindle Town." Separate Swindle Town licenses were granted to David Olmsted, John Haney, and E. A. C. Hatch, with capital of $1,000, $1,000, and $1,800, respectively. The location of Swindle Town is not presently known.

A cabin labeled "Rice's" is shown on the 1848 General Land Office survey map (Office of the Secretary of State 1981), at a trail or road crossroads located in the SE¼, Section 30, T98N-R8W. A letter dated June 20, 1847 from Subagent Fletcher to Major Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, reads:

> The exchanges complained of were made in a trading house one mile from the Agency, on the Prairie du Chien road near the crossing of Turkey River. H. M. Rice has a permanent trading establishment at this point, and other traders collect there at the time of the Annuity payment. The license for trading at the house was granted by my predecessor to Richard Chute, who is, as I am informed by himself, the Agent of Messrs. Ewing. Said Ewing has other trading establishments in the Winnebago country [Reque 1944:95].

Subagent David Lowry confiscated the goods of Samuel Parker, an agent of the Ewings (United States Department of State 1967b:137–156). Parker sent his employees to trade with Ho-Chunk on the Red Cedar River. His men were arrested for "trading beyond the limits of their license" (Trennert 1981:116–117). Lowry provided a list of confiscated items. This list is valuable, in that it likely described items a trader would have in his inventory during a trip to the villages in the Neutral Ground as of 1843. These materials included buffalo robes; skins of elk, beaver, deer, raccoons, wolves, and a bear cub; blankets, yarn, ribbon, and cloth; mirrors, bells, vermillion, combs, knives, and jewelry. Parker claimed the beaver skins were payment for credits. The matter was resolved when Lowry returned the goods to Parker, under orders of John Chambers. Parker was warned not to trade away from his establishment again, or his license would be revoked.

After this exchange, Parker continued to send his employees to areas outside of the licensed post. Fearing repercussions from Chambers, William Ewing replaced Parker with Richard Chute in August 1844. In other parts of pre-statehood Iowa, it was commonplace for traders to travel seasonally to exchange goods (see Peterson 1997). No further specifics of Neutral Ground regulations have yet been found in the archives relating to this apparent policy of restricting traders to certain areas within the Neutral Ground.

Richard Chute is shown as possessing the second highest amount of capital for a trader in 1844—$10,000. His post was located at the "crossing of Turkey River." One of Chute's employees was S. B. Lowry, the interpreter for the subagency and son of Subagent David Lowry. By 1850, Chute was considered a partner in Ewing operations with the Ho-Chunk in Minnesota (Trennert 1981:158; Table 3).

Illegal trading posts were a constant source of trouble to Fort Atkinson and Subagency personnel. Liberal credit was given to the Ho-Chunk, so they were often heavily in debt to traders. Many traders illegally provided alcohol. Alcohol use among the Ho-Chunk was a common problem and is well documented in the Turkey River Subagency correspondence. For example, Subagent Lowry (1842:418) reported blankets that the Government distributed at annuity time cost $3.56, and were traded by the Ho-Chunk for a single bottle of whiskey. Virtually every annual report by a subagent mentions problems with alcohol, and usually, it was provided from an unlicensed trading post.

> The large annuity received of Government draws hordes of lawless white men to the line of their country for purposes of trade; so that our frontier, in point of example, is literally a modern "Land of Nod." Rapes and murders have recently been committed on both sides; and three young men, Indians, are now in jail, under sentence to be hung. Murders committed by the Indians, among themselves, when drunk, are unparalleled. I have known three to be killed during one revel, and buried in the same hole (Lowry 1843:357).

Taft Jones operated one well-known illegal trading post. Jones' post, nicknamed Sodom (Hexom 1913; Reque 1944), was located just outside of the Neutral Ground boundary, in the vicinity of Monona, Iowa. Mahan (1926) states that the post was located on the road from Fort Crawford to Fort Atkinson. Graham Thorn, a soldier discharged from Fort Crawford, started a trading post near Sodom, and named it Gomorrah. Sparks (1877:9) states that Indians frequented these two establishments, trading blankets and other items for whiskey. Orr (1940:2) states that "The site of the Sodom cabin...was 23 feet north of the rail-road track and 18 feet west of the cattle guard, at about the point where the fill on the west ends and the cut on the east begins," near the town of Luana. Orr describes the location of the Gommorah cabin as "163 feet west from the center of the road leading to the Luana Creamery and 79 feet north of the center of the rail-road." Orr (1940:3) states that Gommorah burned to the ground after the proprietor killed an Indian and left the area.

Archaeological Investigations

Two sites have been field verified as trading posts in the Neutral Ground: the Culver Trading Post, 13FT3, and the Hewitt-Olmsted Post, 13WH160. Work at the Culver Post has been very limited.

Site 13FT3 is recorded in Section 27, T93N-R7W, Fayette County. Elmer Heller of Washburn, Iowa, wrote then State Archaeologist Marshall McKusick on April 24, 1967, regarding the Culver trading post near Wadena (Heller in Iowa Site File). McKusick replied on May 3, stating he would phone Heller in a week and make arrangements to visit the site. There is no specific record that McKusick visited the site. However, the Iowa Site Form, dated the same date as Heller's letter, contains a map, not from Heller's letter. This map may have been drawn by McKusick, and shows the site location in relation to the W. Mattock farm, a cemetery, Wadena, the river, and a small gully. Also, the site location contains information not present in the letter, further suggesting that McKusick did visit.

The site description states:

> Slight depression in ground along Volga River. Two limestone boulders are foundations of double fireplace. Site about ¼ mile from southeast edge of city limits. Approach on farm fishing road along bank of Volga River. Site is in brushy area. One family ownership for 130 years. Site built in 1840s to trade with Indians at Ft Atkinson. Post on earlier Indian campsite—Indian chief reportedly buried a few rods north of cabin (desecrated by early settlers).
>
> Heller reports the landowner in 1967 was Wilder Mattock, whose sister had photographs of one of the trading post buildings. Mattock moved the building to his home, where it eventually "rotted away." A "pioneer graveyard" was also on Mattock's land. Heller notes that the Fayette County courthouse has no records of this cemetery.
>
> George Culver was Joseph Hewitt's trading partner, as evidenced on an 1844 licensing list. Culver's post was "probably within two miles of the neutral line" (Western Historical 1878:316). Further information is provided on the same page states:
>
> The old double log cabin built by George Culver on the north bank of the Volga, on Section 26, Township 93, Range 7, and which is still standing about three-fourths of a mile east of Wadena, has been claimed as the first cabin or house built by white men in Fayette County. Mr Culver was, previous to 1839, the Teller of the Ypsilanti Bank, Michigan. The date of his arrival in Clayton County is involved in obscurity, but, January 7, 1839, the County Commissioners made George Culver's house the polling place for (the voting precinct)…In 1840, when Mr. Hewett established a trading post near the Fayette line, it is said that Mr. Culver became his partner and moved thither, but in 1841, probably still associated with Mr. Hewett, he built the cabin above mentioned, which was eight or ten miles neare the southern boundary of the neutral ground…(Western Historical 1878:316)

A later county history duplicates much of the above but adds, "Formerly a spring broke forth at the foot of the bank on which the house (Culver's) stood, but no trace of that remains" (Hancock 1913:404). This reference suggests a slightly differently location than site 13FT3: "trading post stood on section 26, about half a mile east of the creamery owned by F. J. Schroeder…"

In 2005, Site 13FT3 was revisited and archaeologically verified as the Culver Trading Post (Peterson and Newman 2006), but excavations there were very limited, consisting of one shovel test excavated in the vicinity of each of two depressions. Several limestone foundation remnants were present, along with numerous large "divets" in the ground surface, indicative of caved-in foundations. Neutral Ground-era glass and ceramics were recovered, with no temporally intrusive materials found. Further investigations were recommended.

Intensive investigations, including a University of Iowa archaeological field school, have been conducted at the **Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post (Site 13WH160)**. Multiple features were identified. Site 13WH160 is located in Section 18, T98N-R9W, Washington Township, on an upland ridge top, 100 m (330 feet) northwest of Goddard Creek. The site measures approximately 60-m east-west by 50-m north-south (200-x-165-feet), for a total area of 0.3-ha (0.7-acres). Fort Atkinson is 3.0-km (1.85 miles) northeast of the trading post. For a very detailed description of the site history, the backgrounds of messers Hewitt and Olmsted, and archaeological findings, see Peterson and Becker (2001). Today, this site is owned by the Archaeological Conservancy.

The majority of Site 13WH160 is located within a grassy pasture adjacent to State Highway Iowa 24. In the summer of 2000, surface visibility within the pasture was patchy and less than 10 percent. A spring is still gushes along the south side of the creek, immediately north of the site. Outlines of limestone foundations exist, flush with the ground surface, and numerous depressions are visible. In addition, one foundation is very prominent, consisting of a limestone-lined rectangular foundation. This foundation encloses a cellar, dug into bedrock. A fireplace of machine-made brick and extruded drainage tile is still present. The Goddard family, Winneshiek County pioneers, purchased the former trading post property, and lived in at least one of the trading post buildings after their arrival to the property in 1850. The building apparently fell into disuse shortly thereafter. The family reconstructed this cabin around 1920, hence the modern brick and drainage tile in the one feature.

The Hewitt-Olmsted post was constructed sometime between 1840 and 1847—there would be no reason for a trading post at this location prior to construction of the fort. Sometime during or prior to 1847, the Subagent granted a trading license to David Olmsted. No direct reference to this particular trading post has not yet been located in governmental correspondence. One county history book (Sparks 1877:78) states that the Goddard family purchased "the claim of one Olmstead, an Indian trader" This reference makes no mention of Joseph Hewitt. Bailey (1913:39) states, "An Indian trading post was established two miles southwest of the fort by a Mr. Olmstead and one Joseph Hewitt." Bailey was the first to link the trading post to both Hewitt and Olmsted. There is no way to know where Bailey came upon the link between Hewitt and Olmsted. The connection between Hewitt and Olmsted is not fully understood, but it is assumed that the men did not operate the post jointly. More likely, either Hewitt sold the post to Olmsted or Hewitt never actually operated the trading post at Site 13WH160.

At least five Neutral Ground-era buildings stood at Site 13WH160: two large dwellings, a large store, a storage house, and a blacksmith shop, all log construction, one story tall. They were arranged "in the same form as the fort, enclosing a hollow square" (Sparks 1877:78). A. L. Goddard (n.d.), who had first-hand knowledge of the post, stated there were five or six "substantial log cabins in a good state of preservation" as of 1849. As of 1877, the trading post's blacksmith shop was still standing, "situated at the southwest corner of the buildings." Also standing at that time was one of the original store buildings (Sparks 1877:78). At the trading post, Jacobson (1921:43) noted that "the log cabins and the buildings were torn down one by one until there were no buildings to mark the spot which was once the home of many Indians and white people."

The Ho-Chunk cultivated three to four acres of land adjacent to the post. A Ho-Chunk camp was located nearby, possibly as late at 1849 (Goddard 1905, 1923b). Burials with painted wooden grave markers were reported in the vicinity of the camp. Goddard (n.d.) describes the cemetery: "At the head of some of these [graves] were hard wood posts three feet high set in the earth, on which were painted characters of different colors, indicating a mark of distinction. That of their Chief Winneshiek was marked by a stockade also." Hexom (1913) noted that pickets often surrounded the graves of Ho-Chunk chiefs. Jacobson (1921:43) noted that an Indian trail led from the trading post to St. Paul, Minnesota. As of the 1920s, remnants of the trail were still visible near the trading post. She also recorded that "on the bank of a little creek north of their old camp was their burial place. Several graves can be seen yet that mark the resting place of some of these Indians. Many beads can be picked up around these graves."

It appears that Olmsted alone sold the post after the Ho-Chunk left the area (Morton and Covington 1971:19). No mention of Rhodes or Hewitt is found in any Goddard family recollections, letters, genealogical information, or newspaper articles pertaining to the trading post. After removing from the Neutral Ground in 1849, Olmsted and Rhodes erected a House of Ewing trading post in Minnesota for continued trade with the Ho-Chunk. That same year, Olmsted was elected to a two-year appointment to the Legislature of the Territory of Minnesota.

A list of goods purchased from William Guife and Sons of Philadelphia by the Ewings and shipped to the "Olmsted and Rhodes, Winnebago Outfit, for 1849" appears in Table 4 (from Reque 1930+). Although these goods would have been distributed in Minnesota, the list is important to the Neutral Ground; these items are probably very similar to those good available at Olmsted's Neutral Ground trading post (13WH160).

Thirty test units were excavated in 2000 at site 13WH160 (see Peterson and Becker 2001 for a full description). Twenty-eight units measured 1-x-1-m. The other two test units measured 0.5-x-1.0-m. Each unit was excavated in 10-cm-thick arbitrary levels. Total artifacts recovered during the investigation of site 13WH160 numbered 12,323. Three features relating to the context "Trading, 1830–1848" were identified (Features 1, 2, 5). Features 3 and 4 are related to a later occupation.

Feature 1— Trading post dwelling/specialized storehouse

Remnants of Feature 1 were located in six test units (Figure 20). This feature consisted of a limestone foundation, rectangular in shape, and interior and exterior feature fill. Minimum dimensions of the foundation were 3-x-3 m. Only the north and eastern edges of the feature were excavated, as well as a portion of the interior. The remainder of the feature was untouched to preserve site integrity. Function of Feature 1 may have been a combination trading post dwelling and specialized storehouse. The foundation consisted of one, and rarely two, courses of rough-hewn limestone. No evidence of mortar remained between the stones. It appears that the majority of Feature 1 was unharmed by the 1920s Goddard cabin reconstruction (Feature 4). These two features abut one another. It also appears that the later construction of a hen house (Feature 3) did not impact Feature 1. Total number of artifacts recovered from Feature 1 was 3,986 or 35 percent of all artifacts recovered from feature contexts. Later period materials were found in Feature 1; not surprising considering the entrance to the 1920s Goddard cabin reconstruction was located immediately northwest of Feature 1. In fact, persons entering that reconstructed cabin would have walked right atop Feature 1. Historical integrity of Feature 1 is high.

Feature 2— Trading post storehouse

Remnants of Feature 2 were located in nine test units. Total number of artifacts recovered from this feature was 4,841 or 43 percent of all artifacts recovered from feature contexts. A limestone foundation with crude lime mortar was uncovered. The west wall of the feature was partially excavated, along with interior and exterior feature fill. Minimum foundation dimensions are 3.5-x-3.0 m. The remainder of the feature was untouched to preserve site integrity. Artifacts from Feature 2, particularly when compared with those from Feature 1, seem to suggest function as the trading post storehouse. Feature 2 is immediately adjacent to the more recent Feature 3, a modern hen house remnant. The construction of this hen house may have resulted in disturbances to the northern portion of Feature 2. The limestone foundation was 2.0-m long, 0.7-m wide, and oriented north-south. Only one to two courses and a small amount of crude lime mortar remain undisturbed. The largest dimension of foundation stones was 50 cm across. The stones showed no evidence of cutting or shaping during quarrying. Historical integrity of Feature 2 is high.

Feature 1 and 2 discussion

The majority of the obvious “trade” items found on site were recovered from these two features. Beads from the site as a whole numbered 85, 93 percent of which were found in these two features. All of the 35 gunflints, gunflint flakes, and percussion caps found at the site were recovered from these two features. Lead objects, mainly sprue, musket balls, and shot, were found predominantly from within Features 1 and 2 (*n* = 108 or 98 percent of the total lead assemblage). The final artifact type considered here for its assumed relationship to the trading post is pipe fragments. Undoubtedly, some of these are related to the Goddard occupation. However, ball clay pipe fragments have previously been strongly associated with trading posts in Iowa of this period, and are hence useful in this discussion (Peterson 1997). Pipe fragments from site 13WH160 numbered 566, and 79 percent of these were recovered from Features 1 and 2.

The vast majority of typical trade items, herein taken as ammunition-related artifacts, beads, jewelry and pipe fragments, recovered from the site were found in Features 1 and 2 (Figure 22). The variability in the trade item distributions at those two features may allow a determination of function within the site during its usage as a trading post. For example, ammunition related items such as lead, percussion caps, and gunflints, are concentrated in Feature 1, while Feature 2 contained most of the beads. The presence of a large number of beads, an obvious trade item, along with several other trade items suggests a possible function of Feature 2 as a storehouse. Ammunition-related goods would have had multiple use in personal defense, hunting, and in trade with the Ho-Chunk. There are several possible interpretations of the concentration of gun-related artifacts in Feature 1, e.g. this was a specialized storage area, or the traders kept a closer watch on ammunition-related goods, possibly storing many of them within their own dwelling. The presence of other personal, as opposed to trade, goods in Feature 1 further suggests that this building served as a combined dwelling and storage area.

Feature 1 contained goods more likely to have been associated with the trader’s family or the Goddards. These include a finely made watch fob, a stoneware reed pipe bowl (the only one from the site; all others were ball clay), a gold-gilded miniature brass picture frame, and a broken stickpin. Also recovered from this

feature was a shell-handled pocket knife and a harmonica reed. The latter two items may have been for personal or trade use. “Pocket harmonicas” are listed in an 1849 Olmsted and Rhodes inventory. More than twice as much white earthenware was found in Feature 1 than in Feature 2 (285 vs. 137 sherds). Typically, white earthenware would be considered a personal possession, either of the trader or the Euro-American immigrant, and infrequently related to Ho-Chunk use during the 1840s.

Other artifacts and their contexts also give clues to feature function. Feature 2 contained several items that may be considered trade goods; that is, white settlers of the 1840s would not likely have had these items in their possession unless used in trade. In Feature 2, these included a brass hawk bell, a silver circular brooch, and a small ornamental brass pistol, presumed to have been sewn on clothing. Also found in Feature 2 were a scissors handle, jaw harp tooth, two triangular finishing files, and iron kettle fragments. Traders and Euro-American immigrants, such as the Goddards, may have had these items for their personal use. However, “Jew’s harps,” scissors, files, and kettles also were common trade items of the period. Given their presence in Feature 2, these items may as likely have been trade goods.

Although the significance, if any, is not understood, all four of the slate styli from the site were found in Feature 2. However, only 28 percent of the flat (writing) slate was found in this feature, while 56 percent was recovered from Feature 1. A tentative explanation may be that actual writing on slate tablets occurred in Feature 1, and the slate tablets were carried back to Feature 2 for transference onto paper ledgers. Only excavation at other trading posts with discrete function areas can discern whether the distribution of styli versus flat slate has functional significance.

The three whetstones from 13WH160 were all recovered from Feature 2. An attempt had been made to drill a hole through one of the whetstones prior to its snapping. A nutting stone and a hammerstone/mano were also found in this feature. The latter items are presumed to be historic objects; the only other possible prehistoric items found at the site were four chert flakes. The flakes were not concentrated in any one portion of the site.

Analysis of button distribution shows that Features 1 and 2 contained 79 percent of all buttons (47 and 32 percent, respectively; site total was 40 buttons). No single button material type (e.g. brass, iron, bone, shell) was found to be especially concentrated in either feature. It may be supposed, though not supported by the present archaeological evidence, that fewer buttons should be found in a storehouse, as Ho-Chunk clothing of the 1840s needed few buttons. Also, trade in finished clothing such as shirts is not documented for this period. However, buttons may well have been a trade object and used as ornamentation. Site 13BH23, which appears to have been the site of two Ho-Chunk burials, contained one porcelain underwear button along with more typical 1840s trade goods such as brass/bronze bracelets, tinklers, an elbow pipe, probable mirror fragments, white cylindrical glass beads, and chain links. Other materials included a matchbox (pistol priming flask), machine cut nails, wood, and human remains (OSA Burial Project 1178).

Feature 5— Trading Post Midden

Remnants of Feature 5 were located in two test units. The total number of artifacts recovered from this feature was 807. Apart from 8.7 g of concrete, no temporally intrusive materials were found in lower excavation levels. Diagnostic artifacts included 13 ball clay pipe fragments, two cylindrical shell wampum-style beads, mirror fragments, six machine cut nails, and writing slate. Given the presence of the beads in Level 3, this level and Level 4 are thought to relate to use of the site as a trading post. Even in the uppermost levels, 1 and 2, the only obviously intrusive objects are three wire nails and concrete (113.6 g). The remaining 180 artifacts from these levels may date from the use of the site as a trading post or to the early Goddard occupation. Diagnostic items include seven ball clay pipe fragments; wheel thrown redware; white earthenware sherds, including dipped, blue edged ball-and-cable pattern, and transfer prints of green, red, and blue; mold blown bottle fragments; window glass; tin can fragments; a musket ball; animal shoe nails; a hand wrought nail; and barrel straps.

Feature 5 was located in the timber, downslope from the rest of the site. Size of the midden is minimally 3-x-5 m, and likely much larger. Although the side wall profiles did not reflect the presence of slope wash at these locations, it is thought that the area in the vicinity of Test Units 12 and 15, as well as other areas of similar elevation, contain intact subsurface deposits related to use of the site as a trading post. Early Goddard family deposits may discretely cap trading post deposits. It was impossible to tell if the uppermost levels of the test unit related to Goddard or trading post deposits, given the similarity in dates of the two occupations. Further excavations at Feature 5 may well define discrete stratigraphic/historic horizons. The paucity of temporally intrusive materials at the Feature 5 location is heartening, suggesting that the timbered, down slope portions of the site likely yield deposits undisturbed by later activities.

Test excavations at site 13WH160 demonstrated not only that archaeological remains from 1840s trading posts exist, but that historical integrity can remain high and new data can be generated. A glimpse of the material culture of the traders was revealed, as was information about construction methods and site layout.

Other Predicted Trading Post Locations

Peterson and Becker (2001) identified six other probable sites related to the "Trading: 1830–1848" context. Archaeological or archival information exists that may enable identification of these trading posts.

Trading posts, licensed

Old Mission Trading Post: This trading post was reportedly located in the Section 33, T96N-R9W (Oslund 1940), between 0.6 and 1.8 miles northeast of the Turkey River Subagency (site 13WH111). Numerous trading posts were granted licenses within a two-mile radius of the subagency. At least four posts mentioned on the 1844 list of granted trading licenses might be located within this quarter-section: the posts of Bailly, Dousman, Gilbert, and Labathe.

Rice's or Rice-Brismen Trading Post (13WH275): The GLO surveyors depicted a structure next to the word "Rice's" in Section 30, T98N-R8W, Winneshiek County; this location was assigned site 13WH275 on the basis of this map information. The intersection of two trails is located adjacent to the cabin. The predicted location of Decorah's Village is 3.7 km (2.3 miles) due east of Rice's. A second trading post associated with Rice is predicted 19.3 km (12 miles) to the south (see below).

Oslund (1940) suggests the "Rice and Brismen" post is located near the river in Section 27, T96N-R9W, Winneshiek County. The GLO surveyors mapped a plowed field, not associated with the large plowed fields of the subagency, in this general location. Another primary source seems to describe the same site:

> …trading house one mile from the Agency, on the Prairie du Chien road near the crossing of Turkey river. H. M. Rice has a permanent trading establishment at this point, and other traders collect there at the time of the Annuity payment. The license for trading at the house was granted by my predecessor to Richard Chute, who is, as I am informed by himself, the Agent of Messrs. Ewing. Said Ewing has other trading establishments in the Winnebago country. At the time of the Annuity payment goods from there, other establishments were brought to the trading house on Turkey river and a few days after the payment all unsold goods were taken away and the house remains unoccupied until the next payment (Fletcher 1847a).

Section 27 is the location of the Turkey River crossing, as well as the Prairie du Chien road. The 1844 list of granted trading licenses states that Rice's post was at the "Intersection of Agency and Fort roads" also located within the predicted site location. H. M. Rice was also the trustee of the Dousman Post, "between 1 and 2 miles N.E. of Agency" (Reque 1930+).

Clark's Trading Post (13CW103): "Clark's" cabin is depicted on the GLO surveyor's map in Section 9, T94N-R14W, Chickasaw County. Given that this cabin is located 0.4 km (0.2 miles) south of a Ho-Chunk village, is adjacent to two trail crossroads, and is 0.5 km (0.3 miles) north of 216 ha (534 acres) of mapped "Ploughed ground," Clark's is presumed to be a trading post. One "S. A. Clark" is listed as a trustee of the Fordyce Trading Post, licensed to operate one mile west of the subagency in 1844; this location is nowhere near 13CW103 (Reque 1930+).

Hewitt's Trading Post: Joseph Hewitt established a trading post in Clayton County in 1840, "northwest of Strawberry Point, very near the east line of Fayette (County)" (Western Historical 1878:315), in the St. Sebald area (Anonymous n.d.). In the fall of 1842, Hewitt's trading post was "five or six miles northwest of Strawberry Point" (Western Historical 1878:319). The cabin was "about 4 miles east of Brush Creek (in Clayton County; Western Historical 1878:322).

Another source (Inter-state 1882:683) states the first white settler in Cass Township (T91N-R6W), Clayton County, was "Joseph Hewett, who lived on the line between the townships of Cass and Sperry, and who came here in 1844 to trade with the Indians…Mr. Hewett remained here until 1851, when the Indians moved West, and he followed." The same reference states that in 1842 there were only two white settlers in the Sperry Township (T92N-R6W) area, one of whom was Joseph Hewitt (Inter-state 1882:1081).

The final specific bit of evidence about the site location states:

> In the spring of 1844 he (Andrew Hensley) came from Wisconsin and rented Joe Hewett's place, NW of Strawberry Point, just in the edge of Clayton County, and moved his family into a little cabin about 1 ½ miles west of Hewett's, in the edge of Fayette County, Owned by Moses, son of Joe Hewett by his first wife (Western Historical 1878:317).

St. Sebald is now a rural cemetery in Section 34, T92N-R6W, Clayton County. The cemetery is situated 6.1 km (3.8 miles) north of Strawberry Point, 1.9 km (1.1 miles) south of Hewett Creek, 4.8 km (3.0 miles) from the Clayton-Fayette county border, and 0.5 km (0.3 miles) from the Sperry-Cass township border. The likely place to begin searching for Hewitt's post is in sections 29–32, T92N-R6W. These sections are within one mile of Hewett Creek, almost exactly four miles east of Brush Creek, between five and six miles northwest of Strawberry Point, within two miles of St. Sebald, and between zero and two miles from both the county and township borders mentioned above. Further archival and oral historical research is recommended prior to undertaking a four square mile survey for this trading post. Hewitt may have had more than one trading post. On the 1844 list of licenses granted to traders, Hewitt's post is listed "1½ miles SW Agency." George Culver is listed as one of his "Trustees" (transcribed by Reque 1930+).

Grignon's Trading Post: A trading post of renowned Prairie du Chien entrepreneur Antoine Grignon was noted at a location about 14 miles from the subagency, on the Upper Iowa River (United States Department of State 1967b:1058), as of October, 1845. The 1844 trader's license list states that Grignon's post was on the Upper Iowa River. Should Winneshiek's village on the Upper Iowa be pinpointed, Grignon's post was reportedly four miles to the south (United States Department of State 1967b:1058).

Assorted trading post locational information, non-specific: As was the case with non-specific village information, the following information is presented in the hope it may be coupled with additional archival or archaeological evidence to yield more specific site locations. Promising locational information includes, "Swindle town"; NE Agency, 1 mile, 1½ miles, and 2 miles; between 1 and 2 miles NE Agency; 1 mile west of agency; 1½ miles SW Agency; and on the Upper Iowa River. Given that the licensing list is only for one quarter of one year out of eight in which the Ho-Chunk were "required" to live in the Neutral Ground (1840 to 1848), a thorough pedestrian survey and landform assessment is recommended for all areas within two miles of both subagencies that have not previously been subjected to pedestrian survey (see Peterson 1995 and Rogers 1993 for surveyed areas).

A substantial amount of information exists on four Internet web sites dealing with the history of Fayette County (Iowaz 2001a-d). Much of this information is contradictory and cannot be used here. However, some locational information appears to be based on county history books which were not researched in depth for the present document. Thorough searches of Fayette County history sources will likely yield more precise locational information.

Trading posts, unlicensed

Whisky Grove: Reportedly, a "half-breed" ran this "whiskey store" just east of present-day Calmar. It was "a popular resort for the soldiers stationed at Fort Atkinson" (Alexander 1882:5; Sparks 1877:14). This tavern may have been located in Section 36, T97N-R9W, Winneshiek County. Two trails intersect there, but no structures are depicted on the GLO map.

Tegarden Trading Post/Cabin: Henry T. Garden, Tegarden, or Tegardner was a trader in whiskey who was murdered in 1843. The location of his cabin, as given in a county history book, is in the Section 6, T92N-R8W, Fayette County (Western Historical 1878:317), "very near a large spring about 20 rods south of the township line."

Sodom and Gomorrah: Sodom was a trading post in the vicinity of Monona, run by Taft Jones. Graham Thorn started a trading post in "close proximity to" Sodom, and called it Gomorrah (Alexander 1882:9). These trading posts were on the "borders of the Indian reservation" on the "northern boundary" of Clayton County (Price 1870), about three miles west of Monona, on the military road between Prairie du Chien and Fort Atkinson. Sodom was within one mile of Gomorrah (Douglass 1911:87). All these locations are in T95N-R5W.

Specific locational information exists for these two taverns. Ellison Orr (1940:2) who grew up in the area, states "The site of the Sodom cabin…was 23 feet north of the rail-road track and 18 feet west of the cattle guard at about the point where the fill on the west ends and the cut on the east begins [possibly at the town of Luana]…The Gomorrah cabin stood 163 feet west from the center of the road leading to the Luana Creamery and 79 feet north of the center of the rail-road."

Summary of Historic Properties related to Context #5: Trading, 1830–1848

Property types related to the Trading Context include roads and trails leading to the trading posts and the posts themselves. In addition, other yet unidentified, but related properties likely exist. At illegal or short-term posts, construction is expected to be ephemeral, consisting of post construction. These illegal posts may have lacked any permanent construction, rather consisting of a tent-like structure or wagon where alcohol and other goods were distributed in exchange for cash from annuities. One or more firepits may be present at these sites. Expected features within the licensed or long-lasting trading posts are limestone foundations, fire pits, and outdoor activity areas. Depending on the available capital and goals of the trader, the number, size, and layout of buildings at each trading post would be varied. In addition, some trading posts may have outlying Ho-Chunk encampments nearby. Two trading post locations have been archaeologically verified: the Culver Post (13FT3) and the Hewitt-Olmsted Post (13WH160).

Property types have been defined in association with each of the five developed contexts: Yellow River Subagency, 1829-1840; Fort Atkinson, 1840-1853; Turkey River Subagency, 1840-1848; Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830-1848; and Trading, 1830-1848. Property types are discussed according to historic context. After the propety types section, significance levels and registration requirements are discussed for all contexts together.Table 5 lists the known historic properties associated with each context, along with their NRHP eligibility status.

PROPERTY TYPE #1: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH THE YELLOW RIVER SUB-AGENCY, 1829-1840

Resources of this property type are directly linked to the Yellow River Subagency; practically every former building or structure within the Neutral Ground during the 1829-1840 period has such a link. The known, surviving resources related to this property type are archaeological or structural in nature, although preserved buildings or objects may be identified at some future date. Identified resources include the site of the Jefferson Davis sawmill, and associated structures, including the dam, borrow pits, and mill race; the Yellow River Subagency site; a relict trail, a river crossing, and possibly, two dugout sites (Table 5).

The Jefferson Davis Sawmill was active from about 1829 to 1834 or 1835. The site is in sections 29 and 32, T96N-R3W, Fairview Township, Allamakee County, Iowa. Rogers and Vogel (1989:48-50) first recorded the site in the Iowa Site File. Site 13AM294 is 1.5 miles as the crow flies or 3.3 miles down the Yellow River from the Subagency. The sawmill is 3.5 miles upriver from the Mississippi River confluence. The sawmill site is owned by the federal government, and administered by the National Park Service as the Ferguson Tract, a part of Effigy Mounds National Monument (Stanley 1995:1-2). Wood for some Yellow River Subagency building components was sawn at this mill. The mill site complex includes archaeological remnants of the mill building, the mill dam, mill race, and associated Neutral Ground-era borrow pits.

The Yellow River Subagency (site 13AM289) is in sections 19 and 20, T96N-R3W, Fairview Township, Allamakee County. Site 13AM289 is 1.5 miles as the crow flies, or 3.3 river miles upriver from the Jefferson Davis Sawmill (13AM294). The Subagency is 6.8 miles upriver from the confluence of the Yellow and Mississippi rivers. The site is situated at the base of a valley wall, overlooking the Yellow River and spans several landform positions, including several terraces, and a talus slope or colluvial fan. Site 13AM289 is owned by the State of Iowa, in the Yellow River State Forest, which is managed by the Forestry Bureau of the Iowa Department of Natural Resources.

Several other sites in close proximity to the Yellow River Subagency have been identified in possible association with it (Stanley 1995), all within T96N-R3W. These sites include a relict trail (13AM381), a river crossing (13AM385), and two possible dugouts (13AM378, 13AM380). Early settlers or the Ho-Chunk may have used the dugouts as shelters. Site 13AM378 is situated in Section 19. Size is given as 8-x-10-m, but it is unclear if this is the site or the depression size (Stanley 1995:105). The other dugout, Site 13AM380, is in Section 20. That depression is 7-m in diameter, and 2.5 m deep. Both dugouts were identified during pedestrian survey along intermittent drainageway gullies, in close proximity to the Yellow River. The trail remnant is in sections 19, 20, and 30. The 1849 General Land Office survey map depicts the "Old Mission Trail" at this

location (Office of the Secretary of State 1981). The river ford is in Section 20. Only the east bank portion of the ford was visible in 1995 (Stanley 1995:112-113).

Archaeological resources associated with the Yellow River Subagency vicinity will include roads and trails leading to the Subagency, remnants of the Subagency-era cultivated fields and surrounding fencerows, burials (Euro-American or Ho-Chunk), and the remnants of the Subagency buildings (13AM289) described within the context. The main building was used both as the Subagent's residence and as a schoolhouse. Although a modern residence has been constructed at the approximate former school location, archaeological investigations have not been conducted in the immediate vicinity of this building.

Probably, other buildings once stood at the Subagency (13AM289), although detailed descriptions have not yet been identified. These additional buildings are likely similar to those present at the later Turkey River Subagency, although there probably would be fewer buildings at the Yellow River, as there were fewer students, fewer employees, and fewer Ho-Chunk in the Neutral Ground prior to their forced removal into Iowa in 1840. Structures and buildings known to have been present at the Turkey River, and by extension, may have been erected at the Yellow River include stables, a blacksmith shop, a spring house, a store house or warehouse, dwelling houses (for employees or students), a carpenter's house, chicken house, barn, meat house, dining hall, and multiple privies.

Archaeological remnants of all buildings and structures may remain at the Subagency site. Expected archaeological evidence of buildings at the Subagency would likely take the form of limestone foundation alignments and/or piers and chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings, post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface, with no foundations laid. Post molds may be in evidence along fencerows, although the exact locations of fence lines are not presently known. Surficial artifact concentrations of iron objects may signify the locations of the blacksmith shop. Ho-Chunk encampments or villages that pre-date 1840 are associated with both the "Yellow River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts. Two Shillings, Little Priest, and Whirling Thunder are all known to have had villages in close proximity to the Yellow River Subagency.

In addition to the resources mentioned above, the Nathan Boone campsite, dragoons campsites, trail remnants, Neutral Ground border markers (such as large stones or prominent, old trees), and practically any site in that dates to this early Neutral Ground period (1829-1840) may be considered as Property Type #1. Other resources of this property type may be defined at a future date.

PROPERTY TYPE #2: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH FORT ATKINSON, 1840-1853

Resources of this property type are directly linked to Fort Atkinson. The known, surviving resources related to this property type are architectural, structural, or archaeological in nature, although preserved objects may be identified at some future date. Identified resources include the fort itself, the limestone quarry site, and the probable fort cemetery.

Fort Atkinson (13WH57) is within the corporate limits of the City of Fort Atkinson, on a bluff overlooking Rogers Creek, in Section 8, T96N-R9W, Winneshiek County, Iowa. The main portion of the fort (enclosed by a palisade) is situated on the west side of the City of Fort Atkinson between First Street to the north and a steep limestone escarpment to the south. It is positioned on a loess-mantled limestone bluff which overlooks Rogers Creek from the north and the Turkey River from the west. County roads B32 and W14 pass through the town, as does state highway Iowa 24. State highway Iowa 150 and U.S. 52 are within 5 miles of Fort Atkinson. The site boundary presently includes both state and privately held land. As defined in the Iowa Site File maintained by the Office of the State Archaeologist, the site includes the area within the fort walls as well as the probable location of outbuildings north of the fort. Today, the one-third of the site (7.08 acres) is the Department of Natural Resources-managed Fort Atkinson State Preserve, consisting of primarily grass with exposed fort foundations and standing buildings and a fort-related limestone quarry site. This acreage includes all of the area within the stockade walls and at the fort limestone quarry, along with significant areas south of the stockade, and minor landholdings in the other cardinal directions. The remaining 14.42-acres is the privately owned portion of the site and includes seven modern, houses, a tree nursery, and a city park.

The fort complex minimally included 24 buildings within the stockade and another 14 buildings outside the stockade. Within the stockade were two barracks for the enlisted men, two blockhouses, a powder magazine, an officers' quarters, a non-commissioned officers' quarters, a commissary storehouse, a sutler's store, and a guardhouse. Officers' latrines and a cistern were also located within the stockade. Outside the safety of the stockade were an ice house, a root house, three laundresses' huts, a carpenter shop, a blacksmith shop, a bakehouse, a quartermaster building and stable, a granary, three dragoon (mounted infantry) stables, and two buildings of unknown function.

Property types associated with the Fort Atkinson historic context are architectural, structural, and archaeological in nature. Architectural property types associated with the fort include the three standing buildings from the 1840s: the southwest blockhouse, the powder magazine, and approximately one-third of the north barracks. In addition, the northeast blockhouse was stabilized and rebuilt in the late 1920s by local citizens interested in preserving the buildings (Stanley 1999). Following the recommendations of Mattes (1956) to create a visitor's center within the barracks, the north barracks interior was gutted, the west end of the building, which was almost completely absent due to the ravages of time, was filled in with concrete (cinder) blocks, while the north wall was partially reconstructed with stone. A portion of the fort stockade was reconstructed between 1958 and 1962. That stockade eventually rotted, and was reconstructed in 2007-2008 (Whittaker 2007; Williams 1980). The well/cistern is the only identified, extant structure at the fort. Identified sites include the fort limestone quarry site and the fort complex itself (13WH57).

Archaeological or structural resources associated with Fort Atkinson will include remnants of the fort buildings described above and within the context; the fort cemetery (13WH210); remnants of dwellings in close proximity to the fort erected during the use of the fort by civilian subcontractors (such as Franklin Wilcox); remnants of the quarterway house and the two halfway houses; fencelines related to enclosing the Fort gardens; roads and trails leading to the fort; remnants of the 60-foot long wooden trestle bridge that was constructed over the Turkey River; and campsites related to soldiers/dragoons marches and patrols across the Neutral Ground. Archaeological remnants of all the noted buildings and structures may remain intact.

Archaeological evidence of most non-extant buildings at the fort take the form of limestone foundation alignments, pier supports, and chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings, including those not depicted by Reynolds (1842), post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface, with no foundations laid. Post molds may be in evidence along fencerows, although the exact locations of fence lines are not presently known. Surficial artifact concentrations of iron objects may signify the location of the blacksmith shop.

In addition to the resources mentioned above, dragoons campsites, trail and road remnants, the half-way and quarter-way house sites, and the residences of the fort's civilian subcontractors may be considered as Property Type #2 (Table 5). Other resources of this property type may be defined at a future date.

PROPERTY TYPE #3: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH THE TURKEY RIVER SUB-AGENCY, 1840-1848

Resources of this property type are directly linked to the Turkey River Subagency. The known, surviving resources related to this property type are archaeological in nature, although preserved buildings, structures, or objects may be identified at some future date. Identified resources include the Turkey River Subagency site (Table 5).

The Turkey River Subagency complex (13WH111) is located in sections 33 and 34, T96N-R9W, Washington Township, Winneshiek County, Iowa, approximately 4 miles (6.4 km) southeast of the town of Fort Atkinson and .5 mile (.8 km) north of the Winneshiek-Fayette county line. The present channel of the Turkey River is located 1.2 km (0.7 miles) to the north, east, and south.

General Land Office surveyors mapped the Turkey River Subagency and surrounding agricultural fields in 1848 (Office of the Secretary of State 1981). The following buildings also were mapped: the Agency house; a log stable; a framed house; the "smiths shops"; the spring house; the store house; two dwelling houses; the cook house; the school house; the ware house; the "men's house"; the carpenter's house; and an ox stable. Five agricultural fields were also plotted. Building specifications are listed under the associated historic context (see page E-6, present document). In addition to the mapped buildings, specifications called for a chicken house, a barn, a privy behind the Agency House, two privies behind the dwellings, two blacksmith shops, a meat house, and a refectory (dining hall). Where specified, foundations were made of stone and lime mortar, with pine shingling used as a roofing material. The school house was of log construction. A grist mill was constructed southeast of the Subagency complex, along the Turkey River.

Archaeological and structural resources associated with this property type could include roads and trails leading to the Subagency, the Subagency cultivated fields and surrounding fencerows, and the remnants of the Subagency buildings described above. Although three outhouses are mentioned in period correspondence, additional 1840s privies may have been located within the Subagency complex. Euro-American burials within about 2 miles of the Subagency and from the 1840-1848 time period are definitely associated with this context. No Subagency-related burial locations have been positively identified. Dugout sites in close proximity to the Subagency may relate to this property type. Cultivated fields at outlying Ho-Chunk villages were

plowed by Subagency employees; these fields are therefore associated with both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts. Ho-Chunk encampments or villages that date between 1840 and 1848 and which are in close proximity would have had frequent interactions with persons at the Subagency; these camps and villages are associated with both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts; several villages are thought to have been located within 2 miles of the Subagency. It is possible that these villages were established in close proximity to the Subagency so that Ho-Chunk parents could be nearer their children attending the school.

No Turkey River Subagency buildings are known to be extant, although a log cabin, now standing at the St. Anthony of Padua Chapel, 1.6 km (1 mile) to the east of the Subagency, may have been built of materials salvaged from the Subagency (Alan Becker, personal communication 2001). Geomorphological investigations revealed a low potential for intact cultivated field remnants lying below post-settlement alluvium in the Turkey River Valley near the Subagency (Peterson 1995). The General Land Office surveyor's map of 1848 depicts four roads or trails converging upon the Subagency. Some remnants of these roads may be present in timbered areas along the Turkey River, and modern roads may have been placed upon 1840s roadbeds. Archaeological investigations have revealed that a portion of the Ho-Chunk schoolhouse, including a chimney remnant, limestone foundation, and feature fill, is present beneath the plowzone at the Turkey River Subagency site (Peterson 1995).

Remnants of all buildings except the Agency house and the springhouse likely remain at the site. A modern, ranch-style home has been placed atop the likely location of the Agency house. A modern, concrete structure presently surrounds the still-running spring. Expected archaeological evidence of other buildings at the Subagency would likely take the form of limestone foundation alignments, piers and chimney remnants. At less substantial buildings such as the chicken house, post construction may have been utilized, or logs may have been laid directly atop the ground surface, with no foundations laid. Post molds may be in evidence along fencerows, although the exact locations of fence lines are not presently known. A concentration of intensely heat-affected limestone may signify the presence of the "stone bake oven." Surficial artifact concentrations of iron objects may signify the locations of the blacksmith shops.

PROPERTY TYPE #4: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH HO-CHUNK LIFEWAYS, 1830-1848

Resources of this property type are directly linked to Ho-Chunk daily life; every Ho-Chunk village, encampment, battlefield, burial, sacred site, traditional cultural property, or sugaring camp within the Neutral Ground during the 1830-1848 period has such a link. The known, surviving resources related to this property type are archaeological in nature, although preserved structures, and less likely, buildings or objects, may be identified at some future date. Identified resources include a battlefield, burials, maple sugaring camps, and villages/encampments (Table 5).

Several locales have received tentative archaeological associations with the Ho-Chunk tribe and numerous locales have been archivally researched, but not field checked. Sites that are tentatively associated with this context as Ho Chunk villages or encampments include 13AM217, 13AM410, 13BM1, 13BM2, 13HW16,

13WH131, 13WH135, 13WH157-158, and 13WH174. Site 13BH23 is associated with two Ho-Chunk burials. One Ho-Chunk battlefield in the Neutral Ground has been assigned an Iowa Site File number on the basis of archival information. Site 13CW20 was the reported location of an 1847 battle between the Ho-Chunk and Dakota Sioux. Two maple sugaring camp sites (13FT78; 13FT154) in the Neutral Ground tentatively have been assigned a Ho-Chunk affiliation, on the basis of the 1849 government land surveyor's notation as Indian sugaring camps. The landowner of site 13FT78 plowed up three nested brass kettles from this location (Fayette County Union 1949).

Except for 13WH158, these sites have only been subjected to pedestrian survey, or less (i.e., only archival research). Site 13WH158 has received test unit excavation, and yielded a large, burned log feature, along with numerous trade goods and a broken white pasted earthenware holy water font sherd (Doershuk et al. 2001; Doershuk, Peterson, and Fishel 2003). Table 5 presents locational information for the village/encampment sites.

Expected features within the villages are aligned post molds, representing lodges and outdoor shelters or activity areas (such as shaded deer processing locations with post supports); dwelling floors; food storage pits; refuse pits; food processing pits; hearths or fire pits; unsheltered outdoor activity areas; and storage pits for non-food items, to name a few. Amorphous sheet middens may or may not be present. Due to the lack of archaeological excavation at contemporaneous villages, Ho-Chunk village layout and feature type are difficult to predict for the Neutral Ground period. Quantity of features and the distribution thereof is similarly not understood.

Spector (1974, 1975) conducted small-scale excavations at the Crabapple Point site in Wisconsin, a 1760-ca. 1820 (at latest) Ho-Chunk habitation site. Botanical remains suggest this site was occupied in the summer months. Identified features included a refuse pit/dump area (1.1 m diameter x .5 m deep, irregular circular shape with sloping to straight-sided walls), two lead smelting pits, four smudge pits (containing vast quantities of charred corn cobs), and 46 post molds. The oval, shallow-basin smelting pits measured 0.7-x-0.6-x-0.15 m and 0.8-x-0.5-.x-0.1 m in size. The proximity of Crabapple Point to naturally occurring lead, which the Ho-Chunk exploited, explains the presence of the lead smelting pits. No accounts of Ho-Chunk lead processing during the 1840s in the Neutral Ground have yet been located. The diameter of the post molds at Crabapple Point ranged from 0.12 to 0.3 m in diameter. The smudge pits were circular, irregularly circular, or oval, with depths ranging between 0.12 and 0.26 m. The largest pit measured 0.3-x-3.0 m, while the smallest was 0.3-x-0.2 m. Spector expects summer lodges of the early 1800s to be oblong, bark covered structures, averaging 10.6-x-5.0 m in size. These dwellings housed multiple or extended families and contained multiple fire pits central to the structure. The slightly later-dating Neutral Ground villages and camps may bear some similarity to Crabapple Point.

A wide range of burial practices occurred within the Neutral Ground. Ho-Chunk burials with painted wooden grave markers were reported to have been present. Goddard (n.d.) describes one such cemetery: "At the head of some of these [graves] were hard wood posts three feet high set in the earth, on which were painted characters of different colors, indicating a mark of distinction. That of their Chief Winneshiek was

marked by a stockade also." Hexom (1913) noted that pickets often surrounded the graves of Winnebago chiefs. Site 13BH23 appears to have been the location of two Ho-Chunk burials. Typical 1840s trade goods such as brass/bronze bracelets, tinklers, an elbow pipe, probable mirror fragments, white cylindrical glass beads, and chain links were present, along with a single, white porcelain button. Other materials included a matchbox (pistol priming flask), machine cut nails, wood, and the associated human remains (OSA Burial Project 1178).

Ho-Chunk traditional cultural properties (TCP) or sacred sites may be present in the Neutral Ground. Adrian Kuennen, who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s near the Turkey River Subagency recalls Ho-Chunk families traveling to his family's farm, and asking permission to visit the prominent hill immediately north of the subagency. Reportedly, burials were once present there. Other sacred practices may be related to this location. No TCP or sacred sites have yet been identified in the Neutral Ground.

Other resources of this property type could include roads and trails between the villages, agricultural fields plowed by the government for Ho-Chunk use, Ho-Chunk garden remnants, animal butchering sites, other special use areas, and resource types not yet defined.

PROPERTY TYPE #5: RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH TRADING, 1830-1848

Resources of this property type are directly linked to the Trading context. The known, surviving resources related to this property type are archaeological in nature, although preserved structures, and less likely, buildings or objects, may be identified at some future date. Identified resources include two verified trading posts and several unverified ones (Table 5).

At illegal or short-term posts, construction is expected to be ephemeral, consisting of post construction. These illegal posts may have lacked any permanent construction, rather consisting of a tent-like structure or wagon where alcohol and other goods were distributed in exchange for cash from annuities. Sheet middens and one or more firepits may be present at these sites. Post molds could be present. Trade goods and other 1830-1840s artifacts should be found in discrete clusters at these sites. Fragments from glass alcohol-containing bottles and barrel straps would be expected at illicit trading posts. There are scattered reports of temporary Ho-Chunk camps adjacent to trading posts; these campsites are related to both the Trading and Ho-Chunk Village Life contexts.

Expected resources at licensed or long-lasting trading posts are limestone foundations, post mold alignments, fire pits, and outdoor activity areas. Skin/pelt processing and storage areas, food storage (ranging from above ground log buildings to large-sized cellars to small sizef, expedient over-wintering crop storage pits), smoke houses, and trade good storage areas may be present. Craft structures, most commonly related to small-scale blacksmithing, may be present. One or more dwellings should be present, although these dwellings likely served a dual storage/store function. Privies could be found at 1840s trading posts. Trail remnants leading to these posts may still be present in timber or pastures. All long-lasting posts likely contain a sheet midden, present either near the main dwelling/storehouse/store or near the location where goods were on and off loaded. In the case of trading posts located along navigable waterways, such as the Turkey River, loading

areas would be adjacent to rivers and major streams. For other posts, goods were transported overland, probably right to the door of the storehouse. At a mid-to-late 1830s trading post south of present-day Iowa City, several small basin-shaped, oval to circular pits, ranging from 10 to 20 cm in depth, were found. The largest pit had approximate dimensions of 100-x-70-x-15 cm. The smallest pit had dimensions of 30-x-30-x-10 cm. The pits were interpreted to be borrow pits for log chinking, located adjacent to a loading area along the Iowa River. During use of the site as a trading post, these pits filled in with soil and trade goods (Peterson 1997). Given that lumber mills in the Neutral Ground were confined to those operated by the government, most trading posts would have been log construction, so small clay borrow pits should be common features.

Depending on the available capital and goals of the trader, the number, size, and layout of buildings at each trading post would be varied. For protection against theft and for defensive purposes, the layout of a long-standing trading post would likely consist of tightly clustered, as opposed to widely scattered, buildings. In addition, some trading posts may have outlying Winnebago encampments nearby.

Two licensed trading posts have been positively identified in the Neutral Ground; dozens more should exist. Archaeologically verified sites are 13FT3 and 13WH160. The Culver Post, 13FT3, is in the Section 27, T93N-R7W. The burial of a Winnebago chief was reportedly present a few rods north of the site (Iowa Site File). This site was active as a trading post from about 1841 until 1848. Archaeological excavations consisted of one shovel test excavated in the vicinity of each of two depressions (Peterson and Newman 2006). Several limestone foundation remnants were present, along with numerous large depressions, indicative of caved-in foundations. Neutral Ground-era glass and ceramics were recovered, with no temporally intrusive materials found.

Extensive test unit excavations have been conducted at the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post (13WH160; Peterson and Becker 2001) in Section 18, T98N-R9W, on an upland ridge top. Three Neutral Ground-era features were identified: the combination trading post, dwelling and specialized storehouse; another storehouse; and a sheet midden. Trade goods and items related to everyday life at the post were abundant, and discussed in detail in Section E.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of these properties lies in their association with their respective contexts. A single property may reflect one or more historic contexts. Properties may achieve significance under one or more of Criteria A, B, or D under their respective context depending on the nature and integrity of the property. A Criterion C case (embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction) may be developed with further research.

Criterion A (associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history) can apply to properties associated with single events or a pattern of events. For example, Criterion A may be relevant for properties that reflect broad patterns of federal Indian removal policy or the changing nature of the American Indian-fur trader relationship, or a particular event, such as a treaty signing or battle.

Criterion B (associated with the lives of persons significant in our past) may be relevant at properties tied to a specific individual, such as known Ho-Chunk leaders; a trader who made his fortune in the Neutral Ground and then went on to fame as a senator; or prominent military figures. Women take backstage in most Neutral Ground-era documentary accounts; linkage of a property to a specific female may be particularly important. These persons could include a specific Ho-Chunk woman or Mary Wilcox Burnett (1994), who lived near the fort, and later, at the Subagency in the 1840s and wrote a reminiscence of her experiences. The National Park Service (1998:16) recognizes that the "known major villages of individual Native Americans who were important during the contact period or later can qualify under Criterion B. As with all Criterion B properties, the individual associated with the property must have made some specific important contribution to history."

The Neutral Ground period is only partially documented in archival records. A deeper understanding of each defined property type can be gained only through examination of the archaeological remains of the original sites, therefore, Criterion D (sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history) is particularly relevant at archaeological properties.

In the case of the all five defined property types (Yellow River Subagency, Fort Atkinson, Turkey River Subagency, Ho-Chunk Lifeways, and Trading), related resources are reflections of federally mandated Indian removal policies of the mid-nineteenth century. These properties represent and illuminate a pivotal period of shifting federal governmental-administrative policymaking and policy implementation; reflect the interaction between policy-enforcers and American Indians, in this case, the Ho-Chunk; and enlighten our understanding of Ho-Chunk culture history. The governmental viewpoint is reflected at the three policy-enforcing centers, be these military (Fort Atkinson) or administrative (the two subagencies).

Trading properties also reflect these policies: it was during the 1830s that the U.S. government first allowed native groups to become deeply indebted to business owners through trading debt. This trading debt was then used as leverage to persuade Indians to sell their lands and pay off these debts; trading became a back door method for the government to gain ownership of land. Unlike the Yellow River Subagency, Fort Atkinson and Turkey River Subagency properties, which mainly reflect interactions between the Ho-Chunk and government-paid officials and military personnel, Trading-related properties reflect the commercial and social interaction between traders and the Ho-Chunk.

Ho-Chunk Lifeways properties are the only defined resources to represent and illuminate a pivotal period of development in Ho-Chunk culture history from a Ho-Chunk viewpoint. Ho-Chunk Lifeways properties not only depict the enforcement of federal governmental-administrative-military policy, but compellingly show the effects of such policies, show which policies were implemented into daily Ho-Chunk life, which were rejected completely, and which policies were accepted in a modified form into traditional Ho-Chunk belief systems and lifeways. Studying Ho-Chunk Lifeways artifact assemblages and site layout enables better understanding of the complicated fabric of lifestyle changes and continuity. Of the five defined contexts, Ho-Chunk Lifeways is the most poorly documented in archival records. Ho-Chunk Lifeways properties therefore provide a significant source of information.

Local Significance

Some properties are significant at the local level. These properties contain information that contributes to understanding of local patterns or local interests, but lack evidence that relates to broader statewide or national issues. Scientific or depositional integrity may be severely compromised, but sufficient data remain to answer locally pertinent questions, such as cultural affiliation or site age. These properties may be considered eligible for the NRHP on a local level. Such severely compromised sites can be considered a contributing element in conjunction with a multiple property listing of other *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* holding state or national levels of significance.

State Significance

Properties significant at the state level contain information that relates to broader statewide or regional cultural patterns, but lack data that relate to national issues. These properties may address some research questions, but lack sufficient integrity to address very many. For example, resources that have moderately compromised depositional integrity may still be considered significant on this level if the potential to address a variety of statewide or regionally important research questions is present. Properties of statewide signficance may be considered a contributing element in conjunction with a multiple property listing of other *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* holding a national level of significance.

National Significance

Properties that have the potential to address many research questions can be considered for nomination at a national significance level. To address numerous research questions, the site may be slightly disturbed, for example, by cultivation or previous archaeological excavations, but must maintain sufficient depositional and historical integrity for the site's layout or form to be discernible. If this integrity is present, then the potential for recovering the scientific data needed to better understand this period of United States Indian removal policies will be obtainable. Sites with recognizable, well preserved features may be significant at a national level of significance as they often aid in understanding of broad patterns of history that are otherwise difficult to discern. The absence of depositional integrity will preclude nomination at a national level of significance, although the site may be considered eligible for the NRHP at the state or local level.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

For a property nominated in association with the Multiple Property Document (MPD) *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* to be considered for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, the property must demonstrate it possesses all of the following criteria:

1. Association with its respective historic context
2. Location within the defined geographic area
3. Appropriate age
4. Research potential.
5. Integrity.

1. Association with its respective historic context

The property must have a demonstrated link to at least one of the developed contexts.Future research may develop additional historic contexts.

2. Location within the defined geographic area

The property is within the MPD's defined geographic boundaries, very roughly defined as all Iowa's present-day Winneshiek and Chickasaw counties, the majority of Allamakee County, and portions of Bremer, Clayton, Fayette, Floyd, Howard, and Mitchell counties, and portions of Minnesota's Fillmore and Houston counties. Detailed geographic boundaries are provided in Section G of this MPD. Spatial boundaries of the geographic area may be adjusted by future discoveries.

3. Appropriate age

The property must date to or contain a component from the historic context's period of significance. This connection may be demonstrated through a variety of means, including, but not limited to archival documentation and the presence of temporally diagnostic artifacts. A critical concern for properties occupied after the period of sigificance would be if there remained any identifiable features or activity areas that could be associated with the period of significance.

4. Research potential

The property must have the potential to contribute to better understanding of local, statewide, or national history trends, issues, and research questions.

5. Integrity

In the guidelines and criteria set forth by the Department of the Interior for the National Register of Historic Places (National Park Service 1998, 1999, 2000), integrity is a key component to any site evaluation

be it archaeological, structural, or architectural in nature. Integrity is defined as "the ability of a property to convey its significance" and "to retain historic integrity a property will always possess several and usually most of the aspects" of integrity (National Park Service 1998:44). The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The National Park Service (2000:35-36) specifies that, especially for archaeological properties, location, design, materials, and association are generally the most relevant aspects of integrity under Criteria A, B or D, and that, "Under Criteria C and D, integrity of setting adds to the overall integrity of an individual site and is especially important when assessing the integrity of a district. Integrity of feeling also adds to the integrity of archeological sites or districts as well as to other types of properties. Integrity of setting and feeling usually increases the 'recognizability' of the site or district and enhances one's ability to interpret an archeological site's or district's historical significance." Therefore, integrity of setting, workmanship, and feeling can add to the site's integrity, although they are not critical aspects in this MPD.

The seven qualities of integrity may be applied to nominated Neutral Ground properties in the following ways (adapted from Rogers 2000, with permission):

Location: The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. Historic archaeological sites and districts almost always have integrity of location.

Design: The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. For historic archaeological sites, design generally refers to the patterning of structures, buildings, and discrete activity areas relative to one another. All properties must be able to convey their significance either through the information they contain (Criterion D) or their historical appearance (Criteria A, B, and C). A plowed site can be eligible if plowing has displaced artifacts to an extent, but the activity areas or intra-site patterning are still discernible, then the site still retains integrity of location or design.

Setting: The physical environment of a historic property. This includes elements such as viewsheds, topography, landscapes, vegetation patterns, and man-made features such as fencerows, paths, roadways. Historic archaeology sites can be nominated under Criterion D without integrity of setting if the sites have important information potential; however, an intact setting certainly enhances the ability of the site to convey its significance. For nomination under Criteria A and B, integrity of setting must be able to reflect the appearance of the site during the period of significance and the setting must be integral to the importance of the site or district.

Materials: The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. Integrity of materials is important under Criterion C, while under Criteria A and B, the integrity of materials should be considered within the framework of the property's overall significance. Under Criterion D, integrity of materials is usually reflected in the presence of intrusive artifacts or features, the completeness of an artifact or feature assemblage, or in the quality of artifact or feature preservation.

Workmanship: The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory. This is most often an issue under Criterion C, with it important under Criteria A and B only if workmanship is tied to the property's significance. Under Criterion D, workmanship is usually addressed indirectly in terms of the quality of the artifacts or architectural features and may not necessarily be a critical issue to eligibility.

Feeling: A property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. A property has integrity of feeling if its features in combination with its setting convey a historic sense of the property during its period of significance. Integrity of feeling enhances a property's ability to convey its significance under all of the criteria.

Association: The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. Integrity of association is critical under Criteria A and B. In essence, a property retains association if it is the place where the event occurred and is intact enough to convey that relationship to the observer. Under Criterion D, integrity of association is measured in terms of the strength of the relationship between the site's data and the important research questions from which it can derive its significance.

NOMINATION: FORT ATKINSON

Fort Atkinson (13WH57) is being nominated at a national level of significance under NRHP Criteria A and D as a property associated with the present MPD *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground*, under the historic context, "Fort Atkinson, 1840–1853." Fort Atkinson is also being nominated at a state level of significance under Criterion A in association with Conard's (1991:F-10, F-24) National Park Service-approved MPD *The Conservation Movement in Iowa, 1857–1942*, specifically, under the context "Parks, 1890–1942," as one of the "Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with municipal, county, state and national parks and park movements."

The present MPD was written with the intention that the present study will nominate Fort Atkinson and future studies will nominate other properties associated with the contexts developed within this MPD (Figure 23). This MPD should be expanded and amended as needed to better reflect additional contexts. Likewise, additional property types may be added by future studies. Given the present state of knowledge, there are two sites that appear to be the best candidates for imminent nominations: The Turkey River Subagency (13WH111), the primary component of the "Turkey River Subagency, 1840–1848" context, and the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post (13WH160), a primary component of the "Trading, 1830–1848" context.

The geographic area for all five historic contexts is defined as the Neutral Ground, as amended by the Treaty of 1832. This treaty specified the Ho-Chunk's Neutral Ground boundaries as:

> Beginning on the west side of the Mississippi river, twenty miles above the mouth of the upper Ioway river, where the line of the lands purchased of the Sioux Indians, as described in the third article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of the fifteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, begins; thence, with said line, as surveyed and marked, to the eastern branch of the Red Cedar creek, thence, down said creek, forty miles, in a straight line, but following its winding, to the line of a purchase, made of the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians, as designated in the second article of the before recited treaty; and thence along the southern line of said last mentioned purchase, to the Mississippi, at the point marked by the surveyor, appointed by the President of the United States, on the margin of said river; and thence, up said river, to the place of beginning (Kappler 1972:345–348).

The Neutral Ground, as defined above, includes all of present-day Winneshiek and Chickasaw counties, the majority of Allamakee County, and portions of Bremer, Clayton, Fayette, Floyd, Howard, and Mitchell counties, all in northeast Iowa. A small portion of the Neutral Ground extends into portions of Fillmore and Houston counties in southeast Minnesota.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The only known standing buildings associated with this MPD are at Fort Atkinson, so very little comprehensive research is possible with regard to Neutral Ground-wide architectural resources. Williams (1980) and Carr (1998) discuss the fort's architecture in detail.

The first scholarly interests in the in-the-ground resources of the Neutral Ground were archaeologist Ellison Orr's (1930) visits to the Jefferson Davis Sawmill in the 1920s and Luther College professor Sigurd Reque's (1944) archaeological excavations at Fort Atkinson in 1939 and 1941. There was a gap in work at Neutral Ground sites until Iowa State Archaeologist Marshall McKusick (1966, 1975a-b) conducted extensive excavations at the fort in 1966. Another gap in research followed, with most archaeological and archival research into Neutral Ground resources occurring in the past two decades. This MPD represents the culmination of 20 years of recent study concerning the historic resources of the Neutral Ground, with a strong focus on related resources within Winneshiek County. In the volume *Archaeological and Paleoenvironmental Studies in the Turkey River Valley, Northeastern Iowa* (Green 1988), previous archaeological work in the area was summarized, an environmental context formulated, archaeological investigation of mainly prehistorically-utilized areas was undertaken, and a local and regional context for the Fort Atkinson area was proposed. Several sites, including the Hewitt-Olmsted trading post (13WH160) and the Turkey River Subagency (13WH111) were recommended for intensive archaeological investigation.

Following the recommendations of Green and Merry (1988), the first phase of recent, intensive archaeological work was conducted in 1993 (Rogers 1993). The goal of this phase was to develop a long-term research design and to comprehensively survey the Turkey River Subagency Site (13WH111) and its vicinity in order to better define the location and boundaries of site 13WH111 and to locate associated sites and features. Two additional sites with 1840s artifacts were identified in close proximity to the Subagency (13WH131, 13WH135).

Recommendations of Rogers (1993) included:

1. Intensive geomorphological investigation of the agricultural fields surrounding the Subagency, to identify possible buried archaeological sites.
2. Test excavations at site 13WH111 to assess site integrity.
3. Compilation of data from Neutral Ground-related correspondence found on National Archives microfilm.
4. Further archaeological investigation to identify outlying Neutral Ground sites, such as villages, trading posts, and trail/road remnants.
5. Archaeological investigation at sites found under number four (4), to assess NRHP eligibility.
6. Nomination of the Subagency site and locality, as either a district within a potential Neutral Ground multiple property nomination or as a multiple property nomination in itself.

The second phase involved excavations in the vicinity of the Subagency school (13WH111), to evaluate site integrity (Peterson 1995). In addition, a geomorphological assessment of the Subagency vicinity was undertaken to determine the potential for buried Subagency-era cultural deposits in what had been Subagency

agricultural fields. Pedestrian survey at other locations in Washington and Sumner townships, Winneshiek County, resulted in the identification of four other Neutral Ground-era sites (13WH156-158, 13WH160).

The third phase involved excavation at the Hewitt-Olmsted trading post (13WH160) to assess site integrity (Peterson and Becker 2001); identification of one additional Neutral Ground-era site; beginning indexing of period governmental correspondence; and the generation of a Geographic Information System (GIS) of predicted Neutral Ground-era archaeological site locations, based on archival and archaeological data. The fourth phase involved excavations at a probable Ho-Chunk encampment (13WH158) to assess site integrity (Doershuk et al. 2001; Doershuk, Peterson and Fishel 2003). At both the trading post and the encampment, significant, below-ground 1840s era deposits were present. Section 106 compliance archaeology has occurred in the Neutral Ground. Pertinent cultural resource management work was discussed in Section E (i.e., Stanley 1992; Whittaker 2005, 2006a-d, 2007).

Many of the aforementioned survey projects resulted in specific recommendations for individual nominations and identification of properties eligible under Multiple Property submissions. Recommendations were made for future preservation planning in the survey areas and at related sites or potential sites. The next step to follow is an actual National Register nomination under the current MPD.

HISTORIC CONTEXTS DETERMINATION

Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground was targeted as a multiple property thematic nomination because of the often rare survival of archaeological and architectural properties associated with this stage of the historic period and because these properties are often threatened by modern development. Identified contexts include the Yellow River Subagency (1829-1840), Fort Atkinson (1840-1853), the Turkey River Subagency (1840-1848), Ho-Chunk Lifeways (1830-1848), and Trading (1830-1848).

"Yellow River Subagency, 1829-1840" and the "Turkey River Subagency, 1840-1848" were both targeted as historic contexts because of the rarity of the Indian agency site type in Iowa and the importance of these contexts not only to understanding the history of Iowa, but also federal Indian removal and administrative policy and Ho-Chunk history. Given the temporal and geographic separation of the two related subagencies (34 miles apart) and the presence of separate subsets of related sites for each subagency, two separate contexts were formulated. To date, two sites (13AM289 and 13AM294, respectively, the Yellow River Subagency and the Jefferson Davis Sawmill) have been firmly identified in association with the earlier context (Rogers and Vogel 1989; Stanley 1995; Whaley 2003). One site, 13WH111, the Turkey River Subagency Complex, has been identified in association with the later subagency context. Two sites in close proximity to the Subagency (13WH131, 13WH135) probably represent Ho-Chunk encampments, relating to both the "Turkey River Subagency" and the "Ho-Chunk Lifeways" contexts (Peterson 1995; Rogers 1993).

"Fort Atkinson, 1840-1853" was targeted as a historic context because of the rarity of forts across the midcontinent, particularly those with standing buildings and structures, and the importance of this context not

only to understanding the history of Iowa, but also to understanding Ho-Chunk history and U.S. federal government Indian containment, assimilation, and removal policies. To date, two sites, 13WH57, the fort itself, and 13WH210, the probable fort cemetery, one-quarter mile northwest of the fort, have been identified in association with this context.

"Ho-Chunk Lifeways, 1830-1848" was targeted as a historic context because of the rarity of well-preserved historic Indian village sites across the United States and the importance of this context not only to understanding Ho-Chunk history, but also the effects of governmental removal efforts on Native peoples. To date, several archaeological sites have been assigned tentative associations as Ho-Chunk villages or habitation sites. Association as a village has been based on archival or map data or on surface collections that yield trade goods. However, given the large numbers of trading posts once present within the Neutral Ground, at present it is difficult to distinguish a trading post surface assemblage from that of a village. Sites with a tentative Ho-Chunk village or habitation affiliation include 13AM217, 13AM410, 13HW16, 13WH131, 13WH135, 13WH157-158, and 13WH174. In addition, Peterson and Becker (2001) identified numerous other suggested village locations within the Neutral Ground based on archival or archaeological information.

"Trading, 1840-1848" was defined as a historic context because of the rarity of well-preserved trading post sites across the midcontinent and the importance of this context not only to understanding the context of trading, but also to understanding the influence of imported goods on Ho-Chunk lifeways. To date, one site has been archaeologically verified as a trading post and subjected to test excavation (13WH160; Peterson and Becker 2001). This trading post possessed a high degree of integrity, despite an occupation post-dating the Neutral Ground period. Site 13FT3 has also been archaeologically verified as the Culver Trading Post (Peterson and Newman 2006), but excavations there were very limited. Peterson and Becker (2001) identified numerous other likely trading post locations in the Neutral Ground based on archival or archaeological information. None of those sites have been field verified.

METHODOLOGY

Three properties (Fort Atkinson, 13WH57; Turkey River Subagency, 13WH111; and the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post, 13WH160) have been examined to a level sufficient to fully evaluate their individual National Register eligibility. The owners of the Turkey River Subagency and the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post may someday be amenable to inclusion of these properties on the National Register. For the purposes of the present MPD, only the State-owned portion of Fort Atkinson is nominated to the National Register.

The archaeological methodology at Fort Atkinson has evolved over time, from the large block excavations conducted by Reque (1944), to McKusick's (1966, 1975a-b) trench or feature-only excavations, to modern excavation methods, involving subsurface testing in the form of 1-x-1-m, 1-x-2-m, or 1-x-0.5-m test units or smaller shovel or auger tests, excavated in order to determine the vertical and horizontal limits of the site deposits, the nature and research potential of site contents, and the integrity of the site deposits (Peterson 1995; Peterson and Becker 2001; Stanley 1992; Whittaker 2007). Whittaker (2005, 2006a-c) has also utilized

the latest technology in his ground penetrating radar studies at the fort, successfully identifying features that were later field-verified as fort-age (Whittaker 2007). Stanley (1999) compiled all available map data into a master topographic map. Whittaker (2006d) summarized and compiled all known photographs related to the fort.

Currently accepted professional standards and available artifact dating references have been used during artifact analysis all of the recently-excavated (past two decades) Fort Atkinson assemblages and on portions of the earlier-excavated artifacts. Materials were processed by professional archaeologists at The University of Iowa or at Bear Creek Archeology, Inc. Following washing and drying, the materials were sorted into various material classes (e.g., botanical remains, fauna, ceramics, glass, metal) and a catalog and descriptive inventory was prepared. Items larger than 1 cm were labeled in ink with corresponding site and catalog numbers. Smaller items were placed in plastic bags with an acid-free paper label containing the site and catalog number. Following the general sorting, labeling, and inventory preparation, the specimens were segregated by material class for more detailed analyses. Color, vessel portion, technological attributes like mold seams, and embossed designs, lettering, and maker's marks were noted on glass artifacts where applicable. Historic ceramics were separated into ware type. Glaze colors, vessel types, decorative treatments, and maker's marks were noted where applicable.

Historic research for context development and site-specific data was conducted at the following repositories: State Historical Society of Iowa libraries in Iowa City and Des Moines; Office of the State Archaeologist in Iowa City; Preuss Library, Luther College; and the Winneshiek County Historical Society. Reque's (1944) research involved at least one trip to the National Archives, where he transcribed significant portions of period (1830s and 1840s) governmental correspondence. Property owners and local residents also provided oral historical information concerning local history.

PROPERTY TYPE DEFINITION

Property types were organized by context, for example, “Property Type #1: Resources Associated with the Yellow River Subagency, 1829-1840.” Within each of the five defined property types are numerous possible associated buildings, structures, objects, or more commonly, sites. Some of these include governmental administrative (subagencies) or military (Fort Atkinson) centers, mills, dams, transportation-related resources (roads, trails, fords, bridge remnants, halfway and quarterway houses), trading posts, residences associated with civilian subcontractors at the fort or subagencies, agricultural field remnants, burials, dugouts, and, usually directly related to the Ho-Chunk, villages, camps, maple sugaring camps, battlefields, butchering sites, special use areas, burials, and other sacred sites. Additional property types may defined by future research.

INTEGRITY REQUIREMENTS DEFINITION

The integrity requirements were derived from the documented condition of similar properties. Literature review aided in determining what conditions of preservation are required for nomination consideration.

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Table 1. List of Neutral Ground-era, Ho-Chunk-related National Archives Microfilm Rolls.

General name	Roll No.	Microcopy No.	Microcopy Name
Records Relating to Territories: Territorial Papers of the United States Records Relating to Iowa, 1838–1846	M325	56	Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Subject Files: "Schools," 1838–1847 (pps. 0–619);"Stocks," 1840–1847 (626–739); "Miscellaneous," 1838–1846 (740–1266); "St. Louis Emigration,"1838–1839 (1267–1279);"Miscellaneous Emigration," 1839 (1280–1290)
		57	Letters sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1838–1843
		58	Letters sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1843–1847
		59	Report Books, 1836–1846 (pps. 336–642); Miscellaneous records, 1838–1846 (336–642); Letters sent by the Winnebago Agency, 1846 (642A–642C); Register of Applications and Recommendations for Appointment, 1838–1846 (643–697)
		82	Turkey River Subagency, Settlement Nos. 49098/40–1,200/44
		83	Turkey River Subagency, Settlement Nos. 1,393/44–3,885/46
		84	Turkey River Subagency, Settlement Nos. 3,900/46–13,496/52 (1–522)
Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs (Central Office) and Related Records Letters Received, 1824–1881	M234	700	Prairie du Chien Agency 1840
		701	Prairie du Chien Agency 1841
		702	Prairie du Chien Agency 1842, and Prairie du Chien Agency Emigration, 1837–1841
		862	Turkey River Agency, 1842–1843
		863	Turkey River Agency, 1844–1845
		864	Turkey River Agency, 1846
		931	Winnebago Agency, 1826–1847
		947	Winnebago Agency Emigration, 1833–1852; Winnebago Agency Reserves, 1836–1847
Office of Indian Affairs (including instructions to Superintendents, Agents, etc…) Letters Sent, 1824–1881	M21	29	July 1–June 30, 1840

Table 2. Census Enumeration of Ho-Chunk for 1842, listed by Village Chief (from Hancock 1842a-b).

Chiefs	Men	Women	Children	Total	Location
Bent Nose	25	25	20	70	Vicinity of Sub Agency
Big Nose	47	61	61	169	Vicinity of Sub Agency
Whirling Thunder	50	64	63	177	Vicinity of Sub Agency
Little Hill	68	114	158	340	School
Winoshink	74	105	150	329	Rock River
Little Soldier	43	50	40	133	Rock River
Yellow Thunder	51	52	40	143	Rock River
Big Thunder	50	36	34	120	Rock River
Nak-hawn [Walking Turtle]	55	66	82	203	Upper Iowa
Big Canoe	40	38	50	148	Noat (possibly Root) River
Kisch-??	43	44	54	141	Upper Iowa
Little Thunder	40	50	40	130	Upper Iowa
Little Decorie	28	30	22	80	Upper Iowa
	614	755	814	2,183	

Author's note: the "Rock River" should probably be the Root River, in southeast Minnesota.

Table 3. Statement of Licenses Granted by James McGregor, U. S. Subagent, 3rd Quarter, 1844 (from Reque 1930+).

License Employed to Trade To Whom Granted	Date of of License	Names of Trustees	Terms of License	Capital	Location	Persons
William E. Gilbert	16 Aug 1844	C. and E.C. Pelton	To trade with Winnebagos 3 months	$3,000	N. E. Agency, 1 mile	Isham Gilber
William Abbe	14 Sept 1844	George Green	Trade with Winnebagos until Oct. 1, 1845	$2,000	N. E. Agency, 2 miles	
Richard Chute C. Rhodes, P. Manage, David Gallineau, F. Olive	14 Sept 1844	S.J. Patten S. Lequire	Trade with Winnebagos until Sept 14 1847	$10,000	Crossing of Turkey River	S. J. Parker, H. John Henry,
H. M. Rice Rice, L . Jones, I. St. William Griffin	14 Sept 1844	B.W. Brisbois	Trade with Winnebagos 3 yrs	$15,000	Intersection of Agency and Fort roads	S.B Lowry, C.R. Cyr, G Beaupre,
Richard Fordyce Morse	16 Sept 1844	S. Clark	Till 1 Sept 1845	$2,000	1 mile west of agency	S. A. Clark, H.
H. L. Dousman Charles Brisbois, David Rolette, A. Reed, A. Grignon	18 Sept 1844	H. M. Rice	2 years	$10,000	Near Fort Atkinson	B. W Brisbois, Drew, M.
David Olmsted	18 Sept1844	Herman Sneider	2 years	$1,000	At Swindle Town	
Francis Labathe Lapointte	18 Sept 1844	J.P.P. Gentel, B.W. Brisbois	1 year	$3,000	1 1/2 miles N.E. Agency	Hagrand, G. L.
Joseph Hewitt Cilly, Asa Parker, Randol, J. Haine	18 Sept 1844	George Culver, S. B. Olmsted, H. N Wayman	3 years	$2,000	1 1/2 miles S.W. Agency	George Culver, T. Jacob Smart,
Le Clarc William Tippetts	18 Sept 1844	Herman Sneider	1 year	$6,000	1 1/2 miles N. E. Agency	J. B Gravel,
John Haney	20 Sept 1844	John Thomas	1 year	$1,000	Swindle Town	
Charles Fisher	21 Sept1844	John Thomas	2 years	$2,000	2 miles N. E. Agency	David Thompson
E.A.C. Hatch	17 Sept 1844	Merrick, Miller, Co.	1 year	$1,800	Swindle Town	
H. L. Dousman	18 Sept1844	H. M. Rice	2 years		Between 1 and 2 miles N. E. Agency	
Alexis Bailly Gervaiu, I. Lequire	20 Sept 1844	B. W. Brisbois	2 years	$4,000	Between 1 and 2 miles N. E. Agency	Guillaume St.
Antoine Grignon Provencal, George Fisher	20 Sept 1844	H. L. Dousman	2 years	$2,000	Upper Iowa River	Thomas

Table 4. Memorandum of Goods for Olmsted and Rhodes, Winnebago Outfit for 1849.

List of Goods	Description
Mercerized Cloth	Blue prints with white figures
Mercerized Cloth	Blue prints with orange figures
Mercerized Cloth	Blue prints with red and white figures
Mercerized Cloth	Good fancy
Mercerized Cloth	Common fancy
Mercerized Cloth	Poor fancy
Mercerized Cloth	Bright yellow mixed with scarlet and green
Mercerized Cloth	Pink
Taffeta Ribbons	Green, Scarlet, Sky blue, Dark blue, Black, Yellow Orange Pink, White
Playing Cards	Thick and strong with dark backs
Assorted fine sewings	Scarlet and green
Skein Cotton	Colored and white
Spool Cotton	Assorted white and colored
Patent Thread	Dark blue and black
Patent Thread	Assorted colors
Handkerchiefs	Fancy Pongee
Handkerchiefs	Cotton
Shawls	Cashmere Decole and Turkey Red
Shawls	Assorted bright colors
Brown Drills	Brown shirting and bleached shirting
Hickory Shirts	Trowbridge
Shirts	White cotton with linen bosoms
Pants	Blue Satinett
Pants	Cotton and linen
Frock Coats	Linen, cotton and gingham
Cravats	Black Italian
Twine	Cotton Patent Twine-Thicker Twine
Gilling Twine	White or brown
Boots	Mens top boots, Calf boots, Thick boots, and Brogans
Shoes	Morocco shoes and Calf shoes
Shoes	Women's Morocco shoes (heavy)
Knives	Good market knives with 2 or 3 blades
Knives	Common pocket knives with 2 or 3 blades
Knives	Congress pocket knives with 2 or 3 blades
Chains	Steel guard
Chains	Smallest size of Iron Jack chain
Chains	Smallest size of Brass Jack chain
Chains	German Silver Guard chains
Pistols	Small belt pistols
Pistols	Brass Mounted Navy pistols
Pistols	Plated pistols
Shot Guns	Double barreled shot guns
Medals	Britannia School medals
Medals	Britannia Temperance medals
Gloves	Assortment
Needles	Assortment
Hemmings	Assortment
Straps	Polished sleigh bells with open bells in Martingales
Straps	Polished sleigh bells with round bells in Martingales
Rings	Brass wire with stone finger rings

Table 4. Memorandum of Goods for Olmsted and Rhodes, Winnebago Outfit for 1849 (continued).

List of Goods	Description
Rings	Plain brass finger rings
Spectacles	German Silver
Combs	Fine
Shaving Boxes	With glasses
Mirrors	Covered pocket mirrors
Mirrors	Small metal frame mirrors with portraits
Medal	Washingtonian Temperance
Locks	Good pad locks, 1/2 axes
Awls	Indian Moccasin awls
Files	Half round pit saw files
Files	Taper saw files
Thimbles	Small steel top thimbles
Jews Harps	Small
Flints	Black coated gun flints
Flints	Black coated carbine flints
Beads	Brown Garnets and Ruby beads
Snuff Boxes	
Shaving Cases	Red wood, 5x10 inches with glass in the top and apartments in the bottom
Wampum	White
Chinese Vermillion	
Bridles	Double rim stiff bit fancy bridles-leather circingles
Trunks	Steel Morocco trunks
Clothing	India rubber overcoats
Clothing	Black Alpacco frock coats
Black Bombazine	
Bells	Hawk bells
Jewelry	Earrings and glass bobs set in brass
Fruit	Raisins and Figs
Chrome Green	
Chrome Yellow	
Antwerp Blue	
Cord	Soda powder-hemp bed cord
Cord	Manila bed cord
Rope	Hemp coil rope
Fish Lines	Hooks-lines
Pocket Harmonicas	
Powder Flasks	Pocket brass or copper hunters powder flask
Gloves	Men's brown cotton gloves
Gloves	Men's white cotton gloves
Hosiery	Men's colored cotton hose
Hosiery	Women's colored cotton hose
Hosiery	Women's white cotton hose
Writing Material	Letter paper
Writing Material	Large yellow envelopes
Writing Material	Day book ledger
Writing Material	Quills
Writing Material	Sealing wax
Writing Material	Wafers

Table 4. Memorandum of Goods for Olmsted and Rhodes, Winnebago Outfit for 1849 (continued).

List of Goods	Description
Writing Material	Steel pens
Writing Material	Holders
Writing Material	Gold pens with silver case
Shaving Supplies	First quality razors, Metallic hone and strap
Earbobs	1500 pairs, Large selected
Earbobs	1000 pairs, Small selected
Beads	Red beads
Beads	Pink garnishing garnets
Beads	Ruby garnets
Beads	Large fine cut rubies
Beads	Hollow glass beads
Beads	Mixed red and white beads

Table 5. Known Historic Properties Associated with *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* MPD and their Recommended NRHP-eligibility Status.

			NRHP eligibility recommendation			
Property	**Site trinomial**	**Primary context**	**Eligible**	**Potentially eligible or needs more research**	**Not eligible**	**Physical location not verified**
*Fort Atkinson Historic District**	13WH57	Fort Atkinson	X			
Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post site	13WH160	Trading	X			
Turkey River Subagency site	13WH111	Turkey River Subagency	X			
Jefferson Davis Sawmill site	13AM294	Yellow River Subagency	X			
Yellow River Subagency site	13AM289	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Pipe findspot	13AM309	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Unknown function site	13AM337	Yellow River Subagency			X	
Dugout site	13AM378	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Dugout site	13AM380	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Old Mission Trail remnant	13AM381	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Unknown function site	13AM384	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Old Mission Trail river ford	13AM385	Yellow River Subagency		X		
Nathan Boone campsite	none	Yellow River Subagency				X
Neutral Ground boundary marker	none	Yellow River Subagency				X
Fort Atkinson military cemetery	13WH210	Fort Atkinson		X		
Patrick Keenan cabin site	13AM401	Fort Atkinson		X		
Unknown function site	13WH10	Fort Atkinson		X		
Unknown function site	13WH13	Fort Atkinson		X		
Unknown function site	13WH55	Fort Atkinson		X		
Franklin Wilcox cabin site	none	Fort Atkinson				X
Quarterway house site	none	Fort Atkinson				X
Halfway house site 1	none	Fort Atkinson				X
Halfway house site 2	none	Fort Atkinson				X
Trestle bridge remnant site	none	Fort Atkinson				X
Subagency agricultural field	none	Turkey River Subagency				X

** signifies this property is being nominated in concert with the present MPD*

Table 5. Known Historic Properties Associated with *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* MPD and their Recommended NRHP-eligibility Status (continued).

			NRHP eligibility recommendation			
Property	**Site trinomial**	**Primary context**	**Eligible**	**Potentially eligible or needs more research**	**Not eligible**	**Physical location not verified**
Winneshiek's Village site 1	13AM217	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Winneshiek's Village site 2	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Winneshiek's Village site 3	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Decorah's Village site 1	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Decorah's Village site 2	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Chief Little Hill's Camp site 1	13WH131	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Chief Little Hill's Camp site 2	13WH135	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Red Cedar River Village site	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Womanokaker's Village site 1	13BM1	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Womanokaker's Village site 2	13BM2	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk village site 1	13AM410	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk village site 2	13HW16	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk camp/ village site 1	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk camp/ village site 2	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk camp/ village site 3	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Possible Ho-Chunk camp/ village sites 4 and 5	13WH157, 13WH174, and/or 13WH244	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Yellow Thunder's village site	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Big Wave's winter camp site	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
O'Regan Bench site	13AM21	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Little Decorah's village site 1	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Village site upriver from Little Decorah's village	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Wakon and Old Coramano's village site	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Root River village site	none (MN)	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Ho-Chunk camp site near Catholic mission	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Petiot and Cretin's Catholic mission site	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Ho-Chunk cemetery near Catholic mission	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Billmeyer site maple sugaring camp	13FT78	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Sugaring camp site 1	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Sugaring camp site 2	none (MN)	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Sugaring camp site 3	13FT154	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Sugaring camp site 4	13WH238	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X

Table 5. Known Historic Properties Associated with *Historic Properties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Removal to the Neutral Ground* MPD and their Recommended NRHP-eligibility Status (continued).

			NRHP eligibility recommendation			
Property	**Site trinomial**	**Primary context**	**Eligible**	**Potentially eligible or needs more research**	**Not eligible**	**Physical location not verified**
Ho-Chunk and Sioux battlefield site	13CW20	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Historic Indian cemetery near Culver's Trading Post	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Ho-Chunk cemetery 1	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Ho-Chunk cemetery 2	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Ho-Chunk cemetery 3	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Mapped "graves"	none	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Winnebago Ct. cabin site	none (MN)	Ho-Chunk Lifeways				X
Historic clamming site	13WH357	Ho-Chunk Lifeways		X		
Culver Trading Post site	13FT3	Trading		X		
Old Mission Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Rice's or Rice-Brismen Trading Post site	13WH275	Trading				X
Clark's Trading Post site	13CW103	Trading				X
Hewitt's Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Grignon's Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Swindletown Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Whisky Grove Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Teagarden Trading Post/cabin site	none	Trading				X
Sodom Trading Post site	none	Trading				X
Gomorrah Trading Post site	none	Trading				X

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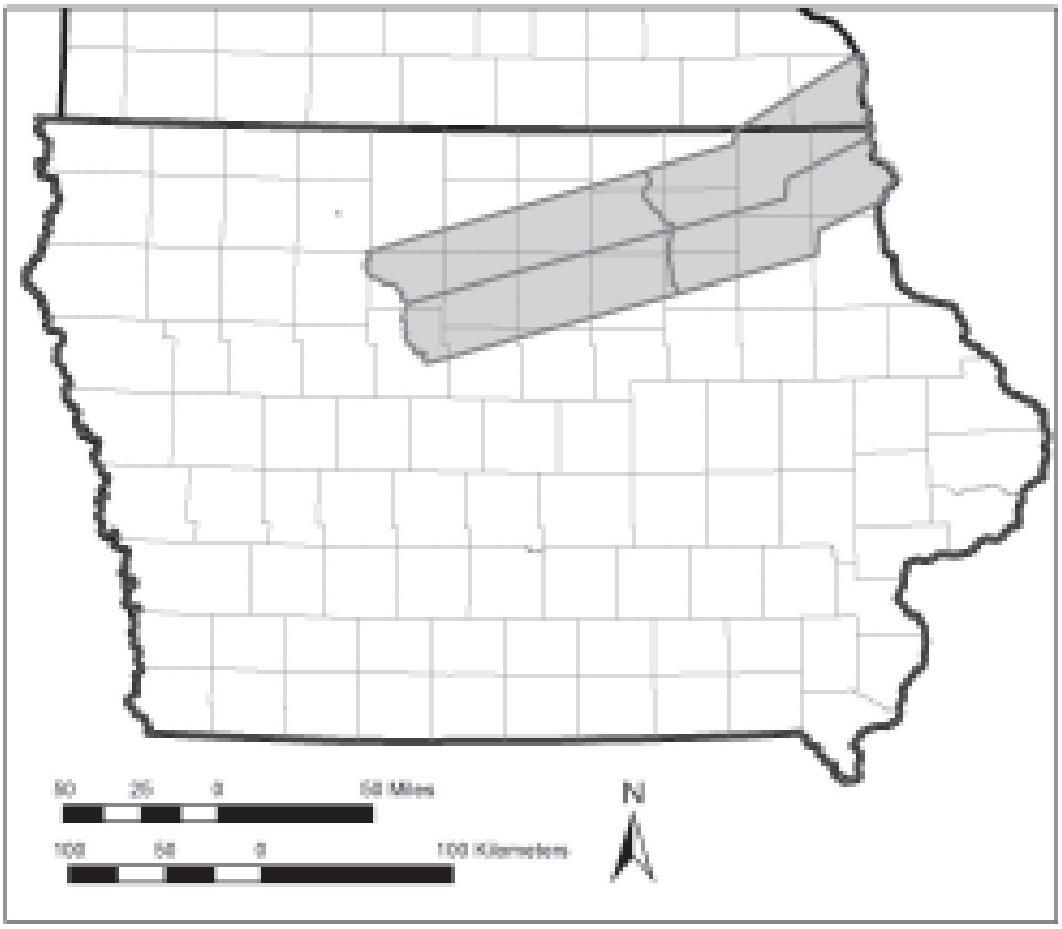

Figure 1. Location of the 1830 Neutral Ground, superimposed atop map of modern Iowa and Minnesota counties. In 1832, the Ho-Chunk received that portion of the Neutral Ground to the east of the Red Cedar River (the near-vertical center line) as partial payment for the cession most of their Wisconsin lands(base map from Iowa Geographic Map Server 2009).

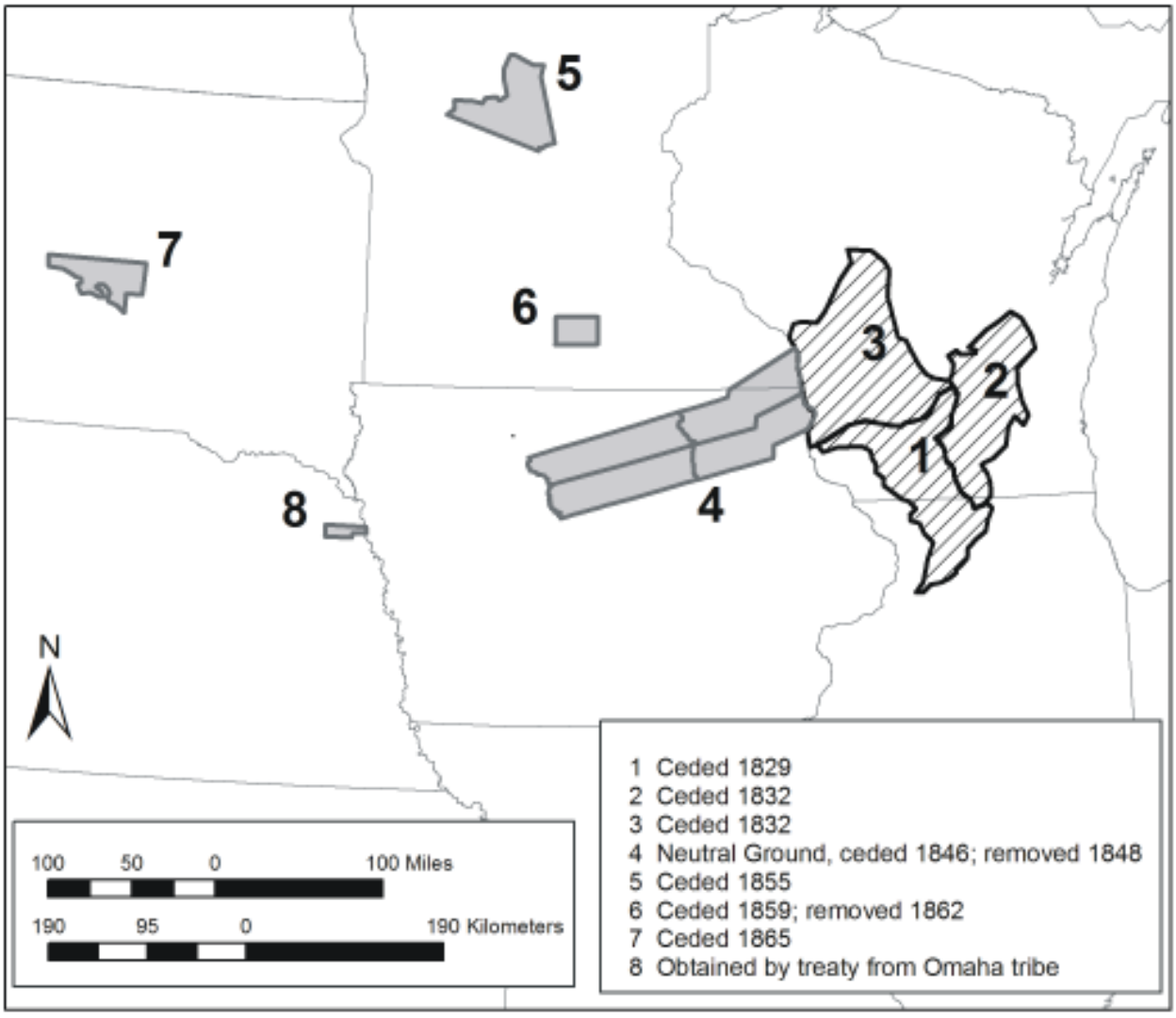

Figure 2. Map showing Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) territory, land cessions, and removal, 1829-1874. Patterned areas in Wisconsin and Illinois indicate original homelands (adapted from Lurie 1978:69).

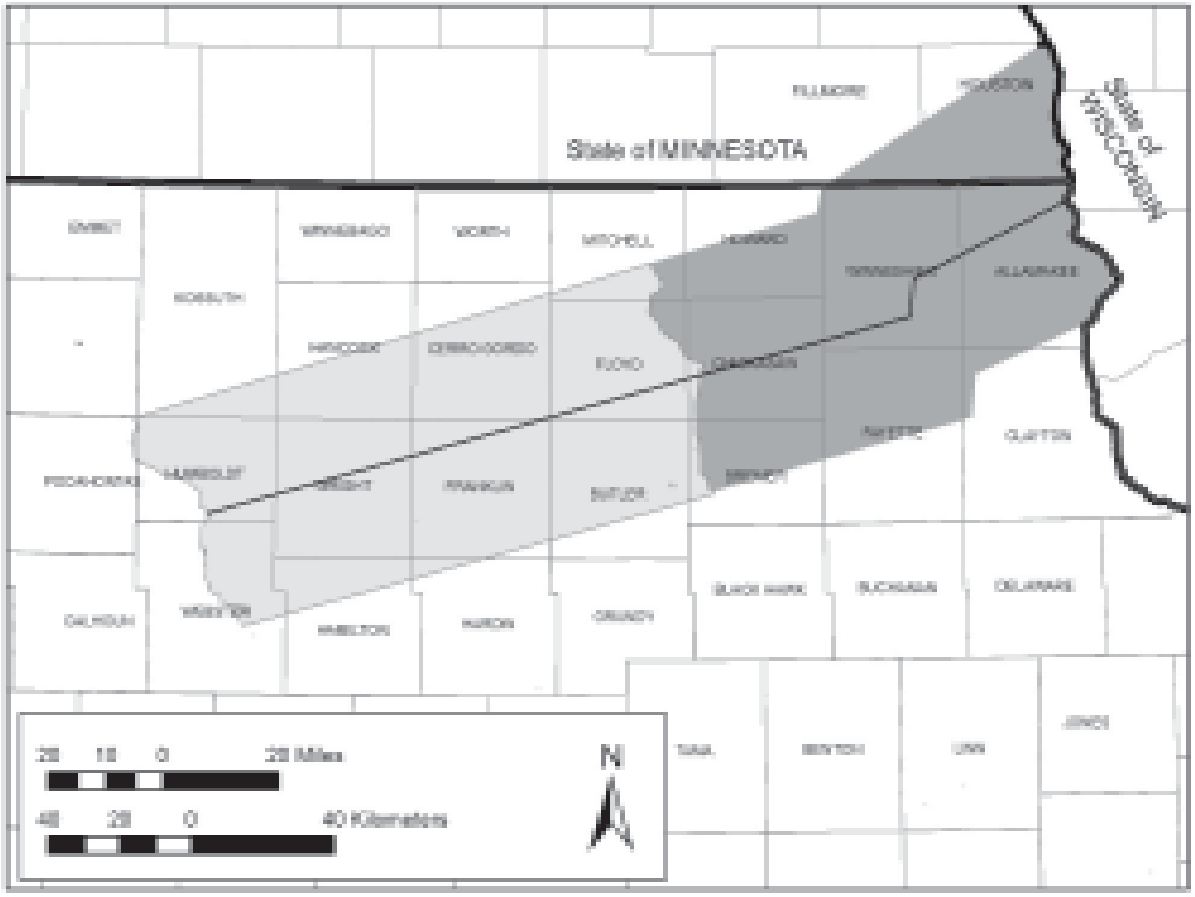

Figure 3. Map showing location of the Neutral Ground in relation to modern counties. Entire shaded area includes the original Neutral Ground boundaries of 1830; darker shaded area on the east is that portion of the Neutral Ground the Ho-Chunk received in 1832 treaty stipulations (base map from Iowa Geographical Server 2009).

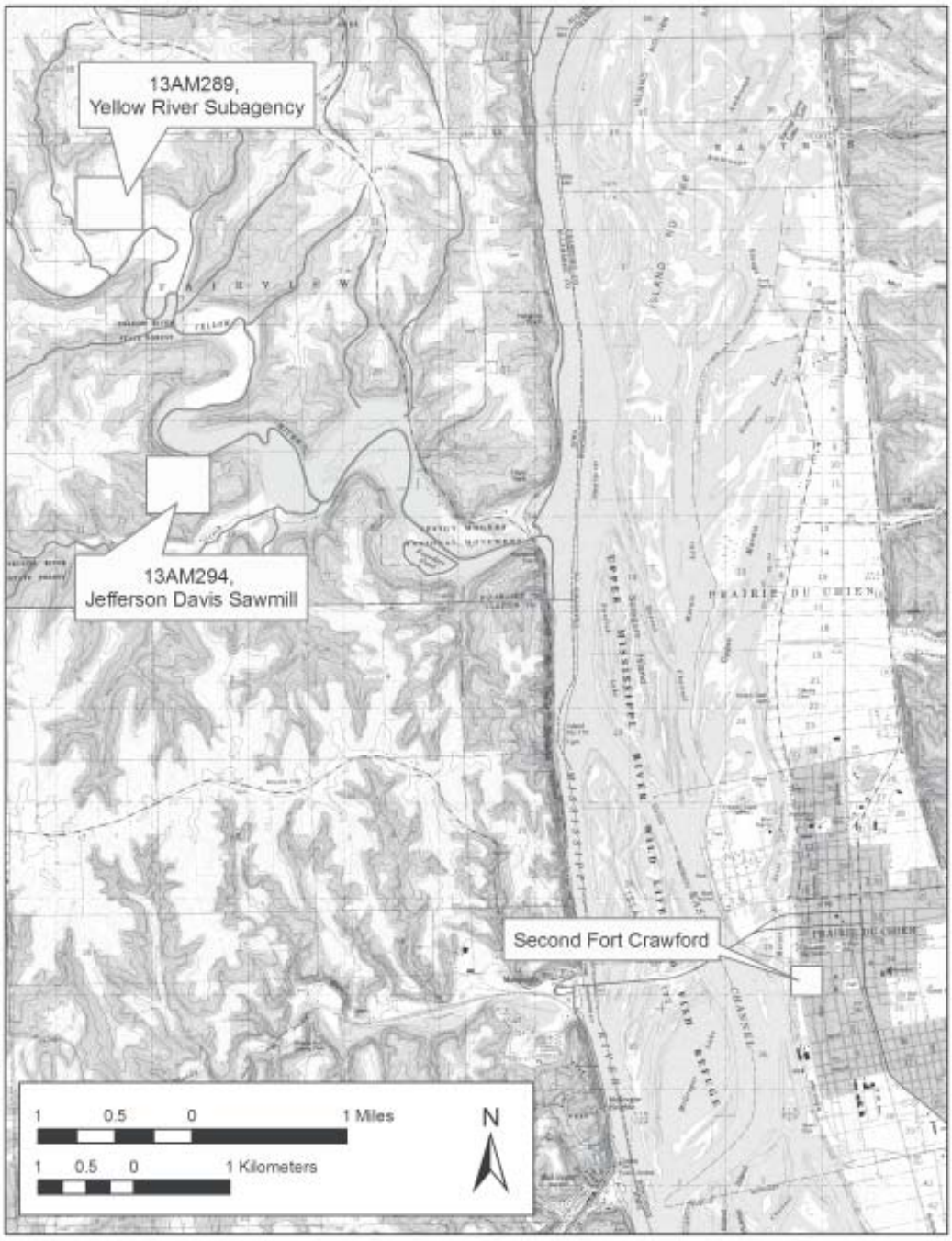

Figure 4. General location of Yellow River Subagency, Second Fort Crawford (at Prairie du Chien), and the Jefferson Davis Sawmill (from USGS Prairie du Chien 1983, 7.5' quadrangle).

Figure 5. Photograph of "Yellow River Winnebago Mission" (13AM289), ca. 1880 (from Orr 1941, originals on file, Samuel Calvin Collection, Geology Department, The University of Iowa, Iowa City).

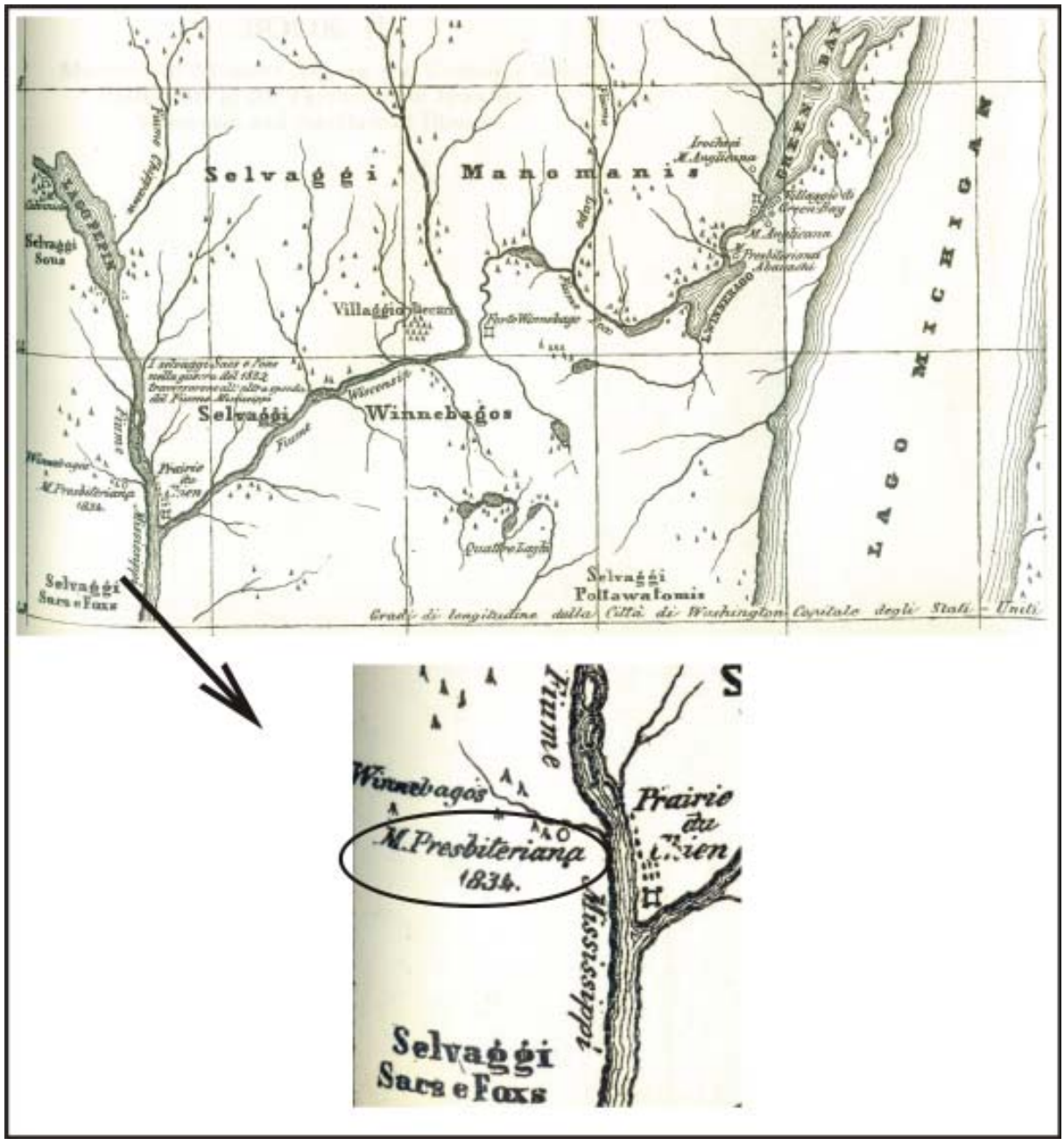

Figure 6 Mazzuchelli's map of the "Mission Presbyteriana" (Yellow River Subagency; from Mazzuchelli 1915:155).

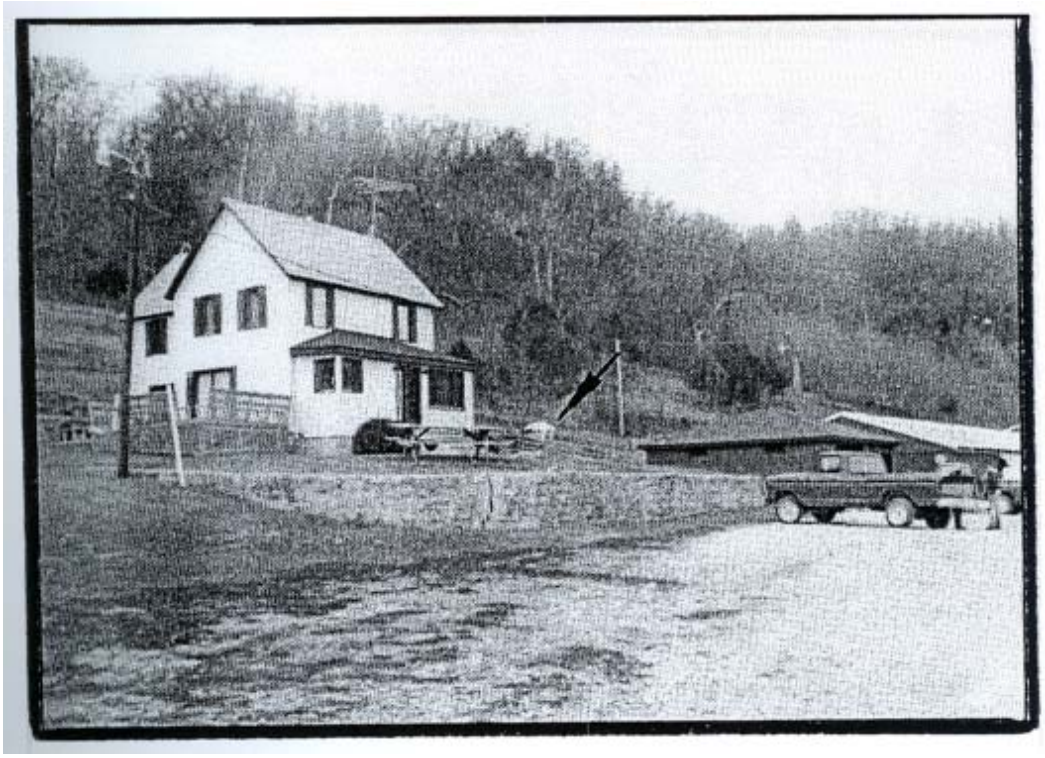

Figure 7. Photograph of area of former Yellow River Subagency, facing north, November 1988 (from Stanley 1995:189). Arrow indicates location of the still-flowing spring. Standing house is post-Neutral Ground era.

Figure 8. General location of Fort Atkinson in relation to the Yellow River Subagency, Fort Crawford, and the Turkey River Subagency. Shaded area is the Neutral Ground. (base map from Iowa Geographical Server 2009).

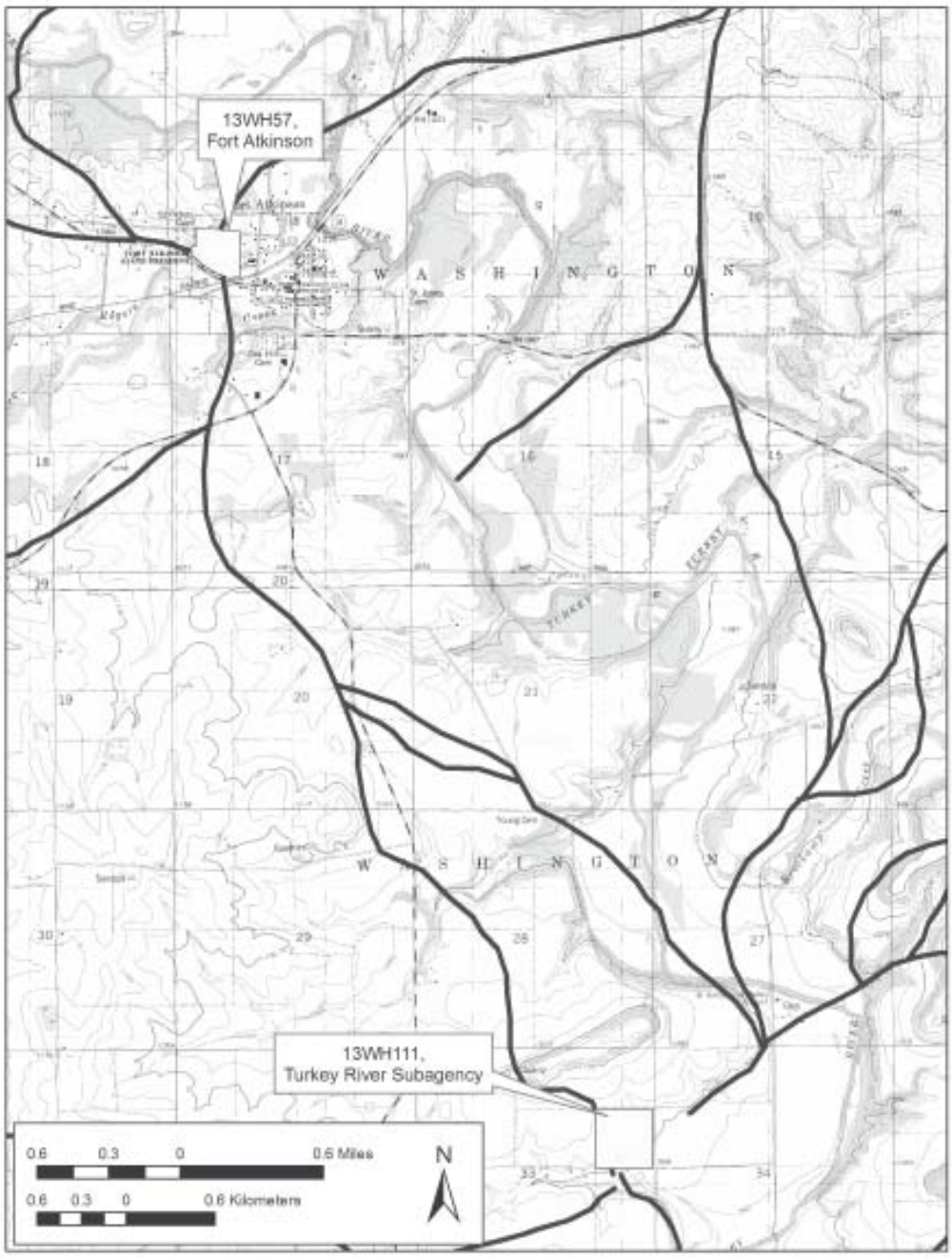

Figure 9. Map showing the location of Fort Atkinson and general location of the Turkey River Subagency (from USGS Fort Atkinson 1981 and Saint Lucas 1981, 7.5' quadrangles). Dark lines indicate 1849-mapped trails as shown on Office of the Secretary of State 1981.

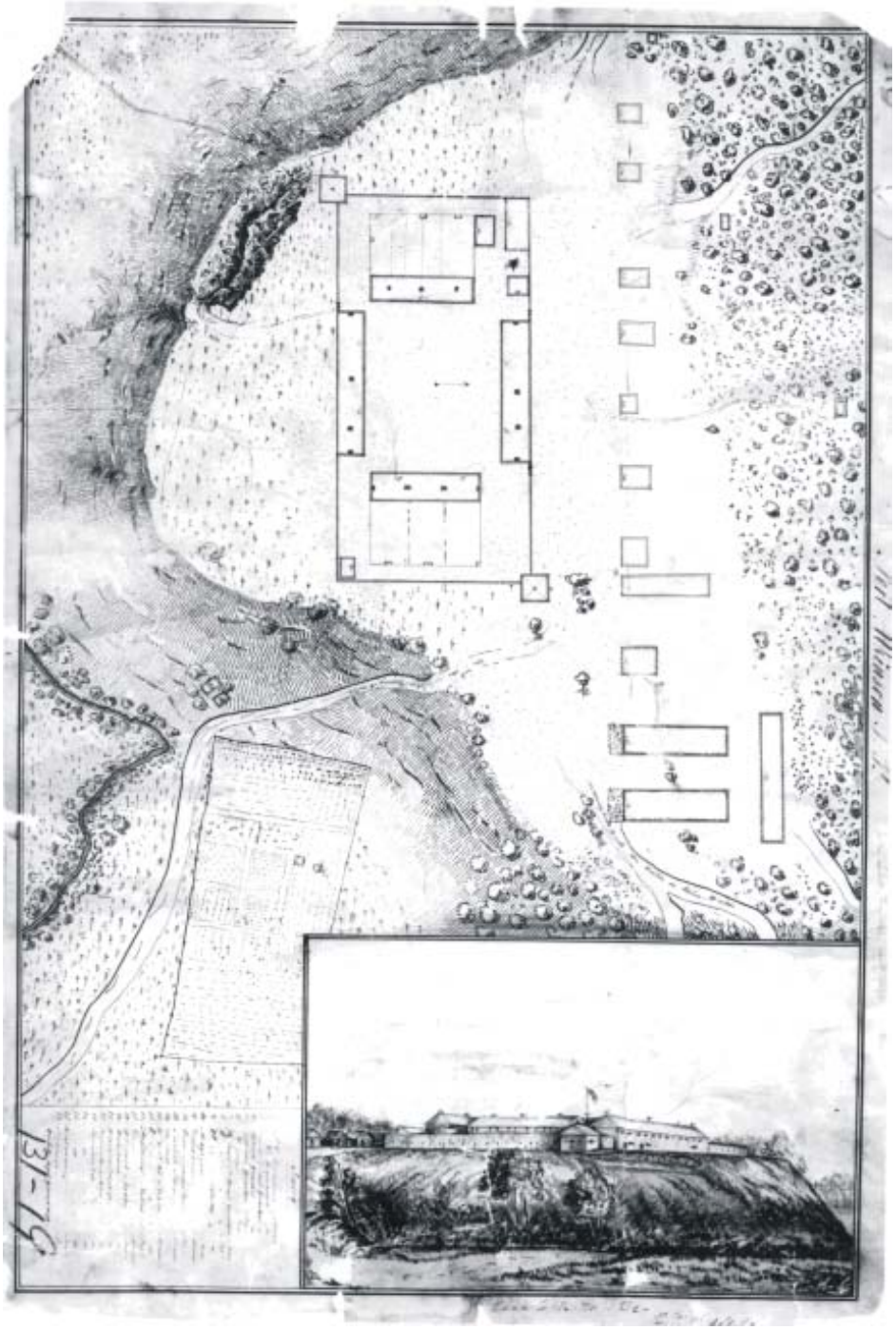

Figure 10. Reynolds' 1842 map of Fort Atkinson. Plan map is oriented with north on the right-hand side. Inset view is facing northeast.

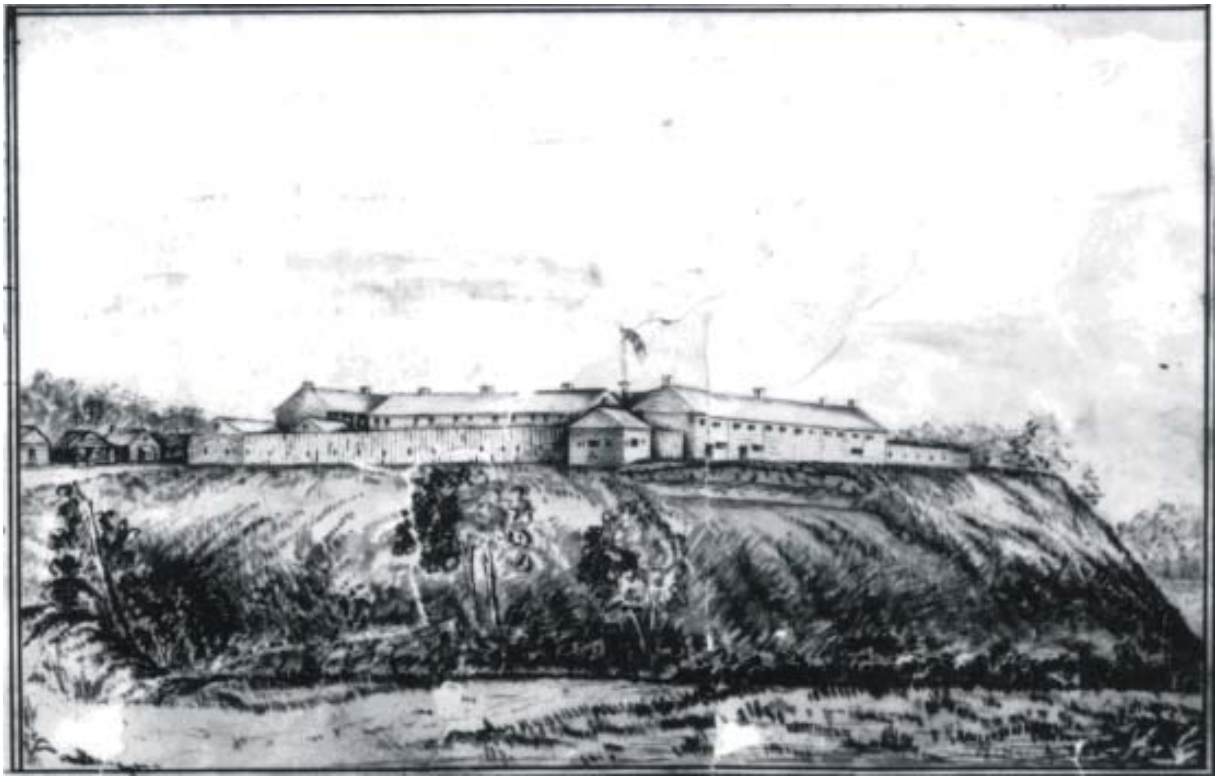

Figure 11. Enlargement of the inset on Reynolds' 1842 map of Fort Atkinson. View is facing northeast.

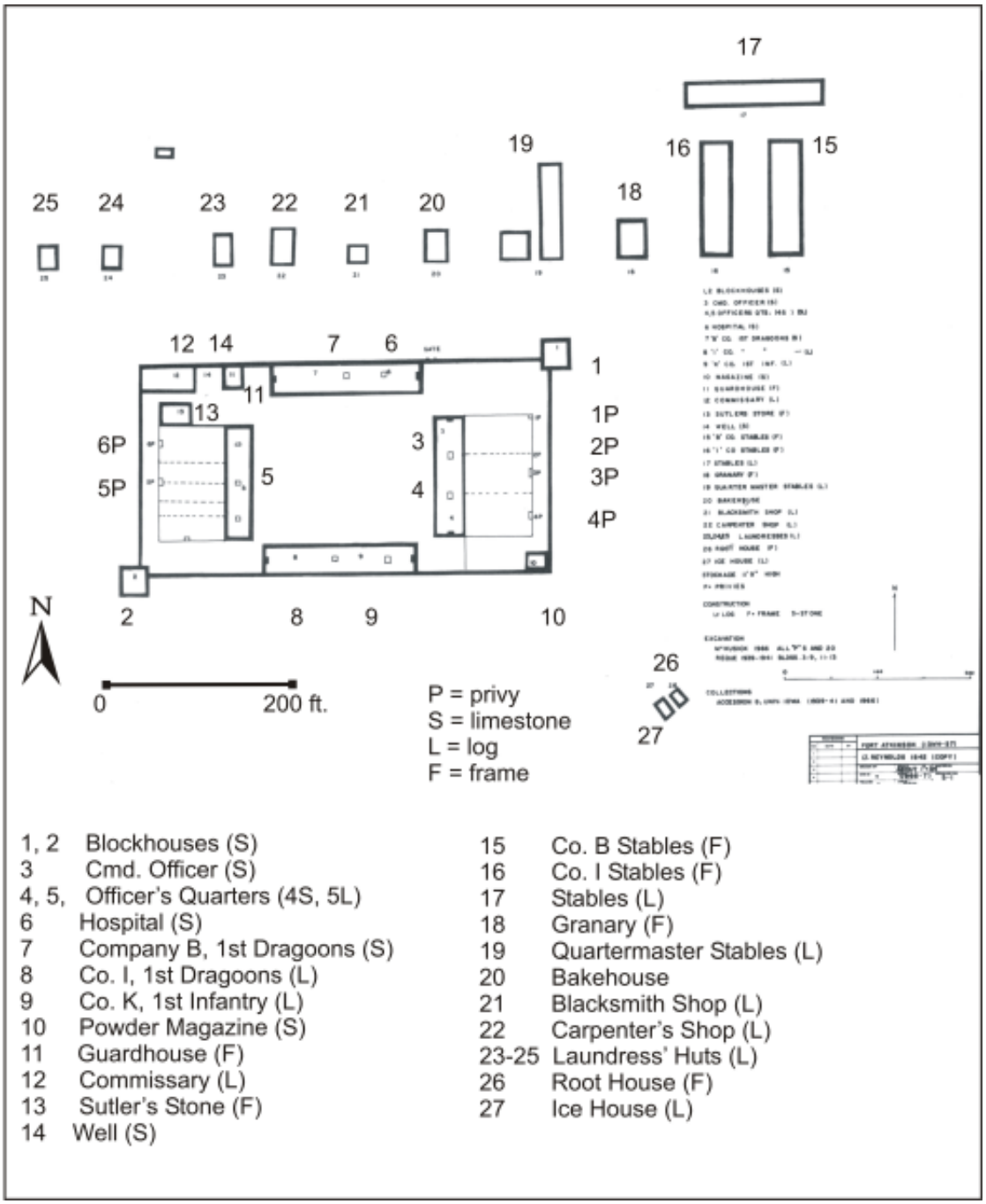

Figure 12. Modified version of McKusick's 1966 map of Fort Atkinson (on file, Office of the State Archaeologist, The University of Iowa, Iowa City). Larger numbers and enlarged key were added by the present authors to aid in legibility.

Figure 13. Photographs of ceramics from Fort Atkinson excavated by McKusick and Reque (from Whittaker 2007:90).

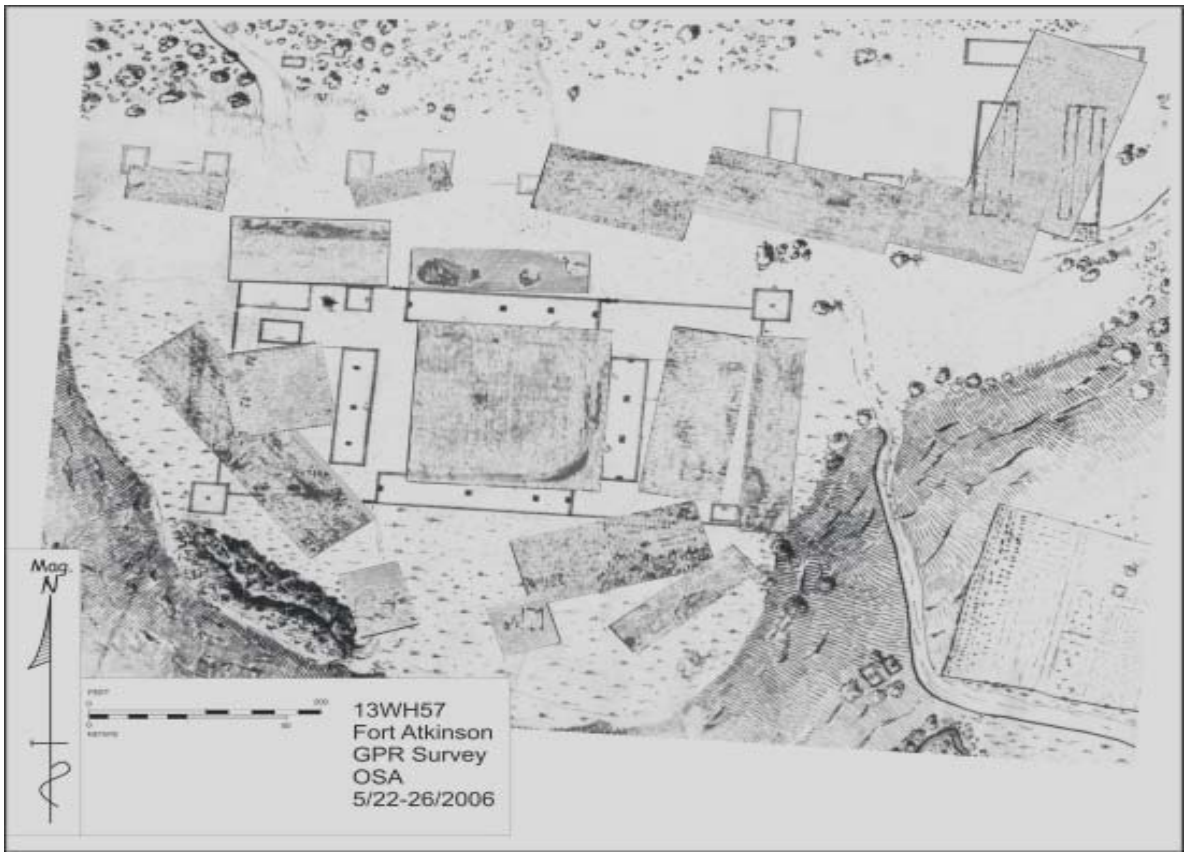

Figure 14. Selected Ground-Penetrating Radar horizontal data superimposed onto Reynolds' 1842 map (from Whittaker 2006c:34). Rectangular grids show GPR coverage; shaded areas within each grid are possible features

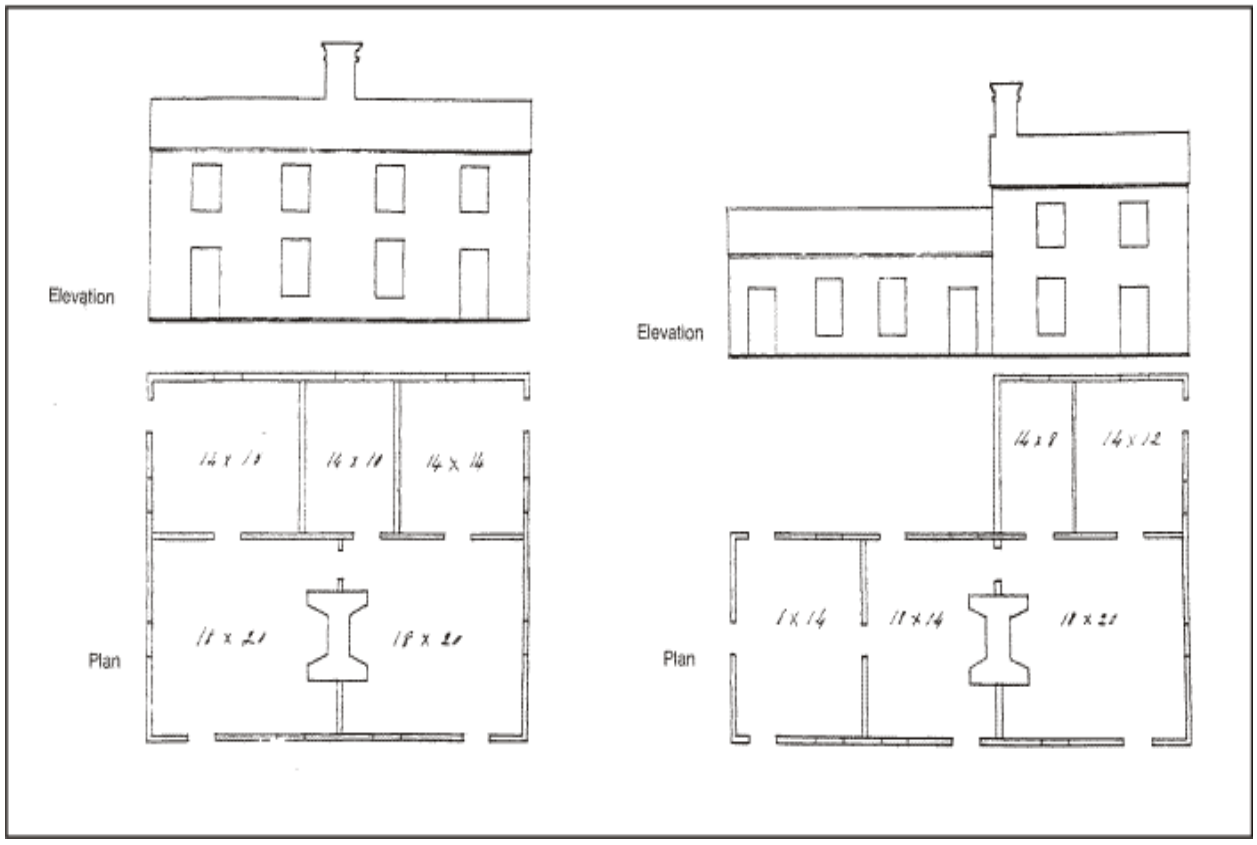

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Figure 15. Alleged plan and elevation of Turkey River Subagency Agent's House (left) and Principal's House (right) (Documents Collection, Fort Atkinson file, Office of the State Archaeologist, The University of Iowa, Iowa City).

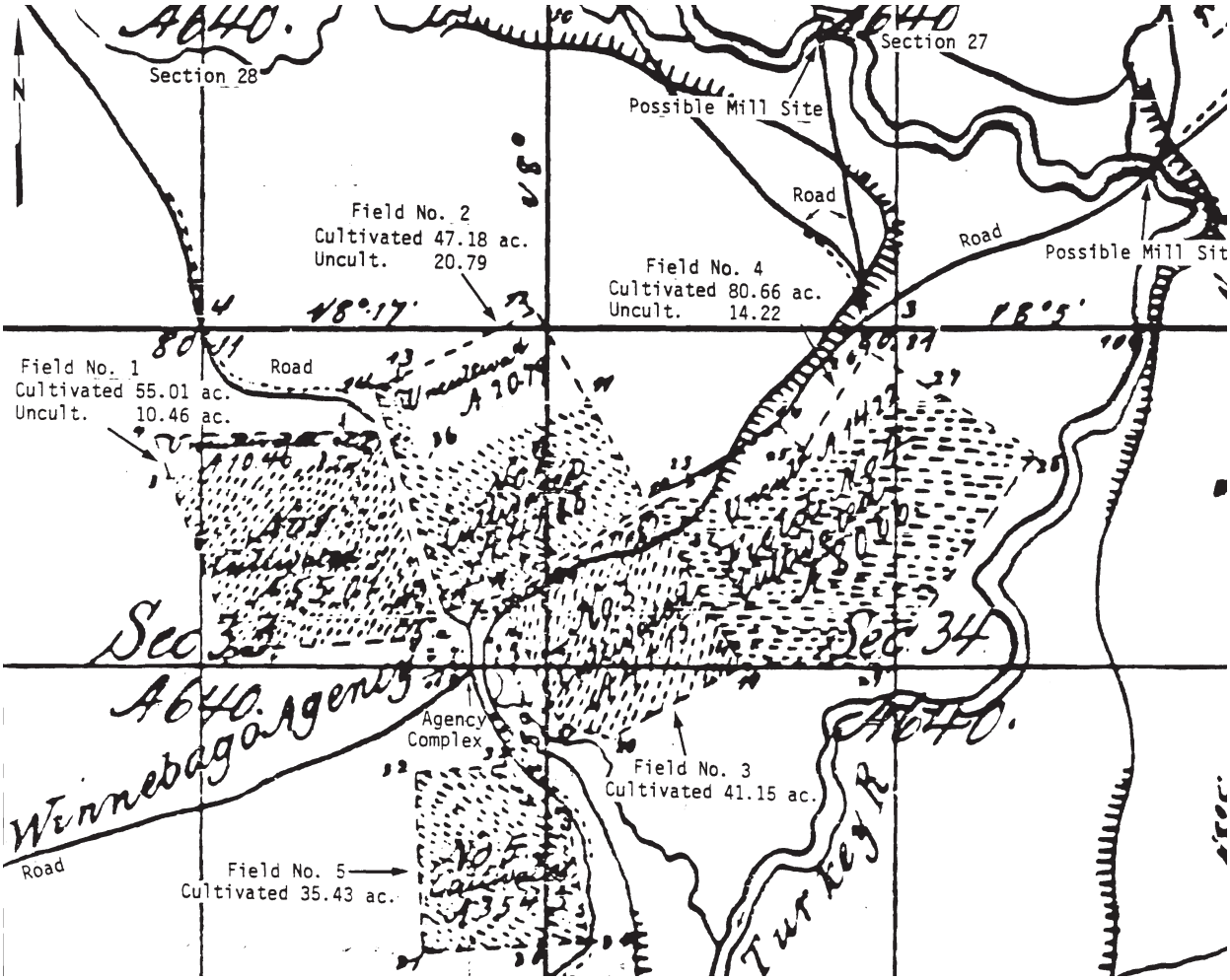

Figure 16. General Land Office Surveyor's 1849 map of the Turkey River Subagency, showing agricultural fields and structures (from Office of the Secretary of State 1981; typed labels added; mill sites are speculative only).

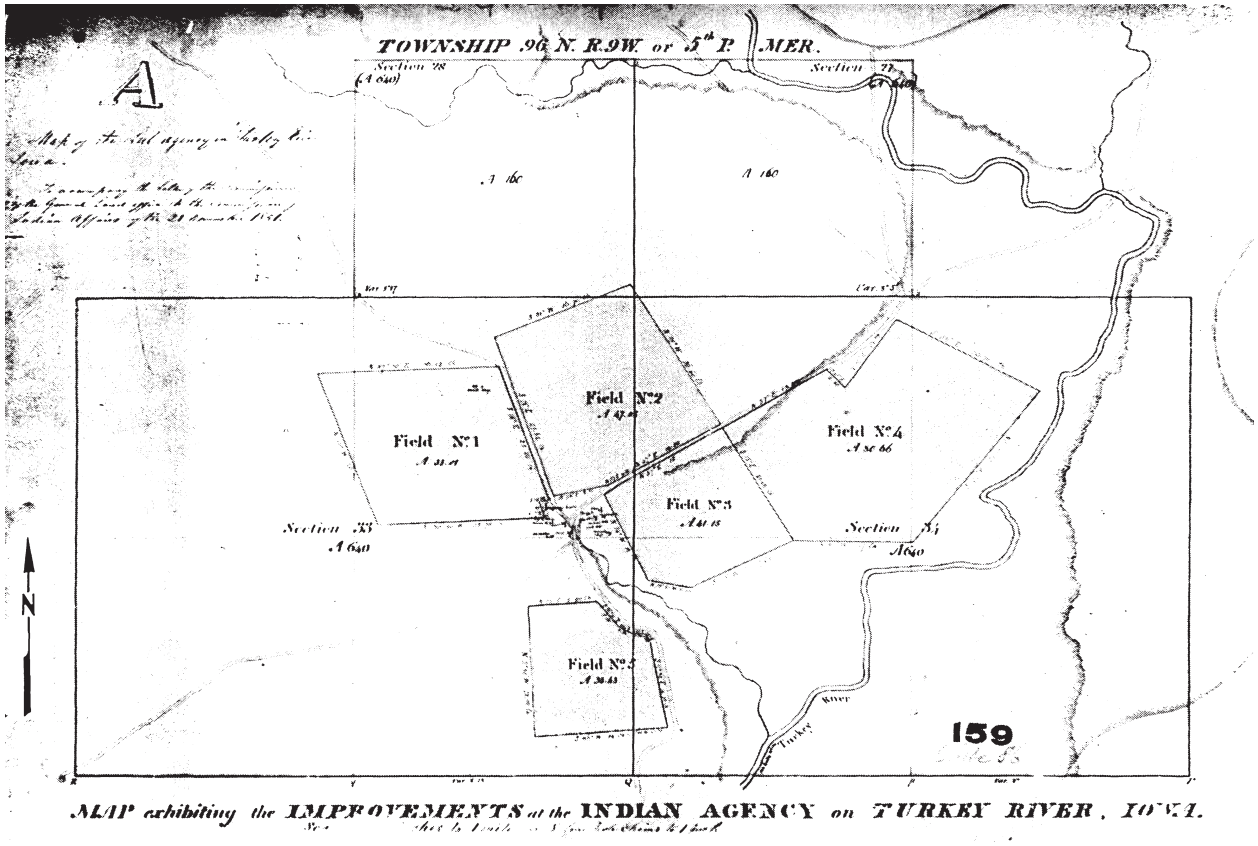

Figure 17. Map exhibiting improvements at the Indian Agency on Turkey River, Iowa, showing agricultural fields and structures (from National Archives and Records Administration 1851).

Figure 18. Hard Times token that dates to 1837, found on the ground surface at the former Turkey River Subagency log stables location (13WH111, Locus B; from Rogers 1993:50).

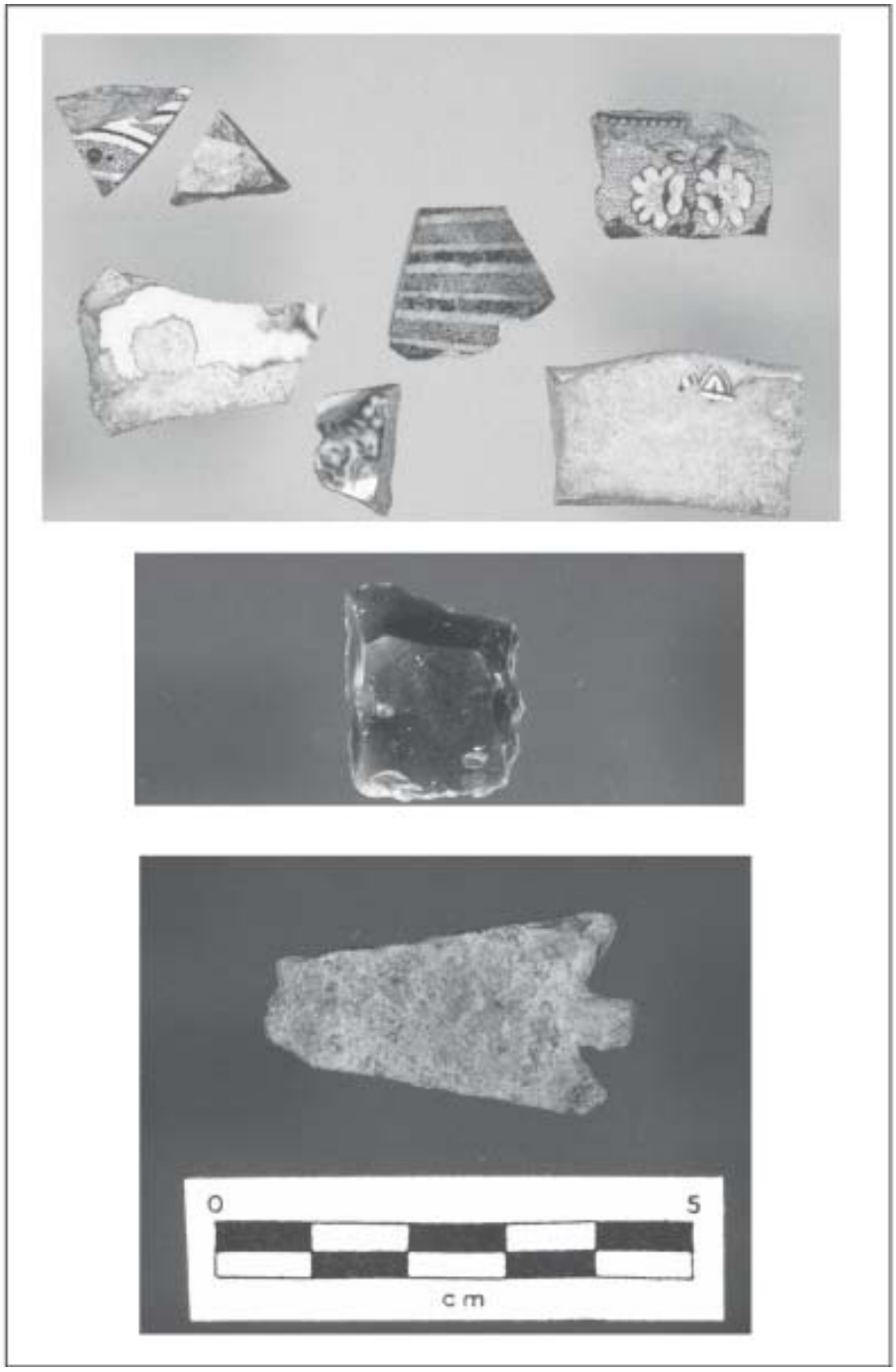

Figure 19. Photographs of white pasted earthenware, British gun flint, and iron arrowpoint recovered from 13WH158 (from Peterson and Becker 2001:102–103).

Figure 20. Photograph of the combination dwelling and storehouse limestone foundation at site 13WH160, the Hewitt-Olmsted Trading Post. Trowel is pointing to north (from Peterson and Becker 2001:106).