ANNOUNCEMENTS

IN MEMORIAL

DR. ROBERT ARTHUR ALEX

Robert Alex (46), South Dakota State Archaeologist, passed away unexpectedly on April 21, 1988, while participating in an archaeological field training session in Badlands National Park, South Dakota. He attended the University of Iowa (B.S. and M.A.) and received his doctorate in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1981. He taught at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, in 1972 and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee from 1973 to 1975. In 1975 and 1976 he served as Chief Archaeologist with the State Historical Preservation Office in Iowa. He assumed duties as the South Dakota State Archaeologist and Director of the State Archaeological Research Center in 1976, the position he held until his untimely death. Bob was a member of various state, regional, and national organizations and had served on the board of directors of the Plains Anthropological Society. He participated in archaeological fieldwork in South Dakota, Iowa, Mexico, and Wisconsin. His Ph.D thesis and published articles contribute to the understanding of North American plains prehistory.

Bob will be greatly missed by his family, friends, and professional colleagues in South Dakota and elsewhere. A memorial has been established for the education of his two young children, Allison, age 7, and Brendan, age 5. Contributions may be sent to:

Children's Education Fund
c/o Dr. J. R. Fishburne
Director, Office of History
South Dakota State Historical Society
800 Governors Drive
Pierre, South Dakota 57501-2294
WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
1988 ANNUAL MEETING MINUTES
Holiday Inn, Riverton, Wyoming
Friday, April 8, 1988

PRESIDING: Alan Korell

CALL TO ORDER: 7:00 p.m.

ROLL CALL AND CERTIFICATION OF DELEGATES: Secretary/Treasurer Carolyn Buff certified the following voting delegates. Roll call showed the following chapters present: Absaroka, Casper, Cheyenne, Cherokee Trail, Fremont County, High Plains, Platte County, and Rawlins. Not represented at the meeting were Sheridan and Sweetwater County.

MINUTES OF LAST MEETING: Motion by Bonnie Johnson that the minutes be approved as published in the Spring 1987 issue of The Wyoming Archaeologist. Second. Carried.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Secretary/Treasurer Carolyn Buff gave the treasurer's report, showing a total net worth as of March 31, 1988 of $12,886.22. Motion by Bill Scoggin that the treasurer's report be filed for audit. Second. Carried. The treasurer's report was audited by Ray Gossett, Helen Bryant and Bonnie Johnson and found to be in order. Milford Hanson gave the Foundation Treasurer's report showing a total net worth of $3,819.39.

EDITOR'S REPORT: Sandra Hansen reported that she is working to establish submission deadlines for The Wyoming Archaeologist as follows: February 1 for the spring issue and August 1 for the fall issue. Some of the problems encountered in the past year include coordination and scheduling of computer time at the University. Bill Scoggin has been the coordinator between the Society and the Wyoming Penitentiary for publication. As of this date, the bulk of this is still in Rawlins.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT: Dr. Mark Miller reported that the collection is housed in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming.

CHAPTER REPORTS: Chapter reports were presented by the following: Absaroka, Frank Zeller; Casper, Grover Phelan; Cheyenne, Joe Bailey; Cherokee Trail, Lillian Barnes; Fremont, Lucille Acorn; High Plains, Dennis Eisenhower; and Platte County, Clark McInroy.

SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE: Carolyn Buff announced that the committee would meet at lunch on Saturday to choose scholarship recipients and determine the amounts of the scholarships.

OLD BUSINESS: Sandra Hansen announced that prices for back issues of The Wyoming Archaeologist will be $5.00 for issues since 1984 and $2.50 from 1971 to 1984, plus xerography costs if the issue has to be copied. Frank Zeller has indexed each manuscript in every edition and that will be published.

NEW BUSINESS: President Korell explained the revision in the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Articles of Incorporation and Bylaws. These revisions needed to be made because of the acquisition of the Hell Gap site. He reported that the number of board members would be reduced from 18 to 7 -- five voting members and two non-voting members. The five voting members include the incumbent WAS president, the immediate past president of the WAS, and three members to be elected at-large from the WAS membership, one for a three-year term, one for a two-year term, and one for a one-year term. The non-voting members include the Wyoming State Archaeologist and a Department of Anthropology representative from an accredited four-year university in Wyoming. Bill Scoggin chaired the committee to revise the documents and reviewed the said revisions. The entire revisions are attached. Dr. Scoggin emphasized that the control of the Hell Gap site would always remain with the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Inc.
WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, INC.
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT
AS OF MARCH 31, 1988

CHECKING:

February 19, 1988 - Open Account $ 500.00
   Income - Memberships 814.00
   Income - Interest 1.55

   Total Income $1,315.55

   Expenditures:
      Quarterly Payment to Foundation 371.00

   Total Expenditures 371.00

BALANCE $ 944.55

SAVINGS:

February 19, 1988 - Open Account $ 5.00
   Income - Memberships 1,880.22

BALANCE $ 1,880.22

CERTIFICATE OF DEPOSIT:
   BALANCE $10,000.00

PETTY CASH (postage):

March 1, 1987 - Beginning Balance $ 79.05
   December 16, 1987 - Stamps -8.80
   January 27, 1988 - Stamps -8.80

BALANCE $ 61.45

TOTAL NET WORTH AS OF MARCH 31, 1988 $12,886.22

Carolyn M. Buff
Executive Secretary/Treasurer
Balance Checking 3/14/87 855.72
Income 3/14/87 to 3/14/88 3224.36

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This Statement Respectfully Submitted By Milford P. Hansen
President Korell opened the floor for nominations for the three at-large positions on the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation Board. Nominated were: George Brox, Lou Steege, Grant Willson, George Zeimens, Dennis Eisenbaizth, Patt Brown-Wolfe, Milford Hansen, Debbie Chastain, and Danny Walker. Motion by Helen Lockingtill that nominations cease. Second. Carried.

Motion by Gail Gossett that the largest vote-getter be elected for the three-year term, the next largest vote-getter be elected for the two-year term, and the next for the one-year term. Second. Carried.

Elected for the three-year term was George Brox, the two-year term, Milford Hansen, and the one-year term, George Zeimens.

PUBLICATION OF THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGIST: Dr. Mark Miller reported that he has enough money in his budget to pay for the publication of the current issue, and plans to negotiate with the Wyoming Recreation Commission for payment of the fall issue, and that this is a high priority on the State Archaeologist’s Budget.

BYLAWS REVISION: President Korell explained that we needed to revise our bylaws to include a dissolution clause in order to get our bulk mailing permit moved to Laramie.

Motion by Gail Gossett to revise the Bylaws to state that in the event of dissolution of the Wyoming Archaeological Society, Inc., all monies would revert to the Hell Gap site through the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Inc. Second. Vote -- yea, 7; nay, 8. Motion defeated.

Motion by Carolyn Buff that in the event of dissolution of the Wyoming Archaeological Society, Inc., all monies would revert to the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist. Second. Motion withdrawn.

Motion by Carolyn Buff that in the event of dissolution of the Wyoming Archaeological Society, Inc., all monies would revert to the University of Wyoming Foundation for scholarships in anthropology. Second. Joe Bailey amended the motion to stipulate no overhead be removed by the University of Wyoming Foundation. Second. Carried.

POSTCARD MEMBERSHIP REMINDERS: Motion by Frank Zeller to print postcards to sell to the chapters to remind members that it’s time to pay dues. Second. Carried.

1989 SPRING MEETING LOCATION: Rawlins volunteered to host the 1989 spring meeting of the Wyoming Archaeological Society, Inc.

WAPA: Dr. Danny Walker asked if the WAS would be willing to have a joint meeting with the Wyoming Association of Professional Archaeologists next spring. Grover Phelan moved that we invite WAPA to a joint meeting in Rawlins next spring if agreeable with WAPA. Second. Carried.

SUMMER MEETING: Dr. Charles Reher invited the WAS to a summer meeting weekend at the Pine Bluffs site. George Brox moved that we plan the summer meeting at Pine Bluffs on July 15, 16, 17, 1988. Second. Carried.

SHPO MATCH FOR SCHOLARSHIPS: Dr. Walker stated that the State Historic Preservation Office would match funds for scholarships. It was felt that we need to write a letter to the SHPO requesting a copy of the federal stipulations before we can make a decision.

COMPUTER PURCHASE: Motion by Dr. Bill Scoogg to appoint a committee to investigate costs and other pertinent information concerning the purchase of a computer for the WAS. Members appointed to this committee were: Patt Brown-Wolfe, Sandra Hansen, and Bill Scoogg, and to report the findings at the summer meeting in Pine Bluffs. Second. Car-
MINUTES
WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE

Motion by Dr. Mark Miller to award the Frison Scholarship to Kyle C. Baber and the Mulloy Scholarship to Debra Ann Swearingen. Second. Carried.

Motion by Dr. Bill Scoggin to award two scholarships in the amount of $300.00 each, for a total of $600.00. Second. Carried.

(signed)
Carolyn M. Buff
Executive Secretary/Treasurer

(signed)
Alan Korell
President

WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION, INC.
1988 ANNUAL MEETING MINUTES
Holiday Inn, Riverton, Wyoming
Sunday, April 10, 1988

PRESIDING: Deborah Chastain

CALL TO ORDER: 9:00 a.m.

MINUTES: Bob Randall read the minutes of the last annual meeting of April 5, 1987, held at the Bowtown in Casper. Motion by Susan Hughes to approve. Second. Carried.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Milford Hanson reported a total net worth of $3,819.39. The accounts were audited by Ray Gossett, Helen Bryant and Bonnie Johnson and found to be in order. Motion by Alan Korell to file for audit. Second. Carried.

SPECIAL MEETINGS MINUTES: Bob Randall read the minutes of the October 13, 1987 meeting in Saratoga and the November 21, 1987 meeting in Laramie. Amend the November 21 minutes to read Harley McKinney, not Hugh, and Wyoming Archaeo-
logical Foundation, not Wyoming Archaeological Society. Motion by Alan Korell to approve the minutes of October 13 as read and the amended minutes of November 21. Second. Carried.

FREDERICKS PROPERTY: Motion by George Zeimans to approve actions of the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Inc., in the purchase of the Fredericks property. Second. Carried.

BYLAWS: Motion by Carolyn Buff to approve the revisions to the Articles of Incorporation and Bylaws of the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Inc. Second. Carried.

The new board, as per the revised bylaws, then assumed their duties, with George Brox as pro tem chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: Motion by Alan Korell to cast a unanimous ballot for the officers: George Brox, president; Carolyn Buff, secretary; Milford Hanson, treasurer. Second. Carried.

President Brox announced the names of the board: Alan Korell, WAS incumbent president; Carolyn Buff, WAS immediate past president; George Brox, three-year term; Milford Hanson, two-year term; and George Zeimans, one-year term.

George Zeimans resigned his position as the one-year board member and recommended that Deborah Chastain be appointed to fill the position. Motion by Carolyn Buff to accept the resignation of Zeimans and the appointment of Chastain. Second. Carried.

NON-VOTING BOARD MEMBERS: Dr. Mark Miller (ex-officio) recommended the appointment of Dr. George Frison as the ex-officio professional from a four-year accredited Wyoming institution. Motion by Alan Korell to approve the appointment of Dr. George Frison. Second. Carried.

LEGAL COUNSEL: Motion by Milford Hanson to appoint Harley McKinney to the board as legal counsel. Second. Carried.

BUSINESS: George Zeimans reported that the deed to the Fredericks property needed to be filed in Goshen County and that we needed to obtain liability insurance.

Motion by Carolyn Buff to approve the actions of the Goshen County Centennial Committee to raise funds for the Hell Gap site as a "Lasting Legacy" project, with credit for the purchase and preservation of the site being given to the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation. Second. Carried.

Dr. Bill Scoggin requested that a newsletter be sent to the Wyoming Archaeological Society membership to keep them informed as to the status of events of the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation.

President Brox appointed George Zeimans to examine liability insurance rates and options, and begin the process for leasing grazing on the Fredericks property.

The next meeting of the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation, Inc., will be Saturday, May 14, 1988, at 1:40 p.m., at Crazy Tony's in Guernsey, Wyoming.

It was also reported that the property taxes are due by January 1 of each year and that the cost is approximately $0.50 per acre.

ADJOURN: 9:40 a.m.

(signed)
Carolyn M. Buff
Executive Secretary/Treasurer

(signed)
George Brox
President
WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION, INC.
MINUTES
Hell Gap site, Guernsey, Wyoming
Saturday, May 14, 1988

PRESIDING: George Brox

CALL TO ORDER: 3:00 p.m.

BOARD MEMBERS PRESENT: Carolyn Buff, Debbie Chastain, George Frison, Milford Hanson, Alan Korell, Mark Miller.

GUESTS PRESENT: Jim Buff, Dennis Eisenbarth, June Frison, Imogene Hanson, George Zeimens.

BUSINESS: Milford Hanson moved that the Hell Gap property be posted, but that no locks be used and that since liability insurance is not needed at this time, no purchase of same be made. Second. Carried.

George Frison recommended the following persons to serve on the advisory board: Vance Haynes, University of Arizona; Bruce Bradley, Crow Canyon Archaeological Center; Dennis Stanford, Smithsonian Institute; Steve Williams, Harvard University; Les Davis, Montana State University; Cynthia Irwin-Williams, Desert Institute; Richard Morland, National Museum of Man, Ottawa; Pete Mehringer, Washington State University; Larry Todd, Boston University; and James Wiseman, Boston University. These people will be contacted regarding their interest in serving on the advisory board.

George Frison moved that we recommend to Harley McKinney that he begin preparing a package to sell our "product," i.e., Hell Gap. Second. Carried.

Carolyn Buff moved that we give Harley McKinney $500.00 to pursue a video program, architectural designs, etc. Second. Carried.

After some discussion, it was decided that a letter be prepared and sent to each member of the Wyoming Archaeologi-
The 7th Annual World Class Atlatl Open was held at Fort Caspar, Wyoming on August 13, 1988. A large crowd from Caspar and the rest of Wyoming was in attendance. Over 20 people participated in the various divisions: youth, women's, men's, team and overall. In addition, the morning was spent flintknapping or watching flintknappers at work. Dr. Dennis Stanford, Smithsonian Institution Paleoindian Archaeologist, gave an evening lecture at Caspar College as part of the day long activities.

Plans are already being made to hold
next year's contest, also at Fort Caspar. This is an event that is drawing more and more attention throughout the country, resulting in more people learning about Wyoming archaeology.

Part of the excellent crowd that watched the festivities at Fort Caspar.

Casper Mayor Larry Clapp presents Youth Division First Place Trophy to Scott Laird, of Saratoga, Wyoming.
Casper Mayor Larry Clapp presents Womens Division First Place Trophy to Leni Clubb, of Cotillo, California.

Casper Mayor Larry Clapp presents Mens Division First Place Trophy to Bill Perkins, of Livingston, Montana.
Casper Mayor Larry Clapp presents Team Division First Place Trophy to Rod and Scott Laird, of Saratoga, Wyoming.

Casper Mayor Larry Clapp presents Overall Championship Trophy to Brian James, of Washington State University.
WYOMING'S FIRST PENITENTIARY:
ARCHAEOLOGY OF A VICTORIAN ERA CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

BY

JEFFREY L. HAUFF

Arrival of the Union Pacific Railroad into the territory later to become known as Wyoming brought with it not only prosperity, but also problems. April 1868 saw sale of building lots in Laramie City by the Union Pacific; by May 9th, tracks had reached the city, and the following day, the first train rolled into town (Triggs 1875). "Hell On Wheels" was certainly not a misnomer for early Laramie. The situation did not improve as the rails pushed westward. Territorial designation came on July 25, 1868, but disorder still reigned, with rowdy gangs and unscrupulous individuals controlling the streets. By the fall of the year, justice was in the hands of vigilante groups, with five men meeting their maker at the end of a rope. Laramie City was not a unique case as the rails moved to the west.

The need for law and order was quickly recognized as the land became settled, and with it, the need for a facility to house territorial criminals. A bill was passed by the Territorial legislature in December, 1869 to develop a penitentiary at Laramie City. In 1870, a parcel of land on the Laramie River west bank was selected for the building. By the spring of 1872 construction was underway. The first wing of the prison was completed in September of that year, with the first prisoners incarcerated the following January.

The initial wing consisted of a rectangular stone building measuring 40 feet wide by 70 feet long, enclosing a brick cell block of 42 cells. A single story brick addition containing a kitchen and dining room was joined to the main wing northwest corner. A wooden fence was constructed around the prison in 1875. Also in that year, a warden's/guard's residence was built by prisoner labor from stone quarried from the site. Inmates were employed in various tasks, including quarrying stone, brick making, and cutting and storing ice from the Laramie River for the Union Pacific Railroad.

An administration section and second cell block was added to the existing prison structure in 1889, doubling the number of cells at the penitentiary. The south wing cell block was similar to that of the north wing, except that cells were made of iron.

Several buildings were constructed on the prison grounds as support structures for activities that occurred at the site. One of these was built in 1892 as a workshop, and with an addition built in 1893, apparently served as a broom factory. Other structures were blacksmith shops, barns and livestock pens, root cellars, boiler houses, ice houses, and a bakery.

Wyoming became a state in July of 1890. Control of the prison was transferred to the new government in January 1891. In 1902, all prisoners were transferred to a new prison facility in Rawlins. Several convicts were temporarily returned to Laramie due to overcrowding at the Rawlins penitentiary, but by June 5, 1903, the Wyoming Territorial Prison was closed as a detention facility.

The Wyoming State Board of Charities and Reform transferred use of the penitentiary grounds in Laramie to the Uni-
University of Wyoming, College of Agriculture in 1902. The state legislature officially conveyed the property to the University in 1907 (Figure 1). The site has served as an experimental livestock farm since that time. Although many original structures have been removed, remodeled or otherwise modified, the prison building itself remains intact (Figure 2).

Conversion of the building into a dairy and stock barn, by removal of the cell blocks from each wing and construction of hay lofts, has been the major change to the prison (Figure 3). Twin tile silos were also added in 1925 to the east side of the building, but have not affected the overall integrity (Figure 4). Much of the original building fabric still exists, including iron barred windows, numerous sheet and barred iron doors, and two guard watch stations (Figure 5). A portion of the iron cell block, disassembled when the University took possession, has been returned to the site (Figure 6). In the early 1970s, due to deterioration of the structure, the old prison was vacated.

At least two other prison era structures still exist at the site: the warden's residence and broom factory, with possibility of a third, a tannery or tobacco shop. The warden's residence has been remodelled and now houses the stock farm manager. The workshop/broom factory was adapted into a livestock barn with removal of several interior partition walls and addition of shed structures and stock pens. The possible tannery/tobacco shop has been moved from its original location by the University and was used as a residence for hirdsmen. Most recently, it has served as an interpretive visitor center and laboratory for the University of Wyoming archaeological study of the site which began this past summer.

In 1977, the Wyoming Territorial

![Figure 1: Topographic map of University of Wyoming Stock Farm Property, 1910. (Photograph courtesy of American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming).](image-url)
Figure 2: Contemporary view of west side, Wyoming Territorial Prison building, showing north wing kitchen addition.

Figure 3: View of north wing loft area inside main prison building.

Prison and Warden’s Residence was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (Frasier 1977). Recognizing significance of the prison and adjacent property and the potential for economic development from tourism expansion, a committee was formed within the Laramie Area Chamber of Commerce in 1984 to preserve and promote the prison property. This committee has evolved into
the Wyoming Territorial Prison Corporation. This corporation has been instrumental in passage of state legislation in 1986 to acquire the property as a state historic site and park, and in passage of a one-percent Capital Facilities Sales Tax by Albany County voters for development of the Territorial Prison site. The historic site area will encompass some seven acres, to include
the prison and associated structures, and be administered by the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department (AMH). Restoration efforts are currently underway on the prison itself. The surrounding state park is currently planned to be developed into a living history "theme" park, interpreting eras of Wyoming history.

Archaeological investigations of the site began with appointment of this author as archaeological coordinator by the AMH Department in October 1987. Most of that winter was spent researching historical documents, a necessary first step when conducting historical archaeology. This, combined with initial architectural and structural studies conducted by Banner Associates, Inc. (the project architects) provided the first indications of archaeological potential at the site.

Geotechnical studies, including both coring and backhoe trenching, were designed to assess both soils of the site area and foundation conditions of the prison and associated buildings. An archaeological monitor of this work was conducted to: 1) minimize disturbance to cultural remains by directing backhoe trench locations away from known or suspected cultural features; 2) closely monitor earth disturbing activities in other areas, stopping excavation when cultural remains were uncovered, recording and evaluating such materials, and relocating trenches when remains proved to be significant; and 3) use the geotechnical study to identify archaeological deposits and features for future study.

Coring through concrete floors inside the prison revealed remnants of a brick floor and stone cell block foundation in the north wing, and an old concrete floor in the south wing. Evidence was also found for a cellar underlying the north wing floor. Backhoe trenches located adjacent to the prison foundation revealed not only details of construction techniques, but several features as well (Figure 7). A complex stratigraphic soil sequence was also noted.

During the spring of 1988, a contract and cooperative agreement was negotiated between the AMH Department and the Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, to provide an archaeological field study of the prison and adjacent grounds. A field school in historical archaeology was established as a component of this work. A key element in this plan was to develop an interactive program between archaeologists and visitors to the site. This would involve site tours and an interpretive center, where tourists could actually view an archaeological study in progress.

Archaeological investigations during this past summer have centered on the prison and specific areas around it, as these will be the first tracts to be affected during site development. Goals of the study were to: 1) collect information from the archaeological record to aid in accurate interpretation and re-
construction of the prison and associated activities; 2) provide another dimension to the visitor’s experience in revealing traces of this past era in both features and other remains, to be interpreted and preserved as archaeological discoveries; and 3) provide evidence and explanation of the social environment of this late nineteenth century Victorian era institution.

Archaeological discoveries at the prison to date include several significant finds. In the north wing, portions of both the cell block and underlying foundation have been exposed in excavation units (Figure 8). The suspected cellar has been proven to exist under the southern end of the north wing, as has a brick floor. These features will serve not only to aid in accurate dimensioning and technological restructuring of this 1872 wing, but also as preserved features to enhance visitor experience when the prison is opened.

South wing excavations still in progress have substantiated that at least a portion of the original floor was removed during stock farm remodeling. These also provide evidence of several episodes of changes to the building after it became university property. An as yet unopened test unit in the boiler room floor in the central administration section may verify that a cellar once existed in this location also.

Exterior excavations have also provided interesting attributes of the prison complex. A limestone bakery oven foundation has been nearly fully exposed on the north side of the building, another feature that can serve an important interpretive visitor function. Other exterior foundation remnants found this summer include both brick and stone remains of possible blacksmith and ice house structures. A channeled brick groundwater perimeter drain was found on the prison west side and probably encircles the building. This discovery has caused a reevaluation of the proposed restoration drainage system by the architects.

Portions of the old prison dump were located and tested through a combination of backhoe trenching and hand excavations. Distinctly stratified deposits were identified with an abundance of artifactual materials to address questions of commodity consumption and use.

A few feet from the northeast corner
of the building, a probable prehistoric fire hearth with associated stone artifacts has been excavated. With this find, another era of site occupation has been revealed.

The archaeological study by the University of Wyoming Anthropology Department has provided a wealth of information for reconstruction and interpretation of the historical site. These preliminary investigations have met intended goals of the project, and have provided information important to site development. Future research can, and will, enhance the overall character of this significant aspect of our cultural past.

REFERENCES CITED


Jeffrey L. Hauff Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office Department of Anthropology University of Wyoming Laramie, Wyoming 82071
HISTORIC JAPANESE SITES OF SOUTHWESTERN WYOMING

BY

A. DUDLEY GARDNER, MARKIA A. MATTHEWS, AND DAVID E. JOHNSON

ABSTRACT

Over the past four years, several historic Japanese sites have been identified in southwestern Wyoming. These sites are manifested by rock art panels, small villages, and cemeteries. The majority of these sites date to the early 1900s and reflect unique attributes not common in other late nineteenth and early twentieth century historic sites. This paper will focus on why Japanese immigrated to America, the settlement patterns of Japanese workers, and the material culture of Japanese immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

The Japanese, who entered Wyoming in the late nineteenth century, left behind unique remnants of their culture. These remains are found in historic rock art, ceramic sherds, and grave sites scattered throughout the state. Historic archaeological sites manifest the ways in which diverse groups adapted to Wyoming life. Western Wyoming College has concentrated its research efforts on this topic within the southwestern Wyoming region. However, other archaeological sites similar to the ones described in this paper would be expected to be found elsewhere in Wyoming and the Intermountain West. The Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad hired Japanese section workers in northeast Wyoming. In towns such as Acme, north of Sheridan, Japanese were hired to mine coal. Living in separate parts of the camp, the Japanese miners at Acme left behind a record of their heritage similar to that found in the southwestern area. The following briefly discusses why Japanese came to Wyoming, where they lived in southwestern Wyoming, and some of the historic artifacts they left behind.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

To gain an understanding of the Japanese presence in Wyoming, it is helpful to have a background of information leading to the immigration of Japanese into the state. This is necessary because the immigration of Japanese citizens to the United States via the Hawaiian Islands late in the nineteenth century was deeply rooted in Japan's history. To fully comprehend the dynamics of the immigration, as well as the Japanese experience as they struggled to adjust to a foreign environment, it is important to first understand the events in Japan which preceded the migration. The following briefly discusses the political and economic conditions in Japan between 1868 and 1910 that prompted the exodus to America, and offers a broad demographic account of the Japanese population in the western United States.

In 1868, Japan entered an era of rapid transformation with the ending of 256 years of Tokugawa feudalism, followed by the rise of a progressive leadership composed of the young and pliable 14-year-old Emperor Meiji and an administration of former vassals. These former daimyo (feudal landowners) and samurai (warrior-administrators) recognized that for Japan to assume equality with the European powers threatening Japan's independence, drastic political reforms and industrial modernization were essential. Borrowing extensively from Western technology, Meiji administrators proceeded to make the monumental change from a closed feudal agricultural economy, to an industrial economy dependent on international diplomacy and trade, and economic...
growth (Knoll 1982:50). The Meiji Restoration was accomplished in an unprecedented period of 40 years, with Japan emerging as an internationally recognized world power; however, these remarkable achievements were not attained without considerable cost. For Japan to ensure survival as a sovereign nation among the heavily industrialized Western nations, drastic measures were required which ultimately resulted in large numbers of dislocated Japanese (Daniels 1966).

Before the Meiji Period, Japan had a population of 30 million citizens. Between 1878 and 1888, the rural population began to increase dramatically. By 1900, Japan had experienced a population explosion to 46 million—an increase of over 50 percent in 50 years. Japan’s mountainous geography, in which less than 16 percent of the total land mass is cultivable, was unable to support the expanding populace because of scarcity of productive farmland. The increasing population among peasant farmers, combined with the shortage of arable land, created a situation which resulted in a vast rural reservoir of cheap labor (Isida 1961:93). Compounding this situation was the customary use of the primogeniture system, whereby the eldest son inherited the small family plot. This practice created a significant problem for sons not graced by birth order, and contributed heavily toward a rural exodus to Japan’s industrializing cities (Girdner and Loftis 1969:38).

Besides problems associated with an expanding rural population, taxation became an unbearable burden for most peasant farmers. In 1884, a leading English-language Japanese newspaper wrote:

"The depression . . . has increased month by month and year by year . . . Most of the farmers have been unable to pay their taxes . . . In more than one case self-destruction has been resorted to . . . If any other territory can support them then we should say that it would be a judicious step to get them there as fast as possible" (Daniels 1966:4).

The rural situation demanded attention, but just as desperate were the many displaced agricultural families hoping to find employment in urban industries. Despite their willingness to accept lower wages than established city residents, there were too many laborers for the developing industries to absorb. Drastic steps were required to alleviate the economic difficulties of Japan’s citizens.

In the midst of the costly industrialization, Japanese leaders were forced to acknowledge that the population had grown beyond the nation’s ability to feed or employ. The economic situation required action which contradicted over 250 years of protective policies prohibiting emigration. Further complicating the situation was a Meiji regime campaign to renegotiate unequal treaty relations with Western nations. To expedite the attempt to achieve a status equal to that of Western nations, Meiji leaders aggressively avoided any situation that could adversely affect national prestige. Japanese emissaries in America had witnessed the inferior status forcibly imposed on Chinese immigrants, which had resulted in the degradation of China’s standing as a nation. These diplomats accurately predicted that racial biases inherent in Western culture could lead to similar consequences for their own nation (Conroy and Miyakawa 1972). Nonetheless, Japan was compelled by intense economic realities to acknowledge the need to relocate its surplus of displaced peasants.

In April 1884, Japan lifted its sanctions against emigration. Between 1885 and 1894, nearly 30,000 Japanese contract laborers were actively recruited by the Hawaiian government to accommodate Hawaii's rapidly growing sugar industry (Daniels 1966:5). When their contract terms were fulfilled, many Japanese chose to immigrate to mainland America, where economic, if not social, conditions were more favorable (Girdner and Loftis 1969:36).

Contract labor in Hawaii became illegal under American law when Hawaii was
annexed in 1894 by white American landowners, but Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the mainland continued until the 1924 Immigration Act was passed prohibiting Japanese immigration. United States records of Japanese immigration from 1860 to 1924 indicate that approximately 275,000 Japanese immigrated to the mainland. Census records, however, give a more accurate account of the Japanese population in America. Census figures for both the Issel (first generation), and Nisei (American-born) population in California and the United States reflect this (Table 1). These figures do not reflect Japanese population figures for the Hawaiian Islands (Conroy and Miyakawa 1972:80).

The extent of Japanese immigration between 1890 and 1940 was infinitesimal in comparison to total immigration to the United States. As previously cited, approximately 275,000 Japanese immigrated to the United States during this period. Total United States immigration for the same period was approximately 25 million. In California, Japanese (both foreign and American-born) comprised only 2.1 percent of the state's population between 1900 and 1940. Japanese in the continental United States represented only 0.1 percent of the total population. Roger Daniels, author of several Japanese-American studies, noted that, "Considering the relative size of the Japanese immigration the amount of controversy it generated is almost ludicrous" (Daniels, 1966:1).

While the majority of Issel remained in California clustered in agricultural occupations, a good number, despite labor union antagonism, found their way into local industries by filling low wage positions vacated by Chinese laborers. Besides finding employment in domestic services such as laundries, hotels, and restaurants, many Issel found jobs in industries developing along the Pacific Coast that required little skill. These included the logging, fishing, and canning industries, as well as the coal-mining and railroad industries (Conroy and Miyakawa 1972:78). The mining and railroad companies were the primary industries responsible for the small numbers of Issel and Nisei found east of California.

Western railroads have a long history, dating back to the 1860s, of employing immigrants for railroad construction and maintenance. In addition, the railroad company-operated coal mines also hired large numbers of immigrants. Early in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, the company primarily hired European immigrant laborers. Shortly thereafter, imported Chinese laborers, who were willing to accept lower wages, threatened to displace white workers. This development induced intense labor union activity and discontent, which was perhaps made most apparent in Wyoming's Rock Springs Chinese massacre of 1885.

Following the massacre, in which 28 Chinese were killed by angry white Union Pacific coal miners (Isham 1985:26), the employment of Chinese in the mining and railroad industries gradually tapered off, leaving the Issel opportunities for employment. Also left by the Chinese was a legacy of racial bitterness by white laborers toward the Oriental race. These attitudes predominated throughout the west, perpetuated by company practices fostering racial tension (Isham 1985:14).

By 1900, 6,351 Japanese were employed on western railroad lines. In 1909, the railroad employed a peak of 10,000 Issel which gradually tapered to 4,300 in 1920. Those who remained with the railroad often sought positions requiring higher levels of skill at responsibl-
ity, and because they were valued as "peaceable, disciplined, conscientious, and dependable" (Culley 1982:47), many Isssei quickly succeeded in becoming foremen or skilled workers. This often necessitated transfers from one company to another, or between divisions of the same company to different locations. It was in this way that a small number of Japanese found their way into the state of Wyoming. Though only a tiny fragment of the Japanese immigration, these pioneers were truly a microcosm of the Japanese experience in America.

THE JAPANESE IN SOUTHWESTERN WYOMING

With the completion of the transcontinental railroad through southern Wyoming in 1868, coal towns began to develop. The development of the transcontinental railroad and coal industry in southwestern Wyoming was directly responsible for the initial large scale settlement of the region. Workers for the mines were recruited from all over the world. By 1890, Sweetwater County, Wyoming, the regional coal-mining center, had become an international community, with 2033 "Foreign Born Whites" and 333 Chinese, compared to only 1377 native-born whites and two American blacks. Among the most commonly listed places of birth in the 1890 census were England, Scotland, Russia (Finland), and Ireland (United States Census 1890). After the turn of the century, the home of origin for immigrants relocating in Sweetwater County included Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, Greece, Finland, Sweden, and Japan. The Union Pacific Railroad actively recruited these immigrants, and Rock Springs, the economic center of the area, became known as the "League of Nations," a term popular after World War I.

On April 22nd, 1899, a newspaper in Rawlins, Wyoming ran an article stating:

"The Union Pacific [Coal Company] is now trying Japanese miners at Rock Springs. If they prove a success, several hundred will be employed. The company claims it cannot get sufficient employees from other nationalities to get out the amount of coal that they desire (Carbon County Journal, April 22, 1899:3)."

The Japanese began to arrive in southwestern Wyoming in the late 1890s. By 1905, there were 436 Japanese immigrants in Sweetwater County. Most of the Japanese were initially employed as miners and railroad workers, but some later became shopkeepers, restaurant owners, and entrepreneurs. It was in the coal mines, however, where the largest numbers of Japanese were employed. Adjacent to the larger coal mining towns, such as Superior, Hanna, Frontier, and Rock Springs, so-called "Jap Towns" evolved. This slang term was used to label the segregated communities by their non-Japanese neighbors and appears on turn of the century maps. Coal companies often separated the Japanese from other immigrants. A 1907 map of Superior shows a Japanese community separate from the rest of the mining camp. Photographs and oral histories from this period also indicate that segregated Japanese communities were present in Rock Springs, Hanna, and Frontier (Figure 1).

At section camps along the Union Pacific mainline in southwestern Wyoming, quarters for Japanese are shown on turn-of-the-century railroad maps. The number of people living in these section camps varied between eight and fourteen people. By 1900, several section camps were primarily made up of Japanese workers. The majority of the section camps in Sweetwater County consisted of no less than 40 percent Japanese (United States Census 1901). By 1920, the number of Japanese nationals living in southwestern Wyoming began to decline, but the role they played in maintaining the railroad remained significant (Figure 2). Several worked their way up the ladder and became section foremen or obtained better jobs as suppliers to the various section camps.

The period between 1900 and 1940 was marked by fluctuations in the numbers of Japanese living in the region. This was probably due more to the harsh physical environment and changes in the economic
Figure 1: Map showing where Japanese towns were located in Wyoming. Map also shows locations of Japanese rock art and ceramic sites.
Figure 2: Map of Point of Rocks, Wyoming, showing location of Japanese houses at this Union Pacific Railroad section town.
climate of the area than to the serious racial tension experienced along the Pacific Coast. From all accounts, the Japanese of Sweetwater County fared better than the Chinese who preceded them. While racial prejudice was evident, it was of a more subtle variety than experienced by the Chinese in earlier years. Yet, despite a relatively stable racial environment, the number of Japanese in the area fell from the 436 in 1905, to 187 in 1940.

Unfortunately for the Japanese of the region, World War II brought with it increased racial tensions. Possibly due to the diverse ethnic make-up of Rock Springs, the prejudice resulting from the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, while evident, did not manifest itself in the extremes seen in other parts of the country. Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, the Japanese, Italian, and German "aliens" in Rock Springs and surrounding areas were ordered to register. The Rock Springs Daily Rocket chronicled this registration, concentrating on the Japanese population in Sweetwater County. Among the first to register were the Japanese miners (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 10, 1941:1). Only four days after Pearl Harbor, the paper reported:

"Sheriff officers in Green River denied rumors circulating yesterday in Rock Springs that a colored man in Green River had attacked a Japanese, seriously injuring him. Officers said the registration had been orderly and that no disturbances had occurred. All Japanese are being urged to stay at home and avoid public places as much as possible for the present time" (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 11, 1941:1).

Two days later, the Union Pacific Railroad ordered time-keepers in Rock Springs to "freeze all paychecks of Japanese nationals" (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 13, 1941:1).

Besides Japanese registration, Italians and Germans were soon required to obtain certificates of identification. An article in the Rock Springs Daily Rocket on February 7, 1942, entitled "500 Alien Enemies Are Expected to Register in Springs Before February 18," notified these nationalities that they would have to carry identification cards with photographs on them. A later article, published February 26, claimed that there were not 500 aliens in Sweetwater County, but this article was published after the removal of the Japanese (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 13, 1942:1). On February 13, "all Japanese nationals employed by the Union Pacific Railroad in the area were dismissed . . ." (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 13, 1942:1). Since the Japanese all lived in housing owned by the railroad, termination of their jobs also meant the loss of their homes. The article goes on to state:

"Japanese nationals . . . were given notice to have their belongings and families aboard special cars spotted at sections preparatory to being transported to Salt Lake City or Cheyenne. They were given three days in which to comply, it was reported.

"The sheriff's office reported that no official orders had been received here for removal or evacuation, but it was understood that the railroad took the step as a precautionary measure . . ."

"It is not known how many Japanese will be affected by the railroad's action, but it was stated officially that Japanese nationals not employed by the railroad would not be affected" (Rock Springs Daily Rocket, February 13, 1942:1).

In essence, the Japanese working the mines were not affected, but those working for the railroad lost their jobs. In the words of one local resident whose family was affected by this action:

"My brother was one of them. I was lucky; I was at school then. But heck, you come home, and they laid off all the citizens, noncitizens, whatever, up and down this line . . . You were just off the property. You couldn't even be close
to the railroad. Then the railroad comes right through the city (Rock Springs), and there was people living right alongside the railroad tracks in the city. It didn’t make much sense (Okaro in Gardner and Johnson 1986:58).

Indeed, Japanese did continue to live in Rock Springs and the surrounding coal camps. The Japanese even continued making "powder dummies" (used with blasting charges in the mines). But after World War II, their numbers dwindled (Gardner and Johnson 1986:29, Rock Springs Daily Rocket, December 10, 1941:1). For example, in 1940, 130 Japanese lived in Sweetwater County; by 1950, only 63 remained (United States Census 1942; 1950). In the 1950s, Union Pacific switched from coal-fired engines to diesel-powered locomotives. The result was the closure of the coal mines in southwestern Wyoming. With the closing of the coal mines, the number of Japanese living in the area dwindled even further. Today only a few descendants of the original immigrants remain in the Rock Springs-Green River area.

**HISTORICAL REMAINS**

As a result of the Japanese living in southwestern Wyoming, archaeological sites exhibiting unique characteristics have been recorded. Most commonly these sites are found in association with abandoned railroad sections camps and coal-mining towns. Japanese culture: material found at these sites date from the 1890s to 1930. Usually these sites exhibit Japanese ceramics, rock art, or grave sites. Ceramics are hard to isolate to user. Admittedly, anyone could purchase Japanese imports and use them. However, the majority of the ceramics found in southwestern Wyoming came from sites that had known Japanese communities. The rock art and grave sites, to their Japanese inscription, are easily identifiable with this ethnic group.

Japanese ceramics were found at nine sites in southwestern Wyoming. These sites include railroad section camps of Kamba and Wilkins, and coal camps of Winton, Dunes, Reliance, Superior, Gilbralter, Gunn, and Cumberland. A total of 32 sherds representing nineteen vessels were found at these sites. Except for a single earthenware crock base found at Winton, all vessels are hard-paste semiporcelain. Four of the vessels are commonly classified as rice bowls. The term "rice bowl" is a name commonly given to a tapered bowl. In the Far East, these bowls were actually used for all types of food and drink; hence, the term rice bowl is something of a misnomer. The remaining fifteen vessels are Euro-American style tableware. Six vessels are saucers, three vessels are cups or mugs, one is a bowl, one a sugar bowl, one an earthenware crock base, and the remaining three are unidentified tableware.

A wide variety of decorative types and patterns were found on these sherds. Thirteen of the nineteen vessel fragments are decorated. Eight of the thirteen have handpainted designs, four have transfer printed designs, and one has an overglaze decal design. Sherds of the remaining six vessels are undecorated. Of the eight handpainted vessels, six of the designs are landscapes, one is a floral design, and one consists of nine hail-like, and broccoli, brush strokes. The four vessels with transfer print designs possess traditional Japanese motifs, including the dragon pearl, which is one of the eight Chinese treasures, the three friends motif, and a "coma mon" motif. The singular decal design consists of a floral motif (Figure 3).

The Japanese ceramics found in southwestern Wyoming cover a wide range of dates. The earliest vessels are portions of two rice bowls, one of which was found at Wilkins, and the other at Cumberland. The bowls resemble those found at Walnut Grove, California and at Rocky Point, Oregon. The rice bowls found at Walnut Grove date from the late 1890s (Nagsak 1985). The rice bowls from Rocky Point date to the late 19th and possibly early 20th centuries (Nagsak 1985). Using the comparative data from California and Oregon, it can be assumed the bowls found at Wilkins
Figure 3: Rice bowl with classic bamboo, pine and plum motifs.

and Cumberland date to the late 1890s.

Three vessels date to the "Made in Nippon" period of 1891 to 1920. These were found at the coal-mining towns of Superior and Gibraltar. Between 1891 and 1920, most vessels manufactured in Japan were stamped "Made in Nippon" (Figure 4). Eleven vessels can be dated to the "Made in Japan" period that dates between 1920 and 1940. A single sherd was found which dates to the "Made in Occupied Japan" period of 1946 to 1952. The remaining four vessels could not be dated.

The dated vessels thus span a period of almost sixty-one years. Interestingly, this time span correlates with the period in which the first major imports of Japanese ceramics were shipped to America. Imports to America began appearing in the late 1800s; however, at the turn of the century, these imports increased. This is reflected in the appearance of Japanese ceramic sherds found at the historic sites scattered across southwestern Wyoming. More research is needed to substantiate exact time of ceramic importations, but cursory examination points to increased numbers of Japanese wares appearing in southwestern Wyoming sites after 1900.

Besides sites in which ceramic sherds were evident, there have been three sites recorded which exhibit Japanese rock art. The common element in each of these sites is the use of Japanese characters. All were carved or pecked into sandstone from the Mesa Verde formation near Rock Springs. They are located near either abandoned coal mining towns or close to section camps. All three of these petroglyph sites have been translated, thereby enabling a partial determination of the purposes and identities of the artists.

At Gunn, a historic coal-mining town northeast of Rock Springs, a set of inscriptions giving a person's name and place of origin was found. The name inscribed on the petroglyph is Shozo Mura. According to the inscription, he came from the village of O Hashi Mura in
This sugar bowl has hand painted landscape scenes.

Mitsui gun province, Fukuoka Ken district, Japan (Okano 1983). Unfortunately, this particular panel is not dated, and his status in America (whether he was a miner or a visitor) is not known.

North of Thayer Junction, a historic section camp approximately twelve miles east of Rock Springs, another panel was found beneath a sandstone overhang. The characters were inscribed on a sandstone slab measuring roughly five meters wide by ten meters long (Figure 5). The panel is divided into two distinct areas. To the west, there is a segment detailing the date and time the panel was carved. The eastern side exhibits a tombstone. Translated, the words within this etched tombstone read "The tomb of Nakasaga Kenichi." To the left of the tombstone, the name of the man who carved the panel is given. Specifically, the words translate, Yamawaki, March 25, 1922 or 1923 (Yabuki 1985). The translator stated that the rock art was carved in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Taishyo. Because the Japanese did not use the Gregorian calendar at that time, the translator held that there was some difficulty in determining the precise year. The inscription poses some interesting questions. There is the possibility that Nakasaga Kenichi is buried at this spot, or it could possibly be a memorial placed there by his friend Yamawaki.

The third rock art panel, located between Thayer Junction and the historic coal town of Superior, exhibits two nude oriental adults (Figure 6). These male and female figures are placed head to head, and together measure 6.3 meters long by 1.3 meters wide. Several Japanese characters are carved above the male. Although the inscriptions are facing and vandalism has taken its toll on the panel, oral histories provided enough information to determine the identity of the artist. Paul Horiuchi, who worked for the Union Pacific Railroad for 16 years, was among the Japanese fired during World War II by the Union Pacific for racial reasons. He currently lives in Seattle, Washington and is an acclaimed artist. According to Horiuchi (1986), he carved this panel in 1926, and the Japanese inscription above the male figure states "World, watch my future."

Of particular interest is that Mr. Horiuchi was selected as an exhibiting artist for the World Fair in Seattle in 1962. In response to the anti-Japanese sentiment which resulted in his sudden forceful evacuation from his home adjacen-
cent to the railroad during World War II, he burned the paintings he had created before 1941 (Horiiuchi 1986). This rock art panel serves as one of few examples of his early work still existing (Figure 6).

The final focus on identifiable Japanese features centers on various Japanese cemeteries evident throughout southwestern Wyoming. These cemeteries were located near towns that had large Japanese communities. Superior had a substantial Japanese population as early as 1907. The Japanese graves occupy the southeastern corner of the Superior cemetery. Hanna is another coal town that had a sizeable Japanese community at the turn of the century. Again, the tombstones were located in the southeast corner of the cemetery. The southeastern location of the sites in the two cemeteries may well have had some religious significance to the transplanted Japanese, but this speculation has not yet been substantiated.

The tombstones carved by Japanese workers and families for their fellow countrymen tell much about the lives of these emigrants. Most of the markers at sites near Superior and Hanna date to
the early part of the twentieth century. Most tombstones give the name of the deceased and the place of birth in Japan. Some tombstones were for children; however, most were for men. An example of a typical inscription is seen on a tombstone at Hanna. The tombstone inscription translates as follows: "The tomb of Yoko Kobidaishi, who from Fukuko County, died on April 9th, the fourth year of the Taishyo Era [1915]." At the Hanna cemetery, Fukuko County is the most common place of origin. Nine markers were for former residents of Fukuko County. The other birthplaces recorded on tombstones include two from Hiroshima and Fukusho County, and one each from Sanku, Tekon, Jichon, Kosan, and Jiga Counties. At Hanna, eighteen tombstones list the immigrant's place of origin; half of these list Fukuko County as the home of origin. Since there is little historic data concerning where the immigrants came from in Japan, the tombstones provide invaluable information for those attempting to determine points of origin for Japanese emigrating to the United States.

The tombstones noted at Hanna and Superior were made from a variety of materials, and varied in style. The principal common element in the tombstones were the Japanese inscriptions. The more elaborate tombstones found in Superior were designed with two bowls built in the front to receive food offerings or flowers. At regular intervals, food was taken to the grave. The deceased who had relatives living in the area received more attention, but an attempt was made to tend all graves (Sunada 1986). Child burials were not

Figure 6: Paul Horiuchi rock art panel north of Thayer Junction. Japanese characters above these figures read "World watch my future."
uncommon, and the tombstones imitated the American practice of placing a lamb atop the marker (Figures 7, 8). Tombstones found at the Hanna cemetery were somewhat larger than those found at Superior. Wooden markers were also used at Superior. In several cases where wood was used, the English translation was used in place of the Japanese characters found on the marble grave stones. At Hanne, several rough sandstone markers were used instead of finished stone. These rough sandstone markers all exhibited Japanese characters, and none had English translations on the stone. The sandstone came from nearby outcrops, and except for the area around the Japanese characters, no attempt was made to modify the stone.

CONCLUSIONS

The Japanese sites recorded by Western Wyoming College over the past four years possess characteristics which make them suitable for further research. In general, most of the diagnostic artifacts date between the late 1890s and 1950. At most of the abandoned coal mining towns and section camps, intact historic deposits are evident. In addition, Euro-American artifacts were found at these sites. Excavation of the intact deposits could increase our understanding of how ethnic groups interacted. Moreover, excavation could provide data about dietary patterns of the diverse ethnic groups at these sites. The dietary patterns of ethnic groups in the west have been addressed by historical archaeologists (e.g., Teague and Shenk 1977:113, 184-185), but our knowledge of the types and varieties of foods consumed by immigrant populations is not perfectly understood. Questions about whether immigrants, such as the Japanese, were able to consume foods similar

Figure 7: Headstone at Superior, Wyoming, cemetery. This tombstone for a young girl reads "Died on May 25, Fifth Year of Dazheng, elder daughter of Tian Daos, just three years old."
to what they ate in Japan can be addressed by analysis of botanical specimens and faunal remains. If the Japanese did consume imported foods, the question of how much and what kind of food could be addressed through excavation of outhouses and trash pits. By analyzing the data, it will be possible to determine whether the Japanese imported food or modified their dietary habits to fit the new environment. The thrust of future historical archaeological efforts should focus on increasing our knowledge regarding the amount and rate of assimilation or cultural modification occurring once a Japanese immigrant moved into nineteenth and early twentieth century western America.

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