
Retrospective: My Life in Prairie Archaeology

Alice B. Kehoe[†]

WHEN I ARRIVED IN NORTHERN Montana in June 1956, fresh out of Barnard College, to take a summer job as Assistant in the Museum of the Plains Indian in Browning, Tom Kehoe had just completed his archaeological survey of the Blackfeet Reservation, and Dick (Richard) Forbis had begun his job as archaeologist with the Glenbow Foundation in Calgary. Boyd Wettlaufer, born in Saskatchewan, had worked the summers of 1951, 1952, and 1957 conducting the first archaeological survey of the province of Saskatchewan and then excavating at Mortlach (EcNI-1) in 1952, and Long Creek (DgMr-1) in 1957, the latter in advance of anticipated destruction by dam constructions. Bill (William) Mayer-Oakes worked at Long Creek with Wettlaufer, later taking employment as Professor of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba in 1962. Robert Nero, an ornithologist with archaeological experience in Wisconsin, joined the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History in 1955 and worked at the Oxbow Dam site the next year as did Bruce McCorquodale, the paleontologist at the Museum. Scotty (Richard S.) MacNeish had been senior archaeologist at the National Museum of Canada since 1949, encouraging and supporting archaeology in Saskatchewan. With the exception of Wettlaufer, all archaeologists working in Saskatchewan at the time were Americans, the few professionally qualified Canadian archaeologists being uninterested in the prairie. In

addition to the handful of professionally credentialed American archaeologists, there were an impressive number of intelligent, observant avocational archaeologists active in the province.

The Dirty Thirties had frustrated a generation of bright prairie people who could not even obtain the few bushels of wheat accepted for tuition at the University of Saskatchewan. Bruce McCorquodale, of Moose Jaw, was one whose powerful scientific talent blossomed as he became a respected paleontologist, archaeologist and, eventually, Director of the Provincial Museum of Alberta. John and Jean Hodges of Regina led local avocational archaeologists in carefully documented excavations at Stony Beach and other sites, eagerly cooperating with professionals whenever opportunity came. Avocational archaeologists laid the foundation of Prairie archaeology, as they continue to build it within the provincial archaeological societies.

Barnard College taught me and my classmates Dena Ferran Dincauze, Elizabeth von Till Warren, and Alice Ann Stofer Johnson that we were bright and should follow our talent into professional careers. We were somewhat like the Dirty Thirties generation, in that society had no concern that we should fulfill our potential. Just as other members of this

[†]Professor of Anthropology, emeritus,
Marquette University, 3014 N. Shepard Ave.,
Milwaukee, WI, USA 53211-3436
[akehoe@uwm.edu]

generation, we were expected to marry a good person, raise a family, work steadily, and maybe choose to do a little archaeology as a hobby, on Sunday afternoons. Barnard's president lectured us each year to demand the same opportunities offered to our male peers, the Columbia College men across Broadway. Marry a good man, have a family, she recommended, do just as men do: along with their professional work. By the time I graduated, I had attended Glenn Black's archaeological field school at Angel Mounds, Indiana, been on J. Charles Kelley's excavation crew at the Schroeder site in Durango, Mexico, and that of Melvin Fowler at Modoc Rockshelter in southern Illinois. In addition, I had been an aide in the Anthropology Department of the American Museum of Natural History for five years. It was my résumé that won me my first post-college job, the summer assistantship at the Museum of

the Plains Indian—that, and my application listing my age (young), height (5'4"), and weight (120 lbs.); Tom, age 29 and single, longed for a girlfriend to share his interests.

On September 15, the Museum of the Plains Indian closed its tourist season and so ended the assistantship job. To my parents' consternation, I did not return east. Tom, like me, had been accepted for graduate work at Harvard but first he formally had to finish his M.A. at the University of Washington. He proposed marriage and collaboration; I gladly accepted. That first year, I typed his Master's thesis, the classic tipi ring study published in 1960 by the Bureau of American Ethnology. We excavated some tipi rings on the Blackfeet Reservation in the fall (Figure 1), and then drove to Seattle where Tom had to take the required German language graduate exam. Afterward, we jointly



FIGURE 1. Alice Kehoe excavating a tipi ring on the Blackfeet Reservation in the fall of 1956.

checked his references at the University of Washington library in Seattle and noted that William Mulloy, in his usually cited discussion on tipi rings, had overlooked Washington Matthews' polite rebuttal of T.H. Lewis' doubts about the function of tipi rings. Following Lewis, Mulloy argued that they were "manifestations of unknown relationship," although Matthews had stated, in a comment appearing in smaller print at the end of the article, that during his years of service in the Dakotas, he had seen hundreds of tipis pulled up, leaving rings of stones. This discovery was nonetheless a coup on Professor Mulloy!

Tom's research on the Montana Blackfeet reservation was supervised by Claude E. Schaeffer (1901–1969), Director of the Museum of the Plains Indian from 1947 to 1954, when he left due to ill health. He returned to this post from 1959 to 1966 after Tom left for Saskatchewan. Schaeffer considered himself primarily an ethnologist, although he had worked as an archaeologist at Irene Mound in 1938, and as assistant state archaeologist for Pennsylvania from 1940 to 1947. Schaeffer was a student of Clark Wissler at Yale from 1932 to 1937 and of Frank Speck between 1937 and 1940 while completing his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. A quiet man respected by Indian people, Schaeffer taught Tom to seek out older women and men, bring tobacco, and let them tell him what their grandparents had said about tipis and camps. Schaeffer wasn't in Browning during the three years I lived there, but learning how to do Prairie archaeology from Tom, I can say I am in Frank Speck's academic lineage.

Of course, I am also a Boasian. At Barnard College, we had courses from Gladys Reichard, one of Boas' students who was fanatic about Papa Boas. Prob-

ably suffering from early dementia in the 1950s, Reichard died the summer of my junior year, leaving us majors to profit from Nathalie Woodbury's astute good sense. We Barnard majors took archaeology at Columbia with Dick Woodbury and Duncan Strong. Waiting for Tom to finish his M.A., the year in Browning gave me the opportunity to read, experience everyday life in the Rez agency town, see the beauty and challenges of the High Plains, and come to know that sublime, numinous "mountain high."

We spent mid-September 1957 to June 1958 in Cambridge, taking graduate courses at Harvard (or rather, "Peabody," as we had nothing to do with anything outside that building). Classmates included Tom's friends from the University of Washington Alan Bryan and Jimmy Hirabayashi, George Cowgill (favored by Clyde Kluckhohn because he, like Kluckhohn, had his B.A. in physics), Jim Deetz, Dave Gradwohl, Don Lathrap, Lee Parsons, Betsey Garland, Cynthia Irwin(-Williams), Ruth Gruhn, Fumiko Ikawa(-Smith), and my Barnard classmate Dena Dincauze, by then married to a Columbia boy who went into stockbroking. Dena and I had something else in common that first year of graduate studies at Harvard, baby boys. The faculty at Peabody still was weighted with wealthy men (Phil Phillips, Steve Williams, Hallam Movius) and men who had married wealth (Gordon Willey). Our advisor, J.O. ("Jo") Brew, was neither, so was given all the no-account students from nowhere to advise (all the women, Tom, Alan, Dave Gradwohl) and non-prestigious assignments such as the national Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains. Jo cared about us, and we appreciated that, however little it helped.

The next two summers we spent excavating fulltime at the Boarding School

bison drive in the Cut Bank valley near Browning, with Ruth Gruhn supervising the crew in 1958 (Figure 2) and Sally Watrous in 1959. Tom divided his time between the site and the Museum whereas I worked at the Museum taking care of the lab processing and little Danny. Funds for the dig came from the Louis W. and Maud Hill Family Foundation, supplemented by the efforts of our Browning neighbor and Justice of the Peace, Bob Scriver, who knocked a day off the jail sentences if the individuals volunteered to go out digging. All the guys were convicted only of drunkenness and nearly all were local Blackfeet. They all were happy to be outdoors and grateful for the baloney sandwiches I made for their lunch (Figure 3). They also

appreciated the small packages of Bull Durham tobacco and cigarette papers. The lab work was mostly identifying bison bones, determining the age and sex of the animals, identifying cut marks, and tabulating the minimum number of individuals (MNI). Tom had learned faunal analysis from Ted White on a River Basin Surveys dig in North Dakota, and this was one of the first projects to integrate faunal analysis into the fieldwork (Kehoe and Kehoe 1960). Tom had obtained a cow and a calf skeleton from the Crow Reservation herd, and a big old bull from the National Bison Range in Moiese that had been slowly dying on its feet. When the animal was finally down, the Range staff phoned and Bob Scriver drove Tom in his pickup over the moun-



FIGURE 2. Blackfeet Elders examine the drawings of Kehoe's assistant, Ruth Gruhn who is drawing bison bones at the Boarding School Bison Drive.



FIGURE 3. Photograph of Joe Kicking Woman standing near the excavation profile at the Boarding School site, Cut Bank Creek, Montana.

tains. The two men skinned and butchered the bison by the vehicle headlamps, only to realize the next morning that the animal was infested with maggots. By then, the carcass was already in the truck so they returned and dumped the animal into Bob's taxidermy yard. Bob got one of the jailbirds to bone the carcass, and it became a magnificent faunal specimen. He also got the hide and mounted it.

As Justice of the Peace, Scriver married us in Browning and we remained good friends, insofar as anyone was a friend of Bob's. I knew he was dying of old age when, for the first time, he bought me a cup of coffee at lunch in Browning's Red Crow Kitchen. Until then, he insisted that we buy his books from him, even though he charged us \$5 more than at Preston Miller's Four Winds Trading Post by St. Ignatius. Further, when we joined him and his wife for a meal, it was always Dutch treat. Although Bob had grown up in Browning where his father operated a dry goods store, he never learned to speak Blackfoot. That didn't stop him from deciding he would follow Blackfoot religion during the 1970s, when he bought medicine bundles and attempted to have them properly transferred to him and his wife. Bob's claim that his purchases kept the bundles, other holy objects, heirlooms and regalia on the Rez rather than in private collections is true. He was competing against the amoral John Hellson who paid people to steal objects and who himself stole from museums (New York Times, September 27, 1981). At the same time, receiving a million dollars for his collection from the Provincial Museum of Alberta after he gave up Blackfoot religion more than compensated Scriver for his trouble. Bottom line, the bundles, the holy pipes and other treasures remain in Blackfoot country, their whereabouts known.

In 1958, I figured out that if I could get six credits from Harvard for an independent research paper, those credits and the credits I had from graduate-level courses at Columbia would add up to the equivalent of a semester and would save me the time and heavy expense of another semester in residence (Tom's M.A. earned him credit). At the time, Tom sought out serious collectors in Montana to learn the area's range of sites and artifacts. Usually accompanied by Tom, I visited collectors and corresponded with others such as Ken Cronk in Saskatoon, systematically examining and recording sherds. We spent a week in Calgary at the Glenbow examining Forbis' collections, already written up by James B. Griffin in a manuscript Dick never mentioned to us. These data went into my first professional paper entitled "Ceramic Affiliations in the Northern Plains" published in *American Antiquity* in 1959, and fulfilled the credit requirements for Harvard. Even though I clearly have priority in naming wares and varieties, only Mary Malainey (1991:10–13) acknowledged this in her Master's thesis from the University of Saskatchewan. In his study of ceramic assemblages from Alberta, Byrne (1973) defined what he called the Saskatchewan Basin complex, whereas Reeves (1969) identified Ethridge ware as distinctive of the Old Women's phase. It was a man's world then.

A couple of incidents serve to illustrate the challenges of making one's mark in a man's world back then. For example, I never saw the ceramic assemblages at the University of Montana in Missoula. In his reply to my letter asking to see the collections, Malouf indicated that he was too busy to show me around. Later, when Tom and I attended the Montana Academy of Sciences meeting in Missoula, Malouf saw me and invited me to

his lab that evening. When I said I'd ask Tom if we were free then, Malouf leered and told me, "You. Not Tom." I declined.

At the SAA meeting following my paper's publication, Griffin collared Tom and angrily said, "How dare your wife pre-publish my data!" I wasn't at the meeting because there was no money for both of us to attend. Tom's genuine surprise made Jimmy realize that, as Tom assured him, Dick had never told us of his analysis sitting in a file drawer at Glenbow. From then on, Jimmy (as well as Dick) was friendly to us.

Not all incidents and encounters were so negative. One of the collectors we visited at the time was Paul Janetski. Many years later, the Utah archaeologist Joel Janetski introduced himself to me at a SAA meeting, telling me that he was Paul's teenage son when we visited. Watching us discuss the artifacts with his dad, Joel determined to become a professional archaeologist himself.

At the 1959 SAA meeting, Tom was at a urinal in the hotel men's room and Scotty MacNeish was at the next one. Scotty noticed Tom's name tag and asked him whether he was seriously interested in the Saskatchewan Provincial Archaeologist position. Scotty, then at the National Museum in Ottawa, had been asked to evaluate candidates and recommend one. Tom took advantage of the opportunity to tell how our research on Blackfoot pointed to following them to their contact-period territory in western Saskatchewan. Scotty was impressed and Tom got the job! We moved to Regina after the Museum in Browning closed to tourists in September of that year.

In Regina, Tom was a curator in the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History (SMNH, not yet Royal) with an office and a lab in the basement. We quickly hooked up with John and Jean

Hodges and the local avocational archaeologists, including Gil Watson and Bill Long both of whom are still active. With them, we organized the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society and put out its newsletter, assembling it on our dining table. Ken Cronk in Saskatoon was another leading avocational archaeologist. Bob Nero, a SMNH staff member, gave some assistance but he was highly temperamental.

Regina at that time, 1959, had a shortage of housing: we lived in a tent in the slough end of Wascana Park for more than a month, then rented a little tickytack box house on the last north-side street with city water—there was a pump nearby where families living beyond the main came with buckets to get their water. Then Ruby Apperley, the Museum secretary, told us that a house across McIntyre Street from hers was going to be vacant because her friend would be moving to another city, and we should talk to Mr. Blackhurst, the owner, right away. Ruby's friend arranged for us to meet him in the house, and he accepted us as tenants. Half a block from the Museum and from Wascana Park, it was ideal. Ruby's friend was, like her, an English war bride, and after Mr. Blackhurst left, she told me that he was an excellent landlord, always right there for repairs and upkeep, but as he was only a maintenance man—supervisor of maintenance for the Regina school system!—of course one would not invite him in. That was my unforgettable lesson in the English class system, never mind that he owned the property.

Two more semesters were needed for us to get our degrees from Harvard. We were in Cambridge the spring and fall of 1960. I took my exams in the spring and passed easily, in part because it was the first beautiful day in May and all

five examining professors were blissed out with the weather. Tom, to whom academic reading did not come easy, took his exam in the fall. I sat outside the closed room waiting. Suddenly loud noises erupted behind the door which flew open as four professors stalked out angrily, followed by Tom and Jo Brew.

Harvard guaranteed its graduates were competent four-field anthropologists. For an anthropology degree, we were required to read all the books on a list of 100 or so. One of the books was Radcliffe-Brown and Forde's *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. The social anthropology professor asked him about the book, and Tom replied that it had no relevance for him because he was an American Plains archaeologist well launched on his career and so had not read it. The professor said he could not be passed unless he was prepared on every book on the list. Tom repeated that he was not going to be an academic, his field was Northern Plains archaeology and museum work (i.e., material culture); therefore, he would not read an irrelevant book. Jo pleaded with the other professors, to no avail. Tom could come back to try again once he had read that book, otherwise he would have to leave. That is why Tom remained ABD. I agreed he was right, and that he didn't need that diploma to succeed in his career. But I, as a woman in a man's field, did need the doctorate, and should finish a dissertation. Tom had no problem with that.

Here was the irony. When we met with Jo Brew to discuss our dissertations, Tom outlined his project to excavate the Gull Lake bison drive (Figure 4) and I described my intention to excavate François' House, a fur trade post. The sites are nearly 700 km apart, the research questions complementary but different;

one to establish a deep stratigraphic chronology for the southwest of the province, the other to establish contact-period indices. Jo shook his head

"Alice, you can't do archaeology. Everyone will say Tom did it for you."

"But... but... we'll be working at the same time, we'll be finishing at the same time, no one can do two dissertations simultaneously!"

"I'm not saying I think Tom could do two at once, I'm saying that people will just assume Tom wrote yours, too. You'll have to find a topic in ethnology."

"But I'm prepared in North American archaeology!"

"Well, we teach four-field here, so you can do ethnography, too."

And that was that. Jo meant well for us and was no doubt correct; it would be four years before the U.S. Civil Rights



FIGURE 4. Tom Kehoe examining the Avonlea layer at the Gull Lake site.

Act was passed, including forbidding discrimination on the basis of gender.

Summer of 1960, Tom had his crew at Gull Lake, with me as field director; 1963, Gil Watson assisted (Figures 5 and 6). That summer of 1960, I cooked for the crew of seventeen as well as taking charge of the project during the many days Tom had to be elsewhere in the province checking on other archaeological projects and reports of finds. John W. Bennett, a senior anthropologist at Washington University in St. Louis, had written us asking that we accept him and his seventeen-year-old son Mike as volunteers. He said it would be the last summer he could bond with his son, and this would be a good way to do so. What could we do but accept them: Bennett was not only older and respected, but

had trained in archaeology with Fay-Cooper Cole. (According to the gossip from the Kincaid site field school in Illinois, Bennett and Scotty had vied for the hand of pretty June Helm. Scotty had won² and John huffed out of archaeology, claiming it was too simplistic). In camp, we noticed that John hung out with us and whatever other adults were around, while Mike was always with the student crew until he and his father retired to their tent for the night. Finally, I asked John whether there wasn't more to his presence than bonding with Mike, and he admitted that he had devised a study in small-group behavior, an isolated camp composed of people who had not previously known each other being a good experiment. Although I felt John should have told us this, by the time we

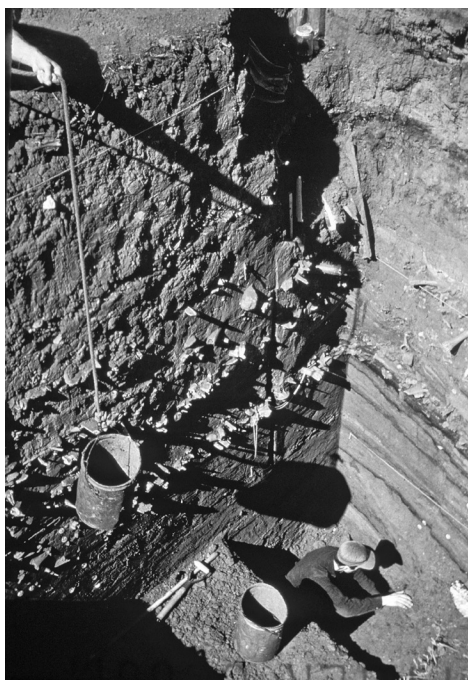


FIGURE 5. Eugene Gryba excavating at the Gull Lake site.



FIGURE 6. Alice Kehoe and son Danny help James Mertz expose bison skulls at the Gull Lake site.

talked, he had proved so helpful that I couldn't be angry. Particularly, John would praise my cooking, looking round the table and remarking, "This is really flavorful!" The youths would cease grumbling. John confessed to me that "really flavorful" did not necessarily mean good flavor. In August, the man hired to do a survey of the South Saskatchewan River Valley quit, unable to take the oven-like heat and discouraged by the lack of finds. Since the survey was limited to the floodplain of the valley, floods and channel shifts appear to have destroyed most of the sites in the valley. John had given up his experiment because Mike got appendicitis and spent two weeks in the Swift Current Hospital, the doctor not willing to release him earlier to field camp living. John was with his son daily, and two weeks lost in the study nullified it. In spite of being in his mid-forties and a senior person professionally, John took over the South Saskatchewan survey and completed it satisfactorily.³ A spin-off from his two weeks hanging out at the Swift Current Hospital was his 1969 social-ecological study of southwestern Saskatchewan, *Northern Plainsmen*. He told us that he became fascinated by the contrasts between ranchers and wheat farmers he met there in the hospital.

Needing a topic for my dissertation, in 1961, I drove to First Nations reserves in the province and talked with Indian people and others involved with the First Nations. In Prince Albert, I went to the shop of Indian handicrafts operated by Mabel Richards. A staunch supporter of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the socialist political party governing the province at the time, and married to a geologist working in the north, Mrs. Richards had been disturbed seeing Indian women selling fine craftwork for little money to their

only local purchasers, mostly operators of fishing lodges. Her shop a block away from Prince Albert's main street, where at that time no Indians were supposed to walk, sold the work at reasonable city prices, nearly all of the amount going to the craftswomen. One lead I had was that someone in Prince Albert had sold a Ghost Dance shirt to a collector. Mrs. Richards knew nothing of such an item, nor indeed of the Ghost Dance; perhaps she could help me research craft traditions or the current situations of First Nations communities. Her husband away in the field, she invited me to supper at her home. When I arrived there, she introduced me to a middle-aged Indian couple living in a tent in her large yard. Joe and Florence Douquette were hard up, Joe too old for heavy labor (especially then when farmers were investing in machinery instead of seasonal Indian labor). Mabel Richards asked them to camp by her house to tend her large vegetable garden, a face-saving way to help them. She asked them whether they had ever heard of a Ghost Dance with a special shirt. They shook their heads.

As I left the Richards house after supper, the Douquettes came up and told me that as a reciprocal gift to their benefactress, they would tell her guest about the Ghost Dance. Getting into my car, they directed me to cross the river and take a sandy road through jackpines to Round Plains reserve (now Sioux Wahpeton), ending at the log cabin of Henry Two Bears. Florence's brother Robert Goodvoice joined us to interpret for Mr. Two Bears as he recited to me the story of how Kicking Bear went to Wovoka, dreamed he visited Heaven and saw his deceased daughter there, had his dream explained by Wovoka, and from then on evangelized Wovoka's teaching. It was an evening I shall never forget, as

if transported back to James Mooney's day, Indians in little log cabins with buckboards in front, men and women dressed in the frumpy suits and long dresses one sees in photographs from Mooney's era. Mr. Two Bears' recitation was solemn, Mr. Goodvoice's translation fluent and sensitive. I took it down in my notebook. I had a powerful dissertation topic, the last Dakota Ghost Dance congregation.

More than that, much more, I had a powerful experience with people who truly were committed to Wovoka's principle, "Live a clean, honest life." During that summer and the following year, 1962, I visited again with the Douquettes, Mr. Goodvoice, other reserves, and urban Indian people in Saskatchewan, meeting and interviewing Dakota in Moose Woods and Standing Buffalo reserves and Cree in several more, particularly Poundmaker and Little Pine where I spent several weeks with Piakwutch (Harry Brown), the reserves' spiritual leader, and his daughter Winona Frank, a well-known herb doctor. Because I was a young woman, in jeans and T-shirt, with little Danny and in 1962, baby David too, these elders were pleased to tell me their beliefs and opinions, as they would speak to a respectful young mother of their own people. One later remarked that they knew they could speak honestly with me because no official ever came dressed in jeans and bringing her little children.

Writing the dissertation in 1962–63 while the boys napped or played, I sent in a draft of 114 typed pages to Brew and my new dissertation director, Evon Vogt. They liked it, told me to get it properly typed up (with four carbon copies) and submitted. Short, yes, but a satisfactory journeyman piece to get the union card. They signed off on it promptly. There

was a third member of my committee, a junior man, Stephen Williams. Nothing came from him. At the American Anthropological Association (AAA) meeting, I asked Vogt about Williams. "He hasn't signed? I'll see that he does," said Vogt, and quickly I got Williams' signature with a snotty note, "Vogtie told me I should sign this." That incident thoroughly confirmed my contempt for the class rule at Harvard. Tom and I were done with Harvard, its snobbish disinterest in plain folks and the Plains.

Credentialed in 1964, I was hired by the historian Lewis Thomas to teach an introductory course in anthropology at what was then the University of Saskatchewan Regina Campus, with a promise to make it a regular appointment and develop anthropology courses the next year. Tom had hired me to direct salvage archaeology at FhNa-3 and FhNa-19, adjacent fur trade posts on the Saskatchewan River near Nipawin. Arthur Morton had identified them as François' House and, he supposed, Finlay's house, 1768–73, the first successful posts in Saskatchewan (La Corne's earlier post was aborted by the Seven Years War). Morton figured that Scotsman Finlay with his Saulteau country wife who conceived Jaco Finlay at the post would live separate from LeBlanc and his Frenchmen. Our work indicated the presence of two occupations: the first at Morton's "Finlay's House" (FhNa-19), and a second one at Morton's "François' House" (FhNa-3), built close by after a two-year hiatus. Squaw Rapids (now called E. B. Campbell) Dam would raise the likelihood of erosion at the site, hence Saskatchewan Power would pay for salvage. So I did carry out my proposed dissertation project in 1963–64. I had a good crew of local middle-aged laborers too slow to compete with young guys for

farm work. Colin Watson (Gil's father) was a great crew boss and David Wilcox, a young anthropology major right out of Beloit College, served as field assistant. Anyone who knows contemporary Southwest archaeology will realize how lucky I was to have David, now an authority on that region. Tony Ranere stayed with us for several weeks to learn fur trade archaeology before going on to excavate Fort Carlton, and Tom and Gil would drive up when other projects permitted. Ruby Wiebe, a local young woman, cleaned artifacts, kept an eye on the little boys, and cooked. From 1981 to 1985, Olga Klimko conducted additional excavations at Francois' House as part of the Nipawin Reservoir Heritage Study when enlargement of the dam reservoir was slated to inundate the site.

Everything was going so well. We had bought a fine house on Albert Street directly across from the Museum, Danny was happily attending Davin School nearby, valuable research colleagues Bruce McCorquodale and Fred Lahrman were in the Museum... then BAM! the CCF government instituted provincial health insurance, the medical profession attacked, the doctors went on strike, elections were called, the CCF was out (how could so many voters be so stupid?). The Liberals ordered heritage work stopped and told Tom to stay in his office 40 hours a week all year long. Lewis Thomas fled to Alberta. His replacement, a sociologist from Texas, invited the recent hires to his house, showed us his assault rifle collection, sat us down and told us that none of us who had been hired by Dr. Thomas would ever teach in Saskatchewan again. Tom and I were heartsick. We had expected to live permanently in Regina, take out Canadian citizenship. Now, neither of us had any future in the province.

In 1965, we had one more good summer excavating at the Walter Felt site near Mortlach. Tom had worked there a couple years earlier with Eugene Gryba. This year we had a good crew including Saskatchewan youths Elaine (Wright) Pendree and Don Pingert. We camped on top of the bluff above the site, where every morning promptly at nine, a herd of tiger salamanders migrated over into the coulee. Fred Lahrman explained to us that the animals moved from one shady damp spot to another as the sun moved above. The well stratified site produced what we identified then as Besant pottery in a lower occupation layer (Kehoe 1964), as well as plenty of bison bones and points including a new variety Tom named Samantha after our dear Dog Sam, my co-wife, co-mother to the boys, a smart Rez dog from Browning (Figure 7). Because we had to leave the province to find jobs and there would be no professional archaeologist replacing Tom that year, we took our fieldnotes and artifacts with us to our new residence in Lincoln, Nebraska. I analyzed and wrote up the ceramics, returned them with my report to the SMNH when Margaret Hanna was there. Tom worked intermittently on the material in his spare time, using the lithics data in his papers on point typology (T. Kehoe 1974, *other paper on Small Side-notched pts*), and taking it with us when we moved to better jobs and climate in Milwaukee in 1968. He kept them in his office in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Time progressed but the Felt site analyses and write-up did not. Around 1980, after I had published François' House in Ian Dyck's SMNH *Pastlog* series, I suggested to Tom that he bring the Felt materials to our house and I would work on the report. He refused to turn them over to me, insisting that he would be working



FIGURE 7. Tom Beck (Alice's younger brother), Sam (dog), Danny, Tom, and David Kehoe in 1963.

on them in the Milwaukee Museum. Its Anthropology section was remodeled in the mid-'80s to create more space with a mezzanine for offices. Tom moved to a temporary office. After the curators moved into their new offices, it seems the Felt collection had disappeared. I've looked thoroughly in our house; none of it is here (nor do I recall Tom bringing any of it home in spite of my urging). This, so far as I am aware, is our only failure to live up to the professional standards of the discipline.

Leaving the province did not end our engagement with Saskatchewan. Ted Brassier asked us to take National Museum Urgent Ethnography Programme grants in the early 1970s. We did ethnoarchaeology with the Noah Custer (Cree) family near Pelican Rapids in northeastern Saskatchewan and took

slides and ethnographic notes of powwows another summer. These sets of slides and notes are in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau. We collaborated with astronomer Jack Eddy in 1975 to record the Moose Mountain Medicine Wheel near Kisbey. When Jack told us that the set of alignments would have been accurate 2,000 years ago, not later, we obtained permission from the Pheasant Rump First Nation, then at Carlyle, to do limited testing in 1976. It was just the two of us with son David, youngest son Cormac happily roaming the beautiful kettle moraine eating saskatoons while we excavated. Jack was correct in his dating, the alignments are actually firmly submerged two stones deep, and the bits of charcoal we collected, along with red ochre, from the cleared floor directly under the



FIGURE 8. Alice Kehoe taking notes during her interview with Joe Douquette about the Moose Mountain Medicine Wheel.

central cairn gave a radiocarbon date of mid-first millennium B.C.E. None of the First Nations we interviewed about the construction claimed it was from their ancestors; all told us it was there when their people arrived (Figure 8).

Moose Mountain was the last project we did in Canada. Tom obtained a Fulbright Fellowship in 1978 to spend a year in Tübingen, Germany, following up with several summers abroad analyzing fauna from German excavations. He developed diabetes which, untreated, caused him to be depressed and hostile. Both his Milwaukee Museum supervisor, Nancy Lurie, and I suffered. Tom would no longer initiate projects, incredible to anyone who had known him. He would not go into the field and got involved with a Milwaukee woman who traveled with him in Europe while I stayed home.

I can hardly recall what happened during the '80s, it was like a lost decade. Only the invitation from George and Louise Spindler to write up my *Ghost Dance* material as a Case Study in Cultural Anthropology stands out—it was an opportunity to try pedagogic ideas for a text that proved popular with colleagues. It was also a decade of commitment to gender studies (country wives at François' House, analyzing Blackfoot gender roles and concepts) and inchoate post-colonialism. Perhaps not a wasted decade for me, though not going into the field disappointed me. Finally, when Cormac was graduating high school, I told Tom to choose between me and his lady. His choice, his moving out, brought relief.

From 1991, I have been going for several weeks in summer to the Montana Blackfeet Reservation and visiting

colleagues in Calgary, keeping abreast of their finds and interpretations and taking notes on the Montana reservation developments. By great good luck, those include the extraordinary Elouise Cobell's rez-based economic projects, not to mention the Indian trust monies lawsuit 1996–2010, Darrell Kipp's Blackfoot immersion school, and the tribal college. If I had to publish or perish, I couldn't do it. I never put down unkind or nasty comments, but reservation politics can entangle innocent bystanders. My notes will go to Glenbow to be available for future researchers. With yearly camping and hikes in (U.S.) Glacier National Park and in northern Banff National Park refreshing the soul, it's been a good life since 1990. Still, I wish Tom had not ignored my efforts to help him eat more healthily, that he had realized that he was at risk for diabetes (a first cousin died of it), that the disease had not seized him in Germany, changing him from the partner I loved as a superb archaeologist as well as a husband. The fall of the CCF government and Tom's diabetes are the two events that took me out of continuing fieldwork in Prairie archaeology. I wish they had not happened.

Notes

1. Until there are unisex washrooms, we will not really have equal career opportunities.
2. About Helm, MacNeish, and Bennett, personal communication, Nancy O. Lurie.
3. David Meyer comments, in reviewing this essay, "the fact that no large scale, multi-year mitigation/salvage archaeology projects followed this multi-year South Saskatchewan reservoir survey project constituted the greatest disaster in the history of Saskatchewan archaeology. The massive amounts of archaeological material that have been wave-eroded out of the shores of Lake Diefenbaker (and collected by all and sundry) are evidence of this. One might particularly note the large and rich collections of Mortlach and One Gun materials made at the Miry Creek and Antelope Creek sites as a result of exposures during the annual draw downs of the reservoir."

Publications of Alice and Tom Kehoe

Kehoe, Alice B.

1958 Pottery in Montana. *Archaeology in Montana* 1 (4):2–2.

1959 Ceramic Affiliations in the Northern Plains. *American Antiquity* 25:237–246.

1962 *Hunters of the Buried Years*. School Aids and Textbook Co., Regina, Saskatchewan.

1965 The François-Finlay Post as an Illustration of an Indian-White Contact Situation. *Archaeology in Montana* 6(2):20–24.

1968 The Ghost Dance Religion in Saskatchewan, Canada. *Plains Anthropologist* 13:296–304.

1970 The Dakotas in Saskatchewan. In *The Modern Sioux*, edited by Ethel Nurge. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1975 Dakota Indian Ethnicity in Saskatchewan. *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 3:37–42.

1976 Ethnicity at a Pedlar's Post in Saskatchewan. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6:52–60.

1976 Old Woman Had Great Power. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6:68–76.

1978 *François' House, an Early Fur Trade Post on the Saskatchewan*. Sas-

katchewan Ministry of Culture and Youth, Regina, Saskatchewan.

1980 The Giveaway Ceremony of Blackfoot and Plains Cree. *Plains Anthropologist* 25:17–26.

1983 The Shackles of Tradition. In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, edited by Patricia C. Albers and Beatrice Medicine, pp. 53–73. University Press of America, Washington.

1989 *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization*. Winston Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. Holt Rinehart, New York, New York.

1991 The Weaver's Wraith. In *The Archaeology of Gender*, edited by Dale A. Walde and Noreen D. Willows, pp. 430–435. Chacmool Archaeological Association, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta.

1993 How the Ancient Peigans Lived. *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14:87–105.

1995 Processual and Postprocessual Archaeology: A Brief Critical Review. In *Beyond Subsistence: Plains Archaeology and the Postprocessual Critique*, edited by Philip Duke and Michael C. Wilson, pp. 19–27. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

1995 Introduction. In *Mythology of the Blackfoot*, by Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, pp. v–xxxiii. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1995 Blackfoot Persons. In *Women and Power in Native America*, edited by Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, pp. 113–125. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.

1996 Transcribing Insima, a Blackfoot "Old Lady." In *Reading Beyond Words: Native History in Context*, edited by

Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, pp. 381–402. Broadview Press Orchard Park, New York.

2002 Transcribing Insima, a Blackfoot "Old Lady." Reprinted in *The Broadview Anthology of Expository Prose*, edited by Tammy Roberts, Mical Moser, Don LePan, Craig Lawson, Julia Gaunce and Jane Britton, pp. 479–498. Broadview Press, Peterborough, Ontario.

2000 François' House, a Significant Pedlars' Post on the Saskatchewan. In *Material Contributions to Ethnohistory: Interpretations of Native North American Life*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Eric S. Johnson, pp. 173–187. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

2001 From Spirit Cave to the Blackfoot Rez: The Importance of Twined Fabric in North American Indian Societies. In *Fleeting Identities: Perishable Material Culture in Archaeological Research*, edited by Penelope B. Drooker, pp. 210–225. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Illinois.

2005 Expedient Angled-Tang Endscrapers: Glimpsing Women's Work in the Archaeological Record. In *Gender and Hide Production*, edited by Lisa Frink and Kathryn Weedman, pp. 133–142. Altamira, Walnut Creek, California.

2005 Introduction. In *Montana 1911: A Professor and his Wife Among the Blackfeet*, edited by Mary Eggermont-Molenaar, pp. 1–4. University of Calgary Press, Calgary, Alberta and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

2005 Legendary Histories. In *Montana 1911: A Professor and his Wife Among the Blackfeet*, edited by Mary Eggermont-Molenaar, pp. 195–202.

University of Calgary Press, Calgary, Alberta and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

2008 *Controversies in Archaeology*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Kehoe, Thomas F.

1954 Stone "Medicine Wheels" in Southern Alberta and the Adjacent Portion of Montana: Were They Designed as Grave Markers? *Journal of Washington Academy of Science* 44(5):133–137.

1958 Tipi Rings: The Direct Historical Approach Applied to an Archaeological Problem. *American Anthropologist* 60:861–873.

1958 Three Dry-Laid Masonry Structures in the Northern Rocky Mountains. *American Antiquity* 23:430–432.

1959 Field Work in Alberta and Saskatchewan. *Western Canadian Archaeological Council Proceedings* 1:7–8.

1960 A Fraudulent Petroglyph from Glacier National Park, Montana. *Plains Anthropologist* 5(10):79–80.

1960 *Stone Tipi Rings in North-Central Montana and the Adjacent Portion of Alberta, Canada: Their Historical, Ethnological and Archaeological Aspects*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 173 (Anthropological Papers No. 62), Washington, D.C.

1961 Stone Tipi Rings. *Antiquity* 35:145–147.

1963 History of Archaeology in Saskatchewan. *Saskatchewan Archaeological Newsletter* 1:1–2.

1963 Field Work in Saskatchewan. *Plains Anthropologist* 8(20):127–128.

1964 Middle Woodland Pottery from Saskatchewan. *Plains Anthropologist* 9(23):51–53.

1965 Indian Boulder Effigies. *Museum News* 44(4):29–35.

1965 The Bison Drive as seen from Saskatchewan. *Archaeology in Montana* 6(2):14–16.

1965 "Buffalo Stones": An Addendum to "The Folklore of Fossils. *Antiquity* 39:212–213.

1966 The Distribution and Implications of Fluted Points in Saskatchewan. *American Antiquity* 31(4):530–539.

1966 The Small Side-Notched Point System of the Northern Plains. *American Antiquity* 31(6):827–841.

1967 The Boarding School Bison Drive Site. *Plains Anthropologist*, Memoir 4.

1972 Stone "Medicine Wheel" Monuments in the Northern Plains of North America. *International Congress of Americanists* 2:183–189.

1973 *The Gull Lake Site: A Prehistoric Bison Drive in Southwestern Saskatchewan*. Milwaukee Public Museum Publication in Anthropology and History No. 1, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

1974 The Large Corner-Notched Point System of the Northern Plains and Adjacent Woodlands. In *Aspects of Upper Great Lakes Anthropology: Papers in Honor of Lloyd A. Wilford*, edited by Elden I. Johnson, pp. 103–114. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

1978 Paleo-Indian Bison Drives: Feasibility Studies. *Plains Anthropologist* Memoir 19:79–83.

1988 The Avonlea Point: A History of the Concept. In *Avonlea Yesterday and Today: Archaeology and Prehistory*, edited

- by Leslie B. Davis, pp. 7–9. Saskatchewan Archaeological Society, Saskatoon Saskatchewan.
- 1994 A Scholarly Look at Bison Drives in Canada and the Northern Plains. *Bison World* 19:18–21.
- 1995 Indian Boulder Effigies. *Archaeological Rescue News* 9(1):4–5.
- 1999 The Development of the Direct Ethnological Approach to Studies of Archaeology in the Northwestern Plains of North America: The Case of Medicine Wheels, Tipi Rings and Boulder Effigies. In *Ethno-Analysis and the Reconstruction of Prehistoric Artifact Use and Production*, edited by Linda R. Owen and Martin Porr, pp. 255–273. Urgeschichtliche Materialhefte 14, Mo Vince Verlag, Tubingen, Germany.
- 2001 The Billy Big Spring Site, Montana. *Archaeology in Montana* 42(2):27–40.
- Kehoe, Thomas F., and Alice B. Kehoe
 1957 Historical Marker Indian Style. *Alberta Historical Review* 5:6–10.
- 1959 Boulder Effigy Monuments in the Northern Plains. *Journal of American Folklore* 72:115–127.
- 1960 A Probable Late Blackfoot Clay Vessel. *Plains Anthropologist* 6(11):43–45.
- 1960 Observations on the Butchering Techniques at a Prehistoric Bison-Kill in Montana. *American Antiquity* 25:420–425.
- 1968 Saskatchewan. In *The Northwestern Plains: A Symposium*, edited by Stuart W. Conner, pp. 21–35. Center for Indian Studies, Rocky Mountain College, Billings, Montana.
- 1973 Cognitive Models for Archaeological Interpretation. *American Antiquity* 38(2):150–153.
- 1974 The Identification of the Fall or Rapid Indians. *Plains Anthropologist* 19(65):231–232.
- 1976 Solstice-Aligned Boulder Configurations in Saskatchewan, Canada. *Southwestern Lore* 42(1-2):21–26.
- 1975 Investigations of Solstice-Aligned Boulder Configurations in Saskatchewan. *Calgary Archaeologist* 3:41–44.
- 1977 Stones, Solstices and Sun Dance Structures. *Plains Anthropologist* 22:85–95.
- 1979 *Solstice-Aligned Boulder Configurations in Saskatchewan*. Canadian Ethnological Services Mercury Series 48. National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Ontario.
- 1985 The Direct Ethnological Approach to Archaeology on the Northern Plains. *Reprints in Anthropology* 30:1–10.
- Kehoe, Thomas F., Alice B. Kehoe, and others
 Kehoe, Thomas F., and Bruce A. McCorquodale
 1961 The Avonlea Point: Horizon Marker for the Northwestern Plains. *Plains Anthropologist*. 6(13):179–188.
- Kehoe, Thomas F., Bruce A. McCorquodale and Alice B. Kehoe
 1988 Excavations at the Avonlea Type Site. In *Avonlea Yesterday and Today: Archaeology and Prehistory*, edited by Leslie B. Davis, pp. 11–23. Saskatchewan Archaeological Society, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Manuscript received July 4, 2010;
 Final revisions November 23, 2010.