

KANSA CULTURAL TRAITS AND HISTORY

Ronald W. Breth
Department of Anthropology
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas

The Kansa Indians were located in the historic period in northeastern Kansas, south of the Missouri river. They are one of the Dhegiha Siouans, along with the Osage, Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw (Dorsey, 1897). Swanton (1952:234) states that "according to tradition, the Kansa and the others of the same group originated on the Ohio River, the Kansa separating from main body at the mouth of the Kansas River". Chapman (1974:vol.3, 204) refutes this theory and argues for a development in place (1974: vol.3, 221).

Professor William Unrau of Wichita State University has done perhaps the only histories of the Kansa or Kaw (Unrau, 1975; and Unrau, 1978). His version of the Dhegiha Siouan migration is as follows:

"Tradition and significant historical evidence tell that a major separation among the Dhegiha-Siouans occurred at the mouth of the Ohio River. Those who continued down the Mississippi took the name Quapaw, meaning 'downstream people', while those who ascended the river were known as the Omahas, 'those gathering against the wind or current'. The Kaw, Osage, Ponca, and Omaha splinter groups journeyed to the mouth of the Mississippi near present St. Louis where they remained 'for some time'. Still maintaining a common social and political organization, the four tribes then migrated up the Missouri to a place described as an 'extensive peninsula having a high mountain as a landmark,' possibly midway between Jefferson City and St. Louis. Later they traveled to the mouth of the Osage River where another major separation took place. Crossing to the north side of the Missouri the Poncas and Omahas proceeded to present southeastern Nebraska, while the Osages ascended the Osage River to the Ozark country to the southwest. The Kaws took the middle road, migrating up the Missouri past the mouth of the Kaw River, where their progress was soon blocked by an alien people.

These were the powerful Otoes, Sauks, and Iowas, and, perhaps, a few of the more venturesome bands of Republican Pawnee whose main village was some 150 miles to the west. Rebuffed, the Kaws retraced their steps and established a core settlement near the site of present Doniphan, Kansas-- roughly 40 miles northeast of Kansas City. This was the 'Grand Village des Canzes' visited by the Frenchman Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont in 1724. . ." (Unrau, 1975:5-6).

In many tribes of this area the individual bands often lived apart from each other throughout much of the year (Clark, 1884). Of the Kansa Unrau says: "By the time they made their final trek to future Kay County, Oklahoma, in 1873, the Kansa-Kaws were so divided in matters political that the Rock Creek, Kahola, Picayune, and Half-blood bands were conducting themselves as separate triblets", (Unrau, 1978:102). Certainly these separate bands could have lived apart from the main body in protohistoric times as well.

During the Historic Period they were bounded on the northwest by the Pawnee, whose hunting grounds overlapped theirs, the northeast by the Missouri tribe and river as well as the Iowas and Otoes and to the south and east by their cousins the Osages (Unrau, 1971:37). Driver and Massey in their comprehensive work Comparative Studies of North American Indians (1957) have listed the following traits as being characteristic of the Kansa:

Siouan language, end-pointed digging sticks, ethnographic evidence for maize cultivation, stone-boiling of food, wooden food mortars, pit food storage, salt use, elbow pipes of stone, carrying baskets, dog travois, bullboats, 'prairie earthlodge' with hide, mat, and/or earth coverings, log or pole platforms within the dwellings, circular dwelling arrangements, 2 or more families in a single dwelling, water-vapor sweating, men's roached hair-cuts and thigh-length leggings, softsoled moccasins, clothing manufactured by women, hide containers, ethnographic evidence for pottery, pottery coiling by women, hand fire drills, sword-shaped clubs, hide shields, part-time craft specialization, patricentered dwelling ownership, polygyny 20%+ common, patrilocal extended families, patrilocal post-nuptial residence, patrilineally exogamous descent, 13 multiple sibs, patrilineal exogamous moities, and patridominant subsistence patterns (Driver & Massey, 1957:213-480).

The Kansa were called Alaho by the Kiowa, Mohtawas by the Comanche, Ukase by the Fox, and sometimes Hutanga by themselves (Swanton, 1952:293).

HISTORIC ACCOUNTS

The first appearance of the Kansa in historic accounts is perhaps the Guaes in Coronado's narrative (Swanton, 1952:293). This is rendered slightly more plausible by the fact of the mention of 'Guachases' in the record of Pedro Vial (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:276) as probably being Osages. The next possible mention is in Onates records of his explorations of 1601, if the 'Escanjaques' are the Kansa out on their summer bison hunt. These 'Escanjaques' are so called because "they extend the hand towards the sun and immediately return it to the breast saying loudly escanxaque which would signify peace..." (Wedel, 1946:8). These people were apparently south of the Great Bend of the Arkansas River, as Wedel (1946:6) says they were south of the Quivirans, or Wichita, which Wedel has proved to be the Little River Focus of the Great Bend Aspect. Culturally, these 'escanjaques' lived in some 600 circular houses of poles covered with tanned hides, lived solely by bison hunting, used the bow and arrow, and were lead by chiefs with little authority. They were at war with the Quivirans, and attacked Onates party as they were leaving (Wedel, 1946:6-8).

The Marquette map of 1673-4 places the Kansa south of the Omaha and Oto, west of the Osage, and just east of the Wichita (Wedel, 1946:9). Other reports from before the early 1700's are generally inaccurate enough to be useless for precise geographical comparisons, and the voyagers did not leave many written records. It is interesting to note a war party of Ottawa and Illinois in the late 1600's were planning to attack the Osages and Kansa from their Great Lakes homeland (Wedel, 1946:9).

The Delisle map of 1718 shows two sets of 'Cansez' villages. The first is just south of the 'Petite Riv. de Cansez', while the second is farther west on what appears to be a southern tributary of the 'Grande Riviere des Cansez'. I feel there are two discernable interpretations to this map. The first, and most probable, interpretation is that the first fork of the Kansas River is the modern Blue River, which would put the second Kansa village at the mouth of the Republican River. Another alternative would put this second village at the juncture of the Solomon and Smoky Hill Rivers.

Shortly before this D'Iberville estimated the Kansa population at 1500 families (Wedel, 1946:9; Voget, 1974: vol. 1, 225). Bourgmond visited the Kansa in 1724 at the tentatively identified Doniphan site (Wedel, 1946:11). This village was visited by La Renaudiere in 1723 and Bourgmond in 1724 (Wedel, 1959:51).

Little mention of the Kansa in historical records occurs for the next half-century; however, it seems that they were moving their villages away from the Missouri River. Wedel (1946:12) states "It seems remotely possible that in so doing, the Kansa were returning to an older habitat, to a region occupied perhaps before the identified sites on the Missouri."

At any event, Lewis and Clark in 1804 reported the Kansa had two villages, one about 20 leagues, the other 40 leagues up the Kansa river (Wedel, 1946:12; and Wedel 1959:52). This westward movement is also noted by Sibley in 1811 as the Kansa village is reported to be 100 miles 'by water' up the Kansa River (Wedel, 1959:52). A treaty was signed with the U. S. in 1825, arranged by Clark of Lewis and Clark. Wedel postulates "Following their treaty with the United States in 1825, the Kansa began a drift eastward" (Wedel, 1959:53). Living in several villages along the Kansas River, in 1846 another treaty was signed by the Kansa and the U.S., giving the Kansa a small reservation around the headwaters of the Neosho. At this reservation the more unscrupulous elements of American society had far more influence than the educational and religious attempts to 'civilize' the Kansa (Wedel, 1946:15). Also debilitating was smallpox, especially the epidemic of 1855, which reportedly took more than 400 lives (Wedel, 1946:16). The treaty of 1872 removed the Kansa or Kaw as they were becoming known, to present Kay County, Oklahoma where their descendants still reside. Swanton (1952: 293-4) lists the following names and sites of Kansa villages:

Bahekube - near a mountain south of the Kansas River in Kansas,

Cheghulin - 2 villages: 1. South side of Kansas River; 2. On a tributary of Kansas R., northeast side of Blue River.

Djestyedje - On Kansas R. near Lawrence.

Gakhulinulinube - near head of south tributary of Kansas R.

Igamansabe - on Big Blue R.

Manhazitanman - on Kansas R. near Lawrence.

Manyinkatuhudje - at the mouth of the Blue R.

Neblazhetama - West bank of Mississippi mouth in
Missouri

Niudje - On Kansas R. 4 miles north of Kansas City.

Tanmangile - On the Blue R.

Zandahulin - At the Kaw Agency in 1882.

In addition, 5 villages Inchi, Ishtakhechiduba, Padjegadjin, Pasulin, and Zhanichi are at unspecified places along the Kansas River, leaving open the possibility that they were located along the Republican, Solomon, or some other Branch of the Kansas River. Finally, another five villages are listed as 'location uncertain': Gakhulin, Waheheyngtseyabe, Wazhazhepa, Yuzhemakancheubukhpaye, and Zandjezhinga.

The major hypothesis of this work is an early Kansa occupation of northern Kansas. This occupation can be attributable to:

Semi-permanent occupation of the area in protohistoric times, consisting of hunting camps occupied during the seasonal bison hunts with the main villages of the Kansa farther east, being bounded on the west by the Plains Apache or Dismal River Aspect, north by the Pawnee of the Lower Loup Phase, and south by the Quivirans/Wichita or Great Bend Phase. This is also where some of the western Oneota sites are found.

Oneota Description

It is fairly well known that the Oneota tradition is representative of Chiwere Siouan groups like Winnebagos and Ioways, and perhaps other peoples (Wedel, 1959, Harvey, 1979, Jennings, 1978). As for the origin of Oneota, Jennings states, "There is evidence for population spread from Cahokia to northwest Illinois and southern Wisconsin sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1100. One theory is that these groups and others from Cahokia became the Oneota societies" (Jennings, 1978: 264). In point of fact, various sites have been identified with particular tribes, Fanning with Kansa, Leary with Oto, Stanton with Omaha (Jennings, 1978: 212; Wedel, 1959: 611). Tribes moving around in the

plains prairie area is a fairly wellknown phenomena, the Cheyenne being one of the most wellknown. And there is no doubt that the Kansa are a Siouan tribe (Driver and Massey, 1957; Swanton, 1952).

The Oneota tradition consists mainly of sites in the prairie peninsula with some westward extensions, (Wedel, 1959:602). There are four main Foci: the Orr Focus in northern Iowa, southeast Minnesota, and Wisconsin; the Blue Earth Focus in southern Minnesota and Iowa; the Lake Winnebago Focus in eastern Wisconsin; and the Grand River Focus in central Wisconsin.

Regarding the western Oneota sites, Wedel states:

"As a group the western sites appear to diverge from the named foci in a number of particulars. There is not much evidence regarding the prevalent house type, but the earth lodge was pretty certainly known and in use at nearly all western sites. The circular form is indicated at Fanning and Stanton, the older square form at Leary and probably Ashland. . . Among other features that appear to distinguish the Western Oneota sites may be listed the following: high frequency of bison scapula hoes, bone arrowshaft wrenches, and antler projectile points; a tendency toward somewhat greater size in chipped stone projectile points and end scrapers, with the latter especially present in large numbers; more ground stone traits including grooved mauls, inscribed catlinite (cf. Iowa Orr Focus), greater frequency of catlinite, and perhaps more numerous grinding stones; much less worked shell; scarcity or absence of bone 'counters' and metapodial beaming tools. . . While the general affinities of the western Oneota sites are clear, it would be premature to attempt assignment of any of them to one of the named (eastern) foci or to group them in another focus" (Wedel, 1959:609-610).

PREVIOUS KANSA ARCHEOLOGY

In regards to sites already tentatively identified as Kansa there are several. The Kansa Village site, (14PO24), is located northeast of Manhattan, Kansas, along the Kansas River near the juncture with the Blue River. This site had been mapped by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1880 and has been identified as the principal village of the Kansa during the first part of the 1800's (Wedel, 1959:

188). By the time of Wedel's investigations much of the site had been destroyed although some valuable data was recovered. One house was excavated and is a circular earthlodge type 29 feet in diameter with four centerposts. Diagnostic materials recovered include animal bones, gun and trap parts, charred corncob, and a mud dauber nest (Wedel, 1959: 190-1). Faunal remains, in order of abundance, are Deer, Black bear, Horse, Bison, Puma, Beaver, Gopher, and Raccoon. Turkey was also represented, as were 20 mussel shell fragments representing 6 species (Wedel, 1959: 192).

No pottery was found at this site and Wedel (1959: 193) states this:

". . . suggests that the Kansa by the first quarter of the 19th century had given up most of their native material culture and were relying largely upon the American traders to supply their need for tools, weapons, and utensils. . . This is, after all, what might be expected of a tribe that had been for well over half a century been in contact with white traders and that, for a considerable time, resided on or near a major trade artery of the region" (Wedel, 1959:193).

Unfortunately, this also kept Wedel from defining a complex of aboriginal traits that would help in comparison with other sites of supposed Kansa origin, Fanning and Doniphan.

At the Fanning site, 14PD1, in the northeastern corner of Kansas along Wolf Creek, Wedel did some explorations, excavating a house, cache pits, and 3 middens. The faunal assemblage, in order of abundance, includes Whitetail Deer, Bison, Dog, Unidentified Canis, Raccoon, Beaver, Black Bear, Gopher, Elk, Puma, Lynx, Woodchuck, Opposum, and Jackrabbit. Of this Wedel states, "With the exception of the bison and jackrabbit, none of the above species can be regarded as typically Plains forms. The list, in fact, represents a fair sampling of the animals characteristic of the hardwood forests and tall grass prairies of northeast Kansas; and probably any of them could have been easily taken along the timbered streams and bluffs a short distance from the village site" (Wedel, 1959:142).

This would tend to support Fanning as a western Oneota, or Kansa village since the westward moving Siouans were basically a woodland-adapted people. The pottery is shell tempered, smoothed or simple stamped, and has been defined as Fanning Plain (Wedel, 1959:145). These are usually medium

to large globular jars with rounded bases, constricted necks, outcurved rims, and many have strap handles. Decorations are found only on lips and handles. Fanning Trailed Ware is also defined from this site and has the shell temper and simple stamping and smoothing of the Fanning Plain on its jars; however, the handles are predominately loop on the smaller jars. Body decoration consists of trailed lines, some chevrons, with lip decorations mainly punctates, although 25% were undecorated (Wedel, 1959:145-53). Eight sherds of Lower Loup pottery were found indicating some contact with the protohistoric Pawnee.

Stone tools include triangular unnotched projectile points of widely varying quality, drill points, knives, many end scrapers, abraders, 1 celt, milling stones, and several pieces of worked catlinite (Wedel, 1959:154-62). Other tools identified are scapula hoes, needles, and awls. Objects of Euro-American manufacture are present but not abundant and consist mainly of some iron and brass fragments which Wedel believes come from "tenuous and infrequent" trade contacts (Wedel, 1959: 166). Fanning has been tentatively identified with the Kansa and Wedel states ". . .it still appears likely that the Fanning site was the location of the Kansa as of roughly the time of Marquette or perhaps a little later", i.e. about 1700 (Wedel, 1959: 171). Wedel also states that "An impression persists that Fanning is somewhat more deviant than other Western Oneota manifestations. . . There is a feeling that the people who lived at Fanning, while clinging to an Oneota tradition, somehow didn't care too much and made little effort to achieve the standards reached by other related groups of the Western periphery" (Wedel, 1959:610-11).

As for the Doniphan site about 16 miles south, the main interest stems from the fact that this "site is believed, with very good reason, to mark the principal village of the Kansa Indians when they were visited by Bourgmond in 1724 (Remsburg, 1919)" (Wedel, 1959:100). Wedel excavated in July, 1937. Found there was evidence of a Nebraska Aspect habitation and a later, probably Kansa occupation. Faunal remains in order of specimens are Whitetailed deer, Black bear, Beaver, Elk, Bison, Dog, Raccoon, and Groundhog. Turkey was represented only by 1 fragment and 14 species of mollusks were identified among the remains. Also found were 9 corncobs, charred kernels, plum pits, and black walnut shells (Wedel, 1959:118-9). Pottery is scarce, although some of the shell tempered pieces in caches 1-4 and 11 and 14 are "strongly reminiscent of much of the heavy plainware at the Fanning site" (Wedel, 1959:120). Furthermore:

"I suggest that the 10 shell-tempered sherds represent a locally made utility ware of probable Kansa manufacture; that the Lower Loup Sherds indicate contacts between the Kansa at the Doniphan site and a protohistoric 18th century Pawnee (Lower Loup) people in Eastcentral Nebraska; and that these sherds, along with the White trade material, are in line with what might be expected in a Kansa village community of Bourgmund's time, i.e., circa 1724" (Wedel, 1959: 122).

Stone at Doniphan consists of 7 projectile points with "clumsy or careless flaking the rule", 5 end scrapers, 1/2 of a grooved limestone club head, several pieces of Catlinite in various stages of pipe manufacture, quartzite hammerstones, and a piece of hematite for pigment. A bone needle and antler tool handle, as well as several glass beads from about 1700 to 1780, an iron knife blade, lead cross, and some brass ornaments were found (Wedel, 1959: 122-4).

As far as I am aware, there has been no other village sites examined that are attributed to the Kansa. This, as Wedel (1959:193) has already mentioned, makes it very difficult to ascertain a trait complex for the protohistoric Kansa, to aid in site identification. In view of this problem, it seems that historic and ethnohistoric records would be perhaps the major source of information.

EHTHNOHISTORIC CONSIDERATIONS

Some of the ethnographic and historic mentions of the Kansa have been mentioned earlier. The Spanish explorations of Coronado do not yield a wealth of information on the only group that is possibly Kansa, the Guaes, other than they were hostile to the Quivirans (Wedel, 1959: 51) and used the dog and travois to follow the bison (Hammond & Rey, 1940: 293). However, Onate's parties' descriptions of the 'Escanjaques' have caused much debate as to the identity of this group.

These 'Escanjaques' are so called because they raised their hands to the sun and said 'escanjaque' (p.6, Hammond & Rey, 1953:752). Hammond and Rey's (1953:752) translation yields the following information:

" . . . [they] raised the palms of the hands towards the sun, which is the sign of peace among them. . . their huts, which were made of branches

about ten feet high placed in a circle. Some of their huts were so large that they measured ninety feet across. Most of them were covered with tanned skins, which made them look like tents."

Assuming Blakeslee's (1975) Interband Trade System theory is correct, and that sign language is in general usage, as seems the case, then sign language may lend a clue to the identity of these people. Clark (1884:352) states "Indians have no salutation like ours on meeting or separating. . . Sometimes the palms of the hands are first held towards the sun. . ." as a form of 'bless you' (1884:74). The actual sign for peace was clasping the hands in front of the body, usually with the back of the left down (Clark, 1884:295).

Hammond and Rey (1953) estimate that these people were about 20 miles (6 or 7 leagues) south of the Arkansas River, west of Wichita. Wedel (1959:22) thinks they were probably in Harper or Sumner Counties, Kansas. They used bows and "hardwood war clubs three spans long with a large piece of flint at the end and a strap at the handle so as not to lose the club in battle. They have a large buffalo shield to cover and protect the entire body" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:841). Both men and women were painted with stripes, the women on their faces, breasts, and arms; the men on the face. Wedel (1959:22) feels they may have been tattooed. The depredations on the Quivirans evidently caused a trek to New Mexico to seek Spanish aid against the 'Escanjaques' (Wedel, 1959:22).

There are three probable cultural affiliations for these people: Kansa, Plains Apache, or Caddoan. As was mentioned above, these people may have been in the area around Wichita. Pike, in 1806, reported the Kansa hunting grounds to be south of the Arkansas River by Lyons, south to the Ninnescah, or just west of Wichita (Wedel, 1959:40). Tixier (1940:137-9), in the 1840's, said that the Osage and Kansa men:

" . . . use vermilion, verdegriis, and yellow paint, red around their roach, eye sockets, and ears. . . Women have their bodies tattooed with blue lines which intersect and form irregular designs. . . [They are] first tattooed during puberty. . . necks, chests, backs, arms, back of hands, stomach down to hips, lower thighs and legs are marked with blue lines, drawn by red hot iron and charcoal."

It is quite possible that the Kansa were out in this area, harassing the Quivirans, before the identified sites on the Missouri (Wedel, 1946:12). Certainly their practice

of tattooing is similar to the 'Escanjaques'. The problem remains, however, since the Plains Apache and Caddos also practiced tattooing (Opler, 1941:21-2; Blakeslee, personal communication, 1/29/1985).

Wedel (1959:59) feels that these Escajaques were Plains Apache and that the Dismal River Focus is evidence of their occupation. This is quite possible, as Opler (1941:21) reports paint used for decoration at gatherings, or put on at any time.

The Apache also tattooed. Both sexes tattooed the inner part of the arm with cactus needles, charcoal, and ocher (Opler, 1941:22).

To further complicate the problem, these 'escajaques' could have been one of the Caddoan groups later known as the Wichita (Swanton, 1952). In fact, Clark (1884:403) states:

"Mr. Dunbar also includes in this family the Caddos, Wacos, Keechers, and Ta-wa-conies. The Wichita women formerly, in summer, usually wore only a short bark skirt about the loins, no waist. They painted or tattooed rings around the breasts, and from this custom sprang the tribal sign. There is no evidence that the men tattooed any part or portion of their face or body".

If the 'Escanjaques' are not the Kansa, perhaps there is still mention of them in Onates travels, for farther on past the Qivirans lived people who "dressed in blankets" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:858). These 'Rayado' people "painted themselves with stripes from eye to ear" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:855). It is interesting to note these characteristics for the Kansa (Wedel, 1946: plates; Tixier, 1940: sketches). In fact, a breast tattoo was a Kansa warriors highest honor (Wedel, 1946:24). At any event, it is unfortunate that the records of Onate are not more revealing.

The next Spanish references that are possibly Kansa are mentions of the 'Canceres' as French allies in 1720. They were probably located in southwestern Kansas (Wedel, 1959: 51). In the next couple of years the French record two visits with the Kansa: La Renaudiere in 1723, and Bourgamond in 1724. Of particular interest is Bourgomonds travel towards the Padouca (Comanche). Bourgomond visited the Kansa, probably at the Doniphan site (Wedel, 1946:11). Wanting to establish trade relations with the Comanche, he and two Kansa grand chiefs, 14 war chiefs, 300 warriors, 300 women, 500 children, and 300 dogs to carry supplies and

baggage, went on their summer bison hunt (Wedel, 1946:10). This establishes an obvious familiarity with this mode of travel and subsistence procurement, perhaps developed some hundred years before.

The next pertinent information comes from Pedro Vial's explorations from Santa Fe in 1792 (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967). On June 29, 1792, Pedro Vial was traveling along the Arkansas River, and met some Kansa around Dodge City. They seized the horses, captured and stripped Vial and his companions. Some wanted Vial killed, others protected him, and rushed him into a lodge to eat in order to receive protection (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:377). Vial and company stayed at this camp till August 16th, then traveled 10 days (50 leagues) to a village on the 'Kansas River', perhaps at Alma, Nebraska if on the Republican River; or around Phillipsburg, if on the Solomon. There they stayed until September 16th, when they left with a French 'voyager', who had arrived five days earlier with tobacco, vermillion, blankets, powder, balls, and muskets. Traveling by the Kansas River to the Missouri junction Vial related that it was "uninhabited on either shore" (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:378).

The Editors feel that since Vial overestimated the distance from the mouth of the Kansas to St. Louis by about 30%, if this correction is also applied to his other figures, the Kansa village is about Superior, Nebraska, if on the Republican; or at Beloit, Kansas, if on the Solomon River (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:379).

Pike's expedition is 1806 reported the main Kansa hunting grounds slightly to the east and south. There was a trail running south from the Smoky Hill River that crossed the Arkansas around Sterling, Kansas, and the hunting grounds were from south of the Arkansas River to the Negracka (Ninnescah); or present Stafford, Reno, and Pratt Counties (Wedel, 1959:40). Pike also reports an abandoned Kansa hunting camp from the previous summer in Marion County (Wedel, 1959:39).

Perhaps this slight shift towards the east is indicative of the influence the Comanche had in the southcentral plains. It is fairly well known that the Comanche and others had spread into the Plains around 1700 (Voget, 1974:vol. I, 297). Wedel (1959:634-5) mentions the Apache as middlemen in the trade from the Southwest to the Plains; and that the shifting of peoples in the area between the Platte and the Arkansas Rivers appears to have been complete by around 1725.

It has already been ascertained that the Kansa are a Dhegiha Siouan tribe, practicing a semi-horticultural subsistence strategy. This may be inaccurate. Voget (1974: vol. I, 4) states:

"From the seasonal cycle of the Osage, it may be concluded that the Osage supplemented their meat diet with Maize, beans, and squash together with wild fruits and roots, rather than the reverse. In this respect they seem to have been not unlike other hunting groups also practicing part-time horticulture, such as the Kansa, Oto, and Pawnee."

Lewis and Clark in 1804 said that the Kansa are in their villages (along the Kansas River) from March 15th to May 15th, and from August 15th to October 15th, and that the rest of the year they were hunting. "They hunt on the upper part of the Kansas and Arkansas Rivers." (Champe, 1974:432-3) If this were the case 100 to 200 years earlier, more time was spent hunting than in the permanent villages.

In point of fact, some horticulture may have been practiced at these hunting camps. Bell's party of Long's expedition on August 15, 1820, reported an abandoned hunting camp on the Arkansas River, perhaps around Wichita. It had bark-covered lodges, a few pumpkins, watermelons, and some corn growing (Wedel, 1959:41). As already mentioned, bark-covered lodges are characteristic of the Kansa, and the embedded strategy would explain the scapula hoes in some sites.

Another problem presented is determination of house type (Marshall, 1969:82). It is known that the earthlodge was in use by the early 1700's; however, the bark-covered lodge was also in use and probably predates the earthlodge. In housing types the Kansa historically demonstrated both Mississippian and Central Plains styles. In this regard Tixier (1940: 200-1) states:

"I noticed how different the Kansa lodges were from ours [Osages]. Each frame was covered with skins decorated with red, yellow, blue, and black designs which, through their primitive simplicity, recall the ancient Egyptian paintings. These lodges, the lower parts of which were very much like ours, were covered with semi-cylindrical roofs, raised in the middle in the shape of a tent. Several warriors had real tents made of painted skins."

These bark-covered lodges may not leave a good postmold pattern to be discerned by the archeologist. Or perhaps the answer to the problem may be discovered in another of Tixier's observations during the bison hunt and visit to the salt plains near present Salina, Kansas. He states:

"A prairie camp was made, that is to say, the lodges were not built. Stakes were driven into the ground, supporting skins stretched vertically which sheltered us from the west" [Tixier, 1940:252].

The Kansa also visited another salt deposit of special significance. Unrau (1975:20-22) states:

"An unusual salt spring near the fork of the Solomon River recently inundated by the Glen Elder Reservoir in north-central Kansas, held special religious significance [to the Kansa]. Because its salt banks rose to a height of nearly thirty feet, the Kaws named it Ne-pa-ho-la, meaning 'Water on the hill. . . Kaws repeatedly visited the sacred site to throw valuable charms into the salty brine. . ."

Living near such a sacred site would certainly not be considered unusual, and probably beneficial.

A final problem to be considered is the location of the Kansa before the contacts with the French. It has already been shown that the historical location involves some shifting around in northeastern and northcentral Kansas. Also mentioned was the displacement of the Plains Apache. In this regard Wedel (1959:636) states "At about the time the Apache were being disposed by the Comanches in western Kansas, the Kansa in the northeast part of the State were coming into recorded contact with the French." It is my contention that the Kansa were also disposed of the western portion of their range at this time and thus coming into greater contact with the French, and thereby losing part of their material culture.

In summary then, the seasonal habitation of the Kansa Indians in the historic period, following a pedestrian bison hunting and horticultural subsistence pattern, is probably a prehistoric cultural pattern. The Kansa perhaps lost part of their range and moved slightly to the east under pressure from other peoples in the early 1700's. Already demonstrated are a familiarity with pedestrian bison hunts, horticulture at hunting camps, and ethnohistorical usage of the area shortly (25 to 75 years) after the period in question.