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The marbles on the ring and leaves his marble outside of the ring takes that marble and then shoots at another marble on the ring. After all four marbles on the ring are moved, he shoots at the "middleman" in the center of the ring. If he knocks it out of the ring without being fouled (leaving his marble in the ring), his side scores one point and the marbles are replaced. When a player missed a shot or took out the central marble, play passed to the opposing team. When a team had scored four points (four middlemen knocked out of the ring either on a lay shot or after clearing the ring of the outer four marbles), the game was won and the wagers were divided among the winning team.

The Relationship Between Games and Rituals

Most of the games played by the Cherokee outlived the other ceremonies associated with them. At present, with the growth of the town and the adoption of the native belief system and of its ceremonial cycles, some traditional games have disappeared. However, few like lacrosse, have become completely secularized. In rare cases, the link of game to ceremony was so strong that the game was transferred into a new religious context when the Cherokee converted to Christianity. For example, traditionally the basket dice game was played on the last evening of a major calendric interval (winter solstice), on the evening before the Eagle Dance. When all other traces of the old ritual cycle had been abandoned, the basket game was still played on New Year's Eve in Christian households.

It has frequently been suggested that all games originated as ritual, and were then secularized into gambling and amusements. The Cherokee provide an unusual case, where the original nature of the games is still very apparent, and the transformation from religious to secular can be traced and understood.

The Cosmopolitan Restaurant in the 1860s. Photographer was standing on Main Street. Figures in white aprons are probably Chinese cooks. (Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society)

Silver Reef Project: Creation of a "Historic Ethnography" for a 19th Century American Mining Town on the Western Frontier

Since 1981 the American Historical Society of Utah's University Museum has been running a project that alternates between digging in the ground and digging into archives. The Silver Reef Project is the first attempt to create an ethnography—now complete as possible a cultural reconstruction—of an American mining town during the 1880s. Equal attention has been given to the physical remains of Silver Reef, its few standing ruins, numerous foundations, archaeological deposits and overall settlement pattern, and to the surprisingly extensive written records produced by the town's inhabitants. Starting with an initial two week visit-survey to southwestern Utah in 1980, during which over twenty potential sites including the ghost town at Silver Reef, were reviewed, the project sequence over the last seven years has moved between field and archival research.

Fieldwork: The site was mapped and extensive surface collecting carried out. Buildings excavated so far include the Elk Horn Saloon (ca. 1877-91), the Case-Wagner Drug Store (ca. 1877-90), and the backyard of the Cosmopolitan Restaurant (ca. 1877-95; see below).

Archaeology: Surveys have been made of all official documents relating to Silver Reef residing in the Utah State-Territorial Archives in Salt Lake City and the Washington County archives in St. George. Abstraction of all mining claims for the area around the town has been carried out. Eastern Cherokee and property transactions have been carried out. Secondary repository sites in Indiana and California were also visited.

From Boom Town to Ghost Town

An ethnographic view of 19th century Silver Reef can take either of two very different perspectives: local or global. Silver Reef was a discrete community and an examination of its archaeological remains immediately draws its boundaries. It was spatially set off from adjacent sites, including Leese, the old Mormon village only a mile away. Culturally it was also set off in the 19th century, as a "Gerstle" or non-Mormon community, from all the contemporary settlements carried out. Secondary reposi-
Hamilton, then south to Pinche (1878-79), and finally across the border into southwestern Utah Territory where Silver Reef was founded between 1875 and 1877. However, this geographical and temporal outline, although probably correct in very general terms, needs much more investigation. In 1880 there were over 1000 people in the town. Where did they come from, what position did they occupy at Silver Reef, and where did they go as the community dissolved? None of this will be revealed until the 1890 Silver Reef citizens have been opted, and even if only a good sample of the 1000 inhabitants in 1880 can be traced, this pattern will result in the most detailed case study of movement on the mining frontier. Similarly, where did the material culture which accompanied and surrounded these people come from and how did it function on the site? We know of mining equipment from Zaneville, Ohio, as recorded in the newspapers; singer ale from Belfast, porter from London, wines from France, chewing tobacco from Saint Louis, and ceramics from the Midlands of England and East Liverpool, Ohio, as recorded in the bottles, tobacco tags, and sherds recovered archaeologically.

Findings from the 1987 Field Season

Archaeological fieldwork in 1987 involved a six-week excavation at the site of the Cosmopolitan Restaurant. This structure, which today exists only as a foundation, was built in 1877 by Mrs. Margaret Grambs. It was burnt to the ground on May 30, 1879, and immediately rebuilt on a larger scale, and run by her as a restaurant until about 1894 or 1895. The Silver Reef archive assembled at Penrose by Margaret Grambs, a widow who was originally from Bavaria (Germany), back to Pinche, where she also ran a restaurant, and possibly earlier to the White Pine District.

Research on Mrs. Grambs' property in Silver Reef was situated on the southeast corner of Main and Centre Streets, it was clear from the written sources that this entire zone had been consumed by the fire that moved down the west side of Main Street in 1879. It was assumed that such a catastrophic event would leave some trace in the archaeological record. Avoiding any bias, the excavation was guided by the location of the supposed restaurant, and focused on the yard area west of the restaurant. Six 4-by-4 meter excavation units were opened, covering almost half of the yard. A distinct burnt layer was encountered over almost the entire site, and the largest assemblage was found sealed under this black stratum. As demolition started when the Cosmopolitan was opened for meals in 1877 and stopped temporarily when the burnt layer sealed the site on May 30, 1879, archaeologically these materials were in use and discarded at Silver Reef within a tight two-year period.

Although Mrs. Grambs is listed in an 1896 Business Directory as serving the “best hash” in Utah, she was also consuming impressive amounts of meat in her business. Very well cleaned bones, many showing details of butchering, were recovered. This fauna collection is being cleaned and labeled at the University Museum. The other major component of the assemblage is ceramics: thousands of whiteware sherds which will be restorable as vessels. Trademarks show almost all of this pottery to be English in origin.

Archaeological analysis will disclose the types and origins of Margaret Grambs' table wares and what she was serving to her customers, topics not discussed in the documents. Oral history, recorded in 1948, fills in the picture of a very popular restaurant where the employees Chinese cooks and "Mormon girl waiters." Contemporary written sources from the 19th century confirm and expand the picture. (For instance, according to the 1880 U.S. Census, Mrs. Grambs' nephew Henry Frudenthal, a 23-year-old miner, was living at the Cosmopolitan that year.)

The Pinche Weekly Record of September 6, 1894, reported in a copied story that "Takin' set out, two Celestials, arrived this week with a full restaurant outfit from Silver Reef, and will open in the build-