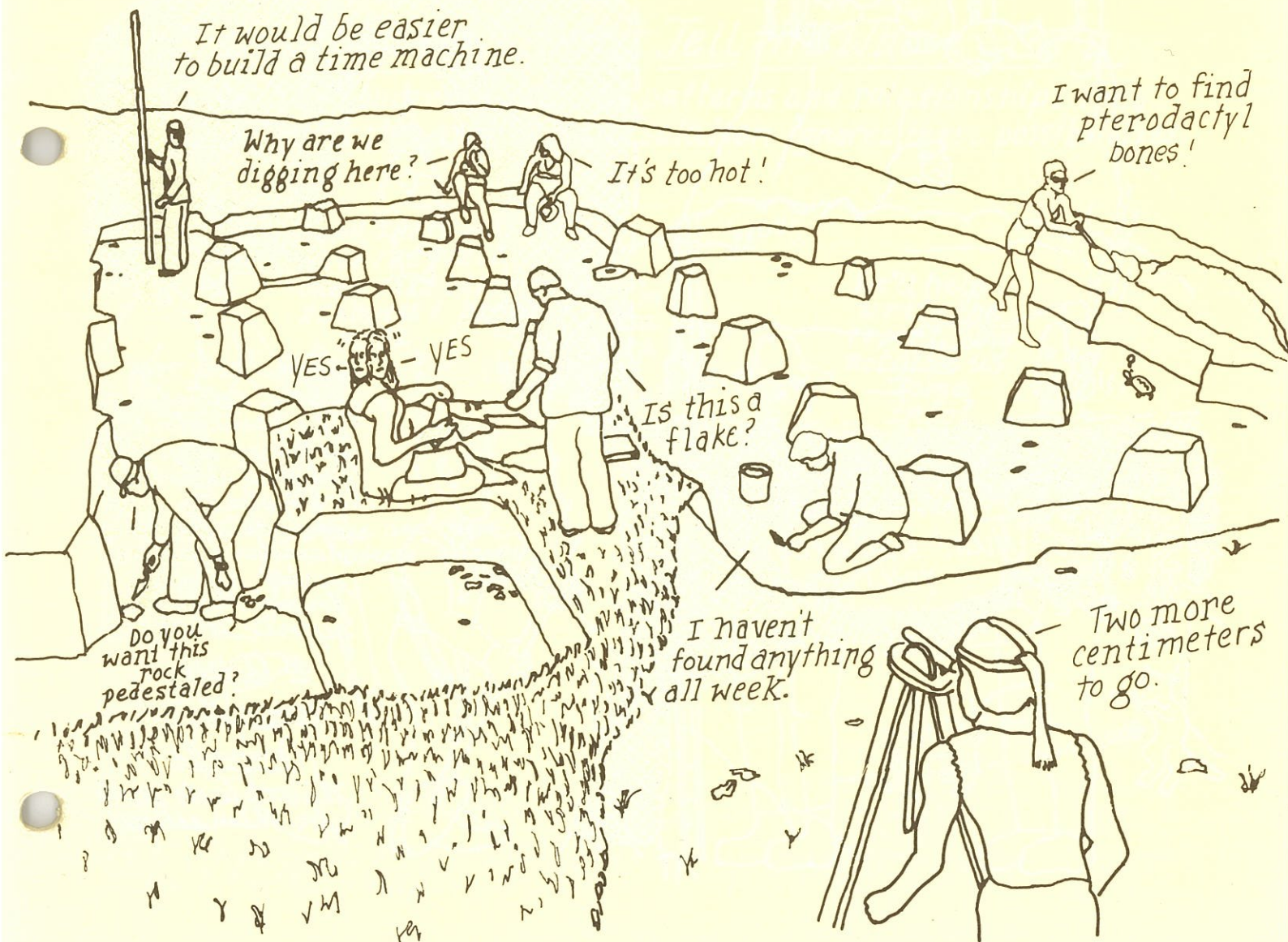


# ARTIFACTS

Vol. X No. 3, Spring 1982

The American Indian Archaeological Institute

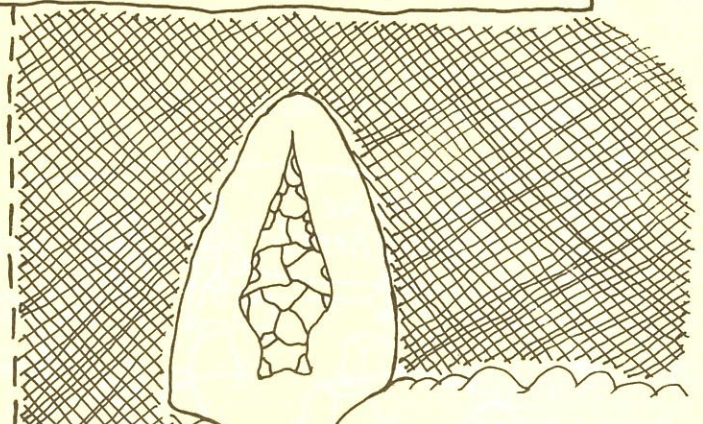
## NOT JUST...



# LATER THAT NIGHT THE FIELD DIRECTOR PONDERAS THE SITE :

I'D BETTER START THINKING ABOUT THE SITE REPORT. I JUST DON'T KNOW WHAT ANGLE TO USE. THERE'S SO MUCH DATA TO ANALYZE. THE SITE SEEMS LARGE BUT THERE'S A LOW DENSITY OF ARTIFACTS. MANY PEOPLE, SHORT DURATION? LONG TERM, FEW PEOPLE? TWO MORE HEARTHES UNCOVERED TODAY. HUM... SCATTERED FIRE-CRACKED ROCK. SCATTERED CHARCOAL. OH, I HOPE TO FIND A LARGE PIECE FOR A C<sup>14</sup> DATE. CHERT FLAKES

CHERT FLAKE QUARTZ FLAKES  
ORIENT FISH TAIL  
Z Z Z Z Z



HUH! WHO ARE YOU!



Arti Facto's my name, collecting's my gain. An o. f. point ya say? Did ya find netsinkers or a steatite bowl perhaps? Scrapers, hammerstones or picks? If you found these the reports written!

a Classic Transitional

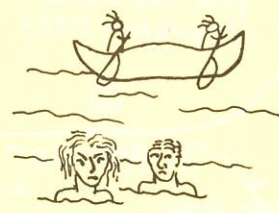
Campsite

The artifacts speak for themselves!

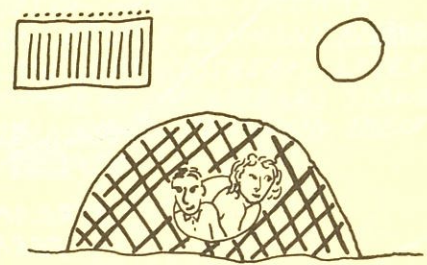
Don't you want to know something about the daily lives of the inhabitants?



How and what they hunted?



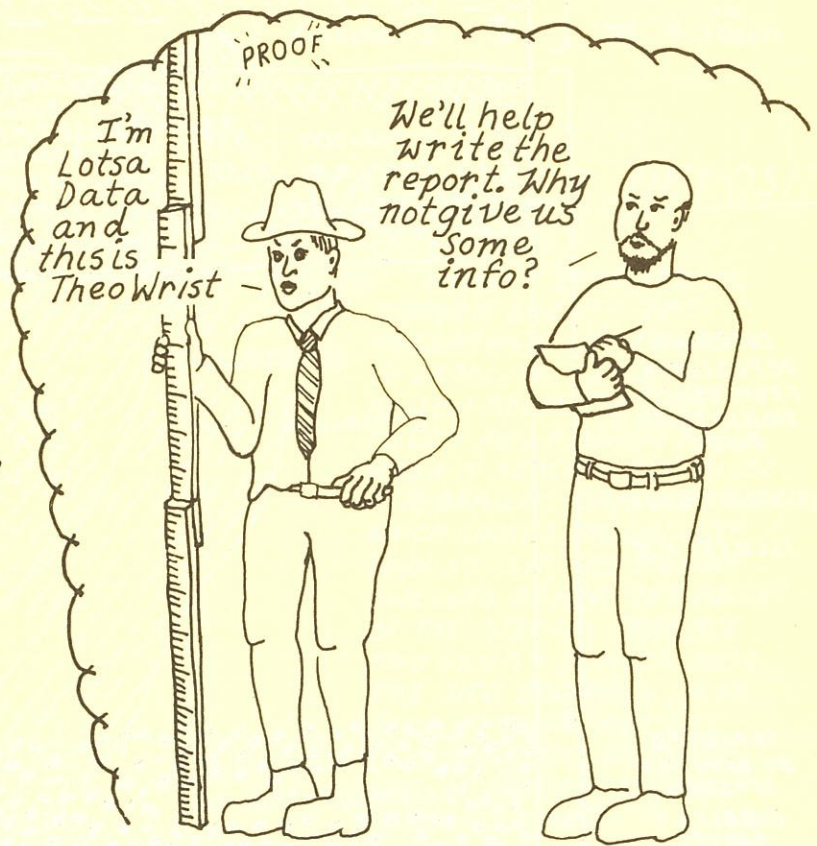
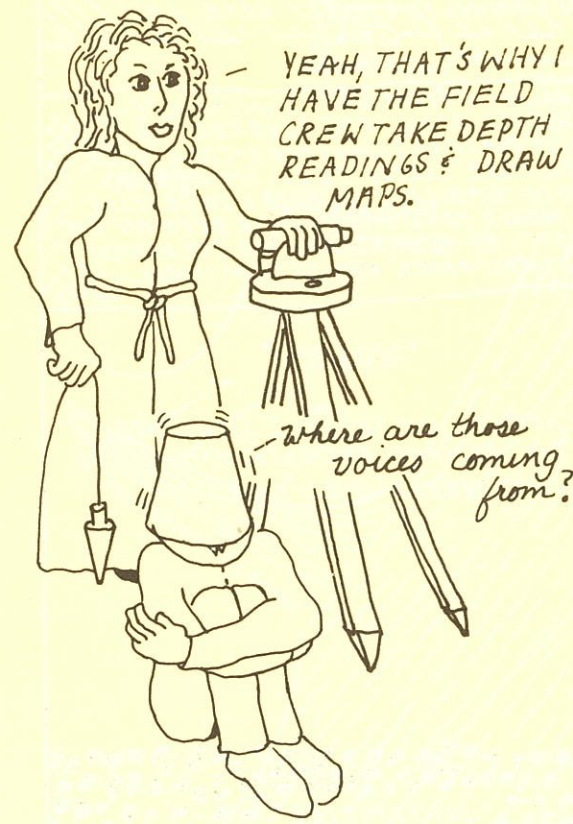
How they traveled?



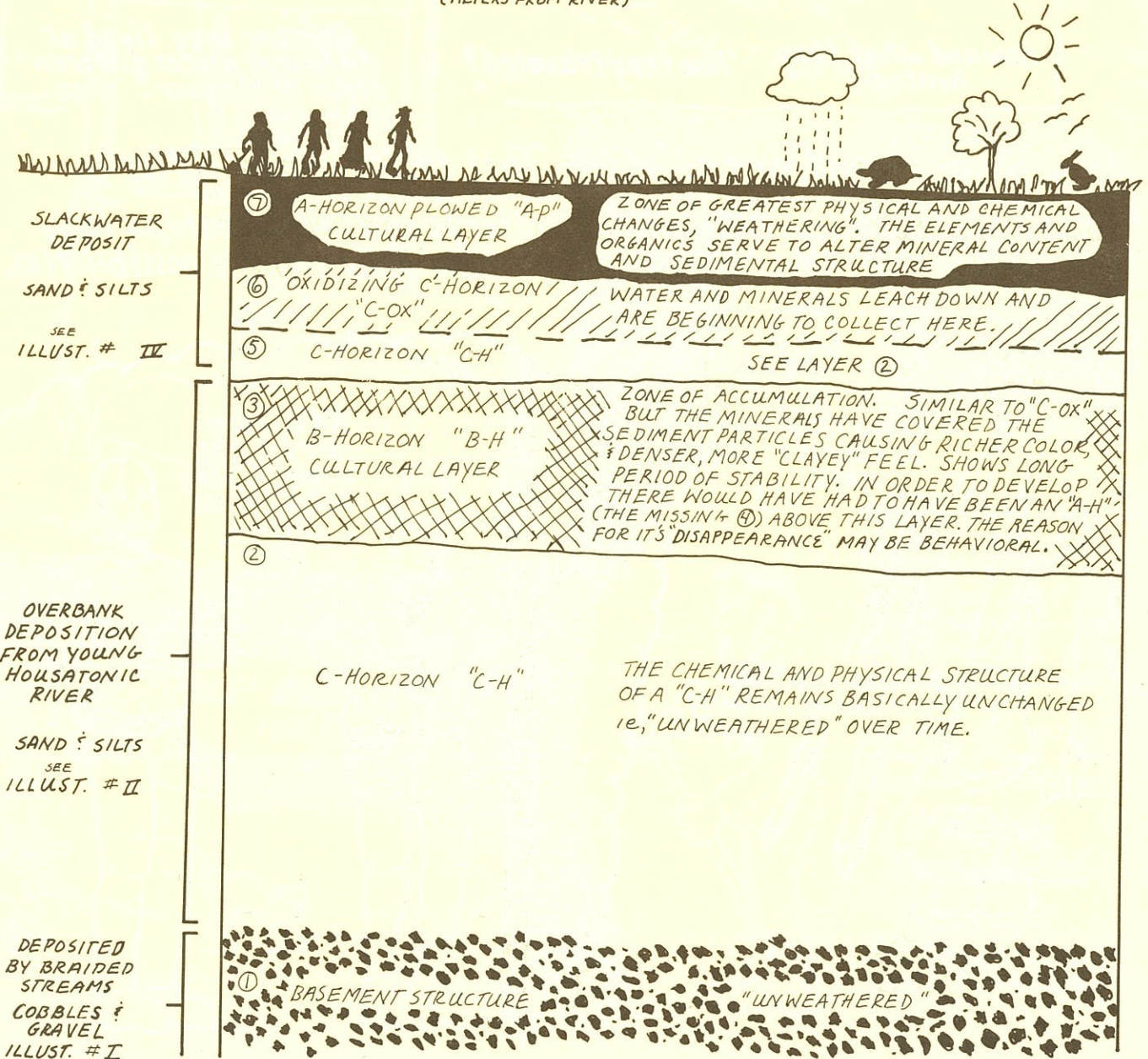
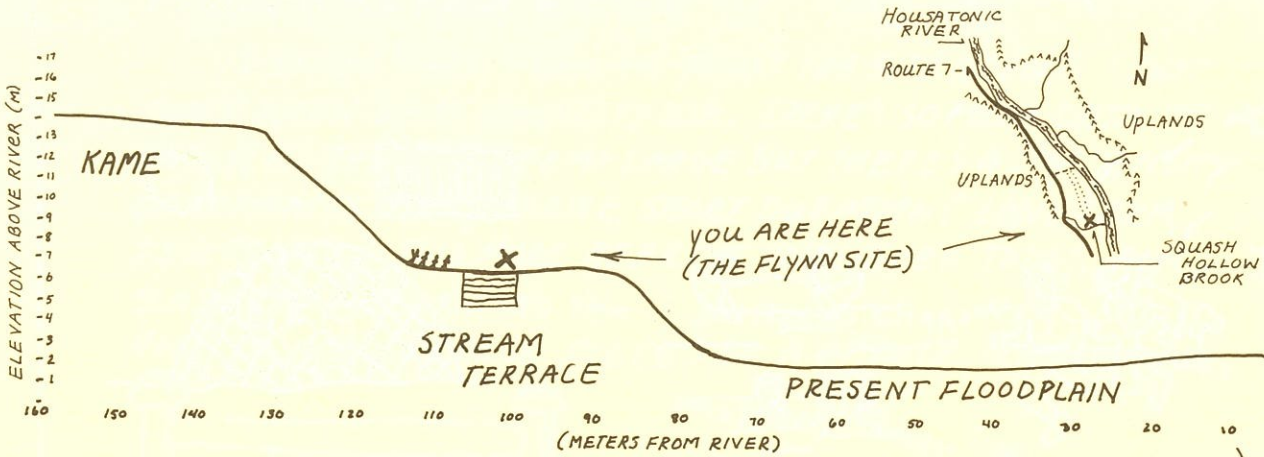
Whether they lived at different places different times of the year? If so.....

### The artifacts Don't Tell the Whole Story

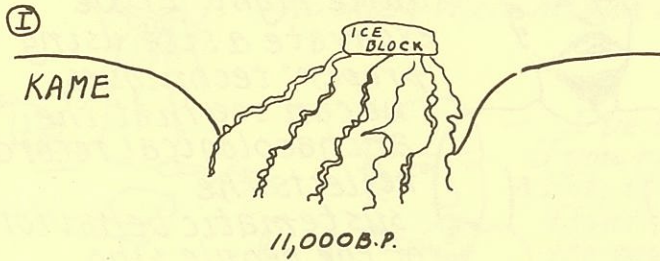
You have to be concerned with the patterns and relationships they form. Looking at the artifacts in isolation ignores these possibilities.



# THE WEATHERING PROCESS

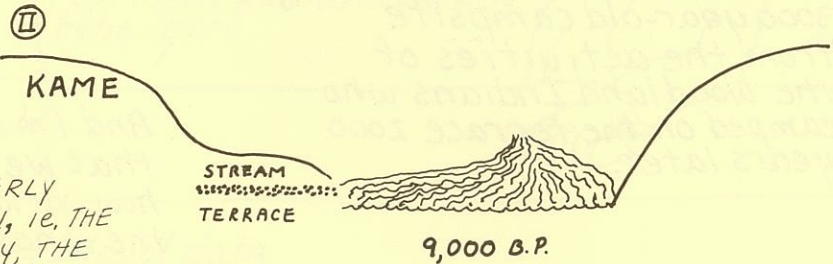


# AND DEPOSITIONAL HISTORY

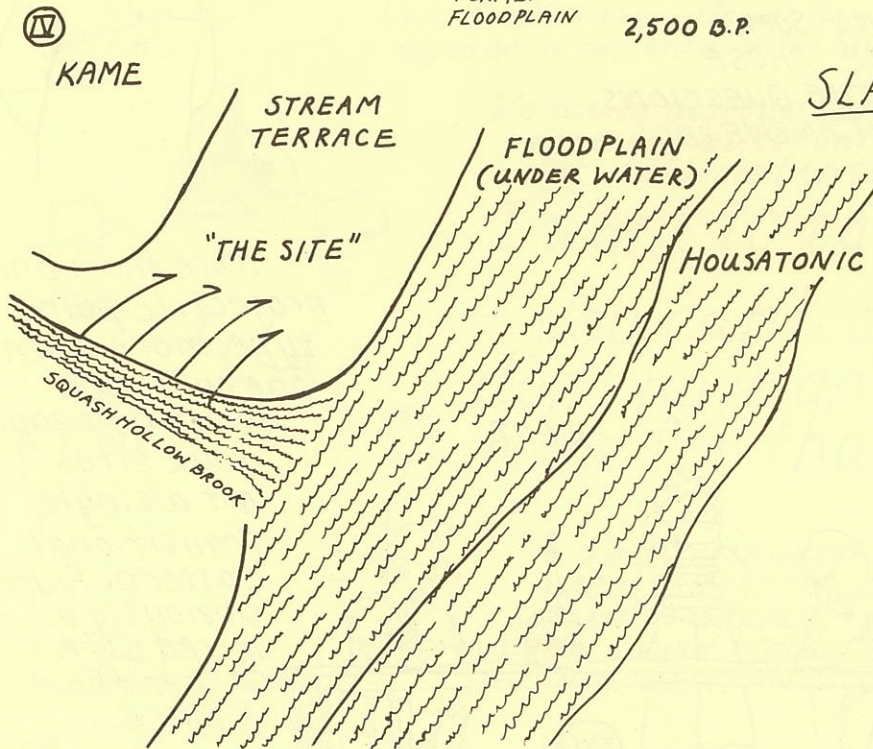
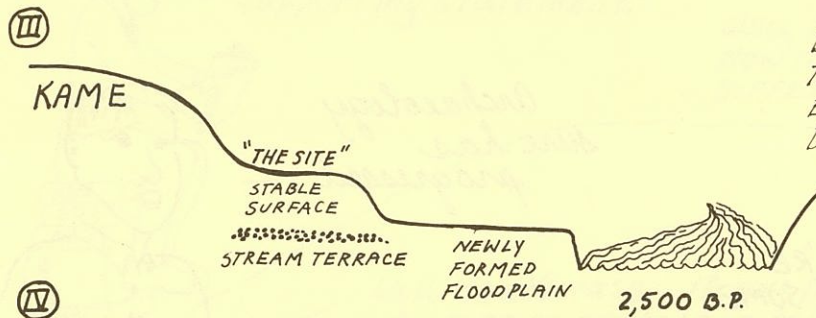


THE HOUSATONIC RIVER STARTED AS A SERIES OF "BRAIDED STREAMS" FLOWING FROM A REMNANT GLACIAL ICE BLOCK LEFT UPSTREAM. LAYER ONE FORMED AS THE STREAMS SLOWED AND MEANDERED, DROPPING THEIR ROCKY LOADS.

AFTER AWHILE THE YOUNG "HOUSATONIC" BECAME A STABLE SINGLE CHANNEL RIVER, REGULARLY DEPOSITING ONTO A FLOOD PLAIN, I.E. THE STREAM TERRACE. SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE RIVER DOWNCUT (ERODED ITS CHANNEL). EVENTUALLY A PERIOD OF GROUND SURFACE STABILITY ENSUED.



THIS STABILITY WAS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER PERIOD OF ACTIVITY. THE RIVER BEGAN TO MEANDER EASTWARD AND A NEW FLOOD PLAIN DEVELOPED.



## SLACKWATER DEPOSIT

DURING A "CATASTROPHIC HISTORIC EVENT" THE HOUSATONIC WAS FILLED TO CAPACITY. SQUASH HOLLOW BROOK TOO, WAS FILLED AND FLOWING FAST. WHEN IT REACHED THE RIVER A HYDRAULIC DAM WAS CREATED WHICH CHOKED THE OUTLET. WITH NO EXIT, THE STREAM SWELLED BEYOND THE HEIGHT OF THE STREAM TERRACE AND GENTLY FLOWED OVER THE SITE DROPPING UP TO 40 CM OF SAND AND SILT. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS HAPPENED ONE OR SEVERAL TIMES.

These geological processes determine the form of the archaeological record. The slackwater deposit protected the site from destruction by historic plowing and separated the 3000 year-old campsite from the activities of the Woodland Indians who camped on the terrace 2000 years later.



- Quite right. If we excavate a site using "proper" techniques, we can see that the archaeological record reflects the systematic behavior of the people who left those artifacts behind.

And I'm sure that you'll agree that we want to find out just how various people adapted to the landscape. You see Arti,

There's more than just artifacts



Archaeology sure has progressed



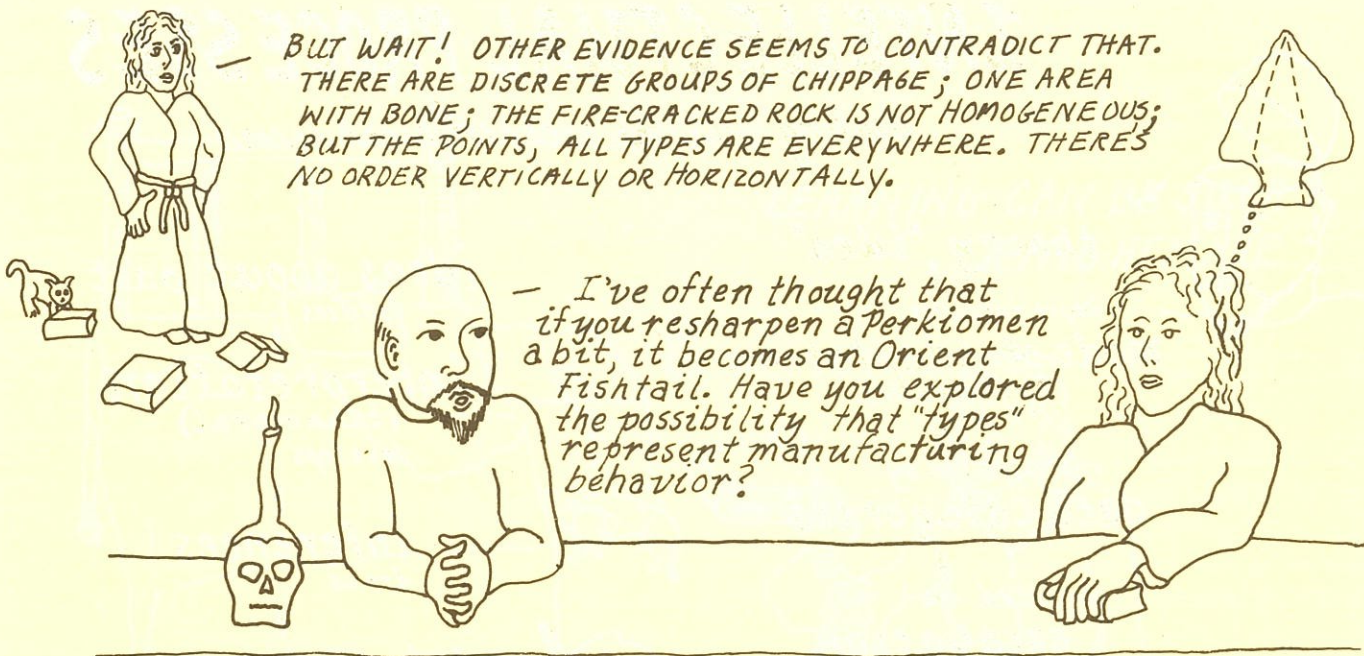
NOW WE'RE GETTING SOMEWHERE. THOSE ARE THE QUESTIONS I WANT ANSWERED!

OK. Lets write it now!  
I hear you have more than one projectile-point type.

- RIGHT



More than one projectile-point type, more than one cultural group of people. your site's not a single Transitional pattern. Flynn's obviously a mixed site rather than pure.



BUT WAIT! OTHER EVIDENCE SEEMS TO CONTRADICT THAT. THERE ARE DISCRETE GROUPS OF CHIPPAPE; ONE AREA WITH BONE; THE FIRE-CRACKED ROCK IS NOT HOMOGENEOUS; BUT THE POINTS, ALL TYPES ARE EVERYWHERE. THERE'S NO ORDER VERTICALLY OR HORIZONTALLY.

I've often thought that if you resharpen a Perkiomen a bit, it becomes an Orient Fishtail. Have you explored the possibility that "types" represent manufacturing behavior?

But I can recite piles of data from all over the Northeast. Hundreds of archaeologists support my statement.

WELL, AH, LET'S TALK ABOUT HOW TO "SEE" THESE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS.

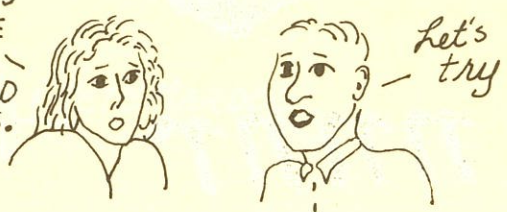
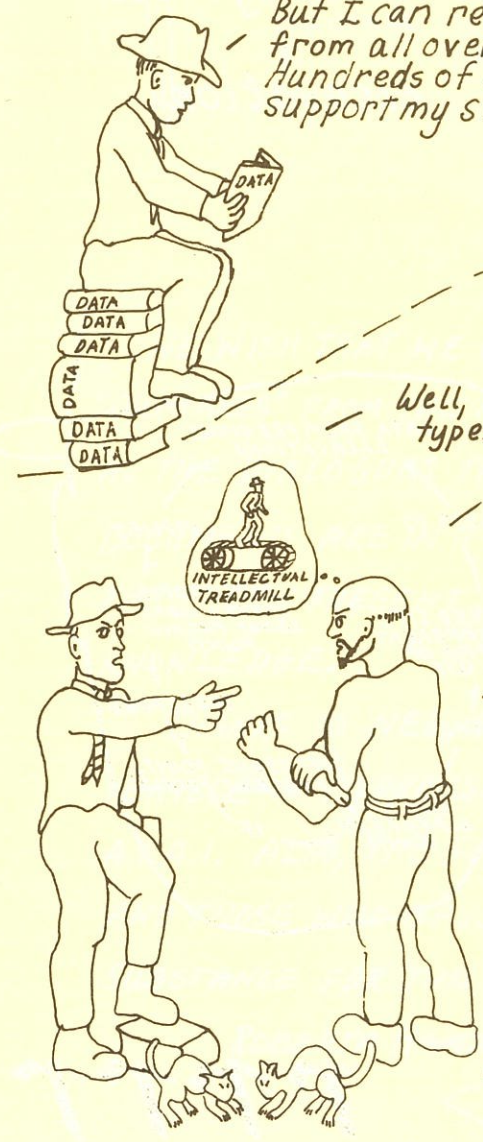
Well, that's easy. If you have different point types or an advance in technology or.....

We could discover overlapping patterns which represent different uses at different times not reflected in tool morphology.

I want to talk behavior!

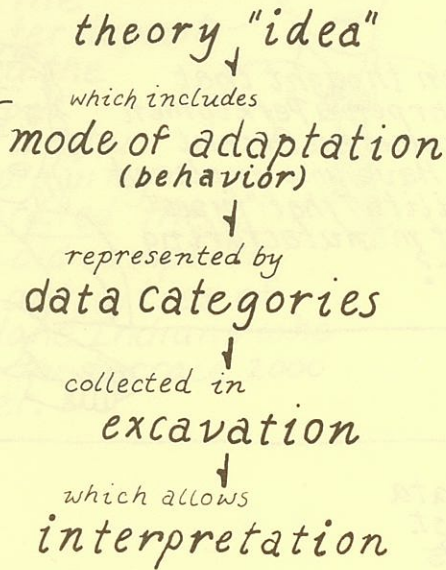
- You can't do that. We don't have an observational mode for that!

FIRST THESE GUYS AGREE, NOW THEY'RE SCREAMING AT EACH OTHER. I WISH I COULD LOOK INTO THEIR MINDS.



# INTELLECTUAL PROCESSES

dealing with the archaeological record



ideas about past  
 codifies

↑  
 interpretation  
 (behavioral)

develops

↑  
 inferences

draws

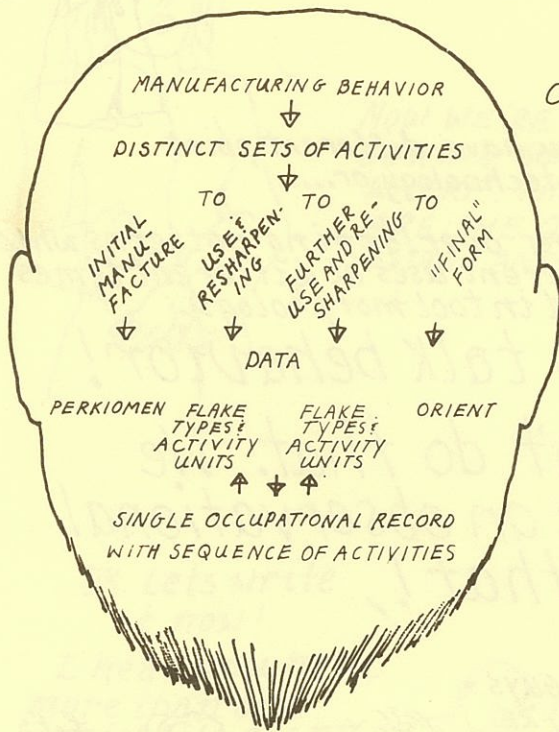
↑  
 data categories

examines

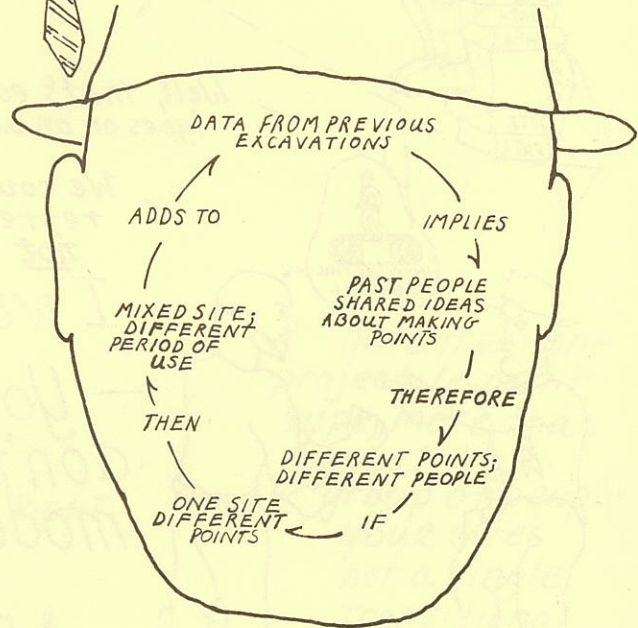
↑  
 excavation



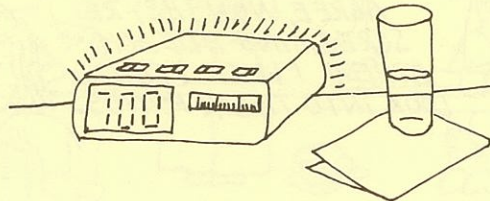
LET'S TRY AGAIN



chains of inquiry

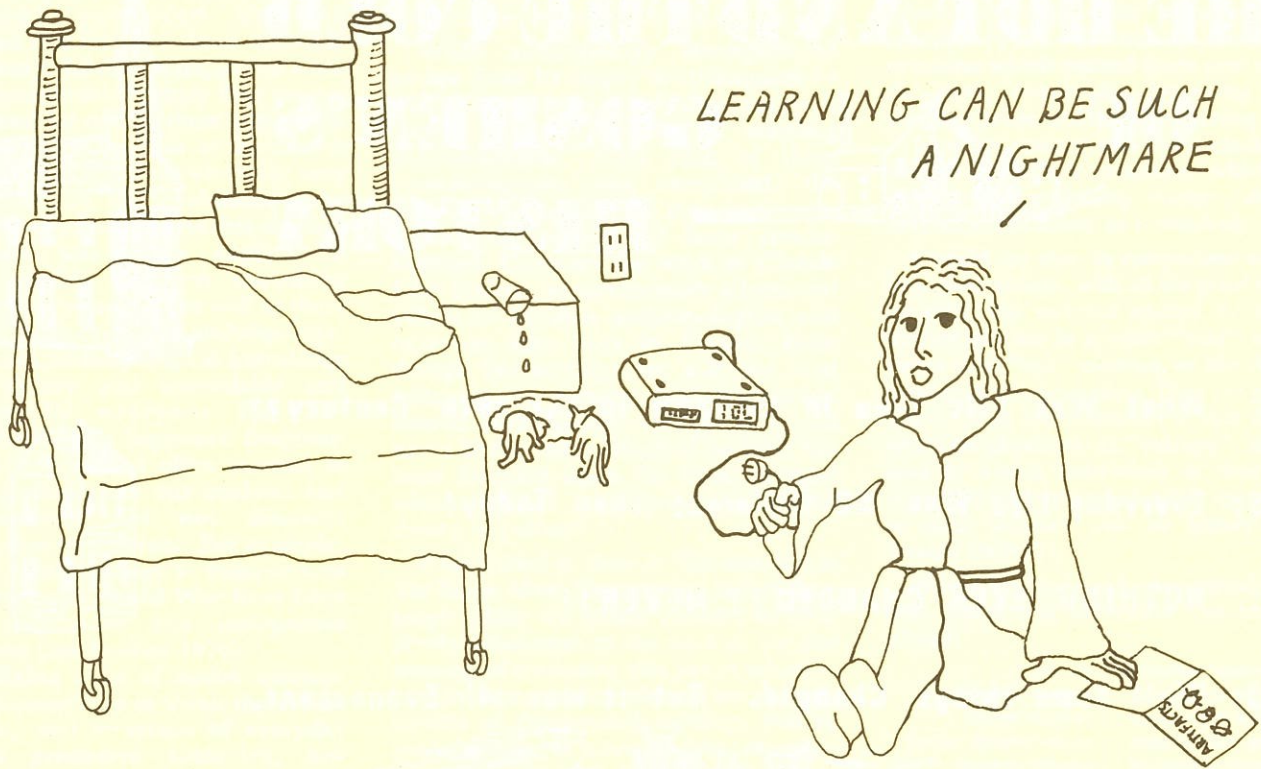


nnnn



rrrr





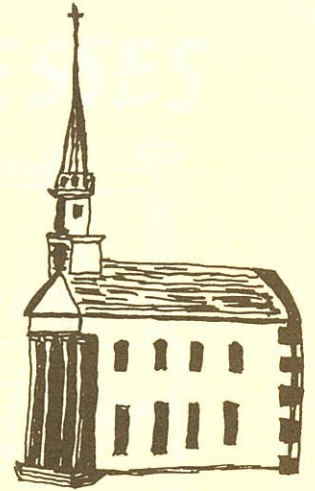
### BACK WORDS

WE WISH THAT WE COULD DEVOTE THE REST OF THIS ISSUE TO "OUT TAKES" FROM THIS ARTICLE, AS THEY WOULD BE AS INSTRUCTIVE AS THE DIALOGUES THEMSELVES. ALL THOUGHTS AND DOCUMENTS ARE IN A SENSE "ARTIFACTS". IT IS BY EXAMINING THE PAST & PRESENT, PRESENT AND PAST THAT WE ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE.

THANKS TO NED, SUSIE & PEGGY WHO HAVE ALLOWED THIS VEHICLE OF EXPRESSION TO REACH THE MEMBERS OF THE A.I.A.I. ALSO, THE FIELD CREWS AT FLYNN IN 1979, '80 & '81 AND THOSE WHO GAVE NEEDED FUNDS. ALL HAVE PROVIDED SUBSTANCE FOR THIS RUMINATION.

ROBERTA HAMPTON, RUSS HANDSMAN & PETE MARDOC

# THE HOT AND THE COLD OF GOSHEN'S HISTORY



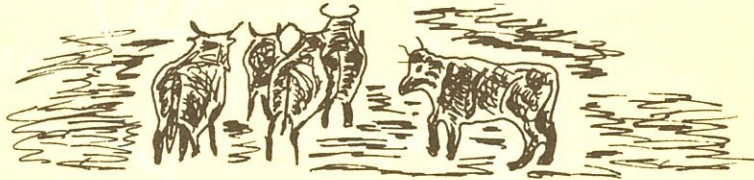
**M:** What Was Life Like in GOSHEN in the 19th Century??

**L·S:** Everyday Life Was NO Different Than Today!

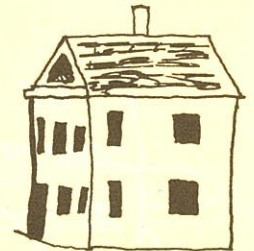
**M:** NOTHING EVER CHANGED?? NEVER!!



**L·S:** Well Some things Changed, But it was all Evanescent.

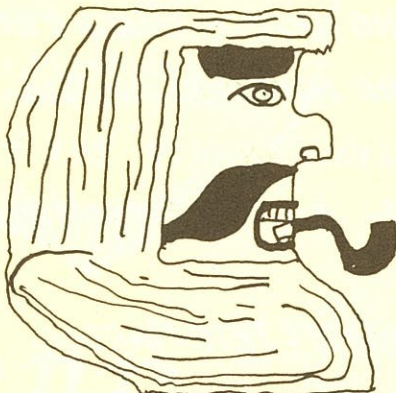


**M:** HUH!?? WHAT?? What does...



**L·S:** Evanescent: Short-lived, momentary, not ever-lasting.

**M:** OH! So it always was cold in Goshen.



*Talking Heads in the Center Village of Goshen. A Dialogue between Karl Marx and Claude Lévi-Strauss.*

In one sense anthropology is no different than any other natural or social science or humanistic discipline. For more than a century it has wandered between two poles or states-of-being: anthropology produced exciting discoveries and insights about others or it was dreary. Little has happened since the mid-nineteenth century that cannot be described by one of these adjectives. When anthropology was at its best it studied the lives of people who were very different from us, the inhabitants of the modern Western world. As this implicit comparison was made explicit, it became possible to learn something about our everyday lives as well as those described traditionally by anthropology.

When did anthropological knowledge become dreary and unreadable and forgotten by everyone but anthropologists? This happened frequently; when it occurred often seemed to reflect a period when our analyses and interpretations did not discover anything new or different. For example, most of anthropology's comparisons since the second World War have been empty, devoid of any interpretive significance (see Sahlins 1976).

By utilizing a set of *modern* assumptions and categories to think the ordering, logic, and structure of everyday lives in *premodern* societies, anthropologists transformed the uniqueness of others into pale reflections of ourselves. The result is a world populated with "Westerners," a global society which exhibits no historical depth. This process of homogenization accounts for our sense of boredom; there is nothing as dreary as continually discovering our world somewhere else.

Today American history and historical archaeology are situated at the critical interpretive juncture between fascination and familiarity. Each is capable of escaping "the muddle of meaningless comparison" by reappropriating two aspects of American anthropology's Victorian past:

1. The primal separation of us from them must be reinvented since it implies that everyday life elsewhere can be thought, conceptualized, and enacted within systems of logic and organization whose meaning is different from that of the modern world (Geertz 1975).

2. Such a separation must have analytical significance for the study of premodern, historic America since a fully modern ideology did not develop here until the mid-to-late nineteenth century. It may even be possible that premodern everyday life — or culture — continues to exist inside contemporary America.

The remainder of this article demonstrates how these two tenets are capable of transforming how we write history, how we might do historical archaeology, and how we think about the past of New England's villages. Such an

excursion also reveals the form that one sort of research program might take as the Institute prepares for its next half-decade of study.

#### *Claude Lévi-Strauss and the Hot and the Cold*

When anthropology attempted to escape from its empty ventriloquism — which it managed as often as not — it usually did so through a startling metamorphosis. After each of these transformations was completed, the discipline's approach to data and interpretations usually had been revolutionized. Consider the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, simultaneously a hero and villain to modern anthropologists and everyone who lives in France. Even though his writings are still not read widely in this country, Lévi-Strauss has altered anthropology enough so it will never be the same. Much of his work has been founded upon the basic premise which defined anthropology's original theory of culture:

What I tried to show in *Totemism* and in *The Savage Mind*, for instance, is that these people whom we usually consider as completely subservient to the need of not just starving, of continuing able just to subsist in very harsh material conditions, are perfectly capable of disinterested thinking; that is, they are moved by a need or desire to understand the world around them, its nature and their society . . . to achieve that end, they proceed by intellectual means, exactly as a philosopher, or even to some extent a scientist, can and would do (Lévi-Strauss 1979:16).

The point of this retrospective quote is to reconstitute the separation of the "primitive" world from modern lives and to reveal that conceptual thought is not solely a sign of civilization. Although he draws an obvious analogy and interpretive connection between the premodern and modern, Claude Lévi-Strauss always insists that these two worlds are dissimilar. Each is logical, consistent, patterned, and profound; however, neither should be valorized over the other nor is it possible to understand one through the other's concepts. So while primitive or what he called savage thought might be akin to philosophy or science, it is not Western or modern.

If all this was true — and it had to be or anthropologists never could have invented culture — then the dramatic differences between these systems of thought must be reflected somehow in everyday life. For Lévi-Strauss premodern worlds were encompassed by wholes or totalities which were not highly differentiated. Unlike primitive society, which did not separate economy from kinship from myth, modern systems were built of highly segmented institutions, each of which was composed of differentiated and specialized parts.

These structural differences — wholeness on the one hand and segmentation on the other — determined how each of these worlds functioned. We can think of primitive society as a clock which operated with regularity and specific cycles. It was a mechanical machine which passed from one state to the next, eventually returning to its starting point and then beginning again.

Modern society was not a clock but a steam engine, a machine which was capable of producing energy, change, and differentiation as it worked:

I would say that, in comparison with our own great society, with all the great modern societies, the societies studied by the anthropologist are in a sense "cold" societies rather than "hot" societies, or like clocks in relation to steam-engines. They are societies which create the minimum of that disorder which the physicists call "entropy", and they tend to remain indefinitely in their initial state, and this explains why they appear to us as static societies with no history (Lévi-Strauss 1969:33).

Now the chain of conceptualization and theoretical invention can be completed:

Them :	Us :	Primitive :	Modern
Primitive :	Modern :	Clocks :	Engines
Clocks :	Engines :	Cycles :	Differentiations
Cycles :	Differentiations :	Stability :	Change
Stability :	Change :	No History :	History
No History :	History :	COLD :	HOT

Victorian anthropology began by distinguishing them from us or the premodern from the modern. Claude Lévi-Strauss reappropriated this separation and traced its implications through a series of transformations which linked structure, function, everyday life, and history.

Some of these transformational pairs are quite suggestive and have provided contemporary anthropologists with useful analytical frameworks and significant interpretive insights. However most of these analyses have been focused on the *vertical dimension* of the sequence. One side of the framework has been employed to study primitive society or culture while the other half has aided examinations of the modern world. The horizontal aspects or relationships — especially the pairs of no history and history and cold and hot — have virtually been ignored. As this second dimension is forgotten, anthropology and history lose the opportunity to study the processes through which the modern world emerged from the premodern. Put another way, how did the cold become hot, if it ever did?

#### *Urbanization and the Web of American Kinship: Models for Premodern Settlement*

Historical archaeology today — and I mean right now — is situated at the most critical intellectual junction that it

has ever faced in its short life. Gradually, usually under the influence of social and economic historians and cultural geographers, historical archaeologists are beginning to claim the nineteenth century as their own. This redefinition of the discipline's boundaries is not simply an expansion away from the earlier colonial period but also is representative of a commitment to study the histories and processes associated with the appearance of modern American capitalism (see the study of Canaan, 1981 Summer issue of *Artifacts*).

This shift towards the nineteenth century has affected the practice of historical archaeology in two distinct and rather remarkable ways. First the interpretation of the historic past has become less oriented towards detailed reconstructions and more concerned with understanding and explaining history and change. We used to expend a lot of time and effort in producing "interpretive photographs," snapshots of what a site — and by extension everyday life — looked like in 1620 or 1750 or even 1790. Some of these reconstructions were incredibly detailed — I still drool over the recent work centered around Jamestown<sup>1</sup> — yet all are specific, frozen, arbitrary, thin sections of life.

In order to account for the emergence of modern America, particularistic archaeological studies are being abandoned. Instead historical archaeologists are writing comparative, processual histories which reveal how different the premodern world was from its descendants in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In some sense the photographic slices are being altered into film.

Embedded within this change of perspective — indeed defined by it — is a second reformation which is capable of transforming the discipline. Once it is agreed that premodern and modern everyday lives are not the same, then the processes which encompassed these changes must be reflected in the associated archaeological records. New data, never before recognized, are now constantly appearing in historical archaeology. More often old data or patterns, once thought to be sacred and objective facts, are being rethought.

Perhaps the most provocative example of this sort of revisionist interpretation is the New England village. Originally understood as a timeless form representative of initial and continuing settlement, the village is now conceptualized as artifact (Daniels 1979, Handsman 1981a, McManis 1975, Wood 1978). Its nucleated pattern of houses and shops and a church surrounding a green appeared on each landscape as a reflection of recognizable processes, usually sometime during the

Table I: Residential Density of Some Center Villages during the Late Eighteenth Century

Town	No. of Inhabitants in Center Village	Date	% of Total Population
Fairfield	510	1777	8
Farmington	300	1781	5
HARTFORD	1500	1786	31
Harwinton	0	1786	0
Litchfield	300	1781	10
Middletown	1140	1783	14
NEW HAVEN	1968	1772	25
Sharon	60	1776	3
Simsbury	108	1736	8
Washington	48	1781	3

Those towns that are capitalized had become center villages by the turn of the nineteenth century. Otherwise the data demonstrates that the majority of each town's inhabitants were living outside the center village through the end of the eighteenth century. Based upon Appendix X in Bruce Daniels' (1979:197) *The Connecticut Town*.

nineteenth century:

The closely-gathered compact settlements that dot the present-day New England landscape, and fit our idea of what a village should be, emerged only in the Federal period, in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century. Such villages mark not so much an agrarian past, though their roots are firmly agrarian, but one manifestation of the emergence of an urban society in New England (Wood 1978:5).

Prior to the development of Federal nucleated villages, the landscape of Connecticut was dominated by a pattern of dispersed farmsteads, surrounded by individualized land holdings. Within each town(ship) the majority of the resident population occupied houses which were situated in the "hinterlands," outside the locality of a center village (see Table I)<sup>2</sup>.

For example, Goshen was formed initially in late 1737; its original proprietors and settlers constructed a series of dispersed farmhouses distributed throughout the town. For more than eight decades the property adjacent to and between these original farmsteads was subdivided and each new unit became the focus of residential, agricultural, and industrial activity. With the exception of a 50-year period between 1830 and 1880, all of the town's settlement activity was concentrated in the outlying regions.

Goshen's two nucleated settlements did not develop until approximately 1820 to 1830. Then West Goshen and the town's actual center village began to emerge on the landscape, and became stabilized by the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1870 an historic map of Goshen would have included two different patterns of habitation which was reflected in the town's contemporary architectural landscape (see Figure 1). Within each nucleated settlement the extant architecture is

primarily of a Federal or slightly later Greek Revival style. One would expect to isolate such a pattern since the majority of houses in these localities were built during the first half of the nineteenth century (see next section).

Outside the two villages several amorphous and linear clusters of houses or farmsteads are depicted. Some of these, including those along East Street, Middle Street, West Street, and Milton Road, were built during the second half of the eighteenth century. Today many of these houses continue to stand and are represented by two types of Georgian architecture (Figures 1, 2, 3).

Later architectural styles, including both Federal and Victorian vernacular housing, also are recognizable in these linear clusters which surround both nucleated settlements. Each of these styles reflects construction activities associated with the subdivision and filling of unused space. Most of this second phase of building occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century.

By 1850 the internal form and content of many of the dispersed linear clusters was completed. Each was characterized by a diversity of architecture in which the Georgian and Federal styles were predominant. Each group consisted of a varying number of individuated farmsteads separated from one another by plowed fields, pastures, and woodlots. Although the size of each of these clusters was quite variable — the one located along Milton Road never contained more than six houses while East Street's once included five times that number — their internal patterns were equivalent and composed of "look-alike" farmsteads.

This form of site similitude was a reflection of the never-ending, unchanging pose of daily activity as well as the cultural web of kinship which encompassed and defined everyday life. At one level of analysis the routine or habitual necessities of owning and maintaining a farm required similar facilities, tools,

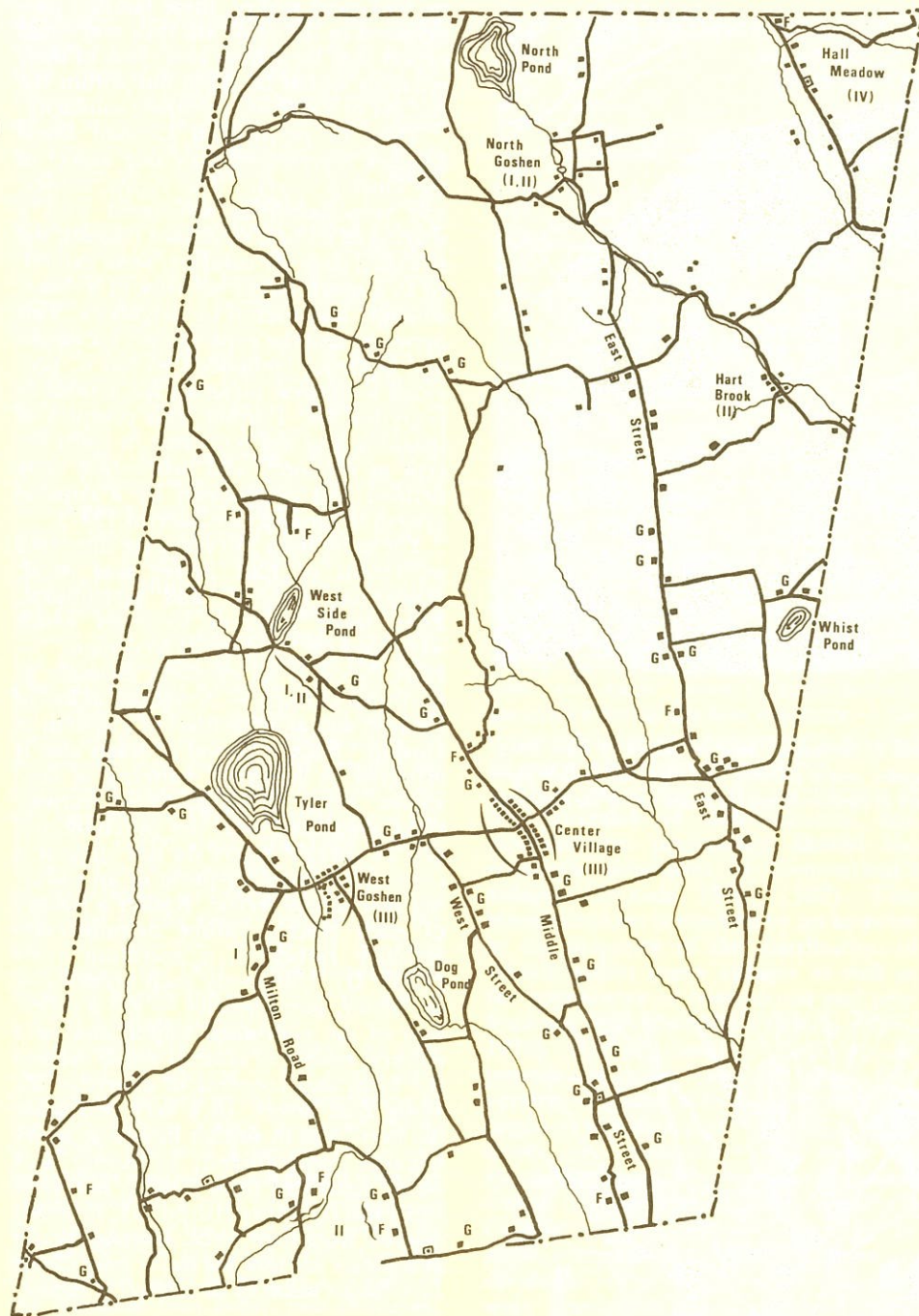


Figure 1. Phases of Historic Settlement in Goshen. Distribution of structures is based upon F. W. Beers' *County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut*. Phase I: 1740-1770. Initial settlement reflected in Georgian (G) architecture, primarily characterized by central chimneys and two front bays. Phase II: 1780-1860. Filling of unused space in the hinterlands, represented by later Georgian architecture (double chimney, 3-5 bays) and Federal (F) architecture. Phase III: 1820-1870. Development of nucleated settlements of West Goshen and the center village. Reflected in Federal vernacular styles, some Greek Revival. Phase IV: 1860/70-1900. Later phase of filling unused space in both villages and hinterland. Represented by Victorian styles including Gothic elements.

and raw materials. The size of the operation was of little consequence; the internal organization and needs of each farmstead were structurally homologous and equivalent means of production were reflected in equivalent archaeological records.

As one's analytical focus shifts from daily activity to relations of production (and the continued reproduction of these

relations) it becomes possible to write a cultural history of each dispersed settlement. Relations of production are neither behavioral nor technological; they are a cultural system of meaning which defines how people think of one another, their lives, their families, their neighbors, their kin, their work, and even their economy. In premodern Goshen the relations of production were

encompassed by a system of kinship which was more a matter of nurturing an enduring solidarity than sharing blood or biological substance. Even though individual farmsteads and other property were "owned" by families, the patterns of settlement and land transactions clearly show that families were but one limited aspect of a much wider web of kinship (see Handsman 1981b:53-75).

Within each dispersed unit of settlement one or more of these webs defined who was kin as well as the structure and meaning of economic activity (Handsman 1980a). Recent research demonstrates that such webs, as one sort of relation of production, can be recognized in two distinct patterns: one is a matter of how the web is built while the second is reflected in land values. Let us examine how each of these patterns were objectified during the historic settlement of East Street in Goshen.

During the second half of the eighteenth century much of the land in northeast Goshen was owned by four families: the Baldwins, the Beaches, the Parmelees, and the Stanleys. Two of these families consisted of a pair of brothers, so actually six conjugal families inhabited the region. Each cluster of holdings received by each of these settlers became the focus of initial settlement. Later generations received portions of these holdings through the process of familial partition<sup>3</sup>.

However, the form and meaning of settlement in this region is not a process reflected solely in the history of individuated farmsteads and lineal families. Rather a series of marital links between various descendants or relations of these original settlers provided a field of kinship within which everyday life was enacted. Two of the families actually were linked in 1718 before the settlement of Goshen. Between 1740 and 1760 five other marriages created bonds among three of the original settling families. By 1760 many of the new conjugal families which resulted from these marriages were living along East Street on farmsteads deeded to them by their fathers, who were among the town's original proprietors.

Beginning about 1780 a second group of marriages helped to intensify these early links. Many of these unions reflected earlier connections by marriage as affinal relatives formed their own conjugal families. The process of extending and intensifying this kindred complex continued through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1830 many of the conjugal families along East Street who were inhabiting dispersed farmsteads and who did not share a biogenetic connection were related by ties created by marriage and friendship. While such associations had



Figure 2. Early Georgian Farmhouse of the Initial Phase of Settlement, northern section of East Street. Diagnostic features include the bilateral and symmetrical facades, central chimney, five bays, and shallow doorway. This style represents the sort of vernacular housing built in Goshen during the second half of the eighteenth century.



Figure 3. Later Georgian Farmhouse of the Second Phase of Settlement, southern section of East Street. Diagnostic features include the symmetrical facade, five bays, and double chimney. The front porch is a marvelous example of a Victorian veranda. Note the bay window on the addition to the right. This double chimney style of Georgian architecture was popular all over Goshen between the Revolution and 1820.

no biological reality, these families participated in the same kin unit and could expect that their lives and those of their relations would be acted out within the context of a diffuse, enduring solidarity.

Thus in premodern Goshen lineal families represented only one aspect of the kinship system. The rights, duties, and responsibilities associated with a sharing of natural substance (blood), the so-called code for conduct, were extended to a much larger network of in-laws, siblings, and friends or neighbors. This network, and the expectations for norms and behavior embedded within it, provided a cultural meaning for actions in everyday life. Further, this complex of meaning was not economic in spirit except as economy and production were defined and determined by a cultural system of kinship (see Merrill 1977).

For more than 150 years the dispersed settlement of East Street was rural, residential, familial, and agricultural. Even those adjacent localities which were used for "industrial settlement" — Hart Brook is an excellent example in northeast Goshen — developed as loci of kindred and as reflections of a system of kinship.<sup>4</sup> Such a period of stasis also is reflected in historical patterns of land values. Many of the economic transactions associated with the purchase and sale of specific tracts do not suggest a continuous drive-for-profit or an enduring speculative fervor. Rather a history of each tract's values demonstrates stability rather than spiraling costs (Table II). Ultimately such histories — or, better, non-histories — are a reflection of the continued importance of a cultural system of kinship which defined the form and contents of everyday life along East Street. In a very real sense life here, and in similar localities, never became modernized; economy was never separated from kinship nor were individuals constituted as monads discrete from their webs. *Everyday life was as it always had been and that is what Claude Lévi-Strauss meant by the coldness of history.*

Table II: History of Land Values in North Goshen

Year	Tract I	Tract II	Tract III
1844		1000.00	
1857	2500.00		
1859			150.00
1862		1000.00	
1863		500.00	150.00
1867		475.00	400.00
1868			500.00
1870			500.00
1870			400.00
1871			400.00
1883	2500.00		

Unlike the patterns and processes associated with dispersed farmsteads, the development of nucleated settlements often was characterized by

dramatic transformations in each village's size and internal form or structure. *None of the center villages and mill settlements of Litchfield County were represented on the original landscape.* Between initial occupation and the Revolutionary War, a period of about three decades, small clusters of houses began to appear, sometimes in association with a church or a mill or two. These residential localities or social places often became urban villages and perhaps towns during the nineteenth century.

The transition from social places to urban villages is reflected in two sequences of development: an increase in size and a differentiation of internal structure. For example, before 1790 Falls Village was a small, nondescript social place represented by "a few scattered and indifferent houses and a decayed church without a steeple" (Dwight, Volume II, 1969:261). During the period between 1830 and 1860 this village was transformed into a residential and commercial center as the adjacent Housatonic River became the focus for industrial development. On the west bank of the river the community of Amesville was constructed around an important ironworks and cannon foundry (see Moore 1978). Beginning in the 1840's a corporation, the Falls Village Water Power Company, financed the construction of a multi-level power canal just west of the center village and the railroad. In the words of a local newspaper in 1851, "the Housatonic Falls can hardly fail to become the site of a great manufacturing city."

Although this scheme failed, its promise and the success of the Ames Iron Company, as well as the construction of the Housatonic Valley Railroad (prior to 1850), initiated a period of growth and differentiation which ended with the appearance of a true urban village. In the early 1870's the nucleated settlement of Falls Village included residential and commercial units as well as a branch of the National Iron Bank, two churches, and one hotel. Much of the commercial and business architecture was built with a distinctive Greek Revival style with sophisticated ornamental facades (Handsman 1981c:18).

Thus urbanization is not defined solely on the basis of an increase in size or residential density. Settlements which had consisted earlier of groups of similar units, primarily houses and associated outbuildings, are differentiated into residential, commercial, professional, and sometimes industrial components (Table III). Often these components are spatially segregated into functional zones where a core of primarily commercial and industrial units are surrounded by facilities which house local services and artisans, themselves encircled by residential neighborhoods (McManis 1975:76).

Table III: Development of Sturbridge Center, Massachusetts as an Urban Village, 1745-1835 (Data from Wood 1978:244-247)

	Meetinghouse	Dwelling	Store or Shop	Store or Shop with Residence	Tavern	School
1745	1	1	1	--	--	--
1775	1	1	2	2	1	1
1795	1	4	2	4	1	--
1805	1	5	3	5	1	--
1815	1	11	5	2	1	--
1825	1	20	6	6	2	1
1835	2	22	7	13	1	1

As the settlement pattern of each specific village underwent urbanization, two separate yet related social and economic processes emerged — *differentiation* on the one hand and *specialization* on the other. Within the domain of local government the interaction of these processes resulted in a marked proliferation of local institutions as each agency became responsible for a segment of the inhabitants' activities (see Daniels 1977). Indeed even within specific agencies — each town's ecclesiastical societies provide the best evidence — the responsibilities and actions were divided amongst numerous committees.

More importantly, the interaction of the processes of differentiation and specialization profoundly altered the economic structures of Connecticut's villages (Daniels 1979, 1980). This transformation is marked by an increase in the disparity of the distribution of wealth within many villages as well as the appearance of commercial and professional specialization (Lemon 1967, 1976). Rather than the bulk of the population being engaged in a wide variety of daily activities, individuals began to specialize and "sell" their products or expertise. This sort of specialization of labor was a diagnostic trait of many urban villages in Litchfield County. As these villages continued to grow, accepting the presence of more individuals whose trades or professions were specialized, their external form became more nucleated while internally their structures were composed of highly differentiated segments.

Usually it is assumed that the processes associated with urbanization — growth, differentiation, and specialization — caused dramatic transformations of everyday life. There is considerable evidence which suggests that people's lives were altered as was the cultural system of meaning and symbols which encompassed and defined the quotidian (see Daniels 1979:171-180; Handsman 1980b, 1981a). However the reality of such "hot histories" should not be accepted as comprehensive rules. Urbanization may have proceeded within some communities without effecting transmogrifications of the premodern relations of production. That is, the emergence of villages may not be reflec-

tive necessarily of profound social or cultural separations.

*The Center Village of Goshen:  
Pattern, Process, and the Relations  
of Production*

The center village of Goshen, located at the intersection of Routes 4 and 63, was largely uninhabited until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before 1770 only the home of Reverend Stephen Heaton was standing near the Congregational Church. Two other early houses were built at the south end of the center village within the first decade of settlement. Between 1770 and 1810 several additional houses appeared, all of which were constructed in the later, rigid Georgian style of bilaterally symmetrical facades. By 1825 the locality had become a focus for residential activity as artisans, shopkeepers and storeowners, and professionals purchased lands with or without buildings. This pattern of construction continued through the 1860's; it was not until 1875 that a period of stability appeared (Figure 4).

This increase in residential density, depicted clearly in Figure 5, was an historical process of growth and subdivision which took about 130 years to complete. For 80 years, or more than one half of the entire span, the settlement underwent little change. About 25 percent of the village's modern housing stock was built during this period. Between 1820 and 1850 many "up-to-date" houses were constructed along both sides of Route 63, north and south of its intersection with Route 4. Twelve structures belong to this major phase of activity, all of which exhibit the distinctive features of the Federal architectural style: asymmetrical facades (doorways located to one side), gabled ends facing on front facades, recessed doorways flanked by pilasters, and the frequent use of pediments. Usually the floor plan was squared or slightly rectangular and the roofs were gabled or hipped.

After 1850 a second, relatively slow, period of development was initiated during which eight additional structures were built. Today this settlement phase is represented by several examples of Greek Revival or Victorian vernacular



Figure 4. Center Village of Goshen in 1897. View looks south on the former Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike. Buildings to the right include the 1830's General Store and the Georgian house with double chimneys. Both continue to stand. Photograph from an original glass plate in the collection of the Torrington Historical Society.

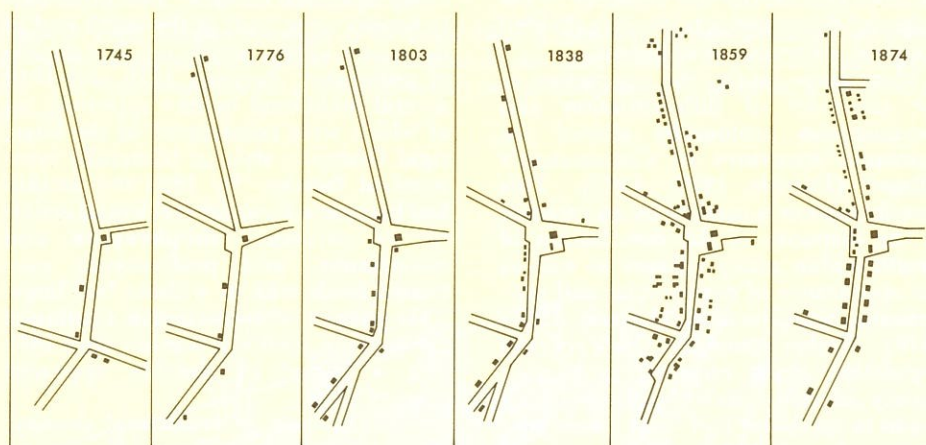


Figure 5. The Development of the Center Village of Goshen, 1745-1874. Classic pattern of increasing residential nucleation, terminating with the appearance of a small urban village. Large structure at the crossroads is the Congregational Church. Figure is based upon several archival maps drawn by Lewis Mills Norton and two published maps from the late nineteenth century.

architecture. Overall about 30 percent of the center village's houses were built after 1850 while 75 percent of the housing stock was constructed after 1815-1820 (Table IV).

The development of Goshen as a nucleated residential center is not reflected solely in a standing architectural record. Some archival evidence is of a more direct "ethnographic" character, consisting of the actions and perceptions of individuals who participated in this transformation. These data, contained within the town's extant land records, illustrate the process of property subdivision which characterized the emergence of many nucleated settlements in Litchfield County (see the example in Canaan, Handsman 1981a:8, Figure 10).

The locality which became the center

village of Goshen in 1820 was included in two lots deeded to Reverend Stephen Heaton during the first and second divisions in 1738 and 1739. He built his house along the west side of the Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike before 1745 (Figure 6); the first Congregational Meetinghouse was constructed at about the same time. In addition two other structures had appeared before 1745 at the south end of the center village on both sides of modern Route 63 (see Figure 5). These houses were inhabited by Samuel and Amos Thomson, brothers from New Haven, who were among Goshen's earliest settlers. Neither of these structures exists today. For more than six decades most of the land in the center village was not divided; the largest parcel was owned by Heaton with smaller parcels having

been deeded to the Thomsons. Around 1800 this pattern began to disappear as large tracts were subdivided, providing lots for residential construction.

This process of subdivision can be isolated within the land records associated with each transaction. During 1981 an intensive study of the center village's southwestern quadrant was undertaken in order to reconstruct its sequential settlement history. A series of figures have been drawn which illustrate this process of growth and differentiation particularly as it is evidenced in patterns of property subdivision and residential nucleation (see Figures 7-9; 11).

The parcel under study consisted of 37 acres after Heaton's division lots were surveyed in 1738 and 1739. Before 1783 only one lot within this parcel was sold; the southernmost five acres were purchased from Heaton by Samuel Thomson in 1743. Between 1783 and 1800 three additional slices were removed, reducing the original parcel's size to approximately 29 acres (Figure 7).

Over the next decade two house lots were purchased from Heaton's daughter, Mary Sill, who had received the tract of 29 acres during the distribution of Heaton's estate. These transactions, which took place in 1808 and 1811, provided small parcels which were used for residential activity or construction. Each of these lots was bounded on the east by the Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike.

The frontage along the road continued to be divided and purchased for house lots during the remainder of the second decade of the nineteenth century. Many of these transactions involved Pitt Buel, who sold two tiers of lots to Joseph Harvey and Theodore North between 1814 and 1818. Each tier consisted of two pieces, the smaller of which was about one acre in size and faced the Turnpike. The larger, separate parcel connected to these house lots at their western boundaries and continued west towards West Street (Figure 8).

This pattern of holdings did not change significantly until 1828 when the remaining frontage north of Joseph Harvey's original tier began to be subdivided. By 1826 the initial parcel of 37 acres had been reduced in size to little more than 15 acres and was then purchased by Henry Hart from Pitt Buel. At that time Hart's parcel included 17 rods along the Turnpike. In 1828 two lots were sold by Hart, both of which bounded on the road. Each of these was used as a locus for residential and commercial construction.

The entire frontage along the Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike, a distance of 76 rods, had been subdivided by 1835 and used primarily for the construction



of residences. Two stores and an office had also appeared and were concentrated along the northern half of the Turnpike south of its intersection with Route 4 (Figure 9). One of these stores continues to stand today although its condition has deteriorated since 1970 (Figure 10).

After 1835 no further residential construction was undertaken within the southwestern quadrant of the center village. Elsewhere empty tracts continued to be subdivided and later style houses were built including examples of the Victorian era. Within the southwestern quadrant several additional stores and shops appeared between 1850 and 1875 (Figure 11). None of these stands today although the entire complex is depicted on the center village map of Goshen included in F. W. Beers' (1874) *County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut*. The modern architectural landscape of this quadrant is little changed from the way that it looked in 1835 before the last phase of commercial construction. A few of the non-residential structures have disappeared yet the landscape is definitely Federal in style and orientation.

Over a period of approximately three decades, the center village of Goshen developed from an almost invisible residential hamlet into a small urban village. Along with the expected increase in population density, this sequence of urbanization was characterized by the appearance of economic specialization and a differentiation of work. Prior to 1840-1850 the growth of the village was analogous to the process of "subdivision and filling" identified within the dispersed agricultural hamlet along East Street. Settlement history here was a matter of growth without internal differentiation.

Figure 7. Property Boundaries and Houses in the Center Village of Goshen, ca. 1800. Three of these five structures continue to stand on the contemporary landscape.

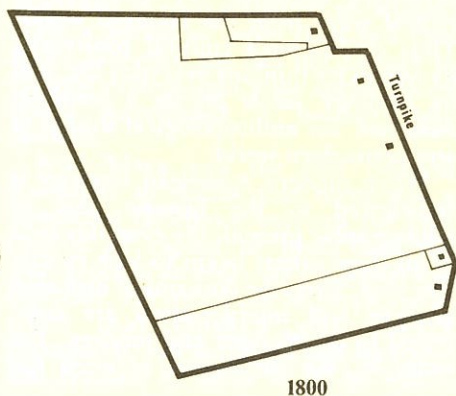


Table IV: Cumulative Frequencies of Architectural Styles in the Center Village of Goshen

Architectural Styles	Frequency	Percent*	Time Interval	Totals
Georgian	1	3.7	1750-1800	
	6	25.9	1800-1820	7 - 25.9%
Federal	12	70.4	1820-1850	12 - 44.4%
Greek Revival	3	81.5	1850-1860	3 - 11.2%
Victorian	5	100.0	1860-1900	5 - 18.5%

\*Percentages are cumulative except for Totals.



Figure 6. Federal Farmhouse (1820's) added onto an earlier Georgian form (to the right). Original house site of Stephen Heaton, ca. 1745, Goshen's first Congregational minister.

After 1840 growth continued at a slower rate in the center village and internal differentiations — particularly those defined by occupation — began to appear. During the 1850 census inhabitants in the village identified themselves as merchants, shoemakers, a physician, a cabinetmaker, a tailor, and

farmers (the work claimed by five persons). This trend continued over the next two decades and in 1870 the census taker recorded the presence of several carpenters, a lawyer, two blacksmiths, a cattle drover, two housekeepers, a physician, a hotelkeeper, and several farmers.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 8. Property Boundaries and Houses in the Center Village of Goshen, ca. 1820. The two additional structures on the Turnpike were built in the Federal style.

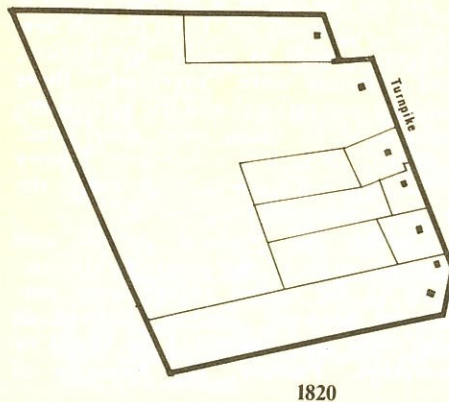


Figure 9. Property Boundaries and Houses in the Center Village of Goshen, ca. 1835. General store (see Figure 10) has been added to the landscape.

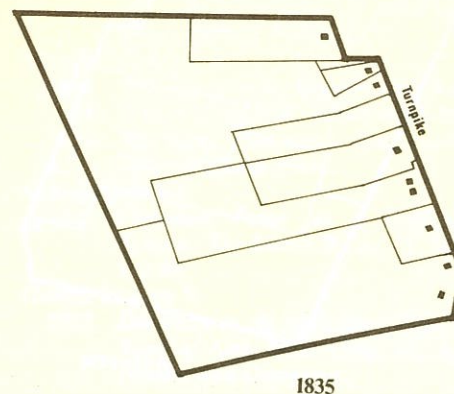


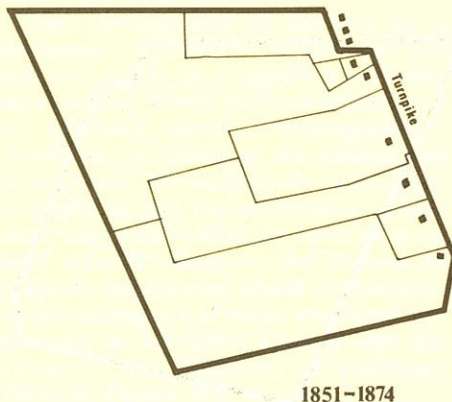


Figure 10. Late Federal or Early Greek Revival Store in the Center Village of Goshen. Built about 1830, it can be recognized in an 1838 woodcut done by John Barber. The building is now being renovated and will be returned to its original use.

This pattern of an emerging specialization of labor was a sign of a change in the *internal structure* of the center village's society and economy. As each individual segment (household in this case) became more specialized and differentiated from the others, its relationship to the whole was transformed. In a society characterized by homogeneity where every segment looks like any other, the whole is replicated constantly in each segment and there is no difference between one part, other parts and the whole.

However when specialization of work appears, each part becomes differentiated and the whole society is no longer synonymous with each segment. When this happens the "glue" which fuses the segments and keeps them bound may become transformed. Contemporary theories of urbanization and moderniza-

Figure 11. Property Boundaries and Buildings in the Center Village of Goshen, ca. 1874. Group of structures on the northeastern corner included several shops and stores. Most of these are no longer standing.



tion assume that such transformations occurred in a relatively predictable and consistent fashion:

Presumably, the urbanization brought with it everywhere the concomitant rearrangement of the social structure that was occurring in Connecticut: a growing heterogeneity in class, status, and wealth; economic mobility; the growth of dissenting religions and emancipation from controlling social forces; changed patterns of office-holding and leadership that differed by types of community;...increasing individualism and a growing innovative spirit;...(Daniels 1979:169-170).

So the change from a homogeneous to a differentiated structure determines and encompasses even more dramatic transformations of a society's relations of production. New categories and divisions appear which order everyday life itself and include the person or monad, entrepreneur, and speculation and profit. Even economy is redefined as an institution separate from kinship; in fact economy becomes valorized over kinship (see Sahlins 1976). As this history of separations gets worked out, the modern world emerges from the premodern.

*But did this happen in the center village of Goshen? Apparently not.* Even though new categories such as profit, speculation, and economy were "invented," these cultural separations<sup>6</sup> and the actions encompassed by them were short-lived. Evidence of such a momentary history of hotness has been isolated within the texts of associated land records.

During the Federal period and beyond, most of the property transactions in the center village were performed between discrete individuals who were not connected by blood or marriage. Further, the histories of

values and prices associated with specific tracts exhibit some patterned variability (see Figure 12). Between 1800 and 1825 the value of specific tracts remained relatively stable, a pattern which disappeared between 1825 and 1850. Over this span of twenty-five years each tract's value increased significantly, sometimes more than once. After the village's landscape became stabilized in 1850, the perception of future change and possibility was replaced by stasis, prices were once more conservative, and speculative activity disappeared.

Even though the texts demonstrate the presence of profit and speculation, these categories did not reflect any sort of dramatic change in the relations of production. Before the Federal period in the center village, economy and property were a matter of selling a commodity<sup>7</sup> to buy another commodity and values were immediate, transitory, and often embedded in kinship. In fact the cycle of selling to obtain "money" (of some sort) to buy summarizes everyday life in a dispersed farmstead of any age.<sup>8</sup>

Beginning about 1820 this cycle was altered and the commodity of land was bought to sell to resell. This difference allows surplus value to be generated, that is, profit. But in the last instance there is no separation of this transactional sequence from the reproduction of social relations. So actually commodities are bought to sell to resell to purchase commodities and life goes on as before. This is what Claude Lévi-Strauss meant by the *coldness of history*.

#### A Closing Comment

The interpretation of the history of Goshen's settlement during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has now come a full circle. We began with a sense of frustration and boredom, signs of the realization that the discipline had forgotten the importance of the primal separation of premodern societies from Western worlds. It was this separation that Claude Lévi-Strauss reinvented and used as a framework for his analyses. In particular Lévi-Strauss has attempted to reconstitute the primitive mind as it is embedded in myth and kinship. His success is largely due to his belief that primitive societies are different in radical ways from the civilized world. Thus civilization's cultural constructs, its system for thinking everyday life, and its ideology *cannot provide a conceptual framework* for anthropological studies of any premodern world.

When modern American ideology is transferred to the historic past or ethnographic present, the everyday lives of all those others begin to look exactly like ours. Even the domains of historical analysis and interpretation are compelled to be Western and modern. For example, the distinction between hot

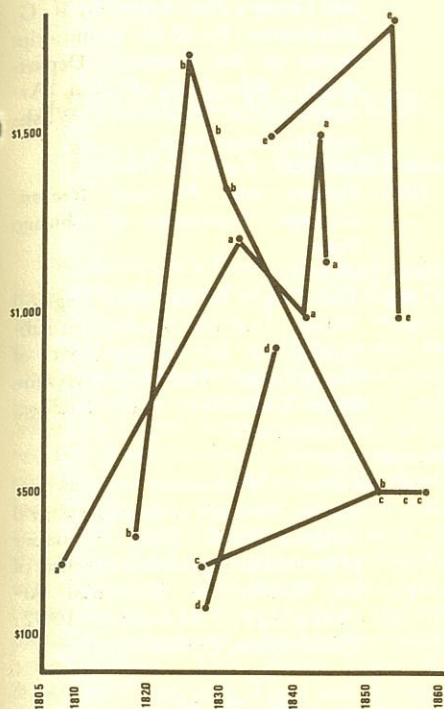


Figure 12. History of Land Values in the Center Village of Goshen, 1800-1860. Note the increase in prices associated with the emergence of the Federal period urban village. Prices fell after an initial jump or two, demonstrating the evanescent nature of the transformation.

history and cold history helps to differentiate primitive societies from us. Yet this very separation has implied that the quality of coldness cannot be present in modern society or its historic, literate antecedents. The conceptualization of a theory of nineteenth century urbanization assumes a progressive differentiation and specialization and concomitant transformation of life.

Clearly, Goshen became urbanized, and not once but twice. Its villages grew in both size and complexity and the internal structure of each economy and society became segmented and separated. Yet the associated systems of relations of production were never transformed. So the lives of each village's inhabitants continued to be enacted through the same implicit set of rules and principles — that is, culture — as existed in each dispersed settlement. Over a period of more than two centuries everyday life did not change in Goshen even though some communities which surrounded it became fully modern.

Karl Marx was the first political economist to realize that there was a significant difference between the production of capital or profit and the emergence of an everyday life which was capitalist. He would not be perplexed to learn that Goshen was always premodern, just surprised that someone had realized it. Most of all he would

study the comparative history and archaeology of the hot and the cold. We should try.

—Russell G. Handsman

#### Notes

Acknowledgements: A different version of this article was read before the Society for Historical Archaeology in early January. Several discussions with Mark Leone helped my interpretation. Much of this work was supported by two grants from the Connecticut Historical Commission during 1979 and 1980. Chrissie Hoepfner and Ting Moore helped complete the study of the center village in 1981. Barbara Cox compiled the inventory of standing architecture. We are grateful to Lewis Mills Norton, an historic historian in Goshen during the nineteenth century, who provided the foundation. Matthew Handsman drew the talking heads on the cover. Dorothy Fowler drafted several of the figures used in this article. The historic photo of Goshen's center village was supplied by Mark McEachern of the Torrington Historical Society.

1. See the articles by Ivor Noël Hume on the "Lost Virginia Settlements" in *National Geographic*, Volume 155, No. 6 (June 1979) and Volume 161, No. 1 (January 1982).
2. During the ninth decade of the eighteenth century the Marques de Chastelux traveled throughout the northern United States and wrote this description of the settlement pattern of New England towns:  
For what is called in America, a *town* or *township*, is only a certain number of houses, dispersed over great space, but which belong to the same incorporation. The center or head quarters of these towns, is the meetinghouse or church. This church stands sometimes single, and is sometimes surrounded by four or five houses only (quoted in Wood 1978:49).
3. Also known as partible descent, familial partition refers to the process whereby a family's original holdings are divided amongst all or some of the children or other lineal relations. Charles Grant (1972) describes this process in eighteenth century Kent as well as any other social historian.
4. See the study of Hart Brook in Handsman (1981b:103-123). This interpretation is based upon the extensive archival research of Ting Moore.
5. Federal Census Records, 1850 and 1870, from the Town of Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut. Population Schedules. Manuscript volumes on file at the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

6. Cultural separations are divisions or differentiations of domains which were once whole. They are often used to describe how modern America is different from the societies of the premodern past. Example: Modern America separates the individual from a kinship group and the economy from the domain of kinship.
7. A commodity is a product, service, object, or holding which can be bought, sold, exchanged, or bartered. It is not made for direct consumption but allows its owner to participate in some sort of transaction, whether money is involved or not.
8. In a recent paper John Worrell (1982) has analyzed the structure and meaning of the production of specialized commodities — red earthenware — in South Goshen. His study demonstrates that even craft items manufactured by part-time artisans were not produced for a regional market but instead a local neighborhood.

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## Fieldwork Opportunities 1982

During the summer of 1982 the Research Department will be conducting excavations in Washington Depot at a known Archaic site adjacent to the Shepaug River. An experienced professional crew directed by Dr. Roger Moeller will be joined by volunteers, students enrolled in field school and training sessions, and participants from previous excavations. A typical day will be spent mapping, troweling, sifting, and shoveling. If you are interested in joining us for a single day as a volunteer to learn what archaeologists really do in the dirt, or if you know what we do and want to participate in a training session (five days) or field school, please contact the AIAl. The dates for the various training sessions, a field school for college credit, and a weekend dig (one day) for volunteers will be finalized by early March.

Students enrolled in each of the Institute's Experimental Archaeology sessions, scheduled for early-to-mid August 1982, will participate in the excavation of an historic industrial site located in North Goshen. As part of a larger six-week project under the direction of Dr. Russell Handsman, these two sessions will explore a quarry where grist stones were manufactured during the 18th and 19th centuries. Our excavations will help to determine whether the stones were made on a "piece basis" or were fashioned by employing a more specialized, step-by-step technological process. Contact the Education Department for more information.

## Institute Receives Research Grant

The Institute's Research Department has received a grant of \$26,000 from the Bingham Charitable Trust to support two archaeological studies along the Shepaug River during 1982. This grant is especially important because it will allow the Department to continue its intensive examination of the region's archaeological record. Much of the funding which the Institute receives each year for research must be used to discover and evaluate previously-unknown sites. This leaves little opportunity for staff members to plan and implement long-term, problem-oriented investigations. This grant from the Bingham Charitable Trust and the continued support of the Institute's Friends of Research are instrumental in permitting the Department to undertake field studies which are themselves situated at the frontiers of anthropological and archaeological knowledge.

Over a nine-month period, between the spring and early winter of 1982, two aspects of the Shepaug's prehistoric record will be explored. Each of these projects will attempt to understand how behavior — whether modern or prehistoric — becomes reflected in a well-preserved archaeological record. Dr. Roger Moeller will direct intensive excavations of an Archaic campsite during the late spring and summer (see announcement of opportunities for fieldwork on this page). This work will concentrate on describing the internal arrangement of a 4000-5000 year-old settlement and explore how this campsite's pattern reflects a specific mode of adaptation. It is hoped that some of the analysis and interpretation will provide a comparative framework which can further the studies of the settlement at Flynn (see cover article, this issue).

During the autumn of 1982 a second phase of field research will be initiated along the Shepaug River near Roxbury Falls. Dr. Peter Patton of Wesleyan University's Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences and the Institute's Dr. Russell Handsman will investigate the relationships between this locality's geomorphological features, processes of flooding, and buried and stratified archaeological records. Prior studies of the Shepaug (see article by Handsman and Hampton in the Winter 1979 issue of *Artifacts*) have demonstrated that particular structural features called channel constrictions determine both the form of flooding and



*1934 aerial photograph of the channel constriction at Roxbury Falls along the Shepaug River, South Roxbury. The narrowing which controls the river's flooding in this locality is situated in the lower portion of the center of the photograph. The Institute's excavations during the autumn of 1982 will be focused on the terraces and floodplains upstream from this geomorphological feature.*

the internal stratification of any associated archaeological deposit. Terraces and floodplains which are upstream from constrictions, including those in South Roxbury, exhibit massive, well sorted, depositional units separated by buried and preserved A horizons. Sometimes these former land surfaces were used by the valley's prehistoric inhabitants. Usually such sites are situated far beneath the

plowzone and are missed by archaeologists who employ the wrong excavation strategy to discover them.

Each phase of this study of the Shepaug's archaeological record is about the past and the present. We hope to both discover knowledge about natural processes and everyday life in the distant past and learn how, as modern archaeologists, to rethink the discipline and its conceptual framework.

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## Fieldwork Schedule

### Training Sessions

June 21-25  
July 26-30  
August 9-13

Mornings and afternoons

### Field School

University of Hartford  
July 12-16

For further information, contact  
Dr. Roger Moeller (868-0518)

## Collections Spotlight

In preparation for a fall exhibit of wood splint basketry from southern New England, members are asked to bring their baskets in for identification. From this survey conclusions may be drawn concerning the productivity of different basketmakers, the movement of these items away from their place of manufacture and their relative longevity. If a significant number of baskets is discovered, the results will be published in an upcoming issue of *Artifacts*.

If you would like to participate, please call and make an appointment with Ann McMullen. It will take an hour's visit and may provide valuable information both to you and to the Research Department. All baskets are welcome, and information on the care of basketry will be provided.

—Ann McMullen



Covered wood splint basket, Schaghticoke/Mahican, Kent, Connecticut, circa 1875, donated by Edmund K. Swigart (78-12-39/3).



Eastern Algonkian block stamp decorations from wood splint baskets in the Institute collections.

Illustrations by Ann McMullen

## Annual Meeting A Family Affair

May 6, 1982 is the night of our Annual Meeting, a night for families and friends to meet with the AIAI staff, to review the fruits of the past year's labors, to partake of the hospitality of the Inn on Lake Waramaug and to enjoy the music of the Eastern Woodland Indians.

Dr. David McAllester, a trustee and professor of Ethno-Musicology at Wesleyan University, presented a fine program on Native American music six years ago at our Annual Meeting in 1976. This year Dr. McAllester will feature the music of the Iroquois and Algonquian peoples.

The Inn is providing the usual delicious choices of London Broil, Baked Filet of Sole or Stuffed Chicken Breast with Key Lime Pie for \$12.50 per adult and \$7.00 per child under sixteen. Please call Mary Anne Greene at 868-0518 by April 30th with your menu selection and reservations.

We look forward to meeting together on May 6, 1982 at 6 p.m. to renew friendships and to share our interest in the Institute's study of the Past.

May 6, 1982, Thursday at 6 p.m.

The Inn on Lake Waramaug  
Guest speaker: Dr. David McAllester  
"Eastern Woodland Indian Music"

Reservations by April 30th —  
868-0518

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### Membership Benefits

10% Discount in Museum Shop • Free Admission • Membership Meetings • Special Events  
*Artifacts*, AIAI's Publication for Members • Small World Film Festival • Changing Exhibits



## Siftings

The 53rd meeting of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology will be held at the Holiday Inn, 23 South Second Street, Harrisburg, PA April 23 - 25, 1982.

The American Traveler Writers Conservation and Preservation Committee has designated AIAI as one of eight recipients of the 1981 Phoenix Award for "increasing interest and research in preserving American Indian history, particularly in New England."

Hendrik LaVerge of United Technologies has been appointed to the Institute's Finance Committee.

A stunning *Birdstone Banner* now heralds special events at the Institute.



Banner created by Kitty Daly.

Photo by Myron Mack

Linn McDowell, a senior at Taft School, is an independent study student, learning from and contributing to each AIAI department, during her Winter Term.

The Publications Committee held its annual meeting on November 14, 1981 and welcomed two new members, Margaret Dutton and Edwin Kolsby, and appointed Regina Hersey of Reader's Digest. The committee reviewed AIAI's publications goals and recommends that individual monographs be published from past research reports as a series.

"Native Americans and the Land: The Seasonal Round in New England", an exhibit prepared by AIAI Collections Manager Ann McMullen with the creative help of Dorothy Fowler, Joan Cannon and Barrie Kavasch, will be displayed at the Westport Nature Center for Environmental Activities, 10 Woodside Lane, Westport, until May 1982 and will then be exhibited at the Visitor Center.

Dr. Russell Handsman attended the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Philadelphia between January 7 and 10, 1982. He participated in a symposium on structural theory and archaeology and delivered a paper entitled "Discovering Kinship in Historic America: Structuralism, Archaeological Histories, and Myth." The paper summarized some of the Institute's studies of the development of the center village of Goshen, Connecticut.

At the January 1982 Board of Trustees meeting Susan Payne was appointed executive vice-president of the Institute.

The Institute welcomes Molly Little of Roxbury as the Museum Shopkeeper. Molly was Assistant to the Secretary of the World Crafts Council, administrative assistant to the Vice President of Operations and National Programs at the American Craft Council and managed many services of the American Craft Museum, New York City. The Institute reluctantly wished Joan Cannon *bon voyage* as she and her husband moved to England for a year.

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 203-868-0518.



## Shop Talk

As spring approaches and we have hopes of dispensing with overcoats some people's thoughts may turn to fashion and summer clothes. At AIAI we offer you a few fine examples of the latest "in" accessory: the concha belt. While these used to be a status symbol (signifying material wealth, like all their jewelry) for the Navajo, these belts have recently gained recognition as a handsome versatile fashion addition.

Basically the concha is a shell-shaped silver ornament worn on a leather belt, invariably in multiples, or on a hatband or affixed to a horse's bridle, saddle or harness. The word derives directly from the Spanish word for "shell." The conchas were and are still made of copper, German or nickel silver, coin silver or sterling. Ours are all sterling, some are set with turquoise.

Because the method of fabrication is relatively simple, these belts are very easy to fake for a very low price. The most valuable of them will be hand-made of heavy sterling silver. Look for even stamping, well-defined and symmetrical repoussé and good quality stone if there are turquoises or coral included in the design.

*Don't forget to come and see what bargains are available at our April Sale!*

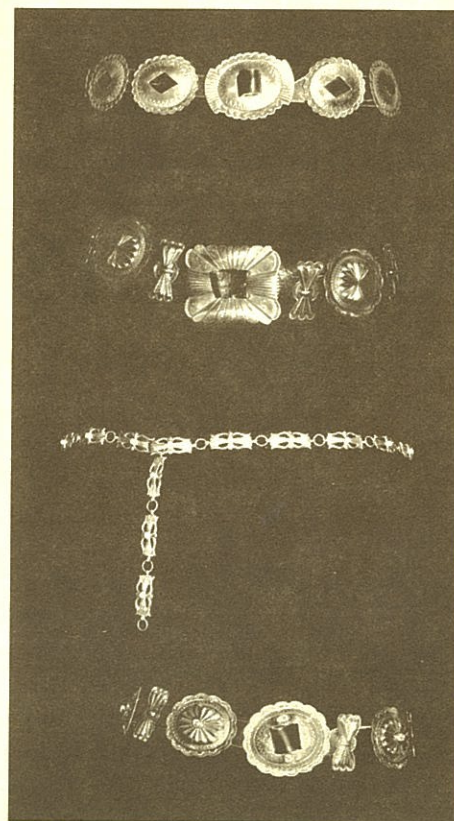
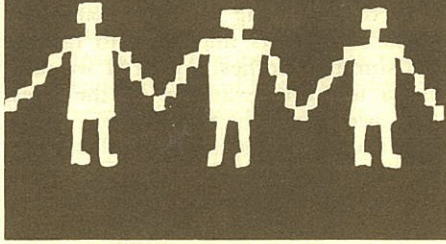


Photo by Myron Mack

# CALENDAR



## APRIL

3 & 4/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm films, *Annie and the Old One* and *The Legend of Magic Knives*.

10/Sat, 1 pm lecture *The Importance of Dreams in Native American Life and Culture* by Dr. Raelene Gold.

10/Sat, 2:30 pm film, *Two Farms: Wisconsin and Hungary*.

11/Sun CLOSED

17 & 18/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *Two Factories: Japanese and American*.

24 & 25/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *The Americans Chief Crazy Horse*.

## MAY

1/Sat, 10 am - 4 pm *Beginner's Basketry* workshop by Elizabeth Jensen. \$15 members, \$25/non-members plus a materials fee. Register with the Education Department.

1 & 2/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *Mystery of Stonehenge*.

4/Tues, 8 pm at Westport Nature

Center, *Discovery Through Archaeology, the Ecology of Connecticut's Oldest Inhabitants* by Dr. Russell Handsman, AIAI Director of Field Research.

6/Thurs, 6 pm *Annual Meeting* at the Inn on Lake Waramaug. Dr. David McAllester will feature the music of the Iroquois and Algonquians. (See article p. 22)

8/Sat, 10 am - 4 pm, *Archaeological Preservation and the Local Land Trust* workshop. Details to be announced by the Research Department.

8 & 9/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *Images of Indians: The Great Movie Massacre*.

13/Thurs, 8 pm held at the Canaan Historical Society, Pilgrim House, Canaan, CT, *Navajo Rugs* by AIAI Collections Manager Ann McMullen.

14/Fri, 7:30 pm at the Torrington Historical Society, *The Development of Center Villages in 19th-Century Litchfield County*, illustrated research program by Dr. Russell Handsman, AIAI Director of Field Research.

15/Sat, 10 am - 3:30 pm photography workshop, *Getting in Close to Nature*, with John Pawloski. \$10/members, \$20/non-members. Bring own equipment and film. Register with the Education Department.

15 & 16/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *Images of Indians: Heathen Injuns and the Hollywood Gospel*.

20/Thurs, Noon at the Simsbury Historical Society, *The Seasonal Round of the Connecticut Indians*, by AIAI President Edmund K. Swigart. Plant specimens will be identified. A "taste of nature" will be sampled.

22 & 23/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *Indian Origins: The First 50,000 Years*.

23/Sun, 1:30 pm slide lecture and special exhibit, *Minerals, Mining and Man*, by John Pawloski.

29, 30 & 31/Sat, Sun & Mon, 2:30 pm

film, *Indian Cultures: From 2000 B.C. to 1500 A.D.*

29 & 31/Sat & Mon, 11 am film for families, *Indians of the Southlands*.

## JUNE

5/Sat, 1 pm *Edible Wild Foods* lecture with a taste of nature by Dr. Warren Kohler.

5 & 6/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *The Indian Experience After 1500 A.D.*

12 & 13/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *The Early Americans*.

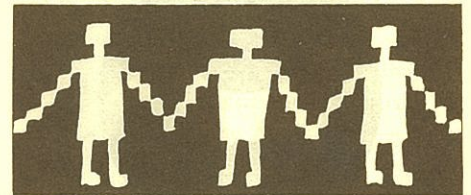
19 & 20/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *More Than Bows and Arrows*.

19 & 26/Sat & Sun, 10 am - 3 pm Herbarium Workshop. Learn the art and science of gathering and pressing plants with Barrie Kavasch. \$25/members, \$35/non-members plus materials fee. Limit/12. Register with the Education Department.

26 & 27/Sat & Sun, 2:30 pm film, *The Fossil Story*.

July 31, Sat 10 am - 4 pm *Founders' Day*, daylong celebration with programs, tours, Indian foods for members and their guests only.

August 1982, *Experimental Archaeology* Youth Program: explore a quarry where grist stones were manufactured during the 18th and 19th centuries. Contact the Education Department for details.



# ARTIFACTS

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### Design Consultant

Edwin B. Kolsby

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