

ARTIFACTS

Vol. IX No. 3, Summer 1981

The American Indian Archaeological Institute

Early Capitalism and the Center Village of Canaan, Connecticut A Study of Transformations and Separations

Introduction to the Project

During the autumn of 1796 the Reverend Timothy Dwight began a journey by horseback from New Haven, Connecticut, which eventually ended in Berwick, Maine, south of present-day Portland. This tour, and others which were to follow, were used by Dwight for recuperative purposes, to restore his "physical health" following intensive sessions in academe both as a tutor and as an administrator. Strictly speaking his travels were not completely devoid of study since he proved to be a perceptive—some would say overly meticulous—observer of the natural and architectural landscape of New England in the late eighteenth century.

In many cases Timothy Dwight's four-volume monograph, *Travels in New England and New York* (reprinted 1969), contains the only known descriptions of the lifeways of the inhabitants of Connecticut

and Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century. The sorts of observations which he made included descriptions of educational practices, social and religious activities and beliefs, moral behavior, local economic conditions, features of the regional habitat, and the physical form of New England's communities. Dwight provides us with a series of intriguing verbal "maps" of the towns he visited and it is these maps, or, rather, Dwight's interpretation of them, which offer an insight into the history of the development of colonial villages in southern New England.

As Timothy Dwight visited a variety of settlements he often commented upon the *nucleated form* of New England's villages—clusters of predominantly white houses surrounding a village green and crossroads setting, itself encompassed by corporate and individualized land holdings where crops were cultivated and

livestock was reared. As he traveled throughout Connecticut in 1796, the villages which he encountered "looked" to be nucleated. In fact we have no reason to suspect that what he saw was otherwise. However what is questionable is the manner in which Dwight *thought* about the history of these patterns. For him the nucleated form of villages which he observed in the 1790's was reflective both of the present and of the past at that time:

It is a remarkable fact that New England was colonized in a manner widely different from that which prevailed in the other British colonies. All the ancient and a great part of the modern townships were settled in what may be called the village manner: the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small towns [nucleated pattern] (Dwight, Volume I, 1969:244).

Union Depot in the Village of Canaan, Connecticut. Victorian style station constructed in 1872. Located at the junction of the Connecticut Western and Housatonic Railroads, each 90-foot wing served one of these lines. The structure is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Cover design by Ed Kolsby and Peter Mardoc



According to Dwight, New England's settlements were nucleated because each town or village had been colonized or inhabited in that manner, so that the settlement mode of the 1790's was a direct replica, perhaps larger, of the pattern initially established by each town's original settlers. For almost two centuries, this interpretive model of settlement was employed as the conceptual framework for subsequent historical studies. It has been only about one decade since social and economic historians and cultural geographers have begun to realize that Dwight's descriptions of nucleated villages—long since "fossilized" by Grandma Moses and *Yankee Magazine* and cigarette ads—were but artifacts of his era. While his descriptions were true to his time, they could not be thought of as accurate reflections of either earlier or later periods. To do so was to invite modern historians literally to forget that each village had grown or developed, perhaps even died, over the preceding two centuries. It was an amnesia that could be overcome only by realizing that Timothy Dwight, like all historians and anthropologists, was a product of his society and culture, as were his writings.

Once this realization appeared, historical research in New England was revolutionized, transformed from the reconstruction of lifeways based upon a myth of nucleated settlements into the intensive study of the developmental histories of villages. New questions were asked of the past: what did a village look like in 1730 and 1790 and 1850 and 1900; how did the lives of a village's inhabitants change over a span of two centuries? And new analytical methods were invented to answer these questions. Old data was reworked into new patterns. Only rarely was previously unknown data discovered.

This new era of historical and anthropological research is just beginning but its primary object is already apparent: an examination of the recent and distant pasts as reflected in the processes of settlement, social and economic change, and the transformation of people's perceptions of themselves and others (the world of culture and meaning). Ultimately such studies will allow us to have knowledge both of the historic past and of modern America and the continuities and discontinuities between them. All of this will provide an understanding of how the premodern and modern worlds encompass, define, and contradict one another.

This study, of the continuous and discontinuous histories of the village of Canaan, Connecticut, is situated within this new era of research. Further, its form and progression are defined by the intersection of three distinct disciplines—history, historical archaeology, and anthropology—as well as the conjunction of two eras—the premodern and the early modern. By situating ourselves at these "intellectual confluences," we will



be able to understand better how a modern village became what it did and why what it became is not what it used to be. At the same time, the historical context of Timothy Dwight's interpretive model will become clarified so that Dwight can be perceived as he should be—not as an imaginative and unreliable traveler but as a scholar enmeshed in a perception of the past that denied history and change.



For more than twelve weeks during the autumn of 1980 members of the Institute's Research Department have been studying the history of the center village of Canaan, Connecticut, in the Town of North Canaan.¹ Our research has been concerned with delineating the village's settlement history as well as the relationships between this process, concurrent social and economic change, and the historic archaeological record associated with the Lawrence Tavern, a mid-eighteenth century Georgian structure now owned by Mrs. Molly Lyles (Figure 1).

The archaeological potential of the Tavern was first discovered during preliminary surveys of the locality in the autumn of 1979. Further explorations during the spring of 1980 revealed the presence of an extensive historic *midden deposit* whose contents were dated between the 1770's and the turn of the twentieth century. Most of this deposit had been protected from destruction or disturbance in the modern era so that, together, the archaeological site and the architectural object represented a continuous occupational record of a locality almost

Figure 1: Front facade of the Lawrence Tavern, Village of Canaan, Connecticut, ca. 1750. Note the classic symmetry of this early Georgian style. Property owned by Mrs. Molly Lyles.

from the moment of initial settlement in this region (Handsman 1980a).

Each of these two initial archaeological studies was undertaken to determine whether the proposed construction of a new sewer line in Canaan's Fire District would irrevocably damage or destroy any significant prehistoric or historic archaeological deposits. Several sites of varying ages were discovered; most of these have been protected for further research by changing the location of the sewer line. Due to constraints imposed by engineering requirements as well as the regulations of a variety of state agencies, the route of the sewer could not be modified to avoid the archaeological resources associated with the Lawrence Tavern. As required by various Federal statutes, archaeological studies of this locality were completed by the Institute prior to the construction of the sewer in early winter.

This article summarizes the results of our intensive archival studies and archaeological investigations of the Lawrence Tavern, the center village of Canaan, and the transformations in each of these entities during the last half of the nineteenth century. This project provided the Institute with a unique opportunity to examine the processes through which premodern Canaan became a modern system, processes which left their signs in a variety of archival resources as well as in a specific archaeological deposit. All of the research described in this article was financed through a contractual agreement among the Institute, the Fire District of Canaan, Loureiro Engineering

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Associates of Avon, and the U.S. Department of Environmental Protection in Boston, Massachusetts.

This report is a summary of our studies including discussions of our methods of data collection, summaries of the analytical frameworks which were employed, and descriptions of the interpretive models which determined our analytical procedures as well as indicated which data were relevant. It is a report about the historic past and the effects that dramatic structural transformations had upon the everyday lives of Canaan's inhabitants. It is not about artifacts or the archaeological record but uses evidence from these domains to understand changes in behavior, customs, beliefs, and perceptions. The report is also meant to be an excursion into the production of archaeological knowledge; by reading it one should be able to gain a sense about the procedures which historians and anthropologists use to study the record of some past event, structure, or process. A series of "instructional hints" (see Appendix) have also been provided in hopes that this particular case study will stimulate local teachers to undertake similar research, eventually providing the base for the "reinvention" of Backyard History which is now so popular yet which is founded upon a perception of "scientific" research which has been completely discredited.

Urban Villages and Social Places: Settlements as Artifacts

Historians and anthropologists in America have always argued about the age of their respective disciplines. Both professions have now realized that neither of them was born at a single moment and that their subsequent developments are more a matter of dead ends, demises, and miraculous regenerations than a constantly accumulating process leading to the present (Lewis 1975). We have also decided that in our pasts there are two times and places where both disciplines were transformed significantly.

The first was during the Italian Renaissance, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., when scholars invented the concept of *perspective distance*. At that time it was realized that, in order to study the past, people must separate themselves from the present and immerse themselves fully in both the cultural context and historical period of the group being studied. In order to understand the Greeks, who were different from Renaissance peoples, it was necessary to become one. So it was agreed that any past was truly dead and separate from any present. Historical and anthropological knowledge was founded upon the supposed truth of this separation (Rowe 1965).

During the late nineteenth century, the so-called Victorian Era in America, historians in Connecticut invented a new sort of discipline. Reflected in an outpouring of "town histories," an orientation appeared which assumed that the

historic past was the equivalent of the present. The task of the historian was simply to trace the connections between the two "times," or, putting it differently, to discover the late nineteenth century in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century villages.

One result of this approach was that the form of late nineteenth-century towns or villages became a *model* for the reconstruction of the settlement pattern of earlier occupations. Since most villages had become nucleated to some degree by 1870-1880, it was assumed that compact settlements had always existed in Connecticut. Evidence in support of such interpretations could be discovered in the descriptions of travelers, including Timothy Dwight. Thus these historians erred where, 100 years before, Dwight had been mistaken.

It was not until the early 1970's that New England's historians began to appreciate the complexities of studying some past, the result of radical differences between the frameworks founded upon perspective distance and the more recent homogenization of the past and the present. Geographers looking for new dimensions or worlds to explore turned their gaze upon the historic past and discovered that neither Dwight nor his intellectual descendants had been correct. Through incredibly detailed studies of a variety of archival data, cultural geographers were able to situate Dwight's nucleated villages, and those of the next century, within a developmental sequence. This continuum indicated that the pattern of nucleation was the result of a series of historical (in particular, population growth) as well as economical processes (increasing specialization and trade) which worked together to transform the landscape of many of New England's towns (see Daniels 1979, McManis 1975:41-85, Wood 1978):

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 emergence of Federal nucleated villages, the landscape of Connecticut and elsewhere was dominated by a pattern of dispersed farmsteads surrounded by individualized land holdings, including farm plots, wood lots, and pastures. The distance between successive farmsteads was quite variable and a function of factors such as wealth, family size, and regional population.

Somewhere within the boundaries of towns small clusters of buildings were situated—a meetinghouse, tavern, one or two residences, perhaps a store or mill. These localities served as social centers, primarily for the exchange of gossip, good will and, just as often, threats and curses. Eventually some of these social centers might have become transformed during the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries into larger, more diversified settlements. These became the nucleated villages so beloved by Timothy Dwight and later historians, as well as modern Americans.

Thus, almost from the moment of the initial settlement of each town in Litchfield County, a dispersed pattern emerged. It was only later (and when varied from one town to the next) that true nucleated villages appeared and their size and internal complexity were quite variable. For example, the center villages of modern Litchfield, Sharon, and Salisbury are quite similar in size, layout, age, and population density. Each is also characterized by the presence of a variety of businesses as well as professional services. One might refer to each of them and the pattern that each represents as an *urban village*:

The villages in which political, economic, and professional activities were centered were functionally urban places, in some instances [rarely in Connecticut] from the time of their founding. Yet to call the urban centers of colonial New England—small indeed by present-day standards—"cities" is misleading. In order to emphasize their contemporary conditions, they are here called *urban villages*, a term that differentiates them as unique functional places but still implies small size, an integral relationship with the town, and the presence of agriculture (McManis 1975:76, amendment mine).

Some of the villages in Litchfield County are urban villages; other nucleated settlements never underwent any change except growth, so that today, in northwestern Connecticut, there are a number of towns within which there exist one or more concentrations of historic houses. These localities are *social places*, recognizable clusters along the landscape which never became internally differentiated. While they are compact villages, usually with a remnant of a green and a standing Congregational Church, their role is not one of economic centers. They are not *central places* containing a variety of specialized businesses and professional services and there is no way that one can mistake them for centers of commerce.

The settlement landscape of Litchfield County is filled with these social places, many of whose origins can be traced to the late eighteenth century. Some of the

best examples include the villages of Milton and Northfield in the Town of Litchfield; the center villages of Washington, Harwinton, and Bethlehem; and the present center village of Goshen, Connecticut, located at the intersection of Routes 4 and 63 (Figure 2). On the basis of two years of archival research by the Institute as well as the manuscript histories of Lewis Mills Norton, it is possible to depict the growth in the size of the center village of Goshen over a period of more than one century. The increase in residential density (number of houses per unit area), which is seen clearly in Figure 3, an historical process of growth which took about 130 years to complete, never ended with an urban village.

Our reconstruction of Goshen's settlement history is not only based upon archival records, including Norton's maps,² but is also reflected in the architectural record of the town. Since the initial settlement pattern of Goshen was dispersed, most of the earlier Georgian houses (second half of the eighteenth century) which remain are located outside of the center village along both major and minor roadways. Only rarely is an early house found within the zone centered about the intersection of Routes 4 and 63. The extant architecture of the center village of Goshen is primarily of a Federal or Greek Revival style, as is the Congregational Church itself. One would expect to isolate such a pattern since the overwhelming majority of houses in this locality were built during the period of growth between 1800 and 1850 (Figure 3). This sort of spatial variability in the modern architectural landscape is replicated constantly as one travels throughout Litchfield County. In fact, by juxtaposing architectural and archival data and remembering the differences among a variety of settlements, it is possible to drive around Litchfield County's landscape and move simultaneously through time and space. It is probably the nearest thing to interplanetary space flight that most of us will ever see.



As cultural geographers moved about the architectural landscape and through an extensive archival record, they invented a *typology* of settlement patterns to replace the older interpretive model (a non-historical one) of smaller and larger nucleated villages. Examples of each of these types exist in Litchfield County; some are modern artifacts while others are historic sites (see Table I).

It is apparent in this particular example that a settlement during the historic period could either evolve or devolve as one approached the modern era. For instance, the communities of East and

Table I: *Forms of Nucleated Settlements*

<i>Settlement Type*</i>	<i>Modern Examples</i>	<i>Historic Examples</i>
Town	Torrington	-----
Urban Village	Litchfield, Canaan	East Canaan
Large Social Place	Goshen, East Canaan	South Canaan, Litchfield
Small Social Place	Milton, South Canaan	Canaan, Goshen, Litchfield

*Arranged in Ascending Order of Size and Complexity

South Canaan—today represented by small, modest clusters of houses and a Congregational Church—were, in the historic past (early-to-mid nineteenth century), larger and more complex. In each of these localities one can find evidence of a sequence from urban villages or sophisticated social places to smaller-scale social places, a reverse of the historical pattern which economic historians would expect to reconstruct.

One can also discover sequences of growth and complexity which more closely reflect the interpretive models of

historical geographers. Modern Torrington, Litchfield, Goshen, and Canaan (among others) in Litchfield County are larger, more diversified and differentiated, and more complex than each was in the past. However their histories and termini of development are quite dissimilar. Thus both the modern and historic settlement landscapes exhibit an endless variety

Figure 2: Aerial view of the nucleated settlement of Goshen, Connecticut. Intersection of Routes 4 and 63. Copy of 1934 series of aerial photographs, Connecticut State Library.



which itself is a sign of the complexities of historical processes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The forms of the settlements themselves can be thought of as artifacts or archaeological sites, material signs of *behavioral processes* which are responsible for bringing the patterning of individual or multiple settlements into existence. Villages are both modern objects and historic sites; if we are ever to understand why each settlement looks the way it does (in contrast with other settlements), we must have knowledge of the everyday lives of the inhabitants who lived in each village. Without it we will be left with marvelous descriptions of nucleated settlements, sometimes grouped into representative or diagnostic types, without any explanation as to why some settlements became historically trans-

emergence of two separate (yet related) social and economic processes—*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 among the numerous committees. All of this sounds quite like modern America and is supposed to, since it is here, in these processes, that the true historical foundations of American society are situated.

More importantly, the interaction of the processes of differentiation and spe-

cialization.

Some of the urban villages in Litchfield County appeared prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century, including Litchfield, Salisbury, and Sharon. Their histories as incipient urban villages are quite divergent; Litchfield's urbanization is related in part to its selection as a *shire town* or county seat in 1752, while the size and complexity of Salisbury is a reflection of its role in northwestern Connecticut's early iron industry. Torrington achieved a later prominence, eventually dominating the county's landscape, as a result of significant industrialization during the last half of the nineteenth century. The center village of Canaan also developed as a central place during the last half of the nineteenth century as it became the focus for settlement and commerce associated with the Housatonic Valley and Connecticut Western Railroads (see next section).

Although the time frames and historical "causes" of each urban village's nucleation are quite variable, the processes of specialization and differentiation are always present, transforming a society characterized by homogeneity and similitude into one whose structure can best be described as heterogeneous, composed of contrastive or dissimilar segments. As these processes worked the everyday lives of the inhabitants of each village became transformed, as did their views of themselves, their families, and their pasts. All of these transformations and separations are reflected in changes in the structures of various domains and these changes can be isolated in a variety of archival and artifact records. The remainder of this article interprets the evidence for the transformations associated with the development of the urban village of Canaan during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Emergence of Canaan as an Urban Village

The modern political and geographical landscape of Litchfield County is divided into 26 towns and two incorporated "cities" (Torrington and Winsted). The initial settlement of the county began during a 70-year period between the second half of the seventeenth century and the middle of the first half of the eighteenth century. By 1730 much of the unsettled land in Litchfield County was occupied with the exception of a rather large block of undivided land in the county's northwestern quadrant (Deming 1933).

In the October session of 1737, Connecticut's General Assembly enacted a bill entitled, "An Act Ordering and Directing the Sale and Settlement of All the Townships in the Western Lands." From this statute a series of seven town(ship)s emerged including Kent, Sharon, and Salisbury, west of the Housatonic River, and Goshen, Cornwall, Norfolk, and

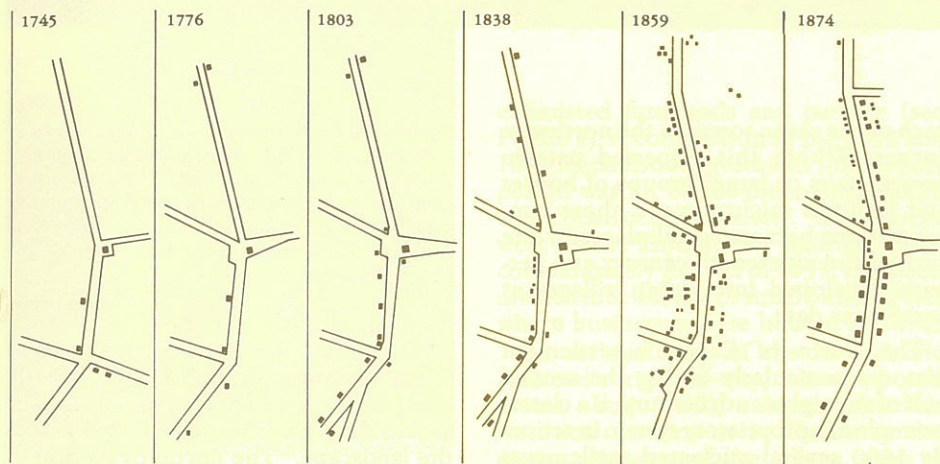


Figure 3: *The Development of the Center Village of Goshen, Connecticut, 1745-1874. Classic pattern of increasing residential nucleation, terminating with the modern social place of Goshen. Structure at crossroads is the Congregational Church.*

formed, leading to the modern pattern of endless variety.

When historical geographers recognized that Dwight's interpretive model of settlement was not an artifact but a myth, they revolutionized the discipline by beginning to trace the relationships between settlement form and the everyday lives of each village's inhabitants, as reflected primarily in economic and social activity. It was a study of the processes through which form and function (as behavior) interact, a tracing of *structural discontinuities*, gradual or abrupt transformations which end with people's lives and perceptions being different from what they were before (Handsman 1980b,c).

One obvious material sign of such transformations is the settlement pattern of each specific village. So, as that object changes, it must be a reflection of the appearance of new modes of social, political, and economic organization. Bruce Daniel's (1979) invaluable study, *The Connecticut Town*, describes what some of these modes looked like. For example, the transition of villages from social places to central places (another name for urban villages) was marked by the

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. 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. The modern landscape in Litchfield County is filled with examples of such nucleated settlements, each of which exhibits a unique history relative to these

Canaan to the east of the river. Each of these towns' future settlement rights was divided into 53 shares (or proprietors' rights), 50 of which were sold to individuals at auctions for varying prices. The income received from the additional three shares, generated by the sale or lease of lands associated with each right, was to be used to support the minister and church (defined as Congregationalist) and school system in each town (Deming 1933, Grant 1972:9-11).

The auction of each town's 50 shares took place in New Haven, Hartford, and other established settlements during late 1737 and much of 1738. Goshen's shares were sold at New Haven in 1737, Kent's in Windham in March of 1738, and Canaan's 50 proprietary rights were auctioned at New London in January of 1738 (Grant 1972:10). Some of the shares were purchased by individuals who were interested only in gaining a rapid profit. For example, a set of six transactions associated with the sale and resale of proprietary rights in Goshen indicates that a minimum profit of 85% was gained by selling an original share within six months of purchase. If an individual was willing to wait, a larger profit could be gained, particularly if the share was divided into two parts and each part was sold for more than twice the original cost. Such speculative actions could increase an individual's profit to more than 200% (see Handsman 1980d:5).

An individual who purchased a share, whether at the original auction or through subsequent transaction, became a proprietor and perhaps decided to settle within the new town. Each share or portion of a share owned by an individual guaranteed that person would receive acreage in the town as the undivided land was surveyed. Usually a lottery system was developed which specified the order in which proprietors would choose their parcels within each division. Grant's (1972) analysis of the history of divisions in Kent and the Institute's studies in Goshen both demonstrate that this process of surveying and selection of undivided lands usually was completed within two decades of initial settlement. All subsequent land transactions during the late eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the present century are founded upon this original system of land division.

Given the structure defined by a proprietary system, where original shares are translated into specific holdings during each phase of division, each proprietor (original or not) accumulated one or more clusters of parcels which then became the focus for his (we know of no proprietors who were women) "family's" subsequent occupation (see Handsman's 1980d discussion of the Beach family). Further, because each proprietor accumulated one or more clusters which became the centers for habitation, a dispersed settlement pattern of individuated farmsteads emerged in



each of the seven towns in the northwest corner. Within this dispersed pattern several pairs or larger groups of houses and facilities might appear; these concentrations became social places by the turn of the nineteenth century and perhaps developed into urban villages at some later date.

The Town of Canaan's settlement history, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century, is a classic example of a proprietary system in action. By 1800 several nucleated settlements had appeared on the regional landscape including villages at Falls Village (Figure 4), east of the Housatonic, and at South Canaan along the "Turnpike to Litchfield." Each of these was different from the other in size, economic and professional diversity, and style or architecture. However both were quite simple and a description of Falls Village by Timothy Dwight in 1798 could serve easily as an account of South Canaan:

The houses on the street are few, scattered, and indifferent. In it stands a decayed church without a steeple, belonging to the south parish (Dwight, Volume II, 1969:261).

During the same journey Dwight (Volume II, 1969:354) described the center village of Sharon as being built on a single street, in the center portion of which the houses "formed a handsome village." So just prior to 1800 several nucleated settlements had appeared in the Town of Canaan, none of which was either sufficiently large or complex enough to be identified as an urban village. Elsewhere in the northwestern corner, some settlements, such as Sharon, had become distinctly nucleated and even

Figure 4: Aerial view of Falls Village, Town of Canaan, Connecticut. This nucleated settlement developed during the first half of the nineteenth century when attempts were made to develop a power canal and an "industrial" city. It failed and Northeast Utilities now has a hydropower electric station in the locality.

"urbanized" by this period.

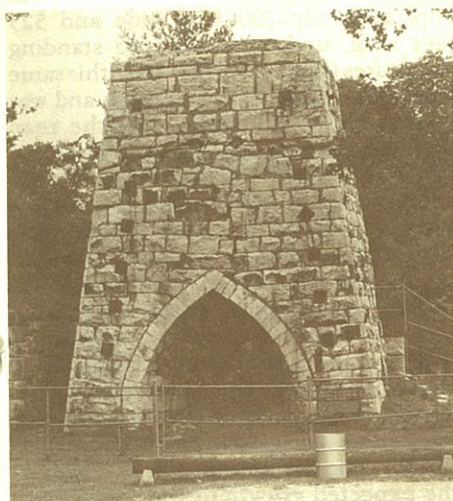
An archival map of the entire Town of Canaan, dating to the 1790's, clearly depicts a dispersed pattern of farmsteads and milling facilities distributed across the landscape.³ The northern section of this map, representative of the present Town of North Canaan (where the village of Canaan is situated), contains only one nucleated settlement, the "industrial village" of East Canaan, along the Blackberry River.

The origins of this settlement can be dated to the mid-eighteenth century when a number of enterprising individuals, including members of the Forbes family, built a series of iron furnaces and forges along the Blackberry (Figure 5). During the next century this industrial complex grew in size and became a series of diversified businesses, all of which were dependent upon the hydraulic power available from the river (see the detailed history of Howell and Carlson 1980). This settlement continued to thrive through the second half of the nineteenth century, although technological innovations and the shift of heavy industry to the west began to effect the village's economic base. Today it is but a mute sign of its former self—quiet, colonialized, pastoral, definitely not industrial.⁴

Further downstream along the Blackberry River, five kilometers to the west, the modern, nucleated, urban village of Canaan is situated (Figure 6). Today it is a classic town or central place where a

core of businesses and professional facilities is surrounded by a residential zone consisting of a number of neighborhoods of different ages. This settlement did not exist prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, owing its subsequent development to the appearance of two railroads during these five decades. In the 1970's the settlement is represented on an archival map by a series of four structures (Figure 7). Three of these, including the Lawrence Tavern, were located at the intersection of the Blackberry River and present-day Route 7. The fourth is a farmstead situated to the west beyond the confines of the present village.

Figure 5: Remains of nineteenth-century Iron Furnace in East Canaan along the Blackberry River. One of the few signs of this settlement's industrial past.



During the first and second decades of the nineteenth century this pattern of an "empty center village" continued. For example, an archival map of the town (ca. 1820), drawn to show the extent of the holdings of Samuel Forbes, also depicts the modern village as empty, undivided, uninhabited space.⁵ The small cluster of structures present in 1790 is also visible on this document (Figure 8), including the tavern, outbuildings, and land holdings then identified as the Lawrence Farm.

By 1853 this large parcel of empty space began to develop as a nucleated settlement and became a true urban village by the turn of the twentieth century. This change is reflected in a number of documents including two published historic maps, the Richard Clark map of the Town of Canaan (1853) and a similar map included in F. W. Beers' (1874) *County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut*.⁶ Each of these documents depicts the rapidity of development; the center village appears as a concentration of residential and commercial buildings where, prior to 1840, there were only



Figure 6: Modern urban village of Canaan, Town of North Canaan. Locality of Lawrence Tavern is situated in the right center third of the photograph.

exhausted farmlands and pasture (see Figure 9). A comparison of the 1853 and 1874 maps also suggests that this 20-year period was an era of much speculative and construction activity. The blocks west of the Housatonic Railroad Line, comparatively unused in 1853, had been divided into a series of small building lots where businesses were housed in 1874.

An archival map of the Housatonic Railroad's right-of-way, surveyed and drawn about 1840, substantiates this historical pattern as it illustrates the empty character of the village, even at this date.⁷ Between 1840 and 1850 the Housatonic Railroad was extended into this locality, initiating the development of the center village as a center for commerce and business. The village continued to grow and diversify, receiving an additional impetus from the construction of a second railroad, the Connecticut Western, in the late 1870's (Fales 1972:22-25). Maps depicting this company's right-of-way, drawn about 1875, indicate that a nucleated settlement, the village of Canaan, had grown significantly since 1840.⁸

By 1870 Canaan had become a classic urban village or central place, represented by a growing settlement which consisted of residential and commercial units. The Federal census recorder, working within the center village in 1870, listed a variety of businesses and services including two hotel keepers, one Judge of the County's Superior Court, several farmers and merchants, a druggist, a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a harnessmaker, and a carpenter. In addition many other individuals' occupations were associated with the railroads. For instance, several hotels and boarding houses offered accommodations to more than 25 of the railroads' laborers as well as several teamsters and

three civil engineers. Some of the railroads' employees owned their houses, including several conductors and depot agents as well as less specialized workmen.⁹ So the growth of the center village of Canaan is not simply a matter of an increase in population density but is also a reflection of increasing economic specialization and a simultaneous differentiation of labor. All of these signs are classic characteristics of the appearance of urban villages upon Litchfield County's landscape.



The development of Canaan as a nucleated center for commerce and trades is not reflected solely in historic documents which must be made to "speak" to us observers in the modern world. Some archival evidence is of a more direct "ethnographic" character, consisting of the observations, thoughts, and actions of individuals who participated within this social transformation. Such data are as powerful a source of information about changing everyday lives as a set of historic maps, tax records, or census schedules.

For example, one inhabitant of the center village of Canaan, Frederick Plumb, who bought land there from William Adam in the mid-1840's, petitioned Litchfield's County Court (December 1844 session) to force the Selectmen of the Town of Canaan to build a highway leading north from the center village towards Ashley Falls, Massachusetts. His justifica-

tion for such a request reveals clearly his recognition of the changes in this locality:

The undersigned would respectfully [request] that in consequence of the building of the Housatonic Rail Road and the establishment of one of its depots . . . , many individuals have located themselves at said Depot and have entered into extensive business at that place. . . . many others contemplate so doing so that in a short time there will be established . . . a large business village. [But the inhabitants and the public generally are inconvenienced by the want of suitable highways to bring goods to and from the center village.]¹⁰

Plumb's petition was granted and a group of County Commissioners surveyed the road in the spring of 1845. Today this road is located west of the Housatonic Railroad's tracks and is the major highway (Route 7) which leads north into Massachusetts.

This petition contains an individual's account of the historical processes of transformation; other evidence reflects the actions of many individuals who either singly or as an amorphous group realized the implications of the construction of both railroads. Until the early 1840's the entire locality of the modern center village of Canaan was owned by one individual, William Adam. A grandson of Samuel Forbes (the early "industrialist" of East Canaan), Adam owned a large tract of land roughly situated between the Blackberry River,

Route 7, and the western edge of the center village. This tract included all of the original Lawrence Farm as well as the area to the north and west where the railroads eventually met and the settlement developed. In fact some of the older "natives" of Canaan believe that William Adam "persuaded" each railroad company to construct their "depot" on his land, ensuring himself and his descendants of a profit earned from the sale of tracts which had no further agricultural value (see Fales 1972:22-23).

While archival information does not indicate clearly that Adam was in collusion with either company, the extant land records do reflect the appearance of speculative activities undertaken by individuals who hoped to gain rapid profits through property transactions. At the same time many individuals were interested in purchasing or leasing a plot, with buildings or an option to build, hoping to develop a business or offer a professional service needed by the village's inhabitants. The combination of individuals' desires to become entrepreneurs or land speculators, or both, as the center village continued to become urbanized, is evidenced in two patterns which can be isolated in the associated land records.

By the mid-1840's some of the undivided space owned by William Adam had been purchased in the form of single, small plots whose size and shape remained unaltered, even through the first half of the twentieth century. One such tract (50 feet wide and 200 feet long) was located on the northwestern corner of the center village and was owned by

more than a dozen different individuals between 1845 and 1875. The value (real and projected as potential value by the buyer) of this tract jumped suddenly twice during this period, between 1846 and 1848 and again between 1866 and 1870. Each time the price paid was double that spent by earlier owners, reflecting the increased value which this tract was assigned with the construction of each railroad. Each successive owner of the plot and its associated buildings provided goods or services to the community, including the individuals who worked for each railroad.

A second pattern of land transactions can also be isolated in the archival records, one which is characterized by a process of subdivision as well as a history of varying values and prices. For example, William Adam sold a tract on the northwestern corner of the village to Frederick Plumb in 1845. At that time this plot was approximately 200 feet wide and 525 feet long, undivided with no standing structures (Figure 10). By 1847 this same tract was owned by J. A. Ensign and was now bounded on the east by the road built by the Town of Canaan after the successful petition by Frederick Plumb.

Beginning in the late 1840's and continuing through the next decade, this large plot was divided systematically into smaller parcels, each of which was sold, re-sold, leased, and mortgaged at varying rates. The history of values of many of these parcels is similar to that described above; usually the price increased significantly twice, once at the beginning of the period and again in the late 1850's or 1860's. The earlier increase is a sign of the expected growth of the locality following the construction of the Housatonic Railroad, while the second defines a similar set of expectations associated with the appearance of the Connecticut Western. By 1870 approximately 10 parcels existed where earlier there had been one undivided tract. Each of these parcels contained a facility which housed a store or some other business offering a service or goods and products for sale. This is a pattern of use and division which continues even until the present day.

* * * * *

If Timothy Dwight had been alive in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and had he traveled through the center village of Canaan, he would have described a thriving commercial center situated at the junction of two railroads. This urban village had developed over a span of 50 years, its pattern reflecting a significant structural transformation which had occurred in this locality. Prior to 1850 the center village of Canaan did not exist and this piece of landscape would have looked quite pastoral. To the south the villages of South Canaan and Falls Village had begun to diminish in size and complexity, as did the settlement of East Canaan, upstream along the Blackberry River. Adjacent to the new urban village



Figure 7: Archival map of the Town of Canaan ca. 1790. Closeup of locality where the center of Canaan would eventually develop. Cluster of structures to the right of center includes the Lawrence Tavern. Housatonic River to the left.

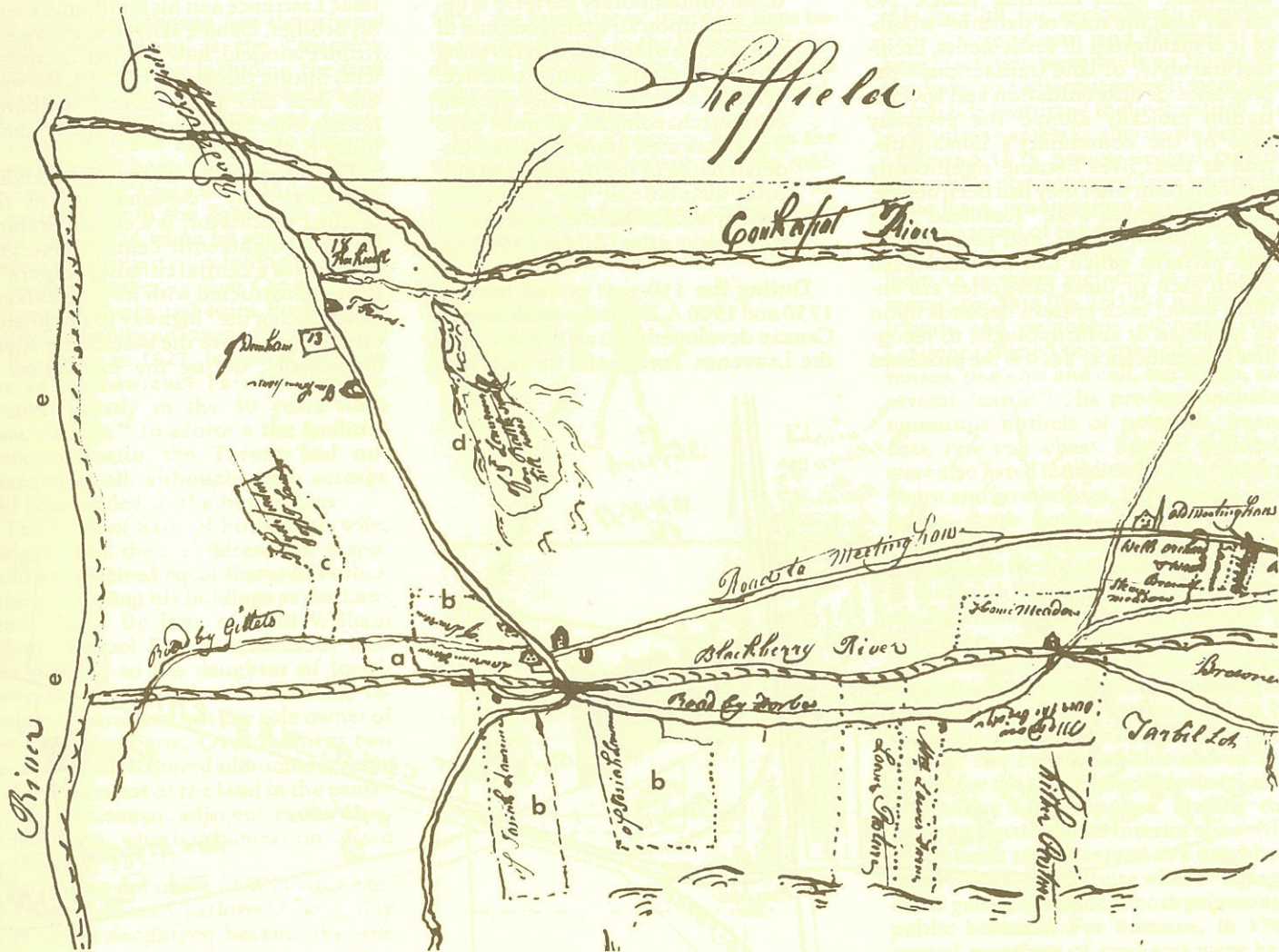


Figure 8: Archival map of the Town of Canaan ca. 1820. Closeup of locality where the center village of Canaan would eventually develop. Note the emptiness of this space. a. Lawrence Farm; b. of Lawrence; c. Hyde Pasture of J. Lawrence; d. of J. Lawrence on Rattlesnake Hill; e. Housatonic River. Village of East Canaan is situated at extreme right central portion. Blackberry River flows through the town in the lower portion. Map courtesy of Dr. William Adam of East Canaan.

of Canaan, the Lawrence Tavern continued to stand and its owners and inhabitants participated within the dramatic changes which transformed the village's landscape.

Archaeological Evidence for the Structural Transformation: The Lawrence Tavern

Intensive historical and anthropological studies of the histories of urbanization can employ a variety of data to investigate the processes associated with this transformation. These data could include information isolated from archival, architectural, or archaeological resources and can be viewed at different scales. In order to know which set of data is appropriate and how to arrange this information so that its analytical scale is applicable to a research question, one must have prior knowledge of the sorts of questions

that are to be studied. As these questions change, so will the relevant data as well as the scale within which these data are organized. In any set of archival records, or at any archaeological site, there are an infinite number of potential patterns (interrelationships among data) which can be discovered. Which analytical method does one use, what sort of patterns should one see, what does a pattern have to do with a process—all of these questions cannot be answered unless a problem has been defined for investigation.

In the Institute's study of urbanization in the village of Canaan, data from archival resources as well as an archaeological record (associated with the Lawrence Tavern) were analyzed and interpreted at two different scales. At the level of regional patterns (the scale most often employed by geographical historians), a variety of dispersed and nucleated settlements were recognized, some of which

were "fossilized versions" of their historic pasts. One of these modern settlements, that of the center village of Canaan, was then situated within its historical continuum, demonstrating its growth and development as an urbanized community.

This reduction in scale, from a regional pattern to a more localized history concentrated on a single settlement, is now continued as our interpretive gaze is reduced to the level of a single plot of land, an architectural object, and an historic archaeological site associated with that object. As the scale becomes reduced the signs of the processes of urbanization remain, although these signs may have to be discovered within patterns whose significance has never been recognized before.

It should not be unexpected that the history of Canaan's structural transformation and urbanization is reflected in a variety of patterns whose recognition is

cider mill, a storehouse, and the original tavern, referred to as the "mansion house."¹² His estate, including the land and structures thereon, was divided among his wife and their children and grandchildren. By 1804 all of these discrete portions had been bought by Josiah Lawrence, Isaac's grandson. He continued to maintain both the Farm and Tavern until early 1824 when he sold all of the associated property, including facilities, to Samuel Forbes of East Canaan.¹³ Information abstracted from Forbes' *probate file*, including an inventory completed at his death in 1827, indicates that the size of the Lawrence Farm had not increased greatly in the 30 years since Isaac's death.¹⁴ In addition the facilities associated with the Tavern had not changed at all, although some acreage had been added to the home farm.

The heirs of Samuel Forbes, his wife, Abigail, and their children and grandchildren, received equal shares of Forbes' estate including his holdings at the Lawrence Farm. By June of 1828 William Adam, Samuel Forbes' grandson, who was married to the daughter of Josiah Lawrence, had purchased all of the remaining shares and was the sole owner of the Lawrence Farm. Over the next two decades Adam acquired additional acreage and owned most of the land in the center village of Canaan, adjacent to the Lawrence Farm, where urbanization began in the early 1850's.

Following the death of William Adam in 1884, Frances Charlotte Adam Eddy (one of his daughters) became the sole owner of the property by mutual consent with the other remaining heirs. Since 1910 and the death of Frances Eddy, three individuals have received shares of the estate, either through a blood relationship or by one created by marriage. The present owners, Molly Lyles along with her deceased husband, James Lyles, have held title since 1940.

For more than two centuries the Lawrence farmstead and Tavern have remained undivided and undisturbed, a piece of "stable landscape" surrounded by change and transformation. During all this time the property has been owned, lived in, and used by families descended through blood from, or related by marriage to, the original settler, Isaac Lawrence.

Since the Lawrence farmstead and Tavern were always situated directly adjacent to the locality where the urban village of Canaan eventually developed, the historical patterns of use of the farmstead's buildings and landscape should reflect the changes associated with urbanization. As the process of differentiation and specialization interacted to transform many of Litchfield County's settlements into central places (centers for economic and governmental activity), these processes also effected historical breaks in the traditional patterns of behavior and use at the farmstead. Beginning about

1850 the inhabitants' everyday lives became altered and, in the subsequent five decades, the use of the Tavern and its adjacent landscape became more specialized and more passive.

For more than a century, between the time of initial settlement and the mid-nineteenth century, the owners or inhabitants of the farmstead actively used

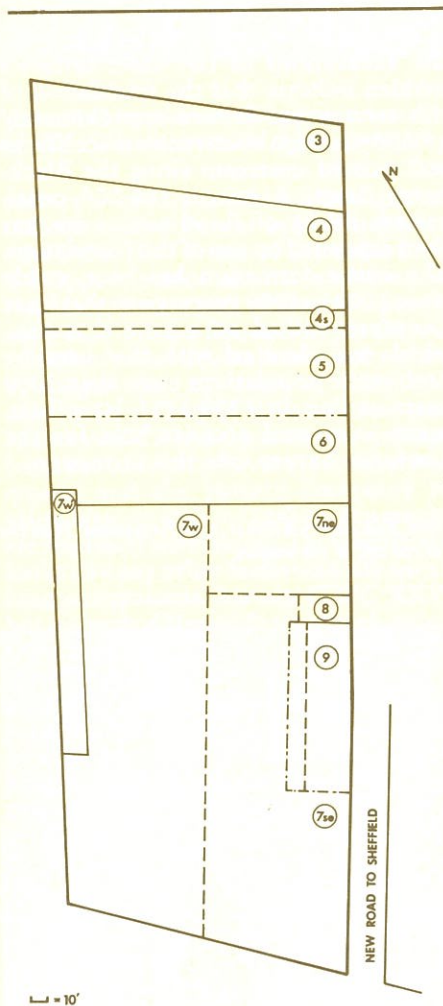


Figure 10. The Process of Subdividing a Parcel of Land in the Center Village of Canaan. This entire piece was whole until 1845 when Fredrick Plumb or J. A. Ensign initiated the following sequence of initial divisions: 3. 1849, 4. 1853, 4s. 1853, 5 and 6. 1853, 6. 1869, 7. 1866, 7w. 1847, 7ne. 1849, 7w'. 1845, 7se. 1847, 8. 1850, and 9. 1858. By 1870, the entire plot had been subdivided into 11 parcels, the configuration shown on the F. W. Beers' map of the center village. The Housatonic Railroad is located 50 feet east of the "New Road to Sheffield."

this locality for agricultural purposes. Crops were grown and livestock was kept, facilities were built to house the produce, and adjacent parcels were used to provide pasturage to the livestock. An archival map of this locality drawn between 1820 and 1825 depicts several pasture lots within the center village where, 30 years later, urbanization would begin.

Some sense of the success and scale of the Lawrence Farm can be segregated from an *inventory* included in Isaac Lawrence's probate file. In 1794 his freehold friends and neighbors estimated that Lawrence owned one yoke of oxen, two horses, one cow and calf, ten sheep, and several "cattle." His produce included numerous bushels of potatoes, beans, oats, rye, and wheat. Several buildings were also listed in addition to the Tavern: "barn and cow houses, corn house, milk house, store house, horse house and cyder mill." A later inventory of the farmstead's facilities, completed in 1827 at the death of Samuel Forbes, contains an equivalent number and variety of buildings.

The Lawrence Tavern itself served several concurrent functions during its first century of use. It was lived in by members of the Lawrence "family," who worked the Farm, and also served as a center for the processing of domesticated and native food supplies. During this period a portion of its interior space (the south front room) served as a neighborhood tavern, a social site where "equals" could gather to conduct both private and public business. For instance, in 1767 several meetings of creditors were held at the Tavern to resolve questions concerning the repayment of debt, usually following the death of the debtor.¹⁵ Isaac Lawrence, his son, Jonas, and Isaac's grandson, Josiah, were all granted licenses to manage a tavern between 1756 and 1788, 1779 and 1791, and 1806 and 1823, respectively (Lyles 1951).¹⁶

With the construction of the Housatonic Railroad between 1840 and 1850, the center village began to develop and new businesses and services appeared, as did opportunities for Canaan's native residents to alter their lives and occupations. By 1853 the farmstead had been reduced in size and the land on the south side of the Blackberry River was the center of a series of manufacturing establishments including a wagon shop and saw mill (Clark 1853). While it is difficult to associate census statistics with specific households and houses, it is known that the Lawrence Tavern was now used primarily as a domicile.

Several hotels and boarding houses had opened in the center village, providing the services which earlier had been offered exclusively by the owners or lessees of the Tavern. Coincident with these changes, the appearance of a variety of merchants in the village who bought and sold agricultural produce meant that the inhabitants of the Tavern could purchase a

readily available supply of foodstuffs. As these occupants participated within these specialized and differentiated systems, their lives became more dependent upon the labor of others. Sometime prior to 1870 the Lawrence Farm ceased to be a center for agriculture and became a focus for more specialized activities.

In 1870 the Federal census recorder identified the Lawrence Tavern as a Boarding House for young girls (ages 13-16) who attended a private school taught by Sarah Adam, a daughter of William Adam. This boarding house was managed by Mrs. Betsy Franklin, a married daughter of Josiah Lawrence. The F. W. Beers' (1874) map of the center village of Canaan depicts a boarding house and school in this locality (see Figure 9). Following the death of William Adam in 1884 and the final distribution of his estate, the Tavern has been used as a private residence for more than 80 years.

Archaeological data reflective of this shift to more specialized uses and differentiated lives (as determined by the appearance of new facilities and modes of economic organization during urbanization) has been isolated in two dramatically different patterns in the historic archaeological record. The first of these patterns survives as recognizable modifications of the natural landscape while the second has been identified within the *internal structures* of the Tavern's *midden deposits*. Even though the analytical scales of these two patterns are distinct, each is an obvious sign of the transformations in-

herent in urbanization and the development of early capitalist villages.

The historic archaeological deposit associated with the Lawrence Tavern is situated within two *fluvial terraces* in the side yard of the Tavern on the north bank of the Blackberry River (Figure 11). The surface of the upper, older terrace is approximately 3.5 meters above the river's flow while that of the younger, historic *floodplain* is less than one meter in height (see cross-section, Figure 12). A series of eight two-meter squares was excavated, oriented along a major trench beginning just south of one of the Tavern's outbuildings and continuing towards the Blackberry River. Four of the excavation units were located within the upper terrace, one (S-20) was placed on the slope between the older terrace and younger floodplain, and three more were excavated into the midden buried within the floodplain (Figure 12).

The *stratigraphic* evidence isolated from the excavations of the older terrace's midden indicate that the foundation of this terrace was formed approximately 10,000 years ago when remnant ice blocks still existed upstream along the Blackberry River. A veneer (80-100 centimeters thick) of flood sediments was then deposited on top of this foundation. The entire formation has been stable since 3000 to 4000 years ago so that Isaac Lawrence walked on a ground surface which was identical with that used by prehistoric populations more than 3000 years earlier. In 1750-1751 Isaac Lawrence excavated a cellar hole for the Lawrence Tavern into this formation.

An historic midden deposit consisting of a variety of artifact classes was discovered within the older terrace's fill beneath a recent sod layer (Figure 13). While the thickness of this deposit varied from one unit to the next, materials were usually located within 60 centimeters of the extant ground surface. *Diagnostic* ceramics and nails demonstrate that this midden ranges in age between 1750-1780 and 1850 A.D.

The deposit itself is not a homogeneous site but actually consists of a series of discrete layers, sometimes separated by clean, sandy fill. This terrace had been plowed during the century between 1750 and 1850 A.D. and a garden (perhaps for vegetables and herbs) had been prepared adjacent to the Tavern. Once the processes of urbanization had been initiated and the farmstead was no longer used for the production of crops, this plowing stopped and the surface of this terrace became passive, an integral part of a residential landscape.

This shift—from an earlier, active, agricultural landscape to a more recent, passive, residential form—is also reflected in the history of architectural features and sediments associated with the floodplain. Prior to 1850 the surface of the floodplain was more than one meter lower than it is today (Figure 12). During the second half of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of the Tavern began to deposit piles of refuse upon this older formation, gradually increasing its height to within 50 centimeters of the current ground surface. Around the turn of the twentieth century this activity ceased and the remainder of the floodplain's sediments was deposited during flood events along the Blackberry River.

The sedimentological characteristics of the upper profiles from Squares S-24 and S-26 indicate that numerous flood events have occurred since 1900, each depositing a thin layer of clean, white sand less than one centimeter thick (see Figure 14). Over a span of approximately six decades, the surficial landscape of the floodplain was modified into an immaculate residential form, the manicured lawn.

This historic alteration of the Tavern's landscape is as much the result of systematic construction as it is a reflection of disposal behavior and natural events. In S-22, approximately 25-30 centimeters below the ground surface, a feature was discovered which consisted of a broad pile of angular rocks (see Figure 14). This feature covered the entire bottom of the two-meter square and continued upstream and downstream for unknown distances. As revealed in our archaeological profiles, it does not seem to have been much more than two meters in width.

While its specific function is not known, it obviously was constructed and used as an aid in adjusting the slope between the older, upper terrace and the younger floodplain. Its surface was not carefully

Figure 11: View of the rear and side yards of the Lawrence Tavern. Blackberry River is in the foreground. Note the upper terrace and the floodplain. The trench was excavated to the left of the maples.



finished, and it was built some-
 around 1880 A.D. The rocks used
 to construct the feature were not cobbles
 or boulders from the river but were
 made of material which had been quar-
 ried and then broken into smaller frag-
 ments.
 The stratigraphic evidence indi-
 cates that this feature was built after
 the midden deposit had accumu-
 lated on the floodplain. Apparently it is
 contemporaneous with a fill layer of
 compacted sand and pebbles which was
 laid over the top of the middens to
 level them and provide a horizontal and
 level surface for the development of a
 flat landscape.

Archaeological reflections of the urban-
 ization of the village of Canaan and the
 recent transformations of social and
 economic relationships have also been
 observed within the internal structures of
 two midden deposits themselves. Each
 midden consists of a variety of
 artifact classes, including numerous his-
 toric ceramics from different forms, nails
 of varying ages, window glass, fragments
 of glass bottles and other containers, and
 unique artifacts such as buttons
 and toothbrushes (Figures 15-17). Nu-
 merous bone fragments were also recovered
 representing historic livestock which had
 been butchered, as well as indigenous
 species including the white-tailed deer.
 At one level, that of stratigraphic rela-
 tionships, the analysis of the vertical
 distribution of diagnostic items (espe-
 cially ceramics, nails, and glass bottles)
 is useful in resolving the age of specific features
 as well as identifying when particular
 portions of the Tavern's landscape were
 altered. For example, the assemblage of arti-
 facts excavated from the midden within
 the upper terrace was deposited during
 the last century of the Tavern's existence,
 around 1850 A.D. However the materials
 recovered from the deposits buried with-
 in the floodplain range in age between
 1860 and 1900 A.D., the period
 during which the commercial center de-
 cayed.
 At a second analytical level, that de-
 veloped by patterns isolated within each
 site's assemblage, these artifact classes



Figure 13: Excavation unit on the upper terrace, Spring 1980. An historic midden, ranging in age between 1750 and 1850 A.D., was uncovered in this square. Ms. Amy Quist, excavator.

and types can be combined into groups
 indicative of different sets of behavior
 (see Table II).¹⁷ Some of the units from
 the upper terrace are more similar, at
 this scale, than a pair of assemblages (S-
 24, S-26) from the floodplain, yet there is
 sufficient variability between each square
 to suggest that any signs of "likeness"
 may be an artifact of the analytical pro-
 cedure itself. When the entire assemblage
 from the Lawrence Tavern is divided into
 groups and the pattern compared to
 other historic sites in Goshen, the results
 are singularly unrevealing. The assemblage
 looks like any other farmstead site with a
 long occupational history (TWC XXV)
 but is clearly different from other historic
 sites of similar ages (Anstett I, TWC XL).
 While the use of each of these two
 analytical levels produced important in-
 formation about the history and contents
 of the historic midden deposits, neither
 provided signs of the processes charac-
 teristic of urbanization. If the archaeological
 record is a reflection of dynamic processes

such as urbanization, then patterns should
 exist within the record which would
 reveal how such a process affected the
 everyday lives of a village's or tavern's
 inhabitants. As the village of Canaan was
 transmogrified into a center for commerce
 and business, the inhabitant's everyday
 lives became more specialized and dif-
 ferentiated. By adjusting the analytical
 scale which is used to isolate patterns,
 archaeologists should be able to discover
 relationships within data which are de-
 monstrative of such transformations.

During the first century of its use,
 when the center village of Canaan did
 not exist between 1750 and 1850, the
 everyday lives of the inhabitants of the
 Lawrence Farmstead did not differ from
 one year to the next. The range of
 activities which took place, the equip-
 ment and facilities which were used dur-
 ing these activities, and the deposited
 residues which represent them will tend
 to be homogeneous from one analytical
 unit to the next. The internal structure
 of such an archaeological deposit can be
 described as *coarse-grained* where the "re-
 solution between archaeological remains
 and specific events is poor" (Binford
 1980:17). Put another way, from one day
 to the next or one year to the next, for
 almost a century, life at the Lawrence
 Farm was *redundant*. The archaeological
 record of such a homogeneous structure
 will exhibit an internal patterning which
 is delineated by similitude, no matter
 how an archaeologist chooses to identify
 it.

Once the processes of settlement
 growth, socio-economic differentiation,
 and commercial and professional special-
 ization begin, this principle of redundancy
 will disappear, to be replaced by every-
 day lives which are variable and non-

Figure 12: Topographic cross-section and excavation grid at the Lawrence Tavern. Note the difference in elevation between the contemporary ground surface and that of the mid-nineteenth century. The rock feature, used as an aid in leveling, was discovered in unit S-22.

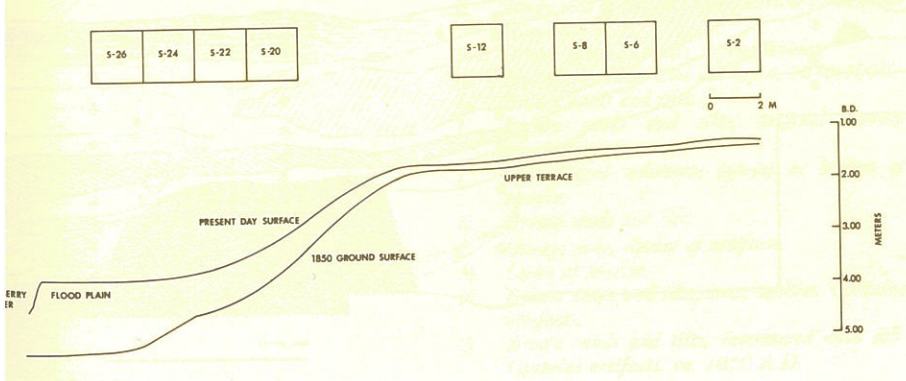


Table II: Comparative Frequencies* of Artifact Groups, Lawrence Tavern and Other Farmsteads

Unit	Kitchen Group	Architec- ture Group	Clothing Group	Personal Group	Activities Group	Bone Group
<i>Squares</i>						
S2W0	45	37	0	0	2	16
S6W0	25	25	0	0	0	50
S8W0	26	26	0	0	1	47
S12W0	33	56	0	1	1	9
S20W0	42	25	1	0	0	32
S22W0	58	12	0	0	0	30
S24W0	71	17	0	0	0	12
S26W0	73	17	0	0	1	9
<i>Sites</i>						
Lawrence Tavern	47	27	0	0	1	25
Anstett I**	72	11	1	0	2	14
TWCXXV**	50	43	0	1	1	5
TWC XL**	81	14	0	0	1	4

*Percentages
 **Goshen site

Kitchen: Ceramics, Glass Bottles, Tableware, Kitchenware
 Architecture: Window Glass, Nails, Construction Hardware

combinations among four classes of artifacts) were prepared for each square. Each dot on each graph represents the relative frequencies of those two artifact classes for a specific level (see Figures 18, 19).

If a midden's internal structure is coarse-grained, hence homogeneous and non-differentiated, the dots should cluster, exhibiting little dispersion. As the "grain" of the deposit becomes finer and its internal structure more differentiated, each graph's dots should be exhibiting a greater degree of dispersion. A comparison of the graphs prepared for S-6 (an earlier midden) and S-24 (a later midden) do indicate that two distinct patterns of dispersion have emerged, each characteristic of a different sort of archaeological grain. The earlier midden displays a coarse-grained structure while the later midden, reflective of a period of urbanization, is characterized by a fine-grained deposit.

Once the processes of urbanization begin within the center village of Canaan, the everyday lives of its inhabitants become dramatically transformed. The signs of such transformations are fossilized in a variety of records which reflect the actions of individuals who participated within these dramatic developments. Like specific archival records (especially those associated with land transactions), the historic archaeological middens at the Lawrence Tavern include features and patterns whose interpretation is dependent upon an understanding of the effects of the processes of differentiation and specialization. By specifying what these effects might be and by adjusting the analytical scale so that one can recognize signs of them, the archaeological record's structure is redefined as one of varying graininess.

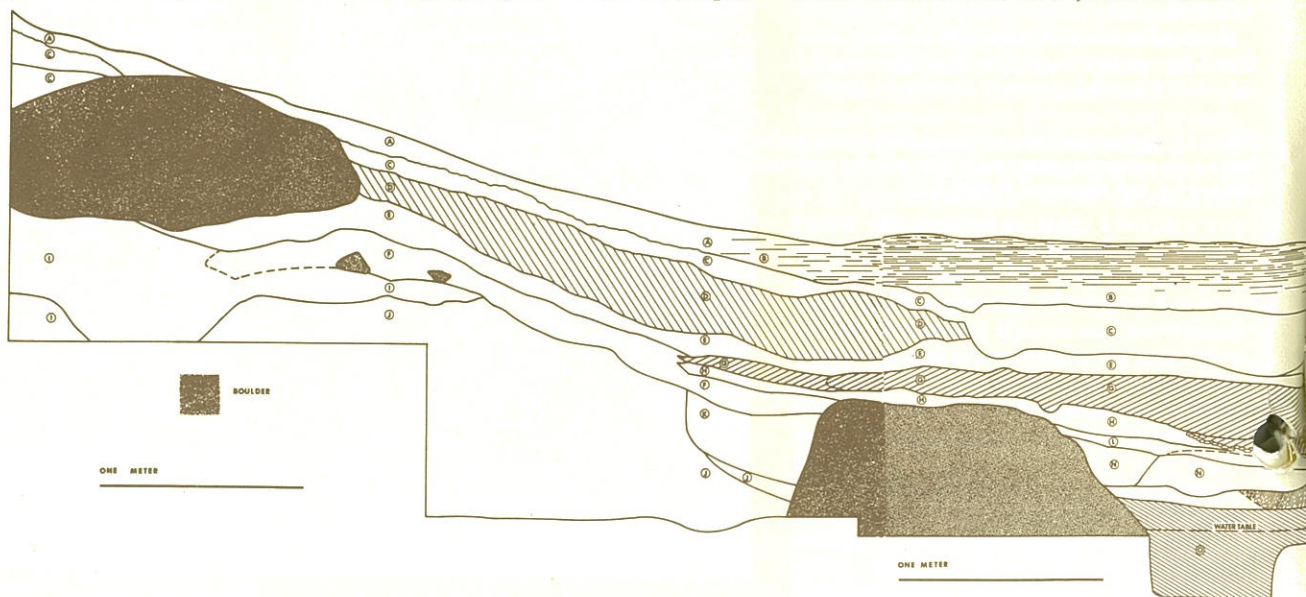
It should be obvious that these changes in the Lawrence Tavern's middens are a result of its proximity to a transformed locality. Sites which are further removed from such localities or adjacent to local-

redundant from one moment to the next. The associated archaeological record of everyday life at the Tavern should become more individuated, which is to say *fine-grained*, whether specific units are compared to one another or to units characteristic of the earlier period. Unlike the earlier coarse-grained deposit, the internal structure of the floodplain's midden should be highly differentiated, allowing one to equate specific depositional remains with behavioral events. At this analytical level and scale, historical archaeologists should be capable of discovering signs of the histories and processes of urbanization.

The analytical techniques which can be used to distinguish a coarse-grained

deposit from a fine-grained structure are just beginning to be invented by American archaeologists. However the results of the Institute's studies are highly suggestive, demonstrating that the internal structure of the earlier midden is distinct from that associated with the era of urbanization (Handsman 1981).

Each *arbitrary level* in each of seven squares (S-2 had been disturbed by the construction of an earlier sewer line) was analyzed as a single unit. The frequencies of four classes of artifacts (window glass, ceramics, nails, container glass) were calculated and a series of graphs drawn which depicted the relative percentages of each artifact class as compared to all others. Six graphs (the number of unique



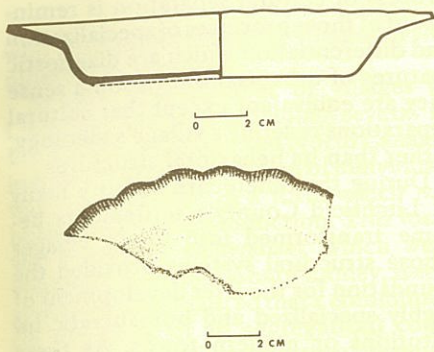


Figure 15: Cross-section and horizontal view of a blue shell-edged pearlware platter, ca. 1790-1850. Illustration by Roberta Hampton.

ities which never changed (Goshen would be an excellent example of such "non-history") will reveal different histories of patterning.

Cultural Separations and the Emergence of the Modern World: Subscriptions and Individualism

Anthropological and historical studies of the development and processes of urbanization are founded implicitly upon the existence of two separate worlds. The first is the era of some historic (or even prehistoric) past where the structural principles of organization are completely different from those which prevail in modern societies. These principles define the basic categories of life and, by doing so, determine how everyday life itself is lived.

As a community begins to participate within patterns of significant growth and differentiation, recognizable in the appearance of urban villages (as one manifestation of urbanization), new principles of social and economic organization are invented. These inventions are sometimes consciously enacted by a village's inhabitants. More often the innovation

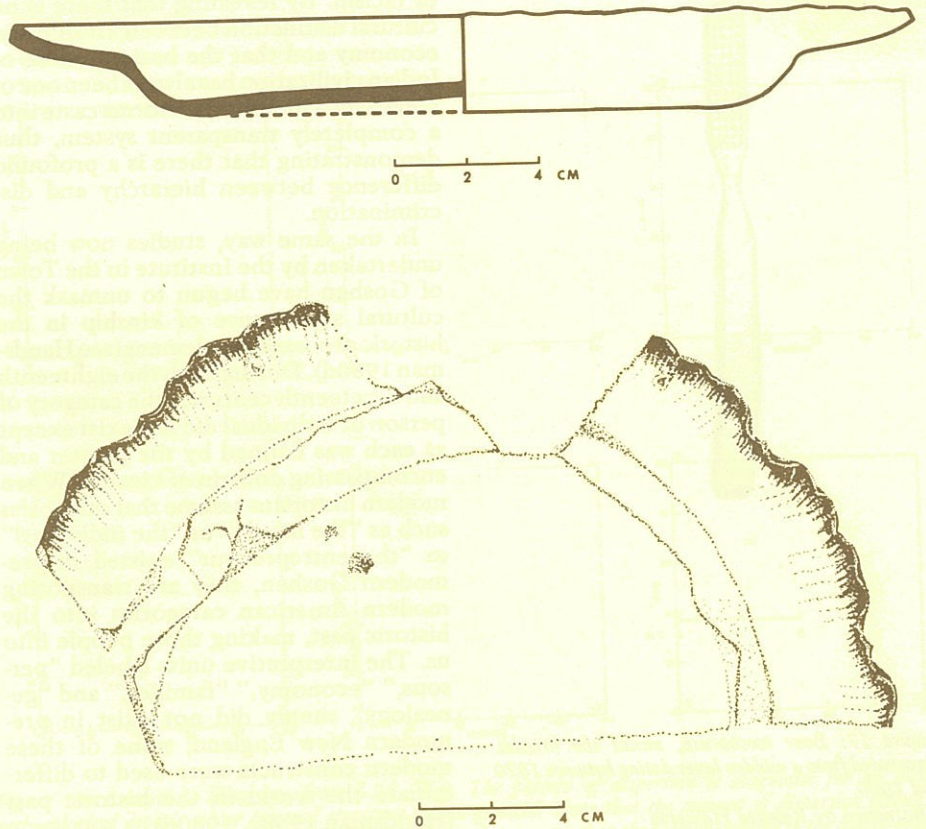


Illustration by Roberta Hampton.

Figure 16: Cross-section and horizontal view of a larger blue shell-edged pearlware platter, ca. 1790-1850.

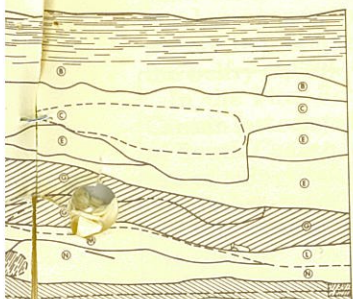
of such structural propositions is entirely unconscious, completely unexpressed and latent, yet always successful. So after some historical moment what appears on the social and cultural landscape are systems whose being is very different from earlier forms. Once urban villagers emerge in Litchfield County, the homogeneous world of a "pre-urban" or pre-modern past is replaced by a more com-

plicated regional landscape of everyday lives, some of which are modern (highly differentiated and specialized and individuated) and some of which are not.

To this point the evidence which reflects these processes of metamorphosis has been discovered entirely in records of norms and actions—signs of systematic behavior which reveal how different a community and people's lives in it had become. By shifting the analytical frame once more from normative behavior to a cultural system of meaning and categories, it is possible to isolate signs of the appearance of a modern American ideology. Ideology consists of the "taken-for-granted," a world of implicit domains and categories (and the relationships between them) which determines how people perceive themselves and others and act through these perceptions. Ideology is not behavior but is a cultural system of meaning which establishes the "fields" within which behavior works:

Culture takes man's position *vis-a-vis* the world rather than a man's position on how to get along in the world as it is given; it asks, "Of what does the world consist?" where the normative level asks, "Given the world to be made up in the way it is, how does a man proceed to act in it?" (Schneider 1972:38).

Figure 14: East Wall Profile between S-18, W-0 and S-26, W-0.



- A. Sod layer, brown sand and silt.
- B. Sod layer, gray-brown sandy silt. Note the micro-layers each of which represents an episode of flooding.
- C. Historic fill, orange coarse sand and pebbles. Covers midden layers on floodplain.
- D. Landscape feature, angular rocks in a black sandy matrix.
- E. Sandy silts of varying colors between black and gray-brown.
- F. Brown sands and silts; a few pebbles.
- G. Historic midden: coal ash layer, 1870-1900.
- H. Brown sands and silts.
- I. Brown sands and silts, original terrace structure.
- J. Waterlogged sediments (gleys) at bottom of terrace.
- K. Brown sands and silts.
- L. Orange sand, devoid of artifacts.
- M. Layer of plaster.
- N. Brown sands and silts, some cobbles. Contains artifacts.
- O. Brown sands and silts, intermixed with ash. Contains artifacts, ca. 1850 A.D.

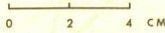


Figure 17: Bone toothbrush, minus the bristles. Excavated from a midden layer dating between 1870 and 1900. Illustration by Roberta Hampton

Earlier interpretations, based upon archival records associated with land transactions as well as an archaeological site, have indicated how men proceeded to act while their world was changing into an urban village. However none of this information is capable of revealing whether the processes associated with urbanization altered the earlier cultural system of meaning so that some new world was constructed of entirely different domains. We know that modern American ideology, like most contemporary Western systems, is constructed from a set of three valuations—the individual, wealth, and the relation of persons to objects—and that these valuations allow one to contrast modern life with premodern life (Dumont 1970, 1975; Henretta 1978). What is not understood and seldom studied is how the modern system of ideology is historically constituted so as to segregate itself from what appeared before.

Some recent anthropological research (see Barnett and Silverman 1979) has suggested that the appearance of a modern ideological system is determined in large part by the histories and processes of *cultural separations*. Cultural separations are enacted distinctions which divide what was once a whole domain or category into a number of differentiated units which then provide the basic premises for everyday life itself.

Louis Dumont (1977a) has shown how the modern, Western separation of kinship from economy, when transported into Indian (Asian) villages, alters India's structural principles of caste into a form

of racism. By revealing that there is no cultural distinction between kinship and economy and that the basic premise of Indian civilization has always been one of hierarchy, Dumont transforms caste into a completely transparent system, thus demonstrating that there is a profound difference between hierarchy and discrimination.

In the same way, studies now being undertaken by the Institute in the Town of Goshen have begun to unmask the cultural significance of kinship in the historic process of settlement (see Handsman 1980d). During both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the category of person or individual did not exist except as each was defined by the greater and encompassing domain of kinship. When modern historians assume that categories such as "the family" or "the individual" or "the entrepreneur" existed in premodern Goshen, they are transposing modern American categories into the historic past, making those people into us. The interpretive units labeled "persons," "economy," "families," and "genealogy" simply did not exist in premodern New England; none of these modern constructs were used to differentiate the world in the historic past (Handsman 1980c, 1980d).



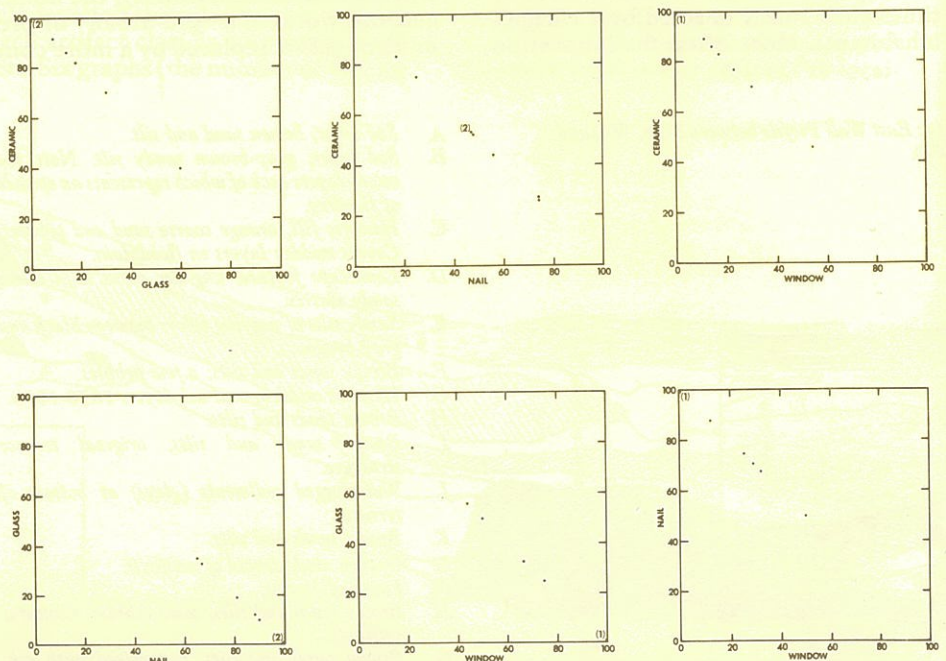
At some moments and in some places, a village's inhabitants could begin to redefine their lives by constructing boundaries or separations within domains which had once been whole. Much of this

process of cultural separation is reminiscent of those processes of specialization and differentiation which are diagnostic features of urbanization. In some sense they are equivalent except that cultural separations redefine a village's ideology, rather than its behavioral structures.

During the nineteenth century many of Litchfield County's settlements became transformed into urban villages whose structural systems provided the foundation for the later development of highly specialized and bureaucratic institutions or modern towns. As these transformations continued, people redefined their everyday lives by inventing new categories out of old domains. One of the most important cultural separations which was enacted was the segregation of the individual from society and kinship. The new domain which was created, individualism, is the defining characteristic of modern Western ideology, particularly in America.

Individualism was invented through the simultaneous action of two processes: the *differentiation* of the individual from society and culture and the *objectification* of the individual as a rational, economically-motivated person. Social and intellectual historians have described the development of individualism among political historians and political economists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Dumont 1977b, Lerner 1979). However these descriptions are of a philosophical creed which had no presence in the everyday lives of people. How was it that individualism, as a cultural separation, became worked out and acted through in the lives of the common folk

Figure 18: Analytical Diagrams from S-6, W-0. This pattern of dispersion is diagnostic for an historical archaeological deposit whose internal structure is coarse-grained. Each point represents one or more arbitrary levels excavated in this square.



who lived in the changing villages of the nineteenth century?

Studies of a number of villages in Litchfield County, including several in the Towns of Canaan and North Canaan, indicate that the separation of individuals was substantiated in a form which was both artifact and production. This form was known as *subscriptions*, which were voluntary contributions of money, freely given by individuals, so that a community (in the sense of an aggregation) could reach some specified objective: the repair or rebuilding of a meetinghouse (see Handsman 1979); the construction of a Colonial facade on a Victorian town (see Handsman 1978); the repayment of debts of a congregation's infamous preacher (in the case of Lyman Beecher in Litchfield, Connecticut in 1816); the publication of books; and the surveying, drafting, and publication of maps (see Handsman 1980b).

While these examples are quite variable as to the specified object, all are identical from the perspectives of production and meaning. Each subscription is voluntary, reflective of a belief in the substantialization of the individual. The decision regarding whether to make a contribution has its basis in the individual and not in society, in a voluntary choice and not in law.

As such, subscriptions are a radically different process of production, as can be seen clearly in the renovation or construction of meetinghouses in nineteenth-century Litchfield County. Prior to 1800 the repairs of extant meetinghouses, or the construction of new ones, were financed through the granting of a society rate, an ecclesiastical tax, codified in Connecticut law in 1748. The norm of subscriptions makes its artifactual appearance in the early 1800's and dominates the financial structure of Congregationalism after 1818 and the separation of church and state under Connecticut's constitution.

Beginning in the nineteenth century subscriptions were resorted to constantly by the ecclesiastical societies in rural Litchfield County. For example, subscriptions were solicited in Washington's ecclesiastical society to build a steeple (1788), to repair or purchase a new bell (1835), to change the pews into slips and paint the inside of the church (1839), to purchase a new organ (1865), and to restore the steeple and place a clock in the belfry (1910).¹⁸

In the First Ecclesiastical Society of Canaan (associated with the settlements of South Canaan and Falls Village), the use of subscriptions appears as early as 1782 when funds were solicited to "encourage singing" and hire a "good singing master." Further uses of this form include "fencing off" and maintaining the burial ground (1790-1791), repairing the meetinghouse (1790), constructing a new meetinghouse (1801-1802, 1811),

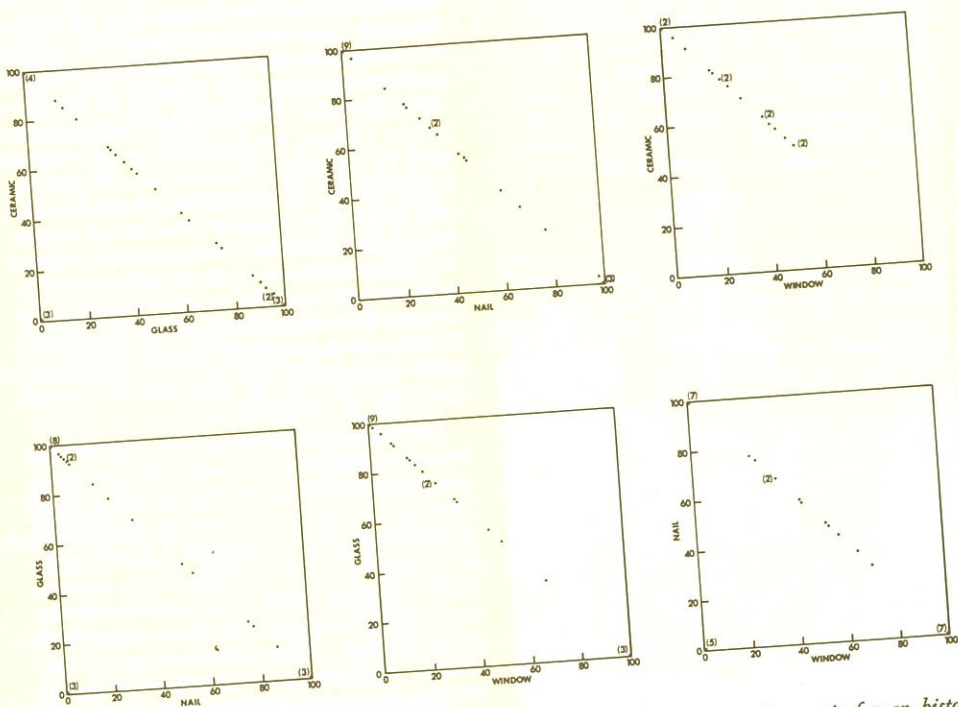


Figure 19: Analytical Diagrams from S-24, W-0. The pattern of dispersion is diagnostic for an historical archaeological deposit whose internal structure is fine-grained. Note that the amount of dispersion (along the diagonal between 100 and 100 or away from this diagonal) is greater than the pattern isolated in the coarse-grained midden.

obtaining a loan to help finance the building of a new meetinghouse (1806), and raising the minister's salary (1818, 1819, 1821).¹⁹

The history of subscriptions in the Second Ecclesiastical Society of Canaan (associated with the settlement of East Canaan) is as long and varied as that isolated in the First Society. Subscriptions were used there to gather firewood for the new minister (1790), to start a fund to support the "Gospel Ministry" (1798), to defray the cost of ordaining a new minister (1805), to raise the minister's salary (1817, 1818), to hire a singing teacher (1832), and to build a new parsonage (1834).²⁰

In 1854 members of the Second Society, faced with a deteriorating meetinghouse, discussed a course of action at a meeting of the society's committee. Either a new house was to be built in "the modern style" at a cost of \$5,000 or the present house repaired for a sum of approximately \$1,500 to \$2,000. Most of the lower amount was solicited and raised and the repairs finished by the end of the following year. The contemporary meetinghouse in East Canaan is this same structure, first built in the 1820's (Figure 20) and maintained since that time primarily with funds provided by subscriptions.

Although neither of the meetinghouses in the Town of Canaan was built through the solicitation of subscriptions, the last three meetinghouses in Litchfield were financed entirely through this process. The most remarkable case is that of the Gothic-styled fourth meetinghouse (1872),

more than half of which was paid for by single individual. Newspaper accounts of the time indicate that this individual's subscription of \$10,000 would have been reduced to \$1,000 if the third meetinghouse simply had been repaired.

So subscriptions were not just individual contributions; they also served as a significant source of the valuation of individuals. Individuals could not only contribute freely but could also actually define their level of individuality, could make themselves more substantialized (objectified) by manipulating the size of their subscription. In essence subscriptions in nineteenth century Litchfield County are the process and object through which society is separated culturally into congeries of *monads* or discrete persons.

The Anthropology of Early Capitalist Villages

For almost two decades American historians have been actively exploring their own history, rediscovering that one mate truth embedded inside the Romance concept of perspective distance since any past is completely dead separate from any present, all knowledge of any past will always be a function of some present. As the present changes will our interpretations of the past. Once the implications of this past had been reappropriated during the crises of the late 1960's and early 1970's scholars began to examine the historical processes associated with it.

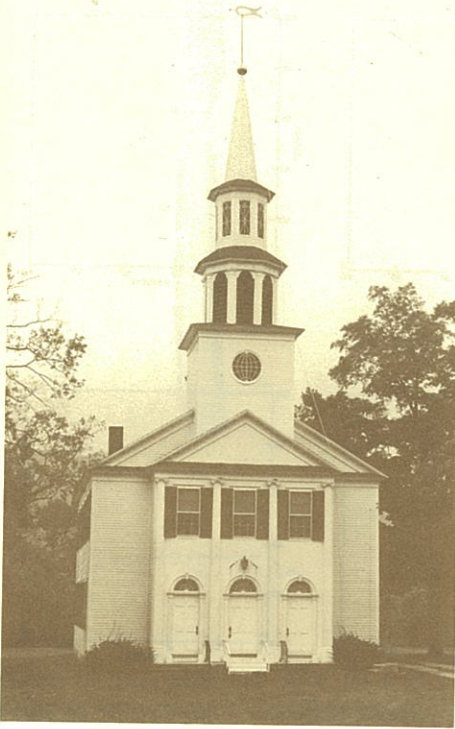


Figure 20: View of the East Canaan Congregational Church, 2nd Ecclesiastical Society. Note the classic Greek Revival Portico ca. 1850's. Diagnostic features of this architectural style include the triangular pediments above the entrance way and the gabled end of the main structure, the series of four pilasters applied to the entrance way's facade, and the tripartite doorway. Similarly styled porticos can be found on the Congregational churches in the center villages of Sharon in New Hartford.

velopment of modern American society and culture. From one perspective the histories of specialization and differentiation were continuous, revealing a gradual increase in complexity until the modern age was reached. Within this orientation historians attempted to discover modern America's roots in her distant past and to follow these roots into the present. An entirely new system of scholarship was invented which systematically connected modern, bureaucratic, individuated America with a less complex version of itself.

The historical landscape of New England was transformed as a result of this theoretical perspective into a series of settlements whose histories were ones of urbanization writ large or small, complex or simple. The implications of this intellectual revolution are many, but one has proved to be particularly significant—New England's settlement landscape is neither timeless nor a fossilized version of its remote self. Rather, each village's settlement pattern is a relatively recent artifact, reflective of the processes associated with urbanization.

The variety of modern settlements is

now divided into numerous forms, each of which represents differing histories of urbanization. One form, that of urban villages, became an *archetype*, a model which determined how historians studied and interpreted any history of modern development. The village of Canaan is an urban village, recognizable as a form as well as through its history. While the time frame of urbanization in Canaan was later than similar nucleated settlements in Litchfield County, its processes of differentiation and specialization interacted to transform the inhabitants' lives as they did elsewhere. So the recent history of this village is also associated with alterations in the structure and ideology of everyday lives.

From a second perspective, that defined by a theory of cultural separations, modern America's distant past is not a more simplified version of itself but an entirely different world. To be sure, a new system developed out of an older form, but the truth remains that what appeared was segregated completely from what had gone before. Thus the history of the village of Canaan is capable of being written as one of structural continuities or cultural discontinuities, bridges to the past or breaks with it.

In each case knowledge of what life was like and how it changed offers modern Americans two versions of themselves. By working through this constant juxtaposition modern America can better understand what it became, how it became what it did, and why its contemporary version is completely separate from an earlier one. Along the way we are all bound to relearn a lesson that, at some level or other, everyone knows: the past is completely dead and inert; we are the ones who bring it alive, and how we make it live depends upon our lives. Our job is to brush history constantly against its grain, to reveal how our perceptions of the past, like those of Timothy Dwight, determine our historical interpretations of it.

—Russell G. Handsman

Notes

1. Acknowledgements: Just about every member of the Institute's staff aided the completion of this project. Roberta Hampton directed a marvelous field crew including a "volunteer corps" organized by Audrey Whitbeck of Salisbury. Peter Mardoc and Roberta Hampton drafted many diagrams. A group of archivists (Christine Hoepfner, Colette Moore, and Barbara Cox) completed an invaluable study. Various institutions and agencies aided our research, including the Falls Village Historical Society and the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Connecticut State Library. Dr. William Adam allowed us to borrow an important historic map. Mrs. Molly Lyles gave her permission to excavate and opened her home and heart to the crew. To all these and many more, my thanks.
2. Several maps of the center village of Goshen, Connecticut, can be found in

"Digest of the Highways" in Goshen, a manuscript history written by Lewis Mills Norton in 1838. The original of this document is on file in the Office of the Town Clerk, Goshen, Connecticut. A microfilm copy is on file at the Research Department of the American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut.

3. Archival Map of Canaan, Connecticut, ca. 1767-1802. Original version is on file in the Office of the Town Clerk, Village of Canaan, Town of North Canaan. Photographic copy (1935) is on file in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
4. The settlement of Falls Village went through a similar process of early industrialization followed by a period of decline and modern colonization (see Fales 1972, Graham 1975:2-17).
5. Archival Map of Canaan, Connecticut, ca. 1820-1825. Original version is owned by Dr. William Adam of East Canaan, Connecticut. Photographic copies are on file at the Research Department of the American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut.
6. The map in the Beers' (1874) Atlas is actually of the Town of North Canaan since it had split from the Town of Canaan in 1858 (see history in Rodgers 1968). Since that time the village of Canaan has been located in the Town of North Canaan while Falls Village is in the Town of Canaan. None of these is associated with the Town of New Canaan, Connecticut, which is a fact that the U.S. Postal Service has yet to learn.
7. Charts of the Housatonic Railroad's Rights-of-Way. Manuscript Collection #B18, Item XIX, Section 70. On file at the New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut.
8. Charts of the Connecticut Western Railroad's Rights-of-Way. Manuscript Collection #B18, Item XII, Section 55. On file at the New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut.
9. Federal Census Records, 1870, from Litchfield County, Connecticut. Population Schedule. Manuscript volume on file at the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
10. County Court Records, Litchfield County, Connecticut. Travel Series. Autumn of 1845. Includes a petition, an order of notice, and a report by the County's Commissioners. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
11. The Institute's excavations did uncover a prehistoric campsite, ca. 3,000 B.P., which had been disturbed by historic plowing adjacent to the Tavern.
12. Probate File of Isaac Lawrence, 1794. Town of Canaan, File #2034. Sharon Probate District. Manuscript and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
13. Samuel Forbes was the grandfather of William Adam who married one of Josiah Lawrence's daughters. Much of the genealogical history of the Lawrence Farmstead was abstracted from James A. Lyles' "Chart of Ownership of Lawrence House," a manuscript on file with Molly Lyles of Canaan, Connecticut.
14. Probate File of Samuel Forbes, 1827.

- Town of Canaan, File #1293. Sharon Probate District. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
15. Meeting notices from May 18, 1767, August 17, 1767, and June 18, 1771. Microfilm copies of *The Connecticut Courant*. On file at the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.
 16. Tavern licenses, County Court Records of Litchfield County, Connecticut. On file in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
 17. This analytical procedure is based upon the research of Stanley South (1977, 1979).
 18. Records of the Ecclesiastical Society of the Town of Washington, Volume II. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
 19. Records of the First Congregational Church of Canaan, Village of South Canaan. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
 20. Records of the East Canaan Congregational Church, Volume III. Manuscripts and Archive Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

Glossary

- Arbitrary Level**—Levels of predetermined width, e.g. 5 centimeters or 10 centimeters or 6 inches, etc. Archaeological sites can be excavated using either arbitrary levels or natural layers.
- Artifacts (as Conceptual Models)**—Objects or items which show evidence of patterned activity, not signs of natural agents. Usually refers to materials recovered at archaeological sites. However can be used to identify a conceptual model employed to study some past. For example, the artifact of settlements used by geographical historians.
- Behavioral Processes**—A set of actions which produces some result or ends with a goal. Processes are continual and may be grounded in a community's traditions. Examples: process of population growth, process of economic change, process of urbanization or adaptation.
- Coarse-Grained/Fine-Grained**—Two contrastive patternings which can be identified within an archaeological site's internal structure. The difference between the two grains is a function of the behavioral principle of redundancy.
- Cultural Separations**—Divisions or differentiations of domains which were once whole. Often used to describe how modern America is different from the societies of our premodern past. For example, the cultural separation of the individual from a kinship group or economy from the domain of kinship.
- Diagnostic**—Characteristic or a defining attribute of some entity. For example, one of the diagnostic attributes of Georgian architecture is a symmetrical facade. Or a diagnostic ceramic of the first half of the nineteenth century would be pearlware.
- Differentiation and Specialization**—Two processes which are characteristic of early urbanization, continuing to develop into the modern era. To differentiate is to distinguish between, to establish a boundary. For example, the differentiation between church and state. Once two domains become distinct, each tends to develop a set

of rules and procedures which are diagnostic. Once such rules and procedures become regularized and shared, each domain becomes a specialized unit. For example, in the early to mid-twentieth century, anthropology and sociology became differentiated; each rapidly developed into a specialized discipline.

Ideology—The implicit system of domains and categories which determines how people's lives are lived. Such a system is completely taken-for-granted, unconscious and is capable of being transferred to another time and place. For example, modern ideology is often employed as a conceptual model for the past even though we know people's lives then were distinct from ours now.

Internal Structures—A set of patterns which can be discovered in any record of the past or which are reflective of how a particular population organizes itself. Examples: the internal structure of an archaeological site or of a settlement or of a society (social structure).

Midden Deposit—A specific variety of archaeological site of either the prehistoric or historic era. Actually, heaps of garbage which represent systematic behavior in the past. Contain all sorts of information about what foods were eaten, what tools were bought or manufactured, etc.

Probate File/Inventory—A file of documents associated with a deceased person usually consisting of a last will and testament, the distribution of the deceased's estate, and an inventory. An inventory is a systematic list of the deceased person's property, real and personal.

Stratigraphic—A vertical layering of units within an excavation unit at any archaeological site. Stratigraphic units are divisions of time, represented by diagnostic artifacts, and are one of the internal structures which can be isolated at an archaeological site.

Structural Discontinuities—Gaps in the historical record where people's lives and modes of organization became altered significantly. There are a series of such discontinuities between modern America and premodern America.

Subscriptions—Voluntary contributions of money given by individuals so some goal can be achieved. Are diagnostic of the nineteenth century and reflective of the cultural separation and definition of individuals. The historic version of charitable contributions in modern America.

Terrace/Floodplain—A geological formation associated with rivers whose composition and surface have been affected by processes of flooding, erosion, and deposition. Floodplains are young terraces adjacent to rivers whose surfaces are flooded often during periods of high water.

Typology—A classification system used to impose order upon a chaotic world of natural objects or artifacts. Examples: a typology of settlement would include towns, urban villages, social places, individualized farmsteads. Or ceramic types such as creamware, pearlware, porcelain, stoneware.

Urbanization—The sequence of events and processes which interact to transform social places into urban villages, then towns. Defined as a settlement with high population density, differentiated and specialized structures, and functioning as a center for commerce and business.

Urban Village/Central Place/Social Place—Three types of settlements which emerged on

Litchfield County's landscape, beginning in the early nineteenth century. Urban villages and central places are alike; each is a center for commerce and business surrounded by a residential zone. This form is the end product of urbanization. Social places are simply concentrations of residential units usually in proximity to a few stores and a church. Some social places eventually develop into urban villages.

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Appendix: What Is Historical and Anthropological Research All About?

For more than ten years the American public's relationship to the distant or recent past has been experiencing a period of radical redefinition. Once such studies were the private domain of trained scholars; however each of the involved fields now finds itself the focus of intense public interest and participation. Many people used to read history and prehistory; now everyone *does it* at some level or other.

An "intellectual" movement has been invented, with the active support of both the federal and state governments, which has shifted the quantitative balance away from the private sphere towards the public. More history is being written in contemporary America than at any moment in our past and this trend is not the result solely of six decades of population growth. History and archaeology have been removed from their "ivory towers" and now each finds itself in the backyards of hundreds of "common folk." Everyone is capable of participating in studies of the past whether the research is archaeological, historical, or documentary (oral histories) in orientation.

This dramatic increase in public involvement is one of the diagnostic traits of the "New Social History" of the late 1960's and 1970's. A second characteristic of this innovative redefinition of perspective is the appearance of a multitude of historical reconstructions. There was a time when an historian could actually think about writing "A History of the American Nation" and then do it. Now such an undertaking would never be possible and, more to the point, necessary. One does not write history anymore; everyone writes "a history of" some person, community, ethnic or social group, neighborhood, item or object, family, lifeway, or process.

As Frances Fitzgerald (1980) so beautifully revealed in her recent *America Revised*, the historical textbooks of the newest generation are alive with peoples and concepts that did not exist before the end of this century's sixth decade. It is not a question of creating history when there isn't any but of redirecting history's gaze toward lives which have always been there, in some record of some past.

lution, reflected in the differentiation of what was once a whole discipline, has remained unnoticed, even under the interpretive glare of Frances Fitzgerald. When American history was redefined as "a history of," there was no significant broadening of the basic data base. Individuals have not, for the most part, rewritten history on the basis of the discovery of new documents or archival records. Rather, the already known and preserved records have been reworked; new analysis and interpretation of these data have been embedded within and defined by a different theoretical orientation.

Any archival or archaeological record contains an infinite number of different sets of data. Which set or pattern is identified must be determined by the research question or problem under study. To approach an archival record without a well-defined problem is to assume that one will know which data are relevant or, even worse, will compel a "scholar" to assume that all data *might* be relevant. The products of both of these assumptions are equally horrifying; either individuals overlook significant information and a revealing pattern or scholars gather literally "everything" and return to their homes or offices in the expectation that "the data will talk." However there is no hidden oracle which makes a tax record, map, or midden deposit speak. We are the ventriloquists and the words we give our data and the patterns we find in them are dependent upon us and our questions. As the question changes so will the voices from the past.



The participants in the recent intellectual movement of "backyard history" seem to be completely unaware of this need for a problem orientation. Each archival or archaeological record is approached with an atmosphere of anticipated discovery. History or archaeology has never operated this way; each has always approached any record with a set of questions to be studied. Often these questions have been both implicit and poorly-defined; the task for the next decade is to transform "backyard history" so its participants become aware of the role that their lives contribute to the writing of historical knowledge.

Once this ancient perspective is reappraised, scholars are still faced with "discovering" the locations of relevant data sources. As this study of Canaan and the Lawrence Tavern indicates, a variety of archives—representative of local, regional, and state interests and efforts—needs to be explored. Each of these distinct levels has preserved separate (sometimes overlapping) sets of information and each set may include data relevant to the question. The following list is by no means comprehensive yet it offers an introduction to some of the available resources at each level.

State Level

Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut: This most important archive for historians contains a bewildering array of primary and secondary documents: tax records, probate files, maps and photographic collections, the Connecticut Archives (letters, petitions, maps, statutes, surveys of lifeways), the Federal census records beginning in 1790, and the WPA collections of oral and documentary history, completed during the 1930's.

It is an amazing place, the staff are helpful and friendly, and one meets the most interesting people in the lunchroom.

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut: Its holdings are as comprehensive as those of the Connecticut State Library although directed towards documents related to the private world. Often one can find primary documents here which, when combined with those from the State Library, provide unbroken views of behavior and change.

Regional Level (Litchfield County)

Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, Connecticut: This is about the only "regional" archive in the county and even then its holdings are quite variable as one moves from town to town. However its manuscript collection should always be reviewed (there is a decent index); there are lots of surprises including a marvelous collection of account books. One of its real strengths is that it remains open on a regular, full-time schedule; often local historical societies cannot afford, or have no inclination, to do this. Litchfield's Historical Society is cramped for space, but who isn't.

The American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut: A regional center for the study of both the prehistoric and historic pasts of northwestern Connecticut. An active education department offers a variety of programs. This is a good place to go if you need advice and comfort about history, archaeology, and anthropology. There are opportunities to participate in research.

Local Level

Town Records: The potential of these local records is as significant as those preserved in the collections of the Connecticut State Library. In particular, the sets of land records are crucial in understanding settlement and the process of transmitting land from one generation to the next. Often a few tax records and some historic maps have been preserved and are available for study. Some towns (Goshen is the best example that we have found in Litchfield County) are actually repositories of masses of records, including those of early town meetings from the second half of the eighteenth century. How much is preserved and available is determined in large part by the policies, interests, and concerns of town clerks. Some of these individuals are quite protective and may prove to be obstacles. Often one has to make an effort—smile, explain one's interests, buy them flowers, or take them to lunch; it usually works.

Local Historical Societies: These are the most frustrating archives in the county; usually there is no easy way to know whether one's collections will be a "treasure trove" or a dismal failure. Many of the collections in Litchfield County deserve some interest. Often one finds unique documents or records which may make all the difference in the world. Perhaps the best information that one can discover is oral, data about documents or maps in the possession of the local inhabitants. Sometimes a knowledgeable informant at a local historical society can save a lot of time and effort as well as frustration.

The following list of references includes those sources which can provide a foundation for the study of the social, economic, cultural, and archaeological history of urbanization and the appearance of early capitalist

villages. If you have an interest or a question, need some advice or are completely perplexed, contact the Institute. We might be able to help.

Annotated Bibliography

1. Akagi, Roy H. (1924). *The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies. A Study of Their Development, Organization, Activities and Controversies, 1620-1770*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Note: One of the older classics in New England history. Some of the interpretation has been discredited but his chapter (VII) on town proprietors of the eighteenth century is still the best introduction to settlement in most of Litchfield County.
2. Bellah, Robert N. (1975). *The Broken Covenant. American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*. New York: Crossroad Books of the Seabury Press. Note: Anthropologist's overview of the continuities and discontinuities between modern American ideology and the nation's nineteenth-century beliefs. His discussion of the separation between religious and civil institutions provides the basis for much current research in anthropology and intellectual history.
3. Bidwell, Percy W. (1916). *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the 19th Century*. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 20:241-399. Reprinted in 1972 by Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers. Note: Excellent descriptions of the daily lives of the inhabitants of colonial villages including agricultural and commercial activities. Good sense of the division of labor in villages and individual households.
4. Bidwell, Percy W. and John I. Falconer (1941). *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*. New York: Peter Smith. Carnegie Institute of Washington, Publication No. 358. Note: The classic description of agricultural practices, technology, and innovation over the course of two centuries. Some of their interpretation—particularly of the supposed self-sufficiency of colonial farmsteads—has been revised extensively, but this monograph is still the definitive study.
5. Binford, Lewis R. (1972). *An Archaeological Perspective*. New York: Seminar Press. Note: A collection of essays from the 1960's and 1970's which revolutionized American archaeology. The foundation for thinking of the archaeological record as a record of behavior.
6. Brown, Richard D. (1976). *Modernization. The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865*. New York: American Century Series of Hill and Wang. Note: An overview of the history of the development of early modern America. Includes discussions of the transformation of the national economy, the appearance of regionalization, and the invention of the modern American personality.
7. Bushman, Richard L. (1970). *From Puritan to Yankee. Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. Note: The classic historical study of the appearance of "individualism" in colonial Connecticut. While theoretically suspect, its discussion of the historical signs of dissent, schism, and fragmentation within the Connecticut Archives is marvelous. It is not social history but written at a macro level.
8. Daniels, Bruce C. (1979). *The Connecticut Town. Growth and Development, 1635-1790*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press. Note: A geographical historian looks at settlement and rewrites Connecticut history. Probably the most important contribution since that of Richard Purcell (1963). Discussion of the transformation of villages into towns and the appearance of bureaucratic structures in politics and religion. The tables summarizing these changes are astonishing.
9. Deetz, James (1977). *In Small Things Forgotten. The Archeology of Early American Life*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books of Anchor Press/Doubleday. Note: An anthropologist introduces you to historical archaeology and changes the way that you, and the profession, look at artifacts. It is not just about objects but is about the mind-sets of early Americans.
10. Grant, Charles S. (1972). *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. Note: One of the earliest studies in social history (1961) to appear in New England. Analysis of the relationships between family size and wealth, land holdings, and political beliefs and action. If you want to know what the "new history" is about, start here. Besides, it is about Kent.
11. Henretta, James A. (1973). *The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1915. An Interdisciplinary Analysis*. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company. Note: An overview of the changes in population, economy, and society in America, prior to the Civil War. Useful for its descriptions of broad-patterned changes which can be used to interpret more regionally-based transformations.
12. Lemon, James T. (1976). *The Best Poor Man's Country. A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. Note: Lemon does for a portion of Pennsylvania what Daniels (1979) did for the state of Connecticut. Geographical history at its best. Interesting information about how different populations used the land in different ways. Good characterizations of the role that each town played in regional economic and governmental networks.
13. McManis, Douglas R. (1975). *Colonial New England. A Historical Geography*. New York: Oxford University Press. Note: A Geographer introduces you to the geographical history of New England. Best chapter is the one on settlement in which the author describes the variety of dispersed and nucleated forms which cover the modern landscape. Interesting discussions of agriculture and forestry.
14. Purcell, Richard J. (1963). *Connecticut in Transition: 1775-1818*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press. Note: First published in 1918, this is the best available discussion of that period during which Connecticut laid the foundation for its modern development, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Political history at its best when Purcell describes the conflicts between the Congregationalist establishment and its challengers in both the political and religious domains. The book that everyone else wishes that s/he had written.



FIELD NOTES

The analysis of 6NH109, a Late Woodland site in Southbury excavated by Ned Swigart and a large corps of volunteers in 1973, was begun in earnest in July, 1980 with a grant from Reader's Digest. It took nearly seven months to sort, wash, identify, quantify and examine thousands of quartz chips, flint chips, projectile points, pottery sherds, bone fragments, scrapers, knives, bifacial rejects and drills from the 2625 square feet of excavation and 33 Indian-dug pits.

Although Dr. Roger Moeller was the overall director of the analysis, Alice Kitselman did most of the artifact quantification and sorting. She also oversaw the numerous volunteers who washed kilograms of chippage and brushed hundreds of pottery shreds. The mapping of the diagnostic artifacts was undertaken by two Gunnery students, Larry Fallon and Thomas Meek, as part of their Archaeology II course requirements. Their interpretation has been incorporated in the preparation of the final report.

The analysis of what had appeared to be an undisturbed site, abandoned about 1400 AD, revealed that significant disturbance had actually occurred in recent times. The most likely agent for the disturbance was modern plowing, although the excavators did not find plow streaks in the subsoil. They also reported that the black soil, which had been covered by an accidental landslide in this century, was very greasy. This is not typical of normal topsoil after plowing. While the nature of the disturbance is

still not known for certain, the fact of disturbance is inescapable.

How does one go about proving disturbance after 600 years of abandonment? With no clues suggesting disturbance at the outset, the very idea was a total surprise. The pieces did not seem to be fitting the model of what had been seen as demonstrably undisturbed sites. No matter how the pieces went together, something always seemed out of place.

The Indian-dug pits contained artifacts which appeared similar to those found in the black zone overlying the area of the site having the pits. This is expected if one assumes that all of the debris from an occupation does not find its way into refuse pits. This presumes that the black zone is the actual surface that the Indians were walking on when they dug their pits and disposed of their garbage. However the preservation of organic materials (bone especially) should be better in pits than on the occupation floor where it is subject to trampling, gnawing by dogs and to the destructive elements of cyclical heat, cold, rain and dryness. This is not the case. The degree of preservation is apparently the same.

Projectile points and ceramic sherds are frequently discarded in pits when they have outlived their usefulness. This occurs so infrequently at 6NH109 that a random simulation model of projectile distribution placed nearly the same number in pits on two runs as occurred in reality.

The clincher is the distribution of

ceramic sherds having design elements. All of the sherds from a single pit look virtually identical to one another, but bear scant resemblance to those found in the black zone immediately above the pit. The mapping of the individual sherds with a color code for each different design, motif, or surface treatment showed many series of similarly colored dots at intervals along a straight line. Straight lines were frequently parallel to one another. The idea that plowing distributed sherds from many common locations was born. Proof that the sherds came from the same vessel was found in one instance by fitting pieces separated by thirteen feet. Substantiation is suggested by similar motifs found on several sherds which appear to have come from the same vessel. A piece of negative evidence is that many sherds found very close together bear no resemblance to one another, suggesting they were brought from different places and are accidentally in association.

While this accounts for the Late Woodland artifacts being so diversely distributed, the question remains as to the true provenience of the huge quantities of lithic chips. They would fit better with what is known from the rest of the site if they were Archaic in origin and not Late Woodland. That analysis is now proceeding.

What began as a "simple, but very large-scale" study of a single occupation site has become a test of how much can be learned once the out-of-context data have been removed. Had the degree of disturbance not been recognized, a totally fallacious interpretation would have resulted. Once the context is better understood, the proper framework for a more generalized interpretation can be constructed.

—Roger Moeller



SIDE NOTES

Several staff members from the AIAI attended the Middle Atlantic Archaeology Conference in Ocean City, Maryland, between March 20 and 22, 1981. Russell G. Handsman presented a paper, "Processual Theory and Archaeological Patterns: The Search for Structure in Historic and Prehistoric Archaeology." The paper summarized the Institute's studies of the Lawrence Tavern in the village of Canaan, Connecticut.

The Research Department has received a grant of \$11,000.00 from the Connecticut Historical Commission to study the feasibility of archaeological conservancies in Litchfield County, Connecticut. Funding for this project was made available from the State of Connecticut's Historic Preservation Grant-in-Aid

Program as supported by the United States Department of the Interior's Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. The study will begin in late April and continue through early autumn of 1981. During this period the Institute will determine whether current patterns of open space, protected from further development, can also be used to preserve prehistoric and historic archaeological resources. An inventory of open space parcels in each town will be completed, to be followed by archival and field studies which will evaluate the archaeological significance of each parcel. All of this data will eventually prove helpful in the Institute's efforts to manage and preserve the record of Litchfield County's distant and recent pasts.

(Continued from p. 21)

15. Schuyler, Robert L. (1978). *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*. Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Company. Note: Edited volume of old and recent papers which provide a useful overview of the practice of historical archaeology, particularly in the United States. Some interesting case studies.
16. South, Stanley (1977). *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*. New York: Academic Press. Note: One scholar's perception of what historical archaeology is and how it should be done. "Revolutionized" the field though not necessarily for the best.

The Editors wish to thank Peggy Dutton and Ed Kolsby for their invaluable, professional layout assistance.

Summer 1981, Fieldwork Opportunities
American Indian Archaeological Institute
Research Department

During the summer of 1981 the Research Department will be conducting studies of a single archaeological site, the Flynn site, along the Housatonic River near Gaylordsville, Connecticut. The previously scheduled investigations of Bartholomew's Cobble have been postponed until late September of 1981. Our efforts this summer will be directed towards completing the excavations at Flynn, a 3000-year-old campsite buried beneath a slackwater deposit (see article on Flynn in the 1981 Winter/Spring issue of *Artifacts* IX, No. 2: 4-6). Participants will learn how to shovel, trowel and expose features such as hearths. They will also aid staff members in preparing maps of living floors, as well as process flotation samples in hopes of recovering charred seeds and small flakes.

A variety of sessions are being offered including several which continue into weekends (Sessions III, IV, VII). Participants are expected to provide their own transportation to the site although van pooling may prove to be feasible. This year we have lowered the age of eligible participants to 12. Please contact Ms. Roberta Hampton or Dr. Russell G. Handsman for further information if you have questions.

Complete this form to register for a TRAINING SESSION and send to the Research Department, ALAI, Box 260, Washington, CT 06793.

Name: _____ Telephone: _____

Address: _____

Training Sessions:

Session I: June 8 - June 12, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session II: June 15 - June 19, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session III: June 24 - June 28, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session IV: July 9 - July 11, 1981 (all day) _____

Session V: July 27 - July 31, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session VI: August 3 - August 7, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session VII: August 12 - August 15, 1981 (mornings) _____

Session VIII: August 17 - August 21, 1981 (mornings) _____

Fees: \$50.00 for members of the Institute per session

\$75.00 for non-members

\$35.00 for students under 19

TOTAL ENCLOSED: _____

A Woodland

Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.



**Mrs. Annia C. Kellis
Shinnecock
Long Island, New York**

Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.



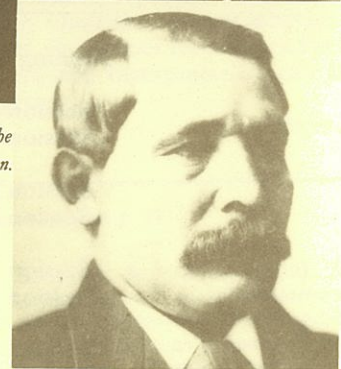
Iroquois Silversmith, New York

**Miss Justine Kellis
Shinnecock, Long Island, New York**

Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.



*Photo courtesy of the
Museum of the American Indian.*



**Samuel Jerome Skeesucks,
Narragansett, Wisconsin
(originally the Narragansett
people resided in Rhode Island)**

For those photophiles we offer some nineteenth-century portraits of North-eastern Native American individuals.

nd Portrait Gallery

Menominee father and son, Wisconsin



Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



After Hours

In the Spring 1980 issue I had the pleasure of spending a few moments with you to review our progress during the first decade of our existence and to share our hopes and aspirations for the second decade which lies ahead. Now it is time to, once again, take a few minutes from our exciting and hectic schedule here at AIAI to reevaluate our goals for the second decade, given the many new developments which have occurred since I last wrote my *After Hours* column.

Five major events have arisen which will surely have a dramatic impact on the future financial welfare of most non-profit institutions, and I feel it is my duty both to alert you to their inherent threat to AIAI and to inform you of what steps are being taken to insure the continued health and vitality of our institution.

The first, and by far the most serious, new development is the request by President Reagan's administration to severely reduce federal aid to non-profit organizations. The Institute for Museum Services, the most important single source of aid for institutions like ours, is to be eliminated entirely. In 1978 and 1979 we received \$25,000 of assistance from IMS for salaries of key personnel; this year we received \$35,000. National Science Foundation education programs would also be cut 100%. National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, from which we have received modest assistance the past two years, would be cut 50%. Research funds from the National Park Service through the State Historic Commission may also be curtailed. The AIAI is indeed fortunate that from the very beginning a decision was made by the Finance Committee and the Board of Trustees not to seek large sums of federal aid. The current budget, for instance, calls for over 80% of our projected income to come from private sources; to replace this 20% will be a considerable challenge. More serious, however, may be the indirect effect of this action if passed by the Congress because many well-established, large, non-profit institutions have chosen to become heavily dependent on federal assistance and would be forced back into the private sector. The result would be even greater competition for the limited private dollar. The AIAI, we feel, deserves to exist and has built up a faithful and generous following in the private sector. Therefore we do expect to hold our own with current donors, but it will be a great challenge to gain new major support given the nature of the competition.

A second serious problem is continuing double digit inflation which now appears

to be a way of life for the foreseeable future. What this means to AIAI is an average budget increase of between 10% and 20% just to maintain *current* levels of research and education programs. In 1979-80 AIAI was able to hold the budget for a second year at the \$400,000 figure and absorb the inflation increase by putting a freeze on staff hiring and cutting back on equipment and facility development expenses. While similar action was taken in 1980-81, such deep cuts had already been made in 1979-80 that the budget had to be increased by 10%, all new money that had to be raised rather than earned. For 1981-82 and subsequent years it is now felt that any further staff or program cuts would only affect self-support generating services and essential programs. They would therefore be self-defeating and unthinkable. Thus current budget projections for 1981-83 will have to include an annual budget increase equal to the full inflation figure—as much as \$44,000 to \$88,000 per year. There are of course no easy solutions for the AIAI to this problem except for the staff and Board to begin with a zero base budget and to review yearly every budgetary item.

A third adverse factor which is affecting the AIAI for the first time in 1980-81 is the rapidly escalating school budgets (caused largely by inflation), the resulting budgetary problems and the cost of bus transportation. An increasing number of schools have been forced to cut out field trips as part of their curricula and therefore can no longer visit the AIAI. To answer this problem our Education Department is developing and stressing additional programs to take into the schools. While we all feel this is not as potentially effective as an experience at the Institute, it will at least enable us to take our message to the children and maintain our important tuition income.

A fourth potential problem began to appear several years ago and continues to grow. This is the rising cost of gasoline. At present this has actually worked in our favor as visitor numbers (and resulting store sales) are continuing to increase because people are taking shorter rather than longer trips and our proximity to large urban areas (over 10 million people live within a radius of 90 miles) is an advantage. However we are not on a public transportation route to and from the major urban areas, so a continued rapid rise in gasoline prices could become a problem in the foreseeable future and affect two key income-producing sources—admission donations and store sales. To offset these potential difficulties

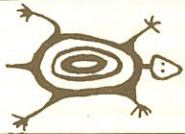
we are increasing both our publicity about the Center and our outreach programs and have begun a small catalog and mail order business.

The fifth and final factor which cannot really be evaluated in advance but which always bears a certain inherent risk for non-profit institutions is the state of the world economy as reflected in the stock market and the resulting confidence and ability of major private donors to continue to give substantial amounts of money to the non-profit sector. So far, over the past seven years (during which the market has in fact fluctuated markedly), this has not affected our major private assistance. Our major donors have remained incredibly loyal and generous in their support and we have every expectation that our record and our purpose will continue to attract such faith and generosity.

As serious as these five problems are that we and most non-profit institutions face, and as carefully as we must continue to monitor them, I am truly pleased, nevertheless, to announce that in only two years of our Phase Two development plan to increase earned income from services rendered to give us greater financial security we have indeed made substantial progress. We have raised earned income from tuitions, contracts, store sales, admission and endowment interest from 20% in 1978-79 to 41.1% in 1980-81, some 11% ahead of our planned goal of a 5% increase each year over a ten-year period. Given the current problems we face there is some question about whether these sources can continue to grow at this rapid pace or in some cases even remain at current levels (i.e. admission donations and tuitions).

There is no question that one of the key hedges against all of the above difficulties is a major effort to broaden and dramatically increase our membership. While we currently have in excess of 2000 members we have never conducted a full-fledged membership campaign. With the vital and enthusiastic assistance of our first Development Director, Ms. Susan Payne, we plan to launch such an effort at our annual meeting on May 7th. We hope that all of our faithful members will help us in this venture by each attempting to solicit five new members. We will provide the necessary materials and assistance and will be in touch with you regarding the organization and details of this plan. Clearly, without your help, our goal to raise our membership to the 4000 level over the next several years cannot succeed. We have always been a *people-to-people* project. Our strength has always been our loyal membership. Please help us continue this partnership in the preservation of the past—to discover, preserve and share over 10,000 years of our Connecticut, New England and Northern Hemisphere history that is so rapidly being taken from us.

—Edmund K. Swigart



OUTREACH

AMERICAN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Education Department
 Route 199, Post Office Box 260, Washington, Connecticut 06793
 Phone: 203-868-0518

at AIAI 1981 *** SUMMER CRAFTS & SPECIAL PROGRAMS *** 1981 at AIAI
 Reservations Required—Limited Enrollment

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| June 20
10:00 - 3:00 | ... 16 AND OLDER ...
<i>FLINTKNAPPING</i> | \$15 members
\$25 non-mem. |
| Make a hafted stone tool with the noted flintknapper and primitive technologist, Jeff Kalin. | | |
| June 29 - July 3
8:30 - 3:00 | ... FOR 12-15-YEAR OLDS ...
<i>EXPLORING GEOLOGY</i> (Limit 10 students) | \$85 |
| Study the way people (both Indian & Colonial) used various rocks and minerals through the ages and find the sources they found. Short field trips daily. | | |
| July 13 - 24
Weekdays
8:30 - 3:00 | ... FOR 12-15-YEAR OLDS ...
<i>EXPERIMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY</i>
(Limit 15 students) | \$85 week
\$150 two wks. |
| Combine actual fieldwork at an archaeological site in the mornings with replicating Indian tools and crafts in the afternoons. | | |
| July 27 - 31
9:00 - 3:00 | ... FOR 9-11-YEAR OLDS ...
<i>EXPLORING INDIAN LIFEWAYS</i>
(Limit 12 students) | \$75 |
| Explore nature and the way the Native Americans lived in his environment. A nature and craft orientated program. | | |
| July 28 - 31
9:30 - 11:00 | ... FOR ADULTS ...
<i>INDIAN SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES</i> | \$30 members
\$40 non-mem. |
| Indians' use of plants, animals and the natural landscape. Led by AIAI President Edmund Swigart. | | |
| August 3, 4, 5
(Firing Aug. 25)
10:00 - 2:00 | ... FOR ADULTS ...
<i>WOODLAND INDIAN POTTERY</i>
(Limit 10) | \$60 members
\$70 non-mem. |
| Guest Instructor, Jeff Kalin
Primitive Technologist at the Delaware Indian Resource Center, Asst. Director of Pamunkey Indian Reservation Living Archaeology Program. | | |
| August 10 - 14
10:00 - 11:30 | ... FOR 5-8-YEAR OLDS ...
<i>LET'S FIND OUT ABOUT INDIANS</i>
(Limit 12 students) | \$15 members
\$25 non-mem. |
| Exploring Indian lifeways through stories, crafts and games. | | |
| August 15
10:00 - 4:00 | ... FOR ADULTS ...
<i>MAKING ROUND BASKETS</i> (Limit 12) | \$15 members
\$25 non-mem.
plus materials |
| Round baskets made out of flat reeds led by Elizabeth Jensen. | | |

** CALL AIAI Education Department for DETAILS **
 ADVANCE REGISTRATION REQUIRED

Changing Weekend Programs all Summer ... Visit AIAI Frequently

The number of students reached by the Education Department continued to grow in the calendar year 1980. Students participating in our programs numbered 15,364—2,000 more than the previous year. The majority of the programs ran for 90 minutes at the AIAI Visitor Center. Northeastern Woodland Indian lifeways and archaeology were the most popular topics. Approximately 10% of our programs were presented in schools either in an assembly format or in the individual classrooms.



The Education Department is very pleased to welcome Karen Cooper, of Cherokee descent, as a full-time interpreter. Karen has just completed her undergraduate studies at Western Connecticut State College and has worked with us for the past two years on our weekend staff.



A number of special programs were presented this winter:

A two-day workshop for 12 area Boy Scouts was held during the February school vacation to fulfill the requirements for their Indian Lore and Geology Merit badges.



Randy Whithead, a Blackfoot Indian currently living in New York City, visited AIAI in February to teach 61 youngsters some Indian songs and dances at our second annual Powwow.



Thirty high school students visited AIAI for an anthropology and archaeology related career day set up by RESCUE, Inc. of Bridgewater and the Education and Research Departments of AIAI.



For the second year Scovill Manufacturing Company, Inc. in Waterbury contributed to our "Friends of Education" so that we could bring programs to the Waterbury Public School System. This past spring over 1000 seventh graders took part in six Eastern Woodland Indian Lifeways assemblies. The First National Bank of Litchfield was the first "Friend of Education" for Region #12.



On this page is a list of special programs and workshops which we will be offering this summer.

—Stephen Post



HERBARIA

The Typhaceae (Cattails)

Editors' Note: We would like to thank Barrie for continuing her column in Artifacts. Currently Barrie is a SITES (Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service) guest curator of the exhibit, "Native Harvests," as well as peripatetic guest lecturer and author of Guide to Eastern Wild Edibles (available this season), Guide to Eastern Wild Mushrooms (available late this year) and Introductory Guide to Wildflowers of the Northeast (available late this year)—all published by Hancock House Publishers Ltd.

The TYPHACEAE are the most common and widely distributed aquatic herbs in North America. They first appeared during the Miocene Period 15 to 20 million years ago. The TYPHACEAE are a small family of angiosperms, consisting of the single genus, *Typha*, which is one of the simplest of living monocotyledons and embraces about 15 species worldwide, principally the cosmopolitan cattail. These distinctive plants occur all over North America, especially inland areas;



Common Cattail—*Typha latifolia*
Illustration by Barrie Kavasch

cattails often reside in rich marsh and pond environments where they can dominate their own distinct ecotones. *Typha* are spread throughout temperate and tropical regions from the Arctic Circle to southern South America.

Most species of *Typha* are very tall plants, growing to 2m (6 ft.) or more and spreading by their perennial, creeping rootstalks to form dense mats of plants. Cattails produce long, simple stems that are usually submerged at the base, and their leaves arise from the subterranean part of the stem and are linear, elongated, aerial blades. Cattails are monoecious, meaning that staminate and pistillate flowers are separate on the same stalk. Both form in cylindrical clusters. These unisexual flowers are wind-pollinated and are nutritious edibles in their early stages of growth. The staminate (male) flowers, which produce great quantities of yellow pollen in June, top the stalk; the pistillate (female) flowers occur just below this terminal cluster and, when fertilized, mature to become the unique brown cattail "club." The minute, crowded female florets each consist of an ovary, which produces fruits called achenes, covered with fine hairs which aid in their wind dispersal. After pollination the staminate flowers wither and this cluster gradually disappears.

Our Common Cattail, *Typha latifolia*, is so widespread throughout northeastern temperate zones that it seems to be universal. This species blooms from late May through July depending on the geographical locale, and this period is watched with great enthusiasm by wild food foragers. The Narrow-leaved Cattail, *Typha angustifolia*, is a somewhat shorter plant, that is unique to alkaline waters. This species is easily distinguished by its slightly different blossomheads, which unlike the common cattail, have a distinct space between the male and female flower parts. The plants seem slightly more delicate than the first species, and each plant produces fewer than ten leaves, which are two-ranked, on opposite sides of the stem, with their bases sheathing the stems.

Befitting the cosmopolitan range of this strong perennial herb is the broad spectrum of native uses for every part of the cattail. In fact the cattails were so important to Indian families that arguments between tribes often developed over who would control their fertile

marshes. Huron Smith writing on the Menomoni in 1923 notes that "the root is used as a natural oakum for caulking leaks in boats. The leaves are used to make mats to cover the winter lodges, much as the bulrush mats are made. Because of the heavy flat layers, they keep out the rain and snow and are well adapted to winter thatching. In summer they are stored away for the next year's use."¹ Smith, again, writing on the Meskwaki in 1928 reports that "children born in the winter are wrapped in a quilt of this fuzz to keep them warm."² Some of the Potawatomi names for the cattail translate to "fruit for babies bed" and "shelter weed," for they made mats for the sides of their wigwams using cattail stems and leaves, and they used the fuzz for quilts in which to wrap their infants.

Champlain's ethnographies on the Huron in 1616 recall that "during the day they bind the child to a piece of wood and wrap him in furs or skins . . . under the child they spread the silk of a special kind of reed—the one we call hare's foot—which is soft for it to lie on and helps to keep it clean."³ And Sagard writing on the Huron in 1624 notes "Babies are put on beautifully soft down of a kind of reed . . . and they clean it with the same down." Indeed, it was widely observed that many Indian peoples padded their infants with the fluff of cattails for insulation as well as cleanliness, as this down was doubtlessly the first disposable diaper. This ample supply of natural insulation was widely used by the Indians and colonists to pad and insulate their clothing, pillows, quilts, houses, and this same fuzz was considered a fine medicinal treatment when mixed with fats to form a salve. The fleshy roots were also pounded or chewed to be applied as poultices to external sores. Rafinesque recorded in 1830 that the "roots [are] subastringent, febrifuge, esculent . . . eaten by Indians of Oregon, useful in fevers. Leaves used by cooper and to make mats, chair bottoms. Pollen equal to *Lycopodium* [ground pine] for medical use and pyrotechny. Burs or hairs of seeds used to fill cushions, united to ashes and lime make a cement as hard as marble. Seeds kill mice. Ought to be cult[ivated] in swamps."⁴ With such a fine testimonial it is easy to determine that this was one of the most useful herbs on the continent.

From archaeological remains on Hopewellian sites, to notes from many ethnographers, to our modern ethnobotany . . . the ubiquitous cattails persist as an impressive array of resources. This is one of the few wild herbs that is totally edible and has no recorded toxicity to animals or people.

Cattails always indicate wet environments and are usually found along the shores of lakes, ponds, streams and marshes. In early spring their green, sword-like leaves emerge from the network of underground roots. These tender cattail shoots

are an enjoyable raw vegetable. Then, by the time the shoots are knee-high they are able to be pulled out by hand, with a strong tug near their base, and the syrupy inner core can be enjoyed raw or steamed as an asparagus-like vegetable. Reminiscent almost of celery, this delicious offering of cattail hearts can be harvested for weeks during the spring. A clear, thick, mucilaginous syrup oozes from this stage of growth, and this, too, has a multitude of culinary uses. It is principally a thickening agent, like cornstarch, and being high in starch it blends well into soups. With earthwise ingenuity the Indians took the sap (latex) of many plants (and trees) to use as "natural chewing gums." The clear, stringy syrup from the cattail was a fine candy and was hardened into gum by both Indian and colonial children.

The velvety green flowerheads emerge on their thin, sturdy stems, and these early summer offerings are yet another unique vegetable form from the master plant. The early green phase of both male and female flowers are nutritious steamed edibles and taste much like young corn-on-the-cob. By June the male flowers are beginning to shed their copious quantities of rich yellow pollen. This fine dust is nature's purest flour and can be collected (on still afternoons) by bending the flower stalks into a paper bag and gently shaking them to release their pollen. You can visit the same plants daily to collect this reward as it is gradually released over the course of a few weeks. By carefully harvesting this pollen you also help to pollinate the female flowers. The pollen must be carefully dried before storage. The pollen was sacred to the Apache and saved for ceremonial use. Many other tribes used the pollen as flour to make various breads, cakes and gruels. The Paiutes ate the young flower stalks fresh, boiled, or roasted.

Indians and colonists wove baskets, mats and coverings from the tall leaves of the cattail and fashioned dolls, animals and ducks for their children from these sturdy materials. Densmore writing on the Chippewa in 1926 records that "The outer covering of cattail rushes was formed into toys representing human beings and ducks. The latter were usually made in groups of five. They were placed on the surface of the water, and the child agitated the water by blowing across it, which caused the ducks to move in a lifelike manner."⁵ Even today the dried cattail reeds are used to make woven (rush) chairseats, and as caulking for barrels and boats. As these leaves become wet they swell and fill the cracks, making them watertight. For this reason, as well as their very abundance and durability, cattail rushes became the thatch roofing material in early colonial America.

By autumn the male blossom spike has withered and fallen away, leaving the plump, ripe cattail, ready to loosen its thousands of seeds and send them flying

in the wind. The life cycle of this sturdy perennial ancestor of the swamps is as fascinating as the wildlife that inhabit and share its environments. The red-winged blackbird, pheasant and marsh wren choose to nest in cattail stands. Wild ducks and migrating geese seek food and shelter within these miniature forests. Beaver and muskrats nibble off the tall leaves to use for their shelters and excavate the roots and shoots for their winter food supplies. The cattail root is the most valuable part, and often the Indians would raid the beaver and muskrat lodges in order to acquire additional supplies of this winter ration. The best time to harvest the root is late fall through early spring, before new plant growth begins. At this time the nutritional content of the roots is at its peak. These nutritious roots are higher in starch and carbohydrates than equal portions of rice, corn, or potatoes. The Iroquois dug these aquatic roots, peeled and dried the whitish tubers, then pounded them to yield a sweet-tasting flour; and, moistened with water, this would create a flavorful starchy syrup to sweeten their foods.

The Indian and colonial uses for the abundant cattail are so extensive that it is difficult to do them all justice. Recorded history has well documented the use of every stage of this plant for food, medicine, ceremony, technology, craft and games. More than any other herb the cattail is thoroughly woven into the fiber of life. It seems fitting that a recent *New York Times* article should state: "The latest possible alternative to coal, oil, gas and nuclear power is a prolific water plant that may be one of the most efficient natural converters of solar energy yet discovered—the common cattail." Scientists throughout the United States are exploring a multitude of new uses for this ancient sustainer.

Cattails grow in swamp areas unfit for cultivation or human habitation. There are some 140,000 square miles of unused land in the continental United States where cattails could be planted. Harvest-

Common Cattail - Typha

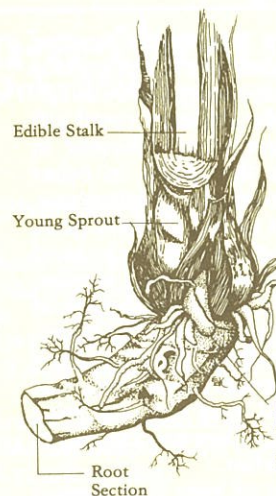


Illustration by Barrie K

ing them in strips woven with the preservative cattails renew themselves and their starch can be compressed into alcohol. Another bright idea is to grow cattails near sewage treatment plants. Cattails could clean troublesome phosphorus effluents from the water. These are plants that can remove some pollutants as nutrients without adding heat and carbon dioxide to the earth, but recycle the nutrients produced in the process. The energy is returned to the earth when the plants are burned. With renewed effort it is possible that the ethnobotany of the past and the future will provide solutions for this ancient denizen of waste areas.

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shop talk

A museum shop is a special sort of place, where the philosophy which governs management is of necessity a little different from that of the ordinary retail gift establishment. Ours is no different in that respect from the shops in other larger and better-known institutions. Rather than profit as the primary goal, ours must be a two-sided approach aimed about equally at education and service. The main principle behind selection of merchandise must be quality. The necessity of realizing a profit for the sponsoring museum is a foregone conclusion, but our customers will find that we have offerings which are often unique and of true collector's caliber.

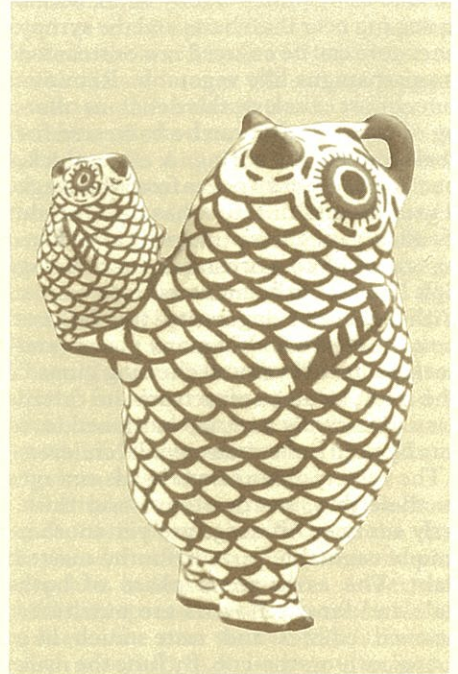
A new shipment of very fine pueblo pottery is available now. Among other special items are three Hopi tiles. These are so rare that it has taken us three years to find them. The designs are entirely traditional, and the tile medium offers an alternative to the high price of good pots. These are not inexpensive, but

they do not cost nearly as much as pots or jars would.

Minnie of Santa Clara, one of the foremost artists working today, is represented by two gorgeous polychrome pots. In addition there are fine examples, both incised and decorated with slip in the familiar all black, also from Santa Clara. Some pieces are miniatures. New examples from Pojoaque, San Juan, Laguna, Jemez and Zuni are here for your delectation.

After considerable hunting we have found a source for some unusual Eskimo things. We have a wonderful mask made of caribou hide (fur side inside!) and a couple of lovely birchbark baskets, quite unlike any others. As we prepare for the busy season, there are new things arriving frequently. Do come in and see what will make the special gift, even for Christmas—after all, our finest things are one of a kind and there may never be another like the one you fall in love with today!

—Joan Cannon



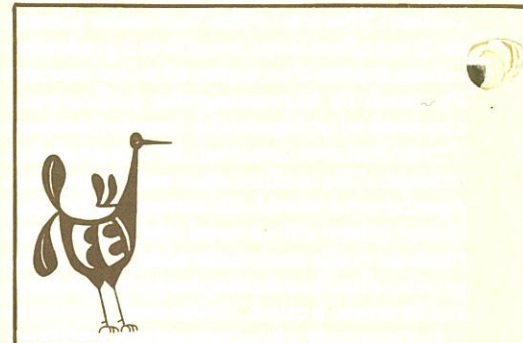
The Zuni seem to have an affinity for owls, for they make them of pottery, silver and stone. The lovely one shown has an unusual looped beak and a delightful "papoose." 5" high, she is \$114.00, either for the collector of pottery or the collector of owls.



One of Santa Clara's outstanding younger potters is Minnie Vigil, who signs her work only with her first name. Her work, as evidenced by this example, is characterized by symmetry and great elegance of decoration. We show a polished terra cotta jar, approximately 3" high, decorated with black feathers. \$204.00.



Small "wedding vase" from Laguna Pueblo. San Juan and Laguna, Jemez and Taos do not as a rule produce the same sort of highly finished and intricate pottery as the more famous pueblos of Santa Clara, San Ildefonso and Acoma. The prices reflect this. Our 2½"-high vase is \$18.00.



Adapted from Southwest Bird Design. One of the designs on AIAI note cards, \$1.95/set. Illustration by Jean Pruchnick.



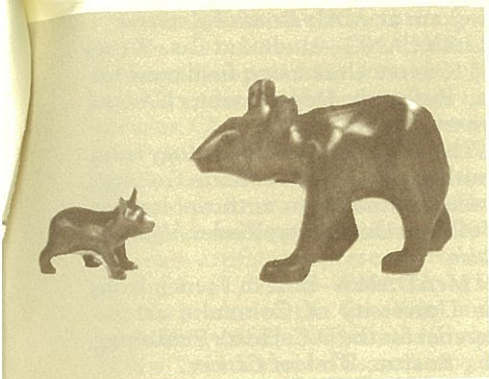
Surface texture of the second piece is unique. It appears softly shiny like machined metal in a putty color. Decoration is black and taupe. 2¾" high, \$180.00.



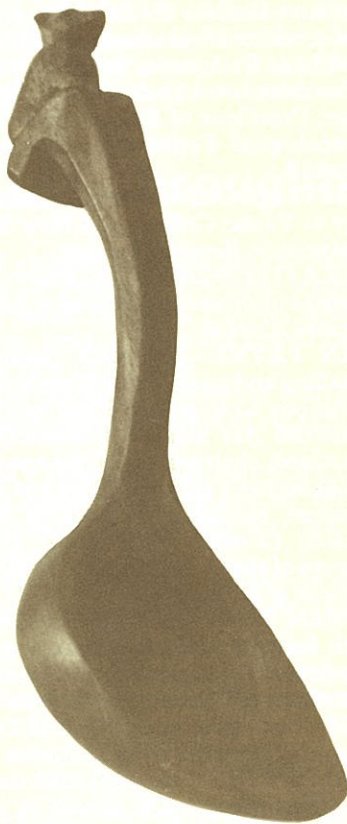
Vase by Mary Small of San Juan Pueblo. Approximately 4" tall. Design is painted on terra cotta background in white and a soft gray. This and other pieces by Mary Small, show more distinct lines than is typical of San Juan. \$68.00



This belt buckle carved from the hip bone of a deer was made by Gerald Schenandoah, also of the Oneida Nation. 3¼" long, \$85.00



Cherokee crafts include superb baskets, but also fine woodcarving. These little bears, just over 1" high are \$5.00 each. We also have a larger bear and a dramatic marsh bird in a blond wood.



Richard Chrisjohn of the Oneida Nation is an outstanding carver. We have three of his replicas of old Iroquois ladles with clan totems on the handles. Shown is a bear; we also have a wolf and a snipe. All are satiny black walnut. 8½" long, \$100.00.

AIAI Join-a-thon

May 7th to July 25th

"People: A Partnership for the Preservation of the Past"

People — you, me, AIAI visitors, school children, senior citizens, AIAI Trustees, neighbors, relatives—are what the Institute is all about. First of all the Past. The Institute's Charter purpose . . . its Cause . . . is to discover the Past, to uncover the archaeological remains (evidence or clues) and to discover the story of the peoples of 10,000 B.C., 3,000 B.C., 1550 A.D.

Secondly, People of the Present . . . you and I are joined in partnership with the Institute's effort to preserve the Past. Membership in AIAI numbered 90 in 1970, 586 in 1975; today there are 1455 memberships.

What does the future hold? The Future of the Past will be preserved only if you, the AIAI People of the Present, continue your memberships and contributions in dollars and in kind service (1980 AIAI volunteers contributed 2719 hours of service; see article p. 33.) and persuade others to join this partnership.

This new AIAI JOIN-A-THON, with your participation, will continue AIAI's preservation of the Past.

We ask each of you to "sell" at least one 1981 membership.

- . . . one Individual at \$15 . . .
- . . . one Family at \$25 . . .
- . . . one Friend at \$50 . . .
- . . . one Contributing at \$100 . . .
- . . . one Sustaining at \$500 . . .
- . . . one Patron at \$1000 . . .

Of course the *more* the merrier. And each person who enlists five new members will receive a premium of \$5 off (in addition to your regular member's 10% discount) on any \$25 purchase in the Museum Shop . . . a token thank-you for your part in preserving the Institute.

"People: A Partnership for the Preservation of the Past" will conclude on July 25, 1981, Founders' Day. On this day special recognition will be given to the member who enlists the most new members.

Join in the mystery and discovery of the Past through archaeology. Give a membership gift or persuade a friend to join. Help AIAI expand its outreach and support through new members. The 1981 JOIN-A-THON goal is to increase our membership significantly in 1981.

One-on-One

New Memberships

AT LEAST

Send in those membership coupons today. For the best results we urge you to contact people yourselves, but we are more than willing to also contact people for you. Just send names and addresses to me.

Susan F. Payne
Director of Development

Who's Who at AIAI 1981



Photo by Myron Mack

AIAI staff: seated, left to right—Susan Payne, Mary Anne Greene, Alice Kitselman, Kathleen Taylor, Joan Cannon; standing, left to right—Cindy Canavan, Russ Handsman, Ann McMullen, Edmund Swigart, Norma Went, Stephen Post, Ursula O'Donnell, Sharon Wirt, Roger Moeller.

In the Winter 1978 issue of *Artifacts*, which seems like yesterday rather than three years ago, we introduced the entire AIAI family. Of course there have been changes since then. Herein we would like to renew our acquaintance with you and introduce the *new* staff as of April, 1981.

Please call upon any of us; we are here to serve you, our members, as best we can.

EDMUND K. SWIGART—M.S. in ecology; archaeological research interest in Connecticut and southern New England in general; consultant to the Museum of the American Indian; twenty-five-year faculty member of The Gunnery Preparatory School; Treasurer of Eastern States Archaeological Federation; grants reader for the National Endowment for the Humanities; member of the Connecticut Heritage Task Force; founder of AIAI; *President*.

SUSAN BYRNE—Graduate student at Wesleyan University majoring in American Studies; *Sunday Museum Guide*.

CINDY CANAVAN—Native of Woodbury, studied at the University of Hartford; *Weekend Cashier and Greeter*.

JOAN CANNON—B.A. in English literature from Carleton College; taught English and drama at New Milford High School; many years of retail experience; *Museum Shopkeeper*.

KAREN COOPER—B.A. in anthropology and sociology from Western Connecticut State College; Cherokee descendant; former weekend Cashier; now full-time *Education Department Interpreter*.

MARY ANNE GREENE—B.A. in sociology from the College of Mount St. Vincent; *Administrative Assistant and Education Department Interpreter*.

ROBERTA HAMPTON—B.A. in anthropology (with focus in archaeology) from Dickinson College; archaeology field school participant in England and Pennsylvania; worked as archaeological field assistant in New York; *Research Assistant; Field Director*.

DEBBIE HANDSMAN—Studied at the University of Pittsburgh; *Administrative Assistant*.

RUSS HANDSMAN—Ph.D. in anthropology (with focus in archaeology) from The American University; taught and conducted field schools at University of Maryland; research interest:

doing ethnographies of the past; *Staff Anthropologist; Director of Field Research*.

ALICE KITSELMAN—1980 graduate of Wykeham Rise School with joint curriculum Program in Archaeology at The Gunnery and Independent Study Program at AIAI; *Research Assistant*.

SHELLEY LANG—studied at Case Western Reserve University; field crew for the Research Department; *Weekend Greeter*.

JIM LYNCH—B.A. in anthropology from Southern Connecticut State College; graduate student in anthropology at Wesleyan University; *Weekend Museum Guide*.

JEAN McADAMS—B.A. in French from the University of Colorado; art researcher for the D.C. Heath Publishing Co., Boston; *Weekend Cashier*.

ANN McMULLEN—B.S. in anthropology from Dartmouth; Smithsonian Institution object coordinator for the exhibit, "Celebrations: A World of Art and Ritual"; *Collections Manager*.

ROGER MOELLER—Ph.D. in anthropology (with focus in archaeology) from the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB); taught and conducted field schools at SUNYAB; taught at Dickinson; conducted field schools at Franklin and Marshall College; President of Eastern States Archaeological Federation; *Director of Research*.

COLETTE MOORE—Studied anthropology at Vassar College and New York University; *Research Assistant*.

URSULA O'DONNELL—Secretary; dedicated volunteer at AIAI; now *Administrative Assistant*.

SUSAN PAYNE—B.S. with major in retailing and minor in art history from Simmons College; graduate work at Hartford Art School, University of Hartford; chairperson of the town of Washington's Historic District Commission; formerly Director of Education; *Co-editor of Artifacts*; chairperson of the Collections Committee; *Director of Development*.

STEPHEN POST—M.A.L.S. candidate with focus in historic archaeology at Wesleyan University; participant in University of Connecticut archaeology field school; Emergency Medical Technician; *Acting Director of Education*.

KATHLEEN TAYLOR—B.A. with major in anthropology and minor in psychology from Columbia University; *Director of Administration*.

NORMA WENT—Long-time resident of Roxbury and former secretary to the Board of Selectmen; *Bookkeeper*.

SHARON WIRT—M.S. in anthropology (with focus in cultural anthropology) from the State University of New York at Buffalo; research interests: how culture is transmitted, Native American art; *Instructor of Anthropology; Research Assistant; Co-editor of Artifacts; Film Festival Coordinator; Exhibits Coordinator*.

Tantaquidgeon Indian Museum 1931 - 1981

The original stone structure of native granite was built in 1931 by the late John Tantaquidgeon and his son, Harold, direct descendant of Mohegan Chief Uncas; Sassacus, Chief of the Pequot; Tantaquidgeon, an aid to Chief Uncas; and the Reverend Samson Occom, missionary and teacher, for the purpose of preserving Mohegan treasures—old and new. Through the years artifacts representative of the art work of Native American groups from Labrador to the Carolinas and the Confederacy of the Six Nations (Iroquois) of New York State and Canada have been added to give the visitor a view of Eastern Woodland Indian cultures.

John Tantaquidgeon, the last Mohegan basketmaker, died in 1949. Harold continues to practice stone and woodworking skills learned from his father.

Thousands of pupils of all ages plus visitors from many states and foreign countries tour the Museum annually. Of particular interest to all is the outside "get acquainted" area where Chief Tantaquidgeon greets the guests and acquaints

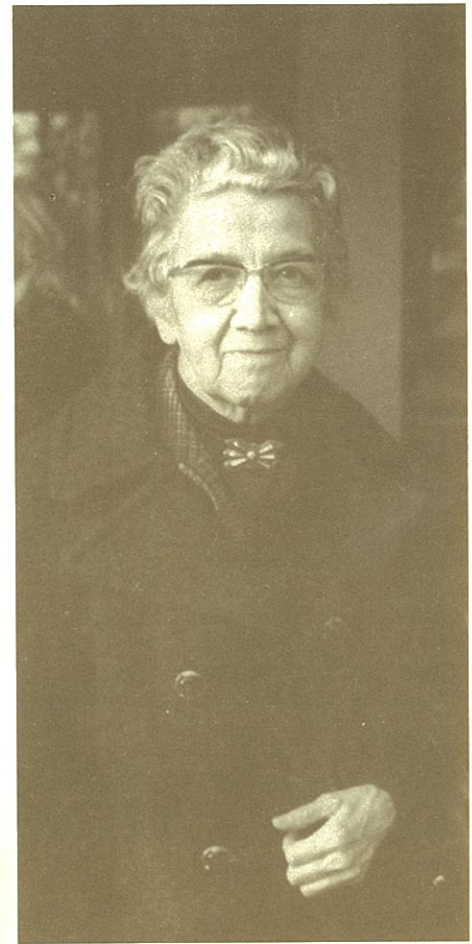
them with early life in a Mohegan village. Then to the stockade where they enter a longhouse. They may learn how to grind corn or how early native peoples fashioned mortars, pestles and other tools of stone.

Gladys Tantaquidgeon conducts the indoor tours. Room one, as mentioned above, features displays of Mohegan and other Eastern Woodland artifacts. In 1958 a second room was added and displayed in this section are examples of the Northern Plains, Southwest, Southeast and Northwest Native American groups.

At this time, as we observe the 50th anniversary of the Museum's founding, we wish to extend our sincere thanks to our Mohegan kin and many friends who have been most helpful.

Located on Route 32 in Mohegan (Uncasville), the Museum is open to the public 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. daily, May through October. Contributions accepted.

—Gladys Tantaquidgeon



Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon, Mohegan, Tantaquidgeon Indian Museum Interpreter

AIAI Throughout Connecticut 1981

All chapter members are cordially invited to attend AIAI's only Members' Only event, Founders' Day, on Saturday, July 25, 1981, at the AIAI Visitor Center from 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

AIAI thanks the following individuals for their efforts on behalf of each chapter:

Polly Brody for the Fairfield County Chapter co-sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities;

Audrey Whitbeck for the Salisbury Chapter co-sponsored by the Na-

tional Iron Bank, Salisbury Bank and Trust Company and the Salisbury Association;

Aldo Bergonzi and Jay Bacca for the Torrington-Winsted Chapter;

Calvin Fisher for the Simsbury Chapter co-sponsored by the Simsbury Historical Society, Simsbury Historical Round Table, Friends of the Simsbury Public Library and the Ensign Bickford Foundation, Inc.

Please contact Susan Payne, Director of Development, if you are interested in co-sponsoring a local chapter of AIAI.

The Friends of the Institute

In 1979 the "Friends of the Institute" was formed in recognition of the many individuals who have volunteered their time and talent to AIAI. The second annual meeting of the "Friends" was held on January 19, 1981. During 1980 92 people volunteered 2,719 hours, whereas 2,100¼ hours were logged by 61 individuals in 1979.

Since Friends Chairperson Debbie Swigart was recuperating from an operation, Ned Swigart presented awards to the following:

FIFTY HOURS PLUS

Lois Allard	Alex McBrien
Betty Carroll	Dodie Nalven,
Naomi Colmery	Trustee
Martha Whitthoft	

ONE HUNDRED HOURS PLUS

Martha Belsky	Peter Jongblood
Carol Boyer	Marion Schindler
Don Ethier	Karl Young

TWO HUNDRED HOURS PLUS	
James Lynch	Debbie Swigart

On behalf of the AIAI family, we thank each and every volunteer for their contributions in 1981.



Native American Advisory Committee Meeting

The Native American Advisory Committee met again on February 28, 1981, with a fine turnout: Chairperson Trudie Lamb (Schaghticoke), Jane Fawcett and Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), Irving Harris (Schaghticoke), Ella Thomas/Sekatau (Narragansett), Butch Chatfield (Schaghticoke) and AIAI staff. The committee encourages the Institute to con-

tinue the development of the Habitats Trail, Indian Farm and Encampment and all outreach programs designed to educate people to the traditions of the Native Americans. All members contributed to a Native American Resource List now available from the Education Department. Omissions are unintentional. We seek additions; please contact AIAI.



Photo by Myron Mack

More Than Earth and Fire

Editors' Note: The following has been excerpted from "Native American Pottery: More Than Earth and Fire," a special exhibit currently on display at the Institute until September 15, 1981.

POTTERY . . . it is more than the sum of its parts . . . neither a simple matter of invention nor purely a utilitarian artifact. Its development by Native American peoples represents a conceptual leap in the history of human invention, involving as it does the transformation of materials—and those materials the most elemental in human experience: *earth, water and fire*. Native American peoples have molded and amplified these three constituents into a rich diversity of vessels, have performed creative cartwheels with form and surface treatment and have expressed their distinctive philosophies and lifestyles through its use, design and handling.

Pottery, an Archaeological Tool

BEFORE THE 1960's archaeologists were interested in *describing* a society, its technology, settlement and food systems, social structure, etc. Ceramics were seen

to be evidence of a people's *shared* activities and traits. Analyzing such clues as clay color, texture, the origin of the clay, vessel shape, thickness, design, etc., they grouped pottery remains into similar *types*. These types were used to identify different social groups.

These traditional archaeologists believed that by piecing together these jigsaw bits of evidence they had unearthed they could discover whether changes in lifeways resulted from new ideas within the group or from outside influences. Interested in how cultures change through time, they also developed chronological charts—arrangements of ceramic types in time and space, like the one shown here.

IN THE 1960's some researchers known as "new archaeologists" began looking at the record of the past, including ceramics, with different questions and insights. They were interested in *behavior*—the processes involved in how and why a people "select" a certain kind of food, technology, settlement, or social system. These new archaeologists not only extracted new information from the record of the past with the aid of other specialists and computers, but they also became aware that traditional archaeologists had dug sites according to certain unconscious, implicit assumptions. They be-

lieved that these assumptions should be made conscious and explicit in order to test them scientifically.

Traditional archaeologists assumed that different ceramic styles reflected either different cultures or a change within a culture, depending on the archaeological context of the pottery. New archaeologists assumed instead that some of this ceramic patterning in a society reflected their varied settlement and behavior patterns. But they didn't stop there. They formulated hypotheses from their assumptions and deduced from these the kinds of evidence they would expect to find if their assumptions were correct. Then they tested them against the actual archaeological record. For example, in 1961 and 1962 William Longacre, discovered that there were several distinct pottery styles within an approximately 3000-year-old pueblo settlement in Arizona. Some of these styles reflected distinct activities or behaviors of one residence group and the remaining styles were possibly associated with another family group living in another part of the pueblo. How did he arrive at this conclusion?

1. His statistical computer analysis of the site revealed several main clusters of pottery types.

2. Longacre assumed that these types were associated with different uses or purposes and with different family groups within the pueblo.

3. A statistical analysis revealed that certain types of pottery were associated with certain types of rooms—these rooms shown by the archaeological record to have been used for particular activities.

Shown above is the pottery exhibit at the AIAI visitor center.

Phase	HOUSES	POTTERY	MILLING STONES	STONE CHIPPED STONE	STONE VESSELS
RESERVE					
THREE CIRCLE					
SAN FRANCISCO					

Portion of chart showing development of Mogollon culture in the Southwest. Earliest time shown at bottom, most recent at top. (After Willey, Gordon R., An Introduction to American Archaeology, 1966, p. 198.)

4. Further analysis showed that there were two clusters of design styles with room types, which probably reflect the activities and habitation of two families or clans.

Thus Longacre's hypothesis (the assumption stated in "2") was proved valid to a high degree by testing it against the data.

Ceramics are used by new archaeologists to try to understand past behaviors.

While traditional archaeologists believe that ceramics represent shared cultural traits and activities, new archaeologists believe they are just one of many factors involved in a complex combination of sets of behavior (technological, social, etc.) and ecological factors which fit together as a consistent, though constantly adjusting whole. They viewed society, then, as a dynamic system of behavioral and ecological relationships.




1882 engraving from Bureau of Ethnology.




Siftings


Changing weekend programs are carried on throughout the year. In particular, on Saturday, March 7, 1981, AIAI President Ned Swigart and guest, William Hill, member of the Board of Directors of the Maple Syrup Producers Association, presented "Maple Sugaring from the First Americans to the Present."




On Saturday, April 4, 1981, Ted Gilman, Environmental Education Specialist at the Audubon Center in Greenwich, informed the assembled AIAI members and friends about "Gypsy Moths, Their Natural History and Management in Connecticut." The potential infestation of western Connecticut's countryside was apparent in the form of tan egg cases hugging the tree bark in our woodlands and backyards.




The AIAI Calendar of Events, always listed on the last section in *Artifacts*, is for you, our members. Be sure to read through it; we would also appreciate topic suggestions for future programs. Contact Stephen Post.



The Institute was awarded in 1980 a National Endowment of the Arts Visiting Specialist grant which was concluded in March, 1981. The senior fundraising consultant of Marts and Lundy, Inc., New York City, evaluated the Institute's development functions, reviewed candidates for the new position of Director of Development and left the Institute with professional guidelines for development procedures and planning.



Editors' Correction: Danford Knowlton's name appeared incorrectly spelled among the participants listed in the Winter 1981 *Artifacts* "Phonothon" article.



The Institute expresses particular thanks to the Morning Glory Flower Shop, Washington, Connecticut, for lending a handsome yucca plant to enhance the "Native Pottery" exhibit. Some southwestern Indian potters chewed yucca leaves into paint brushes which they used to apply splendid decorations to their pots.

Calendar of Events

June 8-June 12, 1981 (mornings)—ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION I*

June 13, 1981, Saturday, 1:00 p.m.-4:00 p.m. — ARTIFACT IDENTIFICATION DAY For \$3 ten or fewer prehistoric Northeastern Indian artifacts only will be identified by AIAI's research staff. Proceeds will benefit the Research Department.

June 15-June 19, 1981 (mornings) —ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION II*

June 20, 1981, Saturday, 10:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m. — FLINTKNAPPING WORKSHOP, led by noted flintknapper and primitive technologist Jeff Kalin. Make a hafted stone knife. Tuition: \$15/members, \$25/non-members.

June 24-June 28, 1981 (mornings) —ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION III*

June 29-July 3, 1981, 8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m. — EXPLORING GEOLOGY Study the way both Indian and Colonial man used various rocks and minerals through the ages. Short field trips daily. For 12-15 year-olds, \$85. Apply to the Education Department. (Limit: 10 students)

July 4, 1981, Saturday at 11:00 a.m. — *The Early Americans*, the Shell Oil Company film describing the arrival of the first Americans and their heritage throughout the United States; this film also explores the KOSTER SITE.

July 9-July 11, 1981 (all day) — ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION IV*

July 13-July 24, 1981, weekdays 8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m. — EXPERIMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY will combine actual fieldwork at an archaeological site in the mornings with the replication of Indian tools and crafts in the afternoons.

For 12-15-year olds, \$85/week, \$150/two weeks. Apply to the Education Department. (Limit: 15 students)

July 25, 1981, Saturday, at 9:30 a.m. — AIAI Board of Trustees Meeting.

July 25, 1981, Saturday, 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. — FOUNDERS' DAY: Native American guests, Gladys Tantaquidgeon and Jane Fawcett, will share their heritage, "The Mohegan Indians Past and Present," with us. The AIAI staff will present programs throughout the day. A "Taste of Nature" will be offered. By invitation; members' guests are welcome at \$3 each.

July 27-July 31, 1981 (mornings) — ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION V*

July 27, 31, 1981, 9:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m. — EXPLORING INDIAN LIFEWAYS Explore through nature and crafts the way Native Americans lived in their environment. For 9-11 year olds, \$75. Apply to the Education Department. (Limit: 12 students)

July 28-July 31, 1981, 9:30-11:00 a.m. — INDIAN SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES AIAI President Edmund Swigart will teach the Indian use of plants, animals and the natural landscape. For adults, \$30/members, \$40/non-members. Register with the Education Department.

August 3, 4 and 5, 1981, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, 10:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m., firing on August 25th — WOODLAND INDIAN POTTERY. Guest instructor Jeff Kalin, Primitive Technologist at the Delaware Indian Resource Center at Ward Pound Ridge Reservation, Cross River, New York and former assistant director of the Pamunkey (VA) Indian Reservation Living Archaeology Program, will supply native clay and demonstrate Woodland Indian ceramic technology. For adults, \$60/members,

\$70/non-members. (Limit: 10 students) August 3-August 7, 1981 (mornings) — ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION VI*

August 10-14, 1981, 10:00-11:30 a.m. — LET'S FIND OUT ABOUT INDIANS Exploring Indian lifeways through stories, crafts and games for 5-8-year olds. \$15/members, \$25/non-members. Register with the Education Department. (Limit: 12 students)

August 12-August 15, 1981 (mornings) — ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION VII*

August 15, 1981, Saturday, 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. — MAKING ROUND BASKETS Guest instructor Elizabeth Jensen will teach you to create a round basket from flat reeds. For adults, \$15/members, \$25/non-members, plus a materials fee. Register with the Education Department. (Limit: 12 students)

August 17-August 21, 1981 (mornings) — ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION VIII*

August 22, 1981, Saturday, 1:00 p.m. — PROGRAM SERIES (Public welcome) Guest speaker Polly Brody will present a program on animal communications, TUNING IN ON ANIMALS, with sound effects.

Labor Day Weekend, September 5, 6 & 7, 1981 — SPECIAL FAMILY FILMS: at 11:00 a.m. on Saturday and Monday mornings, *Native American Myths*, an animated film of five Indian explanation tales, and at 2:30 p.m. Saturday, Sunday and Monday, a three-part film series will be shown including: *Indian Origins - The First 50,000 Years*, *Indian Cultures - From 2000 B.C. to 1500 A.D.* and *The Indian Experience After 1500 A.D.*

The AIAI Visitor Center is accessible to the handicapped.

ARTIFACTS

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