GAMES OF CHANCE AND THEIR RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS

The nature of the world in which Indian peoples live has always been a vast source of interest to others, although often misunderstood and misinterpreted. Perhaps it is because that unfamiliar world is organized so differently and one reacts before understanding, thus reducing to myths and legends what are truly sacred traditions.

The religious significance of games of native peoples is an area to which relatively little attention has been paid. Games occurred in great variety among Native American groups throughout the North American continent but with one common thread: their religious or ceremonial significance. Hence, one needs to look more closely at the religious beliefs as well as the rich and varied accounts of the world as new. Although much information, particularly on peoples of the Northeast, has been deeply buried with the past, there is still much which can be obtained from those people who still practice their ancient traditions.

Indian games can be divided into two categories: games of chance and games of dexterity and skill. Games of skill include a variety of ball games such as lacrosse, throwing a javelin or dart across the ice (snow snake), shooting at a moving target. Gambling games are basically comprised of hand games, stick games and dice or bowl games (Culin 1975).

The Midewiwin or Midwinter Ceremony of the Iroquois concludes the end of one cycle and marks the beginning of another. The Sacred Bowl Game is one of the Four Sacred Rituals of Midwinter and symbolizes the struggle of the Twin Boys to win control over the earth (Tooker 1970). The Mid-winter is a time of praying and awaiting the world's rebirth, a renewal of life. It is a time of giving thanks to the spirit forces and to the Creator.

The Iroquois' cosmological account of their beginning describes how the Divine Twins, the primal gamblers, originated the game. Both twins being equal in power, their games symbolize the antagonism and battle between Skyholder and his younger brother, Troublemaker. It is a battle between the creative and destructive forces of life. Hence, these games of skill and chance were taught to man when the world was young. The Iroquois explain that the Sacred Bowl Game, Gus-ka'-ch, when played during the four-day Midwinter, is not only meant to maintain a balance of nature but also to amuse those life-giving forces; to please the plant and animal world; and to make the Creator

continued on p. 10
FIELD NOTES

Book Review: In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life


In this book Deetz provides a fascinating introduction to historical archaeology written in his inimitable, anecdotal style. His discussions cover a broad spectrum: from a comparison of historical to prehistoric archaeology to gravestones, to excavations in a 19th-century black community and to warnings about the use of written documents. Anyone who thinks that historical archaeology is done merely to reaffirm the obvious culled from written records or to furnish a museum with authentic antiques literally dug out of an old cellar should read this book immediately, because they are suffering under a serious delusion.

Despite a statement on the book’s back cover, the primary value of this book is not to “...aid in identifying a piece of china or in dating an ancient timber framed house...” This is not a reference work on ceramic typology or architecture. This book “merely” provides an excellent introduction to the breadth, techniques, limitations and pitfalls of the discipline.

Historical archaeology as it is being seriously pursued today differs from prehistoric archaeology in that there are records which were written by some of the people whose artifacts are being excavated; it is sometimes possible to interview their descendants; standing structures are frequently preserved; many of the excavations are at places inhabited relatively recently by Europeans; and the preservation is better; therefore, the quantity of material recovered is greater. The techniques for removing the materials from the ground may be identical, but the historical archaeologist may need the assistance of historians, architects, genealogists, rather than geologists, botanists and palynologists. Looking at the two from a more general level, one can see that both the prehistoric and historical archaeologists need to record their finds precisely and to analyze more than the

continued on p. 9
OUT REACH

The Education Department was stretched in 1979. Our outreach embraced 13,118 students, with the majority of 90-minute programs being scheduled at the AIAI Visitor Center. Most of our educational offerings are available here or there and are adaptable to your curriculum requirements.

Steve Post's "shoe box archaeology," provided 500 students with a classroom "digging" experience. Individuals or teams painstakingly excavated the "shoe box site" with spades, carefully recorded the location of each unearthed "artifact" and then interpreted the discoveries. This 90-minute learning experience is usually coupled with a slide lecture on the science of archaeology to provide a three-hour archaeology workshop. (This program does not travel because transportation causes the "artifacts" to settle to the bottom of the site.)

For five weeks during the winter Mitchell Elementary School fourth and fifth graders traveled to AIAI to study CORN. Staff ethnobotany teacher, Barrie Kavasch, guided these students in a scientific and anthropological exploration of the origin of corn and its importance to mankind from prehistoric times to today.

The White Memorial Conservation Center, Litchfield, hosted Steve Post for a Saturday afternoon program, "Indians of Connecticut and Litchfield County." A record-breaking crowd of 96 assembled. In return for Steve's program, Jeff Greenwood, assistant director of the Conservation Center, will present a program and guided walk, "The Identification of Trees and Shrubs in the Winter Woodlands" on March 1.

Independent Study Programs (ISP's) are also being carried on during the winter. Two Wyckham rise students are pursuing their interests in ethnobotany and archaeology. Jim Lynch, a Southern Connecticut State College student, is devoting the entire semester to "experiencing" AIAI in all phases of its activities. ISP's are of mutual benefit: an exchange of time for expertise.

Teenagers ages 13-16 are again invited to participate in the 1980 summer youth program, "Experimental Archaeology." Under the direction of John Pawlowski, students will reconstruct the tools and utensils of the Woodland Indian peoples' daily lives, using natural materials. "Experimental Archaeology" is scheduled for June 30-July 11, 1980, from 8:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m. at the Visitor Center. (The Fourth of July will be a holiday.) Enrollment is limited. Tuition is $85 per week, or $150 for the two weeks. Apply to the Education Department. (See Winter 1979 Artifacts, p. 4.)

Plans are underway for a Native American Traditional Crafts Program during July. At present, funding is being sought to enable the Institute to invite Native Americans to teach their traditional crafts. Details will be announced. The Education Department is developing a crafts mailing list; please send or phone in your name/address/phone number.

AIAI outreach is more than scheduled programs, courses, chapters, films and fieldwork. Special changing exhibits are featured regularly. "Photographic Reflections of Native Harvests" is now on view in the Alfred M. Darlow Classroom. A single exhibit case of 20 minute moss and lichen herbarium specimens is complemented by a terrarium of living mosses — both exhibits will enrich any winter woodland walk you will take in the future. All three exhibits were created by Barrie Kavasch. A Native American pottery exhibit is in progress. Drop in frequently. The new, the old and the unusual are always happening at AIAI.

Editors' Note: Correction to "Outreach," Autumn 1979 Artifacts: The pine needle baskets created by Rosaline Medford are Coushatta (or Koasati) in style. Claude Medford's baskets are Choctaw in style and created from swamp cane.

AIAI'S ANNUAL MEETING
MAY 1, 1980

The AIAI Annual Meeting on May 1, 1980 will indeed be a family affair. A brief summary of the past year's activities that evening, the mingling of members, trustees and staff, the conviviality of the Inn on Lake Waramaug are inviting enough in themselves to prompt you to make your reservations today for your entire family. We want to offer you something special.

On this Thursday evening you will explore the rich cultural heritage of Native American star lore and "legends" that have been passed down orally from generation to generation of Indian peoples as guest speaker, Jeff Ferguson, program director for the Eliot Pratt Nature Center, New Milford, CT, introduces you to "The Night Sky World of the Longhouse People." Jeff continued on p. 8
AIAI LECTURE SERIES
An Evening with George Schaller

THE AMERICAN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IS PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THE FIRST IN ITS NEW SERIES OF BENEFIT LECTURES BY EMINENT ANTHROPOLOGISTS, ARCHAEOLOGISTS, NATURALISTS AND CONSERVATIONISTS. On March 19, 1980, at 7:30 p.m. at the Shepaug School in Washington, Connecticut, Dr. George Schaller, Director of Conservation and Field Biology at the New York Zoological Society, will present a film, "The Serengeti Lion" (an on-the-spot film of his research narrated by him), and discuss his work on the lion in Tanzania.

"The Serengeti Lion" by the award-winning photographer, Alan Root (who was nominated last year for an Academy Award for his film, "Castles of Clay"), was filmed under the auspices of the National Geographic Society. Alan Root has made numerous documentary films for television. His photographic expertise in this film vividly depicts the life history of the lion with footage of other large predators of the Serengeti, including the leopard, cheetah, hyena, African wild dog and jackal. The filming of these predators in their daily life permits the viewer to observe their habits of play, predation, mating, birth and so on.

Dr. Schaller's professional life has been devoted to the study of endangered species. Internationally renowned, he has carried on research all over the world. His studies of the mountain gorilla, tiger, swamp deer, sambhar, cheetah, leopard, lion, jaguar and capybara, among others, have been reported in Life, National Geographic, International Wildlife, Mammalia, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, as well as foreign publications and ten full-length books. His book, The Serengeti Lion, won the National Book Award in 1973. He has received awards and honors from numerous conservation and zoological organizations, the most recent being the Order of the Golden Ark bestowed by Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

This will be Dr. Schaller's last public appearance prior to his departure for China to study giant pandas and so will be a rare opportunity to hear one of the finest field biologists currently studying and recording the behavior of endangered species.

Due to space limitations in the auditorium of the Shepaug School, the Institute is accepting prepaid reserved seat ticket orders by mail, telephone and in person at the Museum Shop. Donation tickets will also be available at the door on March 19th.

Tickets: both reserved and at the door: Donation — $4/ adults and $2/students under 18.
Mail orders: Please make check payable to AIAI and include name, address, telephone number and number of adults/children tickets. Send to AIAI, Lecture Series, Box 260, Washington, CT 06793.
Phone orders: accepted with credit card (Visa or Mastercharge). Please have number, expiration date and interbank number (Mastercharge only) ready.
Museum Shop: open from 10 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 1 - 4:30 p.m. on Sunday. Cash, checks, or credit cards are acceptable.
At the Door: Sorry, no credit cards can be accepted.
Note: Donations are tax deductible.

THE FRIENDS OF THE INSTITUTE

Traditionally volunteers have been and are, the foundation upon which AIAI activities and accomplishments are based. The Institute is deeply grateful each day for the more than 1000 individuals who have donated over 10,000 hours of their precious time and talent since the first volunteer "dig" group gathered on the Washington Green in 1968. There is no question that we could not have begun our work, much less journeyed as far as we have, without our dedicated volunteers.

In recognition of and appreciation for the vital role that volunteers play at AIAI, the "Friends of the Institute" was formed in 1979. The "Friends" meets regularly for special programs and annually. At the annual meeting volunteer contributions, as recorded in the Logbook, are recognized and honored.

What does volunteering at AIAI do for you, the "Friends"? Foremost, you are sharing in and contributing to the ongoing work of the Institute. Your tangible benefits are: free admission to the Visitor Center, scheduled meetings to get acquainted with the staff and your fellow "Friends" and to learn about AIAI's varied activities, the "Friends" Newsletter, special training sessions in your area of volunteer interest and the annual awards meeting. IRS benefits: The AIAI is classified by the federal government as a charitable organization. Therefore, each volunteer is allowed to deduct reasonable out-of-pocket expenses such as meals, overnight, etc. and the standard 1979 $8 per mile allowance for mileage roundtrip to render volunteer services. Time and labor are not deductible, nor are automobile maintenance, depreciation and insurance.

At the January Annual Awards Meeting President Ned Swigart admiringly announced that 2,100 3/4 hours were logged by 61 individuals in 1979. Friends Chairperson Debbie Swigart presented awards:

FIFTY HOURS PLUS
Betty Carroll  Jim Lynch
Helene Pennington  Naomi Colmery
Alice Kitselman  Jean McAdams
Linda Potter  Kay Schaller
Martha Winhold  Nancy Klein
Jan Mitchell  Grail Kearney
Marie Sheehy, Trustee

ONE HUNDRED HOURS PLUS
Dodie Nalven, Trustee
Ursula O'Donnell
Fritz Clymer  Marcia Cooley
John Harmon  Debbie Swigart

continued on p. 8
AFTER HOURS...
The Second Decade: Fiscal Forecast

It is with great joy and considerable nostalgia that I undertake the writing of this column again. "After Hours" was a regular feature of Artifacts for its first three years. I have treasured the moments which this column allowed me to spend with our members. It has enabled me to share personally with you the dreams and aspirations which we on the staff and the Board have for AIAI and the behind-the-scenes activities of an incredibly busy place.

In the winter issue of 1978 (Vol. VIII, No. 2) in commemoration of our 10th Anniversary, I summarized the history and geometric growth of the Institute during its first decade. Now it seems appropriate to share with you our plans and dreams for the second decade.

The first decade, of necessity, was one of rapid growth. We felt compelled to provide staff and facilities to rescue as much anthropological and archaeological information as possible before the passing of elderly, traditional Native Americans and the wholesale destruction of archaeological sites eliminated all hope of rescuing over 10,000 years of northeastern Indian history. This period ended with the successful conclusion on September 30th, 1979, of our second major $300,000 capital fund drive in which we raised $322,537 in gifts and pledges from 4 federal and state agencies, 4 private foundations, 3 corporations and 68 individuals. $171,000 of this was used to match a $56,000 National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant to allow us to double the size of the staff and building. An additional $95,537 was used to begin a Native American Studies Program, an Indian farm and other additional facility and equipment items that were not part of the original NEH Challenge Grant. We currently have a staff and a facility of which we are very proud, and we begin to undertake the immense challenge of the rescuing of human history.

Now it is time, in this second decade, to consolidate these gains and to hold our staff and budget at present levels until the financial security of our current operation is assured. The faith that you have shown in AIAI during our first decade has been truly heartwarming. As recently as last year, only 20% of our budget income came from services rendered. The remainder was raised through gifts and donations. Our 1700 members gave us over $340,000 last year to operate our Center, an incredible affirmation of our goals and our activities.

However, the AIAI Finance Committee and Board of Trustees have been increasingly concerned about the Institute’s operation being dependent on any single source of income, especially given the uncertainties of the world’s economic community. Therefore, in 1978 a long-range plan was formulated and adopted in January, 1979. It crystallizes our thinking about priorities for the education and research programs and defines the financial resources necessary to implement these programs, while at the same time providing up to 90% self-sufficiency by the year 1989.

One fact became increasingly evident as this plan was developed, that research cannot and probably will never be able to support itself from earned income. Therefore, the burden of support for this most important aspect of AIAI will have to be carried by four other major sources of revenue: store sales, tuitions, memberships and interest from bequests and endowments. The financial goal is to have each of these income-producing areas generate between 15% and 20% of our total budget in 10 years. Last year tuitions comprised 9% of the budget income. This year the number of school and adult groups visiting the Center has more than doubled and tuition income generated is projected to reach 16%.

With the active solicitation of participants for AIAI winter programs and the development of summer field schools, it is hoped that the 20% figure will be reached in 1980-81, seven years ahead of schedule.

Store sales, last year amounted to 10% of the AIAI budget. This year sales are up almost 50% and the projected income should reach the 15% level. With increased advertising, a wider distribution of our beautiful holiday gift catalogue and a growing reputation for quality craft items, we hope to achieve our goal of 20% funding from this source by 1982-83.

Endowment income amounted to only 1.5% last year. Based on a projected endowment of $250,000 by the fall of 1980, endowment income may reach 3.6%. The goal of the Institute is to raise an additional $1.8 million over the next 10 years, largely from bequests, to provide $90,000 of earned income and thus reach the 20% goal. What we will attempt to do is to ask our generous contributors to consider giving a capital gift or bequest to perpetuate their annual donation. If a person is a $100 Patron Member, a $20,000 gift or bequest will preserve this gift; if one has been a $100 Contributing Member, a $2000 gift would sustain this. A number of bequests have already been arranged. One person has suggested the concept of a percentage of the total estate, while others are considering deferred giving, and a one-time donation. All considerations are deeply appreciated.

The fourth producer of income is membership. The dues from 1700 members last year amounted to 15.5% of the 1978-79 budget. This year through the development of a very successful phone-a-thon plus the organization of our first official membership drive, we anticipate a 17% figure and in 1980-81 hope to achieve a 20% figure. In order to broaden our base of support we are currently soliciting membership chairpersons for as many towns as possible in the 35 states in which we have members. They in turn enlist the aid of as many other town members as possible to seek new members to participate in Institute programs. The goal is for each member to attempt to get five new family or contributing members. The Institute will handle the administrative aspects (including mailings of brochures on the Institute, book lists, gift shop catalogues, educational brochures, etc.). Our target is a 1981 membership of 2500 and 5000 within five years, thus increasing membership dues to about 20% of the budget.

If you would like to assist us in this project either as a town chairperson or by attempting to get five new family or contributing members yourself, we would greatly appreciate hearing from you. The success of this kind of membership drive depends on your help. An interested and dedicated member personally approaching a friend is certainly the best and most effective way of informing people of our goals and programs.

With your help we have come an incredible way in our first 10 years. With your continued support our second decade will be one of continued progress toward education and research program excellence and financial security. On behalf of the Institute family, I wish to thank you all for your part in this effort to discover, preserve and interpret the cultural heritages of the first people of the Northeastern Woodlands.

— Edmund Swigart
“Our Indian populations have been long in the habit of manufacturing sugar from the maple...one evidence...of its antiquity among them, is to be found in one of their ancient religious festivals, instituted to the maple, and called the maple ‘dance’” (Morgan 1901:27). Morgan’s observations of the Iroquois at the turn of the century document the peoples’ deep involvement with their winter environment.

Indian peoples discovered in their native woodlands the sources of seasoning and sweetening foodstuffs and medicines. Long before recorded history their investigative experience unlocked the secrets of extracting many dietary substances from their botanical environment. Lost in prehistory are the earliest experiments that led to “sugaring.”

The late winter harvest, conceived millennia ago, produced rich rewards for woodland industriousness, and the oral traditions of many Indian groups spread this knowledge. The origins of sugaring are embraced in tribal legends and tales, which are handed down through generations into recorded time. The tribal elders counted the winter moons and studied the stars which were believed to control the winter sky. For the Mohawks, when the Pleiades (symbolizing their seven ancient dancing warriors) appeared directly overhead in the winter sky, it signified the time of the New Year’s Feast (or Midwinter Ceremony). “This happens during the moon (month) of the New Year, in January or February” (Tehanetorens 1976:74). Preparations for the sugaring season followed this celebration.

The Mohicans believed that the melting snow caused the spring sap to run in the maples; they considered the sap to be the dripping oil of the Great Celestial Bear, who had been wounded by the winter hunters. This theory also persists in similar form through Iroquois legends. The bear, sometimes becoming the celestial bear (embodifying the Big Dipper), repeats itself in much Indian folklore.

Maple sugar was so important to the Indian diet that they called sugaring-off time the “maple moon,” Sheeshegummatımı, or “sap flows fast.” It was usual for whole families to participate in the labor of sugaring, though in some tribes the women went first to the sugar bush (in advance, usually on snowshoes) to make any necessary repairs to the camp and sugaring utensils (Densmore 1974:309). Among the Iroquois and the Ojibwa the women owned the maple groves, which they inherited through the maternal line. “Sensiubawen” is the Ojibwa word for maple sugar, meaning “drawn from wood.”

Throughout the Eastern Woodlands the Indians practiced “tapping,” “sapping” and “sugaring-off” of selected deciduous trees. Various trees yield early spring sap (when wounded or tapped) as an icy, clear, water-like beverage. Earliest prehistoric usage was probably for beverages. (Many European cultures tapped their deciduous trees for winter beverages, without boiling or sugar refining.) From the family of maples, the birches, beech and hickories were tapped by the Native Americans. Natural sugars can be derived from the sap of these native trees, and a number of beverages, liquors, vinegars and syrups are easily rendered.

“Maple sap is said to have been sometimes fermented and used as an intoxicant, though its use could never have been at all common. This sometimes turned to a vinegar, which was also consumed. The fermentation of sweet liquids and fruit juices takes place so readily that the discovery could not have been readily avoided” (Waugh 1916:146).

Maples are the most distinctive trees and shrubs in North America. There are 12 native species and over 150 species of maples known. These handsome deciduous trees produce paired, winged fruits and usually have simple opposite leaves; their seeds ripen in spring and early summer. Maple trees are tapped in late winter/early spring, when the days begin to warm but the nights remain frosty cold. The sugaring season can last three to six weeks (until the trees bud and blossom) with the sap flowing sweet and water-clear. At blossoms time the sap turns to pale amber, and the taste definitely changes. Though sugaring may continue, the product is less desirable, and continued sapping-off would impair the health of the tree (Kavasch 1979:24).

All maples will produce sap in some quantity, and there may be as much variation in sugar content within one species as there is between species. An average tree with two taps should produce more than 20 gallons of sap which would boil down to about two quarts of syrup, and with further boiling might yield three to four pounds of sugar.

Tree sap is essentially the water absorbed by the roots and mixed with some of the stored tree sugars. Sap will begin to run on warm, late winter days, followed by freezing nights. These conditions, depending on the latitude, usually begin in late February and later move north. The sap at this time begins to surge up from the roots along the outer portion of the trunk through the cambium layer beneath the bark. This thin, water-like fluid does not taste especially sweet. It has between one percent to twelve percent sugar content; the content varies from day to day and season to season. Sap does not run (or drip out from the spiles) if the temperature falls below 30 degrees, or rises above 50 degrees, or if there is a strong south wind. To tap the tree a hole is drilled ½ inch in diameter in a slight uphill angle two to three inches into the tree. Clean it out and insert a snug clean metal or wooden spile (spout). Indians favored the dense hard wood of slippery elm or sumac from which to carve their spiles.

Among the Chippewa “each family or group of two or three families had its own sugar bush...and the people went there in the early spring to make the year’s supply of sugar. Two structures remained in the sugar camp from year to year. These were the birch bark lodge...
in which the utensils were stored and the frame of the lodge in which the sugar was made...the size of the lodge varied with the number of families in the camp" (Densmore 1974:308).

The size of the sugar bush was estimated by the number of taps it would sustain, rather than by the number of trees, since a large tree would allow two, three or four taps to be placed around its girth. An average camp would be 900 to 2,000 taps.

It is said that the "...Indian method of making sugar before the introduction of metal kettles was to throw red-hot stones in vessels of bark or wood, or again, to freeze the syrup repeatedly in shallow basins and throw off the ice" (Havard: 1896:42-43). Sugaring utensils were made of basswood, birch bark or balsam, and certain ones were fashioned from the sugar maple; usually the large deep spoons, the stirring paddles and the granulating ladles. "If a kettle boiled too rapidly a branch of spruce attached to a stick was dipped in the froth" (Densmore 1974:311). There were innumerable techniques, beliefs and festivities which annually highlighted the sugar season, and from these earliest beginnings evolved our sugaring in the 20th century.

In 1860 the U.S. production of maple sugar reached an historic high of more than four million gallons (32 million pounds). Maple sugaring has declined moderately since then, except during World War I when there were cane sugar shortages. Our national production is about one million gallons annually, refined from six states: New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan. Maple sugar was one of the most important foods to the Native Americans of eastern North America and was certainly their chief confection.

Maple sugar and syrup were primary seasonings for the Indians instead of salt. They were added to fish, all kinds of wild berries, chestnuts, beans, pumpkins and squash, and to season game meats. A special energy food (and sustainer) was maple sugar mixed with pounded, parched corn; carried dry in pouches, this light trail food supported the native peoples during periods of travel. This sweet amber confection was also cooked into porridge, baked into corn cakes, or dissolved in water as a refreshing beverage. And today this distinctive flavoring essence and sweetener has a strong hold in our contemporary foodways.

Because of man's need for these trees the best ones are continually harvested. Maple wood is distinctive for use as tools, musical instruments, floors and furniture. The sugar and black maples are prized for their hardwood, while the red and silver maples are considered softwoods. Indeed the sugar maple wood (rock maple) is considered stronger and lighter than that of white oak, which has been prized since pre-Colonial times. Some variations in the sugar maple cause a curving grain which yields the highly esteemed curly or bird's-eye maple. "A favorite material for bowls everywhere was the knot which grows upon the soft maple. The bowls used for playing the peach-stone game were made from the knots found on the maple" (Waugh 1916:65). The most common eastern maple is the red maple which thrives, often in pure stands, near lakes and stream areas and low swamps. Its wood is not commercially valuable as it is less resilient and splits easily. "Bark of the soft maple, Acer rubra and A. saccharinum...is dried beside the fire, then pounded in the mortar, sifted, and made into bread; said not to taste badly..." (it is) used also by neighboring Algongkin tribes, such as the Montagnais (Waugh 1916:119).

Here within the study of these native trees lies a small but stunning portion of our Native American history. Their utility of nature was their way of life. As our first plant scientists their gifts remain to inspire our modern lives, especially their legacy of the maple.

— Barrie Kavasch

Bibliography


SUMMER YOUTH PROGRAM

Two weeks, June 30-July 11, 1980
Weekdays 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.
For ages 13-16 years
Enrollment limited to 15

EXPERIMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY:
"Using Natural Resources as the Connecticut Indians Did"

Under the direction of John Pawloski this youth program will explore, through scientific experiment, fieldwork and replication, certain technologies of the Native American peoples' daily lives before they were affected by contact with the colonists.

Staff archaeology teacher, Steve Post, and Dave Richmond, Mohawk staff teacher and craftsman, will demonstrate technologies and will supervise participants in developing AIAI's Indian encampment and farm. Field notebooks will be kept throughout the program. The technology of use/design/finished products for clay, lithics, plant materials, a dugout, food preparation, beadwork and dwelling construction will be explored.

Apply to "Summer Youth Program - Experimental Archaeology," c/o Steve Post, AIAI, P.O. Box 260 Washington, Connecticut 06793

Tuition is $83 per week/$150 two weeks.
It seems faintly indecent to tap out anything called “Shop Talk” so soon after the holidays! However, there does seem to be something new around almost all the time.

Though we have had them before, we are not so blase as to ignore the new shipment of pine needle baskets from Rosaline Medford. These are traditional Coushatta style and some are bound with a most intriguing stitch called “wheat stitch.”

Serious collectors can look for more and more in the shop as time passes. Three incredible pots — miniatures — by Santa Clara* potter, A. Haungooah, are in the jewelry case (where they are not outshone by flashing silver and turquoise). Prices are high (325.00 and 450.00) but they are the best of the craft and exquisite works of art. Also from the Southwest come Hopi basketry plaques, woven so intricately that they defy analysis. These pieces are made by the basket weavers as trade articles and are used in many an Indian home as prized decorations. One glance at them will tell you why. Two new Navajo weavings are also here. They are an interesting pair because they are the same pattern as interpreted by two weavers in different areas (Tahatchie and Two Grey Hills**).

** Santa Clara Pueblo pottery is nationally known and acclaimed for fine black-on-black as well as polychrome ware.

** Tahatchie and Two Grey Hills (as with the names of many different blanket styles) are the names of trading posts where Native American weavers bring their work.

Collector pieces: miniature pots by A. Haungooah, Santa Clara Pueblo

---

** ANNUAL MEETING ** continued from p. 4

will discuss the many ways celestial objects and events have influenced Native American ceremonial and seasonal festivities and Iroquois cosmology.

An environmental educator, Jeff Ferguson began his career, after receiving a bachelor’s degree in Outdoor Recreation from San Diego State University in 1972, as a naturalist for the Los Angeles City Schools Outdoor Education Center. His dedication to exploring outdoor education naturally embraced daylight and nighttime phenomena. Jeff’s particular interest in astronomy led him to research the legends that have grown up to explain in some way the wonder of the constellations. Since moving East in 1976 and beginning graduate studies at Southern Connecticut State College, Jeff has become involved in the Eliot Pratt Nature Center in New Milford. For the past two years, Jeff has been its program director.

Please call Mary Anne Greene at the Institute, 868-0518, to make reservations for your family. The cost of an evening of gastronomy and astronomy is $10.50/adults and $7/children under twelve. Please make your reservations by April 25; seating capacity at the Inn is limited.

---

** FRIENDS OF THE INSTITUTE ** continued from p. 4

TWO HUNDRED HOURS PLUS

Don Ethier logged a spectacular 306 hours, and he literally logged many of them cutting down dead trees and clearing brush on the Quinnetukut Habitats Trail. (The Logbook is your record of your contributions. Please sign in and sign out. In addition to special recognition, the Logbook provides the Institute with information that can fulfill matching requirements of grants.) AIAI thanks each of you, whether you gave one hour or more, for these gifts of yourselves.

The Annual Awards Meeting continued with a program by the Education Department. Using slides Steve Post defined the four kinds of archaeology — contract, salvage, survey and block excavation — conducted by the Institute. He then introduced “AIAI shoe box archaeology,” his own creation, which enables visiting students to “dig” in the classroom. More slides illustrated Experimental Archaeology, a summer youth program in which a group of teenagers replicated from natural resources the tools and materials of the Indian peoples’ daily lives.

Barrie Kavasch brought the meeting to a close as she presented a new dimension of the Ethnobotanical Herbarium, the minute world of mosses and lichens. Twenty pressed specimens plus a terrarium-herbarium opened many eyes to the lilliputian carpet of the winter woodlands. Barrie mentioned that mosses were utilized by Indian peoples as diapers and wound dressings, among other uses.

Let us know what you would like us to offer as programs during 1980, and let us know your volunteer interests!
FIELD NOTES
continued from p. 2

objects themselves to determine their true meaning.

Wait a minute. Didn’t Deetz say that historical archaeologists use the records written by the people themselves, and didn’t he say that they frequently could interview living descendants, and after all, they are excavating a European society in the United States only 200 years old. Where is the mystery?

The answer is simple. History as a course studied in school is merely a subjective summary of events. Not all of the participants in an historic event had the opportunity to tell their side of the story. Not all of the motivations or causes affecting or effecting an event can be told or even known. History as written by a historian is subjective and limited to the material selected for study.

Not everything that happens is recorded. If a person is illiterate, his contribution to the written record is limited to what another person will write for him. Lower class people, outcasts and slaves have a story to tell but their chances of having it faithfully recorded are slim.

If it is not considered important, it is not recorded. If it is considered mundane, trivial, or common knowledge, why bother to waste the paper? In the absence of high speed communication, how is one group to know what another is doing which will have a bearing upon its life?

These are only a few of the reasons for historical archaeology. The historic record is not complete. Archaeologists and historians do not know everything that there is to know about the first settlers or even about their descendants 200 years later.

One of the most serious drawbacks to using written records from European settlers in the New World is that many are written in English. This leads people who speak English to think that they can read the documents. The words may be the same, but their meanings and/or connotations are not necessarily the same as those of today. “Looking glass” is a common enough term meaning mirror, except in the context of early America where mirrors were rare and expensive. At this time a looking glass was a common euphemism for a chamber pot.

“Drinking” is a common term today which meant smoking at one time. It was called drinking because “...the method of smoking seems to have been much more hurried gulping of smoke from the small (pipe) bowls typical of the period...” (p. 19).

Beyond the interesting anecdotes, Deetz presents historical archaeology as a testing ground for theoretical constructs equally useful in prehistoric archaeology. Deetz and Dethlefsen’s classic study of mortuary art on grave stones clearly demonstrates the utility of the battleship-shaped curve in seriation: styles change gradually, new styles emerge and gradually gain in popularity and displace older styles, which in turn are replaced gradually by newer styles. Not only does this concept actually exist and can be documented, but various factors influencing the normal functioning of the technique can also be studied.

While some of his interpretations of historic phenomena are subject to debate by other researchers, Deetz’s contributions should not be faulted. Readers should pay attention to the techniques explained and understand that the differences in interpretation are exactly the point that Deetz is making:

archaeologists are not studying something that they understand completely. There is room for debate and alternative interpretations because we do not know everything that happened. He leaves us with the admonition, “Don’t read what we have written; look at what we have done!” (p. 161).

— Roger Moeller

Editors’ Note: This review first appeared in Connecticut News, ASC Newsletter 140, Summer 1979.

The small illustrations by Jean Pruchnik and Sharon Wirt were drawn from several sources: pictographs and petroglyphs from all over the U.S., as well as craft design elements and records.

IN A CULTURAL FRAME:
NATIVE AMERICAN ART

Through slides, discussion, examples from AIAI’s collections and film, “In a Cultural Frame” will explore the varieties of art, its various forms, functions and aesthetic value in Native American cultures all over North America. Comparisons will be made with Western art. Meeting one afternoon a week, this six-week, non-credit class will be offered at AIAI from April 22 to May 27, the first class to be held Tuesday, April 22, 4-5:30 p.m. Sharon Wirt, AIAI Instructor of Anthropology and Research Assistant, will teach the course. Please call or write AIAI for more information or to register for the course: AIAI, Box 260, Washington, CT 06793, (203) 868-0518. Registration deadline is April 1. Fee: Members — $35; Non-members — $50.

Shallow polychrome ceramic bowl by Maria Martinez and Popovi Da, San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico
laugh. The players divide into two teams, determined by clans or moieties.* The game opens with a gaming prayer, which asks for the good fortune, health and happiness of the people, followed by a special game song which is expected to drive out evil spirits. Each clan concentrates on singing with one voice and one mind in order to bring luck over to its side.

The Sacred Bowl Game or dice game varied from tribe to tribe as to the number and kind of objects used. Preference could vary from polished stone or bone to corn kernels, fruit pits, nut shells, wooden chips or pottery discs. Wins or losses were recorded by counters or tally sticks.

The Iroquois Bowl Game consisted of six peach stones and a wooden tray. The stones were burnt or painted on one side and the other side left plain. The tray was used to toss the stones in the air. If five stones landed all of one color, this equaled one point; six stones all of one color equaled five points; and less than five stones of one color counted as zero.

Wagering was an integral part of all gambling games and greatly misunderstood by the Christian mind. Morgan claims the practice of betting “was never reprobated by their religious teachers, but, on the contrary, rather encouraged, it frequently led to reckless indulgence” (Morgan 1901: Vol. I, 282). It was a very difficult concept for the materialist mind to grasp. Nonetheless, everyone brought his or her best possession to be wagered.

* A moiety is half of a group, the group being divided into two halves for social, political, recreational, etc. purposes.

whether it was an article of clothing, special pair of mocassins, strings of wampum, baskets of corn. The game could last several days. During Mid-winter it was the last two days of the ceremony. Many accounts read that the game continued until one side lost all but their breech clouts. Even Roger Williams, who went to live among the Narragansetts, failed to appreciate or reflect upon in his observations the religious origin of the game or its meaning. He claimed they (the Narragansetts) were not unlike the English man: “an Emblem of the hou- rour of conscience, which all poor sinners walk in at last, when they see what wofull games they have played in their life and now find themselves eternall Beggars” (Williams 1973: 230).

Dice games were one of the sacred games offered to the War God of Zuni and still play an important role in their ceremonies today. The Navajo say that when their ancestors left their original home beneath the earth and arrived in the present-day world, it was very wet. While waiting for it to dry, the women erected a shelter of deer-skin and commenced to play tsinda, stick dice, a gambling game which they had brought from the lower world and which they have continued to play for these many centuries. In fact, archaeologists have unearthed playing stones from various prehistoric ruins (Culin 1972).

By playing these games as an offering, it was believed that the Patrons of Play could be called upon to bring rain, ensure a rich harvest, remedy illness and expel evil spirits. Now this is not to imply that every tribe always played their games at ceremonial times, particularly after the contact period, which greatly disrupted tribal social organizations. But games of chance, in particular, had religious or ceremonial origins.

A favorite sitting down sport played by Woodland Indians was the mocassin guessing game. Although the game varied among tribes, the basic idea was taking four mocassins and placing four objects, one of which was marked in some way, under each mocassin. Dividing into two teams, the leaders, previously selected for their skill in guessing, would determine which held the marked object. Each correct guess gained a counter and score was kept or wooden tallies. The game ended when one side obtained all of the counters. The one selected as leader of his clan or moiety was primarily determined by what had been revealed or interpreted in his or her dream, i.e. arrangement of the gaming sticks, placement of mocassins and marking of objects, for dreams played an important role.

The game was accompanied by drumming and great singing, the louder the better, as each side hoped to bring luck to its side and away from the opposition. Additionally, there was much eager betting that took place. Some tribal myths claim the spirits played the game to determine the length of day or night or the longevity of man. Now, man plays these guessing games knowing that there are many mysteries in life to which only the Creator holds the answer and winning is one of them. Hence, man willingly gambles for high stakes, emulating the early Patrons of Play. This particular guessing game caught on with the pioneers, who modified it and changed the name to “bullet.” But it was played so extensively that it became a recognized evil and a law was passed forbidding gambling at bullet (Culin, 1975).

Hubub was the dice game played by New England native peoples and documented as early as 1634 (Wood 1634), and it is played precisely the same way today by several prairie tribes, such as the Arapaho and Cheyenne. However, in the East it was played by men using a basket and five dice, accompanied by song, much like the hand games of the Southwest (Culin 1975). Among western tribes the game is primarily played by women.

When the Narragansetts sat down at their Wunonag'ommin, i.e. “to play at dice” under a specially-erected arbour, the sounds of “Hub, hub, hub” could be heard a quarter of a mile away (Williams 1973). “Hub hub” was translated to mean “Come, come.” It was believed that the louder the shouts of encouragement, the greater one’s chances of enticing luck away from the opposing side. It was a great public game attracting hundreds of people. The Mohegan-Pequot peoples played a similar game which they called Run-gan-ham (Butler 1948). Ceremonially the game was played twice a year, the most important time being Green Corn Ceremony, which was the culmination of a series of horticultural ceremonies (See Autumn Artifacts 1979.) The game was meant to please the spirits and dispel evil forces and ensure the contin-

continued on p. 11
GAMES OF CHANCE
continued from p. 10

tance of harmony. Unfortunately, there
is little vestige of any of the games of chance remaining in southern New England, as they were forbidden and outlawed by the colonists along with dress, customs and dance. As for the Iroquois, they view Gis-ka'eh, as a very important part of their ceremonies and hold on to it very firmly, as something to be passed down to each new generation as part of their age-old tradition.

— Trudie Lamb

BIBLIOGRAPHY


AIAI THROUGHOUT CONNECTICUT

Salisbury Chapter
Co-sponsored by National Iron Bank and AIAI
Coordinator - Audrey Whitbeck
435-2077, evenings

Friday, March 21, 1980 - 8:00 p.m. — The Scovill Library; The Early Americans. A film that traces what is known about the history of the Indian peoples of the U.S. from their earliest origins and time of arrival until the European Contact Period.

Friday, May 23, 1980 - 8:00 p.m. — The Scovill Library; Archaeology; A Science to Discover our Lost Indian Heritage by Dr. Roger Molseller, Director of the AIAI Research Department. An illustrated lecture telling about the science of archaeology and the discoveries and programs of AIAI.

Friday, July 25, 1980 — Carpool or bus - meet at 6:00 p.m. at the Scovill Library for a Salisbury Chapter picnic at the AIAI. A cookout with native finger-foods, hamburgers, etc. followed by a guided tour and a talk and walk around the Indian Habitations Trail by Barrie Kavasch, AIAI Ethnobotany Teacher and author of Native Harvests. The cost will be $5.00 per person for the food and the program.

Torrington-Winsted Chapter
Coordinator - Aldo Bergonzi, 489-3327

Thursday, March 20, 1980 - 7:30 p.m., the Torrington Branch of the University of Connecticut; The Early Americans. A film that traces what is known about the history of the Indian peoples of the U.S. from their earliest origins and time of arrival until the European Contact Period. Future programs to be announced.

Fairfield County Chapter
Co-sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the AIAI
Coordinator - Audrey Whitbeck
Newtown, CT, 426-1957

MARCH - Darien Public Library, 35 Leroy Avenue, Darien.

March 2, 4 p.m. - "The Music of the American Indian" by Dr. David McAllester, Professor and Chairman of the Musicology Department of Wesleyan University.

March 6, 2:30 p.m. - Film Festival, The Ancient New World.

APRIL - Newtown Congregational Church, Main Street, Newtown.

April 12, 2:30 p.m. - Film Festival, More Than Bows and Arrows.

April 20, 4 p.m. - "Archaeology - A Major Hope for the Present, to Discover the Past" by Dr. Russell Handsman, AIAI Director of Field Research.

MAY - Western Connecticut State College, White St., Danbury.

May 4, 4 p.m. - "Experimental Archaeology, Discovering the In-Bury Brody" by John Pawolowski, teacher of experimental archaeology at AIAI and science teacher at the Schaghticoke School, New Milford, CT.

May 10, 2:30 p.m. - Film Festival, The Kuskuki of British Columbia.

June 1, 4 p.m. (Meet at Saugatuck Congregational Church, Westport) - "Native Harvests" field trip to AIAI led by Barrie Kavasch, AIAI teacher of ethnobotany and author of Native Harvests published by Random House, 1979.

June 14, 2:30 p.m. - Film Festival at Newtown Congregational Church, Newtown, Five Foot Square.

Programs and films resume in September.

Support AIAI
Join * Give a gift Membership

Please enroll me (us) as (check one of the following):

Patrons of the Institute...$1,000 Contributing Member...$100 Institution/Organization...$15
Sustaining Member...$500 Library/Family Member...$25 Individual Member...$15

MR., MRS. MISS, MS. ____________________________________________________________________________

STREET. _______________________________________________________________________________________

CITY ___________________________________________________________________________________________

STATE____ ZIP____

Tel. No. ________________________________________________________________________________________

Please Print)

Membership Benefits

10% Discount in Museum Shop • Free Admission • Membership Meetings • Special Events

Artifacts, AIAI's Quarterly Publication • Small World Film Festival • Changing Exhibits

Clip and Mail TODAY to:

AIAI
P.O. Box 260
Washington, CT 06793
SMALL WORLD FILM FESTIVAL continues Saturdays and Sundays at 2:30 p.m. until the end of April.

March 15 and 16, 1980, Saturday and Sunday, 11 a.m. - Guest lecture on Native American Maple Sugaring by Barrie Kavasch at the Cary Arboretum, Millbrook, N.Y.

March 16, 1980, Sunday, 4 p.m. - MEMBERS’ MEETING (Public welcome) Dr. Roger Moeller, Director of Research, will discuss “Washington, Connecticut: First Settled 8000 B.C.”

March 19, 1980, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m., at the Shepaug School Auditorium - AIAI Benefit Evening with George Schaller and the film of his research, The Serengeti Lion. Donation: $4/adults, $2/students. Contact Roger Moeller, 868-0518 for AIAI, Box 260, Washington, CT 06793 (for reserved seats. See p. 4)

April 9, 1980, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. - SPECIAL MEETING (Public welcome) at the Shepaug School Planetarium. AIAI’s Trudie Lamb and Eliot Pratt Nature Center’s Jeff Ferguson will present “Native American Astronomy,” an evening of Native American star lore. Limited seating. Call AIAI, 868-0518, for reservations for first showing at 7:30 p.m. or second showing at 8:30 p.m. $2/adults, $1/children.

April 12, 1980, Saturday, 11 a.m. - Joint meeting of the Native American Advisory Committee and the NEH Fairfield County Chapter consultants.

April 13, 1980, Sunday, 4 p.m. - MEMBERS’ MEETING (Public welcome)

Dr. Russell Handsman, Director of Field Research, will discuss “Don’t Put Your Light Under a Bushel: The Pure Church and Congregational Architecture in Litchfield County.”

April 14, 1980, Monday, 9:30 a.m. - Friends of the Institute Meeting. Volunteers, members, newcomers welcome.

April 22 - May 27, 1980, Tuesdays from 4 - 5:30 p.m. - Seminar, “In a Cultural Frame: Native American Art,” by Sharon Wirt, Instructor of Anthropology and Research Assistant. Tuition: $35/members, $50/non-members. (See p. 9)

April 25, 26 and 27, 1980 - Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology Annual Meeting, Greensburg, PA.

April 30, May 1, 2 and 3, 1980 - Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

May 1, 1980, Thursday, 6 p.m. - ANNUAL DINNER MEETING at the Inn on Lake Waramaug. Guest speaker, Eliot Pratt Nature Center’s Program Director Jeff Ferguson. Spend a family evening with “The Night Sky World of the Longhouse People.” Adults/$10.50, Children/$7. Call AIAI’s Mary Anne Greene at 868-0518 for reservations by April 25.

May 8, 1980, Thursday, 3 p.m. - Education Committee Meeting.

May 9, 1980, Friday, 10 a.m. - Spring Ethnobotanical Emergence Walk on the Quinnetukut Habitats Trail and in Steep Rock Preserve led by Barrie Kavasch. Bring your own picnic; a “taste of nature” will be provided. $3/members, $5/non-members to benefit the continuing development of the Habitats Trail.

June 1, 1980, Sunday - Fairfield County Chapter “Native Harvests” Field Trip to AIAI.

June 16 - 20, 1980 - AIAI ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION I, 8 a.m. - Noon; SESSION II, 1 p.m. - 5 p.m. Sixteen years or older. $50/AIAI members, $75/non-members.

June 22 - July 6, 1980 - AIAI/Earthwatch Fieldwork Opportunities, Team I. (See article p. 2)

June 30 - July 11, 1980, 8:30 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. - Experimental Archaeology directed by John Pawloski for teenagers 13-16. Tuition: $35 per week/ $150 for two weeks. Apply to the Education Department.

July, 1980 - Craft Workshops. Details to be announced.

July 13 - 27, 1980 - AIAI/Earthwatch Fieldwork Opportunities, Team II.

August 4 - 8, 1980, AIAI ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION III, 8 a.m. - Noon; SESSION IV, 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.

August 11 - 15, 1980 - AIAI ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING SESSION V, 8 a.m. - Noon; SESSION VI, 1 p.m. - 5 p.m. The four preceding fieldwork opportunities are open to persons 16 years or older. Cost: $50/members, $75/non-members.

August 22, 1980, Saturday, 10 a.m. - FOUNDERS’ DAY FESTIVAL (Members only) with a “Native Harvests” luncheon and Native American guests, Ella and Eric Thomas/Sekatau and family. Reservations: $2/adults, $1/children. Details to be announced in Summer Artifacts.

ARTIFACTS

Co-Editors
Sharon L. Wirt, Susan F. Payne

Officers
Edmund K. Swigart, President; Leavenworth P. Sperry, Jr., Vice President; Mrs. John M. Sheehy, Secretary; Phillips H. Parson, Treasurer.

Board of Trustees
Elmer Browne; Mrs. Paul L. Cornell, Jr.; Mrs. Elisha Dyer, Jr.; Mrs. Iola Haverstick; Mrs. Sidney H. Hessel; H. Allen Mark; David P. McAllister, Ph.D.; William R. Moody; Mrs. Ruth J. Nahven; Phillip H. Payson; Mrs. John M. Sheehy; Mrs. Joseph F. Somersett; Leavenworth P. Sperry, Jr.; Edmund K. Swigart; Richard Wardell; Kent P. Wolfe; Lloyd C. Young.

© Copyright 1980 by the American Indian Archaeological Institute.

A Quarterly Publication of the American Indian Archaeological Institute, P. O. Box 260, Washington, CT. 06793, Tel.: 868-0518

NONPROFIT ORG.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 17
WASHINGTON
CT 06793