ARTIFACTS

Vol. IX No. 2 Winter/Spring 1981

The American Indian Archaeological Institute

Squaw Sachems: Women Who Rule

The Unique Role of Algonquian Women of Southern New England



Detail from cover illustration of Akwesasne Notes 1978 Lunar Calendar by Kahones, Mohawk Iroquois

Squaw Sachems: Women Who Rule

The Unique Role of Algonquian Women of Southern New England

Unfortunately there are some misconceptions surrounding descriptions of traditional Indian women. Too often they have been depicted as beasts of burdens, drudges, slaves. Even the term squaw, the Algonquian word for woman, evolved into a derogatory meaning, prompted by the bias of European settlers and fur traders. The picture of Indian women has been a demoralizing one. Many of the early chroniclers wrote varying and conflicting descriptions regarding Native women. Thus, given their bias and culture, writers like John Josselyn describes New England women as having handsome, straight, slender bodies and in the next breath says they are generally plump as partridges. On one hand he calls them flirtatious and then claims they are quite modest.

Explorer Samuel Drake who maintained that government among Indians was so loose as to amount to no government at all recorded that the women were frivolous, back-biting and arrogant. While Roger Williams, who lived among the Narragansetts felt they were naturally modest and shamefaced. Many agreed that modesty was a primary characteristic, yet viewed the young girls as quite promiscuous before marriage while remaining extremely virtuous afterward.

Obviously what we are experiencing as readers is the attempt of one culture to apply its mores to another without attempting to understand the social structure and framework of a totally different way of life. Tribal life encouraged rather than frowned upon premarital relations, but adultery was considered an unpardonable crime.

The task at hand is to discuss the unique role of the Indian women of southern New England. It is important to realize that women lived differently from tribe to tribe and within tribes as individuals. For the most part sex roles were very clearly defined and none believed the other to be more or less demeaning. Each depended upon the other to fulfill his or her task—otherwise all suffered. The division of labor was little understood by the non-Indian. While women were the horticulturists, men were the hunters; while women preserved and prepared the food, men were the toolmakers; while women built the homes, and while women cared for the family, men protected them. Whatever the role it was an essential one. Yet women could and did occupy roles generally filled by the male, such as healers, herbalists, shamans, chiefs.

Essentially, Algonquian women of squaw - woman/female

southern New England never achieved the decision-making status of their Iroquois sisters. Yet although Iroquian women had the power to select or reject their chiefs, they never became leaders themselves as did their Algonquian relatives. The difference is that Iroquoian societies were matrilineal and the closest prehistoric North American society to a matriarchy* in structure while Algonquians were patriarchal and patrilineal. It would appear that matriarchal societies were more of an outlet within the structure for women to exercise power. Certainly Iroquoian women ruled the households, controlled the property, chose their leaders and by the same token provided over 75% of the food produced. So how was it that women held leadership roles in southern New England? For that answer we need to examine the differences between matrilinies and patrilinies, as well as southern New England

societies.

The difference between matrilineal and patrilineal societies is that in patrilineal groups the line of descent and line of authority both pass through the male; while in the matrilineal societies the line of authority is through the male while the line of descent is through the female. The fundamental structural difference is that within the matrilineal framework authority and descent are separated between males and females while it is coordinated by males in the patriarchal structure (Schneider 1974). Thus matrilineal descent does not mean specific authority or power for the female. Descent is merely the method of tracing the line of authority through the female line, and certainly it is the descent group which is the decision making group. Hence authority-though not necessarily complete power-in matrilineal structure is held by the woman's brother whereas in patriarchies it is held by the woman's husband.

Southern New England tribes were considered patrilineal and patriarchal in organization at the point of contact though there do appear to be some discrepancies. Nonetheless the structure of tribal life in southern New England enabled female power and authority to take place, and throughout Algonquian history the tribes from time to time have benefitted from female leaders. On the other hand it is also important to remember that the lines of authority, line of descent and place of residency were always male-dominated. The allocation of authority was vested in the male. In

*Editors' Note: In matriarchies women assume both positions of power and legitimized authority.

terms of leadership it was passed down from father to eldest son to eldest daughter's son and next in line would be eldest daughter. The important factor was to structure authority so decisions could be reached and enforced. Not all members of the descent group had equal authority (Schneider 1974). And within patriarchal structures leadership could also go from a chief to his brother. In other words, brothers before sons, uncles before nephews. And because tribal groups in southern New England were subdivided into a number of bands, for political or economic reasons—or both—it made sense for a leader to make his son or daughter subchief. If that was not possible the next step was to arrange a marriage.

In a highly productive, nearly matriarchal society, such as the Iroquois, more extensive controls were exercised over resources by the women, which emphasizes the relationship between women's work and women's status. The consolidation of the power of Iroquois women was in the longhouse (Brown 1970). Algonquian women were locked into patriarchal structures and could only experience high status or authority as individuals, certainly not as a group.

Unfortunately there is very little information readily accessible or even written on the subject of female chiefs, particularly of southern New England. This is a great loss. Indian women within many tribes had considerable power and in many cases held higher positions in their society than colonial women. Women were valued because of their abilities as workers and contributors to food production; they were not considered chattel.

In southern New England during and just prior to European contact the political structure and power of tribal groups was particularly fluid and flexible, and there were constant power plays around which Confederacies rose and fell—and perhaps rose again. Therefore it was quite logical within the patriarchal framework to permit women to rule—it was politically feasible—and also served as a solution in strengthening the tribes.

Awashonks, sunksqua or female chief of the Sakonnets, was noted for her masculine qualities and she ruled her group with an "iron fist." The Sakonnets were a small tribal group within the Wampanoag Confederacy and she was a first cousin to Philip. Nonetheless she politically allied herself with the English, having much of her land to Benjamin Chtek the man who was obsessed with "dogging down" the famous King Philip. Some say that to save her people she made a bargain with Church but was betrayed

rather than pardoned by Church. Some of her people were sold into slavery and she was hung.

There is little said of Shaumpishuh, squaw sachem of Menunkatuck, a band f the Quinnipiacs, save that when she sold her lands (which later became Guilford) she and her tiny group of fourteen joined her brother who was chief of the Quinnipiacs. Shortly after, the Quinnipiacs signed a treaty with the English and then sold off all their lands, except for a nineteen-acre reservation which became the New Haven colony.

Weetamoo, Wampanoag and sunksqua of the Pocassets is an excellent study in contrasts. But she is particularly noteworthy in Indian history for the role she played in King Philip's War of 1675. Upon the death of her father she inherited the right to rule, so that when she married Alexander (eldest son of Massasoit*) she was already a woman of considerable power and authority. This relationship made Alexander a man of considerable prominence. Weetamoo, powerful in her own right before marriage, commanded well over 200 warriors. It is said that more warriors followed her then any other leader. She also presided over a great deal of land and controlled a great supply of corn. Additionally the political strength was reinforced when Weetamoo's sister married Alexander's brother, Philip. The Pocassets were considered the strongest tribe in the Wambanoag Confederacy. After marriage, still exercising her rights as a leader, she protested loudly when her husband and father-in-law, Massasoit, began selling her land without her consent to the colonists. She even appealed to the English courts. When this failed, following Indian rules, she turned the remaining lands over to Indian trustees (Sheldon 1895). Not too long after this affair her husband was summoned by the colonists of Boston to appear before their tribunal to answer to rumors of war. On his way home he died under very suspicious circumstances. Weetamoo and her people believed he had been poisoned.

It is important to understand that marriage was as much a relationship between groups as between individuals. Marriage and family practice among Europeans was fairly uniform. But American Indian tribal societies exhibited a variety of ways. Polygamy was acceptable and generally practiced by those leaders who could afford to maintain several wives. Polygamy allowed for a greater prosperity. Polygamy frequently took the form of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister(s) or perhaps other of her relatives. If wives were unrelated, then each maintained her own dwelling. Usually the first vife was considered the principal wife and had authority over the others.

*Massasoit was the famous Wampanoag chief who befriended the pilgrims at Plymouth.

"Women often knew from the time they were young what their role would be and what was expected of them."



Detail from cover illustration of Akwesasne Notes 1978 Lunar Calendar by Kahones, Mohawk Iroquois

Hence it would have been expected that after her husband's death, Weetamoo would have been taken in under Philip's protection. It would have been accepted as it was his duty to assume responsibility for her care and protection. But, for whatever reasons, she chose to leave her husband's relatives. And for reasons difficult to speculate, her second husband was Petananuet (Peter Nunnuit), a man with little political power or lands. When he elected to side with the English, Weetamoo considered his actions traitorous and left him.

By this time Philip managed to heal old wounds and Weetamoo pledged her men and her leadership to Philip. Thus, as her third husband, she took Quinnapin, head war chief of the Narragansetts, nephew of the infamous Miatonomo and son of Ninigret, sachem of the Narragansetts. This was obviously a sound political choice as it brought together and strengthened three powerful tribal groups who controlled a vast amount of land and warriors. Yet one wonders how Weetamoo adjusted to all of this as a woman, for she was also entering a polygamous relationship in that Quinnapin already had two wives. Weetamoo, described as tall, well-built, impressive, at the height of her power, was considered a capable fighter and leader. She had often demonstrated her skill in diplomacy and trying to fulfill the ever-conscious needs of her people. Now she was secondary wife to a man equally as prominent.

Yet one has to keep in mind that Indian women often knew from the time they were quite young what their role would be and what was expected of them. Certainly as the first-born daughter of a chief, Weetamoo was instructed in a dual role. She surely had to be a menukisqua, strong woman. A true squaw sachem.

Trudie Lamb

Definitions sunsqua - female who rules, woman chief nunksqua - young woman menukisqua - strong woman

REFERENCES CITED

Brown, Judith

1970 Economic Organization and Position of Women Among the Iroquois. In Ethnohistory. Vol. 17, Nos. 3-4.

Chapin, Howard

1931 Sachems of the Narragansetts. Providence, R.I.: Rhode Island Historical Society. Schneider, David M. and Kathleen Gough,

1974 Matrilineal Kinship. University of California Press.

Sheldon, George

1895 History of Deerfield. Vol. 1. Greenfield, Mass.: The Press of E.A. Hall and Company.



FIELD NOTES

Social History and Archaeology in Canaan, Connecticut

For more than eight weeks during the autumn of 1980 members of the Research Department have been studying the center village of Canaan, Connecticut, in the Town of North Canaan. This project includes both archaeological and historical research and is concerned with tracing the relationships between an historic archaeological deposit associated with the Lawrence Tavern and the structural transformation of the Village of Canaan in the nineteenth century.

Beginning about 1840 the center village of Canaan underwent significant growth, dramatically increasing in both size and complexity. During the development of both the Housatonic and Connecticut Western Railroads within the second half of the nineteenth century, the locality of the center village became a focus for commerce and specialized trades as well as a residential settlement. As this village continued to evolve as a central place, the Lawrence Tavern was used for more specialized functions as a boarding house and school for young



Side yard of Lawrence Tavern, spring 1980 excavations. Square 3 contained a late 18th-century midden. Amy Quist, excavator.

women. Eventually it became a residential unit used by a single family, similar to other houses adjacent to the center village.

These structural transformations, in both the Village of Canaan and the Lawrence Tavern, are reflected in the archaeological record associated with the Tavern. The internal patternings of the record itself change dramatically around the mid-nineteenth century as individual depositional units become more differentiated and specialized.

Currently members of the Research Department are analyzing both the archaeological data and archival resources in order to better describe and interpret this process of socioeconomic and cultural change. The field crew, under the direction of Ms. Roberta Hampton, is finishing the excavation of a two-meter trench at the Tavern. Members of the crew include Alice Kitselman, Judson Kratzer, Leslie Bennett, Shelly Lang, Gordon Whitbeck and Raymond Upson. The crew was ably assisted during October by members of the Institute including individuals from the Salisbury Chapter. The organization and management of this volunteer force was undertaken by Audrey Whitbeck of Salisbury, Roger Moeller and students from The Gunnery also aided the crew.

Debra Hoffman has been managing the laboratory in our field headquarters in Salisbury. A competent group of archivists has been studying the social and economic history of Canaan, including Ting Moore, Christine Hoepfner and Barbara Cox. The entire project is being directed by Russell Handsman, who is utterly exhausted. Two reports are planned: an intensive study suitable for anthropologists, historians and historical archaeologists and a source book which describes our studies and interpretations for the public, suitable for use by junior high students. A future issue of Artifacts will contain a lengthy article summarizing these studies.

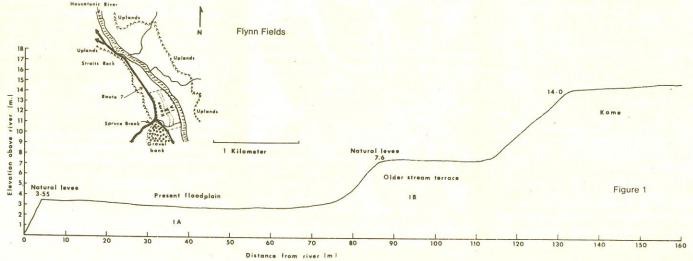
Stratigraphic Separations

The Archaeological Significance of Slackwater Deposits

Over the past two decades American archaeology has been transformed from a discipline concerned with arranging the record of some past into a "social

science" which has set itself an anthropological goal—decoding the *behavioral meaning of patternings* isolated in the archaeological record. The scale of pattern-

ings can be quite variable and at one time or another archaeologists have studied the distribution of specific attributes within a class of tools, the patterning of



sites across a regional landscape, or the patterning of the archaeological record

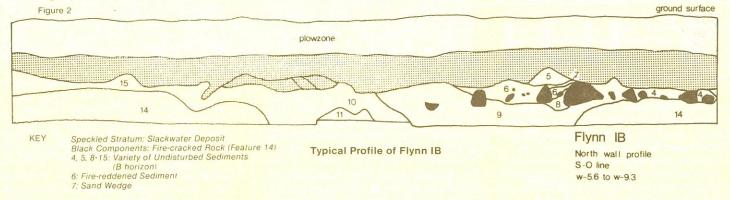
at specific sites.

During 1980 the American Indian Archaeological Institute's Research Department began to study the record of past behavior as it was reflected in two sites, one prehistoric and the other historic, in Litchfield County. This note is concerned with some of the data isolated from Flynn IB, a Transitional campsite located along the Housatonic River. Further interpretations of this site and the historic archaeological record at the Lawrence Tavern will appear in future issues of Artifacts (See the brief Field Note on the Canaan project in this issue).

The excavations at Flynn IB began in mid-June and continued for 13 weeks. Along with a crew directed by Ms. Roberta Hampton, volunteers enrolled in Training Sessions and two EARTHWATCH programs helped to complete the research. A portion of the study was funded by a grant from the Center for Field Research. A second session of 6 to 8 weeks is planned to complete our study and should be concluded by late spring, 1981 (See announcement of Fieldwork Opportunities in this issue).

The significance of the site is derived from two distinct realms: 1) The settlement, approximately 3000 years old, has been protected from recent plow dis-

turbance by a slackwater deposit, alluvium associated with catastrophic flooding along the Housatonic River. Such deposits have been recognized by geologists in Texas (Patton et al. 1979) but have not been systematically studied by either archaeologists or geologists in southern New England. 2) Since the settlement is intact, it offered us the chance to study the relationships between its spatial pattern of activity loci and the processes of adaptation which were reflected in the site's patternings. By so doing, we would be able to better comprehend the role that theories of adaptation must play in archaeological analysis and interpretation (Binford 1980, Handsman 1980).



- The Geological Context of Flynn IB

The Flynn complex consists of a set of a glacio-fluvial and fluvial terraces located on the west bank of the Housatonic River downstream from the Village of Gaylordsville, Connecticut (Figure 1). The archaeological potential of the locality was first discovered by John Pawloski in the mid-1970's. Crews from the Institute studied the complex in 1979 for a total of 3 weeks (Stech 1980). Since the site was and continues to be threatened, major excavations were scheduled for the summer of 1980.

Four distinct levels of terraces are apparent at Flynn, including a late glacial kame* (14.0 meters above the river's base flow) and an outwash terrace (9.6 meters in elevation). This outwash deposit is located on the northern half of the tract and does not continue southward into the vicinity of Flynn IB. The geomorphological sequence at the southern end of the tract, adjacent to the site

*Around 17,000 years ago all of southern New England was covered by a massive ice sheet. This sheet began to melt around 14,000 B.P. (Before Present), during the late glacial period. As the ice melted, the resulting streams carried large amounts of sediment of varying sizes. Some of this sediment was deposited on the landscape directly adjacent to stagnant ice blocks in the forms of kames and kame terraces. Once all the ice from a region had melted, by 12,000 B.P. in the Upper Housatonic Valley, the Holocene period began, continuing through modern times.

at Flynn IB, includes a kame terrace (14.0 meters), an early Holocene fluvial terrace (7.6 meters) and a late prehistoric fluvial terrace (3.50 meters) which is the contemporary floodplain (Figure 1).

In 1979 a Transitional Period campsite (ca. 3000 B.P.) was discovered within the older fluvial terrace. Due to limited excavations, neither the horizontal extent nor the stratigraphic associations of this settlement were well understood (Stech 1980). In 1980 a trench, 1 x 10 meters, was first excavated, followed by a block which eventually grew to a size of 7 x 10 meters. The campsite was situated at the southern end of the older Holocene terrace at the base of the kame. It is now bordered on the south by Squash Hollow Brook, on the west by the base of the kame's slope, and on the east by the slope which terminates in the younger floodplain (The Flynn IA terrace). While the size of the campsite is not well delineated, it does not appear to extend more than 20 meters from the northern edge of the excavation grid.

The Transitional campsite is buried within an early Holocene fluvial terrace formed by the Housatonic when its elevation was approximately 4 to 5 meters higher than it is today. The topography of this terrace is analogous to that of the current floodplain, exhibiting a developed natural levee at its eastern edge. Excavated evidence from 1979 and 1980 suggests that the surface of this terrace has been stable for approximately 4000-5000 years except at its southern end, in

the vicinity of the Transitional campsite.

Here, the associated stratigraphic profiles (see Figure 2) reveal the presence of a slackwater deposit which separates the occupation floor of the Transitional site from the modern plowzone. This deposit consists of a stratum of well-sorted inorganic sands analogous to the materials which are currently situated within the lower floodplain's natural levee. However the flood mechanisms which are responsible for the deposition of each of these features are quite distinct.

As the Housatonic floods each year during spring thaws, the elevation of the river's base flow rises above 3.55 meters (see Figure 1) and sediments are deposited on the surface of the natural levee. This gradual yet regular accumulation of alluvium is very characteristic of modern floodplain surfaces. As the elevation of a terrace rises due to these annular increments, the rate of this process of accumulation will diminish and eventually reach a point where no further accumulation is possible. Thus, through time, the surfaces of the floodplains will become more stable as the frequency of overbank flooding diminishes. This sequential process is usually accelerated in temperate climates by the simultaneous downcutting of the river's main channel.

The upper terrace at Flynn IB was once an active floodplain, sometime during the Early Holocene. It is now estimated that this surface became stable more than 7000 years ago as the ancestral Housatonic began to form a new terrace,

now represented by the modern floodplain. A radiocarbon date from a stratigraphic profile at Flynn IA suggests that this floodplain was in place prior to 3000 B.P. (Burnett 1980:31).

While the Transitional campsite was occupied on Flynn IB, the base flow of the Housatonic River must have been similar to what it is today, perhaps a meter or two higher. At that time the surface of this upper fluvial terrace was not being flooded on an annual basis. The slackwater deposit which helped preserve the occupation floor(s) reflects one or more catastrophic floods along the Housatonic River and Squash Brook. Such floods would have been extremely

rare, yet recent studies suggest that they could significantly affect a region's geomorphological and sedimentological history (Patton and Baker 1977, Patton *et al.* 1979).

Sometime after the upper terrace was occupied, one or more catastrophic floods occurred along the Housatonic. During such events the flow of both the Housatonic and Squash Brook would be impeded and waters would "backflow" up the brook. Such flows were capable of topping the terrace's surface at the southern end of Flynn IB and depositing the layer(s) of alluvium which separate the occupation floor from the modern plowzone.

Although geologists have not yet determined the parameters under which such slackwater deposits might be present elsewhere, the archaeological implications of such a process are obvious. Now it is possible for relatively recent prehistoric sites to be preserved on older, higher terraces where stratigraphic separation has usually been assumed to be non-existent. At Flynn IB the slackwater deposits have protected the patterns of a Transitional occupation floor, offering archaeologists the opportunity to study the relationships between modern observed patterns and "fossilized" past behavioral processes.

-Russell Handsman



The Institute was honored on November 20, 1980 with a Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service Achievement Award from the United States Department of the Interior.



At the Patrons' Dinner in October, 1980, Dr. Roger Moeller gave a slide lecture of his research findings of 6LF21, the Paleo-Indian campsite in Washington, CT.

Dr. Russell Handsman chaired a symposium and delivered one of the papers, "Kinship and Family and Individualism: Cultural Separations in America," at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in December, 1980, in Washington, D.C.

Fieldwork Opportunities

During the spring and summer of 1981 the Research Department will be conducting studies of two localities along the Housatonic River. In April and May intensive excavations will be undertaken at the Flynn site near Gaylordsville, Connecticut. The crew will be exploring a "Transitional Period" settlement (ca. 3000 B.P.) which was first examined in 1979. Since this site is threatened by a proposed gravel quarry, we hope to excavate the remainder of the settlement during this period. Along with learning how to approach the archaeology of occupation floors, participants will complete detailed floor maps which will be used for analysis and interpretation.

Between early June and mid-September of 1981 an archaeological study of the nature conservancy of Bartholomew's Cobble will be undertaken by the Institute. Bartholomew's Cobble is located along the Upper Housatonic River in Ashley Falls, Massachusetts, just north of Canaan, Connecticut. The purpose of our research is to discover and evaluate all of the Cobble's historic and prehistor-

ic archaeological resources. A variety of field methods will be employed including controlled surface collections, the excavation of shovel test pits and larger blocks of two-meter squares, and the excavation and analysis of sedimentological profiles along the river. In particular we will be studying intensively the destructive effects which the Housatonic's meandering actions have had on the prehistoric archaeological record.

Several programs are being planned for each of these sites including sessions for both volunteers and those interested in participating in more formal training sessions. Final plans and schedules will be developed in late winter; however if you think that you would like to participate, write and tell us which project you are interested in and which month(s) you would like to work. We will forward you more information in February along with a reservation form. Contact: Dr. Russell G. Handsman, Research Department, American Indian Archaeological Institute, Box 260, Washington, Connecticut 06793.

Binford, Lewis R.

1980 Willow Smoke and Dog's Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation. *American Antiquity* 45, No. 1:4-20.

Burnett, Adam W.

1980 Fluvial Geology and Archaeology along the Housatonic River: Models and Results. In *Anthropological Perspectives* for the Past. R. Handsman and C. Hoepfner, eds. Pp. 23-47. Research Manuscript Series. American Indian Archaeological Institute. Washington, Connecticut.

Handsman, Russell G.

1980 Methodological Masks and Occupation Floors: The Illusion of Middle Range Theory. An Exercise in "Self-Awareness." Paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Patton, Peter C. and Victor R. Baker

1977 Geomorphic Response of Central Texas Stream Channels to Catastrophic Rainfall and Runoff. In *Geomorphol*ogy in Arid Regions. D. O. Doehring, ed. Pp. 189-217. Publications in Geomorphology. Binghamton, New York.

Patton, Peter C. et al.

1979 Slack-Water Deposits: A Geomorphic Technique for the Interpretation of Fluvial Paleohydrology. In *Adjustments of the Fluvial System.* D. D. Rhodes and G. P. Williams, eds. Pp. 225-253. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishers.

Stech, John

1980 The Flynn Site: Shifting Perspectives of Prehistory. In Anthropological Perspectives for the Past. R. G. Handsman and C. Hoepfner, eds. Pp. 48-66. Research Manuscript Series. American Indian Archaeological Institute. Washington, Connecticut.



WANTED: LAB VOLUNTEER

Archaeology involves some dirty work; we always appreciate volunteers who are willing to help clean artifacts and debitage from various excavations. Call the Research Department (868-0518) and ask for Alice Kitselman, if you don't mind a little "dirty work."



OUTREACH



Experimental archaeologists Chet Mitchell, Leonard Auchincloss and Tim Barber (back to camera) help Program Director John Pawloski stretch a squirrel skin.

Photo by Peter K. Mars

As many and as varied as the leaves that drifted to the ground around the AIAI Visitors Center this fall are the thousands of students arriving, eager with questions about Connecticut's past. Some six thousand individuals will participate in one of the following programs:

Discover American Indians

1. The Eastern Woodland Indian Lifeways Field Trip introduces you to the science of archaeology at AIAI's simulated site had to Indian lifeways while viewing our reconstructed Iroquois Longhouse and exhibits. You will be able to examine firsthand Indian craftsmanship as replicas and artifacts are passed around. A film concludes this program. This fieldtrip is recommended for your first visit to AIAI.

2. The Eastern Woodland Indian Lifeways Assembly presents the cultures of the Woodland Indians before the colonists arrived through slides and ethnographic materials from the AIAI collections.

Ethnobotany

3. A Year in Nature - Usage of Native Plants by the American Indians Field Trip or Assembly illustrates with slides, herbarium specimens and ethnographic materials the Indians' creative use of nature, their only shopping center. Weather permitting there can be a plant identification walk on AIAI's Quinnetukut Habitats Trail or your school grounds.

Art

4. The *American Indian Art* Field Trip or Assembly uses slides and examples from the AIAI collections to highlight the creativity of the Indian peoples.

Archaeology

5. The Archaeology Field Trip or Assembly takes you, via slides of AIAI's fieldwork and exhibits, step by step through an acavation starting with preliminary survey work, "digging" techniques, laboratory work and analysis. A stone tool kit is shown for examination and discussion.

6. The Shoe Box Archaeology Field Trip (only) is a hands-on classroom "dig." Students will excavate a miniature four-level square, recording and interpreting the artifacts they uncover. (Recommended for fifth grade and up.)

7. The Interpretation of American Indian Lifeways Field Trip or Assembly illustrates the cultural heritage of the Northeast through slides and artifacts made over

the past 10,000 years.

Each program is adaptable to any age. FEES: Each ninety-minute field trip is \$2/students, \$3/adults except No. 6 which is \$4/students, \$5/adults.

Each one-hour assembly is \$100 plus

roundtrip travel.

With the changing seasons have come a number of staff changes in the Education Department. While we will miss the special gifts of departing staff, we look forward to welcoming new staff and new ideas. The Education Department has been enriched in so many ways by Schaghticoke Trudie Lamb, who openly shared the traditions of her heritage and so expanded the staff and visitors' understanding of Native Americans. Trudie introduced the Institute to Indian peoples from all over the Northeast and the Institute to them, resulting in many new friendships. We applaud her new position as Tribal Administrator of the Schaghticokes, New Milford, Connecticut.

In the same spirit of support we will miss Barrie Kavasch who "pioneered" ethnobotany at the Institute. Though Ned Swigart and the Washington Garden Club planted the seeds, Barrie's volunteer interest nutured a small booklet into a national edition of Native Harvests, an herbarium of native plants and a well-documented "living" herbarium along the Quinnetukut Habitats Trail and surrounding the building. The seasonal cycles of the woodland environment

offer continuous sustenance to body and soul if one will pause to consider the bounty of native harvests as did the first Americans.

While saying good-bye to Trudie and Barrie we welcome Jim Lynch who has been a weekend interpreter for quite awhile. Jim's abiding interest in the cultures of the Native American people has led him to Wesleyan where he is a master's degree candidate, focusing particularly on Native American religions. Jim will serve as a part-time interpreter both weekdays and weekends. Also, Administration is sharing Mary Anne Greene with the Education Department. Mary Anne will bring her own vivaciousness to each of her lifeways programs. We will continue to seek, to invite and to schedule visits of our Native American friends so they can share with our public their traditions and improve cultural understanding.

On December 29, 1980 there was an Experimental Archaeology alumni party. Slides of the past two years' summer programs and experiences were remembered by all who came. The summer of 1981 will be the third season for Experimental Archaeology. We hope to apply the technological skills of the experimental archaeologists to the slowly emerging In-

dian encampment and farm.

The Education Department is most grateful to area businesses who are contributing funds to provide field trip/ assembly scholarships for their school systems. Some donors requested anonymity while others will be listed on all future educational brochures; all such donors are "Friends of Education," and indeed they are! Scovill Manufacturing Company, Inc. in Waterbury was the first corporation to contribute to the Friends of Education. In the early spring of 1980, the AIAI presented Eastern Woodland Indian Lifeway assemblies to all public school fifth graders in Waterbury. The First National Bank of Litchfield is the first "Friend of Education" for Region #12. Leadership such as Scovill's and the First National's provides educational enrichment otherwise unavailable in many schools. What could be more vital or important than sharing Connecticut's past and a way to preserve it for all?

The coming spring and summer will be devoted daily to thousands more students. We also intend to offer a teacher's workshop, crafts workshops, independent study programs, museum internships and changing exhibits and programs. The Education Department is ready to serve you, just let us know when and how.

-Susan Payne

Soft and Hard Twined Basketry Workshop

Members and the public will have the special opportunity to study *again* with noted basketmaker, Carol Grant Hart. Over Memorial Weekend, Carol will present a "Soft and Hard Twined Basketry Workshop." This workshop will be an introduction to a variety of soft and hard twined basket techniques using commercial reed and natural plant fibers. Techniques will include plain twine, twill twine, open twine, wrap twine and false embroidery. Possible plant materials are cornhusk, cattail, rushes, milkweed, nettle, dogbane, basswood bark, willow, dogwood and honeysuckle.

Carol has spent years researching basketmaking techniques and materials; she has traveled extensively throughout the United States and has sought out, in particular, traditional Native American basketmakers. In 1976 she co-authored Natural Basketry (Watson-Guptil, New York); she's published the following articles: "Honeysuckle Basketry" in Nature Study Magazine (1976), "Basket Artistry" in Good Housekeeping's Country Living Magazine (1980), "Summer-Fresh Look of Baskets" in House Beautiful (1980), "Baskets Tell Their Own Story" in "Sphere Magazine (1974); and she has participated in two films, "Show of Hands" for WGBH, Boston, Channel 2 (1977) and "Basketry' for ACI Film (1975). In addition, Carol has exhibited widely and taught extensively in the Northeast. Her most recent major exhibit, "Eastern American Indian



Carol Grant Hart Collection of baskets exhibited at AIAI in 1978

Basketry," at the Joseloff Gallery, Hartford Art School, University of Hartford, from August 8-September 12, 1979, was widely acclaimed.

The "Soft and Hard Twined Basketry Workshop" will be held at the AIAI Visitor Center from 10 a.m.-4 p.m., May 23rd, 24th and 25th. The fee is \$60/AIAI members, \$75/non-members, plus materials costs. The enrollment is limited to

12 adults. Register immediately by calling the Education Department, 868-0518.

Basketmaker or not, you are invited to meet Carol Grant Hart at 4 p.m. on Sunday, May 24, 1981 for a slide lecture, "Northeastern American Indian Basketry —A Continuing Tradition." This will be an elegant and vivid introduction to the varied basketry and artistry of the first Americans.

AIAI Annual Meeting - A Family Affair

Make reservations for your entire family for AIAI's Annual Meeting on Thursday, May 7th. The menu will include three choices: London Broil with Fresh Sauteed Mushrooms, Roast Breast of Turkey or Baked Fillet of Sole, each accompained by spring vegetables. How will you choose between Devil's Food Cake or a Hot Fudge Sundae for dessert? Hospitality is such at the Inn that you might be able to have both . . . should you have room. Call Mary Anne Greene at 868-0518 with your menu selection by April 27th. Dinner for adults is \$11 each, children under 16, \$6 each.

While we all look forward to visiting with friends and dining on fine fare, the Annual Meeting is for you members—you make the Institute possible. It is to thank each of you and to share with you the past year's activities and the new year's goals. Briefly, you will learn of Re-

search's projects, Education's programs, AIAI president's progress, AIAI staff and your membership support.

The evening will end—and we hope begin a new fascination for you-with a slide narration on the Pamunkey (Virginia) Indian Living Archaeology Program. Our guest speaker, Jeff Kalin, was Assistant Director of the Pamunkey Research Center and Field School in Living Archaeology for two years. There Jeff and his fellow experimental archaeologists reconstructed an Indian village using replicas of stone tools while living the Pamunkey Indian lifeway of 500 years ago. Today Jeff is the in-resident primitive technologist at the Delaware Indian Resource Center at the Trailside Museum, War Pound Ridge Reservation, Cross River, New York. There he has replicated a woodland wigwam, an entire diagnostic collection of projectile points and a series of Indian cooking vessels representing the evolution of Native American ceramic technology.

As a primitive technologist/experimental archaeologist, Jeff's skillful replications and workshops have awakened hundreds of children and adults to the challenge of flintknapping, of hand-built pottery . . . of the technologies applied to the woodland's resources by the first Americans. By actually "doing," by hafting a stone knife, or twisting cordage, or shaping a cooking vessel, one begins to understand-to feel-the properties of various natural resources. To work with Jeff is to immerse oneself in the technologies of the past and to appreciate the skilled creativity and ingenuity of the Native American peoples. Join together as members of AIAI on May 7, 1981; renew your interest in the Institute's study of the past.

Jeff Kalin - Life in Two Worlds

Editors' Note: The following article by Judy Green appeared in the newspaper, The Record, Bedford Hills, NY on June 25, 1980. She has kindly permitted us to edit and reprint it here.

Jeff Kalin is a man whose life straddles two vastly different worlds. He appears to be comfortable in either the 20th-century American life we are familiar with in northern Westchester or the earlier life of the Native American tribes who once made this area their home.

It has not always been comfortable for this tall, slim, 30-ish native of Norwalk, Connecticut, however. He wryly describes his return to New York several years ago after spending four years on a farm in Bolivia. "My farm was 80 km from the nearest road. I had cleared it myself with only a machete and a hoe. I had no running water and no electricity, and very few neighbors."

His father became ill and Jeff came home to Norwalk. "The plane was circling over New York. I looked out the window and thought, "My God, I'm not going to land in that! Then I got off the plane, to

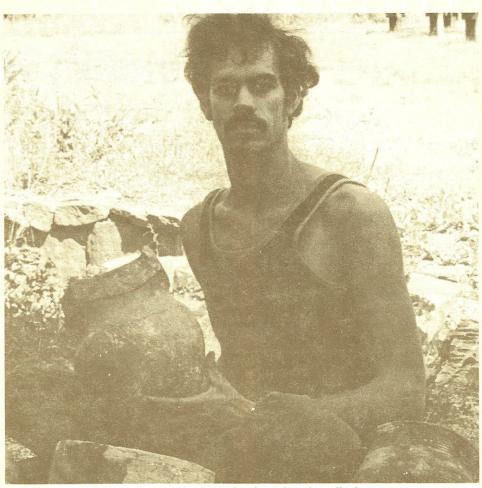
land in that! Then I got off the plane, to the magic carpet world of flashing lights, buses and cars. I got motion sickness in the limo from the airport, traveling 70 miles an hour on the Thruway."

Jeff had gone to South America for a vacation after spending "a long time in bed" recovering from typhoid fever contracted in Africa. He had traveled widely in Europe and Africa after graduating from the Silvermine College of Art in Norwalk. "I went to Bolivia for two weeks, and stayed four years. If my father hadn't become ill, I would still be there."

He raised corn, squash and beans on his farm. He also introduced the natives to new varieties of beans, including soy beans. And in his spare time, he did some archaeological research among some nearby ruins. When he came home to Norwalk, he enrolled in a program at Norwalk Community College, called "Archaeology as an Avocation." There he learned the art of flintknapping, or making tools from flint by painstakingly chipping at it with a rock or a piece of bone.

"One of my instructors at Norwalk noticed that I was having some difficulty adjusting to the 20th-century American world," says Jeff, "and he suggested that I go to the Pamunkey Reservation in Virginia, where several archaeologists were working on the construction of a stone age village."

The director was Errett Callahan, who Jeff describes as one of the "finest flint-knappers in the world." He stayed there for two years, as a volunteer, assisting in the building of longhouses, and the formation of a museum.



Primitive Technologist Jeff Kalin displays his replicated Woodland pottery.

The Pamunkeys had once been a powerful tribe in Virginia (Chief Powhatan and Pocahontas had been Pamunkeys), but by the 1970's the tribe had shrunk to about 50 members living on 1500 acres. They were in danger of losing their reservation unless they brought some money into the area.

The anthropological and archaeological volunteers set about to construct a Woodland age Indian village, similar to the colonial reconstructions in Williamsburg and Jamestown. They also made their own tools and pottery and cooked and ate from it.

A museum was constructed also, showing the evolution of Native American cultures from the Paleo age to modern times.

"We were anxious to provide some income-producing project for the Pamunkeys," says Jeff "but we were equally interested in developing a sense of cultural awareness in these people. They themselves had lost touch with their heritage so much that they had teepees at the entrance to their reservation. Teepees were homes for the Plains tribes, not the Pamunkeys."

Jeff left the Pamunkey Reservation because "I just couldn't afford it any more, working as a volunteer." He is currently spending two months at the Ward Pound Ridge Reservation under a Westchester County grant. He has given workshops for the making of stone age tools and pottery, and he is constructing a wigwam on a site near the museum.

Until mid-July he will be working at the reservation, giving demonstrations on how our Native American tribes lived and putting together "stone age" tool kits to facilitate understanding of these crafts.

Although his time here does not permit cultivation of a garden, he hopes to find a subsistence diet by foraging in the area and by fishing in the streams, as Native Americans would have done.

He welcomes visitors any time, and he is particularly pleased with the response of children to this tool and pottery making demonstration. "Kids today spend too much time in cars, or watching television. I want to put them in touch with their environment. People in our culture have lost their relationship with the land."

The Cryptogams:

NOTE: *Asterisked species indicate species found on AIAI grounds and specimens lodged in the Ethnobotanical Herbarium Collection of Cryptogams in the Institute.

The non-flowering plants are considered to be among the earliest living things on this planet. In the evolutionary sequence of the plant world the fungi, which are the most widespread, are classified above the bacteria and algae. The lichens are composed of an alga and a fungus living together in symbiosis (mutual benefit). The fungus component in many lichens forms disc-like "fruits," which release spores and are the distinguishing features for identification. This partnership makes lichens one of our most unique plant forms.

The symbiosis which creates lichens is an old and interesting union: two distinct plants have combined in mutual benefit to form and act as one plant. Using the sunlight as energy, the chlorophyll-bearing alga manufactures starch (from air and water) to provide food. The fungus provides the shape and form and anchors the plant to its substratum. It absorbs and retains water, protects the lichen from extreme temperatures, and secretes the unique acids which give the plant color.

Lichens are pioneer plants, growing where other plants cannot or do not compete. They are found on rocks, tree trunks, logs, soil and sand, and are indicators of relatively clean air. These fascinating sun-loving, slow-growing, long-lived plants flourish in forests and on mountains, favoring cold, dry climates. They are found almost everywhere. Lichens are the dominent vegetation in Antartica (there are more than 400 species known there), but also abound in the tropics and desert regions. It seems fairly certain that they are growing on the moon, and presumably on Mars. Of all known plant life lichens are capable of withstanding the greatest extremes of both temperature and humidity. Because lichens grow when conditions are favorable, becoming dormant during adverse periods, these unique plants grow very slowly—but live for a long time.

Lichens growing on rocks produce acids which slowly etch away the surfaces and assist the "weathering process." They also excrete carbon-dioxide which erodes the rock, as they absorb minerals from the stone. Tree-living lichens, however, are not parasites like mistletoes. They do not injure the treebark, though they evidently obtain minerals from the bark. Lichens do not tend to flourish on dead trees, or establish themselves on all types

Lichenology is the science devoted to the study of these remarkable and durable plants. There are four types of lichens. Crustose is one of the most noticeable in our area. This growth form looks like crusty blistered paint on rocks and tree barks and cannot be easily removed without also removing some of the substratum. The Script Lichen, Graphis scripta,* is a cosmopolitan species found on hardwood trees. Fruticose are slender-stalked, sometimes bushy-to-hair-like lichens not deeply attached to their substructure. These are found growing on trees, rocks, or soil. Some common forms are the British Soldiers, Cladonia cristatella,* and the Reindeer Moss Lichen, Cladina rangiferina.* Foliose is a flattened, papery lichen with prostrate growth of leaf-like rosettes firmly attached to rock or bark by rhizines (strands of hyphae threads) on the lower surface. The Boulder Lichen, Xanthoparmelia conspersa, found on rock surfaces is our most abundant, followed by the Puffed Shield Lichen, Hypogymnia physodes, which is very common on wood throughout our northern forests. Squamulose lichens are composed of small, lobelike petals which can cover considerable soil areas with their dense clumps.

Let us examine some of these fascinating plants that surround us and which compose a good amount of our New England flora. The varied uses to which Native Americans have put them probably extend far back in time. Lichen fossils assure us that these plants have existed on our planet for at least two million years. We can only imagine an extensive use of lichens prior to recorded time, as lichens do not survive as archaeological remains, though they do

exist in peat deposits.

Ethnologists have documented that the Eskimos have eleven different words to describe the various lichens in their Arctic environments, but only one word, "nauttiaq," which describes the numerous flowering plants. The Quinault Indians of the Northwest Coast used a Foliose tree lichen, which they called "tsootc," to wipe their salmon clean. Among the Tewa Indians of the Southwest lichens were called "K'owa" (meaning skin).

Cladina rangiferina (Fruticose), "Reindeer Moss" (Folio Cladonia cristatella (Fruticose), "The British Soldiers Lichen"

These diminuitive plants were ground and pressed on the lips to relieve cold sores. They were also placed on infected teeth to relieve toothaches.

It is fascinating to examine native uses

ichens: Primal Plants"

of these subtle components within their highly varied environments. Ethnobotanical literature describes almost 400 indigenous plants (out of a possible 2000 species) which were used by the Indians

Cetraria islandica (Fruticose), "Iceland Moss" ymnia physodes "Puffed Shield Lichen"



Umbilicaria mammulata (Foliose), "Smooth Rock Tripe"

of the Upper Great Lakes regions. Of these, 130 plants were used for food: 5 to 10 plant-foods being available in January and February, increasing to 25 species by April, and back to 15 by June, then

upwards of 45 to 50 plants available through August and lessening to 15 to 20 species into December. Within this pattern of seasonal foraging and gathering a number of common lichen were documented to have specific utility as food. Of course, they are one of the few plant types available year round. It seems fairly certain that additional lichens escaped notice and documentation but were valued as foods, medicines, dyes, inks, and of some utility in tanning hides. Many lichens contain oxalic acid which is used in tanning leather. The lichens produce a lovely range of dye colors, and for this reason they have been utilized by many cultures for countless centuries. (The fungal acids contribute the dye-producing characteristics in lichens.)*"

Lichens have long been acknowledged as survival food for many cultures, as well as for wild and some domestic animals. The Potawatomi used the "Puffed Shield Lichen," Hypogymnia physodes,* in soups. This common light gray Foliose species is readily seen on conifers and hardwoods throughout our northern forests (Smith 1933:68).

The "Spreading Leather Lichen," Lobaria quercizans,* is a pale brownish-gray Foliose species which turns bright green when wet. Its lower surface is felty and tan; this one grows in ruffled rosettes up to 20 cm broad. A conspicuous and lovely lichen, it is common on deciduous trees, especially maples, and on rocks, throughout the Northeast. It was gathered year round and dried for food use by the Menomini (Smith 1932:406). It was also considered a "favorite old food of the Ojibwa" (Yarnell 1970:72). These last two lichens are prominent, among the many, on hardwoods on our Quinnetukut Habitats Trail. They are especially brilliant during and immediately following a drenching rain.

The umbilicate lichens, the Rock Tripes, "are a unique cosmopolitan Foliose type, which usually attach to rocks by a single central cord underneath, and

**For conservation reasons lichens are not recommended for dyes and tanning today. Considerable quantities of these plants are necessary to produce the desired objectives. Because lichens grow so slowly they cannot reestablish themselves soon in order to compensate their over-use.

are very brittle when dry. They were extensively used by the Algonkins; most of their families would have starved without it" (Blair 1911:102-103). The "Smooth Rock Tripe," Umbilicaria mammulata,* is certainly the most common in eastern North America, and prolific on the granite-gneiss ledges on the Schaghticoke Reservation in Kent, Connecticut. The plain, leathery brown upper surface wrinkles at its outer perimeters, and has a curling, velvety black rhizinate undersurface. The thallus (plant body) grows to 25 cm broad.

The "Blistered Rock Tripe" or "Toad Skin Lichen," Lasallia papulosa,* is light brown and deeply pitted, with a brown undersurface. The fragile, ruffled thallus grows to be 15 cm broad. Both of these species are abundant from the Arctic regions south through North Carolina and Tennessee along the eastern ridges of the Appalachian system. There are recorded accounts of Indians and Canadian explorers existing for weeks to months on a diet of the various rock tripes. They required considerable boiling in several changes of water to relieve their bitter, constipating tannins. They were best boiled with game or other vegetables, as the lichens are relatively tasteless alone, and a bit mucilaginous (Medsger 1966: 134).

Among the more nourishing lichens are the widespread *Fruticose* species: the "Reindeer Moss Lichens," Cladina subtenuis and C. rangiferina.* Most common throughout the Northeast on soil and sandy humus in open spaces, these silvery-gray specimens produce scattered, tangled masses branching from distinct main stems. They can form extensive colonies that sometimes cover whole areas of ground. When dry the lichens are quite crisp and can be easily broken and pulverized for use in foods. Canadian Indians made a strong tea from these lichens that was considered a stimulant.

The erect, multi-branched "Iceland Moss Lichen," Cetraria islandica, has a silver-to-gray-brown thallus with flattish, finely-fringed tips. It grows profusely on soil and over rocks from Iceland as far south as New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In its northern regions it forms a vital part of the food chain. It was gathered year round, leached in water, dried and pulver-

Continued on p. 17

Founders' Day - August 23, 1980



Narragansetts Muriel Myra Brown/Sekatau and her niece, Snow Child

Founders' Day is AIAI. From the preliminary plans to the members' invitations to the hours of preparation by staff and volunteers emerges the spirit of the Institute. This spirit is a personal commitment to the discovery and understanding of our past—of our Native American heritage. The purpose of Founders' Day is to honor annually all who support AIAI. The day is a celebration of joining—joining AIAI, joining the past with the present, young with the old, Indian with non-Indian.

On August 23, 1980 three hundred guests gathered to celebrate Founders' Day under clear, cool skies. After registration and the greeting of many friends from near and far Narragansett Ella



Members of the Sekatau Family dancing on Founders' Day

Sifting ...

RESCUE students, under the supervision of John Kline, have spent many hours during the fall and winter improving the accessibility of the Quinnetukut Habitats Trail. They built a series of woodland steps leading into the Trail's first three time zones—the tundra, tundra reconstruction site and the boreal forest. Our thanks to John, his students and RESCUE for donating their time and skills to the Institute.

Thomas/Sekatau blessed the "taste of nature."

"A Taste of Nature"

Cold Squash Soup

Corn Fritters

Woodland Lake Trout grilled over Open Pit Fire

Native Harvests Salad Garnished with Tomatoes and Beans

Pickled Milkweed Buds, Blossoms and Pods

Crayfish with Wild Rice, Hazelnuts and Blueberries

Butternut, Zucchini and Blueberry-Walnut Breads Sunflower Seed Butter

Sunflower & Pumpkin Seeds Dried Currants & Dried Apples Popcorn with Peanuts Sea Dulse

Sekatau Saump Black Walnut-Maple Cookies & Pumpkin Cookies Watermelon

Chilled Wilderness Beverages Black Birch Bark & Bayberry Tea Sweet Fern & Bergamot Tea Goldenrod & Blackberry Leaf Tea

Throughout the day guests sampled this feast while browsing, visiting, observing and learning.

Ella and her family—son, Hiawatha, and daughter, Muriel Myra, and grand-



Volunteer "chefs" preparing to grill Adirondack lake trout

daughter, Snow Child, provided frequent intervals of Narragansett song and dance. Ella, whose hands are never idle, demonstrated her fingerweaving skills as she spoke of Narragansett cultural traditions. Ella and her family have contributed regularly and extensively to the interpretation of lifeways at AIAI.

We thank all who participated and all who produced it. Thank you Kay Schaller, Jenny Tyrwhitt, Helene Pennington, Charlie and Dorothy Arcularius, Carol Fyfield, Olta Potts, Marie Sheehy, Karen Cooper, Diana Tagley, Bea Hessel, Debbie Swigart, Linda Potter, Nancy Craig, Ruth Cooley, Don Ethier, Marion Schindler, Karl Young, Sarah Payne, Raelene Gold, Naomi Colmery, Dottie Griswold, Rosalie Gandt, Martha and Herb Witthoft, Betty Bailey, Weymouth Somerset, Alice Kitselman, Marjorie Atherton, Virginia Peck, Helena Kuttner, Charles Baum, Sterling and Ruth Parker, Shelly Lang, Ineke and Joseph Ghering, Dora and Margaret Blinn, Kimberly Kavasch, Kelly Carr, Paul Swigart, Chet Mitchell, Robert Sheahan . . . and each and every staff person.

AIAI Phonothon

Sixteen volunteers conducted the fifth biannual membership phonothon October 6-15 at the Institute. We reached 423 people by telephone, and 60% of those contacted volunteered to raise their level of dues. In a year when the AIAI budget has had to be increased 20% just to meet the added costs due to inflation, this was a heartwarming and noteworthy affirmation of our cause. Equally encouraging was the fact that over 92% of our October membership agreed to renew for the coming year in spite of the fact that we have had to raise the regular membership from \$10 to \$15 to meet

the spiraling inflationary costs of our membership activities. This renewal figure continues to be among the highest in the nation and we are so very grateful for this overwhelming vote of confidence.

Our warmest thanks go to the following volunteers who helped to make the phonothon such a remarkable success: Marjorie Atherton, Elmer Browne, David Cooper, Aldo Bergonzi, Penelope Bowie, Douglas Greene, Ben Howard, Daniel Knowlton, James Lynch, Allen Mark, David Pokrywka, Bertram Read, William Shook, Richard Taylor, Elmer Worthington and Karl Young.

AIAI Throughout Connecticut - 1981 Chapter Programs

Salisbury Chapter Co-sponsored by National Iron Bank, Salisbury Association, Salisbury Bank & Trust Company

Thursday, January 8, 1981, 8:00 p.m. at the Scovill Public Library

Film: Nanook

Co-sponsored by: The National Iron Bank

Thursday, March 12, 1981, 8:00 p.m. at the Scovill Public Library Experimental Archaeology, Discovering the Indian Way by Doing by John Pawloski.

Co-sponsored by: The Salisbury Association

Thursday, May 14, 1981, 8:00 p.m. at the Scovill Public Library Workshop Meeting: Identification of Indian artifacts from private collections and discussion of various cultures that used them, by Dr. Roger Moeller, Director of AIAI

Co-sponsored by: The National Iron Bank

Friday, July 10, 1981, Field Trip to the AIAI Visitor Center 5:30 p.m.—meet at the Scovill Public Library 6:30 p.m.—arrive at AIAI Visitor Center for picnic

7:30 p.m.—program and tour Reservations: Contact Salisbury Coordinator Audrey Whitbeck

For further information contact: Salisbury Chapter Coordinator Audrey Whitbeck, Cobble Road, Salisbury, CT 06068.

Phone: 435-2077 evenings

Torrington-Winsted Chapter Thursday, February 19, 1981, 7:30 p.m. at the Torrington Historical Society Film: *The Early Americans* Thursday, April 16, 1981, 7:30 p.m. at the Torrington Historical Society The Use of Nature by the Woodland Indians by Edmund K. Swigart, AIAI President.

Thursday, May 14, 1981, 7:30 p.m. at the Beardsley Memorial Library, Winsted, CT.

3,000 Years in Connecticut by Dr. Russell Handsman, Director of AIAI Field Research.

Sunday, June 21, 1981

Annual Meeting—place to be announced.

For further information contact: Torrington-Winsted Chapter Coordinator Aldo Bergonzi, 55 Horace Street, Torrington, CT 06790. Phone: 489-3527 evenings

Fairfield County Chapter
Co-sponsored by
The National Endowment
for the Humanities
"Native American Studies
Outreach Program"
LECTURE SERIES
4:00 p.m., Sundays

February 1, 1981—Darien, CT, Darien Public Library

Connecticut Indian Languages by Nich-

olas Schoumatoff, Director of the Trailside Nature Museum, Ward Pound Ridge Reservation, Cross River, New York.

March 1, 1981—Danbury, CT, Western Connecticut State College *The Connecticut Indians Today* by

Trudie Lamb, Schaghticoke Tribal

Administrator.

FILM SERIES
2:30 p.m., Saturdays
February 14, 1981—Darien, CT, Darien Public Library
The Dawn Riders, the story of Native
American artists and their work.

March 14, 1981—Danbury, CT, Western Connecticut State College *The Early Americans,* the story of Indian history in the United States from the earliest known presence to the white contact period.

For further information contact: Fairfield Chapter Coordinator Polly Brody, 65 Main Street, Newtown, CT

Phone: 426-1957

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

Thursday, January 15, 1981, Noon, at the Simsbury Historical Society Experimental Archaeology: Discovering the Indian Way By Doing by John Pawloski.

Tuesday, March 24, 1981, Noon, at the Simsbury Historical Society A luncheon of American Indian foods will be served to guests. Connecticut's Indians—Video films, People of the First Light and The Sun Dance followed by discussion with Mohegan Indian Frederic Van Allen.

Sunday, May 17, 1981, Noon, at the Simsbury Historical Society Opening of the Simsbury Historical Society Season with afternoon tours of the buildings, a performance by the Koshare Indian Dancers from Springfield College and the film, *Indians of the Southlands*.

For further information contact: Simsbury Chapter Coordinator Clavin Fisher, Box 277, West Simsbury, CT 06092.

Phone: 203-658-5167

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

AIAI Board Welcomes New Members

The AIAI board continues to embrace new board members with specific professional credentials. At the September 27, 1980 board meeting, three more individuals were elected—Mary Louise Allin, Hamilton S. Gregg II and Arthur G. Sachs; twenty-two members now comprise the AIAI Board of Trustees.

Mary Louise Allin, Assistant Managing Editor of Reader's Digest, is a graduate of Wellesley College with a B.A. degree in sociology and anthropology. Mary Louise has served and will continue to serve on the AIAI Publications Commit-

Hamilton S. Gregg II, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance, is a resident of Falls Village, Connecticut. In 1968 he founded GCH Planning Corporation, a pioneer financial planning and investment firm which evolved into Gregg and Company, Inc. Since April 1980 "Ham" has managed the Institute's portfolio; he will serve on the Finance Committee.

Arthur Sachs, a graduate of Harvard

College, brings extensive business experience in the publications field to the Institute. Presently Art is business manager of *Time* magazine; previously he was assistant to the general manager and advertising research associate of *Scientific American* and business manager of *Natural History* magazine. Art and his wife, Mary, were the second editors of *Artifacts*. A resident of New York City and Washington, Art has long been supportive of AIAI. He will continue to serve on the Publications Committee.

Windows, Gardens and Chameleons

That I and others can feel that sometimes visceral, sometimes ephemeral surge of pleasure—which can be understood as an esthetic response-while looking at the visual music locked into a ca. 2000-year-old Mimbres bowl from the Southwest is testament to the universality of art on one level. Yet on another level the "message," the emotional and conceptual content of the piece put there by a Native American artist from a cultural pale that is lost to us, can't be "read" by us. At least not with any degree of certainty. Too, the various protean forms art takes across the world are lost on some people. Does that make art a kind of chameleon? Changing color guises from one culture to another, some might have to look twice to see it, to recognize it as art. But it remains the same animal.

Perhaps a more apt analogy is that of the Spanish philosopher Ortegay Gasset (Redfield 1971), who speaks of art as both a window and a garden. We are able to view and react immediately to the surface patterns of form, line and color—the window—of a piece of art. But the garden, the meanings or cultural content, beyond the window becomes known to us only by becoming familiar with the culture into which the artist was born. In doing this an appreciation of art of another culture might be heightened and one might even reverse an unfavorable reaction to alien artistic windows.

reaction to alien artistic windows.
Edmund Carpenter (1977:281, 282),
an anthropologist and long-time student
of Eskimo art, on the subject of getting
to know alien artistic "gardens," has
captured the dilemma's essence beautifully when he writes:

To experience the unfamiliar in tribal art, we must step outside the patterns of perception of our culture and explore new worlds of images, new realities. We must study alien perceptions and codifications by experiencing them. Anything less merely confirms previous convictions.

I accept that there are great differences between people. I was once very close to several Eskimo friends, but their thinking was fundamentally different from mine. I gave up hope that we would ever really come to know each other completely. If I had come to know them completely, I would have become an Eskimo; I would have lost my own identity, and this I did not choose to do. "We wed ourselves to the mystery," not to con-

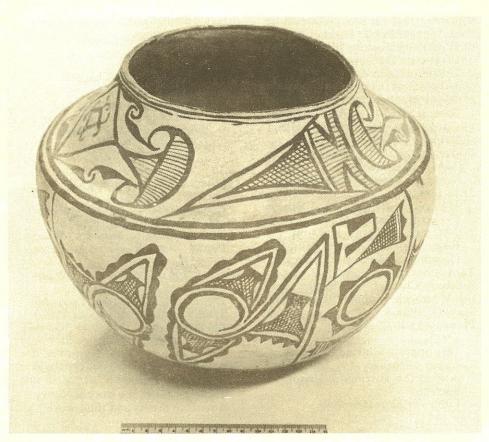
quer it or be conquered by it, but to greet it . . .

To study tribal art, we must first ask: What did it mean to the people for whom it was originally intended? To experience it, we must first accept its rules governing thinking, feeling, sensing.

But what are we to do with a culture's art when that culture's codifications and ideological behavior aren't known to us

Western, tribal, chief and state government levels, literate, preliterate, etc., with varying degrees of technological complexity?

Anthropologists have begun doing just such cross-cultural research. Some of their findings are provocative: (1) the art of cultures with less complex technologies tends to be more symmetrical; (2) the art of cultures with more complex technologies exhibits more intersecting.



Zuni pot-probably late 19th or early 20th century, New Mexico, from AIAI collections

or even available, as in the art of prehistoric peoples with no cultural survivors? Ideas and beliefs are not part of the cultural inventory preserved in the earth to be sifted through and scrutinized by archaeologists. Are we consigned then to window gazing? Or can we learn to begin to "read" the garden—the landscape of meanings and perspectives specific to the artist and her/his culture through comparisons of art from all kinds of cultures: peasant, hunting and gathering, horticultural, Western, nonlines and repeating forms (in other words more complex designs); and (3) large areas of empty space are found frequently in the art of less technologically complex cultures while less empty space occurs in the art of more technologically complex cultures.

Now the task of anthropologists is explaining these findings. Why, for example, should there be more of a balance (symmetry) and less complexity in terms of line and shape and number of elements in less technologically complex cultures?

Not only were the members of these cultures just as creative and as intellectually endowed as those of more technologically complex cultures, but also their art is every bit as sophisticated and shows they were performing as breathtaking creative cartwheels as artists with more complex materials and tools . . . Of what could this esthetic mode be reflective? Of the general ways they viewed the world and their place in it? But their philosophies were quite complex . . . Of the tenor rather than the content of the philosophies? Of social bonds? Of the ways in which they organized the production and distribution of their worldly needs-food, medicine, etc.; and how can such as these influence the artist and her/his expression? Will we discover that art, ineffable, experimental, trajects out of its cultural bonds, or will we learn (to some people's disappointment) that even art is artifact and obeys cultural norms? Or, more interestingly, might we find that both former and latter are true?!

In order to gather clues which might begin to crack these exquisite garden codes and their relationship to their windows, we must cast a comparative eye on examples of art from the two types of cultures mentioned above. Let's consider for the purposes of this article two pieces of art: two pre-European-influence works from the Southwest, where Native American cultures were more technologically complex than many other Native American cultures yet less so than others.

The ceramic vessel pictured here is from the Institute's collections (and is currently on display here in a special pottery exhibit). It is a traditional Zuni pot (probably late nineteenth or early twentieth century) and has been selected for this article because it represents the style and complexity of Zuni ceramic art. The design elements are part of Zuni esthetic vocabulary and have been painted with a yucca plant brush in black and earth red on a typically (pre and early European contact) expansive white field.

The first thing that strikes me when I look at this piece is the juxtaposition of quiet and noisy symmetry, asymmetry and balance. The two designs on opposite sides of the neck (down to the shoulder) are fairly symmetrical and have strong horizontal and vertical lines and smooth, unbusy scroll and curvilinear shapes. Also "quiet" is the circle with triangular rays in the lower extreme right area of the pot. In contemporary Euroamerican culture these types of patterns suggest a stable, thoughtful harmony.2 On the other hand there are the "noisier" designs with strong diagonals—suggestive of movement-and somewhat busier rhythms and patterns playing with and against one another in organized "confusion." For example, note the strong diagonals in the design below the shoulder towards the middle; the upper points of

the triangles thrust to the right but at different angles, creating an interesting, energetic tension, softened by the lacy, scalloped edges on some of the triangles. The cross-hatched shapes inside the triangles enhance this direction. Introducing a new texture and shape in this motif, these also add to the busyness. Moreover, their different sizes lend asymmetry. The asymmetrical aspect of the motif is emphasized further by the scalloped border on the upper and lower triangles on the left of the motif and the unscalloped border on the one on the right; the absence of a mirror image of the unscalloped triangle; the flowing of the curvilinear line between the lacy triangles from the right, up around to the left and swinging effortlessly and ingeniously up to become the border of the unscalloped triangle; and the lower toothed edged of the cross-hatched shape within the unscalloped triangle. The interplay between all these shapes, textures and movements within this motif and other adjacent motifs creates a busyness, a noisiness. But the symmetrical elements organized vertically and horizontally work to calm all this.



Mimbres Bowl—1000-1200 A.D., New Mexico. Reprint permission kindly granted by the Peabody Museum, Photo Archives, Harvard University

Of special interest is the unusual motif above the rayed circle, just under the shoulder to the right. While the toothed edge of the fantail shape repeats elements in other motifs, the fascinating blockier shape between it and the upper edge of the unscalloped triangle is an enigmatic statement of negative and positive (black and white) fields—similar to an M.C. Escher trick of visual perception. It's a singular, incongruous, though not altogether incompatible, surprise on the ceramic canvas. Esthetically it's a wonderful note of jazz.

The second thing that stikes me is that this harmony and balance of quiet and unquiet motifs³ is congruent with the general tenor of Zuni philosophy and social relationships. The Zuni people as puebloan denizens have been described, albeit somewhat poetically, by the noted late anthropologist, Ruth Benedict (1934),

as Apollonian ⁴—that is, peaceful, not given to emotional or physical excesses, tradition-bound, order-minded, cooperative. Some researchers have corroborated Benedict's findings. However, other anthropologists (Driver 1969:435-437) have reported tension, personal ambition, hostility, etc. in pueblo groups.

Allowing for cultural bias, sampling techniques and differences between pueblo groups, the truth probably lies hammocked between Benedict's account and those of the others. The Zuni seem to have valued moderation and cooperation highly yet did experience some conflict and competition (non Apollonian traits). Some measure of tension and aggression in, for example, their communal living patterns within the "close quarters" of pueblo apartment dwellings would seem to be unavoidable and did evidence itself in various behaviors. And it is this tension between harmony and disharmony which the Zuni pot pictured here mildly evokes. Since pueblo artists, in this case a female potter, were members of cultures which were much more group oriented than contemporary Americans (who stress individualism-sometimes with a vengeance!), it's reasonable to assume that group values, many of the same life circumstances, ideas, symbols, etc. were part of everyone's cultural baggage, and that this extended to a common esthetic vocabulary. Hence to a substantial degree an individual pueblo artist's expression was an expression of her/his culture. Perhaps artistic expression is also to some degree an artifact of an individual potter's reaction to or desire for more disharmony in herself or her culture, in the case of the maker of this Zuni pot, as Zuni pots range from very quiet, stable overall designs to noisy, less stable ones. More research needs to be focused on the artist and her/his interpretations.

¹ Of course a more legitimate study would include art of other media as well. The following eggshell-thin observations are therefore offered tentatively.

² This is an important distinction, for comparative research needs to be done to determine if the emotional content of line and movement is similar pan-culturally. We know that color doesn't carry the same meanings for all cultures. Hence many of my assumptions remain only that, until this kind of research validates or invalidates them.

³ Again, a reminder that these design "readings" are cultural projections, to be tested for Zuni validity.

⁴ a category she borrowed from Nietzsche

Windows...

What else can symmetry, asymmetry, complexity of design and empty space in Zuni art tell us about Zuni culture? John L. Fisher (Otten 1971), an anthropologist, hypothesized that artists living in hierarchical1 cultures are surrounded with more diverse artifacts that in egalitarian ² cultures as well as more diverse people (more occupational specialists), both of which are concomitants of complex technology. He reasoned that the "pictorial elements" in an artist's work are unconsciously reflective of persons and/ or artifacts in her/his cultural experience. Thus, complex social stratifications...complex designs. When Fischer tested his hypothesis with a sample of all kinds of cultures around the world, the statistics bore out his hypothesis. He then reasoned that symmetry was an instance of repeating similar shapes, evidence of fewer, similar status people and/or fewer artifacts (which indicates a less complex technology). (Cultures with simpler technologies tend to have fewer specialists with their special interests and personalities. They tend to be more homogeneous, more egalitarian.) Symmetry in art then was associated with more egalitarian cultures.

Finally he deduced or assumed that art with a lot of empty space was indicative of more socially egalitarian cultures. The empty space he thought was mainly an unconscious psychological/cultural expression of the "fact" that more egalitarian (less technologically complex) peoples tend to live in "small, close-knit, cooperative societies" and therefore direct their aggressions and hostilities out of the group onto strangers, i.e., nonmembers, in order to maintain their unity. This group isolation can be depicted symbolically by designs (people and/or artifacts) surrounded by empty space. Conversely, more heterogeneous, hierarchical cultures tend to incorporate outsiders into their hierarchies via subjugation or submission, according to Fischer. So less empty space would appear in their art. The magic of statistics confirmed his expectations (but of course not necessarily his line of reasoning).

Let's look again at our Zuni pot with Fischer's assumptions in mind. Compared to other cultures, the Zuni had about a middle level social hierarchy (and a middle level technological complexity). Many matrilineal clans, medicine societies and variously ranked priests within a theocracy characterized their social stratification. And, quickly comparing their art with that of more egalitarian cultures as well as with that of more hierarchical cultures, one is left with the general impression that especially Fischer's first assumption (re. complexity of design) accurately describes the situation. I leave it to those familiar with preand early European contact Zuni culture to decide if the empty space around the designs in this pot is diagnostic of a middle level social interaction with outsiders; but an exception to Fischer's hypotheses comes immediately to mind: the art of the Mimbres people.

The Mimbres people inhabited the southeastern part of the Southwest from about 1000 A.D. to about 1400 A.D. and are believed by some archaeologists to have been ancestors of the Zuni. Relatively sedentary villagers, they raised crops and produced many and varied artifacts. We can infer from their settlement pattern and objects left in the archaeological record that they were probably less of an egalitarian, more of a hierarchical culture. Yet they were not as technologically complex nor as socially stratified as the Zuni just before and during the early period of European contact. We would therefore expect their art to exhibit less complexity of design, to be somewhat more symmetrical than the Zuni's and have more empty space. To our bemusement we find that only one of our expectations holds true when we look at the Mimbres bowl pictured here. And we can't help but notice that the Mimbres bowl has "thumbed its nose" at our first expectation.

Notice the virtual lack of symmetry in the design on this bowl; knees bent, body in profile, a quiver of arrows in one hand and a shield in the other, this esthetically disarming warrior is nicely and subtly balanced but does not pay homage to symmetry. Though there is some repetition of design elementse.g., points on arrows and on shield; petal pattern on shirt and on shield, it's of little importance. There's a richness of line, shape, pattern and texture. A relative complexity of design—as much if not more than that on the Zuni pot, if one counts the number of elements and appraises their repetition.

The only artistic feature which is in accord with our hypothesis is that of empty space. There is a bit more in the Mimbres bowl than in the Zuni vessel. We'd expect this greater spatial representation of social isolation, as the Mimbres—living in smaller perhaps less heterogeneous groups than the Zuni—might have entertained less social interaction with outsiders than the Zuni. However, there remain questions as to whether empty space is indeed an expression of one's personal or cultural level of social interaction.

The baffling aspect of this piece, though, is that it's not representative of all Mimbres pottery. There appear to be two distinct kinds of ceramic designs: pieces that are done in the highly imaginative, representational style similar to the one pictured here (though the subject matter on each piece is different); and pieces which display energetic geometric patterns.

The latter pottery style is less complex in design, exhibits more symmetry 3 and has less empty space, unlike the former style. This throws a picquant red herring into Fischer's hypothetic net! And we can't in good conscience throw it out . . . too big a fish! How are we to explain two anthropologically different things about their culture? Did the Mimbres people experience cultural change with all the social, ideological contradictions accompanying it? Could the fanciful representational designs have been the creation of one or a few artists as some researchers speculate? An experimental, artistic innovation somersaulting outside the extant cultural boundaries? And what does the difference in a representational mode of expression and a geometric one signify? (We'll have to save the last question for another time.)

Unfortunately at this stage of anthropological research, it's not possible to solve this tickling puzzle, and perhaps never will be. If there's one thing that anthropologists have learned, it's that people and cultures are complex and that there are always exceptions to their elegant models of human behavior. In short there's always a small, taunting, tantalizing amount of unpredictability where people group to play out their lives.

These exceptional cases, such as the Mimbres, which fly in the face of prediction I believe are important if only to underscore the point that people, cultures and especially artists all have a few "tricks" up their sleeves. It's this unpredictability which is also our adaptability, enabling us to make new connections, new syntheses between two heretofore dissimilar ideas, chemicals, tools, etc. And artists by the very nature of being artists (creative) are old hands at this. Not only are they sensitive to visible and almost imperceptible goings-on in their culture, they also are able to slide in and out of the conscious and unconscious parts of their minds to express existing ideas, events, and so on, as well as generate novel perceptions and relationships. So when we look through the beautiful ceramic windows of Mimbres art, we may be looking at a metaphorical garden of societal/personal contradictions and new syntheses created by an artist or artists possessed of either foresight or sensitivity to existing circumstances. And when we look beyond the splendid, sophisticated traceries on the windows of Zuni pottery,

¹cultures with several or many varied statuses, or classes

² cultures with few statuses and no classes

³ Although symmetry is marked in some vessels of the *other* style, which complicates the picture even more!

we may be viewing some of the stresses that pulled on the fabric of Zuni culture. (Of course we're seeing more than these sign posts, as anthropologists like Fischer re trying to discover and as artists and non-artists alike have appreciated before and after anthropologists happened onto the scene.)

It's well to remember that to the extent that artists are visual magicians and that all cultures have internal contradictions and atypical facets, our understanding of the stunning gardens of Native American works of art and of the chameleon, Art, is tentative. Art may be the signature of a culture, but it's often cryptic.

-Sharon Wirt

SELECTED SOURCES

Anderson, Richard L.

1979 Art in Primitive Societies. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Bateson, Gregory

1972 Steps to an Ecology of the Mind. N.Y.: Ballantine Books. Pp. 128-156.

Benedict, Ruth

1934 Patterns of Culture. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 57-129.

Bunzel, Ruth L.

1972 The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art. N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc.

Carpenter, Edward

1977 Some Notes on the Separate Realities of Eskimo and Indian Art. In *The Far North: 2000 Years of American Eskimo and Indian Art.* Henry B. Collins, Frederica de Laguna, *et al.* Bloomington-London: Indiana University Press. (Concluding chapter.)

Driver, Harold E.

1969 Indians of North America. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press (second edition). Pp. 435-438.

Fisher, John L.

1971 Art Styles as Cultural Cognitive Maps. In Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics. Charlotte M. Otten, ed. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press. Pp. 141-161.

Otten, Charlotte M., ed.

1971 Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press.

Redfield, Robert

1971 Art and Icon. In Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press. Pp. 39-65.



EXHIBITS REDUX

Beginning in 1981 the Institute's exnibits will again be refined; if you are interested in the nuts-and-bolts, cutand-paste aspect of museum exhibitry and would like to help out, please contact Sharon Wirt at the Institute.

Cryptogams . . .

ized for use as a flour in breads and ash cakes. Typically it was later boiled in milk or fruit juices to produce a jelly-like food that was very high in starch. This one is also abundant in Europe. In the Old World lichens have been variously used to treat ulcers and lung disorders and to hold the scent in perfumes and embalm the dead (beginning about 5000

B.P. in Egypt).

The word 'lichen' derives from the Greek language and meant eruption or wart. As a term it was first used by Theophrastus (371-284 B.C.), a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, (and the Father of Botany), to describe the plants he saw growing on the trunks of olive trees. The first printed picture of lichens appeared in the Greek herbal of Dioscorides. In the first century B.C. Pliny the Elder documented the use of lichens to make a purple dye, which was the most prized color in the ancient world. The Persians made bread of desert lichens; desert tribes in North Africa smoke lichen mixtures; and some scientists suggest that lichens were quite possibly the manna of the Israelites.

The Swedish botanist, Linnaeus (who introduced the binomial system to botany in 1753), called the lichens "rustici pauperrimi," "the poor trash of vegetation."

We have come to realize that these early plant forms are possibly the oldest living plants. "Some lichens live longer than the well-known bristlecone pine. In the Arctic there are lichens that are 4,500 years old... because these Arctic crustose lichens grow at a fairly uniform annual rate they are used to date glacial morraines" (Ahmadjian 1979:21).

The uses to which lichens have been and are put are manifold. Russian scientists have discovered that lichens and mosses can extract nutrients and elements such as phosphorus, magnesium, calcium, potassium, iron and sulphur from rocks. (Lichen erode rock surfaces by chemical and physical processes.) Lichenometry is a technique evolved by Austrian botanist Dr. Roland Beschel which uses lichens to date rock surfaces. It is also possible to monitor the movement of glaciers by observing the lichen growth on the associated morraines.

During World War II a process to develop sugar from lichens was developed in Russia, due to the scarcity of the sugar beet and the necessity to conserve grain for the production of alcohol. American research chemists discovered in 1951 that extracts of *Cetraria islandica*, when added to lunch meats and cream-filled pastries, significantly retarded spoilage due to the inherent antibiotic nature of this lichen. Litmus, the substance in litmus paper that changes color, is obtained from several lichens: *Roccella tinctora* and *Ochrolechia tartarea*, both of which grow on rocks. Indeed, modern ethno-

botany holds these primal plants in high esteem.

Lichens are extremely sensitive to air pollution, especially sulphur dioxide. Monitoring their growth, mineral absorption and absence is useful in measuring a cita's pollution pattern.

city's pollution patterns.

The main economic importance of lichens is their use as antibiotics, especially the *Cladonia* and *Cladina* species from which usnic acid is extracted. As we continue to use and study these myriad ancient plants we must wonder what their future gifts to science, economics and civilization will be.

-Barrie Kavasch

Sterling E. Parker and Dr. Barry Wulff, *Taxonomic Editors*

NOTE: Lichen taxonomy has changed several times since its original notation in primal research sources. The most current taxonomy is reflected in this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmadjian, Vernon

1979 (Winter) "Lichens: Clean Air Sentinels." In: *Garden*. Bronx: Garden Magazine of the New York Botanical Garden. Pp. 18-24.

Blair, E. H.

1911 Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Region. (2 volumes) Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Bland, John

1971 Forests of Lilliput: The Realm of Mosses and Lichens. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Gunther, Erna

1977 Ethnobotany of Western Washington. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hale, Mason E.

1979 The Lichens. Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., Publishers.

Kavasch, Barrie

1979 Native Harvests: Recipes and Botanicals of the American Indians. New York City: Random House, Inc.

Medsger, Oliver Perry

1966 (1939) Edible Wild Plants. New York City: Collier MacMillan, Publishers. Nearing, G. G.

1962 The Lichen Book: Handbook of the Lichens of Northeastern United States. Ashton: Eric Lundberg.

Richardson, David

1974 The Vanishing Lichens: Their History, Biology and Importance. New York City: Hafner Press, Division MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.

Shuttleworth, F. S. and H. S. Zim

1967 Non-Flowering Plants. New York City: Golden Press.

Sister Hildegard, O. S. B.

1977 "Lichens: Nature's Healers." In: Connecticut: Connecticut Botanical Society Newsletter.

Smith, Huron H.

1923 "Ethnobotany of the Memomini Indians." Milwaukee: Bulletin of the Public Museum of Milwaukee. 4(1):1-174.

1932 "Ethnobotany of the Ojibwa Indians." *Ibid.* 4(3):327-525.

1933 "Ethnobotany of the Forest Potawatomi." *Ibid.* 7(1):1-230.

Yarnell, Richard Asa

1976 Aboriginal Relationships between Culture and Plant Life in the Upper Great Lakes Region. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Anthropological Papers.

"In shop talk

Recently the Shop has acquired some new baskets which have been delivered with some marvelous folklore and craft information along with them. We are most fortunate to be able to call on Claude Medford, Jr., Choctaw, for help in acquiring examples of the lovely coiled pine needle baskets typical of the Southeast. We have knob-topped and effigy forms, and also some very rare swamp cane baskets, both by Claude and by a Koasati tribeswoman, Elsie John. But it is not the craftsmanship alone which distinguishes these pieces. They represent in an almost symbolic way the deterioration of some aspects of Native American tribal life. "To consider how rare cane baskets are, out of approximately 100,000 people of southeastern Indian descent in Oklahoma, only three can make cane baskets, and all three are elderly sisters of the Choctaw Tribe. No Yuchis, Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Seminoles, Mikasukis or any other southeastern tribe in Oklahoma can now make cane baskets . . . there is only one regular maker of cane baskets among the Koasati people" (Quoted from a letter from Claude). Oklahoma is not the only source for these baskets, and the Cherokee at Qualla in South Carolina are making them still, but the prices are so astonishingly high that they only attest to what Claude is telling us.

The fairly small "fanner" or winnowing basket made of cane by Claude Medford has a special story attached to it. I will let him tell it. He learned the special over 4, under 1 weave from studying ancient fragments of baskets and mats of the

Natchez people.

After I learned this over-4, under-1 weave with the red stripe, a few years later, I worked a month at the Grand Village of the Natchez, a restored Natchez Tribal Town near Natchez, Mississippi. As you know the Natchez had a very high culture, and was the last tribe to continue to make temple mounds.



Baffin Island prints available in Shop

After studying fragments of cane baskets and mats made by the Natchez people, I discovered it was this same rising sun weave that I had learned from my Mother-inlaw's Mother! Then a few years ago, some cane basketry fragments were found in a Caddoan burial mound

found in a Caddoan burial mound mental aid have started using Cou-

Koasati effigy baskets

in northern Louisiana, and low and behold, the same over-4, under-1 weave! I believe this is the oldest weave pattern still in existence in North America in the South, and as far as I know, I am the only one who still uses it, except for three very elderly Chitimacha weavers. The Caddoan cane basket fragments were dated 800 A.D.! To even more complicate the picture, this same weave is used by the Mixteca basket-makers in Oaxaca in Mexico, and turns up again along the Amazon and a little south into Paraguay!

Those of you who visit the Shop to see these baskets may wonder at the use of two names to identify the tribe of the makers: Coushatta and Koasati. Claude Medford tells us that the two words do indeed refer to the same group of people, but the former (which is apparently more commonly used by non-Indian people) is a Choctaw word which seems to refer to the peaceful practices of this group.

shatta when referring to themselves. However, in the language of the people, Koasati is what they say and it means "lost people" ... koasat means lost and ati means people and say it quickly, it becomes Koasati. There is some question about the name Coushatta as some have translated it from the Choctaw to mean "white canebrake," but cane in Choctaw, referring to the upland cane used to make daggers rather than the lowland cane used to make baskets and mats, is conshak not coushak. The Choctaw name for the lowland cane is uske or rather oos-kee. Those Koasati among the Creeks in Oklahoma are known as Quassarte!!

Coushatta is the Choctaw name for the Koasati people. Coushatta means Coosa (a Creek or Muskogee subtribe) and hatta means white or White Coosa, white in this case referring to a peace tribe or town in the Muskogean Confederacy. I would imagine the Coosa town to

be a red or war town or sub-tribe. In

recent years the name Coushatta

has been used by the various state

and federal agencies in Texas and

Louisiana, and for some reason,

those families who rely on govern-

In view of the above information it seems to us to be more logical to use the term "Koasati," it being perhaps more descriptive as well.

—Joan Cannon



Native American Advisory Committee Meeting

The fall meeting of AIAI's Native American Advisory Committee was held on Saturday, September 27, 1980 at 11 a.m. Those in attendance were Ella and Eric Thomas/Sekatau (Narragansetts) Gladys Tantaquidgeon and Jane Fawcett (Mohegans), Butch Chatfield (Schaghticoke), Clare Addison (Narragansett) and guest, Lyent Russell. Two unanimous decisions grew from the discussions. The material culture of Native American peoples on exhibit at AIAI needs elaboration; for example, the replicated False Face Masks should stand as an exhibit to inform and improve cultural understanding. Every effort must be made through AIAI exhibits and programs to accurately present Native American cultures and ethnohistory. The following message from the committee to the membership and public was adpoted:

Friends:

We send this message of friendship and

thanksgiving.

We are with you in spirit. Yes, Connecticut Indians are alive and well. This is our program which we offer to you. We wish to share the greatness of our culture. We wish to share the many unrecognized contributions we have made to American culture. We wish to share our philosophy and our goals.

We are proud of our heritage and of our accomplishments. We think there is much of

great value we can offer you.

Therefore, we offer you these programs to help you to better understand our way. Please accept them as a gift from us. Please help us to spread this message of friendship.

Yours in friendship,

The Native American Advisory Committee, A.I.A.I.

Siftings ...

Cindy Canavan of Washington Depot joined the AIAI weekend staff last fall. A native of Woodbury, Connecticut, Cindy graduated from Nonnewaug High School and studied at the University of Hartford. Previously she was employed by Atticus Bookstore. Cindy is the shop's cashier and Visitor Center greeter. Other AIA weekend regulars are Jean McAdams and Jim Lynch.

Continuing caretaking occurs on our grounds and trail. To make the tasks easier the volunteer crew—Marion Schindler, Don Ethier, Karl Young and RES-CUE—need tools. If you have a spare hoe, rake, cultivator, trowel and/or grass clippers, please consider donating them.



November Members' Meeting

The Members' Meeting on November 15, 1980 was a celebration of women's rights. Trudie Ray Lamb, former director of AIAI's Native American Studies Program and now Tribal Administrator for her people, the Schaghticokes,* discussed the traditional roles of Native American women among Algonquian tribes and the Iroquois.

Traditional Native American women held clearly defined and often esteemed positions within their tribal group. In some Native American societies political and/or economic power and certain positions of authority were available to

women.

As the program opened Jayne Fawcett** shared her poem, "Native Land" with the assembled group. Jayne expressed the profound pain and challenge of Native Americans trying to discover, to preserve, to express their cultural heritage. Jayne's reflective piece set the tone of the afternoon.

NATIVE LAND

Where is my world,
My Kingdom Come,
The home my lineage can claim as
own
For all their little whiles,
And passing say,
"Your oyster, son.
This is the heritage I give:
Bear it before you like a shield.
It will protect, O, Precious
Someday Ones,
From all the sneering spears your
heart can feel.
You're not alone."

Where is my home?
A hundred and a hundred years ago
I searched with ancient kin the way
to know,
But it was lost,
And I lost too in pathless woods
unknown,
Wherein an owl cried,
And finally the lonesome wolf
replied,
"Pretend,"
And so did I;
My Kingdom is, I find,
Pretending in the sunken ghetto
of my mind.

The presence of a number of traditional Native American women, their confirmation of Trudie's presentation and their personal example affirmed for all those gathered in the Longhouse Classroom, in Onondaga Del Logan's room, the strength of one's heritage.

The afternoon was one of recognition and welcome. We were honored to welcome Nora Thompson Dean, "Touching Leaves," a Lenape Délaware herbalist, who was visiting the East from Oklahoma. "Touching Leaves" and her family were the guests of Nicholas Shoumatoff, who founded the Delaware Indian Resource Center, at the Trailside Museum, Ward Pound Ridge Reservation, Cross River, New York, after extensive field research with Nora Dean and her people. Nora's husband and daughter, Louise were also here; Louise displayed and sold her attractive beadwork. Also with the Deans was Jim Reminger, a noted Delaware scholar.

On hand to support Trudie and to welcome Nora were Mohegan Gladys Tantaquidgeon—who had not seen Nora for fifty years; Gladys's niece, Jayne Fawcett; Mohawk Dave Richmond; Schaghticoke Butch Lydem; Narragansetts Clara Addison and Tall Oak, and many more friends of the Institute, Indian and non-Indian. The afternoon was a celebration of tradition, friendship and renewal.

^{*}who have a reservation in Kent, Connecticut

^{**}Editors' Note: Jayne Fawcett lives in Uncasville, Connecticut, where she is active in Mohegan tribal affairs. Jayne has a B.A. degree from the University of Connecticut and teaches in the public schools of Montville and Ledyard. In addition, Jayne lectures on Mohegan Indians, is chairperson of the Indian Parent Committee of the Montville Public Schools, serves the AIAI as a consultant to its NEH-Fairfield County Chapter Outreach and is a poet.

Calendar of Events

SMALL WORLD FILM FESTIVAL continues each Saturday and Sunday at 2:30 p.m. until June 1, 1981.

February 18, 1981, Wednesday: Children's Powwow — Make your reservation now for 11 a.m., 1 p.m., or 3 p.m. to learn some Indian dances. Children under twelve/\$3 each, adults/\$5. Limited to 20 dancers per hour.

February 21, 1981, Saturday at 1 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) — Multimedia program of slides and music, "Native American Art," prepared by Sharon Wirt, AIAI Research Assistant and Instructor in Anthropology.

March 7, 1981, Saturday at 1 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) "Maple Sugaring from the First Americans to the Present," discussion and process by AIAI President Edmund K. Swigart.



March 28, 1981, Saturday at 1 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) Discussion of the 1980 excavation of the Flynn Site by Dr. Russell Handsman, Director of AIAI Field Research.

April 4, 1981, Saturday at 1 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) Environmental Education Specialist Ted Gilman of the Audubon Center in Greenwich will present an illustrated lecture, "Gypsy Moths, Its Natural History and Management in Connecticut."

April 25, 1981, Saturday at 1 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) "Experimental Archaeology." Steve Post, AIAI Staff Archaeology Teacher, will show slides of the accomplishments of the 1979 and 1980 teenage experimental archaeologists. The 1981 program will be announced at this time and applications accepted.

April 30, 1981, Thursday at 3 p.m. — Education Committee Meeting.

May 7, 1981, Thursday at 5:30 p.m. — ANNUAL DINNER MEETING (Members only) at the Inn on Lake Waramaug. Guest speaker is Primitive Technologist Jeff Kalin. Adults/\$11, children under sixteen/\$6. Call AIAI's Mary Anne Greene at 868-0518 for reservations by April 27th.

May 23, 24 and 25, 1981, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, from 10 a.m.-4 p.m. — Noted basketmaker and author of Natural Basketry, Carol Grant Hart, will share her artistry with 12 individuals in a "Soft and Hard Twined Basketry"workshop. Tuition: \$60/members, \$75/ non-members plus materials fee.

May 24, 1981, Sunday at 4 p.m. — MEMBERS' MEETING (Public welcome) Carol Grant Hart will present a slide lecture, "Northeastern American Indian Basketry—A Continuing Tradition," enriched with examples from her personal collection.

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

July 25, 1981, Saturday 10 a.m.-4 p.m. — FOUNDERS' DAY. Members only are invited together for feasting, friendship and fun.

FIELDWORK TRAINING SESSIONS will be scheduled throughout the summer. Details will be announced in the next issue of Artifacts. Contact the Research Department for information.

In Memory of John Carlson

The AIAI exists today because of the advice and counsel of John Carlson. We will honor his memory by continuing to follow his professional and personal guidelines as the Institute grows. We are deeply sorry to report his accidental death on Saturday, September 27, 1980 in Massachusetts.

John Carlson was past president and

senior consultant of Marts and Lundy, Inc., New York City, a noted firm of fundraising consultants; he had recently retired and joined AIAI as a trustee and chairperson of the Development Committee. At the May 4, 1978 Annual Meeting we presented John with a plaque inscribed: "To John F. Carlson in appreciation of the wise counsel and encourage-

ment in all things, as well as his constant faith that the Center would become a reality. Without his calm and incisive advice our efforts would surely have faltered." Today the Institute pledges to draw upon his wise counsel and to apply it without faltering.

ARTIFACTS

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

Edmund K. Swigart, President; H. Allen Mark, Vice President; Mrs. John M. Sheehy, Secretary; Phillips H. Payson, Treasurer.

Board of Trustees

Mary Louise Allin; William Andrews; Mrs. William Bardel; Elmer Browne; Mrs. Paul L. Cornell, Jr.; Mrs. Elisha Dyer, Jr.; Hamilton S. Gregg II; Mrs. Iola Haverstick; Mrs. Sidney H. Hessel; William Houldin, Jr.; H. Allen Mark; David P. McAllester, PhD.; William R. Moody; Mrs. Ruth J. Nalven; Phillips H. Payson; Arthur G. Sachs; Mrs. John M. Sheehy; Leavenworth P. Sperry, Jr.; Edmund K. Swigart; Gladys Tantaquidgeon; Lloyd C. Young.

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

[©]Copyright 1981 by the American Indian Archaeological Institute.