THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF SETTLEMENT IN GOSHEN, CONNECTICUT

A STUDY OF MODERN MYTHS AND HISTORIC REALITIES

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I. ABSTRACT

For almost two decades American historians have been turning their interpretive gaze upon themselves, examining the processes associated with the development of modern American society and culture. From one perspective modernization's historical processes of specialization and differentiation were continuous, revealing a gradual increase in complexity until the modern age was reached. Within this orientation historians attempted to discover modern America's roots in her distant past and to follow these roots into the present. An entirely new system of scholarship was invented which systematically connected modern, bureaucratic, individuated America with a less complex version of itself.

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

Prior to the Federal period (1810-1850 or so), the settlement history of Goshen was not represented by any nucleated form or village; most of the occupational activity was initiated within outlying regions. Here a set of dispersed farmsteads was constructed before the American Revolution and then transmitted from one generation to the next. This process of partible descent, enacted within a social structure defined by the lineal family, often continued for more than four or five generations. Today the history and processes associated with the dispersed settlement of Goshen are reflected in the archival records of land transactions as well as the town's standing architecture.

About 1820 two nucleated settlements began to appear in Goshen, one eventually becoming the center village and the other being situated along the Marshepaug River in West Goshen. Each of these villages reflected a form characteristic of urbanization: a concentration of Federal houses, commercial buildings, artisans, and perhaps industrial facilities. Each represented a redefinition of the economy and society of the involved locality. A structure once defined by homogeneity and a lack of specialization was replaced by a system best characterized as modern, complex, and more or less differentiated.

Although each of these settlements did become nucleated - and to some degree urbanized - there was a significant historical difference between the center village of Goshen, which was never more than a residential social place, and West Goshen's mill village. The latter settlement had become, by 1850, a true urban village or central place characterized by a mixture of commerce and business and industry. However by 1900 West Goshen became transformed once more into a pastoral, residential center the equivalent of the center village.

From a second perspective, that defined by a theory of cultural separations and cultural hegemony, modern America's historic past was not a more simplified version of itself but an entirely different world. To be sure, a

new system developed out of an older form, but what appeared was completely segregated from what had gone before. The principles, meanings, and perceptions of land, profit and speculation, and economy and kinship were transformed during the Federal period by the inhabitants of each of Goshen's villages. What appeared was a system of meaning and everyday life whose premises were more capitalist than premodern, more reflective of modern America than its historic antecedants. However neither of these capitalist systems survived the nineteenth century nor were Goshen's dispersed farmsteads or localized industrial centers transformed. For much of its history until the contemporary era after 1950, the everyday lives of Goshen's inhabitants remained unchanged, premodern constructs whose premises were more "primitive" than capitalist. Since this was true any attempt to interpret Goshen's settlement history as a reflection of the gradual appearance of a modern Western ideology will be mistaken. Its real history was always premodern.

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II. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

As in most other contemporary disciplines which are the object of historical scrutiny, American anthropology is beginning to discover that it is no simple task to write an intellectual history of itself and its job. One of the recurring problems is an inability to isolate a single study, report, individual, or perspective which could be interpreted as anthropology's "double helix," the intellectual molecular block out of which the discipline is constructed. Apparently such an object does not exist.

In its place historians of anthropology have substituted an interpretive model or two which reveal the modern discipline's historical roots as well as its source of current theoretical controversy. As an ethnographic science, concerned with the description of "exotic" lifeways, anthropology is at least as old as Christ. However if one wishes to identify anthropology as a theoretically-inspired discipline whose conceptual framework is connected intimately to the invention of a concept of culture, then its birth is more recent, probably one which occurred in Europe (a bit later in America) sometime during the second half of the nineteenth century (see Dolgin et al. 1977, Geertz 1973, Sahlins 1976).

As several scholars have indicated, this theory of culture is best defined as the recognition of separateness or distinctiveness which not only allows for the analytical isolation of a subject and object but also provides an implicit interpretive framework. That is, anthropology's purpose always has been to offer explanations (however poor or familiar) of the lives of people which did not look American, European, or modern. A concept of culture, no matter how it gets worked out, assumes the historical reality of such differentiations and suggests that its distinctive knowledge is a matter of comparison (Boon 1973).

The ontological reality of cultural separations which helped to define the discipline in the nineteenth century was replicated at a different theoretical level in "colonial anthropology's" methodological framework. Once the world became populated with a multitude of "unique" societies and cultures, anthropologists approached each of these bundles as a highly differentiated, segmented organization. While the number of analytical divisions and the specific boundaries between discrete institutional levels varied from one study to the next, all late nineteenth century anthropologists divided the world into two unequal parts: the mundane, overly-familiar, uninteresting world of economy and subsistence and the "sacred," completely unique, "unreal" world of kinship and myth. Since the first was thought of as a universal category - everyone worked, ate, bought and sold, lived and died - it could not offer much in the way of contrast and thus was not at all significant (analytically or interpretively) to a theory of culture.

Unlike economy, kinship and myth were not universals (except as analytical categories); the content and organization and principles of each displayed a bewildering variety which had no analogs in Western societies. By focusing their attention on either or both and by developing interpretive models which could account for the forms which each displayed, anthropologists continually differentiated the everyday lives in "primitive" societies from those of the occupants of the modern world. Thus the analytical recognition and interpretive description of both kinship and myth allowed modern American anthropology by the early twentieth century to assume its distinctive orientation: the

categories found in primitive societies which were their essence and uniqueness did not exist in the modern world.

This perspective provided an epistemological base for almost a century especially in America. Now, in contemporary anthropology, the separation of primitive and modern is being re-thought and analytical concepts once reserved for "Others" are being employed to interpret "Us," the inhabitants of the post-modern world (see Handsman 1980a). The implications of such an intellectual re-figuration are many but one is of crucial theoretical import: once the primitive and civilized worlds are assumed to be homologous in some senses, then the processes associated with myth and kinship must be present in modern societies and their historic, literate antecedants.

If this is true - and we know now that it is - then all archaeological studies of the past should work through and unmask the relationships between modern myths and historic realities. Many of these analyses (which are as of yet unwritten) will reveal what this study of historic settlement in Goshen has discovered:

> *Traditional and even contemporary interpretations of historical processes such as settlement are often founded upon perceptions of the past which are mythical. Such perceptions were invented usually during the second half of the nineteenth century, often have little connection to historic realities, yet are assumed by the inhabitants of modern America to be true.*

The task of the historical archaeologist, as symbolic anthropologist, is to transform these modern myths into "artifacts" and trace their histories of creation, simultaneously offering interpretations of the historic pasts which can account for its inhabitants' everyday lives.

History of the Project

For more than two years the American Indian Archaeological Institute has been involved in undertaking regional surveys of historic resources as part of Connecticut's Survey and Planning Program. Under a series of contractual agreements with the Connecticut Historical Commission, the Research Department has studied two towns' (Goshen and Suffield) architectural and archaeological resources. Each of these projects was focused on understanding how these "artifacts" reflect a history of the processes of settlement within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Between early 1979 and the spring of 1980 the towns of Goshen and Suffield were studied as part of a grant of $37,000 from the Connecticut Historical Commission. Several papers and reports summarize the results of this research project including investigations of the interrelationships of kinship and settlement (Handsman 1980b,c), an interpretation of the cultural reality of historic maps (Hoepfner 1980), and evaluations of the procedures and methodologies used to investigate historic settlement and patterns of land use (Bowen 1980).

During the fall of 1980 and the winter and spring of 1981 these and additional studies continued within the Town of Goshen. This second year of research was financed in part by a Survey and Planning Grant of $10,000 from the Connecticut Historical Commission. These monies were made available with the

assistance of a matching grant-in-aid from the U.S. Department of the Interior through the Connecticut Historical Commission, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

An archival crew of three individuals completed several studies of settlement and kinship during the late fall, winter, and spring of 1980-1981. A field crew of three to four persons continued to compile an inventory of historic archaeological deposits in the Town during the spring. The results of this second phase of archaeological investigations have been summarized on a set of inventory forms and mylar maps and forwarded to the Commission. It is expected that these two years of intensive research will be followed by additional anthropological and historical studies within the next two or three years. Support for these studies will be sought from a number of private foundations and federal agencies which help to fund such research.

Acknowledgements

Financial support for this project was received from the Connecticut Historical Commission as well as from "Friends of Research," a group of individuals who provide funds to support the studies of the Institute's Research Department. Without both of these sources the Institute could not conduct an annual research program.

Several staff members at the Connecticut Historical Commission helped to administer grants during 1979 and 1980 including Dave Poirier, Duarte Alves, Judith Payne, and Clark Strickland. Their support and understanding were invaluable.

Staff members of several libraries provided assistance and access to documents and manuscripts. Among the most significant collections were those of the Litchfield Historical Society in Litchfield, the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, and the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the Connecticut State Library, Hartford. This last repository is attended by a group of competent, responsible, and friendly persons who could never do enough for us.

Ms. Violet Vaill, the Town Clerk of Goshen, aided and comforted us in the early days, introducing us to the marvelous records which have been preserved in Goshen. Her interest in local history is surpassed only by her dedication to preserving it. We salute her efforts and hope that they continue in the future.

Several members of the Goshen Historical Society first guided us to the early studies of Lewis Mills Norton during the winter of 1979. The Society and its president, Margaret Wood, also aided our architectural survey during the following winter. Mr. Richard Calhoun, president of the Torrington Water Company, permitted us to investigate many historic archaeological sites on the Company's property in North Goshen and along East Street. The Anstett family allowed us to conduct test excavations of an early farmstead along the road to Whist Pond.

Several scholars willingly shared their knowledge, studies, and thoughts of southern New England history. Lawrence Hall provided copies of his important histories of North Goshen and Gunstock Hollow. Jack Larkin of Old Sturbridge Village's Research Department introduced us to the concept of the center village. Joseph Wood forwarded a copy of his dissertation which continues

to educate me. I owe an intellectual debt to each of these men and the work of Bruce Daniels, Kenneth Lockridge, and Richard Bushman.

Several individuals have helped to complete a variety of studies which are summarized below. Roberta Hampton and Alice Kitselman conducted field studies of historic sites during the spring of 1981. Alice provided much of the information for the Commission's inventory forms. Barbara Cox undertook the important architectural survey in Goshen and was aided by Roberta Hampton and Shelly Lang. Barbara also participated in two archival studies in Goshen, an examination of kinship and settlement in North Goshen and a study of the history of the industrial settlement of West Goshen. Her work on modern patterns of land use continues to help us evaluate the feasibility of developing archaeological conservancies.

Christine Hoepfner and Ting Moore have also participated in various archival studies of Goshen's history since early 1979. They have been both loyal employees and enthusiastic colleagues who have contributed more than either of them suspects. Chrissie and Ting have always demanded clear explanations and consistent methodologies; because of them I have re-figured this work often. Chrissie studied kinship and settlement in 1979, probate records in 1980, and Goshen's center village in 1981. Ting began with the proprietor system in 1979, continued to study kinship and settlement in 1980 and 1981, undertook an examination of West Goshen in 1981, and helped with the study of the center village last summer. She also drafted many of the diagrams included in this report. We disagree about politics but are equally devoted to history and anthropology.

This report is dedicated to Lewis Mills Norton who, during the first half of the nineteenth century, invented social and settlement history while it was still being performed by "living natives." His genius continues to amaze me; his efforts were prodigious and his work was always clear, concise, and cross-referenced. Without him this study could have been completed, perhaps by 1990. I have also transformed Norton and his studies and thoughts into artifacts. Through them I have re-discovered what Karl Marx already told me: the most significant transition in the world's history is the one which lies between the premodern and modern worlds. That is precisely where Lewis Mills Norton lived for most of his life.

III. AN INTERPRETIVE THEORY OF MODERN MYTH AS IDEOLOGY

From the perspective of a theory of culture as symbols and meanings, American anthropology was not invented until the early twentieth century when Franz Boas and his students began to work through the analytical suppositions inherent in primitive kinship and myth. Each of these domains provided evidence of everyday lives which were constituted at a level distinct from economy and subsistence. Further, as Marshall Sahlins (1976) has revealed so effectively, not only did Boas realize that the meaning of kinship could not be interpreted as practical reason (economy), but he also discovered that kinship and myth and culture were homologous as interpretive theories. Each is unconscious, internally defined and constituted, and always reflected in behavior and language, yet never apparent:

> Boas argued that the formation of a culture, as a process of rendering experience meaningful, necessarily proceeds on a theory - of nature, of man, of man's being in nature. This theory, however, remains unformulated by the human group that lives it (Sahlins 1976:70).

As an analytical strategy, the division of society into institutional levels (economy, politics, kinship, myth, religion) provided anthropologists with "neater packages," units to focus upon when undertaking fieldwork. As interpretive models such separations and divisions were mistaken since they assumed a dissolution of culture and society as wholes or totalities.

In contemporary American anthropology the analytical and interpretive fragmentation of culture is being repaired. Where once one found institutional levels or behavioral subsystems, the anthropologist now can identify totalities or wholes, cultural systems of meaning which encompass all of everyday life. Doing cultural analysis requires a rejection of analytical divisions and substitutes a wholeness through which primitive and modern societies move closer. Such a theoretical equivalence is reflected in both methodological innovation and theoretical discovery.

For example, David Schneider (1968, 1972, 1979, 1980), in a series of articles and monographs which appeared over the span of a decade, has rejected both the assumptions and methods of institutional (he calls it normative) analysis during his studies of modern American kinship. His research implies that the normative unit of the "biological family" has no relevance to the study of American kinship; likewise that the genealogical grid used by family historians in America has no behavioral reality or interpretive meaning. In short a cultural analysis of American kinship reveals that the sharing of "biogenetic substance" is not uniformly valued over a perception of a "code for conduct." Each of these symbols works upon the other in varying manners and provides an unconscious (yet very real) theory which determines how Americans think about, describe themselves and act as kinsmen. So American kinship is not just like any other cultural system; it is "primitive" even though grounded in a completely modern society.

While the interpretive revolution predicated upon Schneider's research is still embryonic it is not too early to predict what will prove to be its most dramatic developments. Once it is realized that American kinship, at a cultural level of interpretation, is homologous with non-Western systems, then future research will be devoted to the questions of historical emergence

and the structures of modern myths and historic realities: how and why and when does American kinship become transformed into the conceptual model of the FAMILY? And how is this conceptual model constantly reflected and substantiated in modern America - as myth - so its inhabitants (which is to say, Us) believe that it is as valid a reconstruction of the historic past as it is an interpretation of contemporary social relationships?

Each of these questions implies that the modern world has misinterpreted its recent past. As the modern myth and its associated histories are unmasked new interpretations of historic societies and cultures will appear. During 1979 and 1980 preliminary accounts of historic Goshen were completed which developed an understanding of the structure and role of premodern American kinship.

These studies (see Handsman 1980b,c) demonstrated that the model of the biological family as metaphor for kinship did not appear until the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Prior to this period American kinship was enacted as a cultural system where the symbol of a "code for conduct" or diffuse, enduring solidarity encompassed and defined the sharing of biogenetic substance. In a very real sense kinship in premodern America was not a matter of genealogical structures and connections (the so-called "grid") but consisted of perceptions of "diffuse, yet enduring solidarity" which were capable of denying a biological relationship of descent (or even a social bond through marriage) or, working in the reverse, of manufacturing one when no such connection existed.

This cultural system of kinship seems to have provided any particular community with its "basic premises for everyday life," a theory which allowed daily experience to proceed, not as a senseless set of actions, but within a framework which rendered it meaningful:

> While additional research needs to be undertaken, it is clear that land transactions and their relationship to settlement patterns were not situated solely within individualized families but were defined and encompassed by an implicit cultural system of kinship. Individuals did not always act as economically-motivated discrete persons - in fact, they probably never acted that way - but as members of kin groups whose perception of kinship was not defined by blood, marriage, or money (Handsman 1980b:6).

Such interpretations are ethnographic accounts of the historic past which differ radically from those written during the late nineteenth century as well as those which appeared during the modern and contemporary eras. A juxtaposition of these theoretically distinct accounts with those produced in modern times by the "New Social Historians" and at living historical farms (museological sites) reveals the processes through which the modern world distorts any past, creating the illusion of an eternal sameness (see Handsman 1980c, 1981a). Such illusions are myths; their use is in most senses homologous with this category in primitive societies so that both myth and kinship are now known to exist in Western worlds. Such a realization provides both the epistemological beginning and the theoretical structure of this work.

The Modern Structures of Myth, History, and Ideology: A Theory of Cultural Hegemony

Where concepts of culture or society determined anthropology's perspective through the 1950's and behavior or structural oppositions did in the 1960's and 1970's, so theories of cultural separation and hegemony will dominate our intellectual modes during the remainder of this century and probably beyond. In his now expected and so classically elegant style, Clifford Geertz (1975, 1980) has twice gazed upon contemporary intellectual activity and resolved all of the muddle into "obvious" signs of an epistemological and ontological rebirth:

> It is a phenomenon general enough and distinctive enough to suggest that what we are seeing is not just another redrawing of the cultural map - the moving of a few disputed borders, the marking of some more picturesque mountain lakes - but an alteration of the principles of mapping. Something is happening to the way we think about the way we think (Geertz 1980:166).

Such a rebirth is not the product of a constantly accumulating and progressive revisionism but is a reflection of a truly gestalt-like transformation which is replacing one style and tradition of anthropology with a second whose roots are both Marxist and Boasian - concerned with understanding the historical uniqueness of modern society and primitive culture.

A theory of cultural hegemony is in one sense a theory of ideology, an examination of the processes through which the categories and divisions of contemporary Western societies become utilized to make analytical and interpretive sense of the everyday lives of others who inhabited the historically-known or even prehistoric eras. The transposition of our world and its form and principles of organization into other societies and civilizations (see Dumont 1975) is usually unrecognized and unmarked, working as a completely unconscious formulation.[1] The effects of constructing such identities are historically distorting since the ensuing interpretations achieve a sense of the familiar through artificial reflections, not a true comparative, cultural understanding.

Each world, what Boas and others referred to as a culture, is formulated and organized through ideology - a theory about "the basic separations which people make in their life activities" (Barnett and Silverman 1979a:3). Ideology consists of the "taken-for-granteds," a world of implicit domains and categories (and more importantly, the relationships between them) which determines how people perceive themselves and their lives and those of others, and act through these perceptions. Ideology is not behavior but a cultural system of meaning which establishes the "fields" within which behavior is enacted:

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

The original, "primal" invention of an interpretive theory of culture was founded upon the differentiation of ideology from social norms. Further, the study of both kinship and myth revealed that an analytical priority must be

assigned to ideology or anthropologists would assume mistakenly that their implicit system of domains and categories was homologous with those which were formulated by other societies in "distant" times and places. The construction of such identities allows anthropology to populate the world with a multitude of modern, Western societies, destroying the original heterogeneity upon which the discipline was founded.

For example, Louis Dumont (1970, 1977a) has shown how the modern, Western separation of kinship from economy, when transferred to Asian Indian villages, alters India's structural principles of caste into a form of racism. By revealing that there is no cultural separation between kinship and economy and that the basic premise of Indian civilization has always been constituted by a principle of hierarchy, Dumont transforms caste into a completely transparent system. In short, there is a profound difference between Indian hierarchy and Euroamerican stratification and discrimination.

In the same way, studies by the Institute in Litchfield County (focused on the settlement and urbanization of center villages) are continuing to identify the categories and domains which were used by its historic inhabitants to constitute their everyday lives. The inventory of such constructs or "taken-for-granteds" does not include any of the analytical categories which are used traditionally by modern historians. For example, during both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the category of person or individual did not exist except as each was defined by the greater and encompassing domain of kinship (Handsman 1980d). When contemporary historians assume that categories such as "the family" or "the individual" or "profit" or "the entrepreneur" existed in premodern Litchfield County they are transposing modern American categories into the historic past. The interpretive units labeled "persons," "economy," "families," "class," "genealogy," and "profit" simply were not present in premodern New England; none of these constructs were used to differentiate the world in the historic past (Handsman 1980b,c; 1981a).

This process of modern transposition operates at the level of the completely familiar or unconscious, effecting continuities with premodern worlds whose substance and structure were distinct from our own. Usually this interpretive homogenization is intellectual in orientation; sometimes the process does have a political reality, supporting the domination and colonization of Others (see the studies of Asad 1973, 1975; Hirst 1976; Miller 1972). Although its effects are variable, ideological transposition always makes "sense" of something out-of-the-ordinary or unfamiliar by altering that institution or belief or practice into a logical, practical, predictable, and commonplace object. And what is logical, practical, predictable, and commonplace to the anthropologist or historian is his world, not someone else's.

From this perspective there is no profound theoretical or analytical difference between ideology and myth. Both conceptualize or explain the inexplicable; each operates within any specific community or culture as unconscious formulations; both are capable of being transformed at any moment; each makes sense out of non-sense:

> On the one hand it would seem that in the course of a myth anything is likely to happen. There is no logic, no continuity. Any characteristic can be attributed to any subject; every conceivable relation can be found. With myth, everything becomes possible (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 208).

At a second level - one which is far more interpretive and insightful - myth should be distinguished from ideology. The former, as the studies of Claude Lévi-Strauss suggest, is actually a semantic domain, a process which invents and transmutes equivalences and contrasts so any group can differentiate itself from both nature and other societies. It is a matter of formulating a cultural code which is capable of both internal definition and external separation (see Boon and Schneider 1974).

Unlike myth, ideology is not a matter of constructing boundaries or separations but functions in modern society as a process through which what is differentiated becomes assimilated. In writing history (or even prehistory) the modern world unconsciously invents its past in its own image, a process best described as cultural hegemony.[2] Anthropological studies of the implicit rendering of such identities may focus on three different facets of this process:

1) The modern action of homogenization where the past is made into a mirror image of the present.

2) The historical constitution of some past as a culturally-meaningful entity distinct from the present.

3) The historical emergence of modern life, marked by processes such as differentiation, specialization, urbanization, and industrialization, as well as the redefinition of everyday cultural categories and domains such as the family, the individual, the village, religion, and society.

The task of a reconstituted Neomarxist anthropology and that of a reinvented historical archaeology is the same: to examine ideology, not as primitive myth, but as a modern process and structure which masks the historical uniqueness of premodern societies and cultures beneath a veneer of late nineteenth century constructs and postmodern archetypes.

The remainder of this report is a first attempt at incorporating elements of critical theory, symbolic anthropology, and Neomarxist thought into American history and historical archaeology. It is a study of the historic processes of settlement as they were worked out in the Town of Goshen during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Since its epistemological suppositions are interwoven with the concept of ideology and cultural hegemony, this study is also concerned with unmasking the implicit forms or myths which historians and other modern Americans employ to transform the historic past into a duplicate of the modern world.

IV. HISTORIC AND MODERN MYTHS OF SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

Implicit within the Neomarxist theory of ideology are a series of contrasts - primitive and civilized, myth and history, cultural meaning and practical logic, premodern and modern eras; each of these dualities is metaphor for any of the others. These oppositions reflect as well the primal separation of the everyday lives of anthropologists from the lives of the peoples they study. The process of creating and substantiating myths in the modern era, cultural hegemony, works through the implicit recognition and equation of two worlds. One of these is familiar while the second is unknown, yet observable.

Much of the historiographic debate in both anthropology and history is associated with the recognition that the relationship between these two separate realities is critical to an adequate understanding of any past and present. Individuals in both disciplines now agree that in the historic past there were two times and places when the connections between these realities were transformed significantly.

The first was during the Italian Renaissance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. when scholars invented the concept of perspective distance. At that time it was realized that in order to study the past people must separate themselves from their present and immerse themselves fully in both the cultural context and historical period of the group being studied. In order to understand the Greeks, who were different from Renaissance peoples, it was necessary to become a Greek. So it was agreed that any past was truly dead and separate from any present. All subsequent historical and anthropological knowledge was based upon the supposed truth of this separation (Rowe 1965). This theory, while quite familiar and reminiscent of more modern perspectives, had barely begun to transform historical scholarship when its foundation was destroyed by the Enlightenment's equation of culture and nature.

By substituting a theory of rational, economically-motivated, ecologically-perfect social behavior for one predicated upon culture and action as meaning, eighteenth century scholars assumed that everyone everywhere was the same. So the analytical recognition of discreteness embedded within the earlier concept of perspective distance was replaced by an orientation which was defined by the assumption of similitude.

For more than one hundred years the Enlightenment's theory of "culture as biology" dominated historical scholarship. It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that ideas of separation, discreteness, relativity, and meaning reappeared in the work of European scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, Marcel Mauss, and Max Weber. While their orientations, empirical interests, motivations, and reputations were remarkably dissimilar, their interpretive models worked through an explicit differentiation of two worlds; a premodern, precapitalist, primitive entity was separated from a modern, fully-capitalist, Western "civilization" (Dolgin et al. 1977).

It was obvious by 1900 that everyday life in Europe was significantly different from what had existed before. A perspective was invented within this historical context of industrialization and colonialism which employed the obvious realities of these transformations to suggest that socioeconomic and cultural separations were both real and capable of being used as theoretical frame-

works. Thus an intellectual tradition in Europe was born within the differentiation of two worlds, a perspective which is still active and innovative today.

In America during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the same sort of transformation of everyday life was becoming apparent. Here the processes associated with this history of societal transmogrification were encompassed by continuing industrialization, urbanism, and immigration. It was obvious that people's lives were different and that the modern world which was appearing would be quite distinct from that which had gone before. However unlike the European intellectual tradition, which explicitly recognized this contrast and used it as an analytical framework, American historians dissolved the opposition by searching for the roots of modern America in its historic past. The result was that the historic past became a mirror image, albeit simpler and more pastoral, of the modern world and modern America became a larger version of its former self. So history was homogenized in America and a myth invented that modern societies had always existed. As history was rethought as having no processual depth, the New England village and society became an artifact whose past reality was assumed to mirror its contemporary form.

"Victorian" Perspectives on Historical Settlement in New England

During the late nineteenth century, the so-called Victorian Era in New England, historians in Connecticut invented a discipline whose premises were founded upon this process of homogenization. Reflected in an outpouring of "town histories," an orientation appeared which assumed that the historic past was the equivalent of the present. The task of any historian, it was thought, simply was to trace the connections between the two "times," to discover the late nineteenth century in seventeenth or eighteenth century colonial villages.

One result of this approach was that the spatial form of late nineteenth century towns or villages became a model for the reconstruction of the settlement history of earlier occupations. During the Victorian period the settlement pattern of each town(ship) in southern New England exhibited a distinctive arrangement: one or more nucleated villages surrounded by a "sea" of individuated farmsteads and milling facilities. As one's analytical focus changed from outlying agricultural hamlets to nucleated settlements, so did one's interpretation of each town's settlement history.

For example, since most center villages had become nucleated to some degree by 1870-1880, it was assumed that compact settlements had always existed in Connecticut. Evidence in support of such reconstructions could be discovered in the descriptions of colonial travelers including Timothy Dwight, were represented in the material objects produced in the nineteenth century, and was implicit in the work of Victorian historians as well as their intellectual descendants.

* * * * * *

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

In many cases Timothy Dwight's four volume monograph, Travels in New England and New York (reprinted 1969), contains the only known descriptions of the lifeways of the inhabitants of Connecticut and Massachusetts at the turn of the nineteenth century. The sorts of observations which he made included descriptions of educational practices, social and religious activities and beliefs, moral behavior, local economic conditions, features of the regional habitat, and the physical form of New England's communities. Dwight provides us with a series of intriguing verbal "maps" of the towns he visited and it is these maps or, rather, Dwight's interpretation of them, which offer an insight into the history of the development of colonial villages in southern New England.

As Timothy Dwight visited a variety of settlements he often commented upon the nucleated form of New England's villages - clusters of predominantly white houses surrounding a village green and crossroads setting itself encompassed by corporate and individualized land holdings where crops were cultivated and livestock was reared. As he traveled throughout Connecticut in 1796 the villages which he encountered "looked" to be nucleated. In fact we have no reason to suspect that what he saw was otherwise. However what is questionable is the manner in which Dwight thought about the history of these patterns. For him the nucleated form of villages which he observed in the 1790's was reflective both of the present and of the past at that time:

> It is a remarkable fact that New England was colonized in a manner widely different from that which prevailed in the other British colonies. All the ancient and a great part of the modern townships were settled in what may be called the village manner: the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small towns / nucleated pattern /. In many / other / parts of this country the planters have almost universally fixed themselves on their several farms, each placing his house where his own convenience dictated / dispersed pattern / (Dwight Volume I, 1969:244, amendments mine).

New England's settlements were nucleated because each town(ship) or village had been colonized or inhabited in that manner so that the settlement mode of the 1790's was a direct replica, perhaps larger, of the pattern initially established by each town's original settlers. More than one century later some Victorian scholars employed Dwight's model of settlement as a conceptual framework to guide their analyses and interpretations.

* * * * * *

The Victorian reconstructions of the historic settlement of New England's villages, built upon an assumed timeless form, were corroborated by evidence isolated within popular illustrations which appeared during the early nineteenth century. For example in 1838, John Warner Barber's Connecticut Historical Collections was published, including a series of woodcuts which depicts the nucleated form and components (residential units, mercantile establishments, Congregational churches, schools) of many of Connecticut's center villages.

As was the work of his more modern artistic descendants, including Eric Sloane and Grandma Moses, Barber's woodcuts were imbued with a sense of myth. These settlements had no history, they were immortal and eternal and had appeared

full-blown upon New England's landscape at some remote time. As such their nucleated form reflected an unbroken tradition of covenants extending towards the Mayflower Compact, Puritan ethics, and popular conceptions of each.

Barber's illustration of the center village of Goshen (reproduced in Figure 1), representing the settlement situated at the intersection of Routes 4 and 63, incorporates many of the architectural features which continue to exist in the modern village. One can recognize the columned portico of the Congregational Church (though it was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century), the Federal-styled Goshen Academy, the early Greek Revival facade on the center's store, and also earlier Georgian structures built during the second half of the eighteenth century. This sense of architectural familiarity, constructed from the recognition of diagnostic features, substantiated an interpretation which transposed modern or Victorian communities into the past.

Comparable representations appeared elsewhere in Litchfield County during the first half of the nineteenth century; some reflected "folk" (non-elitist or "peasant") perceptions of center villages. Included among these was an 1825 water color of the nucleated settlement of Cornwall, Connecticut (Figure 2). This painting, by a Chippewa Indian from Cornwall's Foreign Mission School, portrays a cluster of houses and public buildings surrounded by a variety of pastures, vegetable plots, orchards, and cultivated fields. The distribution, orientation, and number of houses and other landscape features is almost duplicated by a map of the same locality published by F. W. Beers in 1874.[3]

Early twentieth century scholars used similar or identical accounts and artifacts to reconstruct the history of settlement in colonial New England. Predictably their interpretations did not differ radically from those of their Victorian predecessors. Percy Bidwell's (1916:252) description of the pattern and logic of historic settlement in the area epitomizes these more modern studies:

> It was these village settlements which, as President Dwight so clearly pointed out, distinguished southern New England from the Southern states as well as from the frontier regions of the northern parts of New England and from the new communities in the Western states. Resulting originally from a need of protection from the hostile natives and also from the desire to have dwellings convenient to the place of religious worship, these villages became a traditional part of New England life and served to foster the growth of a communal spirit. They made possible compulsory education of children and in general prevented the degeneration in manners and morals which inevitably follows as a consequence of dispersion of people in a new country.

Thus Bidwell's identification of an initial settlement form - the nucleated village - is described not only as an efficient and practical response to "frontier conditions," but also is interpreted as a reflection of the New England community spirit. However when one's analytical focus shifted from center villages to dispersed farmsteads, a second, completely distinct intellectual tradition appeared (see Table I).

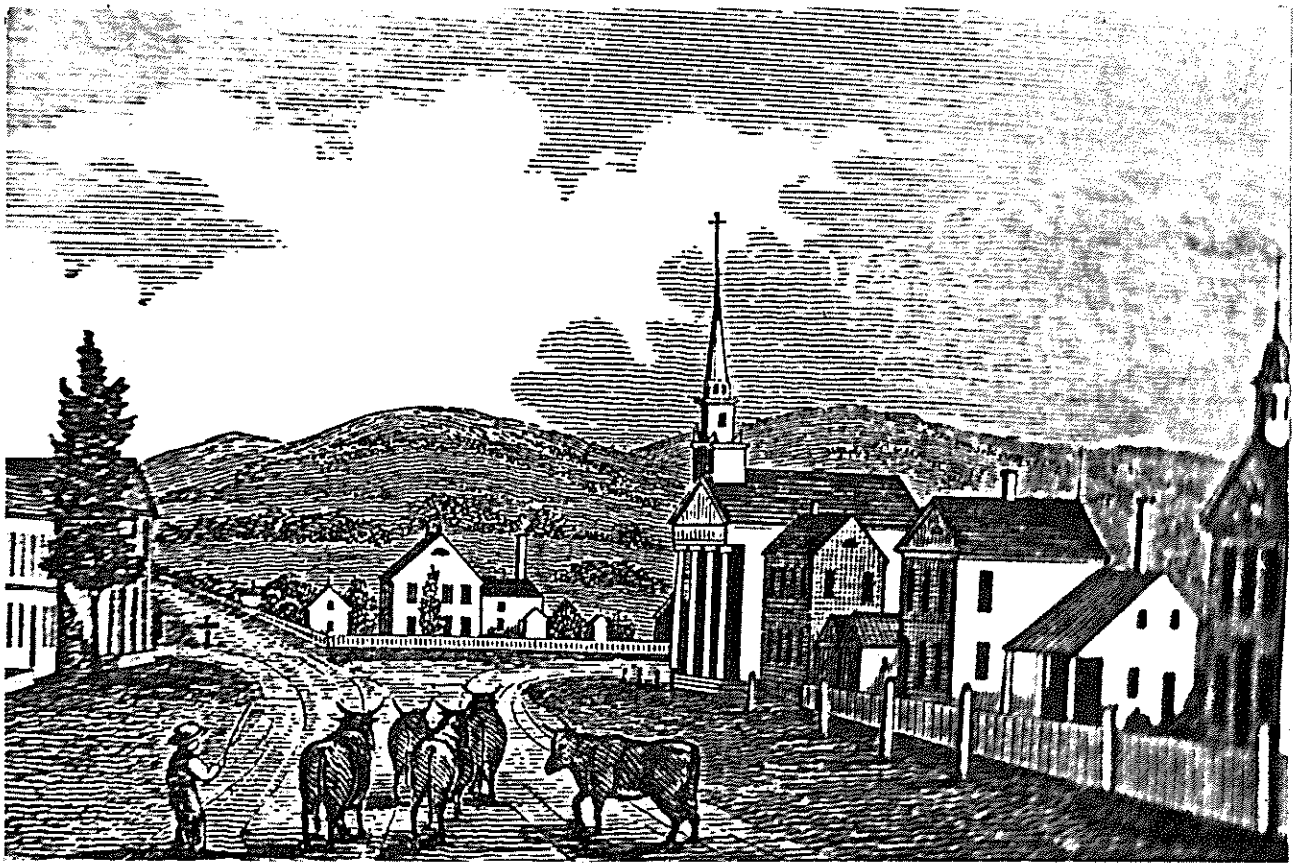


Figure 1. 1838 Woodcut of the Center Village of Goshen, Connecticut (reproduced from John Barber's Connecticut Historical Collections). Note the Federal architecture of the Congregational Church, the general store (on the left), and several of the houses on the east side of "Main Street." An earlier Georgian structure is located in the central part of the photograph.

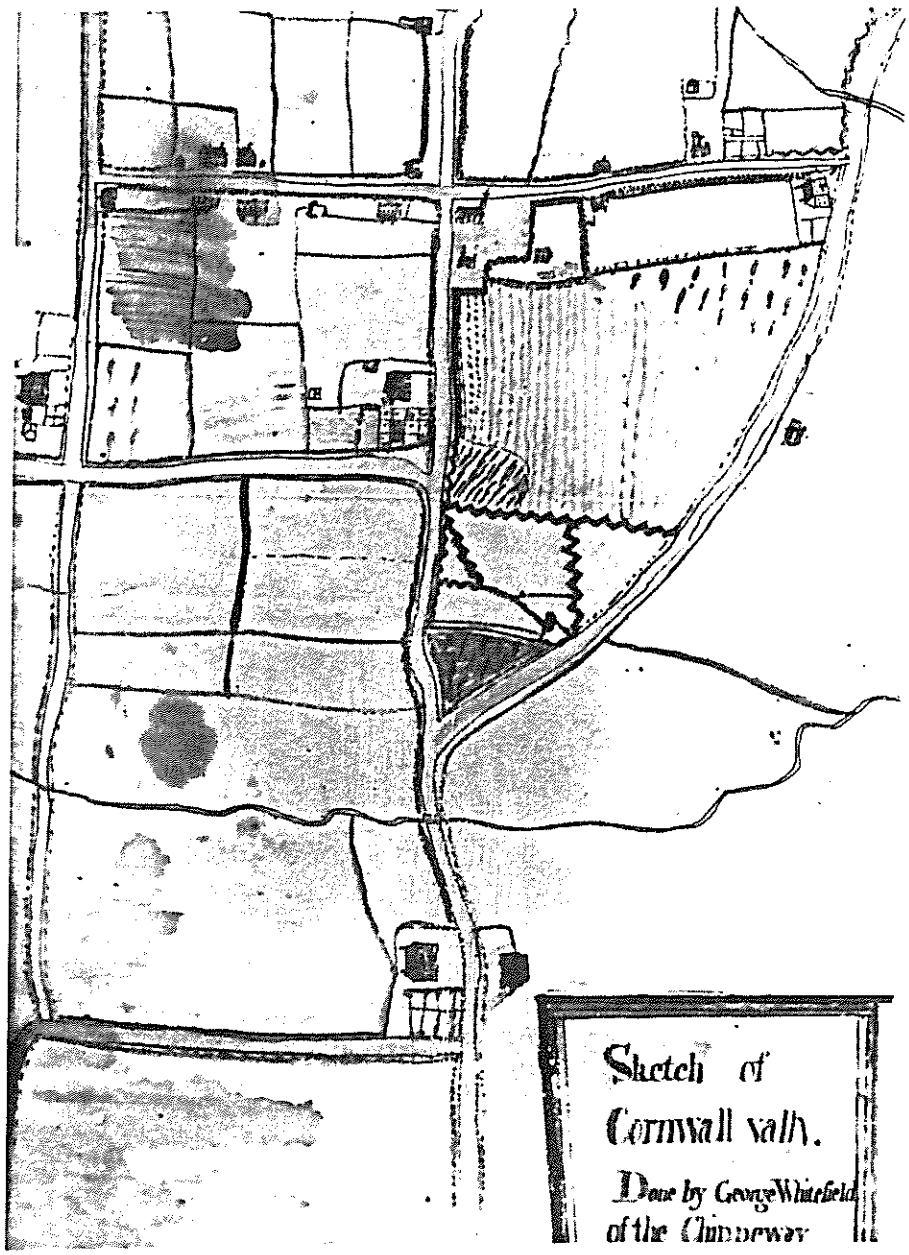


Figure 2. 1825 Watercolor of the Center Village of Cornwall, Connecticut. This nucleated settlement appeared during the first decade of the 19th century and reflects the village's importance as a center for education. Photograph of a painting done by George Whitehead, a Chippewa Indian, while a student at the Cornwall Mission School. Original in the collection of the Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, Connecticut.

Table I: Victorian Interpretations of Settlement and Life during the Colonial Period

Model A	*Category or Domain*	*Model B*
Nucleated Villages	*Analytical Focus*	*Dispersed Farmsteads*
Communal	*Philosophical Spirit*	*Individualism*
Puritan "Father"	*Mythical Image*	*Yankee Farmer*
Community	*Social Organization*	*Congeries of Individuals*
Religious Covenants	*Institutional Mechanism*	*Economic Proprietor System*

Unlike the classic Victorian model, this tradition recognized a second component in each town's settlement pattern - dispersed agricultural farmsteads and hamlets. These units were seen as reflections of an individualistic spirit founded upon economic sense and enacted by that archetype of entrepreneurial skill, the independent Connecticut Yankee. Where one society's origin was connected to a belief system founded upon a primal covenant with God, the second demonstrated the success of the Protestant Ethic and recognized the significance of a "speculative spirit":

> Seventeenth-century land grants had bound the inhabitants to the town, and the vote of admission carried with it solid benefits; . . . . This tie was broken when the distribution of land became solely the function of private proprietors . . . . In each transaction money was at the nexus. The inhabitant owned land not by virtue of the town's benevolence, but because he had paid for his acres. His involvement in the community was less an engagement to a social and religious commonweal than participation in a company of landowners (Bushman 1970:76-77).

At one interpretive level, founded upon the recognition of the significance of context, two discrete historical reconstructions were produced during the Victorian era. From a second perspective, one defined by theories of historical and behavioral process, these distinct conceptual models were homologous. Each assumed that the categories and domains of the modern world (nucleated villages, individuals, entrepreneurs) existed in the historic past. Both denied implicitly the analytical significance of urbanization and capitalism by constructing uninterrupted continuities between the premodern and modern eras (Handsman 1981a). Only recently has a third intellectual tradition appeared which attempts to mediate the discrepancies between these two interpretations and reveal how modern America evolved.

The Modern Perspective and Myth

It has been about one decade since social and economic historians and cultural geographers began to realize that Dwight's descriptions of nucleated villages - long since "fossilized" by Yankee Magazine and cigarette ads - were but artifacts of his era. While his accounts were true to his time they could not be thought of as accurate reflections of either earlier or later periods. To do so was to invite modern historians literally to forget that each village had grown or developed, perhaps even died, over the preceding two centuries. It was an amnesia that could be overcome only by realizing that Timothy Dwight, like all historians and anthropologists, was a product of his historically-situated society and culture, as were his writings.

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

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

During the early 1970's New England's historians began to appreciate the complexities of studying some past, the result of radical differences between the frameworks founded upon perspective distance and the more recent homogenization of the past and the present. Geographers looking for new dimensions or worlds to explore turned their gaze upon the historic past and discovered that neither Dwight nor his intellectual descendants had been correct. Through incredibly detailed studies of a variety of archival data cultural geographers were able to situate Dwight's nucleated villages and those of the next century within a developmental sequence. This continuum indicated that the pattern of nucleation was the result of a series of historical (in particular population growth) as well as economic processes (increasing specialization and trade) which worked together to transform the landscape of many of New England's towns (see Daniels 1979, McManis 1975:41-85, Wood 1978):

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

Prior to the emergence of Federal nucleated villages the landscape of Connecticut and elsewhere was dominated by a pattern of dispersed farmsteads surrounded by individualized land holdings including farm plots, wood lots, and pastures (Table II). The distance between successive farmsteads was quite variable and a function of factors such as wealth, family size, and regional population. Somewhere within the boundaries of towns small clusters of buildings were situated - a meetinghouse, tavern, one or two residences, perhaps a store or mill. These localities served as social centers primarily for the exchange of gossip, good will, and just as often, threats and curses. Eventually some of these social places might have become transformed during the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries into larger, more diversified settlements. These became the nucleated villages so beloved by Timothy Dwight and later historians as well as modern Americans.

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

Town	Number of Inhabitants in Center Village	Date	% of Total Population
Fairfield	*510*	*1777*	*8*
Farmington	*300*	*1781*	*5*
HARTFORD	*1500*	*1786*	*31*
Harwinton	*0*	*1786*	*0*
Litchfield	*300*	*1781*	*10*
Middletown	*1140*	*1783*	*14*
NEW HAVEN	*1968*	*1772*	*25*
Sharon	*60*	*1776*	*3*
Simsbury	*108*	*1736*	*8*
Washington	*48*	*1781*	*3*

Those towns that are capitalized had become center villages by the turn of the nineteenth century. Otherwise the data demonstrates that the majority of each town's inhabitants were living outside the center village through the end of the eighteenth century.

**Based upon Appendix X in Bruce Daniels' (1979:197) The Connecticut Town.*

This contemporary "revisionist" version of the developmental history of settlement and everyday life, dependent upon the recognition of the interpretive significance of rural urbanization, has preserved ontological elements from each of the Victorian models. Analytical priority is not assigned to either dispersed or nucleated settlements. Each is situated within an unbroken, lineal continuum which extends from the distant, historic past to the early yet modern world.

In the same way the interpretive dualities of community or individual and family or entrepreneur have been rewritten to recognize the importance of both social and economic context or situation (see Henretta 1978). If one focuses upon center villages and their histories of urbanization, it is a simple task to isolate signs of "profit seeking" and speculation, economically-motivated activities undertaken by real persons. A different perspective can be identified amongst the inhabitants of more rural farmsteads whose lives were only marginally affected by the processes associated with urbanization:

> The lineal family - not the conjugal unit and certainly not the unattached individual - thus stood at the center of economic and social existence in northern agricultural society in pre-industrial America. The interlocking relationship between the biological life cycle and the system of agricultural (and domestic) production continued to tie the generations together even as the wider economic structure was undergoing a massive transformation and as the proportion of farming families in the population was steadily declining. Most men, women and children in this yeoman society continued to view the world through the prism of family values.

> This cultural outlook - this inbred pattern of behavior - set certain limits on personal autonomy, entrepreneurial activity, religious membership, and even political imagery (Henretta 1978:32).

* * * * * *

During the last decade the study and production of New England history became transformed through the addition of a series of conceptual fields and domains. New England's settlement patterns were re-classified as dispersed or nucleated, new processes were recognized including urbanization and industrialization, and a formerly monolithic (and primeval) social structure was differentiated into family and individual. The field of everyday life was re-thought as an interaction between kinship and economy.

The appearance of such interpretive domains and separations reflects a radical divergence from the theoretical modes of Victorian scholars. Links or continuities to the past continue to be stressed, but not as a simple or obvious process of homogenization. Rather these bonds are examined within a framework whose structure is determined by intensive studies of institutions, cultural systems of symbols and meanings and their relationship to both norms and actions, and the historical processes of urbanization, specialization, and differentiation.

The remainder of this report re-interprets the history of the rural town and community of Goshen, Connecticut. Each analysis begins with a Victorian model and traces its assumptions, then substitutes a more modern and revisionist theory of historical reality, illustrating the continuities and discontinuities between our lives and those of our historic, literate ancestors.

V. THE PROPRIETOR SYSTEM OF CONNECTICUT'S WESTERN LANDS AND A HISTORY OF DISPERSED SETTLEMENT IN GOSHEN

The appearance of new analytical concepts and interpretive models in New England history is a sign of the discovery of older empirical generalizations (reconstructions) as well as theoretical innovation. The introduction of an ontological framework defined by developmental and processual questions (borrowed from historical geographers) continues to revolutionize the field. Simultaneously some of this intellectual renovation is the result of an intensive and continuing period of historiography as scholars return to earlier analyses of institutions and behavior. They seek to discover insights within patterns which were first isolated during the Victorian and early modern eras.

The recognition of dispersed farmsteads and other facilities as the primal settlement pattern reflects in part this process of rethinking older reconstructions. For example contemporary historians of New England settlement have returned to the earlier analyses of Roy H. Akagi (1924) and Dorothy Deming (1933a,b), focusing their "revisionist gaze" upon efforts to characterize the institutional structure of town proprietorship.

One outcome of these studies has been a more adequate and detailed knowledge of the differences between two proprietor systems (see Daniels 1979:8-44, Garvan 1951:51-77, McManis 1975:41-85, Wood 1978:34-57): an initial institution of "common land and house lots" whose structure and principles reveal European antecedants and a second, later proprietor system which has been described as "speculative and commercial." This body of recent scholarship is intended to answer several questions:

1) How can the differences between these two systems be characterized and what are their histories?

2) How is each reflected in a specific town's settlement pattern and history and system of land divisions and individual lots?

3) What is the significance of each system in the everyday lives of a town's inhabitants?

4) Does the second proprietor system mark the appearance of a different cultural system of meaning whose premises are economic, practical, and commercial?

Our studies of Goshen's settlement history have isolated data and interpretations which are relevant to each of these questions. This chapter and the next two summarize this knowledge.

The Conventional Models of Proprietorship

By the beginning of the fifth decade of the seventeenth century two clusters of settlements had appeared on Connecticut's landscape. The first, consisting of the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, was inhabited by "immigrants" from southeastern Massachusetts. Each of these settlements was situated along the banks of the Connecticut River between Long Island Sound and the Massachusetts border. A second cluster of settlements, which actually consisted of only New Haven prior to 1660, had also begun to emerge. Between 1650 and 1715 much of the land east of the Connecticut River and along the

coast was divided into towns and settled by groups who emigrated from these two original clusters (see McManis 1975:42-53).

Further growth and development continued during the remainder of the period prior to the American Revolution and was characterized by two separate processes. In those towns which had been settled earlier, subdivision and internal growth continued, particularly within the center villages. The outlying districts which contained isolated farms, agricultural hamlets, or small-scale industrial settlements exhibited more stable patterns of land use. Such constancy was the result, in part, of an exhaustion of undivided cultivable land as each town's population grew during the decades after the turn of the eighteenth century. Recent studies (see Grant 1972, Greven 1970, Lockridge 1968, 1972) have demonstrated that such patterns of scarcity occurred repeatedly in many New England towns, usually within three generations of initial settlement.

As a result of this dilemma the rate of emigration continued to increase in Connecticut as did local population levels. As the available lands were surveyed and new towns were formed (and incorporated) east of the Connecticut River and along the lower reaches of major watercourses, groups of individuals began to demand access to undivided and unchartered lands in the state's northwestern corner (Deming 1933b). Between 1737 and 1761, 19 towns were incorporated in Connecticut. All but three of these were located within or directly adjacent to Litchfield County, then Connecticut's northwestern frontier (Daniels 1979:33).

The system of proprietorship which appeared in Litchfield County's towns was very different from the structure employed by the original inhabitants of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. The earlier institution, supposedly modeled in some sense after older English practices, was characterized by both compactness and dispersion. Following grants made to a group of founding settlers by the General Court of Massachusetts or the Crown or groups of Native Americans (usually by purchase without prior consent), an initial, compact center village was surveyed. It consisted of a set of contiguous small house lots situated on both sides of a central street (see Andrews 1889, McManis 1975:53-63). The remaining parcels of each settlers' holdings were distributed throughout the town, usually selected from commonly-held wood lots, pasture, and agricultural plots.

According to this conventional model, the outlying area was under-occupied when compared to the center village yet its lands were used heavily for agriculture and as a source of raw materials. The compact settlement in the center village became the focus for further growth, eventually resulting in the appearance of urbanized nucleated settlements. Dwight's classic account of the history of settlement in the area is founded upon a belief in the historical uniqueness of this conventional model.

The morphology of this settlement form and history is supposed to reflect a number of variables which interacted within the northern portions of the New World: "The 'convention' in effect argues that certain settlement functions, defense, community maintenance / the Puritan tenet /, requirements of the land system, brought about the / compact / settlement form, or at least prescribed it" (Wood 1978:50, amendments mine).

Concurrently the pattern of dispersed land holdings which is associated with the initial settlement of early towns along the Connecticut River provides a source for future trends: it encouraged individuals to consolidate their scattered holdings into a more efficient unit which could then provide a nucleus for future construction and occupation (McManis 1975:59-60). Thus this convention argues for an historical sequence of initial compactness or centralization followed by one or more phases of decentralization. Often this second process is interpreted as a reflection of the appearance of an individualistic philosophy, substantiated by the events prior to the American Revolution.

During the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, as Connecticut's northwestern frontier was opened to settlement, a different proprietors' system emerged. Where the earlier institution was evidenced in an initial compact settlement, reflective of religious tenets and some sense of community, this structure was represented by dispersed settlement. Both the institution and its morphological representation on the landscape are interpreted as signs of a new world view or mentalité:

> Although traces of this communalism can be found in the settling of the last of Connecticut's lands in Litchfield County, by and large that spirit had been replaced by one of individualism. . . . Perhaps the best symbol of this erosion of the communal spirit and the growth of competitive individualism can be seen in the differing methods by which lands were acquired: in the first generation, land was assigned in one large tract at no cost to the recipients . . . in the settling of the last area of Connecticut unpeopled by Englishmen, land was sold in individual shares by an auctioneer to whoever could pay the highest price (Daniels 1979:43-44).

The history of settlement patterns of towns in Litchfield County reverses the classic sequence described for the early river towns. Here an initial and continuing phase of dispersed or decentralized patterning was followed by the growth and development of nucleated settlements. During this second period the process of settling and subdividing outlying areas also continued and small-scale social places may have emerged. Eventually some of these developed into true villages of varying degrees of complexity.

The initial settlement form on Connecticut's northwest frontier was determined largely by the structure and principles of the second system of proprietorship. This form was also thought of as providing a structural base from which urbanization, industrialization, and capitalism could proceed. As historical geographers began to study a multitude of frontier situations, all of which were equivalent to that which existed in Litchfield County, they began to identify clearly those processes through which premodern settlement and society became modern. These analyses were not hampered by those factors which complicated the settlement history of towns and villages of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; there was no concern about defense, few signs of an older, Anglican system of land tenure, and no need to trace connections to Puritan tenets. Since initial settlement was not nucleated, contemporary scholars could ignore this myth and focus their attention on reconstructing historical processes and everyday lives.

Opening Connecticut's Northwest Frontier

Prior to 1720 the towns of New Milford and Litchfield had been organized, settled, and incorporated in Litchfield County. During the next two decades, as many communities and families began to recognize the problem of scarce land, Connecticut's Assembly was petitioned to offer grants and allow settlement in the region. In 1726 amidst much controversy and bitterness, the Assembly divided the remainder of the county into two parts: an eastern "half" jointly owned by Hartford and Windsor whose original grant was deeded in 1687 and a western "half" which was to be owned and managed by the General Assembly. This second half included all of the area to the north and west of the Town of Torrington's southwestern corner (Daniels 1979:27-34, Deming 1933b, Grant 1972:9-11).

Unlike Hartford and Windsor, the General Assembly had little trouble in locating individuals who were willing to purchase lots on the "new frontier." An initial plan to sell parcels by subscription was rejected because the Assembly was overwhelmed with requests. After a period of debate and false starts, it was agreed in May of 1737 to offer 50 shares in each new town to individuals at public auction. An additional three shares were included in each town and could not be purchased by individuals through competitive bidding. The lands and proceeds associated with these additional shares were to be used to support the ecclesiastical society, the original Congregational minister, and each local school system.[4]

Table III: Townships on the Northwestern Frontier (Grant 1972:10)

Name	*Site of Auction*	*Date of Auction*	*Date of Incorporation*
Goshen	*New Haven*	*1737*	*1739*
Cornwall	*Fairfield*	*1738*	*1740*
Canaan	*New London*	*1738*	*1739*
Kent	*Windham*	*1738*	*1739*
Norfolk	*Hartford*	*1738*	*1758*
Salisbury	*Hartford*	*1738*	*1741*
Sharon	*New Haven*	*1738*	*1739*

Between December of 1737 and October of 1738, 50 shares of each of seven towns were sold to the public at auction held in five urban villages. All but one of these towns - Norfolk was the exception - became the focus of early, rapid settlement. Within two years of the auction six towns had become large enough and of sufficient political visibility to apply for and receive incorporated status from Connecticut's General Assembly (Table III).

The Proprietor System in Goshen

The Town of Goshen was the first township whose shares were sold at a public auction under the auspices of the General Assembly. The boundaries of the township's 45.6 square miles had been surveyed in late 1731. Two earlier plots had been granted prior to this date including 300 acres of land deeded to Yale College and a similar parcel (which actually consisted of three lots, each of which included 100 acres) transferred to several men "in consideration of their good service done the government" (Hibbard 1897:28). Neither of

these early grants - the Yale parcel or the so-called Esquire Farm (see Figure 3) - is represented today by modern patterns of land ownership.

In December of 1737 at a public auction in New Haven, 50 shares of the Town of Goshen were sold by the General Assembly to individuals who submitted the highest bids. Each of these shares, also referred to as a proprietor's right, allowed one or more individuals to acquire deeds to parcels of varying sizes during each successive division. Land which was obtained in this manner was not purchased; no money was transferred nor was a "price" discussed. If an individual owned a share or more, or even a portion of a right, then that person could receive as much land in each division as was allowed by the rules of the institution.

The amount which an original proprietor paid for a specific share was not reflected in the amount of land acquired during each successive division. Once purchased, each of the 50 shares was the equivalent of all others. If a share allowed one individual to "select" a 50 acre parcel, then each person received the same amount of land in one or more tracts. However a proprietor's right was clearly not retroactive; if an individual obtained a share after one or more divisions had taken place, then this person could not expect to claim land from any of these earlier divisions.

At the original auction, Goshen's 50 shares were purchased by 46 men; four persons acquired two shares through the bidding process. Prices ranged from 138 to 312 pounds, the mean price being 152 pounds. Of the 50 original transactions enacted at the auction in New Haven, 13 of these shares were purchased by individuals who were interested in gaining a rapid profit. Typically such persons received a right during competitive bidding, continued to hold it for a period which rarely surpassed one year, and then sold that share (prior to the first division of land) to one or more individuals for profits which often exceeded 100 percent (see Table IV).

Table IV: Speculative Actions Among Goshen's Initial Proprietors

Original Purchaser	*No. of Shares & Date*	*Cost in Pounds*	*Next Purchaser*	*No. of Shares & Date*	*Cost and Profit (%)*
T. Tozer	*1 (1738)*	*139*	*S. Lee*	*1 (1738)*	*300 (116)*
E. Parish	*1 (1739)*	*145*	*D. Lord*	*1 (1739)*	*359 (148)*
J. Moses	*1 (1738)*	*146*	*S. Thompson*	*½ (1738)*	*170 (85)*
			A. Cook	*½ (1738)*	*100*
G. Leet	*1 (1738)*	*180*	*J. Hickcox*	*1 (1739)*	*310 (72)*
S. Gaylord	*1 (1738)*	*140*	*T. Stanley*	*½ (1741)*	*300 (214)*
			J. Francis	*½ (1740)*	*140*
D. Buttoff	*1 (1738)*	*153*	*M. Griswold*	*1 (1739)*	*330 (115)*
			N. Griswold		

Transactions similar to these appear consistently within the proprietors' records associated with each of the seven towns on Connecticut's frontier. However such actions should not be interpreted as evidence of a widespread "speculative spirit" which transformed the everyday lives of Goshen's late eighteenth century inhabitants. Nor do such transactions represent the presence of a class of absentee proprietors who dominated, through both political action and economic control, the lives of the inhabitants of each new town.[5]

The archival evidence from Goshen demonstrates that speculation was pervasive during the initial process of purchasing a proprietor's right. However those individuals who participated as speculators seldom, if ever, became original settlers. Usually they had sold their shares prior to the first division; sometimes the sale of their rights included land which had been deeded to them as a sign of their "standing" as a proprietor.

Thus the group of individuals who acquired propritor's rights in Goshen can be divided into two units: a small group of speculators who were interested in gaining a rapid and substantial profit and a second group of individuals who purchased shares and planned to settle in the new town. The initial group of settlers included this second group of proprietors as well as those relatives or new neighbors or friends who acquired a share or part of one and perhaps land from an original proprietor. Usually such individuals did not receive lands from the first two divisions since many of the original proprietors had already accepted deeds for those parcels and then sold them to others.

Following this initial phase of purchase and re-sale the group of proprietors and original settlers merged and effected the initial "surge" of occupation in Goshen. According to specifications included in the statute of October 1737, individuals who purchased a share in the town were obliged to "build and finish an house of eighteen feet square and seven feet stud, and subdue and fence at least six acres of land." All of this was to be accomplished within three years of initial purchase (Hibbard 1897:26).

On September 27, 1738, less than six months after the original auction, the town proprietors of Goshen attended a meeting in Litchfield, Connecticut. This institutional body consisted of every individual who owned one or more shares as well as those persons who had acquired only a fractional right. Membership in the group changed as shares were purchased, sold, or inherited. Many of Goshen's proprietors also played an active role in the town's governmental institutions as well as in localized ecclesiastical societies. However each of these social units worked within a limited domain whose boundaries were both specified and accepted.

The proprietors were responsible for establishing and implementing policies associated with the land which they held in common, as a corporate unit. Many of their meetings were devoted to discussions of the principles and processes of land division. Each person who owned some portion of one of the 50 shares expected that the share would be translated into specific parcels of land of varying sizes. During the first decade following initial settlement, ten cycles of division were ratified, usually in pairs. The steps associated with each cycle never changed: an initial meeting was called to vote that one or more divisions be implemented, a plan would be formulated which described the number of acres to be received, a lottery system would be established so an order of selection could be developed, and the division itself would be undertaken.

Between late September of 1738 and March of 1749 ten divisions of Goshen land were surveyed. The first four divisions occurred within one year of initial settlement of the town. The fifth and sixth divisions were voted early in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century followed by the seventh and eighth in 1745 and the ninth and tenth in March of 1749 (see Table V).

Table V: Major Divisions of Land in Goshen[6]

Division	Date Voted	Acres per Share
1, 2	9/1738	2-50 acre lots
3, 4	12/1738	2-50 acre lots
5, 6	1/1741-2	2-50 acre lots
7, 8	9/1745	4-17.5 acre lots
9, 10	3/1749	4-7.5 acre lots

Once a division had been voted and an individual had selected his lot, the parcels were located and surveyed. During the first four divisions the amount of time between a vote and the recording of a deed associated with a particular division and proprietor was minimal, usually less than one year. This interval increased during the last three phases of division although there is some variability between individual proprietors (Table VI).

Table VI: History of Major Land Divisions for Two Proprietors in Goshen

	John Beach			Timothy Tuttle	
Division,	Date Voted	Date Holding, of Deed	Division,	Date Voted	Date Holding, of Deed
1, 2	1738	1738-9	1, 2	1738	1738, 1743
3, 4	1738	1739	3, 4	1738	1739, 1742
5, 6	1741-2	1742, 1746	5, 6	1741-2	1742, 1745
7, 8	1745	1746	7, 8	1745	1746
9, 10	1749	1751	9, 10	1749	1751, 1752

Within one decade of initial settlement most of the undivided land in Goshen had been distributed amongst its proprietors. After 1750 land could be acquired only through purchase from original proprietors, initial settlers, or later immigrants. However it is apparent that some activity associated with the town's proprietors continued into the nineteenth century. In 1801 the minutes of the proprietors' meetings indicate that some individuals wished to know whether there was "any common or undivided land left in the Township." Two decades later in 1833, the body voted to grant another division of the common and undivided lands which still remained. Each right in this twelvth division was worth five acres; it was the last division recorded.[7]

The Pattern of Divisions and the Pattern of Holdings

Once the proprietors had agreed to undertake a cycle of land division, a plan was developed which specified the selection process as well as the location and pattern of lots associated with each division. While the selection process never changed during the first decade of activity (which included ten separate divisions) - it was always a lottery system - the ability of the proprietors to follow their own rules and plans diminished from one cycle to the next.[8]

For example, the first two divisions in Goshen were voted and planned during the autumn of 1738. Each share was worth a 50 acre lot in each division. The lots themselves were surveyed in linear tiers of varying numbers which

were arranged along north-south axes. One major group was located in the east central section of the town while a second was situated along Goshen's western border. A third cluster of first and second division lots was surveyed in the southeastern quadrant (see Figure 3). In each of these groups individual lots tended to be equivalent in size and orientation and were bounded by similar parcels. The entire pattern was one of regularity and uniformity.

During the second phase of land partition, which included the third and fourth divisions, this systematic pattern began to disappear. Lots of varying sizes and shapes rarely were arranged in regularized tiers. More often each apparent group of lots in these divisions filled empty space on the landscape or were attached to clusters of original lots. Even though the total amount of acreage voted for these two divisions was equal to that of the earlier ones, the "real" total acreage of all individual lots was not comparable to that of the initial divisions (Figure 3).

Some of this discrepancy reflected the growing realization by the proprietors that an orderly, patterned process would not be possible or even desirable. Each individual was guaranteed 100 acres in the third and fourth divisions, two parcels of 50 acres each. Most persons did not receive two such lots but acquired their land in larger or smaller, more numerous pieces. Some even added unused allotments to later divisions.

This pattern of growing irregularity in the size, shape, orientation, and distribution of later divisions (fifth - tenth) continued throughout the period between 1740 and 1750. Some of this activity was concentrated in portions of Goshen which were uninhabited and undivided, particularly the southwestern quarter and central region of town. Most of the lots which were surveyed and acquired were distributed around the landscape in a quite random and seemingly senseless pattern. However closer studies demonstrate that these lots normally were situated adjacent to earlier holdings, allowing each proprietor to increase the size of one of his clusters (see Figure 4; also Figures 21, 22, 26 in Chapter VI).

Traditionally scholars have assumed that the later form of a proprietor system - the supposed commercial or speculative structure used on Connecticut's northwest frontier - employed principles of selection and location which resulted in each individual's holdings being distributed randomly across the landscape. The corresponding pattern would have been reminiscent of the form of holdings associated with the earlier "common-field" system. This tendency towards an involuted pattern of scattered lots was, in theory, supported by a lottery system which determined, purely by chance, the sequence of choice.

In practice the system of lot selection and its corresponding pattern was embedded within a shared knowledge of other individuals' actions, desires, and holdings (see Chapter VI). While no proprietor was capable of amassing lots which were <u>all</u> adjacent to one another, thereby creating a "feudal estate," most individuals managed to acquire several connecting parcels during the decade of major land divisions. Thus each proprietor's holdings exhibited two classic patterns. From the broader perspective of the entire town, every individual received tracts which were separated one from the other. Often these tracts were situated in different sections of Goshen.

However, at a finer level of analysis, most persons' holdings consisted of two or more clusters, each of which incorporated several individualized lots

Figure 3. Distribution of Original Land Grants and Divisions in the Town of Goshen, 1738.

which had been acquired from more than one episode of division (see Figures 4, 21, 22, 26, 27). Sometimes the size of each cluster could be increased through the purchase of additional parcels.

Figure 4 depicts four sets of holdings, three associated with individuals (the minister's share was deeded to Reverend Heaton, the First Congregational minister) and one with an institution, the town's parsonage. Each "proprietor's" pattern exhibits the spatial principles of both dispersion and clustering. The holdings of Timothy Tuttle, an original proprietor, are somewhat different from those of David Hall, yet both are analogous and equivalent to the distributions of lots owned by the minister and the parsonage.

* * * * * *

The historical reality of a late eighteenth century proprietor's system on Connecticut's northwest frontier was very different from the institution which many assumed to have existed. Rather than a chaotic, entrepreneurial structure defined by speculation and profit seeking, the organization and its process of dividing land was orderly, socially recognized and supported, and founded upon an intimate knowledge of the lives and desires of others. This situation was not completely unique to Goshen; other data demonstrate that similar patterns of divisions and holdings existed in some of the other towns in the Western Lands.

A 1739 map of proprietors' holdings in the Town of Kent depicts the orientation, location, size, and shape of lots associated with the initial ten divisions. The familiar pattern of a regularized form of tiers of standard lots is replaced by a system of asymmetrically-shaped parcels which are employed to fill empty spaces.[9] A similar sequential history of land divisions can be isolated on a 1894 map of the proprietors' lots surveyed in Cornwall, Connecticut.[10]

Each of these maps also contains evidence, similar in format to that discovered in Goshen, of the development of nucleated clusters of holdings by individual proprietors. However this pattern does not appear as frequently as in Goshen, suggesting that each town's proprietors organized themselves, their institution, and their behavior according to a set of relatively unique principles. Nevertheless each of these three proprietor systems provided a framework within which an initial settlement pattern of dispersed houses and farmsteads could emerge.

A History of Dispersed Settlement in Goshen: The Architectural and Archaeological Evidence

During the ninth decade of the eighteenth century the Marques de Chastelux traveled throughout the northern United States and wrote this description of the settlement pattern of New England towns:

> For what is called in America, a town or township, is only a certain number of houses, dispersed over great space, but which belong to the same incorporation. The center or head quarters of these towns, is the meeting-house or church. This church stands sometimes single, and is sometimes surrounded by four or five houses only (quoted in Wood 1978:49).

Figure 4. Four Sets of Land Holdings Acquired Through the Proprietor System in Goshen, 1738-1750.

Key a. First and Second Division lots granted to Reverend Stephen Heaton. Locality where the center village of Goshen would emerge during the Federal period.

Totally distinct from the slightly later description and interpretation of Timothy Dwight, this traveler's account clearly recognized a dispersed pattern as New England's primal settlement form, particularly in the rural areas. On the northwest frontier the structure, meaning, and principles of each proprietor system determined the form of initial settlement during the second half of the eighteenth century. Since each proprietor accumulated land in one or, more often, several clusters which became the foci of habitation, subsistence, and industry, a series of individuated farmsteads, houses, and milling facilities appeared. Some of these were isolated units; others were arranged in a linear pattern along roadways. Usually one or two small clusters of several houses and outbuildings would be present, often inhabited by families related by blood or marriage. True center villages or nucleated settlements did not appear until after the turn of the nineteenth century in Litchfield County (see Chapter VII).

For more than eight decades Goshen's landscape exemplified a dispersed pattern. Its center village did not develop until approximately 1830 and even then never was transformed into a true urban village. With the exception of a 50 year period between 1830 and 1880, most of the town's settlement activity was concentrated in the outlying regions. This activity began at the time of initial settlement, continued through the Revolutionary War and the mid-nineteenth century, and began to diminish during the 1870's and 1880's. By the middle of the present century the rate of construction and use had increased again and continued into the modern era. Between the 1970 and 1980 federal census, Goshen became one of the most rapidly growing towns in Connecticut.

* * * * * *

A variety of historical and "archaeological" records have been employed to reconstruct the history of Goshen's dispersed settlement. Given a well formulated theoretical framework, it is possible to "read" this history from the town's modern architectural landscape. Additional sets of archival and archaeological data can then be used to clarify both historical sequences and processes as well as substantiate the interpretive model.

The contemporary spatial patterns of architectural styles are an above-ground record of the history of settlement and land use. Through an intensive study of the distribution of several diagnostic types (including Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, and Victorian), it is possible to characterize how each of Goshen's regional settlement patterns developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two styles - Georgian (early and late) and Federal (even as it merges into Greek Revival) - are of particular analytical value as each represents a specific time period and a distinct architectural tradition. Usually their geographical distributions in each town in Litchfield County overlap, making interpretation difficult.

However at another analytical level the Georgian and Federal styles are almost mutually exclusive and offer a dramatic insight into the structure and process of historic settlement. As one travels from one center village to the next in Litchfield County it becomes apparent that the Federal style monopolizes the landscape of nucleated settlements (see Handsman 1981b). If Georgian houses are present within center villages, they are rare and more probably of the later, double chimney variety (Figure 5). In comparison to its frequency inside villages, Georgian architecture is much more apparent in outlying regions. This variability is predictable since the initial settlement pattern in these towns was dispersed. Most of the Georgian houses built

Federal style, ca. 1830 A.D.

Figure 5. Center Village Architecture in Goshen.

Georgian farmhouse, ca. 1803.

during the second half of the eighteenth century were situated outside the center village. The few which were located inside those localities were isolated farmhouses until each town's center village emerged in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. Thus the contrasting patterns of Georgian and Federal architecture reflect gradual processes of settlement growth and decline as well as the more "sudden" appearances of nucleated settlements or center villages.

By working within a theoretical framework defined by the behavioral reality of Goshen's proprietor system and recognizing the analytical significance of Federal architecture, it is possible to delimit four historical phases in the development of Goshen's dispersed settlement pattern:

A. An initial phase of construction characterized by isolated Georgian farmsteads and linear arrangements which is dated between 1740 and the Revolution.

B. A second phase of construction (1780-1870) which is reflected in a complicated process of filling unused space and colonizing the town's frontiers. This phase is represented by later Georgian houses and Federal architecture.

C. A third phase during which two Federal-styled nucleated settlements develop, one along the Marshepaug River in West Goshen and the second within the center village. These new forms begin to appear about 1820-30 and are "completed" by 1860-1870.

D. A fourth phase which is defined by a renewed interest in colonizing unused space and subdividing larger extant parcels to provide house lots for Victorian or contemporary houses.

These phases are not well bounded temporal units; the middle two are partly contemporaneous with one another since the process of development could proceed in an outlying region while nucleated settlements appeared in specific, spatially limited localities. With the exception of the third phase, each region in Goshen contains archival, architectural, and archaeological data which is relevant to the entire historical sequence. The remainder of this chapter summarizes the data and interpretations associated with the phases related to dispersed settlement. Chapter VI sketches the cultural meaning of kinship and dispersed settlement. Partial histories of Goshen's two nucleated settlements, the center village and the West Goshen industrial complex, appear in Chapters VII and VIII.

Houses were constructed in Goshen prior to 1740 so that initial settlement began soon after the first and second divisions had been planned and surveyed. The two earliest houses were situated in South Goshen along its border with Litchfield (Hibbard 1897:42-43). Neither of these continues to stand. Between 1740 and 1750 isolated farmhouses appeared in several regions of Goshen along major roadways, including East and West Streets as well as a southern extension of West Street which ran parallel to the Litchfield-Goshen road. Some oral historical data, gathered by Lewis Mills Norton from his contemporaries in the 1830's and summarized by A. G. Hibbard (1897:55-64) in his monumental town history, suggests how this early settlement would have looked.

Scattered along both sides of West Street between the Litchfield line and Lyman Road, a distance of 4.60 kilometers, were fourteen houses, each of

which was the center of a small farmstead (Figure 6). None of these houses stood in the 1890's, according to Hibbard, yet the modern landscape includes several brick Georgian farmhouses with gambrel roofs and double chimneys which pre-date the American Revolution (Figure 7). If these structures do not represent original occupation, they are still indicative of the initial phase of settlement.

A second elongated cluster of farmsteads was situated in the southeastern quadrant of town along both sides of what was once referred to as the Middle Street, now Route 63 or the Litchfield-Goshen Road. Three structures were constructed within a distance of 4.45 kilometers between the center village and the town line (Figure 6). None of them stand today but the landscape along this route contains several examples of Georgian architecture, primarily dating to the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see Figure 8). These houses might have replaced the earlier ones or could represent a later process of subdivision (Phase II).

Prior to the Revolution only three structures, including a house owned by the Congregational minister, existed inside the center village. A fourth house was located 0.62 kilometers to the east, a Georgian farmhouse with a salt-box roof which is still standing. It is one of the oldest extant houses in town (Figure 9A). North of the center village was primarily wilderness until one reached West Side Pond. Here along a road which exists today, eight families, many of whom were original proprietors, constructed houses before 1760 (Figure 6). None of these structures remain and the modern architectural landscape is both Federal and Georgian in style. One Georgian farmhouse with a double chimney (Figure 9B) is present, reflecting a period of occupation after the end of the Revolutionary War.

Further to the south along Milton Road south of Tyler Lake, a group of four Georgian farmhouses is preserved on the modern landscape (Figures 6, 10). This complex did not exist before approximately 1770 and represents a later phase of subdivision and settlement. By 1810 this locality became stable; further residential growth in West Goshen was concentrated along and adjacent to the banks of the Marshepaug River (see Chapter VIII).

One other settlement complex appeared in Goshen between 1740 and the Revolution. Located along both sides of East Street, a group of 22 structures (most of which were farmsteads) was built by 1745 between North Goshen and the town's eastern border (see Figure 6). The work of Lewis Mills Norton, summarized by Hibbard (1897:61-64), suggests that this linear pattern represents an initial phase of settlement undertaken by men who were among the town's original proprietors. These dispersed farmsteads were constructed on lots which were surveyed during the first two divisions.

Many of this complex's earliest structures which were built before 1770 have disappeared. Those which remain are Georgian farmhouses with either gabled or gambreled roofs and central chimneys (Figure 11A). Some of these farmsteads are now represented by archaeological sites which include cellar holes with obvious evidence of central chimneys (Figure 11B).

In 1745 East Street was the most densely settled region in Goshen. During the next half century, some of the larger farmsteads were subdivided to provide house and agricultural lots to the descendants of the original proprietors. Much of this second period of growth is reflected in a later variety of Georgian architecture built of either brick or the more common wood frame.

Figure 6. Historic Phases of Settlement in Goshen, 1740-1900.

KEY

A-B: Transect along East Street which is represented by the aerial photographs (Figure 15).
1,2,3,4: Phase of settlement (see text).
G: Georgian house.
F: Federal house.

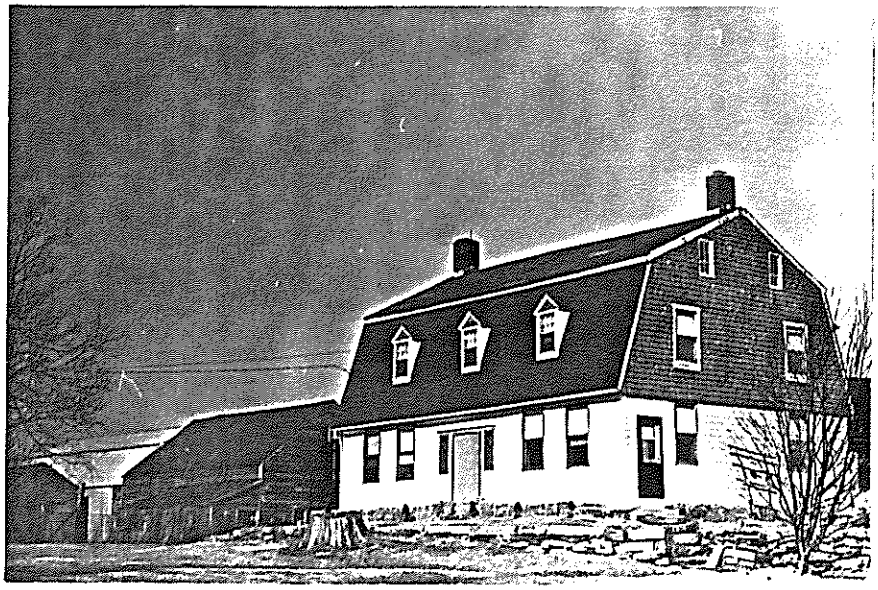


Figure 7. Georgian Farmhouses along West Street, Initial Phase of Settlement.

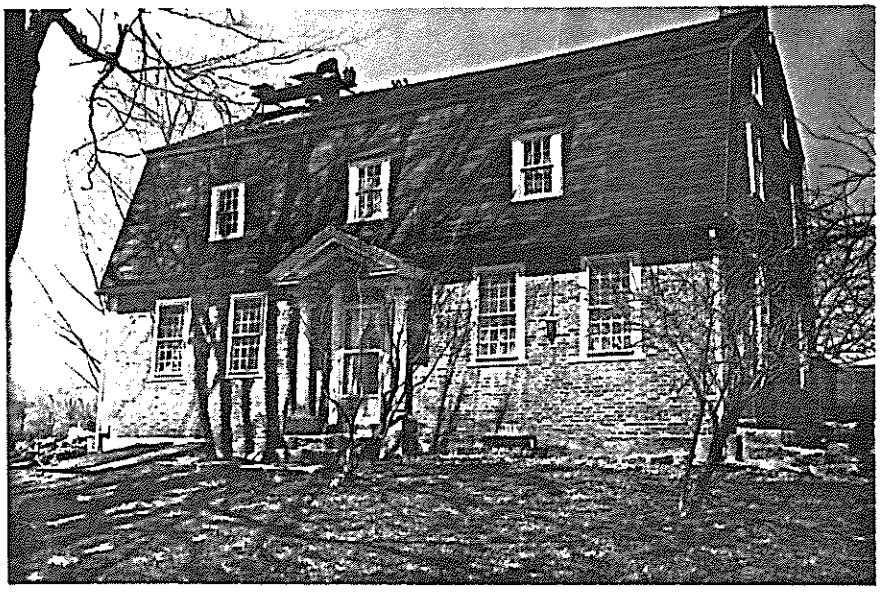
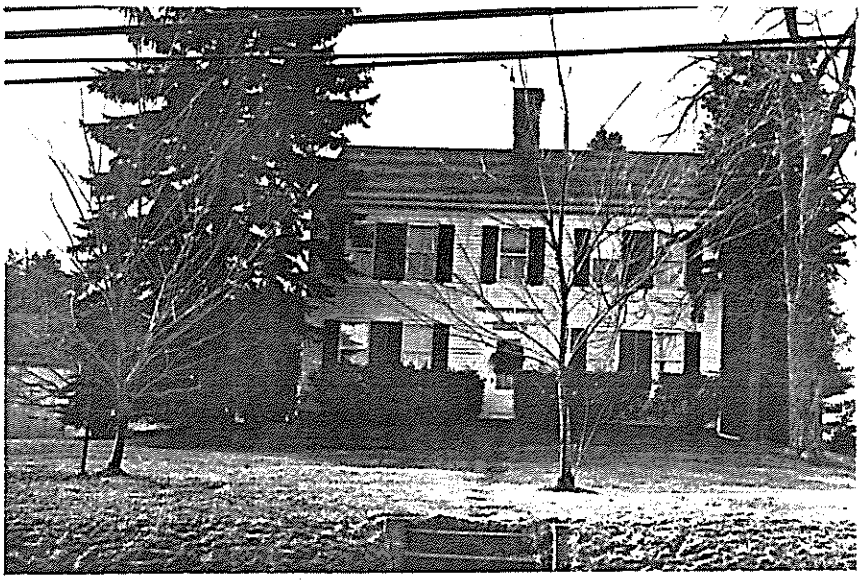


Figure 8. Georgian Farmhouses along Middle Street, Initial Phase of Settlement.

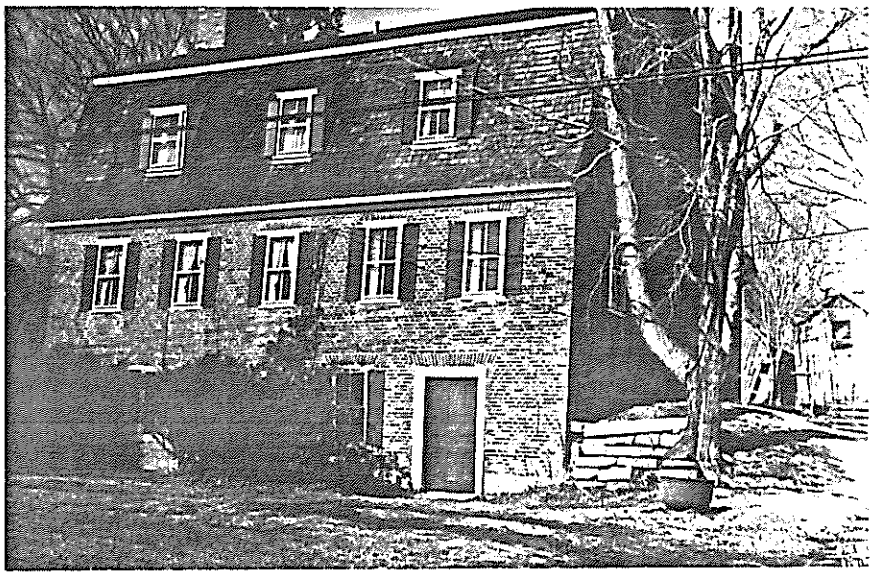
9A

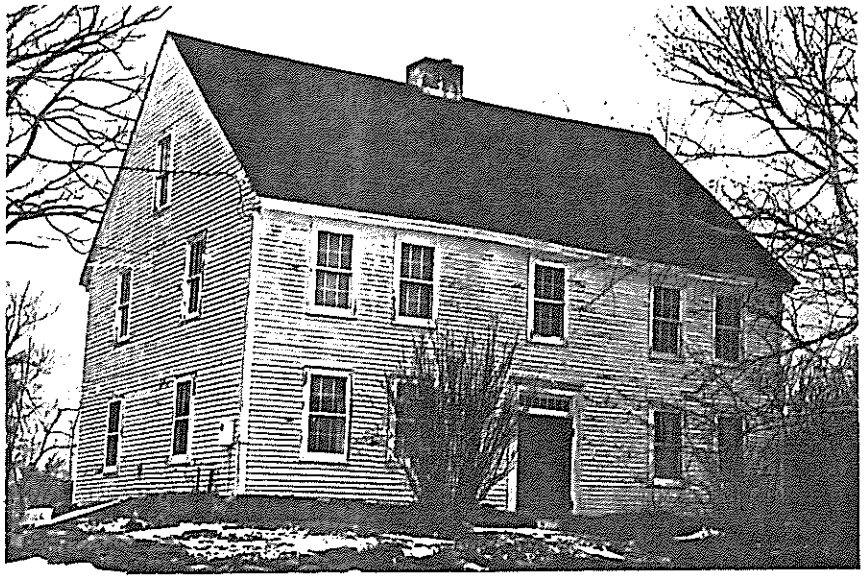
Figure 9. Isolated Georgian Farmhouses in the Town of Goshen.



9B

Figure 10. Georgian Farmhouses South of West Goshen Along Milton Road.





11A: Georgian Farmhouse Along East Street.

Figure 11. Architectural and Archaeological Evidence of Early Georgian Houses Along East Street.

11B: Archaeological Site Near Whist Pond. Note the central chimney.

Diagnostic features of this style include double chimneys, gabled roofs, five bays on the exterior facade, and an interior floor plan characterized by a central hallway (see Figures 12, 13).

During the first half of the nineteenth century some amount of additional subdivision and construction was initiated along East Street and is preserved in several venacular farmhouses of the Federal style. In addition two historic maps from this period illustrate the number of newer style structures which were built. In 1745 eleven houses had been constructed along a section of East Street between the brick Georgian "mansion" (Figure 13) and the house of Nathaniel Baldwin at Kelly Corner. The same section of roadway contained seven structures on a manuscript map of Goshen from 1811[11] but fifteen houses are depicted on an archival map which is about two decades later (ca. 1830).[12] Most of these Federal homes have long since disappeared from the landscape.

Much of the activity during the second phase of settlement development was concentrated towards the northern end of East Street beyond where the road crosses Hart Brook (Figure 6). In this region few standing structures continue to exist and the contemporary landscape is reverting to a modern climax forest. However two maps from the mid-to-late nineteenth century - the 1852 Richard Clark map of the Town of Goshen and the 1874 F. W. Beers' Atlas map - contain two groups of structures as well as a number of individuated farmsteads and milling facilities (Figure 6). Each of the two clusters, North Goshen and the mill settlement along Hart Brook, began to appear prior to 1800 (Hall 1970, 1980). Much of the process of development in this region was determined by principles of kinship including transfers of property through lines of descent and exchange of parcels as mediated by marital relations (see Handsman 1980b and Chapter VI).

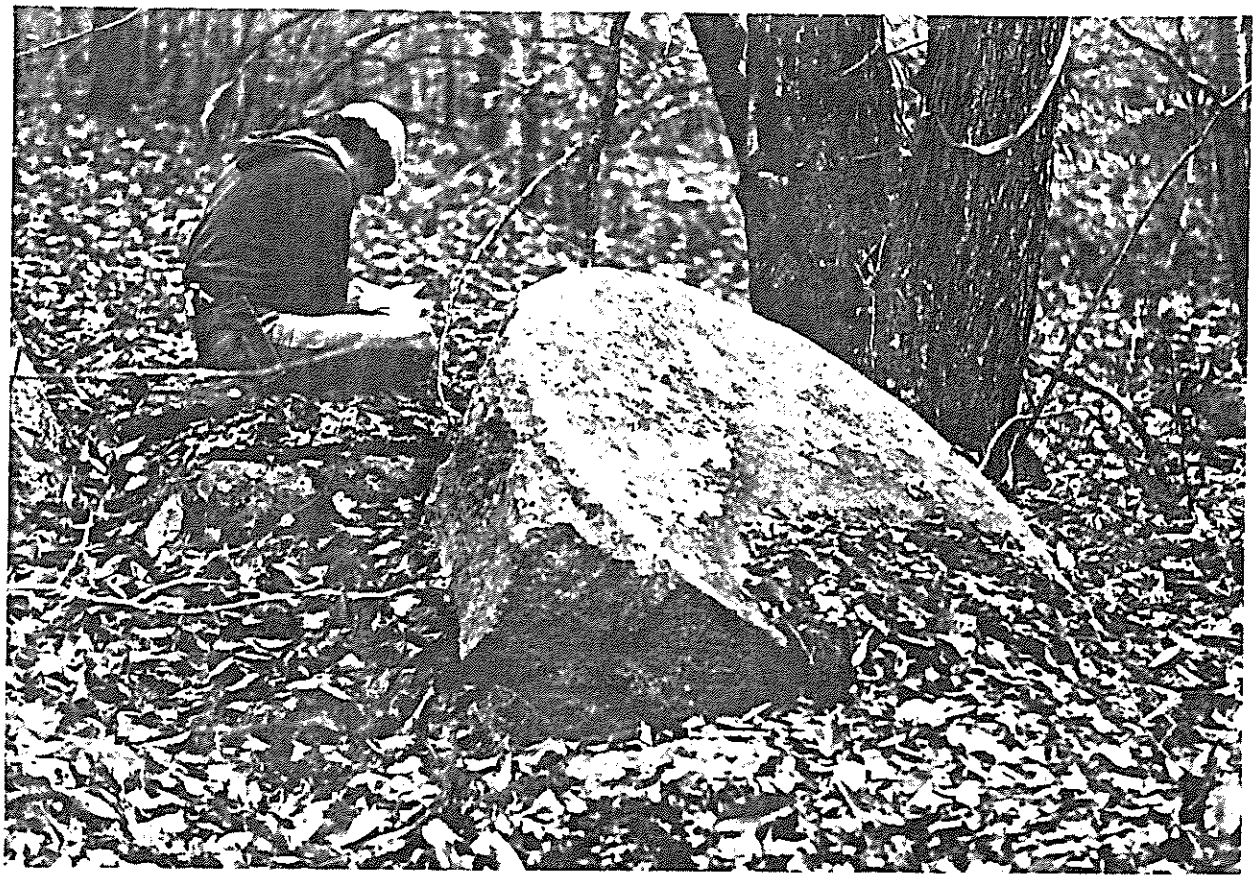
During the summer and fall of 1979 a field crew from the AIAI conducted extensive archaeological studies of North Goshen as well as sections of East Street. Further investigations during the spring of 1981 were undertaken to delimit the archaeological complex along Hart Brook. A total of 35 historic sites was discovered in the northern end of East Street including numerous farmhouses and sets of outbuildings, several milling facilities as well as a quarry for mill stones (Figure 14A), and a foundation for North Goshen's Methodist Church (a Greek Revival Meeting House) (Figure 14B). Some of the house sites exhibit floor plans which once were associated with Federal structures. A few cellar holes obviously represent earlier Georgian houses including one just south of North Pond (Poinsot 1980).

Archaeological evidence of the occupation and use of the locality adjacent to Hart Brook includes farmsteads, early Georgian and later Federal farmhouses, and several mills as well as a factory to manufacture cheese boxes. This complex is associated with a single family, the Harts, who begin to acquire property just before 1800. Both the 1852 and 1874 maps depict this small nucleated settlement which continued to remain in the family until the turn of the twentieth century (Chapter VIII).

Many of the sites and settlements in this region had begun to disappear by 1892. A topographic map of the period contains less than one half of the farmsteads depicted two decades earlier in the Beers' Atlas (1874:29). A similar reduction in occupation and use can be isolated within the settlement complex along Hart Brook. This decline in the intensity and extensiveness of settlement in the North Goshen region continued after 1900 and was accelerated by the purchase of much of this area by the Torrington Water Company.

Figure 12. Later Georgian Farmhouse (1770's) Along East Street.

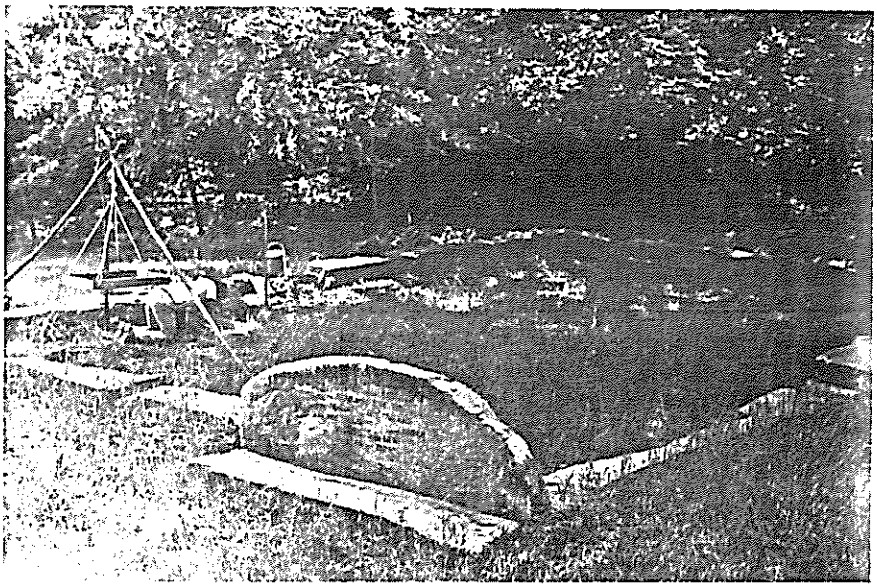
Figure 13. Later Georgian Farmhouse (1810's) Along East Street.



14A: Quarry site for mill stones in North Goshen.

Figure 14. Two Archaeological Records in North Goshen.

14B: Foundation of North Goshen Methodist Church.



Many of the farms were abandoned, houses were dismantled or burned in place, and the area was returned to patterns of non-use which continue today.

A photographic mosaic of East Street constructed from several 1934 aerial photographs reveals the historic significance of the region as a settlement of farmsteads (see Figure 15). Numerous plowed fields, pasture lots, historic roadways, and houses can be isolated, most of which have disappeared during the succeeding five decades. More recent aerial views from the early 1970's offer a more pastoral landscape; few signs of the historical significance of the East Street settlement remain.

For more than 150 years East Street was a focus of intensive historic settlement (Norton 1949). During the first phase of development more families and farmsteads were constructed here than in any other region of Goshen. All of the construction activity was concentrated within the first two phases of occupation; the region had become stabalized by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. An analysis of the ages of gravestones in East Street's cemetery demonstrates both the early and continuing use of the region during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Figure 16). An entirely different frequency distribution can be isolated within the cemetery near West Side Pond (Figure 17). Here the bulk of the gravestones range in age between 1790 and 1870 reflecting the intensity of historic settlement during the second phase. Much of this activity is represented by extant Federal farmhouses (Figure 18) as well as an intact set of archaeological sites including farmsteads and mills.

By the beginning of the third quarter of the nineteenth century most regions in Goshen had become inhabited. Each had undergone settlement activity during the second phase so the later Georgian and Federal architecture tends to be distributed throughout the town (see Figure 6). Some of the regions had also been used during the initial phase of occupation although architectural evidence of such settlement is rare. During the fourth phase of development, between 1870 and the modern era, construction activities and new patterns of use were concentrated primarily in the older, settled regions. However some additional colonization was undertaken particularly in the northeastern corner of town along Hall Meadow Brook.

This region was included in the third and fourth as well as later divisions. Initially used as pasture lots by several early settlers and proprietors, the first habitation occurred during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These construction activities are represented by Federal farmhouses (Figure 19A) and archaeological sites. After 1850 the amount of activity increased here as later Victorian houses (Figure 19B) and factories were built or expanded. Thus the Hall Meadow Cemetery's gravestones were erected primarily during the second half of the nineteenth century, unlike the earlier patterns from East Street or West Side Pond (Figure 20).

* * * * * *

Ever since the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the appearance of Victorian models of history, New England villages have been thought to be timeless forms reflective of an original settlement pattern. As historical geographers and economic historians developed new conceptual frameworks during the past decade, older data and interpretations were subjected to revisionist analyses. The behavioral significance of some institutions, including proprietor systems, was examined in order to trace how a specific

Figure 15. Mosaic of 1934 Aerial Photographs of East Street. The A-B section appears also on Figure 6.

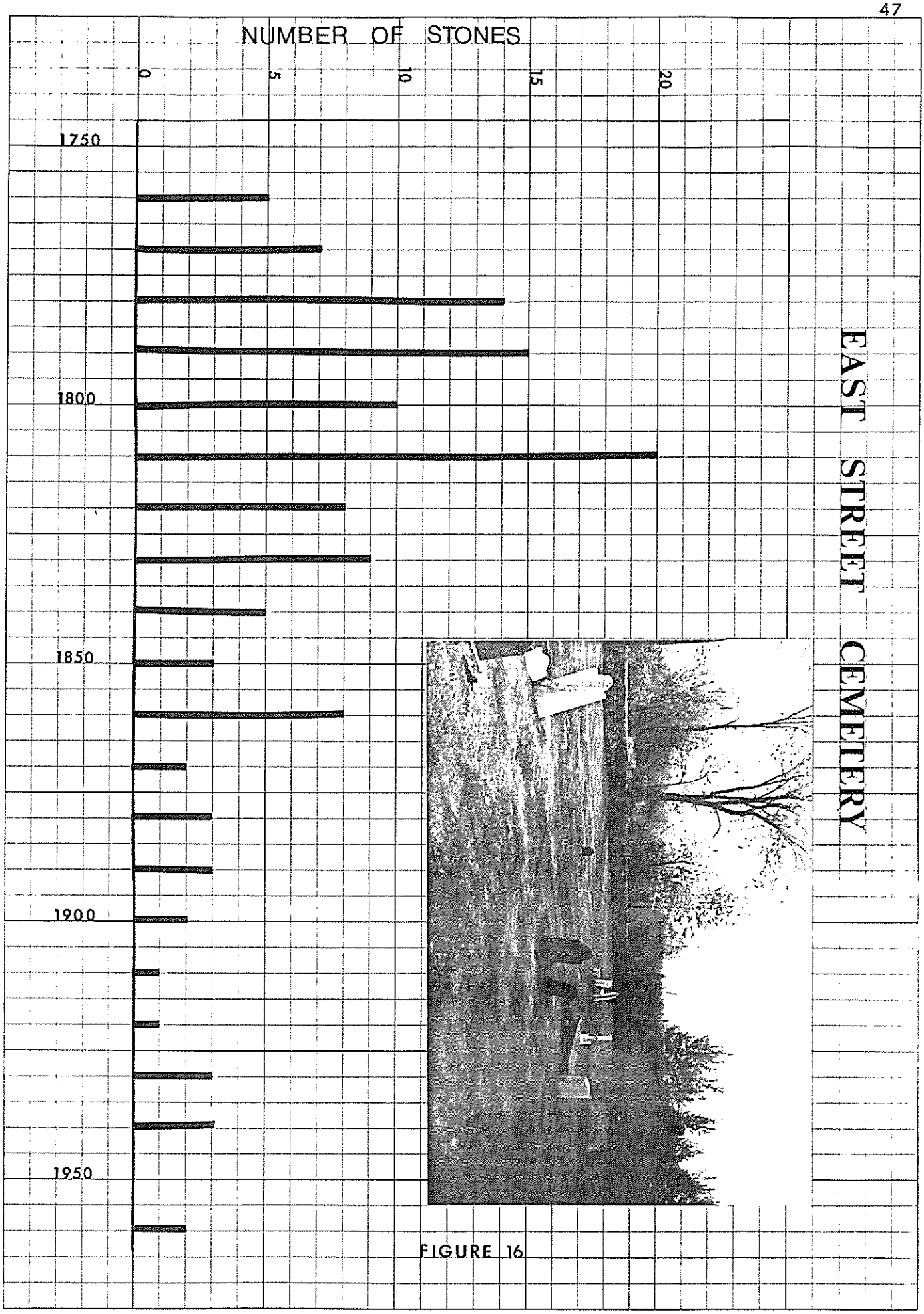


FIGURE 16

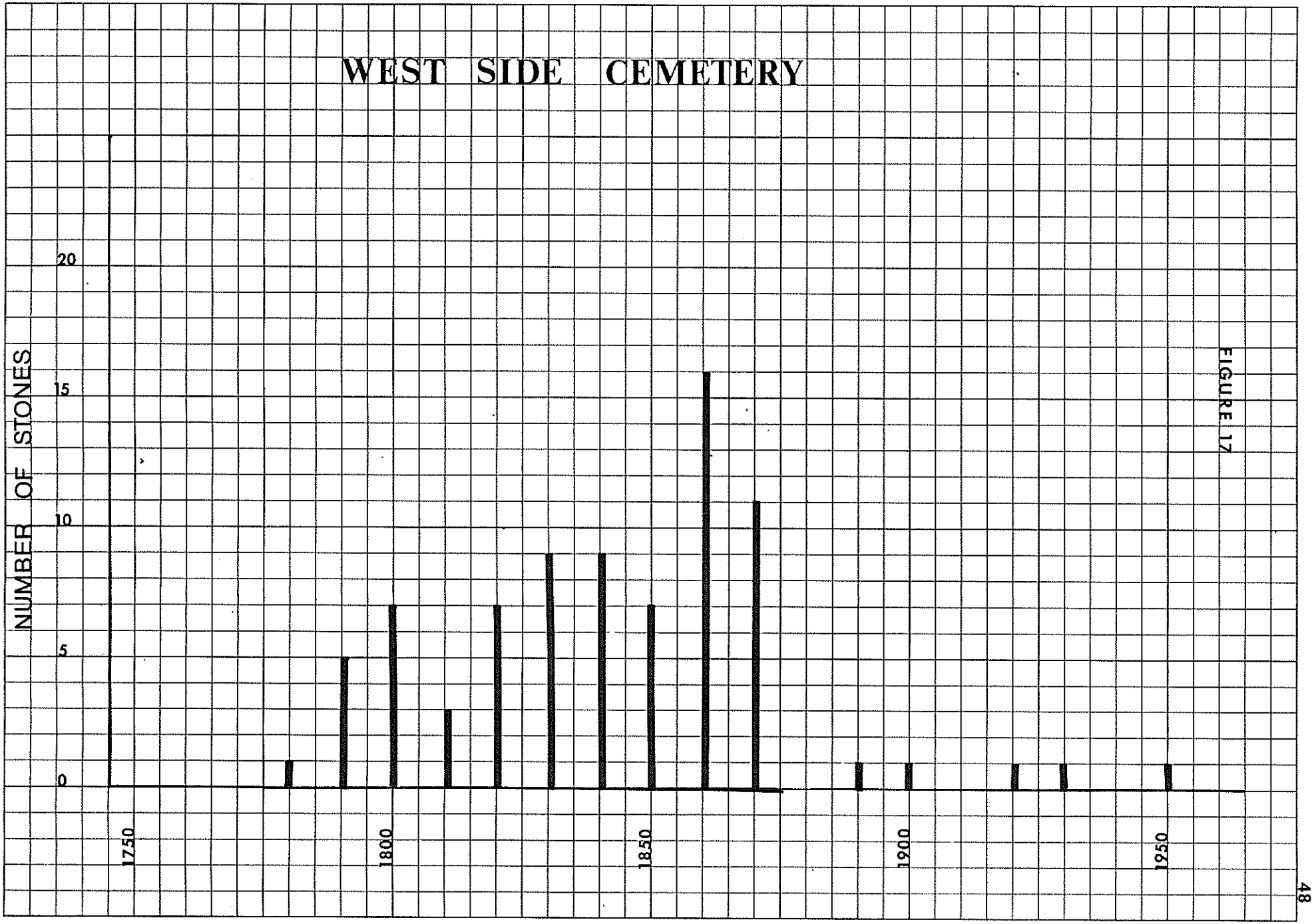
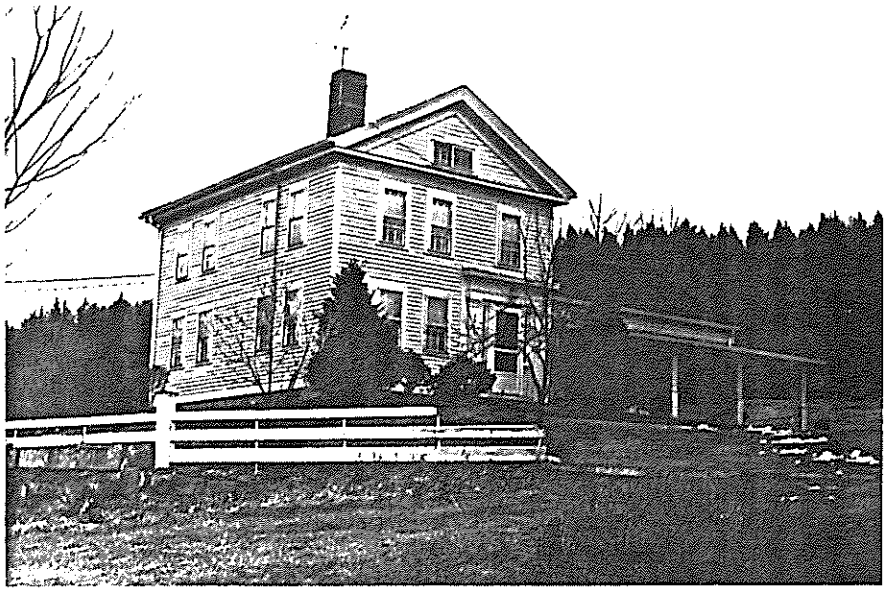

WEST SIDE CEMETERY
NUMBER OF STONES
0
5
10
15
20
1750
1800
1850
1900
1950

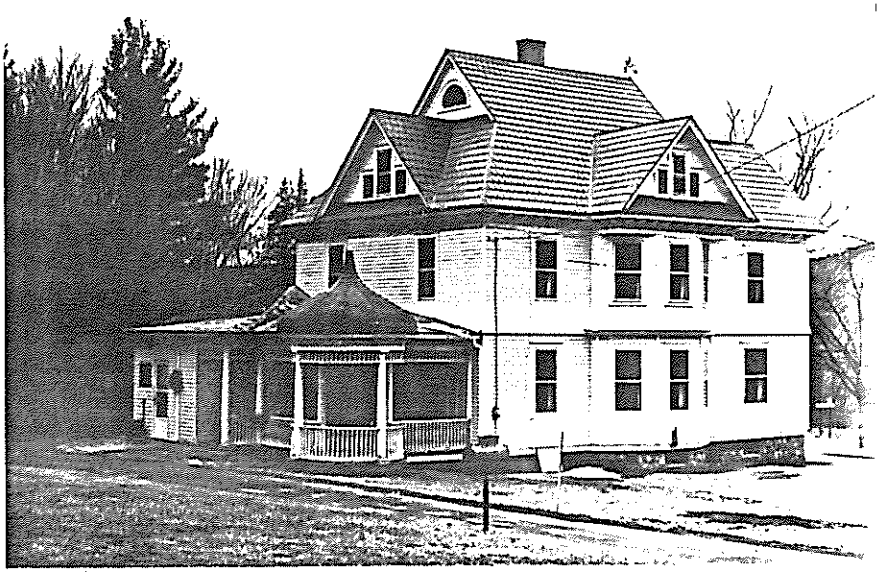
FIGURE 17

Figure 18. Federal Architecture Near West Side Pond.



19A: Federal Farmhouse Along Route 272.

Figure 19. Venacular Architecture in the Hall Meadow Region.



19B: Victorian Farmhouse Along Route 272.

FIGURE 20

set of principles would be reflected in the structure of everyday life. On Connecticut's northwest frontier a different proprietor's system emerged within the context of scarce land and a growing population during the first half of the eighteenth century. The structural principles of this institution are reflected in the arrangement of a series of land divisions as well as in the pattern of each proprietor's holdings.

The data from Goshen indicate clearly that the system was manipulated not for individual gain and profit, as Victorian and modern scholars would have us believe, but to allow each person (as a member of some kin unit) to accumulate one or more clusters of parcels which then became the focus for habitation and use (see analysis in Chapter VI). On the modern landscape the signs of these principles are reflected in the geographical patterns of architectural styles as well as in specific sets of archaeological data.

Between the mid-to-late 1730's and 1800 a series of dispersed farmsteads appeared in Goshen. Nucleated settlements were a later artifact and determined by two separate processes: a subdivision of initial holdings so that groups of buildings appeared where formerly there were isolated farmsteads and a later process of urbanization where nucleated settlements developed as a reflection of different social and economic organizations. While these two processes were defined by distinct sets of activities and reflected in different settlement patterns, each was organized by and worked through an identical set of premises, an ideology which was distinctly premodern. This system of meaning, an implicit set of "taken-for-granteds," was separate completely from that of the modern world.

VI. KINSHIP AND FARMSTEADS: SIGNS OF A CULTURAL SYSTEM OF MEANING

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when early modern socio-economic systems began to appear in New England, it became obvious that American society was being transformed from a relatively simple homogeneous structure into a highly differentiated system. While it was difficult for Victorians of the era to either define or identify those changes which occurred, much less understand them, everyone knew that premodern life (the one associated with their parents and grandparents) was distinct from that which was beginning to emerge.

Rather than situating themselves at the boundary between premodern and modern lives, Victorians managed to avoid both through an artful and completely unconscious transposition, which is to say they invented a myth. Actually there were two. On the one hand the implicit contradictions, prejudices, and principles and meanings of the new system were ignored through a process which valued what was rural, "primitive," and simple (even wholesome). The history of America became a recitation of a constantly expanding frontier where one could always see what America had been and continued to be (see Turner 1963).

This process of valuation assumed that the modern, industrialized, capitalist system was simply a veneer built over an unchanged core of basic principles whose existence was guaranteed, historically and legally. The outcome was that the early modern world and its domains and contradictions were forgotten; what was modern was replaced by the premodern.

Victorians were capable also of reversing this equation and transmogrifying the historic past into a mirror image of early capitalist society. The cultural categories, domains, and meanings of the emerging modern world were employed to interpret the behavior of some group of historic, literate antecedants. Such a transposition allowed one to discover the developmental roots of the new system and construct unbroken continuities with the distant premodern past. So the world and its history was homogenized and capitalism became nothing new - it had always existed as had its domains and categories.

Some three decades later both of these mythical processes continued to exist. However in contemporary America the first process has all but disappeared beneath the historical realities of the past two to three decades. The second, best characterized as homogenization or the removal of historical depth and behavioral variability, continues to act as it has for more than a century. Through the unconscious transposition of modern American cultural units and domains onto other prehistoric and historic societies, the world and its past becomes unified so that all uniqueness is masked. Much of this process of cultural hegemony is enacted by historians and anthropologists and then communicated to the public.

Modern Ideology and the Premises of a Mythical "Capitalist" Proprietor System

There are many signs of this implicit process of cultural transference but, in actual interpretive practice, one set of categories dominates all others. Twentieth century anthropologists and historians analyze other behavior in the past and present worlds through the actions of two processes which combine

to form the Western ideology of individualism - the differentiation of the individual from society and culture and the objectification of the individual as a rational, economically-motivated person. Individualism, as a domain and unit, is founded upon the assumption that past cultures organized their lives through the separation of individuals from the encompassing system of kinship as well as the institutional segregation of kinship from economy:

> Our /the modern Western world/ two cardinal ideals are called equality and liberty. They assume as their common principle, and as a valorized representation, the idea of the human individual: humanity is made up of men, and each man is conceived as presenting, in spite of and over and above his particularity, the essence of humanity. . . . This individual is quasi-sacred, absolute; there is nothing over and above his legitimate demands; his rights are limited only by the identical rights of other individuals. He is a monad, in short, and every /all/ human group is made up of monads of this kind (Dumont 1970:4, amendments mine).

Such separations do make sense in some societies and the anthropological use of units such as individual, person, economics, and families is analytically valid. This does not mean that anthropologists and historians can continue to assume that the units, domains, and separations of modern America had any reality in prehistoric or historic, premodern New England.

For more than two decades we have all learned and believed that the entrepreneurial logic (a matter of economic calculations) of twentieth century America is also the logic of prehistoric hunters-and-gatherers, Australian aborigines, South African Bushmen, the colonial elite who framed the Constitution, and the more ordinary, middling inhabitants of historic New England. We do this even though we know, as anthropologists, that a culture's logic, its system of sense and meaning as contained in its units, is invented at a moment in time and constantly reinvented by later generations. It is also understood that the entire symbolic logic of a cultural order can be so distinct from ours - this was the original lesson taught by "primitive kinship" - that any interpretation of that culture must begin with its logic, its conceptual scheme for what life is and how it should be lived (Sahlins 1976). To do otherwise is to end with a "so-what" story and that is what much of current anthropology and history is - interpretive myths founded upon what we assume the reality of past lives to have been (see Henretta 1978).

For prehistoric archaeologists there is no solution to this dilemma since the distant past is completely dead. Prehistorians have no documents to read and no one to talk with who has any real connection to the prehistoric past. The distant past is mute, it is inert, and the only way to bring it back to life is by changing it into a mirror image of ourselves.

While prehistory is situated in a rather precarious and pessimistic position relative to modern America, social history and historical archaeology are not. Each of these is capable of studying the recent past from a perspective defined by the cultural categories and domains which existed in that era. It should also be remembered that the period under study, the historic past of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is the one which is most significant for our understanding what we became and how we became what we are (see Handsman 1981a).

Evidence for this can be seen by way of several case studies from Goshen's historic past. Each of these suggests how a theory of culture as meaning and sense offers the possibility of radically different knowledge of the recent past and others' lives and of ourselves as modern Americans.

* * * * * *

Prior to the Federal period in southern New England, the normative pattern for settlements was one of dispersed farmsteads surrounded by an individual's land holdings including farm plots, wood lots, and pastures. The distance between successive farmsteads was quite variable and assumed to be a function of wealth, family size, and population density, among other variables. This dispersed pattern of settlements has been interpreted as a reflection of both economically-motivated actions and political events determined by governmental policies concerning settlement and land ownership. The pattern is also described as representing a social structure characterized by ego-centered, nuclear families and a political ideology which valued individualism (see Bidwell 1916:354-380, Bushman 1970:41-103, Daniels 1979:8-44, Grant 1972, Greven 1970, McManis 1975:63-72, Wood 1978).

Each of these interpretations was founded upon modern ideology and was substantiated by the structure, principles, and activities associated with a different sort of proprietor system. Unlike the earlier mode this system was described as modern, commerical, economic, and speculative; in short it was capitalistic in its beliefs and actions:

> Also, the bold speculative feeling asserted its influence steadily and a complete change in the Puritan non-commercial land policy was effected. In its place rose the land policy in which both political and economic motives were closely interwoven and men's attitudes toward land became manifestly commercial (Akagi 1924:189-190).

The differences between the earlier "Puritan" system and the economically-motivated frontier institution were encompassed supposedly by a set of cultural separations, divisions, and differentiations within the units which provide the structure for everyday life. Prior to this process of re-definition there was no separation between individuals and society or economy and kinship. Puritan everyday life was not a matter of calculating economic gain except as that goal was embedded within principles of kinship, religious beliefs, and a sense of community.

With the gradual disintegration of this traditional and "conservative" mind-set and the emergence of a speculative "spirit," the wholeness or unity of traditional society was divided. What was once a set of mutually-encompassing domains and categories became single separate objectified units. Among the most important of these units was the individual: differentiated from the domain of kinship, defined as an entrepreneur, and objectified as a monad.

Such cultural separations were not reflective solely of philosophical beliefs but were seen as encompassing everyday life, both as norms for action and as actions themselves. For example Charles Grant's (1972) study of historic lifeways in Kent, Connecticut (one of the "frontier" towns) is founded upon his belief that a speculative, economizing drive for profits defined life itself:

> At Kent one is impressed not so much with the contented, subsistence way of life as with the drive for profit. This drive is reflected in the large number of farms that produced saleable surpluses; it is apparent from the high percentage of men who sought profits in mills, mines, and other nonagricultural enterprise; it is most obvious in the ferment of speculation by local men in local lands; . . . (Grant 1972:31-32).

Working from the ontological base provided by the Victorian world - which structured their lives and relationships - contemporary scholars have assumed that a significant threshold was crossed as the second half of the eighteenth century began. On the other side of this transition was situated the modern world and its ideology, and since it provided the structure for life, people's lives were transformed. However the plausibility of the contemporary interpretation of this transition is not a reflection of actual knowledge but is determined solely by the observer's world view. In fact there is much evidence which suggests that life on Connecticut's northwest frontier was no different than it had been in earlier times and places.

Descent and Inheritance and Settlement: The Continuing Familial Context on the Frontier

In some sense the historic and recent attempts to distinguish two proprietor systems in Connecticut's history are valid. The institutional principles, practices, and legalities associated with each are quite different. The relative frequencies of speculative actions are dissimilar also but their meanings - as defined and substantiated by culture and ideology - are homologous.

Speculation was always present, particularly during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but its premises and structural principles were defined by a domain of kinship. The "drive-for-profit" was not a natural or logical or expected premise for life. In James Henretta's (1978:5) words, "the calculus of advantage for these men and women was not mere pecuniary gain, but encompassed a much wider range of social and cultural goals."

Although our studies of the social and cultural history of Goshen have concentrated on a few families and only one locality (North Goshen), we have managed to isolate some signs which suggest that economic behavior was not perceived as having a reality distinct from its encompassing cultural domain. Rather, in historic Goshen economics was a matter of kinship and kinship was a meaningful system of social relationships and behavior organized around two symbols: a sharing of biogenetic substance and a nurturing of diffuse enduring solidarity. The first symbol is reflected in the continuing importance of familial structures and principles on the frontier. The second suggested that some behavior was enacted between individuals, families, or other normative units as if each participant considered the other(s) to be kin. Often such behavior proceeded in the absence of a real demonstrable genealogical connection.

Depending upon the symbolic context of an anticipated set of actions - which was defined by the presence of either or both of these symbols - people's behavior was speculative or not, entrepreneurial or not, or defined by a sense of family or friendship. Economy was a matter of kinship and individuals

were encompassed by kindred. Kinship provided a means of differentiating enactments (actions within the domain of a "code for conduct") from performances which were actions initiated outside of and in direct contrast to those constituted by kinship (Barnett and Silverman 1979b:52).

If one's analysis begins with performances as real, individualized analytical units whose existence is not mediated by the cultural domain of kinship, then historic New England society becomes transformed from a culturally defined totality into an agglomeration of individuated units whose behavior will always be interpreted as an entrepreneurial logic. For example, the proprietor system of the late eighteenth century has been viewed as an economic structure which determined personal behavior as a set of economic calculations. Indeed, a portion of the transactions associated with the purchase and sale of original proprietor's shares in Goshen were speculative performances, undertaken to produce a quick monetary profit (review Table IV).

However, just as frequently if not more so, transactions were not economically motivated but served as signs of cultural enactments whose meaning was indicative of the encompassing domain of kinship as a diffuse, yet enduring solidarity (see Table VII). While most of the transactions listed in Table VII were gifts from fathers to sons, there is one (M. Ward to W. Ward) which is a sign of a sibling, not filial, relation. This transaction was not determined by a speculative motive but had its meaning within kinship as a cultural domain. In the same way that American kinship (as a pure cultural domain) is not exclusively defined by blood or marriage, many economic transactions (enactments) were given substance by the persons who were culturally defined as not being related by blood or marriage but standing in some relation which required a specified code for conduct.

Table VII: Economic Actions within the Cultural Domains of Kinship in Goshen

Original Purchaser	*No. of Shares and Date*	*Cost in Pounds*	*Next Grantee*	*No. of Shares and Date*	*Meaning of "Cost"*
A. Parmelee	*1 (--)*	*--*	*son*	*1 (1742)*	*natural affection*
T. Tuttle	*1 (1738)*	*145*	*son*	*1 (1739)*	*gift*
J. Thompson	*1 (1738)*	*138*	*son*	*1 (1753) and all lands*	*love and good will*
M. Ward	*1 (1737)*	*139*	*W. Ward*	*1 (1739)*	*146 pounds*
W. Ward	*1 (1739)*	*146*	*A. Ward*	*½ (1741)*	*gift*
			Z. Ward	*½ (1742)*	*gift*

Thus, economically-motivated transactions such as the purchase and re-sale of proprietors' shares were not decisions made freely by individuals but were embedded within and defined by a culture domain of kinship whose meaning was defined by familial descent as well as extra-familial relations.

When one's analytical focus changes from the buying and selling of shares to transactions involving property and settlement, the domain of kinship continues to provide a context of meaning and sense for what has been interpreted tradi-

tionally as speculation. Charles Grant's (1972:44-54) analysis of land transactions in eighteenth century Kent suggests that such activities were present; indeed he uses these data to demonstrate the existence of a new cultural order:

> The present writer /Grant/ has found that the principal speculators at Kent were, indeed, the local settlers. Not only were their speculative ventures impressive in number but they suggest the prevalence of a peculiar moral code. When the leading citizens of Kent sought land profits, they became, at best resourceful opportunists and, at worst, conniving dissemblers (Grant 1972:44, additions and emphasis mine).

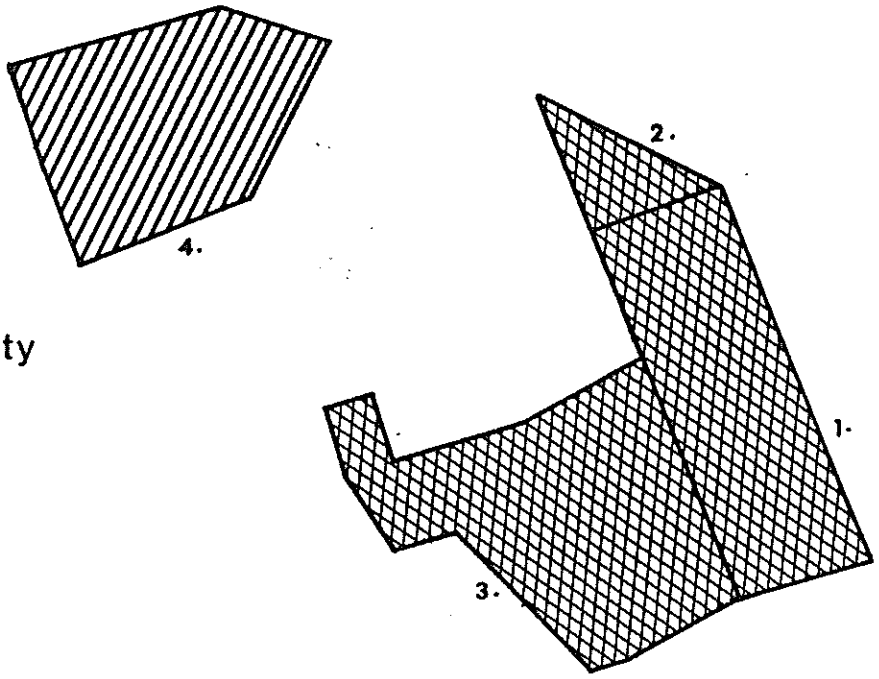
However our studies in Goshen indicate that land transactions were either enacted within the domain of kinship or performed as a conscious exception to this cultural system of symbols. Evidence in support of such an interpretive model has been isolated within two different sorts of property transactions: those which involve the familial transmission of land from one generation to the next and records associated with property values in the nineteenth century (see next section).

The settlement patterns of historic Goshen, best described as a classic example of the dispersed mode, cannot be interpreted correctly as reflecting a spirit of individualism and a cultural separation of economy from the more amorphous domain of kinship. Even from the time of the original divisions of Goshen's land among those individuals who held at least a portion of one share, it is clear that settlement was a set of actions and a normative structure situated inside the cultural domain of kinship. Intensive studies of the land records associated with several families have revealed how the cultural domain of kinship encompassed both property transactions and the development of a dispersed settlement pattern.

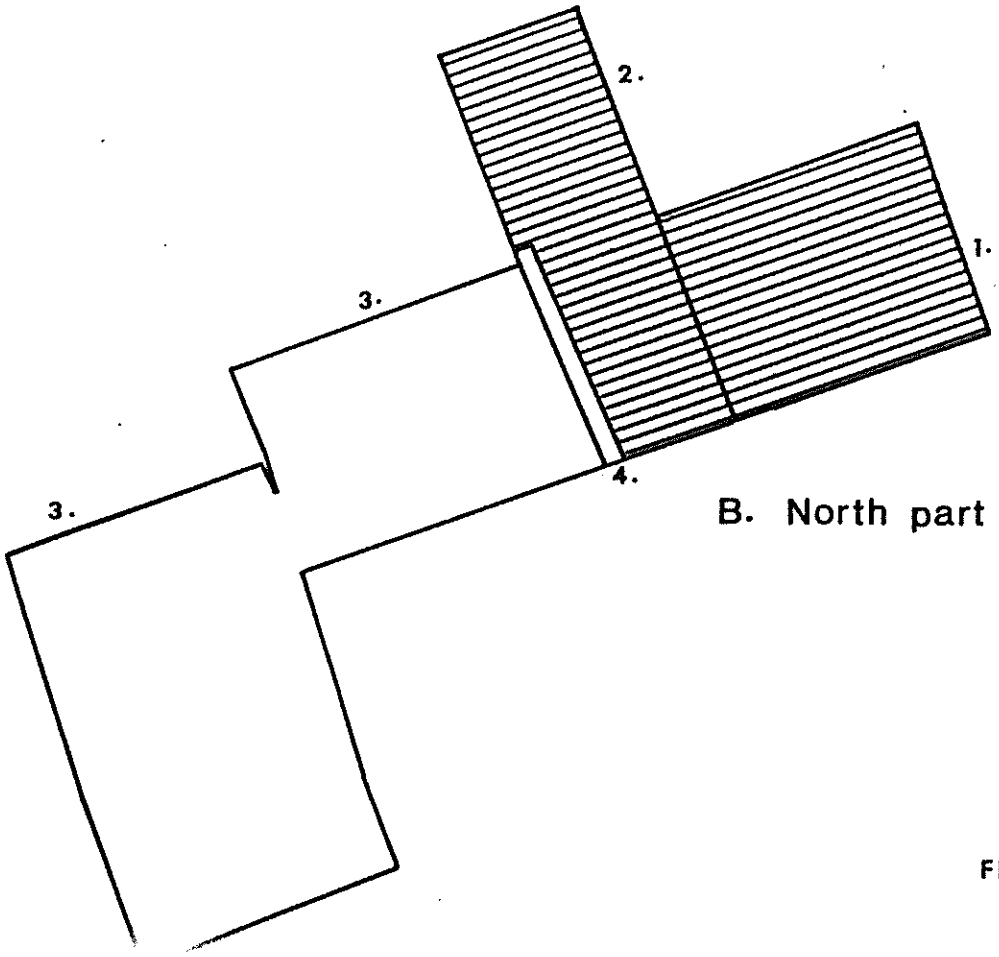
Deacon John Beach was one of several individuals who purchased a proprietor's share from an original proprietor (Oliver Dudley) before the first division of land in Goshen. Beach's share, which he never sold or divided, allowed him to take title to a total of 920 acres between 1738 (first division) and 1751 (tenth division). In addition, John Beach bought some 90 acres prior to 1760 so that his holdings, during a maximum of two decades, never exceeded 1010 acres. Prior to his death in 1773 he had conveyed all of this land and his house to other individuals so that his probate inventory included only personal possessions.[13]

Of the original 920 acres which he "owned" through his proprietor's share, approximately 70% (638 acres) was conveyed to his sons and daughter under non-monetary agreements usually described as stemming from "parental love and affection." Most of this land, with the exception of 76 acres, was contained in four localities which represent the loci where John Beach acquired land during each division (see Figures 21, 22). Each of these loci consists of two to four separate tracts, each tract being laid out during different phases of land division. By 1750 John Beach had deeded one or more tracts of land in each locality to eight of his nine sons, providing each with a parcel which became that son's settlement. In turn those sons who remained in Goshen all their lives conveyed their settlements to their descendants (fifth generation), a process which continues in some cases through the mid-nineteenth century (sixth-eighth generations).

CLUSTERS OF HOLDINGS: JOHN (3) BEACH AS PROPRIETOR



A. North Pond locality



B. North part of Ivy Mountain

FIGURE 21

Captions: Figures 21 and 22

Figure 21A

1. 50 acres, 3rd division (1739), deeded to Jacob (4) Beach in 1750
2. 8-3/4 acres, 6th division (1746), deeded to Jacob (4) Beach in 1750
3. 70 acres, 7th division (1746), deeded to Jacob (4) Beach in 1750
4. 47 acres, 9th and 10th divisions (1751), deeded to John (4) Beach Jr. in 1754

Figure 21B

1. 50 acres, 2nd division (1739), deeded to Linus (4) Beach in 1746
2. 60 acres, 3rd division (1739), deeded to Linus (4) Beach in 1746
3. 150 acres, 4th division (1739), sold
4. 8 acres, 5th division (1742), sold

Figure 22A

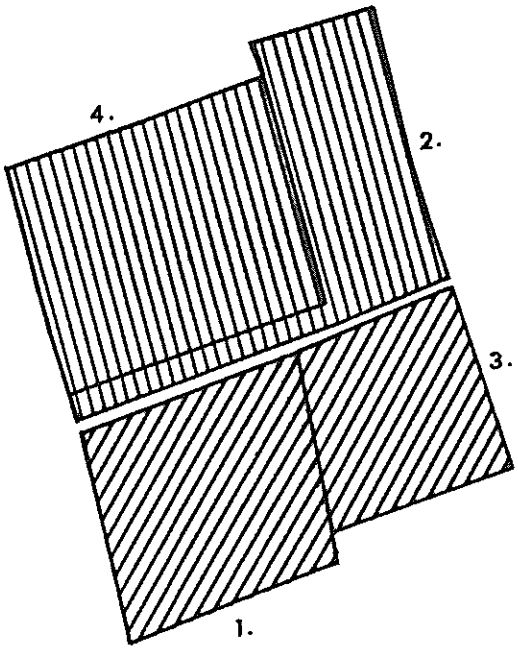
1. 42 acres, 5th division (1742), deeded to John (4) Beach Jr. in 1754
2. 35 acres, 8th division (1746), deeded to Royce (4) Beach in 1754
3. 37 acres, 8th division (1746), deeded to John (4) Beach Jr. in 1754
4. 50 acres, 6th division (1742), deeded to Royce (4) Beach in 1754

Figure 22B

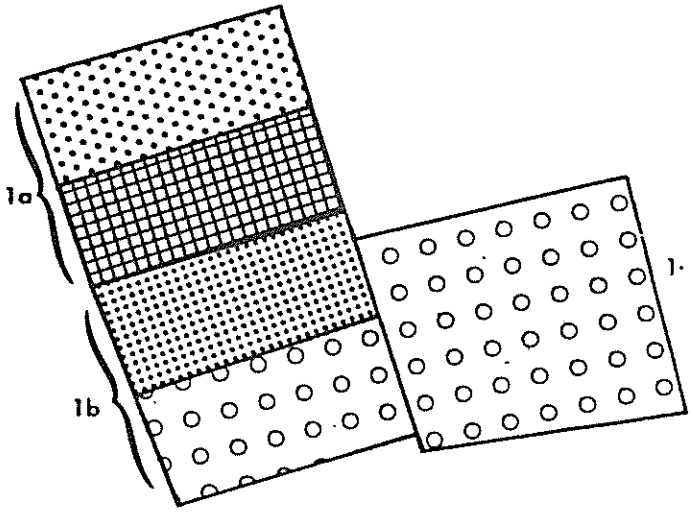
1a. 24 acres (northern half of 1a), 1st division (1738), deeded to Amos (4) Beach in 1746
1a. 27 acres (southern half of 1a), 1st division (1738), deeded to Edmund (4) Beach in 1746
1b. 24 acres (northern half of 1b), 1st division (1738), deeded to Adna (4) Beach in 1746
1b. 29 acres (southern half of 1b), 1st division (1738), deeded to Barnabas (4) Beach in 1755
1. 55 acres, 2nd division (1739), originally laid out to Barnabas Beach on the basis of his partial proprietor's share

CLUSTERS OF HOLDINGS: JOHN (3) BEACH AS PROPRIETOR

A. South part of Ivy Mountain



B. Primary settlement along East Street



Y

FIGURE 22

For example, a series of three tracts totaling approximately 130 acres was conveyed to Jacob (4) Beach in 1750 (see Figure 21A), who built a house and grist mill on the property prior to 1770 (Figure 23). Jacob Beach then divided portions of this settlement between two of his sons, Francis (5) and Julius (5), shortly before 1800. Additional offspring received smaller shares as described in Jacob (4) Beach's probate file, dated 1801.[14] In time Julius (5) Beach's son, Albert (6),[15] received land and other property in the locality and lived there until his death in 1853. By 1860 the property south of North Pond in North Goshen ceased to be a locus of settlement for descendants of Deacon John (3) Beach, the family's patriarch (Figure 24). All this settlement history is represented on the modern landscape by undisturbed archaeological sites (see Poinsot 1980).

A similar history of familial transactions is associated with a cluster of holdings which belonged to John (3) Beach and his eldest son, Barnabus (4), and was situated along East Street north of the graveyard. Here John (3) Beach acquired two first division lots before 1740 and built his original homestead on the northern end of the complex. By 1745 three of his eldest sons had constructed houses along East Street south of John (3) Beach's (Hibbard 1897:62). Over the next decade John (3) Beach conveyed three quarters of the original parcel of 104 acres to these three sons. The northernmost quarter, where he had built his original home, was deeded as well to a fourth, younger son, Amos (4) Beach, in 1746 (Figure 22B). John (3) Beach continued to live here with Amos until his death prior to the American Revolution.

This locus of settlement along East Street remained within the Beach lineal family through the early nineteenth century. Today this primal complex of four houses and farmsteads is virtually intact, represented by two historic archaeological sites - Anstett I and TWC XL (see Lacoste 1980) - and a single standing structure which once belonged to Edmund (4) Beach (Figure 25). Preliminary excavations of these two farmsteads during the autumn of 1979 demonstrated that each site's assemblage included diagnostic ceramic wares from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Lacoste 1980). Neither the 1852 Clark map of Goshen nor the 1874 Beers' Atlas includes structures in either of these localities so the extant archaeological records represent activities undertaken by members of John (3) Beach's lineal family.

A third archival and archaeological record of familial continuity is associated with a farmstead situated on the north shore of Whist Pond, east of the Beach's farmsteads. Abraham (4) Parmelee, of Guilford, Connecticut, acquired eleven tracts here during the first six divisions of Goshen but never left his home on the coast. His son, Abraham (5) Parmelee, became the owner of many of these tracts through purchase and gift, as well as the recipient of his father's share in the undivided lands. Abraham (5) used this proprietor's right to acquire six additional lots adjacent to Whist Pond during the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth divisions (see Figure 26). Some of these later tracts were sold between 1750 and 1760; however none of these transactions disturbed the integrity of the Parmelee farmstead.

Soon after the end of the Revolutionary War Abraham (5) Parmelee began to distribute his land holdings amongst his four sons and the older of his two daughters. Much of the available land which had not been sold earlier was conveyed to Theodore (6) Parmelee, Abraham's (5) son, as an outright gift or at a reduced price. Similar yet smaller gifts and transactions were conveyed to Theodore's (6) younger brothers and sister. During his lifetime Abraham (5) Parmelee acquired somewhat less than 600 acres of land in north-

Associated raceway

Figure 23. Archaeological Site of Jacob Beach's Grist Mill in North Goshen.

Foundation of Grist Mill

Figure 24. Archaeological Site of Beach Farmstead from the Nineteenth Century.

South of the Outlet of North Pond.

Original house of
Edmund Beach, ca. 1745

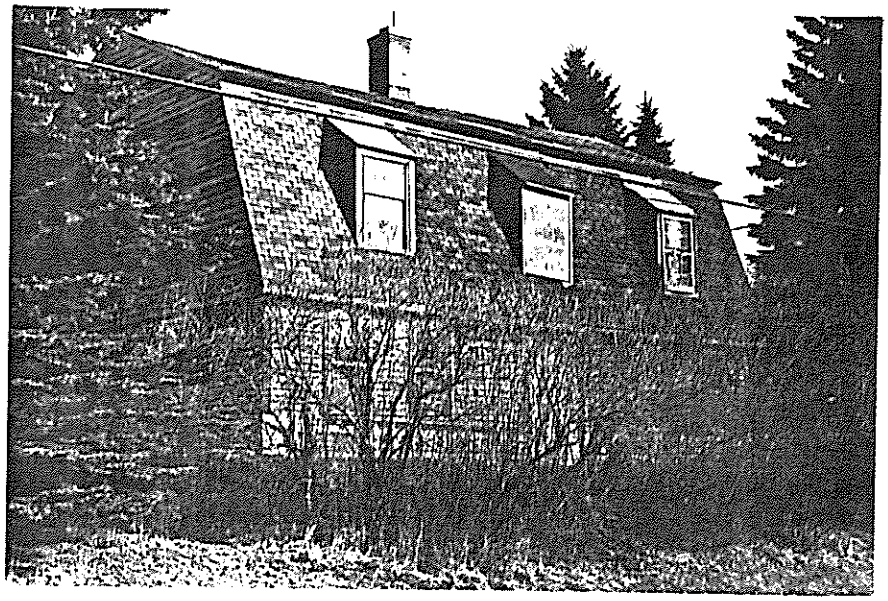


Figure 25. House Sites of the Second Generation of Beaches along East Street.

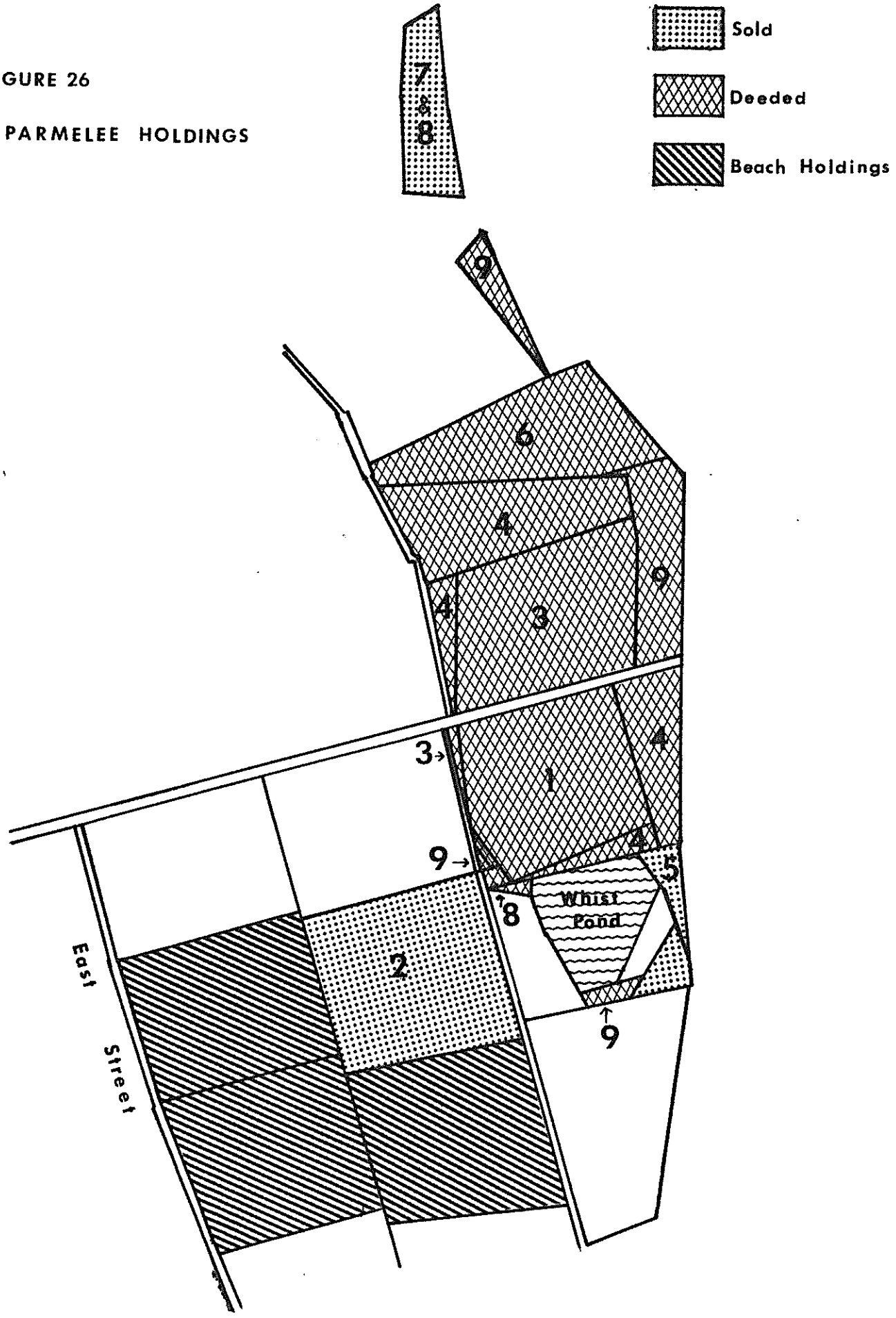
Archaeological site of Barnabas Beach

Caption: Figure 26

1. 53 acres, 1st division (1738), deeded by Abraham Parmelee (4) to Abraham Parmelee (5) in 1742.
2. 61 acres, 2nd division (1738), sold to Edward Parks in 1742.
3. 50 acres in 2 pieces, 3rd division (1739), deeded by Abraham Parmelee (4) to Abraham Parmelee (5) in 1742.
4. 50 acres in 4 pieces, 4th division (1739), deeded by Abraham Parmelee (4) to Abraham Parmelee (5) in 1742.
5. 50 acres in 3 pieces (2 near Whist Pond), 5th division (1742), sold to Edward Parks in 1742.
6. 50 acres, 6th division (1745), acquired by Abraham Parmelee (5).
7, 8. 35 acres in 4 pieces (2 near Whist Pond), 7th and 8th divisions (1745-6, 1753-4), most of which was sold to Timothy Stanley in 1755.
9. 17.5 acres in 4 pieces, 9th and 10th divisions (1750, 1752), most of which was transmitted to descendants.

FIGURE 26

PARMELEE HOLDINGS



east Goshen. More than half of this amount was conveyed to his children before his death in 1795.

The original farmstead on Whist Pond was built by Abraham (5) Parmelee before 1745 (Hibbard 1897:64). This locality remained a locus for family settlement through the second half of the eighteenth century as well as the first half of the nineteenth century. The 1874 F. W. Beers' map of the Town of Goshen includes a farmstead on the north shore of Whist Pond which was occupied by M. Parmelee, a direct descendant of Theodore (6) Parmelee.

* * * * * *

For more than two decades social and economic historians have been discovering the institutional principles which determined the structure of everyday life in premodern New England. Some of these principles reflected the primacy of the lineal family: a social structure which was characterized by generational continuity, a specific locus of settlement, and a process of partible descent (Lockridge 1972). With few exceptions this work examined older settlements in the area including Andover, Massachusetts (1646 - see Greven 1970), Dedham, Massachusetts (1636 - see Lockridge 1970), and Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts (1620 - see Demos 1970). Each of these studies and others whose conclusions were analogous recognized that life in premodern New England was neither economizing nor highly differentiated. "Family values" defined norms for action and daily behavior and provided a meaningful structure for economic transactions.

This same corpus of literature suggested that this traditional, "peasant" structure began to be transformed after the first quarter of the eighteenth century; these changes provided a framework for understanding the social meaning of the American Revolution (Lockridge 1972) as well as the emergence of modern lives and capitalism's socioeconomic patterns (see Bushman 1970, Brown 1976, Daniels 1979). Towns which were settled during this period of structural change would be more modern than premodern and Charles Grant's (1972) influential study of Kent, Connecticut described such a situation.

However the Institute's study of Goshen - another of the frontier towns in the Western lands - demonstrates that the lineal family, as one aspect of premodern kinship, continued to thrive until the middle of the nineteenth century. Familial structure and principles determined settlement as well as economy and the form of land transactions so everyday life was distinctly non-capitalist. However premodern kinship was not a matter solely of biological connection; a second symbol of a diffuse, enduring solidarity was also present and extended the "web of kinship" beyond the genealogical grid.

How Were Economy and Settlement Mediated by Kinship as a Diffuse, Enduring Solidarity?

The contrasts between late frontier towns and earlier communal villages, individualism and society, or economy and kinship are often thought of as irreconcilable differences between mutually exclusive ontological frameworks. In late eighteenth century Connecticut villages it is believed that a speculative spirit replaced a subsistence, profitless orientation as the Yankee mindset emerged.

The apparent conflict between these two historical reconstructions is a reflection of an implicit model for interpretation rather than any historical or social reality. All the recent scholarship devoted to New England settlement

and society - the so-called New Social History - is founded upon an analytical division between behavioral activity and societal norms. On the one hand, behavior is known to consist of individualized sets of actions whose meaning may not be readily apparent. Alternatively the analysis and interpretation of behavior requires that anthropologists and historians abstract from these actions a set of norms or "how-to-do-it" rules. These norms could be statistical models of behavioral acts or mechanical models of social rules. Depending upon whether one starts with actions or norms, the interpretive process could derive structures from acts (statistical analysis) or deduce acts from structures in a more mechanistic fashion:

> /These/ efforts are not contradictory, however, for at the root of most modern social theory are twin theorems: action generates structures and norms, and structures and norms stabalize action and convert it into expectation (Murphy 1971:34-35, amendment mine).

These twin theorems provide the theoretical base for current New England historiography particularly as this research is concerned with understanding the processes associated with the development of nucleated and dispersed settlements. By focusing on individual acts it is possible to isolate evidence of profit seeking as well as a rule of inheritance which stressed partible descent. Each of these distinct actions is stabalized and defined by the same institutional unit, the conjugal family whose limits and content are defined by an observable genealogical grid. Together these behavioral actions, social norms, and institutional structures reinforce one another's efforts and determine the form and contents of the inhabitants' everyday lives.

However there is an obvious incongruity between a speculative drive seen as a primal moral tenet and a normative structure which both valued and nurtured familial continuity. Where one is based upon the separation and sovereignty of the economic domain, the second mediates speculation by embedding it within inheritance, thereby implying that individuals sought profits as members of specific, individualized family units. The outcome of such analytical exercises is that scholars produce interpretations whose internal logic and sense is incredibly inconsistent. For example Charles Grant's (1972) reconstruction of eighteenth century life in Kent wanders fitfully between an identification of an almost universal entrepreneurial mentalité and summaries of the importance of inheritance and descent as each is defined by a given genealogical grid:

> The average Kent inhabitant does not appear to have been content with a subsistence way of life ("the happy yeoman"). On the contrary, one is impressed with his almost frantic pursuit of a wide variety of schemes or projects. One also notes a curious moral attitude, a combination of self-righteousness and a propensity for cunning deceit (Grant 1972:29).

Or:

> When the time came for a given farm to pass from one, second-generation family to six, third-generation sons, the economic interests of the sons dictated the migration of five and the continuance of only one on the family farm. However, we do suggest that

> there was a stickiness in the process. In practice, we suspect, economic interests were sometimes outweighed by psychological factors. Instead of five sons migrating, two or three might ignore the lure of outside adventure and prefer poverty amid familiar surroundings and friendly neighbors (Grant 1972:101-102, emphasis mine).

Such interpretive inconsistencies are quite common in contemporary America and are a sign of an inability, on the part of both scholars and the greater public, to recognize the complexities associated with writing a history of the development of capitalist principles and separations (see Henretta's 1978 overview). These contradictory reconstructions are predictable since each is founded upon a modern category, domain, or unit (the enterprising individual or the nuclear family) which is assumed to have existed in the historic past (Handsman 1980c,d). In order to escape the dilemma effected by cultural hegemony it is necessary to understand that each past was constituted historically as a meaningful system of symbols and categories. Often the logic and sense of such totalities differed radically from that which defined the modern world. From this perspective capitalism's units such as the family or the individual may not have existed in premodern societies. Or if such units were present, their meaning or use or relationship to daily life might have been very different.

This realization - itself a sign of the implicit transposition of the modern world into the past - implies that current interpretive dilemmas may reflect an inadequate knowledge of the meaning of units and their differentiations. Without working through a premodern system of cultural symbols there is no way to understand past behavioral processes except as reflections of our assumptions about that time and place.

Such an epistemological framework requires a radical rethinking of history's ontological categories and the substitution of an interpretive theory of culture for the "traditionalist" focus on normative actions:

> Instead of the classic question which is at the social system level of How Does This Society Organize to Accomplish Certain Tasks (establish alliances, maintain control over territory, provide for inheritance and succession, hold and transmit property, etc.), a cultural question is asked: namely, what are the units, how are they defined in the native culture itself, how does it postulate their interconnections, their mode of differentiation, by what symbolic devices do they define the units and their relationship, and what meanings do these have (Schneider 1972:58)?

The knowledge which results from this reordering of analytical priorities will not be used solely to reconstruct the categories or domains which once existed in the minds of premodern natives. The recognition of a society's cultural system of symbols and meanings can provide as well a framework within which to rethink both norms and actions. For example premodern kinship, as a cultural construction, was founded upon two symbols - the sharing of biogenetic substance and the nurturing of a diffuse, yet enduring solidarity - which together determined the meaning of economic activity as well as institutional practices. Further, one of these symbols - that of a code for conduct

which expressed solidarity - could determine the limits of or even transform the content of the first. That is a sharing of biogenetic substance was not a necessary prerequisite to establishing non-legal, kin-like ties of aid, comfort, or support.

In modern America these same two symbols are used to construct a cultural system of kinship. The work of David Schneider (1968, 1980) has demonstrated that American kinship is not a matter solely of the sharing of biogenetic substance so an examination of the genealogical grid alone will not produce a systematic inventory of any person's kinsmen (Schneider 1972, 1980; Schneider and Cottrell 1975). The symbol of the transmission of natural substance is encompassed by a second meaning for kinship - an evocation of diffuse, enduring solidarity - which determines individualized behavior as well as the structure of specific norms and institutions. Neither of these symbols dominates the other in particular social or economic contexts (see Schneider and Cottrell 1975, Schneider and Smith 1978) in the modern world; each encompasses and determines the other's reality.

However from a second perspective, one defined by the use of a theory of ideology and cultural hegemony, kinship in contemporary America is almost always perceived and thought of as biological fact. Even if the reality of modern American kinship demonstrates the existence of two symbols, as Schneider's work has revealed, only one of these, biogenetic substance, is valorized (Handsman 1980c). The outcome is that kinship and blood become synonymous and are reflected in the modern institutional structure of the family as well as the analytical tool of the genealogical grid (Schneider 1979, 1980).

The valorization of a symbol of biogenetic substance over one of a diffuse, enduring solidarity is not a universal truth or natural law independent of either history or culture. The differentiation of these two symbols and the institutionalization of the first as a specific social structural arrangement - the family - reflects a set of processes which together transformed premodern concepts of kinship and economy:

> With the beginnings of capitalism, the bourgeoisie, in defending private productive property against feudal ties and restrictions, put forth a new conception of the family as an independent economic unit within a market economy. . . . Based upon private property, the ideology of the family as an "independent" or "private" institution is the counterpart / metaphor / to the idea of the "economy" as a separate realm / a cultural separation /, . . .
> (Zaretsky 1976:32-33, amendments mine).

So the materialist model is one which describes an historical emergence and a cultural separation, yet it has now, in modern America, become transformed into a mythical universal. The recent critical study of theories of the family by Mark Poster (1980) reveals how an historical structure associated with the appearance of a socioeconomic class in the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie, is reflective of a series of cultural separations: individuals from society, economy from culture, and family from kinship. The result is marked by the invention of an analytical unit, the FAMILY, which becomes the object of much intellectual, therapeutic, and political activity.

This unit becomes metaphor for kinship; in fact, through the processes of cultural separation and ideological involution, the family becomes valorized over kinship. This is just another way of stating that biogenetic substance dominates the code for conduct in modern America.

Within the context of this perspective it is possible, at least retrospectively, to comprehend what the "New Social History" in America and Europe is all about and to understand why it emerged when it did. It is "simply" the intellectual recognition of a unit which has come to dominate American society and culture. Be aware that this recognition is not solely a process of reflection; social history is not just determined by the cultural context of which it is a part. Rather, social history, once it was reinvented more than two decades ago, has contributed much to the process of reifying the separation and domain of the FAMILY (Fitzgerald 1979, Handsman 1980c).

Social historians' interpretive models of American kinship, expressed as a series of "two-by-two" relationships as codified in the family, emphasize the conjugal relation over all others. This preference is not surprising as it is a reflection of the interpretive significance which modern Americans assign to the "atom" of kinship. Inside the nuclear family, itself created by marriage, is the potential for biological reproduction and the mingling of natural substances from what were initially separate social entities as well as discrete persons.

In the same way the social historical models of family relationships and inheritance begin with this atom and trace the interaction of behavior and norms through persons and units who are descended (who share natural substance) from the ancestral dyad (the analyses of Greven 1970, Grant 1972 are typical). The analytical domain is constituted at the level of the family while the analytical framework is provided by the genealogical grid associated with that family. Thus kinship becomes transformed from a cultural system of symbols and meanings into a set of actions and "how-to-do-it" rules situated within the institution of the family.

In premodern America kinship and family were not homologous; the institutional unit was defined and determined by the interaction of cultural symbols and their complexes of meaning. Biological fact was not valorized over a "code for conduct;" persons who considered themselves to be kinsmen did not have to share blood, a natural substance. It was enough for each (or all) to nourish the diffuse, yet enduring solidarity which joined them and determined the form of their relations.

The internal structure of such a cultural system of kinship was not limited to individuals who shared biogenetic substance. The system's norms cannot be studied through the framework provided by a genealogical grid since its use conceals signs of kinsmen who were not related through a lineal principle of descent. To begin with a normative principle of partible descent and then trace its reflection in settlement activity (as contemporary methodology would have it) scholars must assume that the cultural separation of the family from its encompassing domain kinship is neither historically constituted nor an artifact of the modern era. However if premodern kinship is not family and the genealogical grid is not kinship, then settlement processes are more than a reflection of familial transmission and division. In some sense premodern settlement should reflect the cultural symbol of a diffuse, yet enduring solidarity.

During the second half of the eighteenth century most of the land in northeast Goshen acquired through proprietors' rights was owned by four "families:" the Baldwins, the Beaches, the Parmelees, and the Stanleys (see Figure 27). Two of these families consisted of a pair of brothers - Timothy and Nathaniel Baldwin and Timothy and Nathaniel Stanley - so actually six conjugal families inhabited the region. Each cluster of original holdings became the focus of initial settlement and, through the now recognizable process of familial partition, later occupation until the middle of the nineteenth century (review Figures 21, 22, 26).

However the form and meaning of settlement in this region is not a process reflected solely in the history of individuated farmsteads and lineal families. Rather a series of marital links between various descendents or relatives of these original settlers provided an implicit cultural system of kinship within which everyday life was enacted. Two of the families, founded by Samuel (1) Baldwin and John (1) Parmelee, were linked before the settlement of Goshen by a marriage (1718) between Elizabeth (4) Parmelee and Nathaniel (2) Baldwin, one of the town's original proprietors and settlers.

Between 1740 and 1760 an additional set of marriages, five in number, created institutional links between the descendents of Abraham (4) Parmelee, Nathaniel (2) Baldwin, Timothy (2) Stanley, and Nathaniel (2) Stanley. Three of these marriages occurred between a group of siblings (3) - Mary, Nathaniel, and William Stanley, whose father was Nathaniel (2) - and members of the Baldwin and Parmelee lines. By 1760 many of these new conjugal families were living along East Street on farmsteads deeded to them by their fathers, Goshen's original settlers.

A second group of marriages helped to intensify these early bonds and expand the extensiveness of this network of kindred. Beginning about 1780, within the second generation of settlement, a larger group of links was constructed between these four lineal families. Many of these unions reflected earlier connections by marriage as affinal relatives formed their own conjugal families. New relationships appeared also as members of John (3) Beach's lineal family began to intermarry with individuals descended from Timothy (3) Stanley and other early settlers. Between 1779 and 1781 one of John (3) Beach's sons, three of his grandsons, and one of his grandaughters married individuals who shared a biogenetic relationship with Timothy (3) Stanley, Samuel (3) Baldwin, and Abraham (5) Parmelee.

The process of extending and intensifying this kindred complex continued through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1830 many of the conjugal families along East Street who inhabited individualized farmsteads and who did not share a biogenetic connection were related by ties created by marriage and friendship. While such associations had no biological reality, these families participated in the same kinship unit and could expect that their lives and those of their relations would be acted out within the context of a diffuse, enduring solidarity.[16]

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

Figure 27. Original Land Holdings Associated with a Network of Kin in North Goshen.

> Simple commodity production / individualized farmsteads and a differentiated system of conjugal families / is governed by the need of the individual producer. He produces as much as will bring him when sold the amount of universal equivalent he requires to provide himself and his family with a "respectable competency." Household production / defined by kinship as a diffuse, enduring solidarity /, however, is regulated by neither profit nor individual need alone, but by social need. Production is planned with one eye on the needs of one's own household, and the other on the needs of neighboring households (Merrill 1977:63, amendments and emphasis mine).

In the same way, speculation and the drive-for-profits - supposedly initiated by and enacted through discrete individuals as entrepreneurs - were not ahistorical modes of behavior. Speculation in historic Goshen was as embedded within and determined by kinship as other economic norms and actions. A brief study of land transactions and the purchase and sale of original proprietors' rights demonstrates that each of these sets of economic activities was enacted according to the implicit principles of premodern American kinship. These principles, whose form and content were determined by the two primal symbols, defined the structure of specific behavioral contexts. It was this structure which specified how individual actions would proceed, how these actions would be thought, and what their meanings might be.

Speculative activities were not a norm for action or even a common behavioral practice; rather these transactions were defined by situations whose meaning was distinctly "not-kinship." For example, the speculative sale of original rights was undertaken usually between discrete persons who were members of separate kindred yet felt no sense of kinship for one another. Thus their behavior was not defined or determined by either a sharing of natural substance or a nurturing of a diffuse, yet enduring solidarity. It is in this sense, and only in this sense, that monads can be said to have existed in premodern Goshen.

The context of speculative activities could also reflect perceptions of future growth, urbanization and industrialization, and societal transformation. In these situations an entrepreneurial spirit was not just a reflection of an interaction between two or more monads. The possibility or certainty of future economic growth and differentiation provided individuals or families or kindred the opportunity to generate profits through a series of land transactions. Often such opportunities were associated with the development of nucleated settlements and the emergence of early modern social and economic organizations (see Handsman 1981a:8, also Chapters VII and VIII). Such situations were in reality contexts whose structural principles would not be determined exclusively (or at all) by a cultural system of kinship.

Some localities or regions were never thought of as future loci of growth and differentiation. Here kinship continued to provide the meaningful system within which everyday life was enacted. In Goshen many of the dispersed settlements never became nucleated or were never thought of as centers for potential urbanization so their histories are embedded within a premodern cultural system of kinship. For example East Street and the dispersed settlement of North Goshen were always rural, residential, familial, and agricultural. Even those localities used for "industrial settlement" were developed as loci of kindred and reflections of kinship (see discussion of Hart Brook in Chapter

VIII). In a very real sense everyday life here never became modernized and economy was always embedded within kinship.

Such an historical period of stasis and cultural conservatism is reflected in two patterns which can be isolated within the associated record of land transactions. First settlement continued to be largely a process of partible descent or one which protected the integrity or wholeness of a set of holdings through the norm of familial inheritance. A second pattern is more implicit yet is, in retrospect, obviously a reflection of continuing premodernity. Many of the economic transactions associated with the purchase and sale of specific tracts do not suggest a continuous drive-for-profit or even an enduring speculative fervor. Rather, a history of each tract's values demonstrates stability rather than spiraling costs, conservatism more than speculation (see Table VIII). Ultimately such histories are a reflection of the continuing importance of a cultural system of kinship which defined the forms and contents of everyday life in Goshen and allowed individuals to think of themselves as monads, entrepreneurs, families, or kindred.

Table VIII: History of Land Values in North Goshen

Year	*Tract I*	*Tract II*	*Tract III*
1844		*1000.00*	
1857	*2500.00*		
1859			*150.00*
1862		*1000.00*	
1863		*500.00*	*150.00*
1867		*475.00*	*400.00*
1868			*500.00*
1870			*500.00*
1870			*400.00*
1871			*400.00*
1883	*2500.00*		
1909	*"Sum"*		

VII. URBANIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOSHEN'S CENTER VILLAGE

For more than one century a Victorian theory of history has provided analytical and interpretive models to Americans who are interested in studying the recent, literate past. This theory - actually an early version of cultural hegemony - assumed that the historic past and the early modern world of the late nineteenth century were homologous. It was of no consequence whether these similarities were isolated as forms of settlement, principles of social and economic organization, or systems of cultural and behavioral meaning. Victorians always could discover the modern world in seventeenth and eighteenth century America and the historic past in their own daily lives.

Since early modern New England settlement patterns consisted of two related yet distinct components, nucleated villages and dispersed farmsteads, Victorians could write their own histories from two separate perspectives. By focusing on nucleated settlements of varying degrees of complexity and size each New England village became a reflection of the original, primal Puritan covenant, an ancient community brought into the modern world. However if one's analytical gaze shifted to the outlying regions, which were characterized by dispersed settlement, a second social persona appeared. This archetype was individualistic, economic, and exceedingly practical. In short, modern man or homo economicus could be discovered in colonial New England.

By substituting a theory of cultural separations and symbols for one predicated upon normative actions and modern ideology, the meaning of dispersed settlement in historic Goshen can be re-examined. Analytical units such as the person, the family, speculation, and economy did not exist in the premodern world. Since the town's initial occupation, everyday life remained distinctly non-capitalist. Its structure, principles, norms, and actions were determined by a cultural system of kinship whose meaning was founded upon two contrastive symbols.

One of these symbols - the nurturing of a diffuse, enduring solidarity - encompassed the second in premodern Goshen so settlement and economy always were embedded within kinship. Thus the meaning of a settlement pattern in the historic past cannot be "read" as a reflection of modern ideological principles since its historical reality was separate from the Western world as we live it. It was not until the Federal period (1820-1860) that everyday life began to change in Goshen; these embryonic transformations were reflected in and determined by the emergence of two nucleated settlements: the "industrial" village of West Goshen and the center village of Goshen itself.

Urbanization as an Historic Process: Analytical Patterns and Behavioral Norms

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

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

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

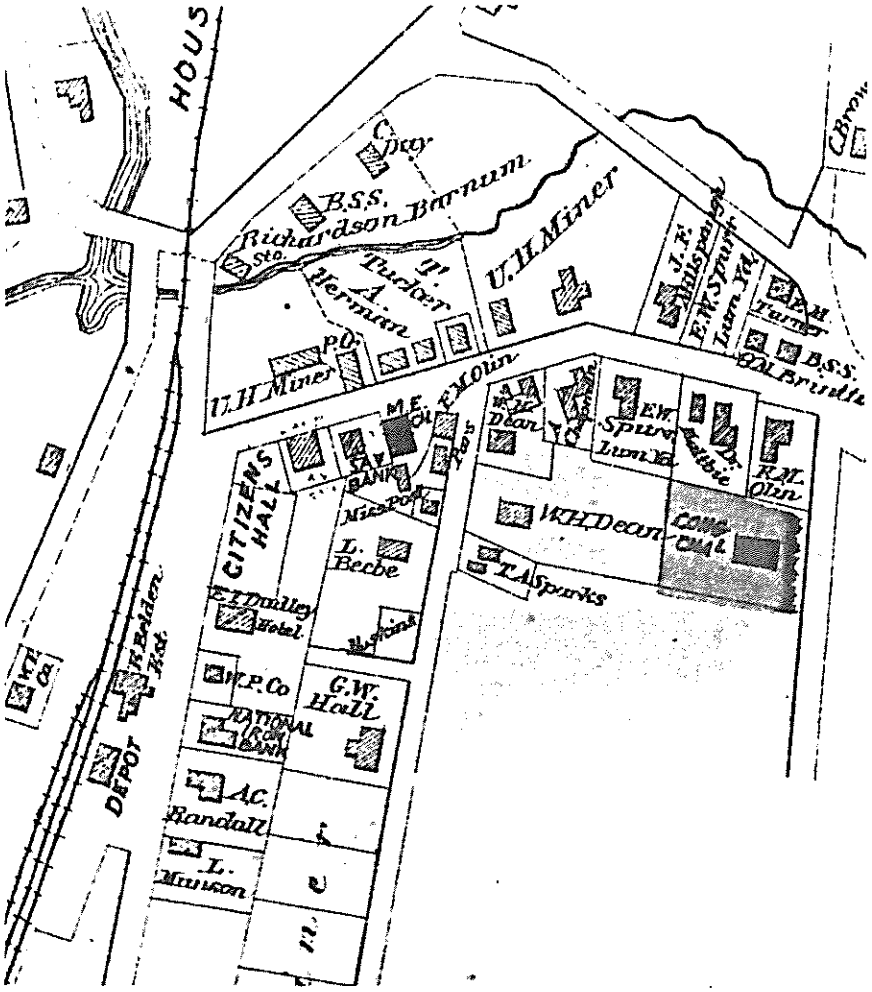
The settlement landscape of Litchfield County is filled with these social places, some of whose origins can be traced to the late eighteenth century. Among the best examples are the villages of Milton and East Litchfield in the Town of Litchfield; the center villages of Washington, Harwinton, and Bethlehem; and the modern village of South Canaan, located at the intersection of Routes 7 and 63 (Figure 28). Today this last settlement consists of several Federal farmhouses and a deteriorating Congregational Church which was built during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Prior to the early Federal period this small social place did not exist. Even after the construction of the church and the emergence of South Canaan as an ecclesiastical locus the settlement never achieved importance as an economic or residential center.

However less than three kilometers to the west a second center village appeared during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Before 1790 Falls Village was a small, nondescript social place similar to the modern settlement of South Canaan. In 1798 Timothy Dwight (Volume II, 1969:261) traveled through Falls Village and wrote this description: "The houses on the street are few, scattered, and indifferent. In it stands a decayed church without a steeple, belonging to the south parish."

During the period between 1830 and 1860 this village was transformed into a residential and commercial center as the adjacent Housatonic River became the focus for industrial development. On the west bank of the river the community of Amesville was constructed around an important ironworks and cannon foundry (see Moore 1978). Beginning in the 1840's a corporation, the Falls Village Water Power Company, financed the construction of a multi-level power canal just west of the center village and the railroad (see Figure 28B). In the words of a local newspaper in 1851, "the Housatonic Falls can hardly fail to become the site of a great manufacturing city."

28A. Federal farmhouses in South Canaan

Figure 28. Nucleated Settlements in the Town of Canaan.



28B. The Urban Village of Falls Village, from the 1874 Beers' County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

Although this scheme failed its promise and the success of the Ames Iron Company as well as the construction of the Housatonic Valley Railroad (prior to 1850) initiated a period of growth and differentiation which ended with the appearance of a true urban village (Figure 28B). In the early 1870's the nucleated settlement of Falls Village included residential and commercial units as well as a branch of the National Iron Bank, two churches, and one hotel. Much of the extant commercial and business architecture represents a distinctive Greek Revival style with sophisticated ornamental facades (Handsman 1981b:18).

Today this center village is quiet, almost pastoral; yet even in the modern world Falls Village is distinguishable from South Canaan. Its size, pattern of internal differentiation into a variety of businesses and trades, and its historic importance as a transportation and industrial center are typical of an urban village. All of these attributes are absent in South Canaan, including size, defining its role as a small-scale social place.

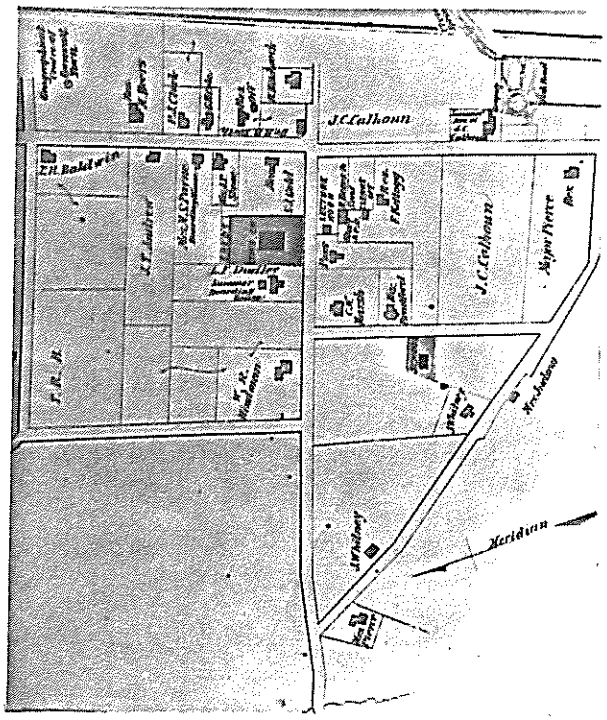
Some nucleated settlements in Litchfield County are larger-scale social places, intermediate in size and internal complexity between a type similar to South Canaan and an urbanized settlement such as Falls Village. The center village of Cornwall, Connecticut (also known as Cornwall P.O. or Cornwall Plain) represents one of these transitional forms, a larger residential hamlet whose internal structure is quite homogenous. The Town of Cornwall's initial settlement pattern was as dispersed as Goshen's; both were part of Connecticut's Western Lands.

By the turn of the nineteenth century several nucleated settlements had appeared in the town. Two of these villages, Cornwall Bridge and West Cornwall, were centers for industry and commerce, situated on the Housatonic River. Each included numerous mill facilities, commercial establishments, and residential units which were clustered tightly on small parcels.

Others of Cornwall's nucleated settlements were neither industrialized nor commercialized; such center villages consisted primarily of residential units, some of which were used also as the offices of professionals. The true center village of modern Cornwall is located along Route 4 south of its intersection with Route 128. It began to appear on the landscape during the last decade of the eighteenth century and grew in size and complexity between 1820 and 1840. Much of this growth reflects the settlement's importance as an educational center; however farmers continued to live there and cultivate crops until the middle of the nineteenth century (see Figures 2, 29). Although the village increased in size between 1850 and 1870 it never became more than a larger version of most of the County's social places.

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

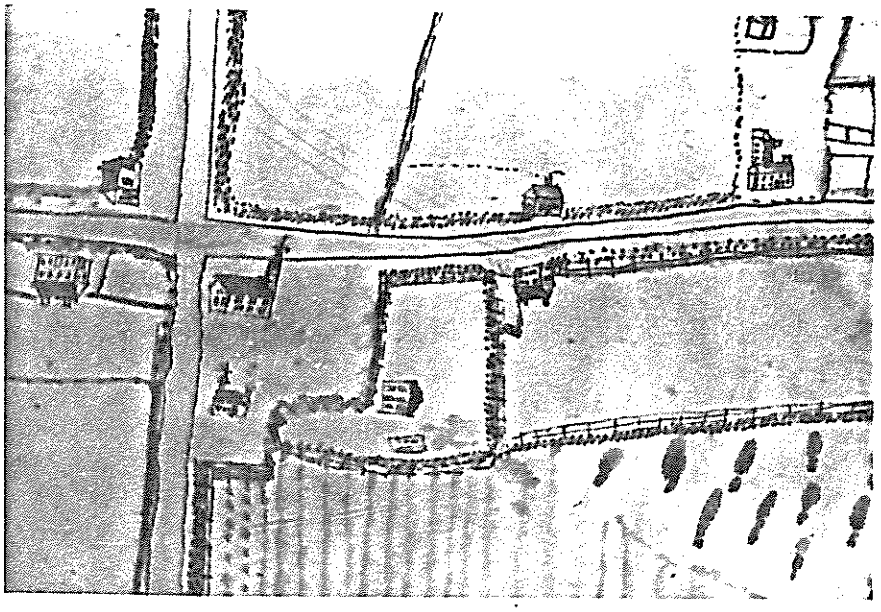
The external form and internal organization of center villages is quite variable in northwestern Connecticut and as cultural geographers moved about the architectural landscape and through an extensive archival record they



1874 map from F. W. Beers' County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut. Majority of structures were houses of both the Georgian and Federal styles. Note the increased incidence of subdivision and construction compared to the earlier map below. Area depicted equivalent to that in Figure 2.

Figure 29. Two Historic Maps of the Center Village of Cornwall.

1825 Depiction of the Center Village of Cornwall. Enlargement of a portion of the watercolor from Figure 2.



invented a typology of settlement patterns to replace the older interpretive model (a non-historical one) of smaller (older) and larger (more recent) nucleated villages. Examples of each of these types exist in Litchfield County; some are modern artifacts while others are historic sites (see Table IX).

Table IX: Forms of Nucleated Settlements

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

**Arranged in ascending order of size and complexity.*

Each type is differentiated from the others on the basis of several diagnostic criteria including actual size, the density of residential population (measure of the degree of nucleation), frequency of artisans and tradesmen as well as specialized professions, the presence of large-scale industrial plants, and signs of an administrative system to manage everyday life. While it is often difficult to identify a specific settlement type in the modern world, the movement from social places to towns is associated with an increase in size, internal complexity, and regional importance (see various articles in Tringham 1973).

For example the development of the urban village of Sturbridge Center, Massachusetts was reflected in the construction of numerous dwellings and stores and the appearance of a school (see Table X). Most of this activity was completed prior to 1850 so this urban village became a classic example of a Federal period settlement.

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

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

It is also apparent from Table IX that a settlement during the historic period could either evolve or decline in complexity as one approached the modern era. For instance the communities of East and South Canaan, today represented by small, modest clusters of houses and a Congregational Church, were larger and more differentiated in the historic past (early-to-mid nineteenth century). In each of these localities one can find evidence of a progressive sequence from urban villages or sophisticated social places to small-scale social places, a reverse of the historical pattern which economic historians would expect to reconstruct.

One can also discover sequences of growth and complexity which more closely reflect the interpretive models of historical geographers. In Litchfield County, modern Torrington, Litchfield, Goshen, and Canaan, among others, are larger, more diversified and internally-differentiated, and more complex than each was in the past. However their histories of urbanization and termini of development are quite dissimilar. Thus both the modern and historic settlement landscapes exhibit an endless variety which itself is a sign of the complexities of historical processes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Handsman 1981b).[17]

The forms of the settlements themselves can be thought of as artifacts or archaeological sites, material signs of behavioral processes which are responsible for bringing the patterning of individual or multiple settlements into existence:

> The archaeological record / of a settlement / is at best a static pattern of associations and covariations among things distributed in space. Giving meaning to these contemporary patterns is dependent upon an understanding of the processes which operated to bring such patterning into existence. . . . for it is from such dynamics that the statics which we observe arise (Binford 1980:4).

Villages are both modern objects and historic sites; if we ever are to understand why each settlement looks the way it does (in contrast with other settlements) we must also have knowledge of the everyday lives of the inhabitants who lived in each village. Without it we will be left with marvelous descriptions of nucleated settlements, sometimes grouped into representative or diagnostic types, without any explanation as to why some settlements became historically transformed leading to the modern pattern of endless variety.

When historical geographers recognized that Dwight's interpretive model of settlement was not an artifact but a myth, they revolutionized the discipline by beginning to trace the relationships between settlement form and the everyday lives of each village's inhabitants as reflected primarily in economic and social activity. It was a study of the processes through which form and function (as behavior) interact, a tracing of structural discontinuities, gradual or abrupt transformations which end with people's lives and perceptions being different from what they were before (Brown 1976, Handsman 1981a).

One obvious material sign of such transformations is the settlement pattern of each specific village. So as that object underwent urbanization (increasing growth, nucleation, and differentiation) it must be a reflection of the appearance of new modes of social, political, and economic organization.

Bruce Daniels' (1979) invaluable study, The Connecticut Town, describes what some of these modes looked like. For example, the transition of villages from social places to central places (another name for urban villages) was marked by the emergence of two separate yet related social and economic processes - differentiation on the one hand and specialization on the other.

Within the domain of local government the interaction of these processes resulted in a marked proliferation of local institutions as each agency became responsible for a segment of the inhabitants' activities (see Daniels 1977). Indeed even within specific agencies - each town's ecclesiastical societies provide the best evidence - the responsibilities and actions were divided amongst numerous committees (Max Weber's bureaucratization). All of this sounds quite like modern America and is supposed to since it is here, in these processes, that the true historical foundations of American society are situated.

More importantly, the interaction of the processes of differentiation and specialization profoundly altered the economic structures of Connecticut's villages (Daniels 1979, 1980). This transformation is marked by an increase in the disparity of the distribution of wealth within many villages as well as the appearance of commercial and professional specialization (Lemon 1967, 1976). Rather than the bulk of the population being engaged in a wide variety of daily activities individuals began to specialize and "sell" their products or expertise. This sort of specialization of labor was a diagnostic trait of many urban villages in Litchfield County. As these villages continued to grow, accepting the presence of more individuals whose trades or professions were specialized, their external form became more nucleated while internally their structures were composed of highly differentiated segments. The modern landscape in Litchfield County is filled with examples of such nucleated settlements, each of which exhibits a unique history relative to these processes of differentiation and specialization (Handsman 1981b).

Some of the urban villages in Litchfield County appeared prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century including Litchfield, Salisbury, and Sharon. Their histories as incipient urban villages are quite divergent; Litchfield's urbanization is related in part to its selection as a shire town or county seat in 1752, while the size and complexity of Salisbury is a reflection of its role in northwestern Connecticut's early iron industry. Torrington achieved a later prominence, eventually dominating the County's landscape, as a result of significant industrialization during the last half of the nineteenth century. The center village of Canaan also developed as a central place at that time as it became the focus for settlement and commerce associated with the Housatonic Valley and Connecticut Western Railroads (Handsman 1981a).

Although the time frames and historical "causes" of each center village's nucleation are quite variable, the processes of specialization and differentiation are always present, transforming a society characterized by homogeneity and similitude into one whose structure can best be described as heterogeneous, composed of contrastive or dissimilar segments. As these processes worked, the everyday lives of the inhabitants of each village became transformed as did their views of themselves, their families, and their pasts. All of these transformations and separations are reflected in changes in the structures of various domains and these changes can be isolated in a variety of archival and artifactual records.

The Emergence of the Center Village of Goshen

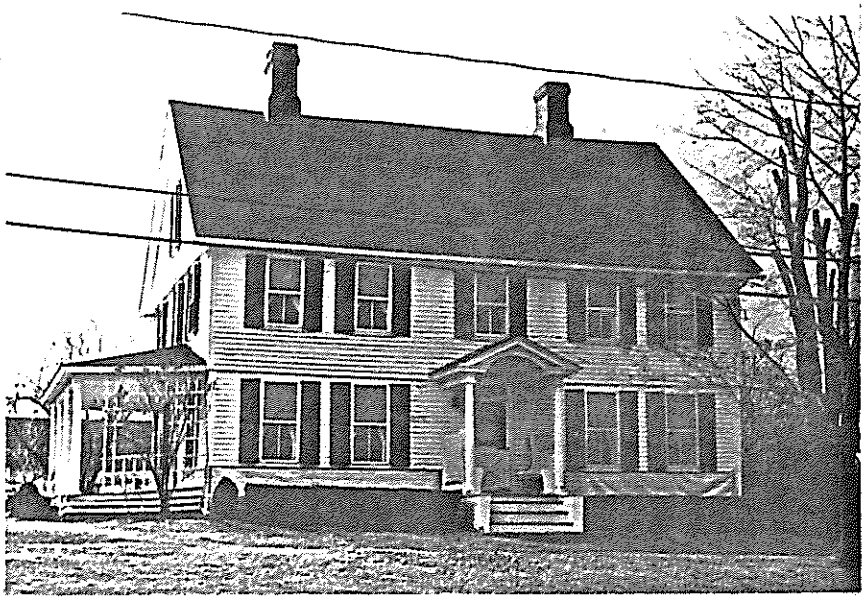
For more than eight decades after initial occupation most of the settlement activity in the Town of Goshen was concentrated within the outlying regions. Here an original pattern of dispersed farmsteads had appeared by 1750 and continued to develop over the span of the next century, primarily as a reflection of the principle of partible descent. In 1745 some localities had been intensively settled; however most of the town remained largely unoccupied until after the Revolutionary War. An 1838 Centennial Sermon contained this "bird's-eye view:"

> I have now presented you with a map of this town, as it was when the original Proprietors were fairly settled on their lots / 1745 /. And we can hardly fail to see that some parts of the town were then as thickly inhabited as at this day. This was the case with West street all the distance to Litchfield line. It was so on West side from Timothy Tuttle's to the house of William Miles, and on East street, from Cyprian Collins' to Putnam Bailey's store. But other parts of the town were either thinly inhabited or remained a wilderness as at the beginning (Hibbard 1897:64, amendment mine).

The center village of Goshen, today located at the intersection of Routes 4 and 63 (see Figure 30), was principally uninhabited until the Federal period. Before 1770 only the home of Reverend Stephen Heaton was standing near the Congregational Church, now incorporated by a later Federal farmhouse with double chimneys (Figure 33A). Two other early houses were built at the south end of the center village within the first decade of settlement. Between 1770 and 1810 several additional houses appeared, all of which were constructed in the later, rigid Georgian style of bilaterally-symmetrical facades (see Figure 5, bottom; Figures 31, 35A). By 1825 the locality had become a focus for residential activity as artisans, shopkeepers and storeowners, and professionals purchased lands with or without buildings. This pattern of construction continued through the 1860's; it was not until 1875 that a period of stability appeared. During the twentieth century the center village of Goshen has not grown significantly except for the construction of public facilities - a town office building, a school, and a Mormom church - north of the village's rotary.

This increase in residential density, depicted clearly in Figure 32, was an historical process of growth and subdivision which took about 130 years to complete.[18] For 80 years, or more than one half of the entire span, the settlement underwent little change. The village's architectural form and degree of nucleation were fixed. About 25 percent of the village's modern housing stock was built during this period (see Table XI). Between 1820 and 1850 many "up-to-date" houses were constructed along both sides of Route 63, north and south of its intersection with Route 4 (Table XI). Twelve structures belong to this major phase of activity, all of which exhibit the distinctive features of the Federal architectural style: asymmetrical facades (doorways located to one side), gabled ends facing on front facades, recessed doorways flanked by pilasters, and the frequent use of pediments. Usually the floor plan was squared or slightly rectangular and the roofs were gabled or hipped (Figures 33, 34).

Figure 30. Aerial View of the Nucleated Settlement of Goshen. 1934 Aerial Photograph.



31A. House lot of Elisha Sill, son-in-law of Reverend Heaton.

Figure 31. Later Georgian Farmhouses in the Center Village of Goshen.

31B. Georgian Farmhouse north of the Rotary Circle.

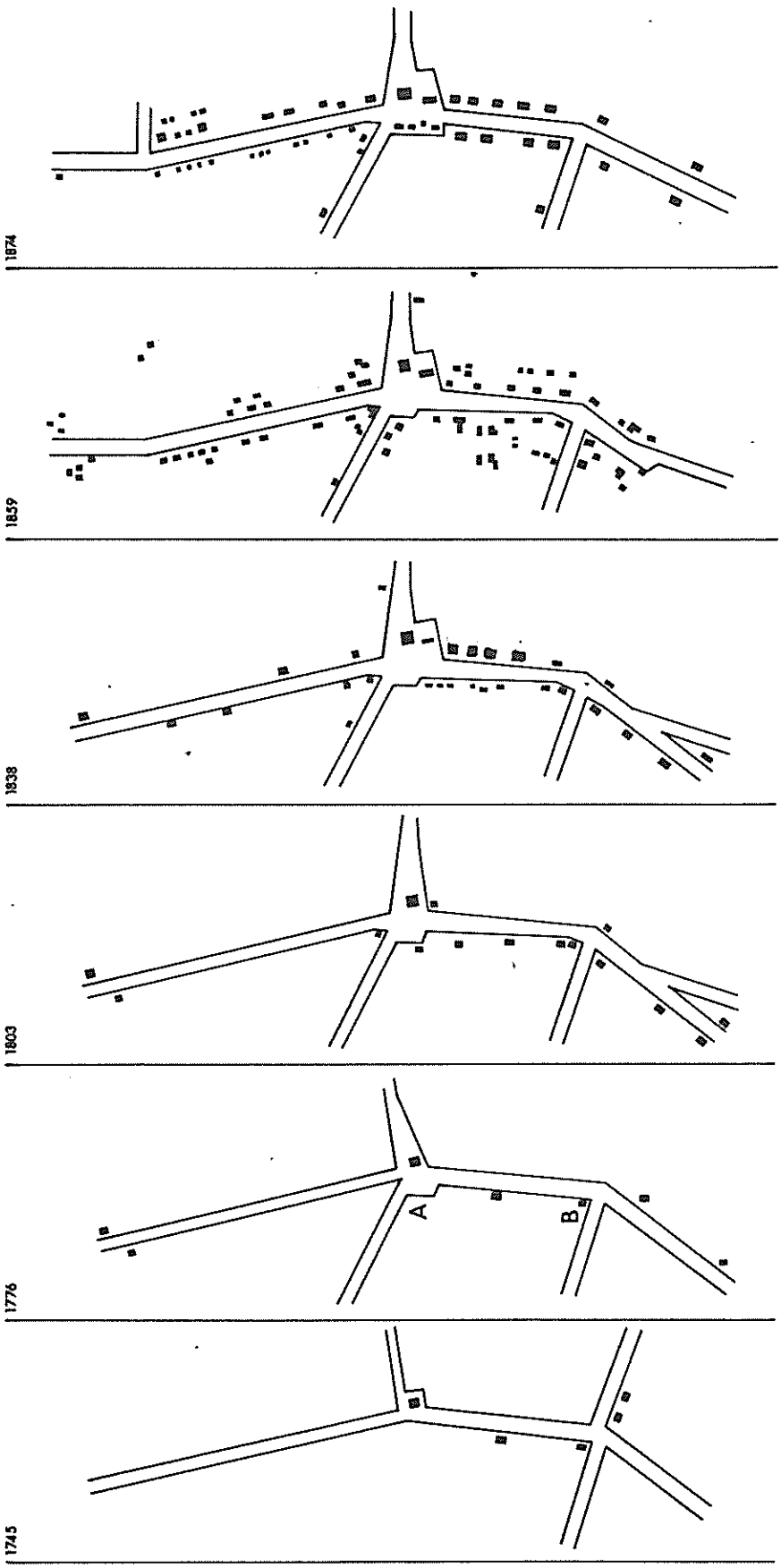


Figure 32. The Development of the Center Village of Goshen, 1745-1874. Classic pattern of increasing residential nucleation, terminating with the modern social place of Goshen. Structure at crossroads is the Congregational Church. Section A-B is the southwestern quadrant identified in Figures 35-41.

33A. Federal farmhouse (1820's) added onto earlier Georgian structure. House site of Stephen Heaton, ca. 1745.

Figure 33. Federal Architecture in the Center Village of Goshen, Southwestern Quad.

33B. Federal farmhouse (1830's) added onto earlier Georgian structure. House site of William Brown, ca. 1810.

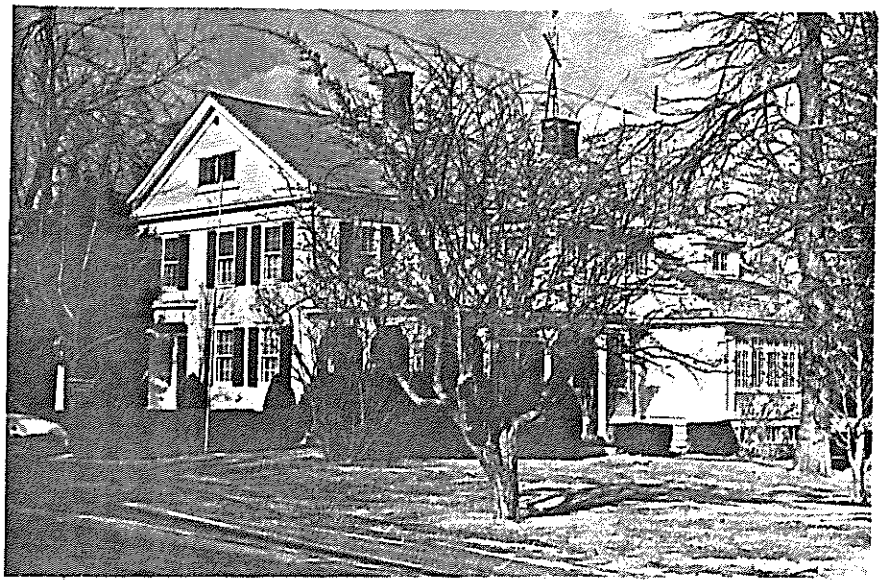
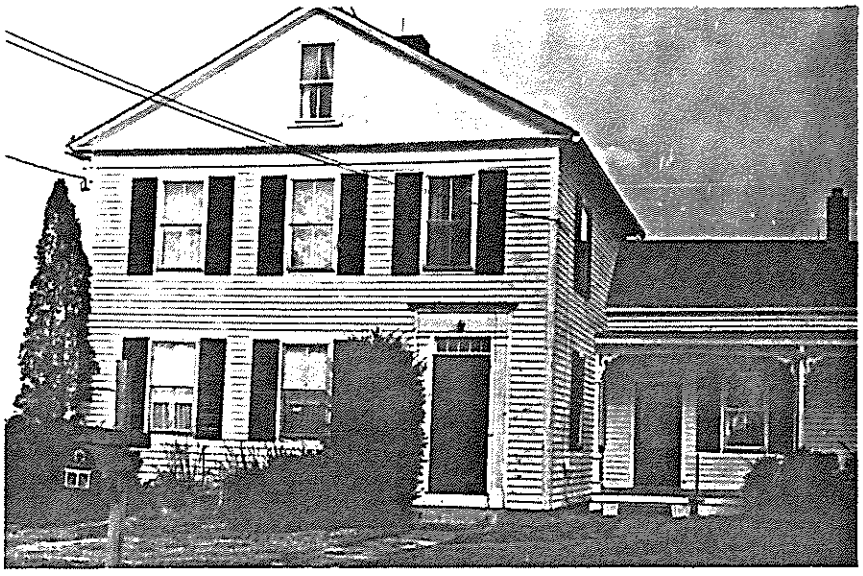
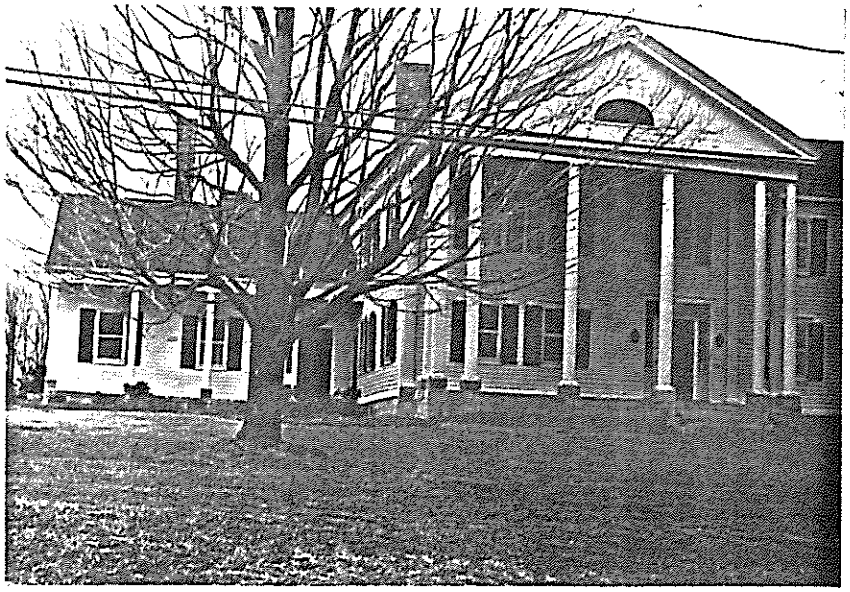


Figure 34. Federal Architecture in the Center Village of Goshen.





35A. Greek Revival Architecture in the center village, southwestern quadrant. Greek Revival porch on an earlier Georgian farmhouse. Moses Lyman, late 1790's.

Figure 35. Later Period (1850-1890) Architecture in the Center Village of Goshen.

35B. Victorian Cottage on the east side of Route 63.

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

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

**Percentages are cumulative except for Totals.*

After 1850 a second relatively slow period of development was initiated during which eight additional structures were built. Today this settlement phase is represented by several examples of Greek Revival or Victorian venacular architecture (Figure 35). Overall about 30 percent of the center village's houses were built after 1850 while 75 percent of the housing stock was constructed after 1815-1820 (Table XI).

The development of Goshen as a nucleated residential center is not reflected solely in a standing architectural record which must be made to speak to us observers in the modern world. Some archival evidence is of a more direct "ethnographic" character, consisting of the actions and perceptions of individuals who participated in this transformation. These data, contained within the town's extant land records, illustrate the process of subdivision which characterized the emergence of nucleated settlements in Litchfield County. Often this process was associated with fluctuations in the values of specific tracts, indicative of a speculative spirit and a quest for profits.

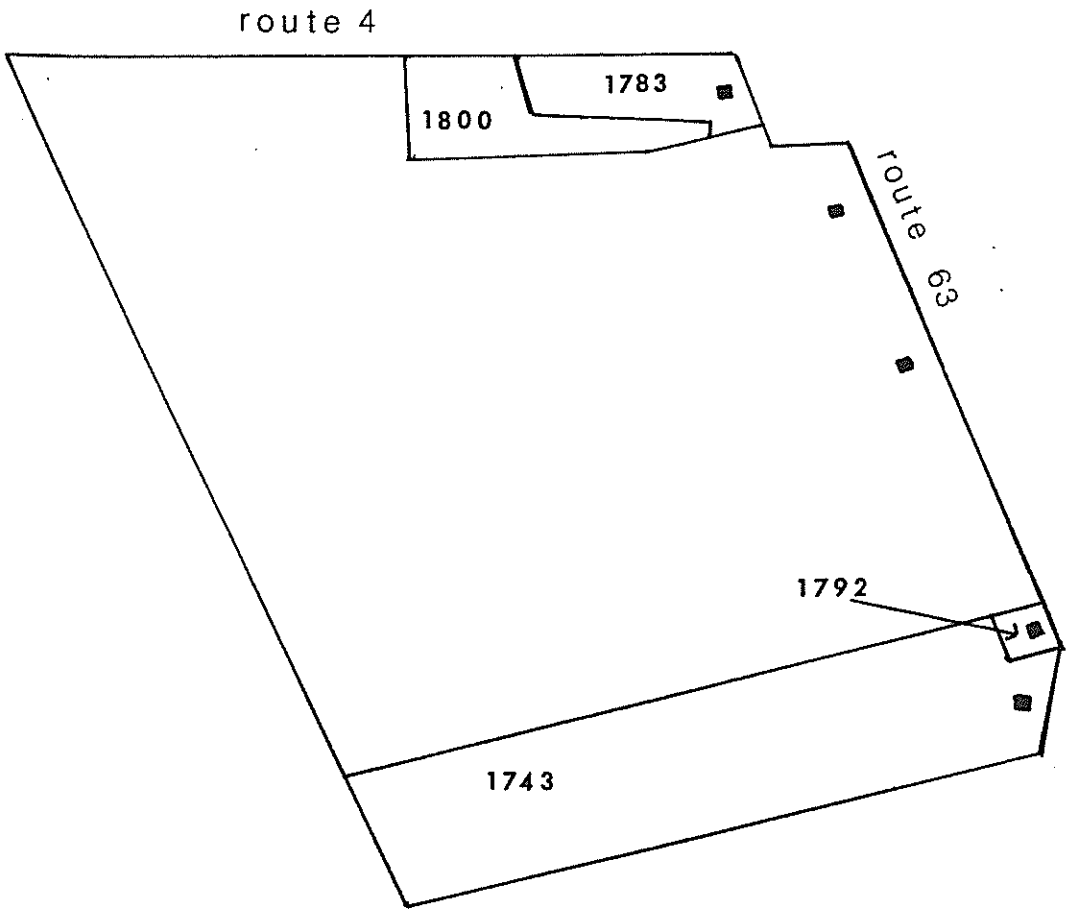
The locality which became the center village of Goshen in 1820 was included in two lots deeded to Reverend Stephen Heaton during the first and second divisions in 1738 and 1739 (see Figure 4). He built his house along the west side of the Litchfield-Canaan turnpike before 1745 (Figure 33A); the first Congregational Meetinghouse was constructed at about the same time. In addition two other structures had appeared before 1745 at the south end of the center village on both sides of modern Route 63 (see Figure 32). These houses were inhabited by Samuel and Amos Thomson, brothers from New Haven, who were among Goshen's earliest settlers and proprietors. Neither of these structures exists today. For more than six decades most of the land in the center village was not divided; the largest parcel was owned by Heaton with smaller parcels having been deeded to the Thomsons. Around 1800 this pattern began to disappear as large tracts were subdivided, providing lots for residential construction (Figure 35A).

This process of subdivision can be isolated within the land records associated with each transaction. During 1981 an intensive study of the center village's southwestern quadrant was undertaken in order to reconstruct its sequential settlement history. A series of six figures have been drawn which illustrate this process of growth and differentiation particularly as it is evidenced in patterns of property subdivision and residential nucleation (see Figures 36-41).[19]

Figures 36-41. Pattern of Land Holdings in the Center Village of Goshen. Each map depicts the pattern associated with the southwestern quadrant which is bounded on the east by Route 63, on the north by Route 4, and on the south by Lyman Lane. See Figure 32 for further detail on location. Note how the patterns of holdings change yet the configuration of structures remains stable after 1820.

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT

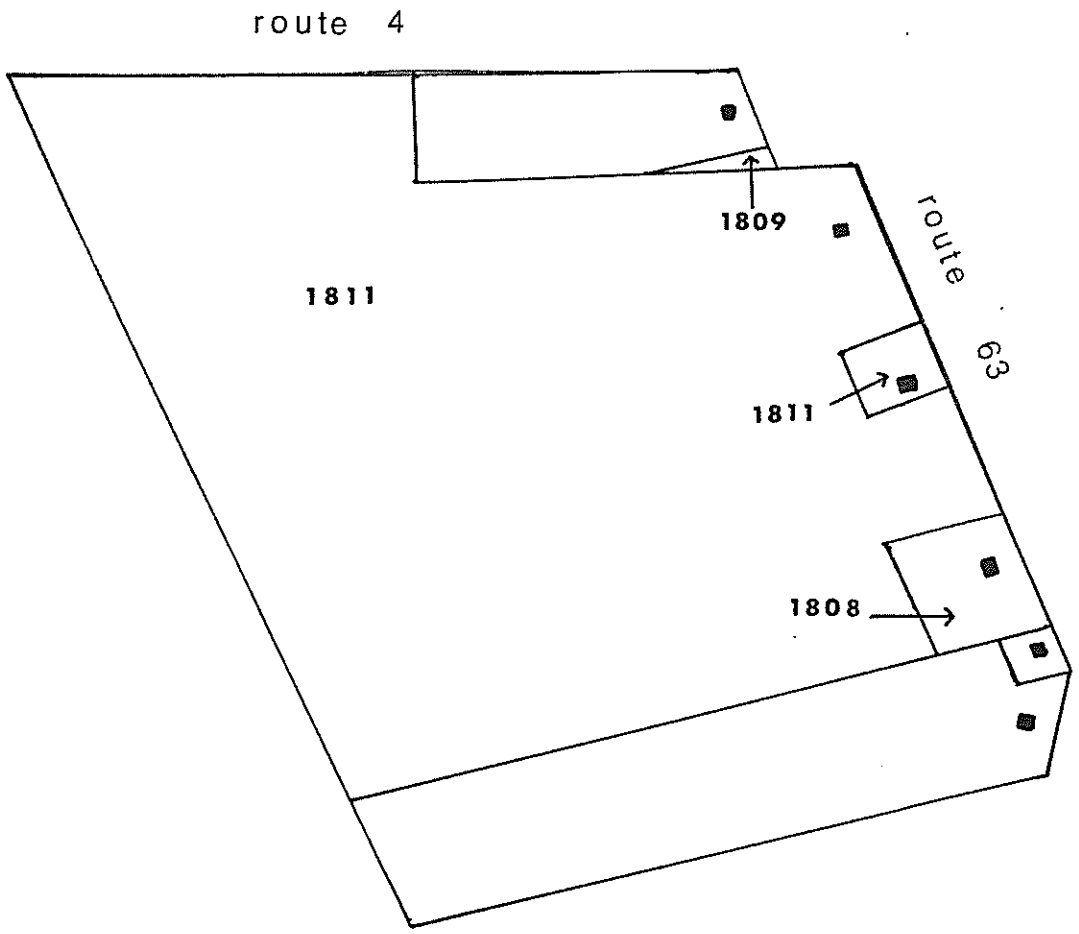


1800

FIGURE 36

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT

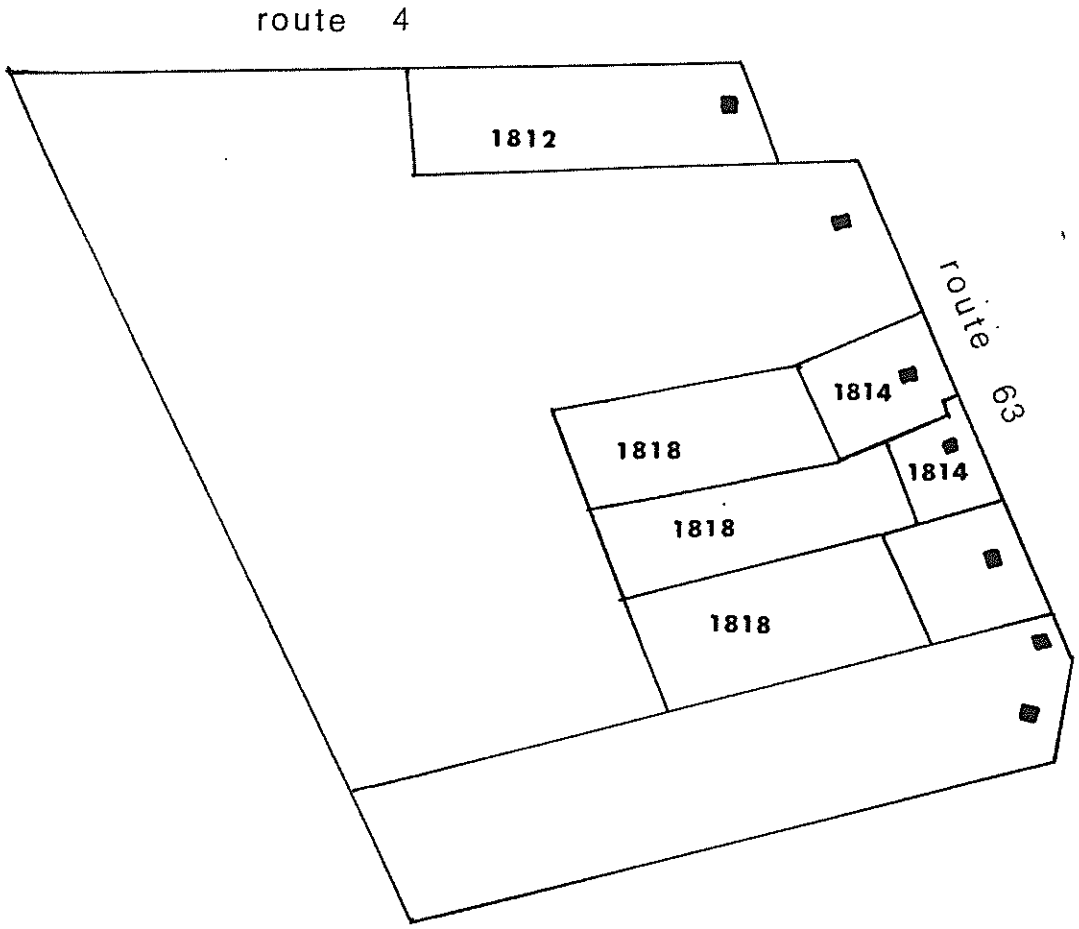


1811

FIGURE 37

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT

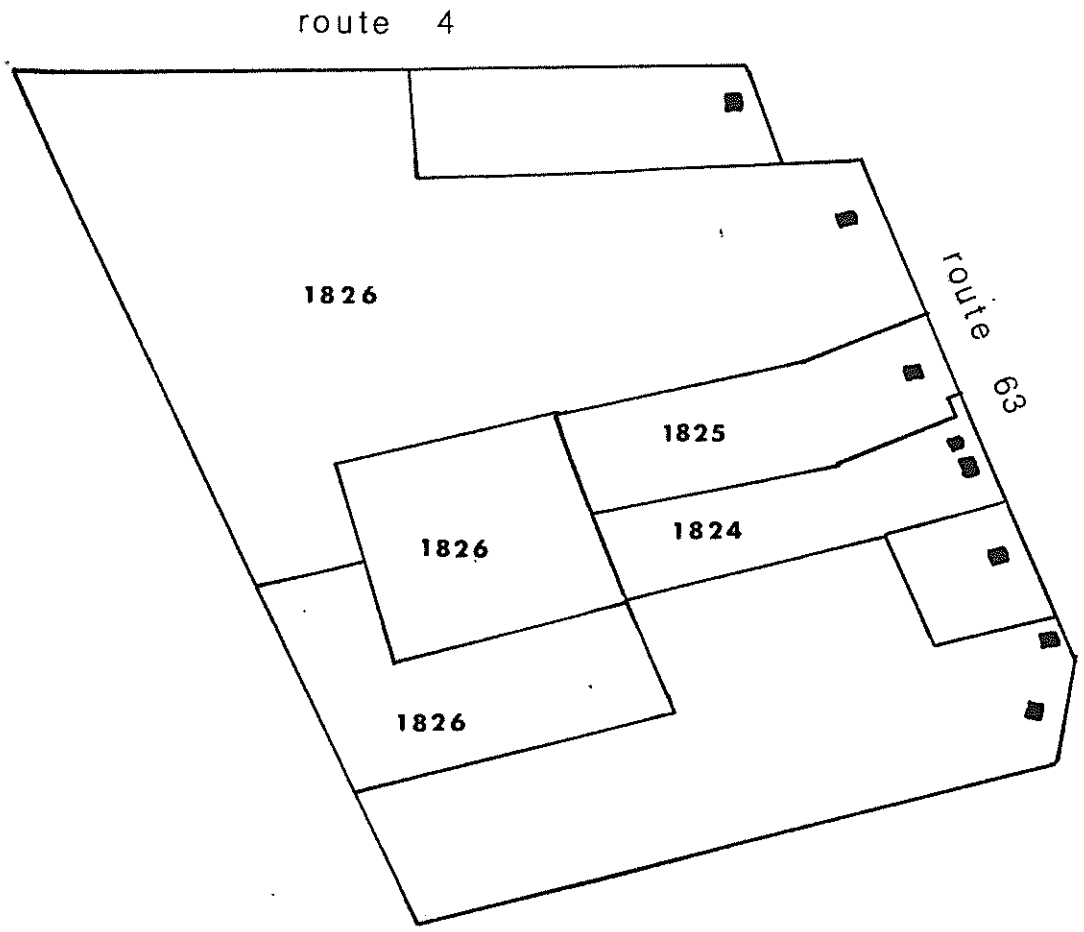


1820

FIGURE 38

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT

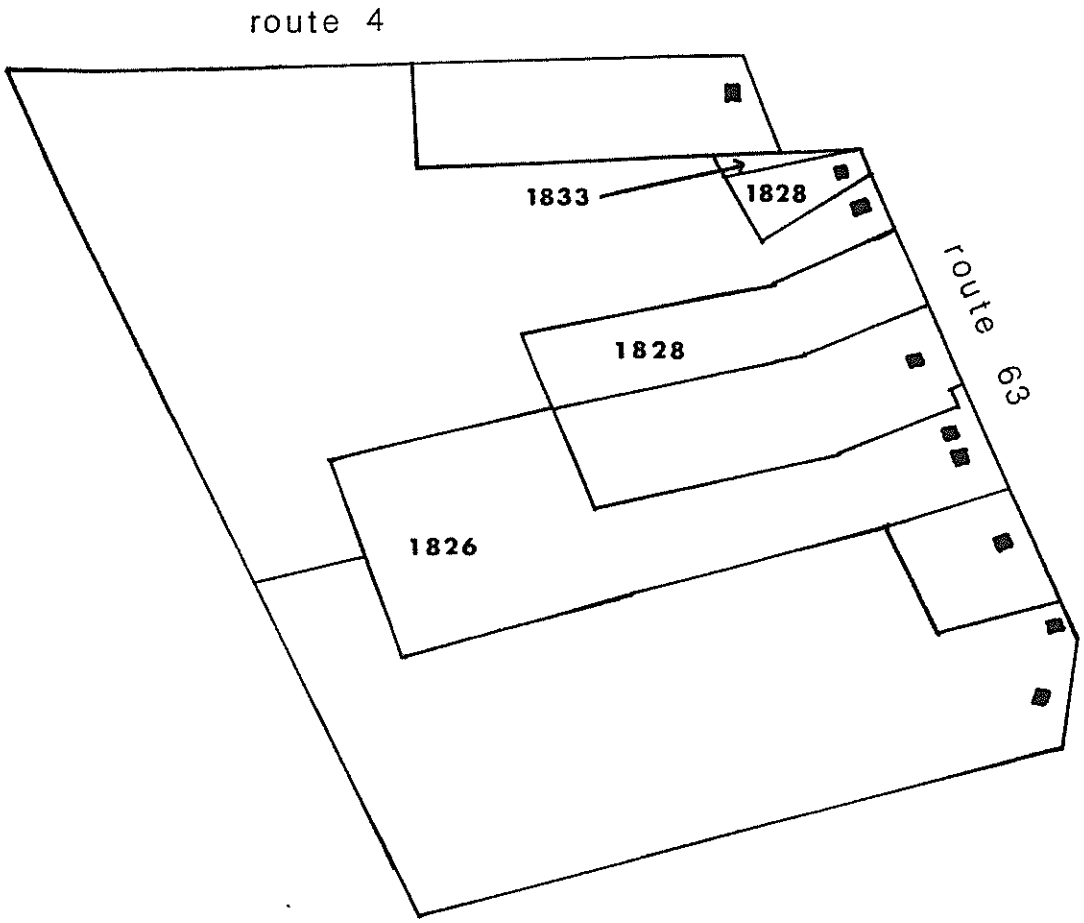


1826

FIGURE 39

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT

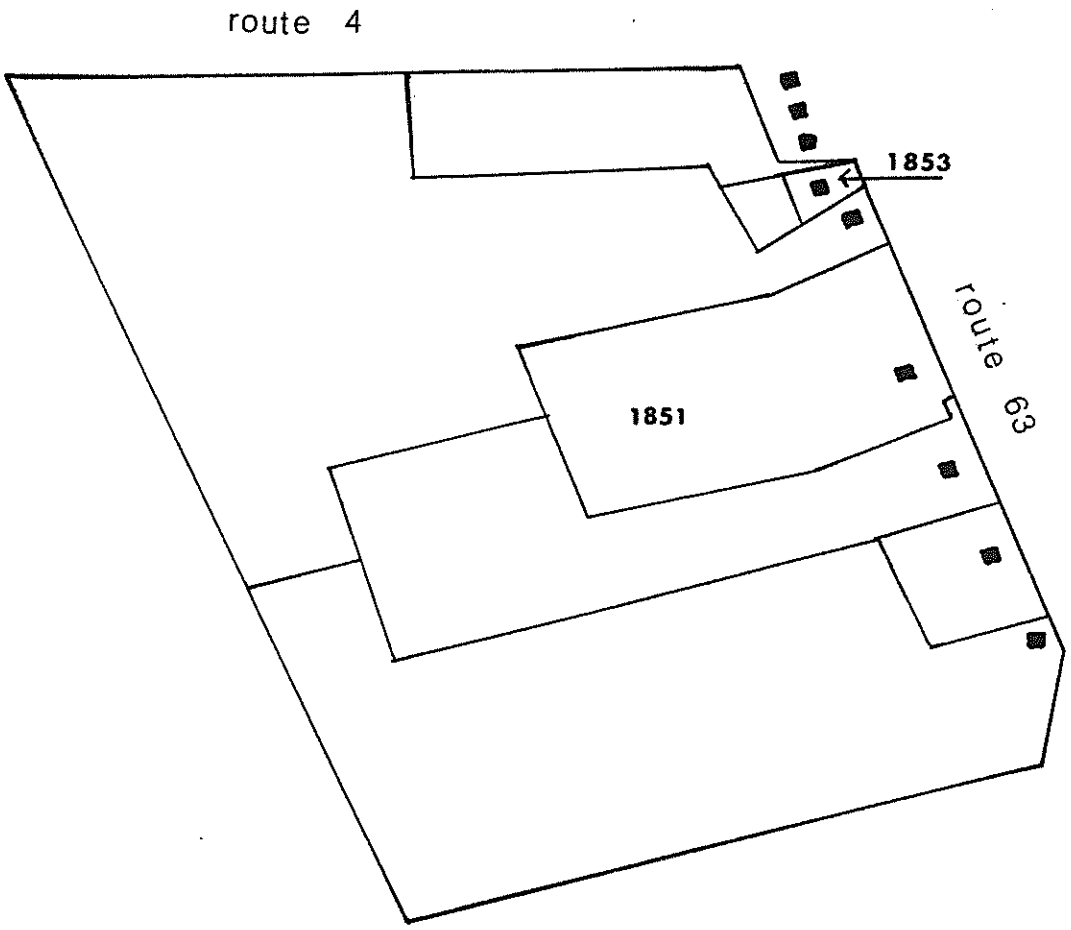


1835

FIGURE 40

CENTER VILLAGE OF GOSHEN

SOUTHWEST QUADRANT



1851-1874

FIGURE 41

The parcel under study consisted of 37 acres after Heaton's division lots were surveyed in 1738 and 1739. Before 1783 only one lot within this parcel was sold; the southernmost five acres were purchased from Heaton by Samuel Thomson in 1743. Between 1783 and 1800 three additional slices were removed, reducing the original parcel's size to approximately 29 acres (Figure 36).

Over the next decade two house lots were purchased from Heaton's daughter, Mary Sill, who had received the tract of 29 acres during the distribution of Heaton's estate. These transactions, which took place in 1808 and 1811, provided small parcels which were used for residential activity or construction (Figure 33B). Each of these lots was bounded by the Litchfield-Canaan turnpike (Figure 37).

The frontage along the road continued to be divided and purchased for house lots during the remainder of the second decade of the nineteenth century. Many of these transactions involved Pitt Buel, who sold two tiers of lots to Joseph Harvey (Figure 33A) and Theodore North between 1814 and 1818. Each tier consisted of two pieces, the smaller of which was about one acre in size and faced the Turnpike. The larger, separate parcel connected to these house lots at their western boundaries and continued west towards West Street (Figure 38).

This pattern of holdings did not change significantly until 1828 when the remaining frontage north of Joseph Harvey's original tier began to be subdivided. By 1826 the initial parcel of 37 acres had been reduced in size to little more than 15 acres and was then purchased by Henry Hart from Pitt Buel. At that time Hart's parcel included 17 rods along the Turnpike (Figure 39). In 1828 two lots were sold by Hart, both of which bounded on the road. Each of these was used as a locus for residential and commercial construction (Figure 40).

The entire frontage along the Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike, a distance of 76 rods, had been subdivided by 1835 and used primarily for the construction of residences. Two stores and an office had also appeared and were concentrated along the northern half of the Turnpike south of its intersection with Route 4. One of these stores continues to stand today although its condition has deteriorated since 1970 (Figure 42). The doctor's residence and office, once owned by Samuel Gold and purchased in 1824, is used as a contemporary residence.

After 1835 no further residential construction was undertaken within the southwestern quadrant of the center village (Figure 41). Elsewhere empty tracts continued to be subdivided and later style houses were built including examples of the Victorian era. Within the southwestern quadrant several additional stores and shops appeared between 1850 and 1875 (Figure 41). All of these were located north of the store constructed around 1830 (Figure 42), opposite the Congregational Church. None of these stands today although the entire complex is depicted on the center village map of Goshen included in F. W. Beers' (1874) County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

The modern architectural landscape of this quadrant is little changed from the way that it looked in 1835 before the last phase of commercial construction. A few of the non-residential structures have disappeared (a small store and an office) yet the landscape is definitely Federal in style and orientation. Although both the archival and architectural records demonstrate that Goshen's center village became urbanized between 1815 and 1835,

Figure 42. Late Federal or Early Greek Revival Store in the Center Village of Goshen, Southwestern Quadrant. Built about 1830, it is the same structure which can be recognized in the 1838 woodcut of Goshen done by John Barber (see Figure 1).

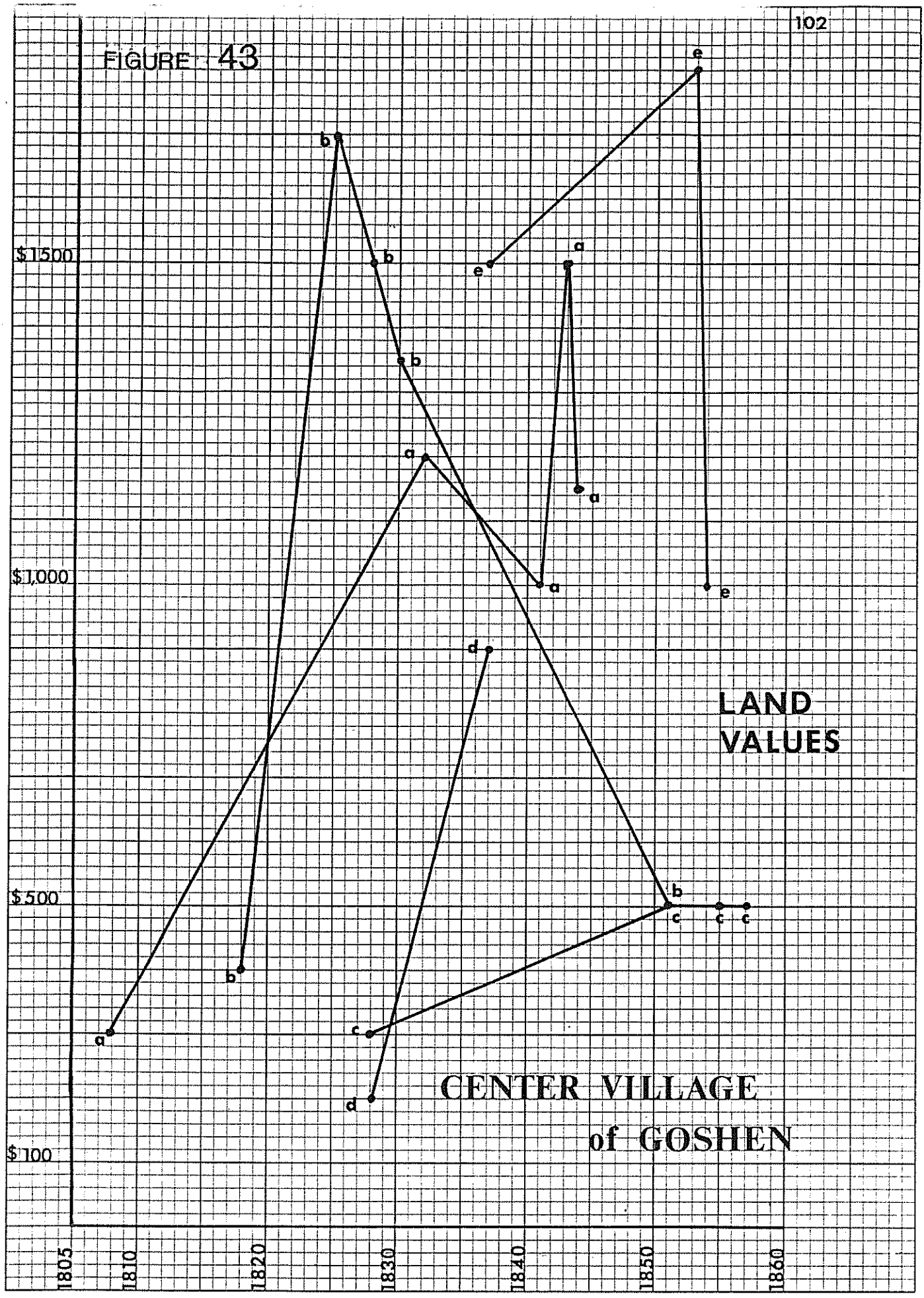
this process of nucleation was primarily residential in scope. What emerged on the landscape was not an urban village - there were few signs of economic specialization and little structural differentiation - but a classic example of a large-scale social place.

In one sense the development of social places is very reminiscent of the patterns and processes associated with the history of dispersed settlements in Goshen. Each is reflected in a pattern of subdivision, both are represented by farmhouses or vernacular architecture of the Federal style, and each is primarily residential in orientation. However from a second perspective it might be argued that these two forms of settlement history are distinct. Dispersed settlement reflects a principle of partible descent founded upon the structural norm of the lineal family. Both the principle and norm provide a social context within which land transactions are enacted.

During the development of the center village of Goshen most property transactions were undertaken between individuals who were not related either through blood or marriage. Since such performances were not situated within the domain of familial relationships, the purchase and sale of tracts in the center village might have been undertaken by monads, individuals interested in acquiring profits through speculative actions.

However a study of the values associated with specific property transactions in the southwestern quadrant of the center village demonstrates that prices were defined by perceptions of potential value (see Figure 43). Such perceptions always were historically determined by the emergence of nucleated settlements and the corresponding belief that such changes represented a radical transformation of everyday life.[20] Between 1800 and 1825 the value of specific tracts in Goshen remained relatively stable, a pattern which disappeared between 1825 and 1850. Over this span of 25 years each tract's value increased significantly, sometimes more than once. After the village's landscape became stabalized in 1850 the perception of future change and possibility was replaced by the familiar domain of premodern culture. Once again economy became embedded within kinship and each was defined by the nurturing of a diffuse, enduring solidarity. Often the processes associated with urbanization initiated a period of dramatic structural differentiation whose effect was to transform premodern cultures into modern societies. As the center village of Goshen developed into a nucleated social place the everyday lives and thoughts of its inhabitants were only briefly transmogrified. In a very real sense historic Goshen was always premodern.

FIGURE 43



VIII. URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: THE MILL SETTLEMENTS OF WEST GOSHEN AND HART HOLLOW

Like the Town of Cornwall, Goshen contains several nucleated settlements whose modern or historic patterns of architecture and use differ one from the other. In Cornwall the contemporary landscape includes examples of industrialized and residential villages which are represented by both archaeological and architectural complexes. A similar settlement pattern exists in Goshen's township where four nucleated settlements of varying degrees of size and internal complexity are depicted on the 1874 map from F. W. Beers' Atlas (see Figure 6, Table XII).

Table XII: Nucleated Settlements in Goshen, 1874 (see Figure 6)

Settlement	Area (Sq. Meters)	Approximate # of Structures	Density	Components	Pattern
Center Village	*100*	*46*	*.46*	*Residential Commercial Professional*	*Large-scale Social place*
West Goshen	*330*	*35*	*.11*	*Residential Commercial Industrial*	*Urbanized Mill village*
North Goshen	*1100*	*12*	*.01*	*Residential Industrial*	*Local Mill village*
Hart Brook	*136*	*7*	*.05*	*Residential Industrial*	*Familial Mill village*

Three of these villages include industrial components and can in some sense be characterized as mill settlements. Their size and internal complexity is quite variable, yet as a group their histories of growth and differentiation were initiated by the early recognition of their potential as water-powered manufactories. Unlike the center village of Goshen each of these settlements is situated along a watercourse which provided power for one, several, or numerous mill facilities. The subsequent history of urbanization, if any, associated with each of these mill villages should be a reflection of their industrial character. Edward A. Kendall's account of settlement growth, written in 1809 during his extensive travels in the northern United States, summarizes the expected trends and underlying logic:

> The place, therefore, at which a village begins, is either a sea-harbour or other landing, where country-produce is exchanged for foreign merchandise, or it is a cataract on a river, or some situation capable of affording a mill-seat. In such a situation, the first fabric that is raised is a solitary saw-mill . . . . The owner of the saw-mill becomes a rich man; builds a large wooden-house, opens a shop, denominated a store, erects a still, and exchanges rum, molasses,

> flower and pork, for logs. As the country has by this time begun to be cleared, a flower-mill is erected near the saw-mill. Sheep being brought upon the farms, a carding-machine and fulling-mill follow.
>
> For some years, as we may imagine, the store answers all the purposes of a public-house. The neighbors meet there, and spend half the day in drinking and debating. But, the mills becoming everyday more and more a point of attraction, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a taylor, and various other artisans and artificers, successively assemble. The village, however, has scarcely advanced this far, before half its inhabitants are in debt at the store, and before the other half are in debt all around. What, therefore, is next wanted is a collecting attorney. Hence, therefore, a new settler, a young man admitted to practice, but without an establishment, whom the store or tavern-keeper receives as a boarder, and whom he employs in collecting his outstanding debts, generally secured by note of hand. The attorney is also employed by the neighbors; and as the fees on collecting small debts are high, any tollerable increase of the settlement procures him at least a decent living.
>
> But, as the advantage of living near the mills is great, even where there is not (as in numerous instances there is) a navigable stream below the cataract - where it is a cataract that supplies the mill-seat - so a settlement, not only of artisans, but of farmers, is progressively formed in the vicinity; this settlement constitutes itself a society or parish; and, a church being erected, the village, larger or smaller, is complete . . . (Kendall, Volume III 1809: 33-34, cited in Wood 1978:255-256).

As text and artifact Kendall's reconstruction was founded upon a recognition of the historical and analytical significance of urbanization. Unlike Timothy Dwight's perspective, which had appeared only one decade earlier, this interpretive model allowed one to realize that New England's villages were recent phenomena which had emerged within the context of economic and social transformations. Unlike later Victorian scholars, Edward Kendall thought of nucleated settlements as signs of the transition to modern society.

While this traveler's account sufficiently characterizes urbanization it does not differentiate adequately between the sorts of nucleated settlements that appeared. There is no recognition that urban villages, social places, and mill settlements should be distinguished nor are there any signs that each of these could exhibit different scales of size and complexity. So one model of homogeneity, founded upon an assumption of timelessness, is replaced with a second which masks historical processes beneath a veneer of uniformity. New England's villages are not primal but urbanized. Yet it was believed that their emergence was not determined by context and meaning; it happened as a natural, inevitable, historical event.

Such a theoretical orientation continues to exist in contemporary New England history and much of the work by historical geographers (Daniels 1979, McManis 1975) - Joseph Wood (1978) is a notable exception - assumes that each village's urbanization was enacted in the same manner. However more recent studies of nucleated settlements, including mill villages and urban villages, attempt to distinguish scales of urbanization and nucleation and explore these patternings as reflections of long-term behavioral processes as well as short-lived historical events (Handsman 1981a,b; Langhorne 1976; Worrell 1980).

Market Systems and Material Industries: Two Types of Agglomeration in Mill Settlements

By encompassing his interpretation of the development of mill villages within a theory of urbanization, Charles Kendall implied that such settlements became larger and more complex during the decades following their initial appearance. Much of this economic transformation reflected an additive process as more and more specialized occupations appeared; each individual depended upon the products and services offered by others. Eventually a small mill complex with several industries would have matured into an early version of a capitalist village characterized by some degree of structural differentiation. This process of growth would be represented by the appearance of a classic urban village: a nucleated settlement composed of highly specialized segments including economic and social institutions as well as a permanent residential community.

For Kendall this interpretive model was historical and predictive. As long as a cataract was available (no further specifications were required), "a nucleated settlement would progressively form." However recent works have challenged this assumption of unilineal development through intensive studies of the productive systems associated with premodern and early modern industrial settlements. A simplified version of manufacturing activity has been replaced by an analytical framework which differentiates industries associated with the production of materials from those involved with the manufacture of goods whose value determines and is determined by the structure of a market system (see summary in Langhorne 1976). Table XIII summarizes these critical differences.

Industries oriented towards the production of materials (sawmills are the classic example) are extractive; raw materials are acquired and "make up a relatively large portion of the cost of the finished product" (Langhorne 1976:77). Often such industries are located adjacent to reliable sources of needed materials and as these sources become depleted, the industries will be moved to new locations. Thus the settlement history of material oriented industries tends to be unstable, reflecting frequent movements (see Langhorne's 1976 analysis of sawmills in Schoharie County, New York).

True manufactories, which produce goods and products for a market system, are not situated with any specific resource in mind and do not depend upon a closely-related process of extraction. Prior to the late nineteenth century (and the appearance of steam power), the availability of sufficient water power was the only constraint which determined the location of rural industrial sites oriented towards the production of market goods. Often the presence of excellent mill seats with a sufficient head (and little threat of destructive floods) transformed unused localities into centers for industrial activity. Since most manufactories did not depend upon raw materials

available from the immediate vicinity, their histories of settlement are stationary, exhibiting a permanency of patterned use.

Table XIII: How to Distinguish Material Industries from Market Systems (after Langhorne 1976)

Material Industries	*Category*	*Market System*
Local	*Type of Agglomeration*	*Urban*
Residential (Dispersed) *Industrial*	*Settlement Components*	*Residential (Clustered)* *Industrial* *Commercial*
Extractive	*Type of Industry*	*Manipulative or Manufacturing*
Low	*Degree of Industrial Heterogeneity*	*High*
Compact Network of Closely Related Industries and Businesses	*Economic Structure*	*Diversified, Specialization of Labor*
Limited, Often Kin-based	*Principles of Ownership*	*Multiple Owners. Pattern of Dividing Shares, Some of Which Were Kin-Based*
West Goshen (1750-1800) *North Goshen* *Hart Brook*	*Historic Examples in Goshen*	*West Goshen During the Federal Period and Beyond*

One result of this stability is that such loci of early industrialization could continue to grow in both size and complexity, changing from specific sites of manufacturing activity into urbanized mill villages. This process of transformation is reflected in continued growth, in the appearance of differentiated and specialized occupations and industries, and in the presence of a residential community (Table XIII). The forms of agglomeration, or the extent and structure of nucleation, exhibited by each of these types of industrial settlements are quite distinct:

> Generally, agglomeration can be of two types. The first (localized) deals with the occupation of a circumscribed geographic area by a few closely related industries. The second (urban) deals with industries of different types occurring at a single location. This second type has several advantages to the participating industries, especially for those industries producing non-standardized products and those where a high degree of consumer contact is necessary. It also has the effect of centralizing the market area, so that a consumer can have available a variety of products at a single location (Langhorne 1976:78, emphasis mine).

The analytical isolation of two types of productive modes, each of which is defined by a unique set of structural principles, provides a conceptual framework through which the developmental history of mill settlements can be rethought. Unilineal models of growth and differentiation which ended with the appearance of urban villages and organic societies (in the sense of Durkheim's organic solidarity) have been revised to include settlements which were undifferentiated and oriented towards the production of materials. While industrialized, the settlement history and economy of such villages was completely premodern, homologous with familial farmsteads rather than center villages. Other mill settlements matured into true urban villages and, except for their obvious industrial base, participated within the same processes of transformation as their more residential and commercialized counterparts. Several of the nucleated settlements in the town of Goshen were industrialized (or at least included an industrial component) and their varying histories of settlement were determined by the structure and meaning of their associated modes of production.

The Urbanized Mill Village of West Goshen

Soon after the 1870 Federal census had been completed in Litchfield County, F. W. Beers and Company began to compile information and undertake field surveys in order to produce an atlas depicting the location and distribution of houses and facilities in each town. The final product, published in 1874, includes two different sorts of cartographic images: birds' eye views of the distribution of settlement within each town's entirety and detailed, measured representations of many of the nucleated settlements in the county (Hoepfner 1980).

Two of these fine-scale maps are associated with Goshen and depict the town's residential center as well as the industrial settlement of West Goshen (Figure 44). This latter village developed on both sides of Route 4 or the Cornwall Road, along the Marshepaug River south of the outlet of Tyler Lake. Over a period of one century West Goshen was transformed from a small, undifferentiated, compact industrial settlement into a larger, highly differentiated urban village. By the last decade of the nineteenth century this settlement ceased to exist as an industrial center and became a pure residential locus similar in its structure to the center village.[21] The history of this period of change is illustrative of the transitions between material and market productive systems as well as premodern and modern societies and everyday lives.[22]

The locality of West Goshen was settled initially by Benjamin Frisbie, one of the original proprietors of the town. Other than the lands which he received from his share, Frisbie acquired additional parcels through purchase from other early inhabitants. Much of his property was situated adjacent to the southern end of Tyler Lake, extending southwards along both banks of the Marshepaug River. Five lots, ranging in size between 12.5 acres and 50 acres, were surveyed within this locality, four of which Frisbie sold before 1760. The remaining land, approximately half of an original 50 acre parcel (fourth division), became a locus of industrialization and urbanization soon after the Revolutionary War.

The Marshepaug River begins at the southern outlet of Tyler Lake and flows southward towards the Town of Litchfield and the Shepaug River. More than half of this valley's floor, a distance of 2.65 kilometers, has been flooded since 1970 when Woodbridge Lake was built as a planned residential community.

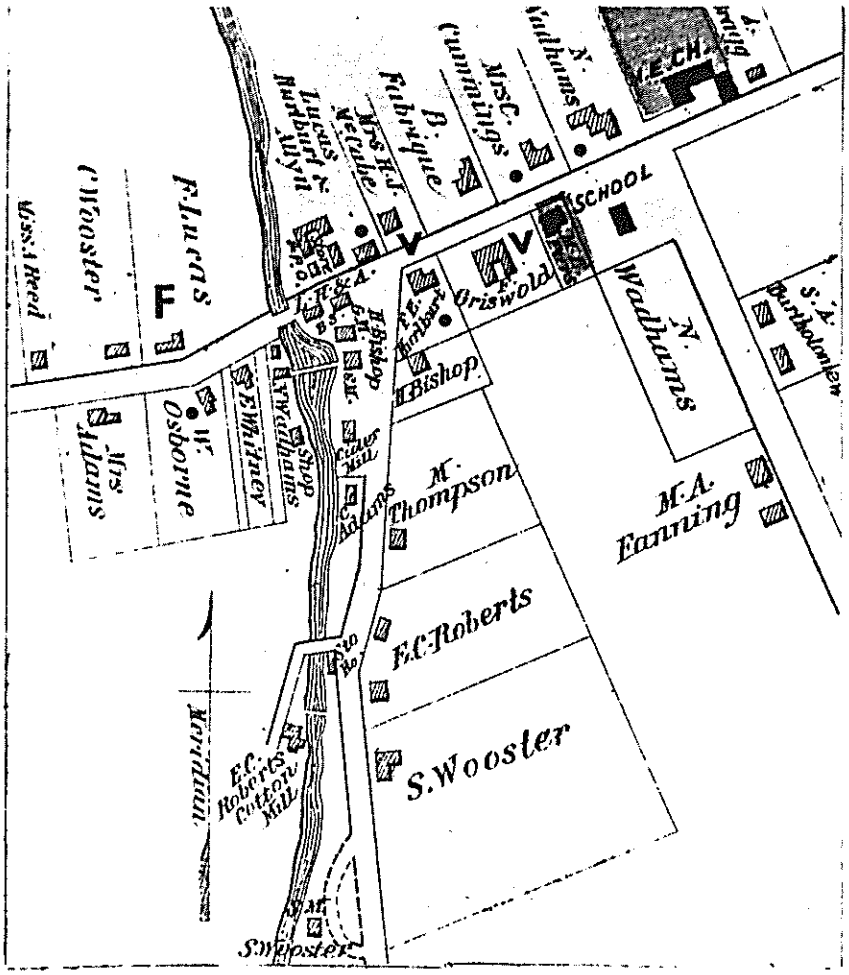


Figure 44. 1874 Plan of the Urbanized Mill Village of West Goshen. Black dot signifies that a Federal House is present on the modern landscape. "V" represents a Victorian house. "F" is the original house site of Benjamin Frisbie.

The northern edge of this modern lake lies just south of the upper reaches of the Marshepaug where the industrial settlement of West Goshen began to develop between 1760 and 1780. Between its outlet at Tyler Lake and the northern extent of the Woodbridge community the river traverses a distance of 760 meters. For more than half of this span the elevation of its bed slopes less than three meters, a gradient of .60 for every 100 meters. However south of the Cornwall Road, the Marshepaug's gradient increases to 6.5 for every 100 meters as the river falls 13 meters within a distance of slightly more than 200 meters (Figure 45). Thus the southern third of the upper reaches of the Marshepaug is approximately ten times as steep as any other section of the river in Goshen. It was this stretch which became the locus for industrial activity almost from the moment of initial settlement (Hibbard 1897:367-371).

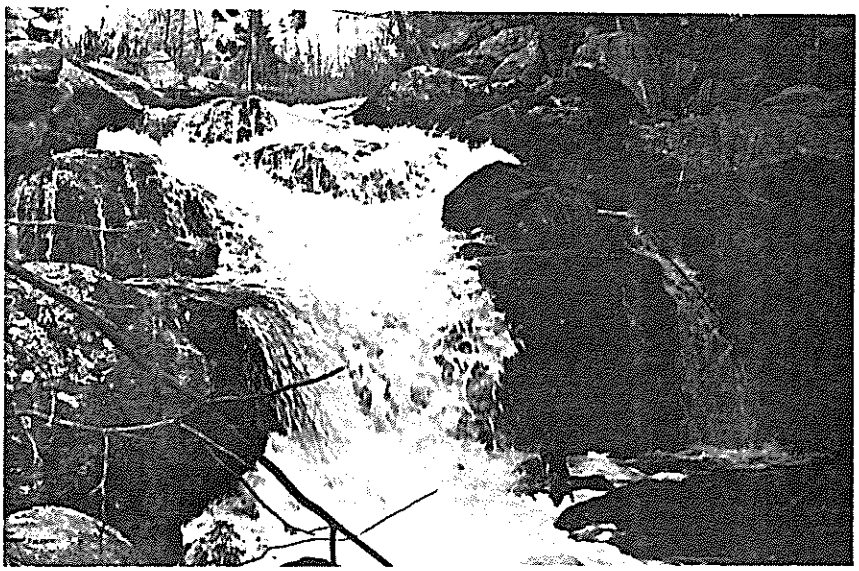
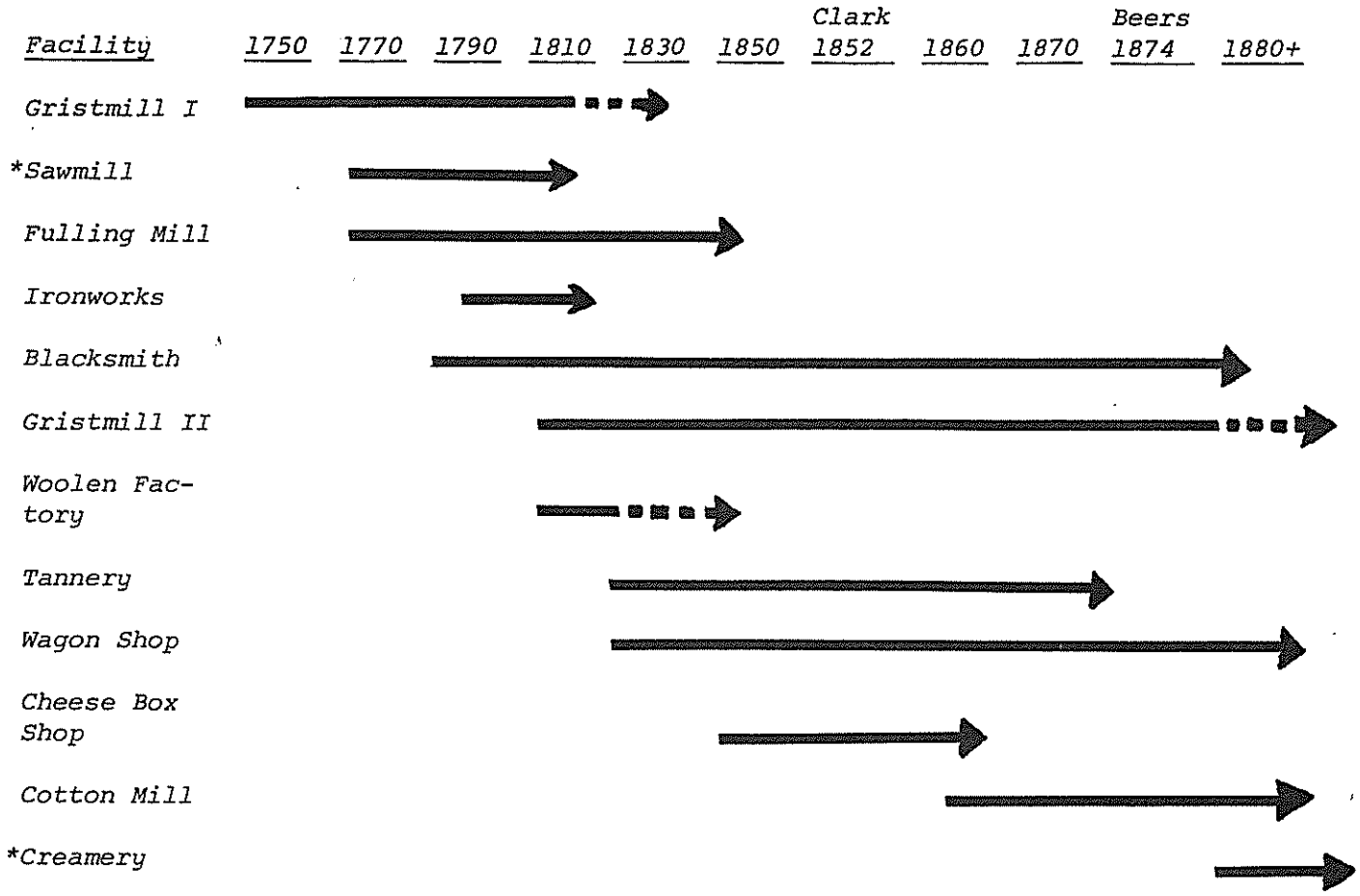


Figure 45. One of the Sets of Falls along the Marshepaug River, West Goshen. Used as a Site for Mill Facilities.

Prior to 1745 Benajmin Frisbie had built an isolated house in West Goshen above the west bank of the Marshepaug River, just north of the Cornwall Road (Hibbard 1897:57). This house does not exist today; its site is occupied by a slightly later Georgian structure with a central chimney and five bays (see location on Figure 44). At that time, Frisbie's house stood alone in West Goshen, an isolated farmstead and mill place within an uncleared forest. To the east for more than 1.5 kilometers there were no houses until one reached West Street. West of the Marshepaug there was neither road nor settlement until East Cornwall (Hibbard 1897:57-58).

Soon after his home was built, Benjamin Frisbie constructed a sawmill and gristmill along the Marshepaug River just south of the Cornwall Road. Neither of these facilities is either standing or represented by an archaeological resource on the contemporary landscape. However the associated land records demonstrate that both of these mills continued to be present for the next half century (see Table XIV).

Table XIV: Sequential History of Industries in West Goshen



**Materials oriented. Others are market oriented. Interrupted line means ending date is problematical.*

Between 1750 and 1790-1800 several other industries appeared in West Goshen including a fulling mill, an ironworks, and a blacksmith shop. This era of early industrialization continued during the first quarter of the nineteenth century as additional facilities, including a second gristmill, were constructed (Table XIV). Around 1812 Lewis Mills Norton (1949:8) reported that the mill village of West Goshen, then known as Squire's Mill (later Canada Village - Clark 1852), consisted of a triphammer, gristmill, fulling mill, sawmill, carding machine, and forge. A small woolen factory also had been built which employed twelve "hands" to manage 120 spindles. Evidently this establishment had just appeared and its commercial potential was still unknown:

> It /the woolen factory/ has been of but two years standing, and its profits as might have been expected have as yet been small; owing to the inexperience of the workmen, and all the other difficulties incident to the infancy of manufactures (Norton 1949:14).

This second period of industrial construction represents an era of increasing growth and complexity as West Goshen's nucleated settlement was transformed into an urbanized mill village. Along with the appearance of manufactories oriented towards a market system (ironworks, woolen mill) and specialized trades (blacksmith shop), residential units and stores were built. Today this period of urbanization and industrialization is represented by a vernacular Federal architecture which dominates the village's stylistic landscape (Figures 44, 46).

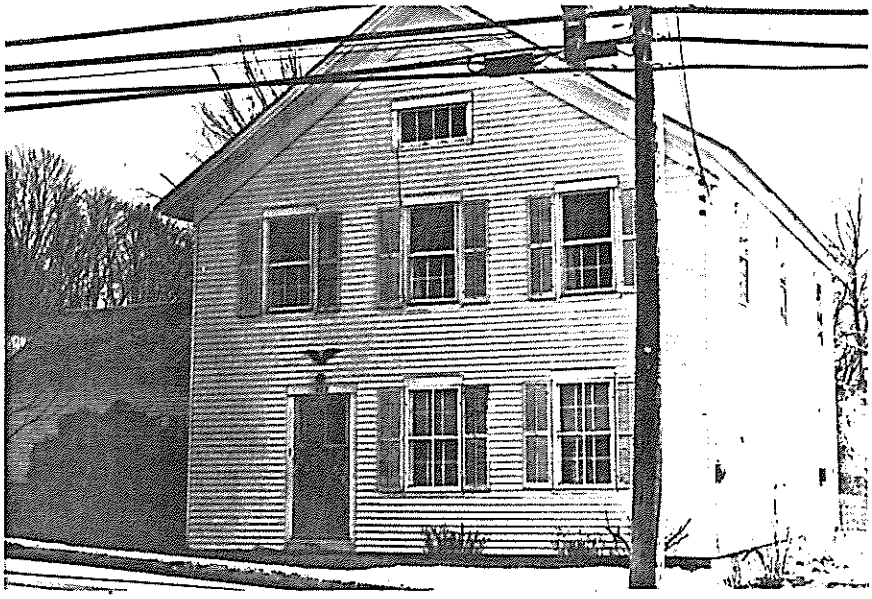
Between 1830 and 1860 West Goshen's settlement continued to grow in both size and complexity. While some of this process consisted of replacing earlier facilities which had disappeared - the ironworks and original sawmill are two examples - much of it reflected a continuation of the locality's urbanization. The increase in residential population is reflected in West Goshen's cemetery where the majority of headstones were carved between 1820 and 1870 (see Figure 47). This third phase of urban agglomeration is represented too in a continuation of the processes of industrial differentiation and specialization.

Several new mill facilities were constructed including a wagon shop and an establishment to build cheese boxes as well as a tannery. Towards the end of this phase of settlement a cotton mill appeared which remained in business for more than two decades.

Today the locality of West Goshen is quiet and pastoral, a residential community whose industrial past is not fossilized in any sort of systematic architectural record. What was once a thriving urban mill village has become a social place whose scale and economic importance are not comparable to those of the historic past. The history of the settlement's industrialization is represented, in part, by the contemporary archaeological record situated along the Marshepaug River south of Cornwall Road (Figure 48).

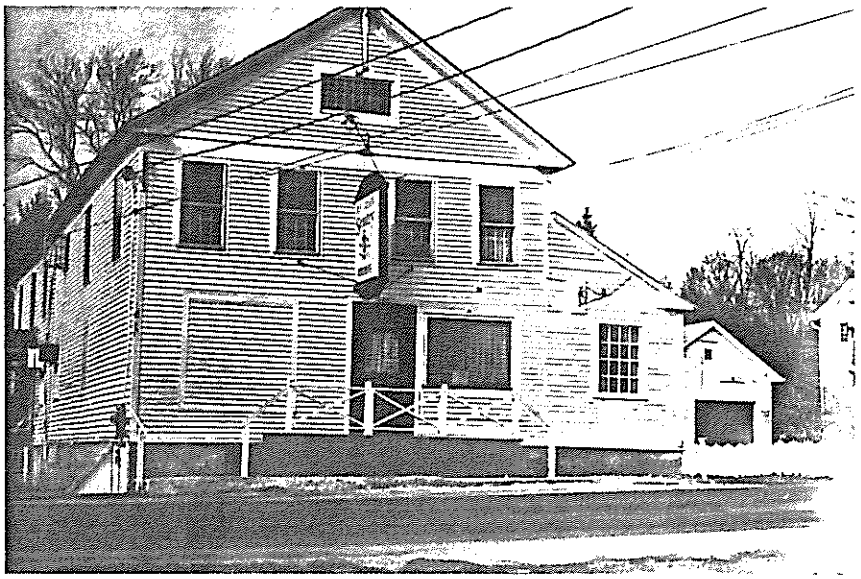
Here complicated heaps of sites, consisting of portions of foundation walls, stone piers and pillars, head and tail races, and dams, remain as signs of the village's earlier industrial base (see Figure 48A). Much of this record is impossible to interpret since many of the original facilities cannot be associated with specific foundations or even segments of walls. With few exceptions the archaeological remains would not allow an historical or industrial archaeologist to reconstruct each mill's system of technology.

Those portions of West Goshen's archaeological record which are apparent and can be "easily" interpreted include mill sites which did not appear until the third phase (or later) of the village's history. For example the cotton factory (1860-1880+), owned and operated by the Roberts family and depicted on the 1874 map (Figure 44), is an intact industrial site represented by structural remains and associated buildings (see Figure 48B). It stands on the property once occupied by the earlier woolen mill as well as the even earlier ironworks.



Federal house in West Goshen

Figure 46. Federal Architecture in Modern West Goshen



Federal style store in West Goshen north of Cornwall Road

WEST GOSHEN CEMETERY

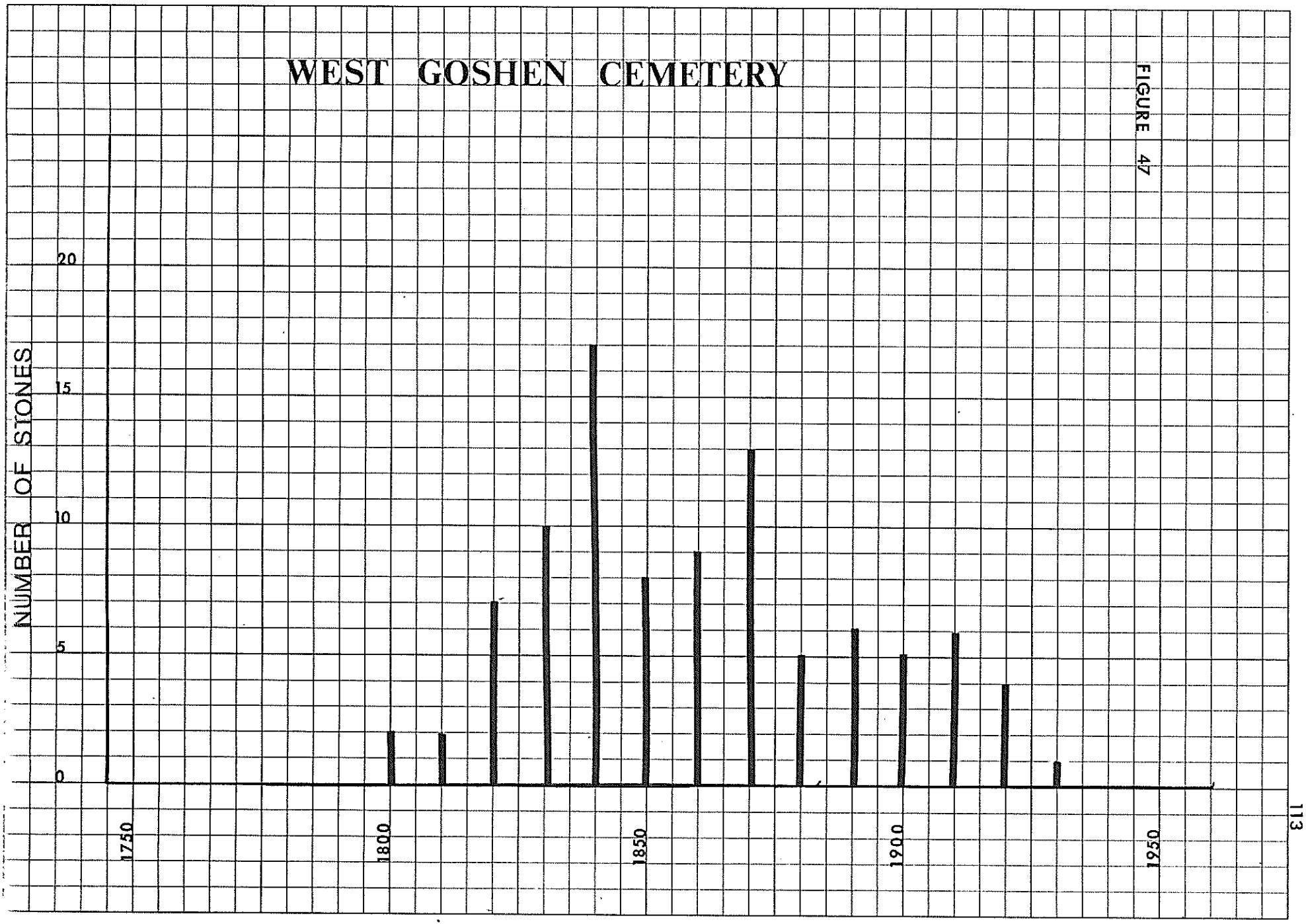


FIGURE 47

48A. The archaeological record of industrialization in West Goshen. East bank of the Marshepaug River.

Figure 48. Archaeological Record of Mill Village of West Goshen

48B. Site of Cotton Mill, west bank of Marshepaug. ca. 1860-1880.

This intensive use and reuse of space through time is a classic pattern which can be isolated in West Goshen's industrial record. Often this behavioral norm helps to explain why the earlier mill facilities are not recognizable in the locality's archaeological resources. Today, just south of the Cornwall Road along the east bank of the river, a structure stands which was most recently owned and operated as the Goshen Creamery (see Figure 49). This firm acquired the property in 1883; during the preceding century the lot had contained a blacksmith's shop whose components included an anvil and trip-hammer, a flume, and a coal house (1780's - 1870's). This facility is depicted on the 1874 map but is unrecognizable in the modern archaeological or architectural records. Similar settlement histories of use, reuse, and disturbance can be isolated for almost every portion of the West Goshen mill village.

* * * * * *

For more than one century, 200 meters of the upper reaches of the Marshepaug River were the focus of intensive industrial activity. During this period the structural principles and internal patterning of the mill village were transformed from a premodern settlement oriented towards the production of materials into a diversified and urbanized system. This process of growth and differentiation began about the turn of the nineteenth century and continued for more than five decades. When a second pattern of internal stability appeared between 1860 and 1870, an early modern society and economy had developed, more capitalist in its orientation, organization, and perceptions than any other settlement in Goshen had ever been (or would ever be).

Many of the changes associated with the emergence of an urbanized West Goshen were not continuous; it is not possible to interpret the settlement's history as a constantly accumulating process of modernization. Even though the appearance of successive mill facilities was sequential and additive (review the pattern of Table XIV), those industrial systems oriented towards the production of market goods were organized according to a radically different set of principles and meanings. The everyday lives of the inhabitants, workers, managers, and owners of early modern West Goshen (after 1800-1820) were defined and encompassed by a cultural system of categories and meanings which was more capitalist than premodern. Evidence reflective of this new world view or mentalité can be isolated within several patterns associated with the use of space, the transmission of land as well as rights to water power, the ownership of the means of production, and the nurturing of capital.

The internal structure of West Goshen's early capitalist village looked very different during the Federal and later periods than it had for the five decades between 1760 and 1810. A small scale, closely related, compact industrial settlement - without a resident population - became larger and more differentiated. A series of specialized factories and shops were constructed, each of which produced goods for local and regional markets. A residential community was also built as were several commercial establishments, a school, and a Methodist Church.

This pattern of differentiation and specialization, which defined the structure - and to some extent the functioning - of modern socioeconomic systems within particular urban villages, also determined how any specific parcel of land would be used. Actually land was described and thought of as it always had been; what separated premodern West Goshen from its early capitalist village were the principles and processes associated with the use of space.

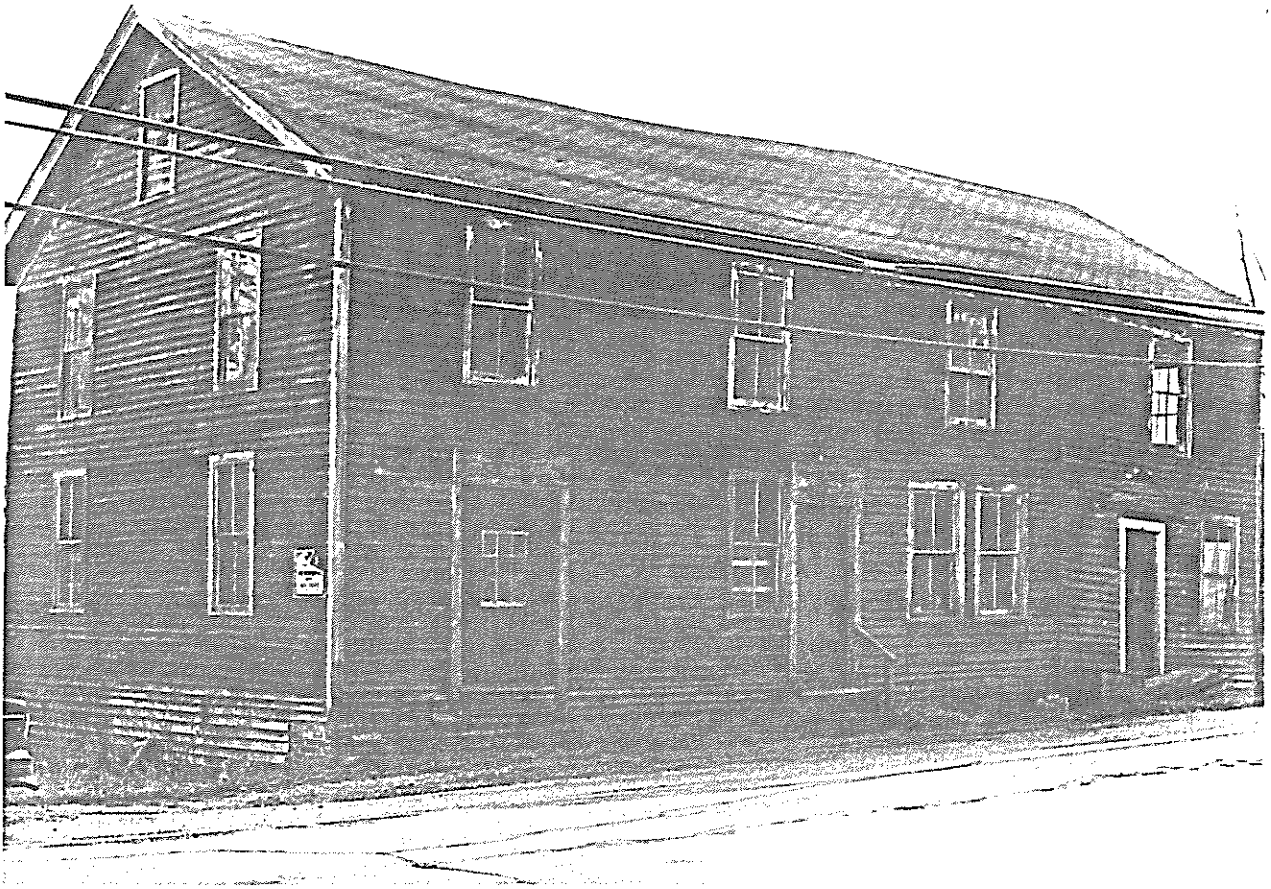


Figure 49. West Goshen's Creamery, ca. 1880's. Earlier this site had been a blacksmith shop for more than one century. Most archaeological evidence of this use has disappeared.

Table XV: Fractional Patterns of Ownership, West Goshen's Industrial Complex

	Gristmill I	*Ironworks*	*Gristmill II*
1771	*1/2, 1/2*		
1774	*1/2, 1/2*		
1779	*1/4, 1/4, 1/2*		
1783	*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*		
1788	*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*	*1/4, 1/8, 1/8, 1/2*	
1789		*5/8, 1/4, 1/8*	
1789		*5/16, 1/8, 1/2**	
1789		*1/4, 5/16, 1/8, 1/8, 1/16, 1/16**	
1790	*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*	*5/16, 5/16, 2/16, 1/8**	
1791		*5/16, 7/16, 3/16**	
1792		*2/16, 9/16, 3/16**	
1792		*2/16, 9/16, 1/8**	
1792		*2/16, 7/16, 4/16**	
1794	*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*		
1801	*1/2, 1/4, 1/4*		
1802	*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*		
1805			*1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4*
1812			*1/3, 1/3, 1/3*
1814			*1/12, 3/12, 1/3, 1/3*
1818			*5/12, 4/12, 3/12*
1821			*1/2, 1/3, 1/6*
1824			*2/3, 1/3*
1832			*1/6, 1/2, 1/3*

**Missing Data*

The economic potential of each mill, including the facility's ability to produce marketable goods and generate profits, was evaluated by each new owner or shareholder. Often these evaluations would differ from one person to the next or from one year or month to the next. Both the prospective buyer and seller attempted to protect a mill's economic integrity as much as possible. The archival records indicate that protective measures often were included as a standard practice within the texts of property transactions. For example, a group of three individuals sold one half of an acre of land to Amos Sanford in 1813. This parcel included a "mill place dam," water works, and shop. The deed specified further that Sanford, "is not to improve sd. mill place for the purpose of fulling and dressing cloth for customers in any way so as to injure the Gristmill next above or the sawmill" (Goshen Land Records 12:430).

Likewise in 1814 Abraham Norton sold a water right to Augustus Miles which granted him the privilege of drawing water from a specific dam, "for the purpose of grinding bark for the tanning and for no other purpose whatever, at all times when there may be a surplus of water or when it will not / incapacitate / or damage the Gristmill above" (Goshen Land Records 12:457).

The desire to protect what was often the production of a unique good or the rendering of specialized services was extended also to situations associated with lease agreements. The contract between Orestes Palmer and Nelson Wadhaus, written in 1846, allowed Wadhaus to use space within Palmer's grist-

mill as well as available water power to begin the business of making wagons. The deed stipulated also that, "Palmer was not to rent any part of the building to any other person for the purpose of carrying on the wagon making business" (Goshen Land Records 18:162).

* * * * * *

For more than half a century the mill settlement of West Goshen remained underdeveloped, an exception to the interpretive model first proposed by Edward Kendall. However during the Federal period the settlement began to participate within an era of urbanization; by 1850 an early modern village had appeared along the banks of the Marshepaug River. The everyday lives of the settlement's inhabitants were re-defined within the context of processes of separation, differentiation, and specialization. Many of the changes associated with this period of urban agglomeration occurred within the domain of economy as principles of ownership and use were altered to reflect the modern world of capitalism.

Hart Hollow: The Production of Goods Within the Structure of a Lineal Family

The history of other mill settlements in Goshen was as long and as continuous as that associated with the eventual early capitalist village of West Goshen. Within the first decade of the town's occupation, several individual sites or pairs of mills were constructed along water courses. Two sawmills were located at the outlet of Dog Pond and further downstream in South Goshen before 1745. A gristmill was also operated at Dog Pond before 1800 (Hibbard 1897:367). In addition several other gristmills were distributed throughout Goshen including two near Pie Hill east of the center village and one first owned and operated by Jacob (4) Beach near the outlet of North Pond (Figures 21, 23).

In each of these settlements, which consisted of only a single facility and a house, there was no subsequent history of urbanization. The patterns and principles associated with each of these "villages" were defined by the structure of a manufacturing system which was oriented towards the production of materials. Further, everyday life was embedded within a cultural system of meaning whose forms and domains remained premodern. None of the characteristics associated with the economy encompassed by the urbanized mill village of West Goshen, including patterns of intensified use of space and syndicated ownership, appeared in these dispersed hamlets.

Likewise their internal patterns of industrialization did not become more differentiated and specialized through time. In some cases, for more than a century only one or two facilities were constructed; usually these mills produced either materials or products for only the immediately adjacent region (review Table XIII). Such settlements exemplified non-urbanized industrial centers and were representative of a group of systematic and important exceptions to the interpretive model of Charles Kendall. In Goshen's history of settlement, the frequency of such exceptions far exceeded those cases whose developmental sequences ended with the appearance of urban villages.

Some of these dispersed mill complexes were constructed so that a local population could acquire raw materials needed for foodstuffs or the construction of houses, barns, and other outbuildings. Often their historical patterns of ownership and use never exhibited the sorts of early capitalist

principles and meanings which appeared in West Goshen. For example the settlement of North Goshen, which included residential farmsteads, one sawmill, and one gristmill, appeared during the late eighteenth century after the Revolutionary War. The locality at the outlet of North Pond and the upper reaches of Hart Brook west of East Street provided a source of water power which was used for industrial sites for more than one century.

Initially much of the land and water rights were owned by John (3) Beach, one of the town's original settlers. His son, Jacob (4) Beach, received 130 acres in the vicinity in 1750 where he constructed a sawmill and gristmill before 1790. During the next five decades these facilities and their associated properties were transmitted within the lineal family descended from John (3) Beach. Jacob (4) Beach deeded the properties to his sons, Francis (5) and Julius (5) Beach, between 1790 and 1800. Subsequently their sons, Francis (6) and Albert (6), received the tracts and mill sites before 1840. In each case the structure and meaning of these property transactions were defined by the familiar principles of partible descent - the individuals involved were related by blood or marriage and thus belonged to the same lineal family. In addition the value of the properties which were transmitted seldom was measured in monetary terms; usually the transactions were described as ones founded upon "parental love and good will."

Even when the settlement history of North Goshen became associated with families with no genealogical connection to the Beaches - as happened during the second half of the nineteenth century - the meaning and values of property transactions were still encompassed by a cultural system of kinship. A preliminary study of the history of land values associated with specific tracts in North Goshen isolated stable patterns of cost (review Table VIII) as well as ownership. There was no evidence which suggested that a "desire for profits" defined property values nor were there signs of the development of "syndicated ownership." Even though the locality of North Goshen became a focus for the construction of farmsteads during the nineteenth century, its mills and settlement were never transformed into an urban system recognizable as an early capitalist village.

A similar pattern and history of premodern industrialization can be isolated within a mill complex constructed along Hart Brook east of East Street. Between its outlet at North Pond and the Goshen-Torrington line, this brook traverses a distance of 5.50 kilometers. For more than half of this length its gradient is only slight as its bed's elevation falls 54 meters. However in the lower (more eastern) segment of Hart Brook the gradient increases dramatically as the river falls 105 meters within a distance of 2000 meters. The potential hydropower associated with this section of the brook was not unnoticed by Goshen's early settlers; occupation and use of the locality began before the Revolutionary War (Hall 1980).

However it was not until the last decade of the eighteenth century that the locality became a focus for residential, agricultural, and industrial activity. Beginning as early as 1782 and continuing through 1805, David Hart purchased a variety of lots and parcels from several individuals in northeastern Goshen including Timothy Stanley and Abraham Parmelee. Over a span of 25 years Hart acquired a little more than 260 acres; most of this land was situated adjacent to Hart Brook and the Hinsdale Road (see Figure 6).

Included among David Hart's purchases was a 1791 transaction in which he bought 100 acres, a log house, and a sawmill (with its "apparatus") from

Asaph Hall (Goshen Land Records 8:257). By 1800 Hart was the sole owner of this mill site which he then "sold" for $300 to three of his sons, Henry, Miles, and Alpha, in 1835. By that time the lower reaches of Hart Brook in Goshen were known as Hart Hollow - a small, compact settlement which included several houses, the sawmill, and two buildings which housed workshops where wooden cheese boxes were manufactured. This complex continued to exist for the next four decades and was depicted on both the 1852 Clark map and the 1874 Beers' Atlas map.

Before his death in 1845, David Hart had conveyed more than half of his holdings (140 acres) to his four sons: Luther, who received two areas, a house, and a barn in 1805; Henry, who was granted a total of 40 acres in 1815 and 1828; Miles, a younger son who acquired more than 42 acres in 1828; and Alpha, who was given and also purchased more than 55 acres and the family's farmhouse in the same year. In addition both Miles and Alpha received other land under the provisions of David Hart's will.[23]

Miles and Alpha Hart continued to own and operate the sawmill and box factory between 1830 and 1860; their older brother, Luther, had died before 1810 and Henry had sold his property and left Goshen in 1835. The complex of buildings and lands was transmitted intact to fifth and sixth generation members of the Hart lineal family. In his will of 1877, Alpha Hart left his undivided half share in the sawmill and cheese box shop to his grandson, Reuben Hart, who continued to occupy the locality through the first decade of the twentieth century.[24]

For almost one century Hart Hollow was an industrial settlement whose facilities and shops produced specialized goods (cheese boxes and clocks) as well as raw materials for construction. During this period the size and internal complexity of the mill village did not change significantly and Hart Hollow remained a compact, premodern settlement. Like the mills at North Goshen, its principles of ownership and patterns of use remained stable and were never transformed by the need to produce capital or undergo industrial specialization.

Unlike West Goshen's mill complex, the industrial archaeological sites in Hart Hollow are intact including the sawmill and shops which were used to build cheese boxes (see Figure 50). Since the locality's industries were never affected by the processes of specialization and differentiation, each facility's plan was not modified through time nor was it used for different activities. In fact the only disturbance which has affected the settlement was the construction of a water reservoir which flooded Hart Brook's valley in the early twentieth century (Figure 51).

Raceway associated with David Hart's sawmill

Figure 50. Industrial Archaeological Sites in Hart Hollow

Foundation for one of the cheese box shops

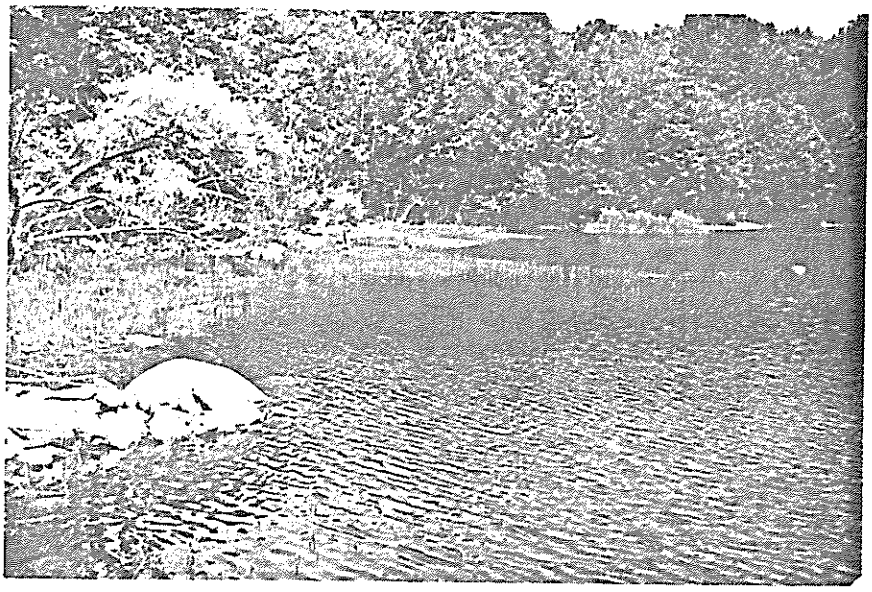


Figure 51. Reuben Hart Reservoir, Hart Hollow, Northeast Goshen

This feature was constructed by the Torrington Water Company after 1910 and flooded the valley of Hart Brook in Goshen and Torrington. Several foundations for outbuildings associated with the Hart Hollow settlement are now under water. The eastern edge of the settlement lies along the left border of the photograph.

IX. HISTORICAL PROCESSES AND CAPITALIST SEPARATIONS: HOW TO TRANSFORM NINETEENTH CENTURY GOSHEN INTO AN ARTIFACT

Almost six centuries ago the residents of the Renaissance world, who were very few in number and who inhabited little space, discovered peoples whose lives were completely different from those associated with fifteenth century Italian city states. Within the context defined by this period of initial cultural juxtaposition, a theory of knowledge appeared which was founded upon a process of separation. The lives of each of these new Others were different from the beliefs, thoughts, and actions of the Renaissance spirit; within these differentiations a comparative perspective for anthropological epistemology and ontology was defined.

The subsequent history of this primal comparative anthropological inquiry was short-lived and actually the discipline's perspective disappeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However a theory of and for culture - which is after all what anthropology is - was reinvented by the Victorians during the second half of the nineteenth century. Then as now, everyday life was being redefined and new modes and principles of economic and social organization began to appear. These transformations defined and were themselves encompassed by a unique and novel set of implicit domains and categories which determined how people lead their lives on this earth and how they thought about the hereafter.

This new set of cultural premises, which posited life itself, was modern and capitalist, reflected an intensive period of urbanization and industrialization, and was marked by the emergence of several conceptual units including the person, the individual, and the economy as well as other institutional levels (see Barnett and Silverman 1979b). Unlike the system of ideology - here thought of as "the totality of ideas and values or representations common to a society" (Dumont 1977b:17) - associated with non-Western civilizations, modern ideology was, and continues to be, characterized by two structural processes which produced the distinctive patterns and premises associated with early modern life: the segregation and differentiation of institutional levels from each other and the subsequent valorization of one of these levels (Economics) as society's primeval moral tenet.

Together segregation and valorization determined the external forms and internal principles of all contemporary modern societies and, by logical extension, their early capitalist antecedants. What was once unbroken totalities of mutually defined and encompassed institutions and norms became transformed into differentiated systems of specialized, non-overlapping domains. As the internal structure of premodern villages and societies became more complex, the lives of each community's inhabitants changed and these changes reflected the appearance of a cultural system of meaning whose premises were more capitalist than primitive. By the turn of the twentieth century the world's political landscape had been divided into two parts: a relatively small yet dominant group of fully capitalist nations and a large, diversified collection of nonmodern, primitive societies of varying degrees of complexity. The historical meeting of two such distinct social and economic units as well as their systems of ideology offered anthropologists a medium within which they could develop the discipline's distinctive traits - a comparative theory of culture and the methodological practices of ethnographic fieldwork.

In one sense then, the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a historical context for theoretical anthropology which was homologous to that associated with the Renaissance era. However from a second perspective - one defined by combining structuralist theories of myth with the premises of a renovated Marxist epistemology (see Barnett and Silverman 1979a, Dolgin et al. 1977, Handsman 1980a) - the emergence of an early modern anthropology was not a reinvention of perspective distance. Where the original theory had recognized societal diversity and the importance of historical context and meaning, capitalist anthropology denied the interpretive significance of each.

Even though the rebirth of anthropology was effected by the Victorian recognition of the uniqueness of a capitalist system of economy and cultural meaning, the early modern discipline actually ignored this historical fact as it produced interpretations. Capitalism's cultural domains, and the separations which determined them, became the analytical framework through which anthropologists studied the lives of others. Such a framework was founded upon the assumption that capitalist separations and meanings were eternal phenomena, entirely independent of time and place or history and culture. The assumption of such a universality was both a denial of the Renaissance theory of perspective distance and a rejection of the Victorian reality of societal diversity.

Thus the now-familiar processes associated with cultural hegemony - whereby a world was organized without historical depth - first appeared during the later portions of the nineteenth century. Since then these processes have never disappeared. Although its name has been changed and its framework expanded to incorporate perspectives invented to do different tasks, a theory of cultural hegemony in contemporary anthropology was founded upon the earlier theory of ideology and ideological practice formulated by Karl Marx. As early as 1846, during his formative years when his sense of theoretics was supposedly immature, Marx described perfectly the action of cultural hegemony, or what he called ideology:

> When the economists say that present day relations - the relations of bourgeois production - are natural, they imply that those are the relations in which wealth is created and productive forces developed in conformity with the laws of nature. These relations therefore are themselves natural laws independent of the influence of time. They are eternal laws which must always govern society. Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any (cited in Walton and Gamble 1972:168).

Karl Marx's theory of ideology, which continued to provide an epistemological structure to his work for more than 40 years, incorporated two principles or perspectives or interpretative premises whose significance has never waned (Miller 1972):

> *1. Ideological practice always engages in false abstraction so that some aspect of a particular productive system (or socioeconomic organization) or the system's entire structure is described and interpreted separate from its encompassing domains and meanings of culture.*

> *2. Anthropological or historical interpretation is always ideological or reflective of cultural hegemony as each "immortalizes the relationships they describe, presenting contingent historical facts as eternal laws of nature" (Miller 1972:439).*

Together this pair of philosophical tenets provided a framework for Marx's epistemological and ontological renovation of both economic and historical theoretics. They were also the base upon which Claude Lévi-Strauss constructed his theory of primitive myth, a theory which often implied that myth, as process, could not exist in modern, capitalist societies. However as the earlier efforts of Marx suggested, and those of his descendants, including Louis Althusser (1971) and Roland Barthes (1972, 1977), revealed, there is no significant difference between myth and ideology as worked out by the primitive world and capitalism. Each was founded upon a set of premises which posited everyday life, which operated at the level of the unconscious (or in Marxist terms as false consciousness), and which were assumed to be universal constructs across time and space.

In the contemporary world, which is actually a postmodern society and system, the effects of ideological transposition or cultural hegemony can be read (as the Marxists say) within two sorts of anthropological activity. In the modern realm of the ethnographic present, when the Western system of ideology meets a non-Western culture and society, invariably what is modern and economic attempts to distort and redefine what is not. The recent (and continuing) studies of Louis Dumont (1970, 1977a,b) and Marshall Sahlins (1976), plus those of Talal Asad (1973), demonstrate how the process of ideological transposition is effected and what cultural hegemony implies about anthropological praxis (also see Bruce Brown's 1973 study).

The production of false identities between what are actually separate cultural systems of meaning and everyday life has also been extended in the postmodern world to any society's past (see Dumont 1975; Handsman 1980b,c,d; Henretta 1978; Merrill 1977; Zaretsky 1976). Here the juxtaposition of Victorian models, modern ideology, and premodern everyday life as re-enacted (or performed) at living historical museums, creates a new temporality defined by a simultaneous sense of "being-there" and "having-been-there" (see Barthes 1977:32-51 and Handsman 1980a). The premodern past and the modern era - two historically-distinct cultural systems of meaning - are systematically blended so that each exactly replicates the other.

This process of homogenization distorts the writing of any interpretive history, including most New England scholarship which has appeared during the last 100 years. From the perspective of developmental continuities and sequential histories of modernization, the enactment of cultural hegemony destroys one's analytical ability to recognize the historical reality and interpretive significance of both urbanization and industrialization and their concomitant processes. The result is that the Victorian interpretation of New England villages as timeless, non-historical forms emerges as an archetype, which is to say a myth.

Along with the masking of significant historical and behavioral processes, modern ideology can obliterate as well the cultural history of capitalist separations. Rather than exemplifying societal America, this process of unconscious distortion destroys history by assuming that capitalism's categories and domains such as the person or the individual, the family, or

the entrepreneur have always existed in historic New England. Concurrently such an interpretive model will not allow one to recognize the cultural and behavioral significance of new categories such as profit or capital, new modes for everyday life including subscriptions (Handsman 1980c,d), or new-fashioned artifacts whose meaning reflects different patterns and principles of social organization (see Handsman 1980c).

Perhaps the most seductive yet insidious distortion which can be produced by cultural hegemony is literally the loss of an entire period of history - the premodern era - when everyday lives, cultural symbols, meanings, norms, and actions were mutually encompassing and reflective of a structured whole whose premises were entirely separate from those of the modern world. Life in the premodern world was embedded within and defined by a system of common sense which was neither predictable nor familiar. It was not even commonplace:

> If common sense is as much an interpretation of the immediacies of experience, a gloss on them, as are myth, painting, epistemology, or whatever, then it is, like them, historically constructed and, like them, subjected to historically defined standards of judgement . . . . It is, in short, a cultural system, though not usually a very tightly integrated one, and it rests on the same basis that any other such system rests; the conviction by those whose possession it is of its value and validity (Geertz 1975:8).

For more than 150 years the inhabitants of Goshen lived in a world and defined their everyday lives as members of any premodern society have and would. The historical records of their actions and norms and their system of meaning suggest that their world was affected in but a transitory manner by the sweeping changes which occurred around them. Their center villages never became a bustling, significant urban center like that of Litchfield nor did its mill village of West Goshen become transformed into an industrial city similar to Torrington and Winsted.

During the Federal period some of Goshen's inhabitants experimented, in a very conscious manner, with the new domains and categories which were reflections of the appearance of early modern, capitalist society. However such experimentation was more of an intellectual flirtation than socialized engineering; eventually life became premodern once more. In this sense the history of Goshen can be described as "cold," stable, non-dynamic - what Claude Lévi-Strauss calls primitive. Try as they might, even the Victorians were unable to transform Goshen into a modern world. A modern traveler, such as Timothy Dwight during the 1770's, could see everyday live in Goshen as an artifact of some remote, unchanged time and place. Unlike Dwight, this traveler would be right.

X. NOTES

1. Some of the theoretical framework developed here is founded upon the re-invention of a theory of ideology by Louis Althusser (1971), a French Marxist and sociologist of knowledge:

> What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live (Althusser 1971:165).

2. Most of the contemporary interpretations of modern myth and ideology are inspired by the pioneering efforts of Roland Barthes (see summary in Handsman 1980a), who summarized his perspective in a 1979 interview with Edmund White:

> In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically; it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a clarity; things appear to mean something by themselves (emphasis mine).

3. See the center village map of Cornwall in F. W. Beers' (1874:28) County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

4. These specifications were codified in a statute enacted by the Connecticut legislature in October of 1737, "An Act for the Ordering and Directing the Sale and Settlement of all the Townships in the Western Lands" (see Hibbard 1897:26-27).

5. Charles Grant's (1972:12-16) study of Kent's proprietor records and land transactions isolated little evidence of either absentee proprietors or widespread speculative activity.

6. Data abstracted from the Proprietors' Records of the Town of Goshen, Volume 2. Manuscript volume on file at the Office of the Town Clerk, Goshen, Connecticut.

7. Ibid.

8. Much of the analysis and interpretation in this chapter and the next are based upon the earlier work of Lewis Mills Norton. In particular his map, "A Survey, showing the original layout of the land in the Town of Goshen from 1731 until completed," was invaluable. It provides the base map for several figures. Archival reference: Large Map No. 20, Lewis and Henry Norton Collection. Record group 69:37. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

9. Map of the Original Layout of the Town of Kent, Connecticut. Original on file in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

10. "Crazy Quilt" Survey of the Town of Cornwall. Drawn from Proprietors' and Others' Records by George C. Harrison, ca. 1894. Original on file in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

11. Plan of the Town of Goshen, December 11, 1811. Drawn by Lewis Mills Norton. Manuscript Map No. 4, Lewis and Henry Norton Collection. Record group 69:37. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

12. Plan of the Eastern Half of Goshen, Middle and East Streets, ca. 1830. Drawn by Lewis Mills Norton. Manuscript Map No. 12, Lewis and Henry Norton Collection. Record group 69:37. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

13. Probate file of John Beach, 1773. Town of Goshen, File #473. Litchfield Probate District. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

14. Probate file of Jacob Beach, 1801. Town of Goshen, File #469. Litchfield Probate District. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

15. The number following each first name is a sign of generational level. For example, John (3) Beach refers to Deacon John Beach, one of the proprietors and original settlers of Goshen. His offspring, including nine sons and one daughter, all belong to the fourth generation and would have a (4) as a sign of their generational level.

16. In David Schneider's (1979:157) words:

> But I speak here, as I have indicated before, purely at the cultural level, so we can say that at the cultural level there is no place for self-interested action, for the manipulation of others exclusively for the gratification of one's own ends. One maintains solidarity with kin because they are kin, and there should be no question of right and wrong.

17. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, the center village of Litchfield included 84 houses, 9 mercantile stores, 2 bookstores, several inns and taverns, a printing shop, a bank, the county courthouse, a post office, and several shops which sold products or services (Pease and Niles 1819:233). Clearly the settlement had begun to emerge as a true urban village. At this same moment the entire town(ship) of Goshen contained only 5 mercantile stores, 2 physicians, and a single attorney.

18. This diagram was constructed from three sets of historic maps: 1) A series of four diagrams of Goshen's center village drawn by Lewis Mills Norton and included in his 1838 manuscript history, "Digest of the Highways in Goshen." Volume filed in the Town Clerk's Office, Goshen, Connecticut. Microfilm copy on file at the Research Department, American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut. 2) Richard Clark's map of the Town of Goshen. 3) The map of Goshen's center village contained in F. W. Beers' County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

19. These maps are based upon a study of the relevant land records contained in numerous volumes in the Office of the Town Clerk, Goshen, Connecticut. A series of preliminary maps and copies of all relevant transactions are on file at the Research Department, American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut.

20. An earlier analysis of the development of Canaan, Connecticut isolated similar signs of fluctuations in land values. These variations reflected individuals' perceptions of the village's urbanization between 1850 and 1880. See the data and interpretation in Handsman (1981a:8).

21. The 1889 U.S.G.S. Topographic map of the locality (15 Minute Cornwall Sheet) does not depict any mill facilities along the Marshepaug River.

22. Some of the analyses and interpretations which are summarized here are based upon a detailed study of West Goshen's land transactions which was undertaken during the spring of 1981. Ting Moore and Barbara Cox completed this research; Ting is now writing a "history" of West Goshen which will appear in several different formats. Her original notes and transcriptions are on file at the Research Department, American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut.

23. Probate file of David Hart, 1845. Town of Goshen, File #2747. Litchfield Probate District. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

24. Probate file of Alpha Hart, 1877. Town of Goshen, File #2740. Litchfield Probate District. Manuscripts and Archives Division, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

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