

# AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SMITH FARM AND STONE MOUNDS, ROCHESTER, VERMONT

NORMAN MULLER

*In Memory of Ernie Clifford*

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout the northeastern United States and extending into West Virginia and Tennessee, are unusual and often well-constructed cairns and flat-topped stone mounds, many of which are located on abandoned farmland. We know nothing about who constructed them, when, or for what purpose, but that hasn't prevented people from voicing their opinions about them. Many historians and archaeologists have stated unequivocally that they are colonial in date, simply because of their association with abandoned farmland, and because of the oft-stated view that they cannot be Indian because the latter didn't learn to build with stone until they had been taught by colonial settlers.<sup>1</sup> On the opposite side of the argument are the antiquarians who propose an American Indian explanation for the stone mounds, promoting their views based mainly on empirical evidence.

Since the differing views on this issue are unresolved, this article proposes that there is a way to move forward by focusing on a detailed historical study of a specific nineteenth century isolated upland farm in central Vermont, one that also has on it a very large collection of impressive man-made stone features—from huge, flat-topped stone mounds, to smaller stone constructions. The unusually detailed history of the site, which has become known only recently, strongly suggests that the stone features were already preexisting when this part of Vermont was first settled after 1780.

## SMITH FARM SITE, ROCHESTER, VERMONT

On the east facing slope of Mt. Horrid in Rochester, Vermont, at an altitude of approximately 1900 feet, is the abandoned 200-acre farm site of Chester M. Smith, which is now part of the Green Mountain National Forest. The farm was abandoned in the early 1900s, and over the past century, the buildings on it fell into disrepair. All that is left of the barns and house once occupied by Smith and his relatives are remnants of stone foundations now encrusted with moss and lichen. The often hilly terrain that Smith and his son once tilled and hayed is now overgrown with mature trees.

Also found on this 200-acre property is an assortment of carefully constructed enigmatic dry stone mounds of various shapes and sizes, numbering more than 150, which are scattered over an area of approximately 60 acres. They range in shape from a massive rectangular structure some 7 feet high on the downward slope, and over 40 feet long in one direction (FIGURE 1), to a crescent or bow-shaped, flat-topped cairn 3 feet



FIGURE 1. ERNIE CLIFFORD STANDING BESIDE LARGE PLATFORM MOUND, WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT

high and nearly 30 feet long, with the convex side facing northeast (FIGURE 2). In the top center of this cairn are two slabs of quartz, one on top of the other. Each is about 3 inches thick, and cleaves horizontally (FIGURE 3). A third piece of this quartz is found underneath the east end of the cairn. This quartz seems to have come from a wide seam of quartz about 150 feet east of the cairn, where large pieces of the quartz tipped on edge are exposed.<sup>2</sup> At one end of this seam is a spring where water emerges, particularly during wet spells. Another oddity at the site is a tongue-shaped stone mound built against the side of a glacial erratic (FIGURE 4), which from one angle looks like the head of a turtle pointed upright; in its orientation and construction, the mound is similar to another mound built perpendicular to a large boulder in Blairsville, Georgia (FIGURE 5). Ever since the stone mounds were discovered by Ernie Clifford while hunting in the early 1980s, the site has attracted a number of investigators, from archaeologists, Abenaki Indians, an ecologist, stone masons, and stone mound researchers, to a film maker, many of whom have offered differing explanations over what the mounds represent and who constructed them. One archaeologist who toured the site suggested that while the mounds do not appear to



FIGURE 2. CRESCENT-SHAPED STONE MOUND, VIEWED ON END, WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT

be the result of field clearing, they were either a finely crafted solution to problems that the landowner was experiencing, such as erosion control (increasing acreage for agriculture, improving land fertility, decreasing water run-off during periods of drought), or they might have been built to increase solar exposure. At no time did this person contemplate that the mounds might have been constructed prior to when the land was first acquired in 1780, which would have implied a Native American origin.



FIGURE 3. QUARTZ SLABS LOCATED AT TOP CENTER OF CRESCENT MOUND, WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT

To address this seemingly intractable situation, the Smith site offers some interesting advantages for research over many other sites throughout the Northeast that have stone mounds or cairns on them. First of all, this upland site was probably the first to be located on West Hill in Rochester, and was also isolated from other farms in this part of Rochester. It was connected to civilization by a now overgrown cart path that intersected the Rochester-Brandon Road, now Route 73, outside Rochester. Additionally, we probably know more about the operation of this upland farm than probably any other farm of its type in Vermont. This is because a wooden chest that contained letters, deeds, and daybooks belonging





**FIGURE 4.** TONGUE-SHAPED MOUND AGAINST GLACIAL ERRATIC, WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT



**FIGURE 5.** STONE CONSTRUCTION AGAINST LARGE BOULDER, BLAIRSVILLE, GA

to Chester Smith, dating from the early 1840s to the late 1800s, was found in the garage of Smith's great-grandson Victor, in Yardley, Pennsylvania; this archive is now at the Vermont Historical Society in Barre, Vermont. All of this information, taken together, provides the researcher with a detailed picture into the operation of the farm in the mid-1800s, and the kind of work done on a day-to-day basis. The daybooks and the letters that Chester Smith wrote to his fiancée, Sarah, also allow us to determine whether the various owners of the property had the wherewithal to construct the stone mounds. This detailed history of the property thus serves as an excellent test case to establish whether the stone mounds

found on the property were constructed by those who worked the land. We will examine it from this angle.

#### **ROCHESTER, VERMONT, BEFORE 1780**

First, some background information. Before 1791, Vermont was not a state and New Hampshire laid claim to its lands, which were also contested by New York. Beginning in 1761, Benning Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, began to grant charters for towns along the river valleys of Vermont. 129 towns were chartered in the early 1760s, and were called New Hampshire Grants. However, those towns away from river sources and in the upland areas of the state, along the

Green Mountains, were not granted until much later. The area called Old Philadelphia, which was later absorbed into Goshen and Rochester,<sup>3</sup> was located just east of Brandon, in the mountainous middle part of the state. It was not granted until March 1780. Maps of this central mountainous area printed before 1780 show towns on either side of the Green Mountains, but nothing in between. The 1761 Blanchard map has the following printed comment for this region, in reference to rivers: "These branches are only conjectural," (FIGURE 6). This "terra incognita" was also unchanged for the 1780 Vermont map. Today, highway 73, running east to west, traverses Brandon Gap, paralleling the stream on the east side as it ascends to the gap. This road became the main link between those towns in the middle part of the state and those on the western side of the Green Mountains. The 1789 Blodget map does not show a road between Rochester and Brandon, and neither does the Wilgus map of 1791. It would not be until 1796, and the publication of the James Whitelaw map, that a continuous road appears between Brandon and Rochester, indicated by a dotted black line (FIGURE 7). What the nature of this road was at the time is unknown.

#### **HISTORY OF THE SMITH FARM SITE**

The story of the Smith farm begins in 1780, when 81 proprietors purchased lots of 100 and 200 acres on West Hill in West Rochester. Much of the property was located on West Hill, on the east side of Mount Horrid, a

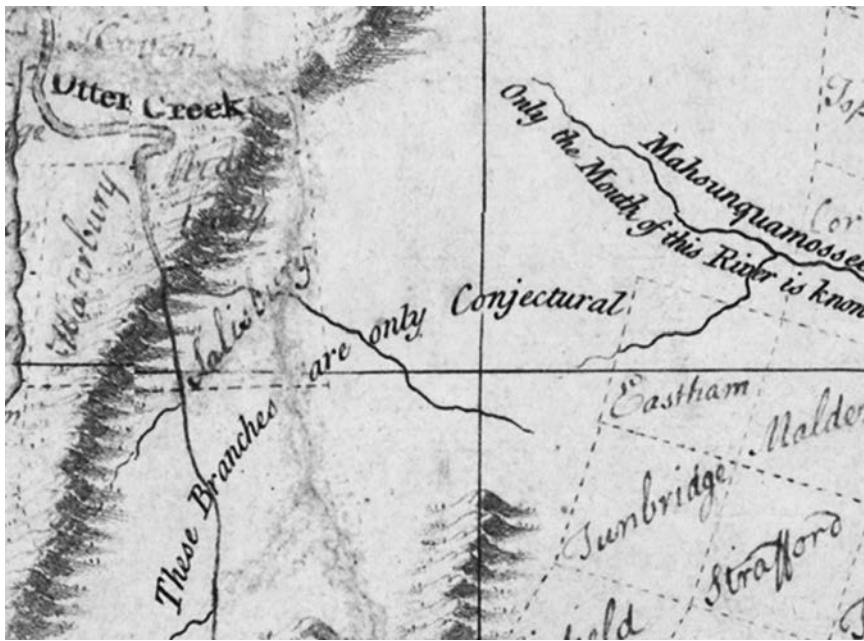


FIGURE 6. DETAIL OF 1761 BLANCHARD MAP OF VERMONT



FIGURE 7. DETAIL OF 1796 WHITELAW MAP OF VERMONT

mountain with precipitous ledges on the north side of a gap that divides Rochester from Goshen. At that time, no roads had been constructed on West Hill. It would remain this way until 1812. Most of the original purchasers were speculators who came from out-of-state, hoping to turn a profit on their purchase over time. Few actually bought land to occupy it. From what we can determine, the area of Goshen where the Smith prop-

erty is located was virgin forest before 1780. In that year, Pelitiah Morgan was one of 81 proprietors who drew lots on the purchase of land in an area of Goshen, then called Philadelphia. Lot numbers were put in individual hats corresponding to the number of divisions the land was divided into. Each proprietor then drew one lot number from each hat. Morgan chose lot number 38, a 200 acre parcel, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> division, plus lot number 51, 100 acres, from the 1<sup>st</sup> division. These lots were not contiguous. First division lots were usually the best for agriculture, since they were often situated on the lower flanks of mountains or hills and nearer water; the second division lots were often found on higher slopes less suitable for agriculture. It was not uncommon after the lots were chosen to survey the parcels. Few of the proprietors improved the land initially, and Pelitiah Morgan was no different. Morgan's 200-acre lot on the east slope of Mt. Horrid, at an elevation of 1900 feet, was situated more than a half mile from a primitive road or path that presumably linked Brandon and Rochester, and in virgin forest that at the time was inaccessible.

The laying out of lots was not precise, given that surveyors worked with a compass and chain in difficult wooded conditions. The fact that none of the deeds specified exactly where on the land their property lay, may reflect this ambiguity. An article by William B. Lowe on land surveying in Vermont in the 1700s emphasizes the problems that resulted from imprecise surveying, specifically concerning Rochester. A petition of landown-



ers to the state government, dated 6 October 1785, was described as follows:

“The proprietors of the township of Rochester humbly shew – That said township adjoins on the westward side of Bethel and depends on it for its first boundary. – That the late surveys made by order of the Surveyor General have removed the lines of Bethel near one mile eastward and considerably southward of its heretofore and known and established limits, by which means Rochester is likewise removed in the same manner to their great injury, in that it disconcerts the allotments of lands made in their townships, obstructs their settlements and lays a foundation for endless suits of law and controversies with their neighbors – that the removal of the lines renders it uncertain where to find the township and the proprietors cannot therefore go on to fulfill the conditions of the Charter in the midst of those confusions which arise from a removal of the lines – Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that this honorable Assembly will be pleased to render the late surveys null and void, and restore to us our former boundaries, so that we may go on with the settlement of our township agreeably to the requisitions in our charter.”<sup>4</sup>

The first land transaction we know of subsequent to its initial purchase in 1780 was its sale on October 30, 1812, to Carver and Rufus Goss of Brandon, Vermont, by Ezra Lomas of New Haven, Vermont. The sale price was \$62.<sup>5</sup> If there was an earlier owner between Morgan and Lomas, we have no record of it. Less than four months later, on 22 February 1813, the same property was sold to Alexander Norton of Goshen, Connecticut, for \$184, triple the price the Gosses originally paid for it.<sup>6</sup> The term “appurtenance” is mentioned in the deed for the first time, implying that improvements had been made to the property. Often this word implies a building or buildings accessory to the land,<sup>7</sup> but it can also apply to rights-of-way, such as a road being cut. In this case, a road to the property was an essential first step, and this, plus perhaps a barn being constructed, might have occurred in the four months the Gosses owned the property, particularly before winter set in. A 1915 topographic map shows the road to the property as a dotted line extending from the Brandon-Rochester road (marked as “B.M”) up a ridge to a small black square

representing a dwelling (FIGURE 8). Twenty-two years passed before Norton sold the property on September 22, 1835 to William A. Bates of Brandon for \$200.<sup>8</sup> Then, a year later, on August 25, 1836, Bates sold the property to Rufus Goss of Brandon, one of the first owners, for \$200.<sup>9</sup> On November 15, 1843, the 200-acre parcel plus a smaller adjoining 40-acre piece owned by John Clark of Goshen, was sold to Chester Winslow of Brandon for \$500.<sup>10</sup> This substantial increase in sale price might have been due to a building being constructed on the property, or some other improvements. Goss seemed to have had the wherewithal to turn a nifty profit.

Four years later, on March 11, 1847, Winslow sold the 240-acre piece of land to Chester M. Smith for \$500.<sup>11</sup> At this point in time we begin to have a much richer and clearer picture of the activities on the farm, owing to Smith’s day books and letters that he wrote, and Bill Powers’ careful examination of these records.<sup>12</sup> These had been stored in an old chest owned by Chester Smith’s great grandson, Victor, who lived no more than ten miles from me in Yardley, Pennsylvania. According to tradition, only four acres of land had been cleared by the time Smith purchased the land in 1838.<sup>13</sup> This date, however, is misleading, because we know from deeds that Chester bought the property in 1847. But 1838 is still significant, because Chester was given formal independence by his father that year, shortly after his 18<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>14</sup>

For all of the nineteenth century, the Smith farm was isolated from all others on West Hill. Note how in the 1915 topographic map (see FIGURE 8) the Smith farm was unconnected by road to the other farms on West Hill. The present road (FS 61) that skirts the old Smith farm foundations was constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) after 1936. The farm that Smith eventually purchased appears to have been the first and only farm on West Hill until about 1825, when Moses Kinsman settled in this part of Rochester, having purchased 100 acres of land in what was then the town of Goshen, Addison County, Vermont.<sup>15</sup> The Kinsman homestead was at the end of a wood road now designated FS 113 on current topographic maps, and is indicated on the 1855 Doton map of Rochester (FIGURE 9). This map shows the Smith farm to the left, isolated and unconnected by road to the other farms on West Hill. The Kinsman farm is shown at the end of a thin dotted line off West Hill Road, and marked “D.Kinsman.” The easiest and most logical way to have reached it would have been via the present West Hill Road from Route

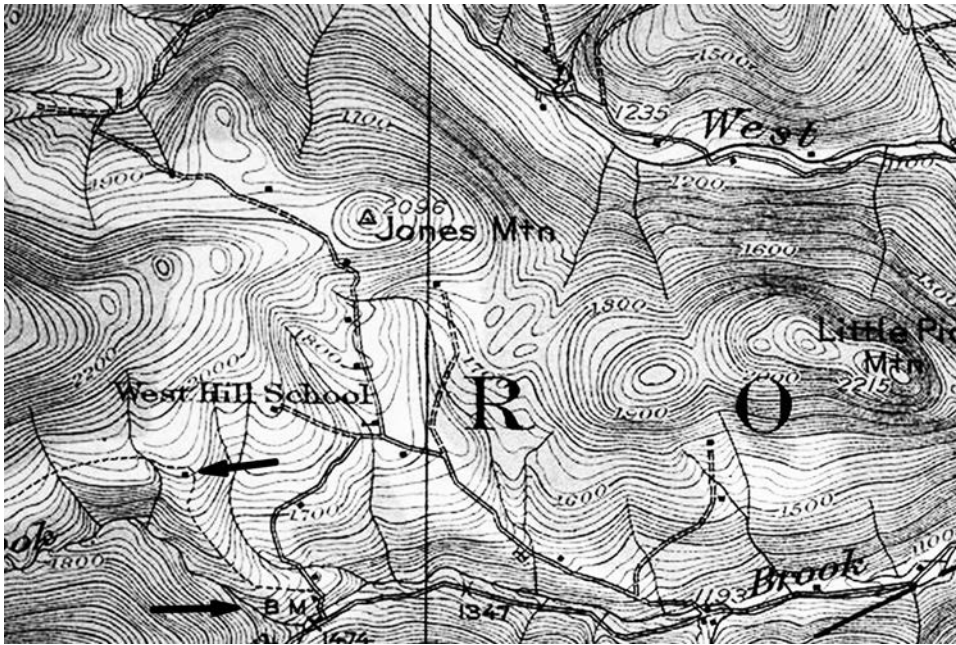


FIGURE 8. 1915 TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT ("BM" AND SMALL SQUARE REPRESENTING DWELLING INDICATED WITH ARROWS)

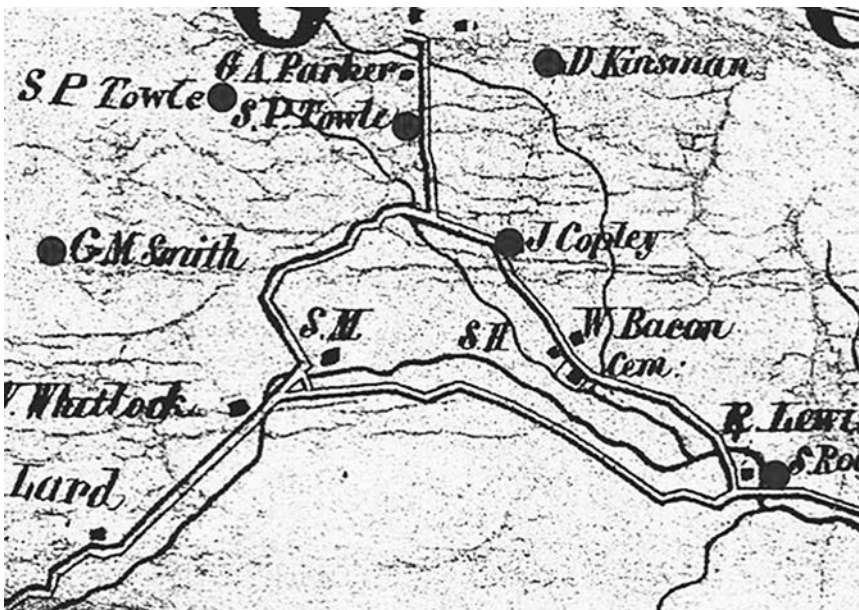


FIGURE 9. DETAIL OF 1855 DOTON MAP OF WEST HILL, ROCHESTER, VT

73. Consequently, West Hill Road had to have been cut by 1825, and probably a decade after the road was first cut to the Smith property.

During the early years of ownership, Smith worked hard to clear the land and make it suitable for agriculture. In the winter of 1847-48, and before he moved to the property, he wrote to Sarah, his fiancée and first cousin then living in Connecticut, describing what he was doing:

"I am Drawing in Logs to a saw mill to Build me a House and barn. I have got in bout 300 Logs and have got 20 acres slashed Down and have got about 30 acres of Moing [sic] ground on my Lot all Reddy to mow. I have 300 acres of Land about 30 acres Cleared that is moing. I have partly sold my brother 50 acres that will Leave me 250 acres that is enough."

On 23 October 1848, he again wrote to Sarah:

"I must tell you how I am getting a Long in Life as to my situation my farm is considerable cleared 50 acres is cleared sixteen acres to sow next spring part cleared Raised to acres of grain this year built me a barn 32 by 42 tis full of hay and grain. I am repairing my house now."

By December 1848 his letter to Sarah contained the following:

"I am getting along as well as I can. I live on my farm Moved on Last May I have built a barn this summer 32 by 42 Raised it full of hay and grain have fixed My house off quite comfortable Lathed and plastured [sic] apart of it have things as I call it quite comfortable to start a Life with I have two hundred and forty acres of Land and I call it good Land it will raise 20 bushels of wheat per acre or 60 bushels of oats perhaps you wood like to know if My land is paid for I will say that it is Not all paid for yet but I have property enough to pay for it but I have a payment to make out once in a year one hundred Dollars only every year till I get it paid that is better than it is to pay it all Down or to



be obliged to be because it gives me a chance to stalk (sic stock) my farm one hundred dollars is not much to turn of from a farm after once gets started I shall have about twenty acres of grain next year I shall sow five or six acres of wheat that will be as much as you can cook and we both can eat I raised ten acres of grain this year two hundred bushels of potatoes.”

By 15 July 1849 considerable progress had been made:

“I have had tolerable good Luck in my Worldly affairs that is in farming I have cleared about 30 acres of land since I have seen you have built myself two barnes 32 by 42 each one I raised yesterday (14 July 1849) the other one year and one week ago I fixed my house Last fall so I is quite comfortable live as I think in a pleasant place my land is good I have 240 acres I have 60 acres cleared I have betwixt twenty and twenty five acres of grain this year 30 or a little less of grass 2 acres of potatoes as for cattle I have two yoke of oxen horse and colt one pair of two year old steers one two year old heifer We have 3 cows 3 calves and one yearling I have that pony and shall have till I see you I guess.”

Smith made no mention of the existing cairns in his letters or daybooks, which may seem odd, but for some reason nineteenth century farmers apparently did not consider them worthy of comment.

In none of the letters or daybooks is there any mention of building with stone. And because legend has it that only four acres had been cleared when Chester Smith purchased the property in 1847, and that the stone features found on it extend over sixty acres, we are safe to conclude that the stone features predate any settlement of the land in the early nineteenth century.

While the stone mounds on the Smith site are certainly impressive in size and execution, and many are unique in design, it is not the only cairn site on West Hill. Within a radius of two miles from the Smith site, are three other large cairn and stone mound sites, each separate from the other, and all displaying stone mounds of similar design and execution to those found at the Smith site. None of these three sites is as large as the Smith site, however. At Vermont towns beyond Rochester, such as Andover, Vermont (FIGURE 10), Westkill, New York (FIGURE 11) and the Oley Hills site in Penn-



FIGURE 10. PLATFORM MOUND, ANDOVER, VT



FIGURE 11. PLATFORM MOUND, WESTKILL, NY

sylvania, we find a repetition of similar stone features of high execution that imply a region-wide cultural response to the landscape.

When I began my study of the Oley Hills site in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1996, I was intrigued by the large, flat-topped stone mounds on the ridge crest (FIGURE 12), a type that I had not seen before. When my research at the site came to an abrupt end in 1999, I began to look farther afield for evidence of similar flat-topped stone mounds, and soon located similar structures in the towns of Brooklyn (FIGURE 13) and Killingworth (FIGURE 14), both in Connecticut. That was just a start, and soon more examples were found throughout New England and into New York. The locations of these stone mounds, most of them flat-topped, have been plotted on a map (FIGURE 15). Given the care with which the mounds were constructed, their design, and their widespread



FIGURE 12. PLATFORM MOUND, OLEY HILLS, PA



FIGURE 13. PLATFORM MOUND, BROOKLYN, CT



FIGURE 14. PLATFORM MOUND, KILLINGWORTH, CT

distribution, it is highly unlikely, therefore, that they would be interpreted as having been constructed by colonial farmers, particularly since they have no obvious purpose related to farming practices. Besides, colonial farmers had more important matters to attend to, such as the full-time job of running a farm.

What also distinguishes many of the stone mounds at the Smith site and at sites elsewhere in Vermont and beyond, is the deliberate incorporation of quartz in their architectural design, either as separate pieces of quartz placed in or on the mound, or else the mound has been built on or against a boulder or outcrop that has significant amount of quartz in it.<sup>16</sup> Spectacular examples are found in Stockbridge (FIGURE 16) and Newfane (FIGURE 17), both in Vermont. While some archaeologists and historians have said that colonists sometimes used quartz, no group was more consistent in its use than were the Indians. To them, quartz had physical, symbolic and spiritual qualities that made it attractive to them. To some it represented solid light or even semen, the connection being that the male sun was thought to impregnate the female earth. Quartz was also considered alive, which made it powerful to Indian shamans, who would often carry pieces of milky or clear quartz crystals in a special pouch, which they could then fragment, allowing the power inherent in the mineral to enter their bodies and enhance their power. Quartz also possessed the physical characteristic called triboluminescence, which was a photon flash emitted when two pieces of quartz were rubbed together. This peculiar characteristic is also found in other quartz-like minerals, such as quartzite.

Another characteristic that distinguishes some of the stone mounds at the Smith site and at other sites on West Hill and beyond is the presence of unusually shaped stones, sometimes called god stones or Manitou stones, that were placed near or against them, often at one end. These stones are often thin and structurally different from the stones comprising the mounds. They are either triangular in shape or rounded on top, and sometimes resemble colonial head stones.<sup>17</sup> We are unsure what they signify, as they have also been found placed against stone walls. The ones found at the Smith site were the subject of a short web article.<sup>18</sup>

This study strongly suggests that the stone mounds at the Smith site were pre-existing when the property was first acquired by Morgan in 1780. That is as much as we know at the present time. However, we do not know who built the mounds, when, or for what purpose. These important questions have not been answered by this article. Whenever the occasion arises to provide answers to them, it will probably result in a profound shift in how we think of the Indian cultures of the Northeast in the distant past. Those who built the stone mounds





FIGURE 15. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF PLATFORM MOUNDS



FIGURE 16. PLATFORM MOUND WITH QUARTZ, STOCK-BRIDGE, VT



FIGURE 17. PLATFORM MOUND WITH QUARTZ, SOUTH NEWFANE, VT

must have spent considerable time in one location, which contradicts the picture we now have of nomadic tribes of the early seventeenth century wandering from one location to the next in search of seasonally abundant food. We can speculate that the builders of the stone mounds probably gathered together seasonally to construct these often massive and artistic aboveground artifacts, perhaps in a fashion similar to how the Hopewell Indians constructed their earthworks.<sup>19</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly indebted to Marcus Blair, historian in Rochester, Vermont, who first told me about Victor Smith of Yardley, Pennsylvania, and the information he had on Chester Smith. Also, Herb Campbell, also of Rochester, provided me with copies of early deeds on the Smith property. Bill Powers, a genealogist, compiled detailed information on several families who settled on West Hill in the 1800s, principally the Smith family. And it was the late Ernie Clifford who introduced me to West Hill in 2002, and whose generosity provided the impetus to honor his memory with this article.

#### NOTES

- 1 That the American Indians of the Northeast constructed with stone is known from many sources. Two examples are: A stone wall was uncovered beneath the entrance to the Flagg Swamp Rockshelter in Marlborough, Massachusetts in 1980, which was dated to more than 4000 B.P.E. Report on this is found online by doing a search of Eric S. Johnson, "Ancient Winters: The Archaeology of the Flagg Swamp Rockshelter, Marlborough, MA," Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, 2011. Another is two low walls, about a half mile long, on the east slope of Blue Mountain in Bethlehem, PA, which were arranged in a "V" shape, much like a fish weir. A.E. Berlin called them an Indian game drive, and he said they were on land that was always controlled by Indians ("A Game Drive," *The American Antiquarian*, IX, 1887, 311-313).
- 2 Other photos of this unusual stone feature are found in my web article, "An Unusual Crescent-Shaped Cairn and the Significance of Quartz," at [www.rock-piles.com/Smith\\_Farm/index.htm](http://www.rock-piles.com/Smith_Farm/index.htm).
- 3 On November 9, 1814, the northern portion of Philadelphia was annexed to the town of Goshen, and in 1816 the southern part of Philadelphia was absorbed by Chittenden, to the south. What remained of Philadelphia, some 11,300 acres, was transferred to Rochester in 1847.

- 4 This document, found in *State Papers*, Vol. 22, p. 96, is also published in "A Short History of the Office of the Surveyor General of Vermont, with some Recommendations Regarding its Re-Institution," William B. Lowe, *The Cornerpost*, Vermont Society of Land Surveyors, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1982, pp.9-19.
- 5 This deed is recorded in Book 1, page 245, of the *Philadelphia Land Records*, located in the Chittenden Town Clerk's Office. Research for this and subsequent deeds was undertaken by Herb Campbell of Rochester, VT.
- 6 Deed recorded in Book 1, page 250, of the *Philadelphia Land Records*, located in the Chittenden Town Clerk's Office.
- 7 In the early daybook compiled by Chester Smith and now in the Vermont Historical Society in Barre, an entry dated March 22, 1849, states the following: "Sold to James Hall hay as follows: on scaffold in old barn 14 hundred of hay..." This term, to this writer, implies something older than eleven years, and may in fact refer to the construction of a barn on the property in 1813 by Alexander Norton. It is interesting that the property was known thereafter as the "Norton Property."
- 8 *Goshen Land Records*, Book 2, page 482.
- 9 *Goshen Land Records*, Book 3, page 83.
- 10 *Goshen Land Records*, Book 4, pp. 47-48.
- 11 *Goshen Land Records*, Book 4, pages 257-258.
- 12 William Powers. "Chester Smith & Family, West Hill, West Rochester, Vermont." Unpublished 71 page genealogical report, 2009.
- 13 *Rochester, Vermont, Its History, 1780-1975*. Published by the Town of Rochester. Queen City Printers, Inc., Burlington, VT, 1975, 17.
- 14 As note 12, above., 6.
- 15 William Powers. "Kinsman Family, West Hill, West Rochester, Vermont." 36 page typed genealogical report. 16 January 2014.
- 16 See note 1, above.
- 17 Norman Muller. "Manitou Stones in Rochester, Vermont." Web article at [www.rock-piles.com/manitou](http://www.rock-piles.com/manitou)
- 18 See <http://www.rock-piles.com/manitou>.
- 19 Wesley Bernardini. "Hopewell geometric earthworks: a case study in the referential and experiential meaning of monuments." *Journal of Anthropological Anthropology*, 23/3 (September 2004). 331-356.