

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 82, NUMBER 12

THE FIVE MONACAN TOWNS IN VIRGINIA, 1607

(WITH 14 PLATES)

BY
DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.



(PUBLICATION 3070)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
NOVEMBER 18, 1930



The "Indian Fish Traps," in the James River at Richmond.

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 82, NUMBER 12

THE FIVE MONACAN TOWNS IN VIRGINIA, 1607

(WITH 14 PLATES)

BY
DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.



(PUBLICATION 3070)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
NOVEMBER 18, 1930

The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

THE FIVE MONACAN TOWNS IN VIRGINIA, 1607

By DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.

(WITH 14 PLATES)

Late in April, 1607, three small ships sent out from England passed the Virginia Capes, entered Chesapeake Bay, and soon sailed a short distance up the James. These were the *Godspeed*, *Discovery*, and *Sarah Constant*, bearing colonists destined to form the first permanent English settlement in the New World. On May 14, they had come to anchor off a chosen site where Jamestown was soon to be established.

The spirit of adventure which had inspired many to undertake the long and tedious voyage across the Atlantic continued to dominate their acts, and within the following year they had reconnoitered much of the surrounding region, then a vast wilderness claimed and occupied by native tribes.

So venturesome were the colonists, and so desirous were they of becoming acquainted with the country and its primitive inhabitants that on May 21, one week after landing, a party of 23, one of them Captain John Smith, left Jamestown to explore the river. They continued up the stream, made rapid progress, and two days later arrived near Powhatan's village, not far from the eastern bounds of the present city of Richmond. The English desired to continue up the valley beyond the falls, and endeavored to persuade Powhatan to furnish guides to accompany them, but in this they were not successful. To quote from a narrative prepared by a member of the party: "Dyner Done we entred into Discourse of the Ryver how far it might be to the head therof, where they gat their Copper, and their Iron, and how many dayes Ioryne it was to *Monanacah*, *Rahowacah* and the Mountains *Quirank*: requesting him to have guydes with us also in our intended March; for our Captaine Determynd to have travelled two or 3 dayes Iornye a foote up the Ryver: but without gyving any answer to our Demaundes, he shewde he would meete us himselfe at the overfall and so we parted. This *Nauiraus* accompanied us still in the boate. According to his promyse he (*Pawvatah*) mett us; where the fellow whome I have called our kinde Consort, he that followed us from *Turkey Ile*, at the Coming of *Pawvatah* made signe to us we must make a shoute, which we Dyd.

"Now sitting upon the banck by the overfall beholding the same, he began to tell us of the tedyous travell we should have if wee proceeded any further, that it was a Daye and a halfe Iorney to *Monanacah*, and if we went to *Quiranck*, we should get no vittailles and be tyred, and sought by all means to Disswade our Captayne from going any further: Also he tolde us that the *Monanacah* was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye But our Captayne out of his Discreyton (though we would faine have seene further, yea and himselfe as desirous also) Checkt his intentyon and returned to his boate."¹ The party returned safely to Jamestown whère they arrived June 22.

On this, the first journey to the falls, the inhabitants of all the many native villages encountered were allies, but the colonists heard of others beyond, to the westward, who were enemies of the allied tribes. This is the earliest known reference to the Monacan.

Early in the spring of 1608 another expedition was projected "to discover and search the commodities of *Monacans* countrie beyond the Falles," but the exploration was not attempted as events at Jamestown made it necessary for all to remain near by. However, during the autumn of the same year Captain Newport, having just returned from England, "with 120 chosen men set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*." The expedition appears to have been quite successful, although scant records of the happenings have been preserved. One narrative tells how "Arriving at the Falles, we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe; and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the *Monacans*, called *Massinacak* and *Mowhemenchouch*; the people neither used us well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct us the way."² This is the earliest known record of the entering of the Monacan territory by Europeans.

The region beyond the bounds of the Powhatan confederacy, up the valley of the James from the falls, was regarded by Indian and colonist alike as a separate and distinct land. This is suggested by a statement contained in a letter written by George Yardly to Sir Henry Payton in London, dated "James town, this XVIII of November, 1610," in which he referred to an expedition planned by the Governor, who intended going "up unto a famous fall or cataract of waters, where leaving his pinnasses & Boates safe riding, so purposely to loade up go into the Land called the Monscane."³

¹ Archer Relation. In Smith, Arber ed., pp. xlv-xlvi.

² Smith, Arber ed., p. 438.

³ Bodleian Library, Oxford. MSS. Eng. Hist., C. 4, fol. 3.

Strachey writing a few years later told what was then known of the country beyond the falls: "Concerning the high-land little can we say as yet, because thereof little have we discovered: only some Indians' relations and some fewe daies' marches into the Monocan country of our owne, have instructed us thus far.

"This high land, or Britannia, then say we, is the mayne and firme continent, which extendeth, we wot not how far, beyond that cataract or fall of water, which the Indians call Paquachowng, from whence one daies' journey into the Monocan country. Our elder planters (at their first comyng) proclaymed His Majestie King of the country at Mohominge (a neighbour village), and sett up a crosse there with His Majestie's name inscribed thereon From the falls our men have heretofore marched (as the river led them) about forty or fifty miles, and fownd a high land woody, little champion, with rising hills, rocky and mountanous" ¹

Continuing Strachey wrote (p. 131): "For mineralls we will promise nothing; but the hope of which, seeing the low grownd, yields manie faire shewes; the mountaines cannot be doubted but that in them manie sortes will be found: and our people, in their first discovery into the Monocan country discovered two mynes, the one within six miles of the head of the falls, which takes the name of Namantack, the fynder of yt: which is conceaved wilbe worth the exploring, and with little charge; the other lyes in the myd-waie betweene twoo townes of Monocan, the nearest called Mowheminke, the furthest, Massinnacock, distant one from another fourteen miles."

The preceding references must necessarily apply to discoveries made by Newport during the autumn of 1608.

A map of Virginia, usually attributed to Captain John Smith, was presented in his "Generall Historie of Virginia," 1624. It shows the course of the James far above the falls and many miles beyond the spot reached by Newport in 1608. A cross appears on the map at the beginning of the falls, the meaning of which may be understood by quoting from Strachey's reference to the map. He gave this quaintly worded explanation (p. 42): "In which mapp, observe this, that, as far as you see the little crosses either rivers, mountaines, or other places, have discovered; the rest was had by informacion of the salvadges, and are set downe accordinge to their instruccions." In this instance it is evident the cross marks the farthest point reached by Smith in May or June, 1607. He had never gone beyond the falls

¹ Strachey, William, *The Historie of Travile into Virginia Britannia*, p. 25. Hakluyt Society, London, 1849.

and wrote, when describing the James then "called *Powhatan*, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth upon it. . . . It falleth from Rockes farr west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans*. But where it commeth into our discovery it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &c. which makes it past navigation *any higher*."¹ And it is believed the dotted line following the left bank of the river indicates the trail traversed by Newport and his party in the autumn of 1608. The region beyond the end of the trail, as shown by the broken line, was described by the Indians. The Monacan with whom Newport came in contact would undoubtedly have been well acquainted with the country as far westward as the mountains and even beyond, and it may have been from "one of their pettie Werowances" that were learned the description of the course of the river, the position of its principal tributary beyond the falls, and the locations of the large towns. But whatever may have been the source of the information, the map made more than three centuries ago was remarkably accurate, as may be seen by comparing it with a very recent plan of the same region. The one tributary shown on the Smith map was the present Rivanna, but its name, by which it was known to the Indians, has not been preserved.

Five villages, or rather centers of population, are indicated on that part of the old map designated as the territory of the Monacans. These are:

- a. Mowhemcho. On the right bank of the James.
- b. Massinacack. On the right bank of the James beyond Mowhemcho.
- c. Rassawek. At the junction of the James and the Rivanna.
- d. Monahassanugh. On the James beyond the mouth of the Rivanna.
- e. Monasukapanough. On the Rivanna.

The spelling of the names differs in the text where they are often given as:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. Monacans. | d. Monahassanuggs. |
| b. Massinnacacks. | e. Mowhemenchughes. |
| c. Russawmeake. | |

The name Monacan was first applied to the territory occupied by the five tribes as well as to the confederacy which they composed. Later the first town entered by the English—Mowhemcho—became known as Monacan Town. This was the village of the Monakins of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

Lederer, and Manakin Town or Maningkinton of Michel. The meaning of the word is not known.

The spelling of the names as given on the Smith map will be followed when referring to the sites in the present sketch, although it is not possible to discover which form is the more nearly correct. A section of the map showing the five Monacan towns, the course of the James and of its principal tributary, the Rivanna, is reproduced in figure 1. A second map, figure 2, is presented for comparison with the preceding. The base is traced from a recent map issued by the United States Geological Survey, and on this have been indicated the sites of the five Monacan towns mentioned by the early writers. They will be described separately in the following pages.

How long the country had been occupied by the Siouan tribes can never be determined. Others had preceded them, but who they were or whence they came may ever remain unknown. The earlier habitat of the Siouan tribes, to which stock the Monacan belonged, is believed to have been in the valley of the Ohio, from which region they crossed the mountains to the eastward and later occupied the lands where they were encountered by the Virginia colonists early in the 17th century. A comparison of the material to be recovered from sites eastward from the Ohio may make it possible to trace the line of migration of these tribes; this would require much time and careful study, but if successful would prove of the greatest interest.

THE FALLS

The Falls of the James, which tended to separate the regions occupied by the two groups of tribes, may be more correctly described as a series of rapids extending several miles. It was an important place for fishing, and was frequented by the Indians whose camps would have been found scattered along the wooded banks of the stream, a very rough and broken bit of country.

The last village of the Algonquian tribes up the river was a mile or more below the foot of the rapids. It is not improbable that the upper part of the falls, some miles distant from the Algonquian village, was often visited by the inhabitants of the nearest Monacan town, Mowhemcho. Powhatan's statement to Captain Newport at the time of their first visit in 1608 that the Monacan "came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countreye," would indicate that the Monacan rather than the Algonquian dominated the region and did not fear the latter.

There was formerly in "The Byrd Title Book"—a manuscript volume belonging to the Virginia Historical Society—a drawing or



FIG. 1.—Section of the Smith map, 1624, showing the country occupied by the Monacan.

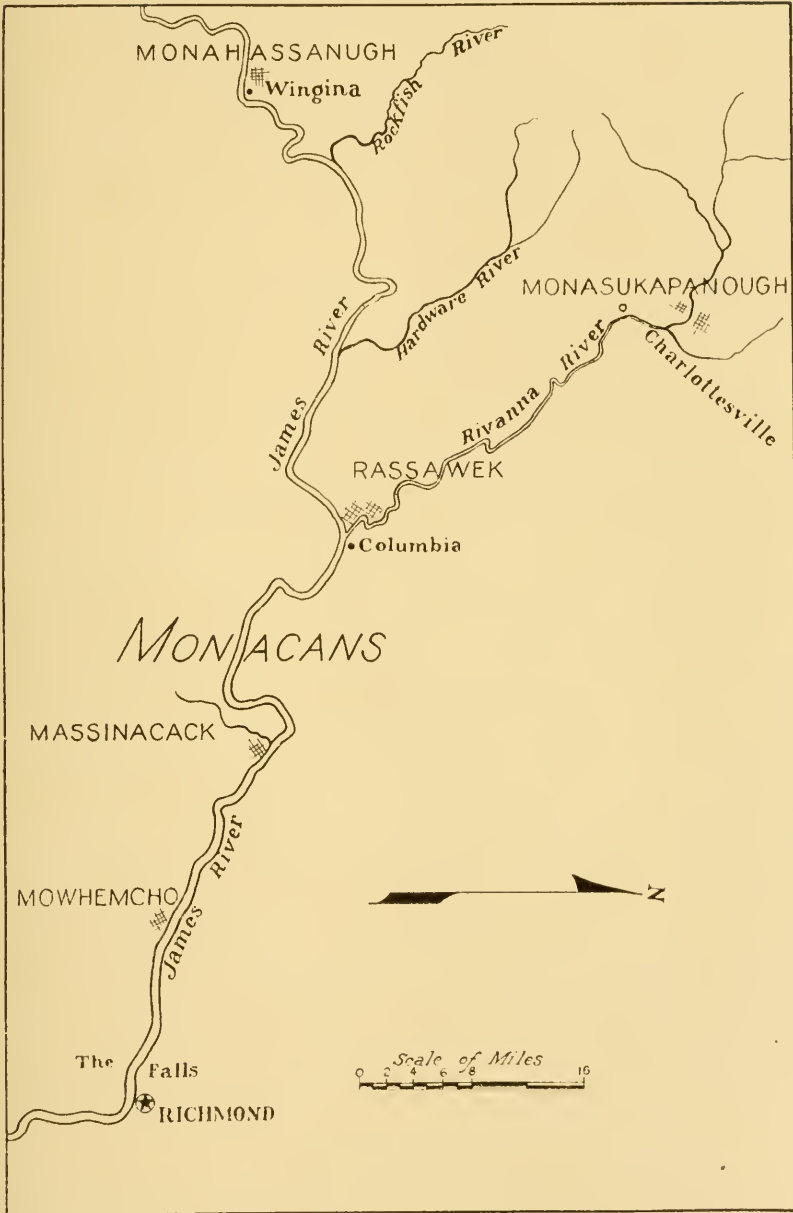


FIG. 2.—Detail of a recent survey, with sites of Indian towns added For comparison with map of 1624, figure 1.

rather plan of the rapids and islands in the James which was made before the year 1700. At a point between an island and the right bank of the river was indicated the position of the "Indian Fish Traps." This was evidently just within the western limits of the present City of Richmond where ancient fish traps may still be seen in the river. They are clearly defined when the water in the James is low, and under such favorable conditions they were photographed by the writer in October, 1926. The view is reproduced as the frontispiece, plate 1.

Beverley¹ described several ways of fishing, and had undoubtedly witnessed all being practiced by Indians with whom he had come in contact. He wrote in part: "At the falls of the Rivers, where the Water is shallow, and the Current strong, the *Indians* use another kind of Weir, thus made: They make a Dam of loose Stones, whereof there is plenty at hand, quite across the River, leaving One, Two, or more Spaces or Trunnels, for the Water to pass thro'; at the Mouth of which they set a Pot of Reeds, wove in the Form of a Cone, whose Base is about Three Foot, and perpendicular Ten, into which the Swiftness of the Current carries the Fish, and wedges them so fast, that they cannot possibly return."

The preceding description applies perfectly to the fish trap in the James, where three "Spaces or Trunnels" may be distinctly traced pointing down the stream. Beverley may have had this exact site in mind when he wrote his account so many years ago.

White oak splints, similar to those used in making baskets, were formerly "wove in the Form of a Cone" to serve as fish traps. They were used extensively in this part of Virginia as elsewhere. The maximum diameter of the large end was usually about one-third the length of the finished trap. At this end the weaving returned inward for a short distance, the opening becoming smaller so as to prevent the escape of the fish. At the opposite end the warp elements extended some inches after the woof was discontinued, coming closer together and finally touching, thus serving to close the end of the trap. They were placed where the current was strong, with the small end pointing down stream.

MOWHEMCHO

This village, later to be known as Monacan Town, was the first encountered by Newport in 1608 in passing up the valley of the James from the falls. It stood on the right or south bank of the river and

¹ Beverley, Robert, *The history and present state of Virginia*, Book 2, p. 33. London, 1705.

probably covered some of the level area bordering the stream in the extreme eastern part of the present Powhatan County, between Bernards Creek on the east and Jones Creek on the west. It does not appear to have been a palisaded village but rather an open settlement. Gardens were probably near the scattered habitations. It was a beautiful site for a native village. On the north it was protected by cliffs rising abruptly from the left bank of the river, on the south it was bounded by high, rolling land from which issued springs of clear water. Game was abundant throughout the region.

Three centuries ago Mowhemcho was an important center, probably the home of some hundreds of individuals who lived in a land of plenty, where food was easily obtained. How long the site may have been occupied will never be known. By the close of the 17th century few Indians remained in the vicinity, and during the year 1699 a Huguenot colony took possession of the land and there established a settlement which continued for some years. Huguenot, near the middle of the tract, and Huguenot Springs on Bernards Creek, about 2 miles from the bank of the James, are names which tend to identify the site. At the present time few traces of a native settlement can be discovered on the surface, which has been subject to overflow during the past centuries, but much may be hidden beneath deposits of sand and alluvium.

The Huguenots settled part of the area in 1699, but it is quite evident that Indians continued to occupy a portion of the site. Three years later they were briefly mentioned by a Swiss traveler.¹ This was in April, 1702, when Michel stopped at "Manakin town." and later wrote in his journal (II, p. 123): "The Indians often visit there, bringing game, rum and other small things. There is a good opportunity to trade with skins. They (the Indians) often bring pottery and when desired fill'd with corn." How corn was prepared in Virginia at that time is not revealed. He continued and again mentioned the Indians (p. 132): "In their homes they are naked, as I have seen one at Maningkinton, who came back from hunting. He had nothing but his gun, knife and powder horn, except a linen rag which covered his sexual parts a little, and a deer skin protecting his feet, that the thorns might not hurt him. He had also a tuft of feathers behind his ear." Such was the appearance of a Monacan in the early Spring of 1702. Several drawings made by Michel and

¹ Michel, Francis Louis, *Journey from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia—October 2, 1701 to December 1, 1702*. The Virginia Magazine, Virginia Hist. Soc., Richmond. January and April, 1916.

reproduced in the articles cited, are believed to represent Monacan Indians as described by him, however the sketches are not mentioned in the journal and for that reason are not positively identified.

The Indians of the village, or those who frequented the settlement, had been in possession of guns for many years. When Lederer¹ and his party reached the village of the "Monakins," May 22, 1670, they were, so he wrote: "welcomed by them with volleys of shot." But the village at that time was already much reduced and undoubtedly many of the people had wandered away to seek new homes elsewhere. In 1669, the year before Lederer's visit, the Monacan could bring together only 30 warriors.

MASSINACACK

Massinacack was the second native village reached by Newport in 1608 after having entered the Monacan territory. It is shown on the Smith map of 1624 as situated south of the James. Strachey mentioned it being some 14 miles distant from Mowhemcho, or Monacan Town, which would place it on the right bank of the river about the mouth of the present Mohawk Creek, a mile or more south of the town of Goochland, on the opposite side of the James.

Lederer was at the Monacan village late in May, 1670. A crude map, part of which is now reproduced in figure 3, accompanied the narrative of his journey and shows the James, or *Pawathan fl.* from near the falls westward. A dotted line passes up the right bank of the river and is evidently intended to represent the trail which he followed. This reached Monakin and continued to Mahock. The former was the Mowhemcho of Smith, the latter was undoubtedly another form of Massinacack, from which the present name of the creek has been derived. Two streams are represented coming together at Mahock and at once suggest the confluence of the James and the Rivanna, but it probably indicates the creek now bearing the name Mohawk flowing into the James. This was, without doubt, the site of the ancient village of Massinacack.

Lederer's narrative is vague and uncertain, the distances given are not reliable, but the names of streams and of places which appear on the map and are repeated in the text may be quite accurate. For this reason the present Mohawk Creek is believed to have been the Mahock of Lederer. By continuing due westward from this creek the party would have reached the James flowing in a northerly

¹ Lederer, John, *The discoveries of* Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. London, 1672. Reprint, Rochester, 1902.

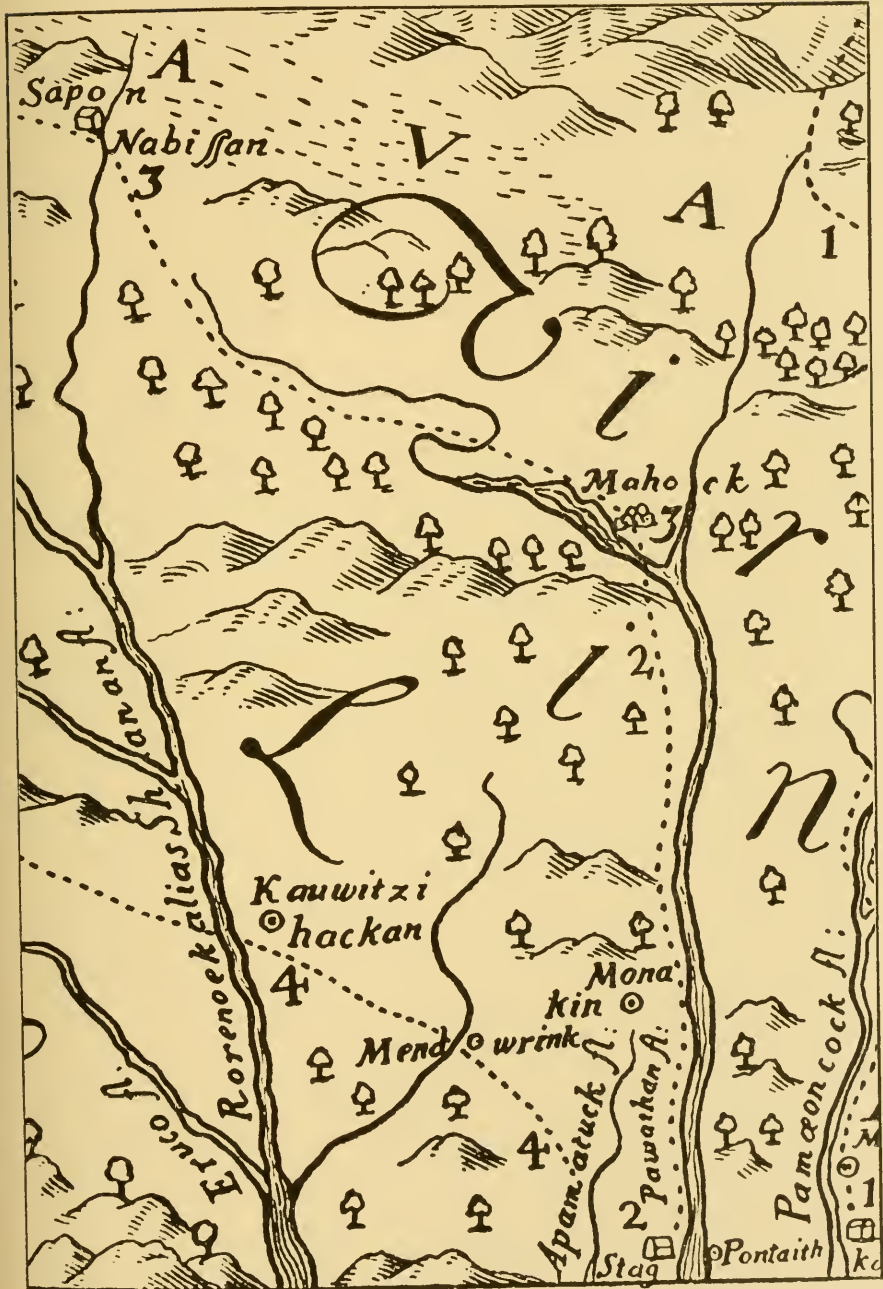


FIG. 3.—Section of the Lederer map, 1670, showing the trail up the James to Monakin and Mahock, with Sapon Nahissan far to the southwest.

direction; this was probably what they considered to be "the south-branch of James river, which Major Harris observing to run northward, vainly imagined to be an arm of the lake of Canada."

During the 18th century there was an important ferry across the James at, or very near, the site of this early native settlement. Leading southward from the ferry was a road over which colonists went to Carolina. As many of the roads developed by the first settlers followed the lines of ancient trails it is within reason to believe the same route had been traversed by Indians through generations.

RASSAWEK

No account has been discovered of a European having visited the village of Rassawek, although early writers referred to it as the principal town of the Monacan confederacy. Smith wrote in 1612: "Upon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at Russawmeake," but all his knowledge of the place had been derived from Indians. It stood evidently at the confluence of the James and Rivanna, some miles beyond the point where Newport turned to retrace his way to Jamestown in the autumn of 1608. The site had been abandoned before white settlers entered the region and consequently its exact position may never be known.

Viewed at the present time the most desirable and logical location for an extensive village would have been on the right bank of the Rivanna, within the angle formed by the two streams. Here is a wide bottom with high, rolling land a short distance from the James touching the Rivanna. When timbered and in its natural condition this would have been a beautiful site for a native settlement. The proximity of the two streams would have afforded some protection. The wooded hills to the north would have sheltered the frail habitations from the winter winds. Fish and wild game, ever plentiful, could have been easily taken for food. This was probably the site of the village of three centuries and more ago.

Many traces of Indian occupancy have been discovered within a radius of a few miles of the mouth of the Rivanna, but all should not be attributed to the Monacan. The junction of two streams always attracted the Indian and it is evident others had lived there before the coming of the Siouan tribes to the valley of the James.

It is believed that the members of the five tribes or groups mentioned in the present sketch had similar manners and customs, and that all disposed of their dead as did the people of Monasukapanough, whose village stood on the banks of the Rivanna far above Rassawek.

Consequently the discovery of other sites along the course of the James, where the dead had been buried in shallow pits scattered through the village, suggests that some other tribe or tribes may have preceded the Monacan. Numerous signs of Indian occupancy have been encountered on Elk Island, a large island in the James a short distance below the mouth of the Rivanna, but there is no reason to believe it was ever occupied by the important village of Rassawek. The burials discovered on the island do not appear to have been of Monacan origin; however, related Siouan tribes could have occupied this and other sites in the valley of the James.

MONAHASSANUGH

As Mooney has so clearly shown, the Monahassanugh of Smith were the Tutelo of later narratives. To quote from his interesting work¹ (p. 37): "The Tutelo and Saponi tribes must be considered together. Their history under either name begins in 1670. . . . Monahassanugh and Nahysson are other forms of *Yesan*, the name given themselves by the last surviving Tutelo, and which seems to have been the generic term used by all the tribes of this connection to designate them as a people." And again (p. 31): "In Nahysson we have the Monahassanugh of Smith, the Hanohaskie of Batts, and the Yesang of Hale. The last is evidently the generic root word, the prefix *Mo*, *Mona*, or *Na* in the other forms probably giving a specific local application to the common term. Thus from Lederer's statement that Sapon was a Nahysson town we understand that the Saponi were a subtribe or division of the people who knew themselves as Yesang."

The ancient village of Monahassanugh is believed to have stood on the left bank of the James, about 1½ miles up the stream from Wingina, in Nelson County. The river is here bordered on the north, or left bank, by broad fertile bottom lands which extend for some miles above and below the site; while on the opposite side cliffs rise abruptly, steep, rugged and broken. The site resembles that of Mowhemcho or Monacan Town, although the relative position of the cliffs and low ground is reversed, the former being on the left bank of the river and the latter, which was occupied by the village, on the right.

Stone implements have been found scattered over much of the low ground, arrowheads of white quartz and of brownish quartzite have been recovered in vast quantities. Numerous fragments of

¹ Mooney, James, *The Siouan tribes of the East*. Bull. 22, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Washington, 1894.

pottery bearing the imprint of textiles, stone gorgets, pipes, etc., have been collected on the site—all proving the former existence here of an extensive, permanent village.

The site was visited by Fowke about the year 1892. He wrote:¹ “The Indian trail from the Shenandoah valley, through Rockfish gap, crossed James river at an island near Norwood. For 5 miles below in the river there is a succession of pools and rapids, with many large rocks in the channel which are covered only in time of high water. The hills on the south with scarcely an exception reach to the water, there being only a few narrow strips of level ground. On the north the bottom lands are wide and continuous.

“The only indications of Indian occupancy on the southern side in this vicinity are opposite the island. On the northern side, however, aboriginal remains may be found on every farm. They are most abundant on the lands . . . three miles below Norwood.

“The floods of 1870 and 1877 disclosed numerous small deposits, probably more than 200 in all, containing burned stones, pieces of pottery, arrowheads, and great quantities of quartz chips. They are in nearly straight rows, from 25 to 50 feet apart, and extend for several hundred yards along the river.” Many stone implements were discovered, and “all these things point to a village of considerable size, but a most careful search of the whole area, especially along the river bank and in the numerous gullies, failed to reveal a bone of any description.”

The material recovered was similar to that found on the site of Monasukapanough, on the banks of the Rivanna, to be described in the following section. The chipped ax- or celt-like implements found on both sites are the most characteristic of all the objects recovered. Three typical examples from the James River site are shown in figure 4, for comparison with others found on the banks of the Rivanna, plate 5.

Fowke's failure to discover a cemetery, or to find any traces of human remains, tends to strengthen the belief that this was a Siouan village where the burial customs were the same as those of the people of Monasukapanough, related tribes having the same customs and ways of life. Undoubtedly a large burial mound, or possibly several, once stood on the low grounds bordering the left bank of the James. These, the “Indian Graves” of early records, were probably to have been encountered in many localities, but were destined to be destroyed when the land was cleared and cultivated; soon all traces

¹ Fowke, Gerard, Archeologic investigations in James and Potomac Valleys. Bull. 23, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Washington, 1894.

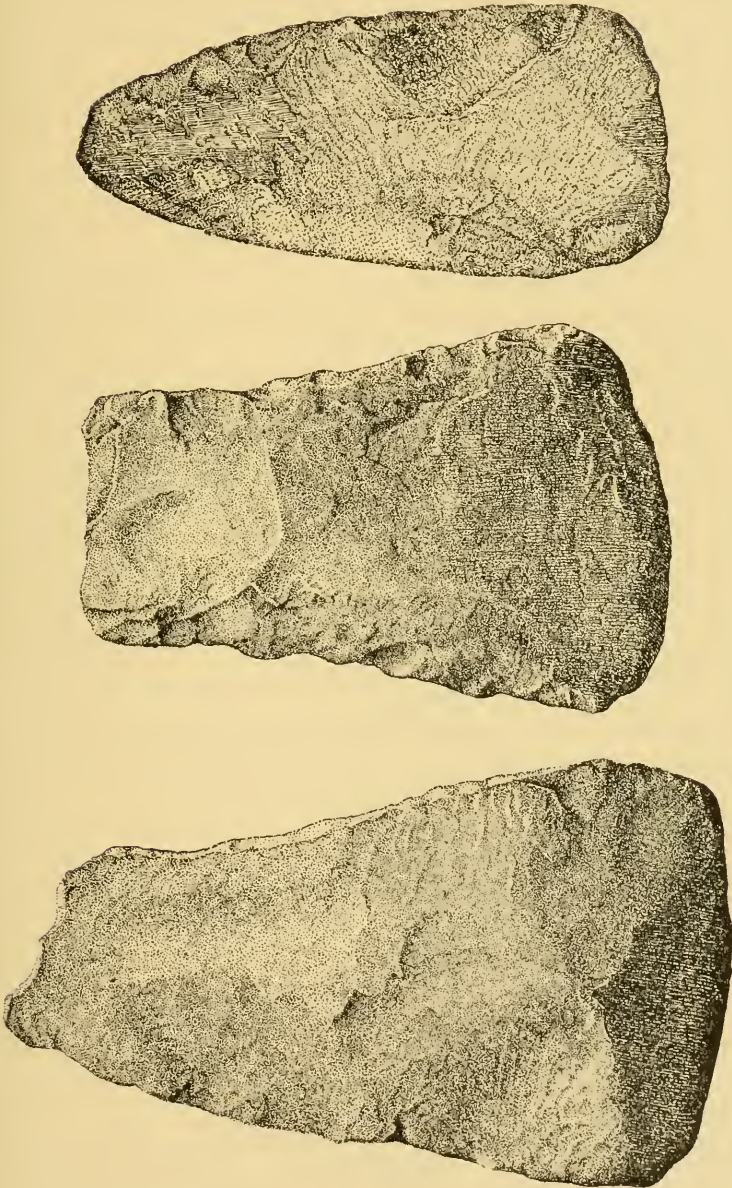


FIG. 4.—Implements found on the site of Monahassanugh. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 136175)

of the mounds disappeared and their existence was forgotten. However the mound which stood on the bank of the Rivanna was to live in history, and the careful manner in which it was examined by Jefferson will ever be of interest.

About the year 1654 many Indians came from a distance and "settled down near the falls of James river, to the number of six or seven hundred."¹ It appears they came to seek a new home, in no manner antagonistic to the colonists and desiring peace. However, after they had been there some months the English endeavored to expel them and this resulted in one of the greatest and most disastrous battles ever fought by early settlers and Indians. Totopotomi and his Pamunkey warriors had become allies of the English, but he and the majority of his followers fell when the entire force was routed and defeated. The identity of the Indians who had thus come to the region of the falls to seek a peaceful home, and who proved themselves such worthy warriors, has never been determined. The name Rechaecrician or Rickohockan has been applied to them, believed by some to have been the Cherokee, although it was Mooney's later belief that they were Erie who had come southward. However, a statement by Lederer makes it appear they were the people of two Monacan groups, the Massinacack and Monahassanugh, who may have come from farther up the James to settle a new home more protected from the war parties of the Iroquois.

As has already been explained the *Mahocks* and *Nahyssans* of Lederer were probably the Massinacack and Monahassanugh of Smith and other early writers. Thus when Lederer mentioned the great encounter and said: "a great Indian king called Tottopotoma was heretofore slain in battle, fighting for the Christians against the Mahocks and Nahyssans"² he did not doubt the identity of the people against whom the English and the Pamunkey allies fought. Lederer, on his map, gave the name *Rickohockans* to a tribe then living far to the westward beyond the mountains. The name or term has never been clearly understood or translated, and with slight variation of spelling has been used to designate several tribes in widely separated parts of the country. But the word may have been a term applied under certain conditions and not the definite name of any tribe or group of tribes. If this belief is correct it could have been applied to Siouan as well as to Iroquoian or other tribes.

The Rickohockans, so-called, were to Lederer a vague group, evidently known to him only during his travels away from the English

¹ Hening, I, p. 402.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

settlements. Had he associated them in any way with the great battle he would undoubtedly have mentioned them in that connection, but this he failed to do. The Algonquian and Monacan tribes had ever been enemies, it was known as early as 1608, and this fact may explain the willingness with which Totopotomi and the Pamunkey warriors joined the English in attacking their ancient tribal enemies.

MONASUKAPANOUGH

This name, as it appears on the Smith map, corresponds with the position of an extensive village site on the banks of the Rivanna, in Albemarle County, directly north of the University of Virginia and about one-half mile up the river from the bridge of the Southern Railway. At that point the Rivanna makes a wide bend, flowing from the west, then turning and continuing in a southeastwardly direction. On the right or south bank there is a wide, fertile bottom, bounded on the north by the river and on the south by cliffs sloping to the low grounds. On the left or north bank of the stream the bottom is far less extensive than on the opposite side, but it is rather higher and less liable to be overflowed, and the cliffs are nearer the river. This is believed to have been the site of the ancient settlement of Monasukapanough. The village appears to have occupied both sides of the river, with a ford that made it possible to pass from one side to the other, although canoes were probably in constant use on the stream. A plan of the region is shown in figure 5.

The translation of the name of the village has not been determined, nor has that of the name of the related settlement which stood on the bank of the James. As mentioned there is a ford across the Rivanna at this place—shallow water—which may have to do with the first part of the name. This is suggested by statements by William Byrd, in the year 1728, during the running of the line between Virginia and North Carolina,¹ when he had an old Saponi Indian acting as guide. To quote from the remarkable narrative (p. 42): On September 28 "We proceeded to the canoe landing on Roanoke, where we passed the river with the baggage. But the horses were directed to a ford about a mile higher, called by the Indians *Moni-seep*, which signifies, in their jargon, shallow-water. This is the Ford where the Indian traders used to cross with their horses, in their way to the Catawba nation." And on October 2 they crossed a large creek "which the Indians called *Massa-moni*, signifying, in their language, Paint

¹Byrd, William, *The Westover manuscripts: containing the history of the dividing line. . . . Petersburg, 1841.*

creek, because of the great quantity of red ochre found in its banks." Later on the same day they crossed another creek called "in the Saponi language, Ohimpa-moni, signifying jumping creek, from the frequent jumping of fish during the spring season." It would now be interesting to know if the name Jumping Branch, applied at the present time to a branch of Hardware River, in Albemarle County, perpetuates an ancient Siouan name.

Mooney was of the belief that Monasukapanough was possibly "the original of Saponi." There is little reason to doubt the correct-

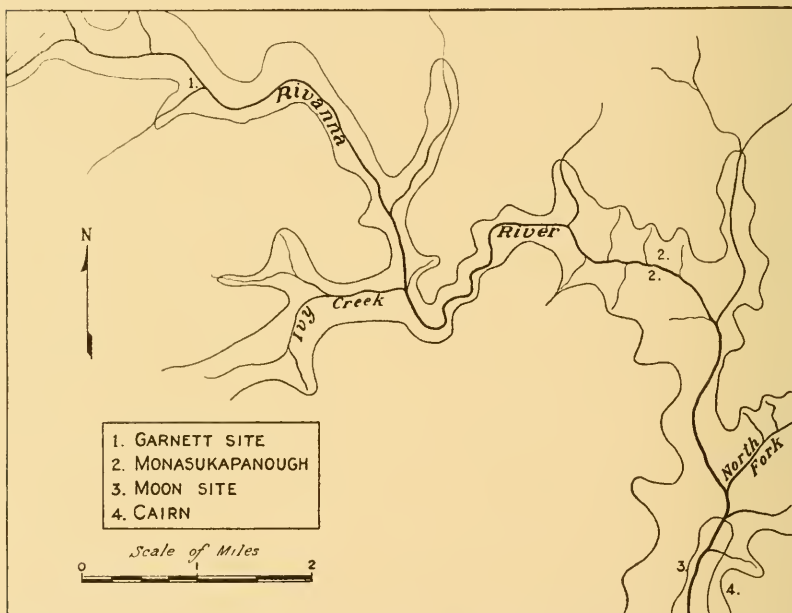


FIG. 5.—A section of the Rivanna Valley, in Albemarle County, Virginia, showing the position of Monasukapanough and lesser sites.

ness of this belief. Lederer stated that he "arrived at Sapon, a village of the Nahyssans." The latter, as previously shown, were the Monahassanugh whose name appears on the map of 1624. Therefore it is quite evident that at the time of the settlement of Jamestown, 1607, the site on the banks of the Rivanna was occupied by the Saponi, closely allied with the Monahassanugh or Tutelo, whose village stood on the bank of the James some miles away in a southwesterly direction.

Had it not been for the work and interest of Jefferson, no account of the great burial mound which once stood at the ancient village of Monasukapanough would now be available. It would have disappeared

as have the burial places once belonging to other villages of the Siouan tribes and no reference to it would have been preserved. The site of the Indian town was visible from Monticello, and the burial mound stood near the south, or right bank of the Rivanna within the area shown in plate 2. Jefferson desired to know the nature of the contents of the work and, so he wrote¹ (p. 139): "For this purpose I determined to open and examine it thoroughly. It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork, and opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town. It was of spheroidal form, of about 40 feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this it was covered with trees of 12 inches diameter, and round the base was an excavation of five feet depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken of which the hillock was formed. I first dug superficially in several parts of it, and came to collections of human bones, at different depths, from six inches to three feet below the surface. These were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled, and held together in clusters by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together, as, for instance, the small bones of the foot in the hollow of a scull, many sculls would sometimes be in contact, lying on the face, on the side, on the back, top or bottom, so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered over with earth, without any attention to their order." And to continue: "I proceeded then to make a perpendicular cut through the body of the barrow, that I might examine its internal structure. This passed about three feet from its center, was opened to the former surface of the earth, and was wide enough for a man to walk through and examine its sides. At the bottom, that is, on the level of the circumjacent plain, I found bones; above these a few stones, brought from a cliff a quarter of a mile off, and from the river one-eighth of a mile off; then a large interval of earth, then a stratum of bones, and so on. At one end of the section were four strata of bones plainly distinguishable; at the other, three; the strata in one part not ranging with those in another. The bones nearest the surface were least decayed . . . Appearances certainly indicate that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomed collection of bones, and deposition of them together; that the first collection had been deposited on the common

¹ Jefferson, Thomas, Notes on the State of Virginia. Philadelphia, 1794.

surface of the earth, a few stones put over it, and then a covering of earth, that the second had been laid on this, had covered more or less of it in proportion to the number of bones, and was then also covered with earth; and so on."

There is reason to believe some Indians continued to occupy the site until after the beginning of the 18th century. They may have been few in number, but among the number must have been some who were descendants of others who had lived there when Monasukapanough was a large village. As late as the middle of the century some were living who knew of the burial place of their dead. Jefferson, referring to the mound which he had examined, told how "a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or enquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, then returned to the high road, which they had left about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey." Only those who had retained a memory of the burial place could, or would, have made such a pilgrimage.

The exact position of the mound may never be determined, but it certainly stood on the low ground, on the right bank of the Rivanna, evidently nearer the river than the cliffs, and it may have been some distance above the ford.

During the month of June, 1911, I examined part of the low ground in the endeavor to find some trace of the native village to which the burial mound had belonged. Nothing was discovered on the surface; all had been covered in the past years. Nine excavations were made about 50 yards from the river bank, and beginning about that same distance west of the road leading to the ford. One excavation was 30 feet in length, others were 5 or 6 feet square, all were 2 feet or more in depth. In seven of the nine excavations small fragments of pottery were encountered at an average depth of about 20 inches, bits of quartz and quartzite, and pieces of charcoal were also met with in some excavations. No traces of bones of any sort were found. The superstratum, some 20 inches in thickness, represents the alluvium deposited by the river since the village was occupied, and may have resulted from one or more freshets during the past century. The greatest freshet known was in 1877, at which time, so it is said, most of the low ground was overflowed to a great depth. When the waters receded some parts of the area were covered with a thick deposit of sand while on other sections the soil had been washed away and the surface lowered. Many stone objects of Indian origin were exposed.

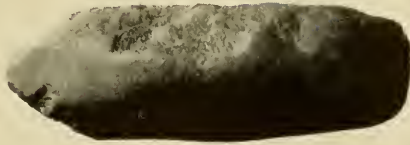


The site of Monasukapanough looking south from the cliffs north of the Rivanna. The stream is hidden by the trees bordering its banks.

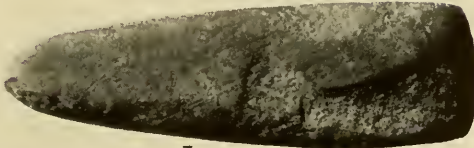


Object found on the site of Monasukapanough, suggesting a human head.
Exact size.

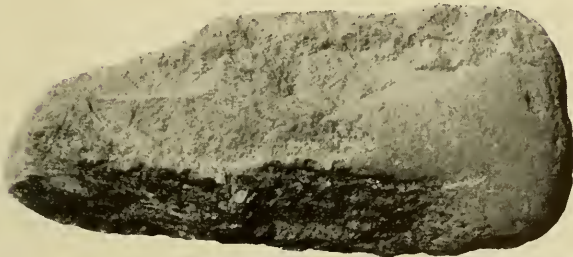
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350136)



a



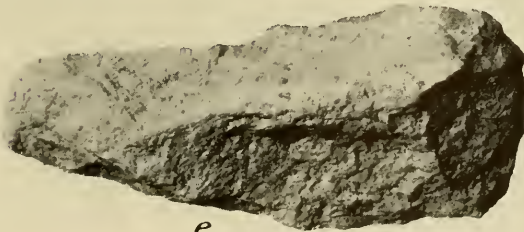
b



c

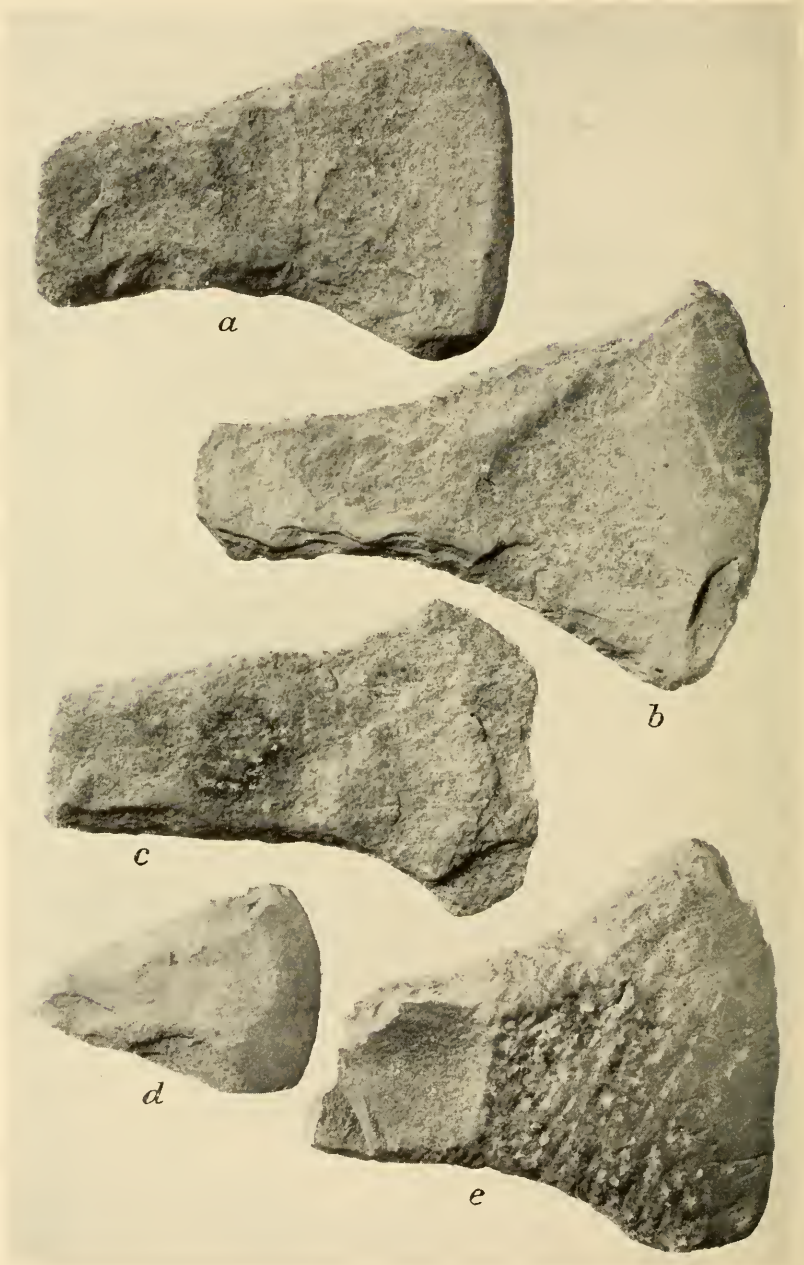


d

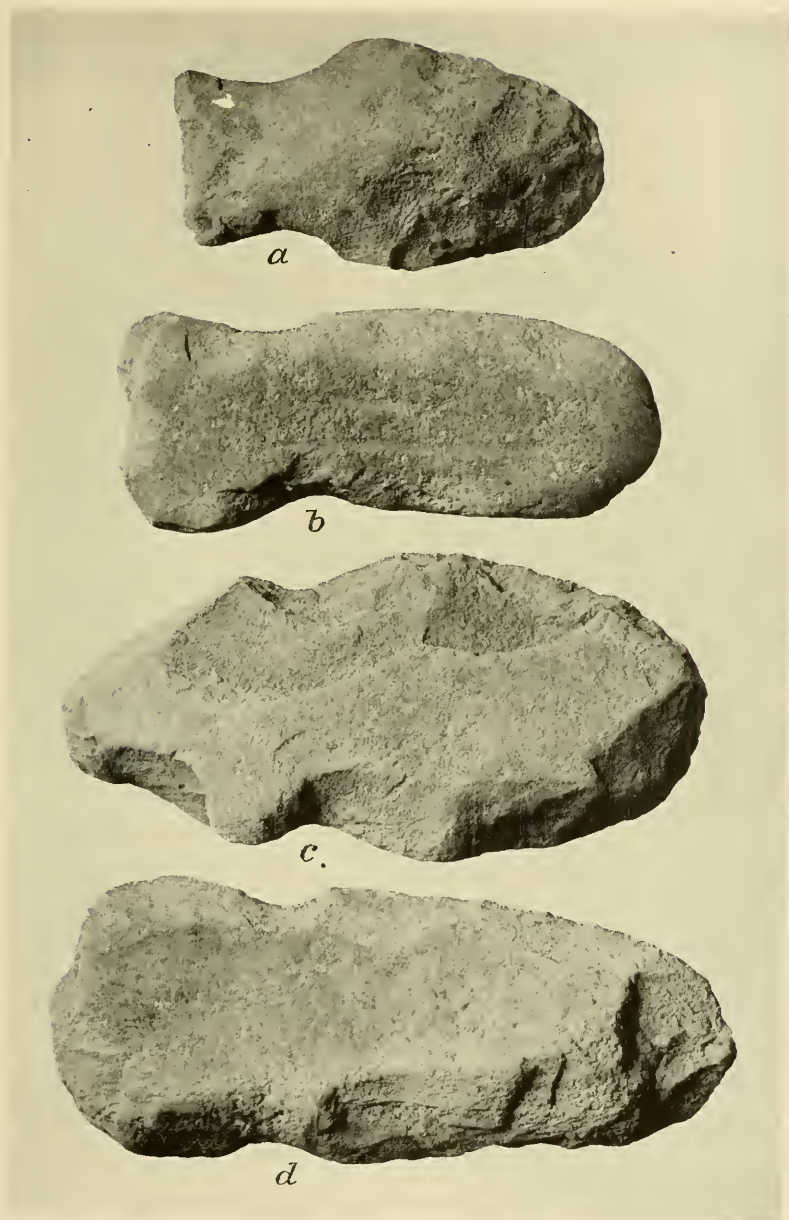


e

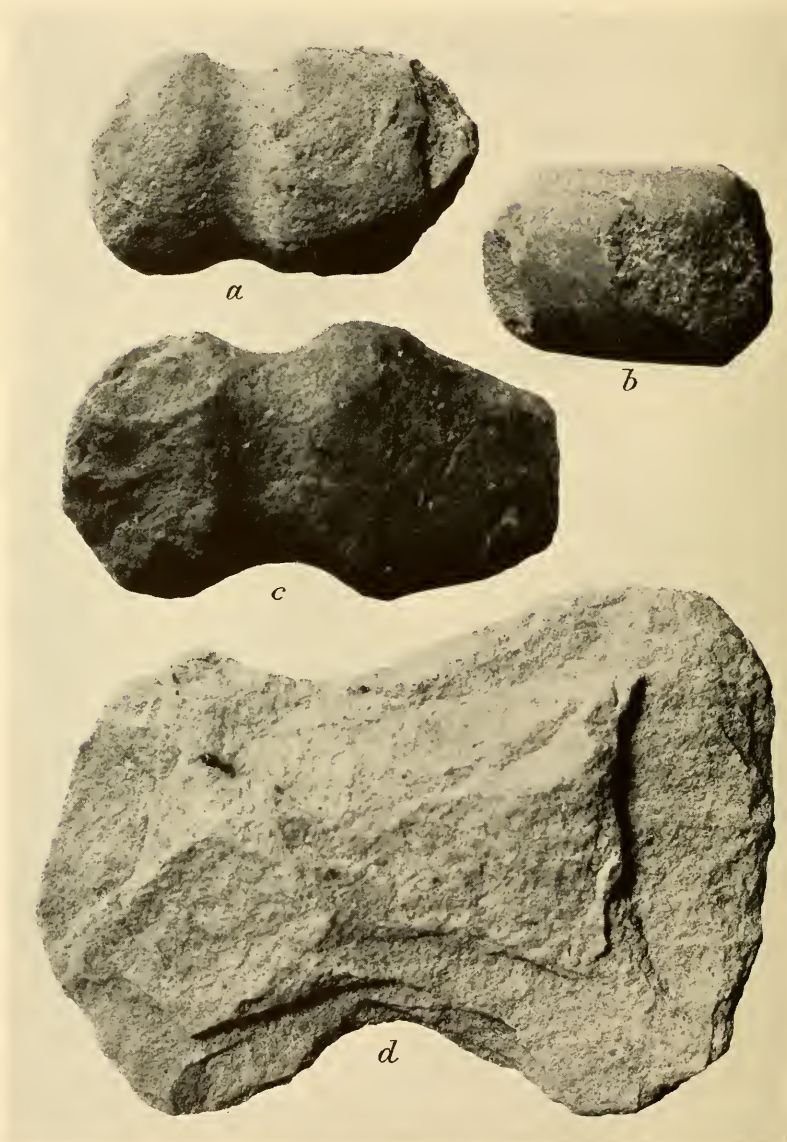
Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: *a*, 350101; *b*, 350102; *c*, 350107; *d*, 350109; *e*, 350110)



Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: *a*, 350114; *b*, 350115; *c*, 350116; *d*, 350117; *e*, 350118)



Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: a, 350120; b, 350121; c, 350122; d, 350123)



Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: a. 350124; b. 350139; c. 350125; d. 350126)

Axes, discoidal stones, and numerous chipped implements are mentioned as having been discovered, but now all are scattered and lost. Undoubtedly a great number of interesting specimens could have been collected at that time, proving it to have been the site of an extensive native village. Evidently Jefferson did not suspect the existence of part of the great village on the side of the river on which the mound stood. He mentioned the hills on the opposite side "on which had been an Indian town," which may have been the more important part of the settlement, as it has now become the more interesting.

ON THE LEFT BANK

Much of that which precedes refers to conditions on the right bank of the Rivanna, but the great village also occupied some ground on the opposite side of the stream. The land on the north or left bank rises rather abruptly from the water, continues quite level for 100 yards or more and then becomes much higher. This comparatively level area of some 20 acres or more is thus bounded on one side by the Rivanna and on the east and north by rising ground which in some places is quite steep. On the west the cliffs approach the river. Several large springs issue from the surface on the site of the village. Before the land was cleared of timber the ground was necessarily irregular and broken, and was traversed by several gullies extending from the bordering cliffs to the river, worn deep by the waters flowing from the springs which would have supplied the wants of the settlement. The area has now been cultivated for many years, the surface leveled and worn down by the plow, but while it remained in its natural condition surrounded as it was by wooded cliffs, it would have appeared hilly and broken; these were the hills on which Jefferson said "had been an Indian town."

The central portion of the level area is the more elevated and slopes gradually to the west and east. It is believed this part has never been covered by the waters of the Rivanna although the lower ground has been overflowed several times within recent years, always leaving deposits of sand and alluvium on the surface.

A general view of the site is reproduced in plate 2. This was taken from the high land on the north. In the foreground is the section north of the river; the course of the stream is indicated by the line of trees bordering its banks. Beyond is the low ground on the right bank of the river, with the cliffs rising in the distance.

Many stone objects have been discovered scattered over the surface of the higher part of the level ground where they may never have been covered by water, even at the times of great freshets. The

specimens have thus remained since they were lost or abandoned by the last inhabitants of the village—believed to have been the Saponi, who left the site some time before the year 1670, although some may have lingered behind. About 70 years later colonists entered the valley of the Rivanna. The ground has now been cultivated for many years and, undoubtedly, numerous objects both large and small have been broken by the plow, but some of unusual interest have been discovered within the past few years.

The material collected on the surface consists of objects of stone, both chipped and polished, and numerous fragments of pottery, many of which bear the imprint of textiles. No specimens made of shell, bone, or metal have been discovered, and nothing of European origin to suggest contact with the colonists has been encountered on the site.

Many of the stone implements, or weapons, are crudely made, but with edges worn and polished as a result of much use. These are seldom broken or incomplete although a number of fragments of well made polished celts have been found, as well as more perfect specimens with only the cutting edge battered or fractured, suggesting rough usage. Perfect or complete objects of the finer workmanship are not found. This fact is difficult to explain unless the better pieces were carried away when, as it is believed, the majority of the people of the village moved to another locality during the latter part of the 17th century. The crudely chipped implements may have been made by the last native inhabitants of the site, thus representing the close of the stone age in this part of Virginia.

The material collected on this very interesting site is now in the United States National Museum and will be briefly described.

A very unusual specimen is shown in plate 3, the photograph being exact size; material, greenish gray chlorite schist. It was found by the writer on the surface near the center of the site, October, 1928. This suggests a human head with a pointed base; extreme height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, thickness from front to back $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The material is comparatively soft and the surface of the stone has probably become smooth and somewhat worn away during the years since it was made, thus losing some of its sharpness and detail which it might otherwise have possessed. The true meaning or purpose of the object is not known, but it at once suggests Beverley's reference to an idol which he discovered in a temple belonging to one of the Algonquian tribes of Virginia, probably about the year 1700. The various parts of the idol were found with the exception of the head, which had been removed and secreted. This small stone head, although found on the site of a Siouan village, may have been some-

thing of the same sort. The pointed projection was undoubtedly fashioned to be inserted in a base or body to hold it in an upright position. Unfortunately very little is known of the customs and beliefs of the people who once occupied the ancient village.

Chipped objects, usually with ground edges and showing evidence of much use, are quite numerous on the site and many have been discovered during the past few years. All are crudely made—rough but apparently well suited for some definite purpose. The actual use of these specimens is not known although the majority may have been implements used in and about the village. Possibly some were hafted to serve as hoes in the gardens, others may have been inserted in wooden handles forming serviceable weapons. Four distinct forms are recognizable but no attempt will be made to distinguish them by name. They will be described and referred to as types A, B, C, and D. Examples of the four types, belonging to the collection, are illustrated in the plates.

Type A, plate 4. This is the simplest form. The great majority are made of greenstone, which occurs on the site. The two specimens at the top of the plate are exceptionally well made—far superior to the average. The cutting edge is sharp and well ground. The three examples below are rather more characteristic and many similar pieces have been recovered. The cutting edge of the largest of the three has been battered and worn away, causing it to become concave, as is shown in the photograph. However, the extremities of the edge, both above and below, are smoothed from use.

Type B, plate 5. These are the most interesting and distinctive objects found on the site. The flaring blade is quite unusual, and the narrow base suggests the use of a wooden handle in which the stone may have been inserted. Similar specimens have been recovered from the site of Monahassanugh, on the bank of the James. (Compare fig. 4.)

Type C, plate 6. Examples of this type are widely distributed throughout piedmont Virginia and eastward. All are recognized by the slight grooves on the narrow, opposite sides. They vary somewhat in detail, but are usually very rough, crudely made, and very often with the surface greatly weathered. These are far more numerous than the better made specimens with ground or polished surfaces and clearly defined grooves. Two of the latter are shown in plate 7.

Type D, plate 7. A type specimen is shown at the bottom of the plate, the distinguishing feature being the two cutting edges at opposite ends. A number of examples of this type have been discovered on the site but the majority are crude and roughly made, some being

fashioned from natural pebbles, and evidently intended for hard usage. However, two other specimens, quite similar to the type specimen which is illustrated, were found. The three were discovered within a very small area. All are rather massive and approximately the same size. The hafting evidently passed across the middle and rested in the two slight grooves. The fourth specimen shown in this plate is a fragment of a well finished implement which, after having been broken, was used as a hammer. The two ends show the effect of long use, being much battered and worn. In this condition it may or may not have been attached to a handle.

With very few exceptions all specimens illustrated in the four plates are made of greenstone or a related rock. Some are more weathered than others, but whether this condition should be attributed to greater age of the object or to the material of which it is made has not been determined.

Small stone objects, in addition to the numerous arrowheads and related forms, are found scattered over the surface of the site of the village. Thus far very few have been recovered, and although they are often fractured, they tend nevertheless to reveal some part of the art of the inhabitants of the ancient settlement. Examples are illustrated in the upper part of plate 8. Top row: *a* is a curious object made of soapstone. It appears to be complete and suggests, in form, the claw of a bear. It is believed to have been a fetish rather than an implement of any sort. Next, *b* is a small stone disk, maximum diameter $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches, thickness $\frac{5}{16}$ inch. It is made of an igneous rock, and the surface is now brownish and greatly weathered. There appear to have been two small perforations on the edge less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch apart, but this part of the original surface has been broken away, allowing only a section of the perforations to remain. The third specimen on this row, *c*, is a fragment of a well made, polished tablet which had probably been perforated. Its greatest thickness is about $\frac{7}{16}$ inch; material, reddish brown slate.

Below the three pieces just described are four objects which may be termed tools. The use of *d* and *e* is not known, but the two chipped specimens, *f* and *g*, show evidence of having been used as scrapers. Both are made of chert.

On the lower part of plate 8 are shown typical examples of projectile points, *h*, together with some larger pieces which may have served as knives. All are made of grayish quartzite. There is also an excellent example of a disk or blade, *i*, being one of two similar specimens discovered on the surface of the slope of the hill rising just east of the site. The greatest thickness of this piece is less than one inch; material, grayish quartzite.

Fragments of two banner stones were found. Both are made of the same material, a light greenish-gray talc schist. The larger piece represents about one-half of the entire specimen. As restored it is shown in figure 6, full size.

The majority of the arrowheads recovered from the surface of the site are made of the white quartz which is so plentiful throughout the region. And of these more than one-half are of the simple triangular type, without notches. Many are roughly made. Examples are presented in plate 9, figure 2.

Two specimens are illustrated on this plate in addition to the quartz points. Plate 9, figure 1, *a*, is a pitted hammer stone made of quartzite greatly weathered. On it are two pits, on opposite sides. The second

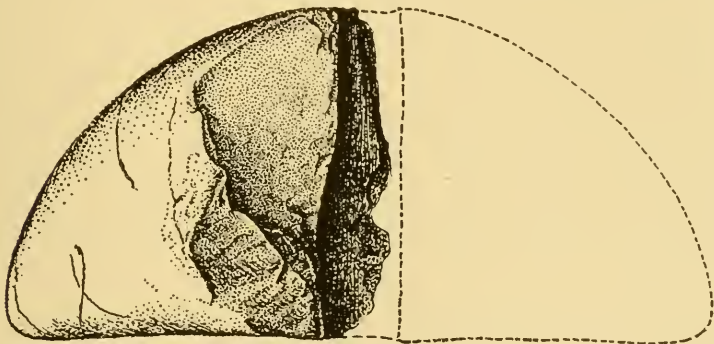


FIG. 6.—Banner stone as restored. Found on the site of Monasukapanough.
Natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nq. 350135)

specimen, *b*, is smooth and worn; material, quartzite; thickness $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This may have been a chukey stone, used in the game, although its shape suggests a muller, or *mano* stone, which could have been used in conjunction with a mortar of the form shown in plate 10, figure 2. This mortar was discovered near the center of the site; material, coarse sandstone which occurs on the hill just east of the low ground; extreme length of slab of stone $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth of depression 1 inch.

USE OF SOAPSTONE

A small object made of soapstone has already been described. Three fragments of vessels made of the same material have been found on the surface, but no trace of a tobacco pipe or of an ornament of any sort has been encountered. However, there is proof that small pieces of the stone were worked into shape. It is evident bits of the stone

were carried from the quarries to the village, there to be cut and made into finished products, but what they were has not been discovered.

Four small pieces of soapstone have recently been found on the site, not far from the left bank of the Rivanna and all close together. These show the effect of having been sawed on opposite sides, then broken apart. Three of the specimens are figured in plate 10, figure 1, and reveal clearly the shallow grooves worn in the soft stone during the process of cutting. A piece of stone had probably been used in sawing the comparatively soft material, and this had evidently been quite thick as is indicated by the angle of the cut surface of the remaining portion.

Another specimen of soapstone, showing the effect of sawing and breaking, is in the collection of the National Museum (U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 170257). This was found at the junction of the Dan and Staunton Rivers, near Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, where the two streams unite to form the Roanoke. Eastward, in the adjoining county of Brunswick, stood Fort Christanna. The region was much frequented by Indians, and the Saponi and Tutelo—the ancient inhabitants of Monasukapanough and Monahassanough—are known to have occupied islands in the Roanoke for a short period during their southern movement, before turning northward to settle at Fort Christanna.

CORDS, TEXTILES, AND BASKETRY AS REVEALED BY
IMPRESSIONS ON POTTERY

The journal written by Col. William Byrd while engaged in running the dividing line between Virginia and Carolina contains much interesting information. In it are many references to the beliefs and customs of the Indians, and much of this is believed to have been related by Bearskin, the old Saponi hunter and guide from the village near Fort Christanna, who accompanied the expedition and served it so faithfully.

On November 10, 1728, Byrd wrote in part:¹ "One of the men, who had been an old Indian trader, brought me a stem of silk grass, which was about as big as my little finger. But, being so late in the year that the leaf was fallen off, I am not able to describe the plant. The Indians use it in all their little manufactures, twisting a thread of it that is prodigiously strong. Of this they make their baskets and the aprons which their women wear about their middles, for decency's sake. These are long enough to wrap quite round them and

¹ Byrd, William, *The Westover manuscripts: containing the history of the dividing line. . . .* Petersburg, 1841.

reach down to their knees, with a fringe on the under part by way of ornament.”

The plant to which Byrd referred was undoubtedly a milkweed, probably *Asclepias pulchra*, often termed Indian hemp, and known to many persons in this part of Virginia as silk weed. The long fiber is easily detached from the stalk, and when twisted forms a very tough and strong cord.

Milkweed is plentiful throughout the region, and the fiber derived from the stem was undoubtedly used by the people who occupied the ancient village which stood on the banks of the Rivanna. Innumerable small fragments of pottery have been recovered from the surface of the site, many of which bear the imprint of cords or of basketry. These fragments have been found on both sides of the river, but all examples to be considered at this time have been collected on the left bank and, with few exceptions, have been found within 50 yards of the water. The land has been plowed and harrowed for many years and as a consequence it is seldom that a piece of pottery more than an inch in length can be discovered. Much of it may never have been very hard and the bits have now worn away until the impressions on the surface of many have become faint and scarcely discernible. Casts of nine small pieces are shown natural size in plate 11, figure 2. These are the clearest impressions selected from several hundred.

The specimen in the middle of the top row is unusually hard and compact, and for that reason the impression of cords has remained very clear and distinct. It is an interesting fragment, but whether it represents basketry or cloth has not been determined. On either side of this are examples of coarser cords. The small triangular fragment in the middle of the bottom row, and likewise the specimen on the left, is believed to represent a form of basketry. No piece yet found bears the imprint of a coarse, net-like material.

White quartz, pulverized or reduced to very small pieces, was mixed with the clay of which the vessels were made.

As mentioned, the great majority of fragments of pottery have been found near the left bank of the river, where the ground is relatively high and has seldom been overflowed. A few pieces of rock showing the effect of fire together with small bits of charcoal have been revealed by the plow near the highest point of the bank, some 20 yards from the water. Quantities of flakes of quartz, quartzite, chert, and some of jasper occur on this part of the site, and near by were found the several pieces of worked soapstone already described. This may have been a much frequented section of the village and possibly sweat houses once occupied the high ground overlooking

the water, with the mat- or bark-covered habitations scattered through the surrounding wooded area—now cultivated lands where the crude stone implements are found.

Many objects have already been recovered from the site but it is expected that others, of equal or even greater interest, may be discovered during the continued examination of the area, to be described at another time.

THE "SAPPONEY INDIAN TOWN"

There is no known record of a white man having visited Monasukapanough, the ancient Saponi village on the banks of the Rivanna, and consequently no description of the settlement has been preserved. It was probably an extensive and important center. It is believed that some time before the year 1670 the people, or at least the greater part of them, moved from the valley of the Rivanna and went southward to establish a new village which, according to Mooney, "was probably on Otter river, a northern tributary of the Roanoke, in what is now Campbell county, Virginia, nearly south of Lynchburg."¹ Here they were visited by Lederer in 1670, and by the Batts party during the following year, but these explorers failed to describe the settlement. Soon the movement was resumed; they wandered far, nearly reaching the center of North Carolina, later returning to Virginia.

A generation after their first contact with Europeans, through the influence of Governor Spotswood, the Saponi and remnants of other tribes became established in the vicinity of Fort Christanna, about 10 miles north of Roanoke River, in the present Brunswick County, Virginia.

Although the Saponi had undoubtedly changed greatly from their primitive state, yet they must have retained many of the manners and ways of life practiced in earlier years at their ancient home on the Rivanna. An interesting and at this time most valuable account of the people as they appeared in the spring of 1716 is to be found in the journal of one who visited them at that time.² The journal is a record of a journey made by Fontaine and Governor Spotswood from Williamsburg to Fort Christanna and return during the first ten days of April, 1716. To quote from the journal: "*The 5th day.*—After breakfast, I went down to the Sapponey Indian town, which is about a musket-shot from the fort. I walked round to view it. It lieth in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

² Journal of John Fontaine. In *Memoirs of a Huguenot family*, by Ann Maury. New York, 1853.

a plain by the river-side, the houses join all the one to the other, and altogether make a circle; the walls are large pieces of timber which are squared, and being sharpened at the lower end, are put down two feet in the ground, and stand about seven feet above the ground. These posts are laid as close as possible the one to the other, and when they are all fixed after this manner, they make a roof with rafters, and cover the house with oak or hickory bark, which they strip off in great flakes, and lay it so closely that no rain can come in. Some Indian houses are covered in a circular manner, which they do by getting long saplings, sticking each end in the ground, and so covering them with bark; but there are none of the houses in this town so covered. There are three ways for entering into this town or circle of houses, which are passages of about six feet wide, between two of the houses. All the doors are on the inside of the ring, and the ground is very level withinside, which is in common between all the people to divert themselves. There is in the centre of the circle a great stump of a tree; I asked the reason they left that standing, and they informed me it was for one of their head men to stand upon when he had anything of consequence to relate to them, so that being raised, might the better be heard." Continuing he described briefly the interior of the structures: "Their houses are pretty large, they have no garrets, and no other light than the door, and that which comes from the hole in the top of the house which is to let out the smoke. They make their fires always in the middle of the house; the chief of their household goods is a pot and some wooden dishes and trays, which they make themselves; they seldom have any thing to sit upon, but squat upon the ground; they have small divisions in their houses to sleep in, which they make of mats made of bullrushes; they have bedsteads, raised about two feet from the ground, upon which they lay bear and deer skins, and all the covering they have is a blanket. These people have no sort of tame creatures, but live entirely upon their hunting and the corn which their wives cultivate. They live as lazily and miserably as any people in the world.

"Between the town and the river, upon the river side, there are several little huts built with wattles, in the form of an oven, with a small door in one end of it; these wattles are plaistered without side very closely with clay, they are big enough to hold a man, and are called sweating-houses. When they have any sickness, they get ten or twelve pebble stones which they heat in the fire, and when they are red-hot they carry them into these huts, and the sick man or woman goes in naked, only a blanket with him, and they shut the

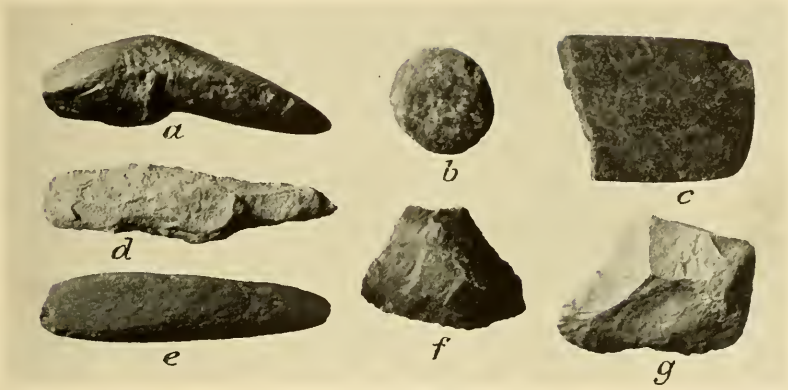
door upon them, and there they sit and sweat until they are no more able to support it, and then they go out naked and immediately jump into the water over head and ears, and this is the remedy they have for all distempers."

The appearance of the Indians, and the manner in which the Governor was received the day of his arrival at the fort, was told by Fontaine. He wrote in his journal: "About three of the clock, came sixty of the young men with feathers in their hair and run through their ears, their faces painted with blue and vermilion, their hair cut in many forms, some on one side of the head, and some on both, and others on the upper part of the head, making it stand like a cock's-comb, and they had blue and red blankets wrapped about them. They dress themselves after this maner when they go to war the one with the other, so they call it their war dress, and it really is very terrible, and makes them look like so many furies. These young men made no speeches, they only walked up and down, seeming to be very proud of their most abominable dress.

"After this came the young women; they all have long straight black hair, which comes down to the waist, they had each of them a blanket tied round the waist, and hanging down about the legs like a petticoat. They have no shifts, and most of them nothing to cover them from the waist upwards; others of them there were that had two deer skins sewed together and thrown over their shoulders like a mantle. They all of them grease their bodies and heads with bear's oil, which, with the smoke of their cabins, gives them an ugly smell. They are very modest and very true to their husbands. They are straight and well limbed, good shape, and extraordinary good features, as well the men as the women. They look wild, and are mighty shy of an Englishman, and will not let you touch them. The men marry but one wife, and cannot marry any more until she die, or grow so old that she cannot bear any more children; then the man may take another wife, but is obliged to keep them both and maintain them. They take one another without ceremony."

The children were bound to boards that were "cut after the shape of the child," with two pieces at the bottom to which the child's legs were tied. A cord passed through a hole in the top of the board with which it could be attached to a limb of a tree, "or to a pin in a post for that purpose, and there the children swing about and divert themselves, out of the reach of any thing that may hurt them." They were kept in this manner until they were about two years of age.

Governor Spotswood was evidently greatly interested in the Indians and on April 6, 1716, "asked the boys to dance a war dance,



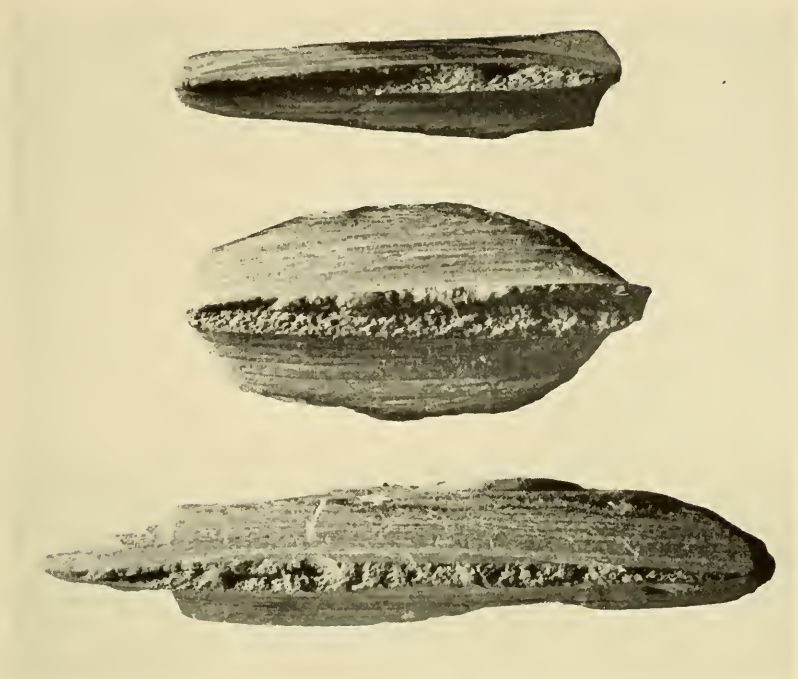
Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: a, 350130; b, 350133; c, 350134; d, 350131; e, 350132;
f, g, 350145; h, 350150; i, 350148)



1. *a*, pitted stone; *b*, mano stone, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. Nos.: *a*, 350140; *b*, 350141)



2. Objects found on the surface, Monasukapanough. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350151)



1. Three pieces of soapstone showing the effect of sawing, Monasukapanough.
Natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350137)

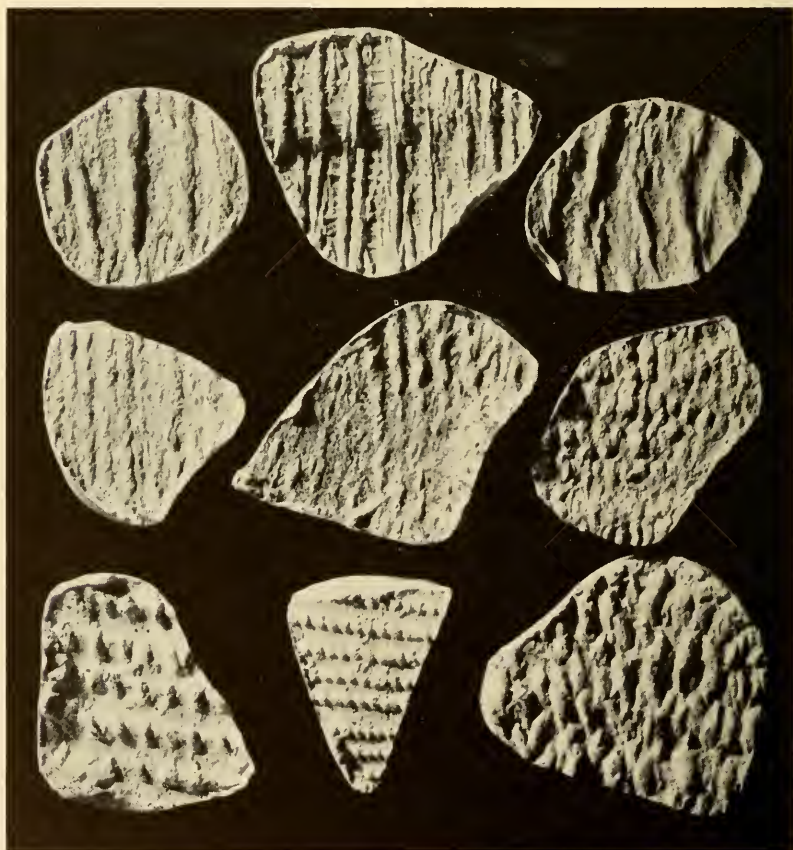


2. Sandstone mortar, Monasukapanough. About $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350142)



1. Fragments of rims of vessels, Monasukapanough. Natural size.



2. Casts of impressions on fragments of pottery, Monasukapanough.
Natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350154)

so they all prepared for it, and made a great ring; the musician being come, he sat himself in the middle of the ring; all the instrument he had was a piece of board and two small sticks; the board he set upon his lap, and began to sing a doleful tune, and by striking on the board with his sticks, he accompanied his voice; he made several antic motions, and sometimes shrieked hideously, which was answered by the boys. As the men sung, so the boys danced all round, endeavoring who could outdo the other in antic motions and hideous cries, the movements answering in some way to the time of the music. All that I could remark by their actions was, that they were representing how they attacked their enemies, and relating one to the other how many of the other Indians they had killed, and how they did it making all the motions in this dance as if they were actually in the action."

It is within reason to believe that among the Indians who gathered at the Saponi village early in April, 1716, to greet Governor Spotswood were some who, as children, had lived at Monasukapanough on the banks of the Rivanna. But during that period of wandering, changes had taken place in the habits and ways of life of the people; nevertheless much that was witnessed and recorded by Fontaine had probably been similarly enacted long before at the older town. The earthen pots and wooden dishes and trays, the mats made of bulrushes, the mantles made of two deer skins sewed together, and the small sweat houses standing near the river bank—all were details that would have been seen at the more primitive town on the Rivanna.

In 1728, 12 years after Governor Spotswood's visit to Fort Christanna, the line between Virginia and North Carolina was being run westward from the coast. On September 29 Col. William Byrd, of the Virginia commission, secured a Saponi Indian from the village near the fort to serve as guide and hunter for the party during the latter part of their journey through the wilderness. To the English he was known as Bearskin. He was worthy and capable, and kept the camp well supplied with game. On Sunday, October 13, he explained the religion of the Saponi which was recorded at length by Byrd—¹ a remarkable account of the primitive beliefs of a tribe of which so little is known.

The habitations at the Saponi village near Fort Christanna, as described by Fontaine in 1716, were quite unusual and are believed to have been of English conception. It is doubtful if any structure of a similar nature ever stood at Monasukapanough, where the small

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

habitations were undoubtedly the typical mat- or bark-covered lodges. But strongly made log structures were to have been encountered elsewhere in Virginia, and their occurrence was likewise recorded by Fontaine. In the month of June, the year before he visited the Saponi settlement with Governor Spotswood, Fontaine made a journey from Williamsburg to the German colony on the Rappahannock. He had crossed the Mattaponi and was in King William County when at some point on the left or north bank of the river, possibly about due north of the present Pamunkey Indian Reservation, he encountered a single Indian habitation. This was June 12, 1715, and he wrote in his journal that day:¹ "The day very windy. We see by the side of the road an Indian cabin, which was built with posts put into the ground, the one by the other as close as they could stand, and about seven feet high, all of an equal length. It was built four-square, and a sort of a roof upon it, covered with the bark of trees. They say it keeps out the rain very well. The Indian women were all naked, only a girdle they had tied round the waist, and about a yard of blanketing put between their legs, and fastened one end under the fore-part of the girdle, and the other behind. Their beds were mats made of bulrushes, upon which they lie, and have one blanket to cover them. All the household goods was a pot." Unfortunately Fontaine failed to record the name of the tribe to which this family belonged, but the lodge, its surroundings and the condition of its occupants, were probably characteristic of the time and country and were in no way exceptional. Indian families such as this, living off and apart from others, would undoubtedly have been found in many parts of tide-water and piedmont Virginia. And after the towns of Mowhemcho, Massinacack, and Rassawek ceased to be important settlements, as they were during the early years of the 17th century, many isolated cabins would have been encountered within "The Land called the Monscane."

The five Monacan towns, as they are known to have stood early in the 17th century, have now been mentioned. It is believed the identification of the sites is accurate and conclusive. And although the exact position of Rassawek has not been determined, it must be agreed that the settlement was situated somewhere within a rather restricted area between the James and Rivanna, on or near the right bank of the latter stream and not far from its mouth. No other Monacan villages were referred to by the early writers and if any existed they have been lost to history. But throughout the entire

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

region once dominated by the Siouan tribes—a region embracing the valley of the James from the falls to the mountains, where wild game was abundant and food easily procured—are to be found traces of the period of Indian occupancy; village and camp sites on the banks of streams, quarries where soapstone was obtained, and innumerable stone implements scattered over the surface. However, as said elsewhere, all must not be attributed to the Monacan tribes.

Scattered sites have been visited and examined and it is planned to describe them, together with the material collected, in a subsequent paper. Two localities will now be mentioned, both on the banks of the Rivanna, one above, the other below the site of Monasukapanough, and both believed to have been in some manner related to the great village.

GARNETT SITE

The site of the large village, believed to have been Monasukapanough, is on the banks of the South Branch of the Rivanna, the

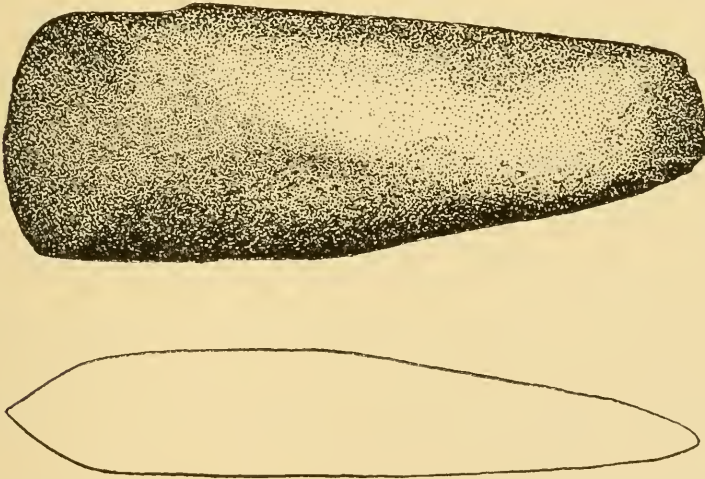


FIG. 7.—Double edged instrument found on the Garnett site. Natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 350156)

lesser North Branch joining it about 2 miles below. Some 7 miles above this site, and 1 mile or more below the junction of Moormans River and Mechum River—two streams which unite to form the South Branch of the Rivanna—is one of the best places for fishing on the entire river. On the right bank are great masses of rock against which the water flows to a depth of 10 feet or more. Cliffs reach near the bank on the opposite side. The water is usually clear and cold,

and shaded along the banks by overhanging trees. Just below this point a small creek flows into the Rivanna from the right or south. Evidences of a camp have been discovered near the creek, but whether it was large or small cannot be determined as the land has been cultivated for many years and the surface has often been covered by the waters of the river. Many objects of stone and some fragments of pottery have been found. The material is identical with that collected from the surface at Monasukapanough, which suggests that this may have been a fishing camp belonging to the people of the large village. The characteristic chipped ax- or celt-like implements are found here and the arrowheads are typical. One specimen from the site is quite rare. A small double edged chisel or celt, made of greenstone, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length. It is shown exact size in figure 7.

This is a beautiful spot, secluded and well protected, and could have been reached by canoe from the large settlement down the river.

MOON SITE

Jefferson described the mound which he examined as being on the low grounds of the Rivanna "about two miles above its principal fork." The "principal fork" is now known as the North Branch. Where the two branches unite the main stream bends and flows in a more southerly course. A wide bottom on the right extends far above and below the mouth of the North Branch, on the opposite side, but this is quite low and consequently often overflowed. Traces of an encampment were discovered near the south end of the low ground, back from the river where the surface begins to rise. Several stone implements, bits of pottery, and a single fragment of a well-finished soapstone vessel were found scattered over the surface. Also many chips of white quartz, and larger masses of the same from which smaller pieces had been broken. Two small, crudely made, grooved implements were found on the higher ground not far from the residence. They are typical examples of the widely distributed form shown in plate 6.

High rugged cliffs rise a short distance from the left bank of the river, opposite the southern part of the low grounds on the Moon plantation. Quantities of white quartz encountered here may have been one source of material for the making of arrowheads, and the pieces discovered on the Moon site had probably been carried across the stream from this outcropping. The cliffs and low grounds on the left side of the river are heavily timbered and with much undergrowth, and as a consequence it is very difficult to discover any traces of Indian occupancy.

A cairn formed of rather small stones, shown in plate 12, figure 2, about 3 feet in height and 15 feet in diameter, stands on the summit of the cliff overlooking this part of the low grounds. The cliff is here a narrow ridge and the cairn commands an extensive view of the county westward to the Blue Ridge and in the opposite direction across the intervening valley to the South Western Mountain. This is about 1 mile below the mouth of the North Branch.

The map of Virginia and Maryland, drawn by Augustin Herrman, was completed in 1670 but not engraved and issued until three years later. No Monacan towns are indicated on the banks of the James or of its tributaries. Lederer made his journey up the valley of the James during the months of May and June of that year, but evidently his travels were not known to Herrman until the appearance of his brief volume of "Discoveries" which was printed in London in 1672. The engraving of the map may already have been completed by William Faithorne in England and consequently it would have been too late for Herrman to have added the newly acquired data.

The Herrman map shows the course of the James, with one large tributary far to the westward. This was probably the Rivanna, known from the earliest days of the colony. A legend on the map, placed north of the latter stream, reads thus:

Mount Edlo This name derives from a Person that was in his
Infancy taken Prisoner in the last Massacra over Virginia,
And carried amongst others to this Mount, by the Indians,
which was their watch Hill, the country there about being
Champion and not much Hilly.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison has suggested to the writer the possibility of *Mount Edlo* being some point in Albemarle County west of where the Rivanna passes the South Western Mountain. If this is correct the high narrow ridge, surmounted by the cairn, may have been the spot indicated. The great village, Monasukapanough, was less than 3 miles distant, and the entire region shows evidence of Indian occupancy. The country had probably not been seen by a European and the description of the land, as recorded in the legend, was necessarily vague and uncertain.

SOAPSTONE

Steatite, or soapstone, is found in several localities in the region between the Rivanna and the James. It was quarried and used by the Indians, and what is believed to be the most extensive quarry worked by them within these bounds was discovered in 1926, on a high ridge

a short distance south of Damon, Albemarle County. It is about 2 miles in a direct line north of east from Schuyler, and between 5 and 6 miles northwest from the nearest point on the left bank of the James. Schuyler is on the banks of Rockfish River, some 6 miles above its mouth, in Nelson County. Since 1926 the surface has been stripped and quarries have been opened on the site, thus destroying traces of the work done by Indians before the coming of Europeans to this part of Virginia.

When visited in 1926¹ great masses of soapstone outcropped on the surface. These followed a general direction from southwest to northeast and had a dip of about 60° to the southeast. The broken, irregular surface was heavily timbered, and evidently the entire region had changed little in appearance during the past centuries. Near by

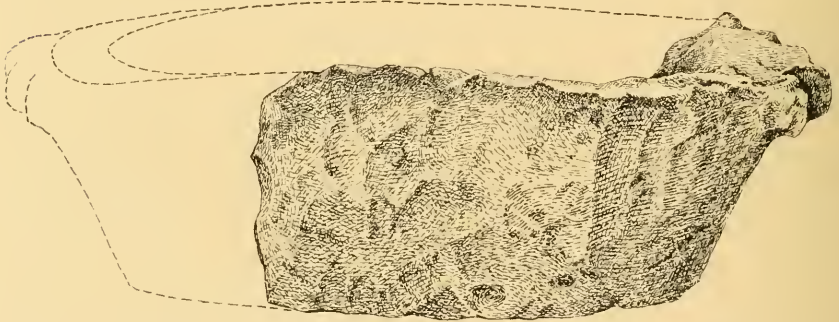


FIG. 8.—Fragment of an unfinished flat-bottomed soapstone vessel. $\frac{1}{3}$ natural size.
(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 332025)

were several large springs. For 1,000 feet or more along the ridge it was possible to trace the pits, dug by Indians generations ago, from which quantities of soapstone had been removed. Twenty or more excavations were thus discovered and probably others were so filled with the accumulated mold and moss as not to have been distinguishable. The pits varied from 10 to 30 feet in diameter and appeared to have been from 2 to 4 feet in depth. Some were quite distinct; others may have been joined beneath the mass of mold and thus in reality have been parts of a large excavation.

The surface surrounding the pits was covered with pieces of the stone, some large, others small, which had been removed from the quarries and evidently rejected as being unfit for use. But only a

¹ Bushnell, David I., Jr., Ancient soapstone quarry in Albemarle County, Virginia. Journ. Washington Acad. Sci., Vol. 16, No. 19, November 18, 1926.

small amount of the stone was visible, or projected through the thick vegetal mold which had formed since the quarries were last used by the Indians (pl. 13).

Many broken, unfinished vessels were discovered in the vicinity of the pits. These had been fractured in the process of making and abandoned as useless. Consequently this was not only a quarry but a workshop, where the vessel was fashioned in the rough, later to be smoothed and polished.

That two types of bowls were made here is indicated by the many fragments recovered from the surface in the vicinity of the pits. One type had a flat bottom; in the second type it was more rounded. An admirable example of the first form, found near one of the pits on the northern part of the ridge, is shown in plate 14, figure 1; length

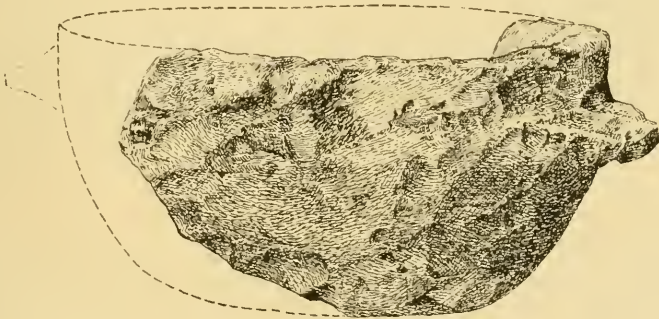


FIG. 9.—Fragment of an unfinished, round-bottomed soapstone vessel.
 $\frac{1}{3}$ natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 332024)

about 17 inches. It is very rough and unfinished, and the surface reveals distinctly the irregular cuttings made by crude stone implements. One side had been broken, probably while it was being hollowed out, and the vessel discarded. No attempt had been made to smooth or finish the surface, either within or without. The knobs to serve as handles project from the upper edge, at ends.

The second type, with rounded bottom, usually has knobs extending from the ends an inch or more below the upper rim to serve for handles. The two forms shown in figures 8 and 9 are examples found on the surface near the pits. Of the latter type are the two fractured specimens said to have been discovered in a cultivated field near the foot of Buck Mountain, in Buckingham County. This would be a short distance south of the right bank of the James, and a few miles from the extensive village site, believed to have been Monahassanugh, between Norwood and Wingina, in Nelson County on the opposite side of the river. The two specimens, as restored, are shown in plate

14, figure 2. The smaller is in the collection of the United States National Museum. The inside diameters are $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches and $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; thickness from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The larger specimen, not in the Museum collection, is of the same proportions but with a maximum diameter, inside, of $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Innumerable vessels and smaller objects were undoubtedly made in the vicinity of the quarries to be carried away to distant villages, as well as for use in nearby camps; nevertheless very few pieces of soapstone vessels are found. Several small fragments have been discovered on the site of Monasukapanough, together with four pieces of the material that had been sawed. This latter may have been obtained from an outcropping a few miles north of the ancient site. Another small fragment of a well finished vessel was encountered on the Moon site, already mentioned. Two tobacco pipes made of soapstone are said to have been found some years ago on a ridge just east of the Southern Railway at Arrowhead, about 8 miles south of the University of Virginia. They were not seen by the writer but were described as being quite small and very well made. The lack of more traces of soapstone on the village and camp sites is difficult to explain. Many vessels were made and used, as shown by evidence at the quarries, but all have disappeared.

The quarries south of Damon may be the most extensive group worked by Indians in this immediate section of Virginia, but there are several other localities where soapstone was obtained and vessels made. Extensive quarries, possibly worked by the people of the ancient village of Monahassanugh, are situated midway between Norwood, on the left bank of the James at the mouth of Buffalo River, and Arrington, a small station on the Southern Railway in Nelson County. Many broken, unfinished vessels have been discovered here, and the two specimens shown in plate 14, figure 2, may have been made at this quarry. Another quarry, not visited by the writer, is in Goochland County about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a direct line northeast of the site of Rassawek, at the mouth of the Rivanna, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles due south of the present village of Tabscott.

There are other outcroppings of soapstone in the region, in addition to those already mentioned, which show evidence of having been worked by Indians. And although all are well within the bounds of the territory occupied by the Monacan tribes, the last of the native tribes to claim this part of Virginia, the soft stone may have been discovered and worked by others who had preceded them. Nor is the scarcity of objects made of soapstone less mysterious than the identity of the tribes by whom the quarries were opened and the utensils and ornaments fashioned.



1. Looking east across the Rivanna, up the valley of the North Fork.



2. Cairn on summit of cliff below mouth of the North Fork.



1. Slope near a pit showing fragments of soapstone scattered over the surface.



2. One of the larger pits worked by the Indians.



1. Unfinished soapstone vessel from quarry south of Damon.
About $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

(U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 332023)



2. Two soapstone vessels, restored, from near foot of Buck Mountain,
Buckingham County, Virginia.

(Upper, U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 342083; lower, owned by Mrs. Wirt Robinson)