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# THE MANAHOAC TRIBES IN VIRGINIA, 1608

(WITH 21 PLATES)

BY  
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# THE MANAHOAC TRIBES IN VIRGINIA, 1608

By DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.

(WITH 21 PLATES)

## INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the greater part of the piedmont section of Virginia was occupied by Siouan tribes. The villages of the Monacan were then standing on the banks of the James and Rivanna Rivers and dominated the surrounding country.<sup>1</sup> Northward, along the course of the Rappahannock and of the tributary Rapidan, were the scattered settlements of the various tribes that formed the Manahoac confederacy. The restricted area between the eastern boundary of the lands then claimed by the Manahoac tribes, which extended to the vicinity of the falls of the Rappahannock, and the right<sup>2</sup> bank of the Potomac was occupied by Algonquian groups, some of whom belonged to the Powhatan confederacy, others being in alliance with tribes then living on the opposite side of the Potomac, a region soon to become part of the "Province of Mary-land".

For many years after the establishment of Jamestown the Manahoac tribes constituted one of the most important groups in the colony. But between the English settlements and the land claimed and occupied by the Manahoac were the many Algonquian villages, dominated first by Powhatan and later by Opechancanough, hostile to the English and ever enemies of their Siouan neighbors. These served as a barrier and prevented intercourse between the colonists and the tribes then living beyond the falls of the Rappahannock.

Although the English encountered many of the Manahoac for a single day during the summer of the year following the settlement of the colony, there is no known record of a European having visited a village of the confederacy or of having had other contact with the tribes in the region they had occupied in 1608. Evidently the English did not enter the country west of the falls until after the native

<sup>1</sup> Bushnell, David I., Jr., *The Five Monacan towns in Virginia, 1607*. Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 82, no. 12, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> When using the terms "right bank" and "left bank", the observer is considered to be facing downstream.

villages had been abandoned and the people dispersed; consequently, very little is known of the manners, customs, and beliefs of this ancient Siouan group.

The region now to be considered, part of the ancient country of the Manahoac, extends westward from the falls of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, up the valley of the Rappahannock to Kellys Ford, and along the Rapidan from its mouth to near Mortons Ford.

The description of the various camp and village sites and of the material found scattered over the surface of many of them, which is presented in the following pages, is based on data gathered during short visits to the different localities. It was not planned to conduct a thorough examination of the region, but rather to make a reconnaissance in the endeavor to locate sites that might have been occupied by the Manahoac in 1608, and to discover, if possible, additional evidence of an earlier period of occupation.

At this time I desire to express my appreciation to Capt. H. K. Baisley, Army Air Corps, stationed at Bolling Field, D. C., by whom the aerial photographs (except pl. 2) were made; to H. B. Collins, Jr., my companion on many trips; and to F. M. Aldridge, of Fredericksburg, and G. G. Harris, of Stevensburg, for assistance in locating sites and material.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH AT THE FALLS OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK, AUGUST 1608

During the summer of 1608 colonists from Jamestown, led by Capt. John Smith, made two successful exploring trips to the islands and shores of Chesapeake Bay in the endeavor to learn more about the nature of the country in which their new home had been established. They entered many streams, up which they went as far as possible, and discovered Indian villages never before visited by Europeans, in turn being the first white men to be seen by the majority of the native inhabitants. Both trips proved to be of the greatest interest and importance, and brief accounts of them have been preserved, but only that portion of the narratives will now be considered that treats of the exploration of the Rappahannock which brought the English into contact with the Manahoac tribes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Quotations are from the narratives of "What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay . . . . Written by Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell, and Anas Todkill", in *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, by Capt. John Smith, 1624. All references to Smith's writings are taken from the English Scholar's Library edition, edited by Edward Arber, Birmingham, 1884.



The information concerning the Manahoac gathered during the brief stay of Smith and his party in the vicinity of that people constitutes the major part of our knowledge of the manners, customs, and beliefs of members of that group of tribes, and its importance cannot be overestimated. The names of four native settlements, two on the banks of the Rapidan and two on the Rappahannock, were told at that time by Amoroleck, a Manahoac Indian from Hassininga, who had been wounded and taken captive by the English.

The second expedition left Jamestown July 24, 1608, and returned early in September. Late in August, after having explored much of the bay to the northward, they reached the mouth of the Rappahannock and continued up the river to the village of Moraughtacund. This was shown on the 1624 map as being on the left bank of the river, and is thought to have occupied a site near a small creek, about 1½ miles above the mouth of Corrotoman River, in the present Lancaster County, Virginia. Here a few years ago, scattered over an area of some 60 acres, were vast quantities of oyster shells, the deposits having a maximum depth of about 4 feet. A greater amount of fragmentary pottery and a larger number of chipped boulders and pebbles, chips of stone, crudely made axes, and other objects of native origin are said to have been found here than on any other site yet discovered on the banks of the Rappahannock, indicating the location of a large native settlement.

At Moraughtacund the colonists met their "old friend *Mosco*, a lusty Salvage of *Wighcomoco* upon the river of *Patawomek*", who was destined to serve them as guide and interpreter during their trip up the river. Continuing up the stream, the English had a serious encounter with the Rapahanocks, whose village, designated at Toppahannock, is shown on the 1624 map on the left bank of the river. It may have occupied a site on the bank of the Rappahannock in the present Richmond County, immediately opposite the town of Tappahannock, which stands on the right bank of the river in Essex County.

Thus far, only Algonquian tribes had been encountered.

The day following the skirmish with the Indians the English continued up the stream as far as their boat could be taken, where the channel became obstructed by the rocks below the large island. Here they went ashore to explore the country. They did not go far from the boat but, as indicated by the position of the small cross on the map, appear to have ascended the high ground on the right bank of the river opposite the upper end of the island, beyond which lay the country of the Manahoac.

## THE MANAHOAC

Soon after the English had landed in the vicinity of the falls of the Rappahannock they were attacked by Indians. The fight lasted about half an hour, when the latter "vanished as suddenly as they approached. *Mosco* followed them so farre as he could see us, till they were out of sight." One of the Indians was found severely wounded and was taken to the boat, where *Mosco* attempted to attack him. "In the meane time we contented *Mosco* in helping him to gather up their arrowes, which were an arnefull; whereof he gloried not a little."

The wounded Manahoac soon recovered from the shock (p. 427): he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. . . . Then we desired *Mosco* to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of *Hassininga*, where there are three Kings more, like unto them, namely the King of *Stegora*, the King of *Tauxuntania*, and the King of *Shakahouca*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the *Mannahocks* and the *Nandtaughtacunds*, but hard by where we were.

We demanded why they came in that manner to betray us, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loves; he answered, they heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them.

We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replied, he knew no more but that which was under the skie that covered him, which were the *Powhatans*, with the *Monacans*, and the *Massawomeks* that were higher up in the mountaines.

Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; because the woods were not burnt.

These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the *Massawomeks*, the *Monacans*, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of *Stegora*, *Tauxsintania*, and the rest. The *Monacans* he sayd where their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, living upon roots and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The *Massawomeks* did dwell upon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting. But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw us, notwithstanding they would be all together at night at *Mahaskahod*.

For his relation we gave him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with us: and he as earnestly desired us to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good usage should be friends with us, for he was brother to *Hassininga*. But *Mosco* advised us presently to be gone, for they were all naught; yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and *Mosco* was as diligent in trimming his arrowes.

The night being come we all imbarked; for the river was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might have done us exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the King of *Hassininga* was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call unto them, but such

a yelling and hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then we shot off a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More than 12 myles they followed us in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selves in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen.

Being well refreshed, we untied our Targets that covered us as a Deck, and all shewed our selves with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner *Amoroleck*. A long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee used him, how wee had a *Patawomek* with us, who loved us as his life, that would have slaine him had wee not preserved him, and that he should have his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe us any hurt was impossible.

Upon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers upon the trees, and one came swimming aboard us with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they delivered our Captaine as a present: the Captaine having used them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend; whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so upon a low Moorish poynt of land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and received *Amoroleck*: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to give us, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities. And so we left foure or five hundred of our merry *Mannahocks*, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for *Moraughtacund*.

Thus ended the first intercourse between the English and chiefs of several Manahoac tribes. Other colonists may have entered the country above the falls of the Rappahannock, but not until after the native villages had been abandoned and the Indians had left the valleys are explorers and settlers known to have traversed the ancient territory of the Manahoac and to have left records of their journeys into the wilderness, now the piedmont section of Virginia.

In "The Description of Virginia", 1612, Captain Smith<sup>4</sup> wrote: "The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some 130 myles.*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahockes* amongst the mountaines, but they are above the place we describe." It will be remembered that Smith and his party did not enter the Manahoac country, and that all their knowledge of the position of the different tribes whose villages then stood in the valleys of the Rapidan and Rappahannock was evidently obtained from the wounded Manahoac Indian, *Amoroleck*, through the Algonquian interpreter, Mosco. Many of the native settlements were indicated on the map of Virginia, issued in 1624, and their apparent accuracy is

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., Arber edition, p. 52.

very remarkable. Smith, in describing the map, wrote: "In which Mapped observe this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places, have been discovered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe according to their instructions." Two such crosses appear near the falls of the Rappahannock, one on the left bank below the island, the second on the right bank just above the island. These indicate the most distant points reached by the English in August 1608.

When referring to the several tribes Smith wrote (p. 71):

Upon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributors the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Outponcas*, the *Tegoneaes*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinungas*, and diverse others; all confederats with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits.

A paragraph very similar to the preceding, written by Smith, occurs in the Strachey manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> but the spelling of the names differs, and there are other variations. Strachey<sup>6</sup> wrote (p. 104):

Beyond the springs of the river Tappahanock (the second from Powhatan's) is a people called Mannahoaks; to these are contributory the Tanxsnitanians, the Shackaconias, the Outpankas, the Tegoneas, the Whonkentias, the Stogaras, the Hassinugas, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many of them different in language and very barbarous, living for the most part upon wild beasts and fruits, and have likewise assisted the Monacans, in tymes past, against Powhatan, and maie also by us be dealt withall and taken into friendship, as opportunity and meanes shall affourd.

In describing the country, Strachey had previously written (p. 37): "the third navigable river by the Naturalls of old was called Opis-

<sup>5</sup> Strachey, William, *The historie of travaile into Virginia Britannia*. Hakluyt Society, London, 1849.

<sup>6</sup> William Strachey was the first Secretary of the Colony and remained in Virginia several years, but very little is known of his life and career. He does not appear to have visited the country of the Manahoac and may have had very little intercourse with the Indians. The statements by Smith and Strachey are so similar that it is evident one was quoted from the other, and on the assumption that Smith's work was prepared before the compilation of the two Strachey manuscripts, it should be considered the source of much of Strachey's material.

It is the belief of the writer that the William Strachey who resided in Virginia, the first Secretary of the Colony, did not actually prepare the two manuscripts now preserved in London and Oxford, but that he probably sent notes to England, where they were combined with ample quotations from the writings of Smith to form the manuscripts, which were thus prepared by another. More than one William Strachey, possibly related to the Virginia adventurer, lived in England during the early years of the seventeenth century. Brief references to the Strachey family of that period are to be found in the introduction to the Hakluyt Society publication.

catumeck, of late Toppahanock, and we the Queen's River; this is navigable some one hundred and thirty miles. At the top of yt inhabite the people called Mannahoacks, amongst the mountaynes, but they are above the place described in Captain Smithe's mappe." This was the present Rappahannock, the old Indian name of which was Opiscatumeck.

Although it is to be regretted that more information about the manners and ways of life of the Manahoac tribes is not available, it is gratifying to realize how much was gathered and preserved as a result of the brief contact of colonists and Indians in August 1608. But for the willingness of one wounded native, even that would not have been recorded.

#### MANAHOAC SITES INDICATED ON THE 1624 MAP

As previously mentioned, only five Manahoac sites are indicated on the 1624 map, one being that of the "hunting Towne", a temporary camp, the other four probably being the names of the chiefs whom the English met during the morning after the encounter near the falls. In addition to these, three others were mentioned in the text but not shown on the map; these were Outponcas, Tegoneaes, and Whonkentyaes. There is nothing to suggest where they may have been situated—whether on the Rappahannock or the Rapidan.

Concerning the true significance of the eight names, it is not known whether they were place names that would have been applied to settlements through a long period of years or the names of chiefs, who in 1608 were recognized and acknowledged by others and whose people dominated a region that corresponded with the position of the name on the map. Amoroleck, the Manahoac Indian, once referred to himself as "brother to Hassininga" who was later mentioned as "the King of Hassininga". Evidently Amoroleck was a brother of a chief named Hassininga, whose village then stood on the banks of the Rappahannock just above its junction with the Rapidan. If this hypothesis is correct, it should be assumed that the eight names were primarily those of individuals rather than of places. The names may have been provided by the four chiefs themselves, who at the same time would probably have indicated the relative positions of their villages as later recorded on the map.

The five sites will be considered separately in the endeavor to determine where they may have stood in the year 1608. However, there is no record of any of the native villages having been visited by a European, their actual existence and approximate position having

been revealed to the English by the Indians after the encounter below the falls. The names were undoubtedly recorded by the English as given them by their Algonquian guide and interpreter, Mosco.

As yet it has not been possible to translate the names as given by Smith or Strachey. They were undoubtedly in some Siouan dialect and were told to the English by an Algonquian Indian. The latter appears to have attempted to translate the Siouan word into his own language, and this resulted in the names as recorded by the English being a combination of Siouan and Algonquian, making it difficult, if not impossible, ever to learn their true meaning.

Traces of many native settlements have been discovered on the banks of the Rapidan and the Rappahannock above the falls, some of which were undoubtedly occupied in 1608, but it will probably never be possible to determine the exact position of any one of the eight villages that were mentioned in the early narratives.

#### MAHASKAHOD

Mahaskahod was the name applied to a camp, possibly of a temporary nature as distinguished from a permanent settlement. It was described as "a hunting Towne", where several hundred Indians from four or more distant villages of the Manahoac were gathered in August 1608.

This large encampment, if it really existed as described at the time of the first visit of the English to the region, must have stood on the banks of the Rappahannock some distance above the upper end of the large island. The colonists, as suggested by the position of the small cross placed at that point on the 1624 map, reached a locality on the right bank of the river opposite the island. They probably ascended the cliff that rises from the river bank at the end of the dam just above the island, from which they would have had a view up the valley. This point is clearly shown in plate 2. But the narrative did not mention an Indian encampment in the vicinity, nor did the English encounter any natives at that time.

#### HASSUIUGA

The position of Hassuiuga can be identified with a greater degree of certainty than any other site on either the Rapidan or the Rappahannock. It evidently occupied the banks of the Rappahannock a short distance above the mouth of the Rapidan, at a crossing of the river now known as Richards Ford, where traces of a native village occur, and where, according to local tradition, an Indian town once stood. This corresponds with the position of the name on the 1624 map.



## TANXSNITANIA

This name appears on the 1624 map far up the stream that corresponds to the present Rappahannock River. The region so vaguely indicated on the map was settled during the early years of the eighteenth century. "In a grant of 1717, relating to lands above the mouth of Great Run, there is mention of a 'poison field where an Indian town had formerly stood.' This was doubtless the Manahoac town laid down on Capt. John Smith's map as Tanxsnitania."<sup>7</sup> The "poison fields" were identified as the area adjoining the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs. The site would be between 2 and 3 miles above the mouth of Great Run, which joins the Rappahannock on the left bank; Great Run is some 5 miles above the mouth of Hazel River.

## SHACKACONIA

As indicated on the 1624 map, Shackaconia was the first settlement on the Rapidan above its mouth. The exact position may never be known, but the village probably occupied one of the sites later to be described.

## STEGARA

Stegara may have stood on the banks of the Rapidan in Orange County, a mile or more east of the Greene County line. However, that would have been a long distance from the falls, near which the "King of Stegora" was met by the English in August 1608. Such long journeys, however, were often undertaken by an entire village, and, as will be told later, dugout canoes were used by Indians on the Rapidan as late as 1682, when they went from the foothills of the Blue Ridge to visit the English outpost at the falls of the Rappahannock.

One of the most extensive level tracts in the valley of the Rapidan borders the right bank of the river at the locality mentioned, and when partly covered with timber, as it probably was until cleared for cultivation, would have been a beautiful site for a native settlement.

Part of a large burial mound that belonged to the village is still standing on the immediate bank of the stream. The mound was partially examined by Fowke<sup>8</sup> and found to contain many burials. Quantities of arrowpoints, axes, and other objects of native origin have been discovered scattered over the surface in the vicinity of the mound,

<sup>7</sup> Harrison, Fairfax, Landmarks of Old Prince William, vol. 1, p. 202. Privately printed, Richmond, 1924.

<sup>8</sup> Fowke, Gerard, Archeologic investigations in James and Potomac Valleys. Bull. 23, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1894.

and in many respects the entire site resembles that of the ancient Saponi village, Monasukapanough, on the banks of the Rivanna some 15 miles away.

#### DISPERSING OF THE NATIVE TRIBES FROM THE RAPIDAN-RAPPAHANNOCK AREA

The English reached the falls of the Rappahannock in August 1608 and there came in contact with the Manahoac tribes whose lands lay to the westward, but the first journey into the country beyond the falls, of which a record is known to have been preserved, was not made until the year 1670. Great changes had taken place, however, during the interval between 1608 and 1670, and although there had been a relatively large population living in camps and villages along the courses of the streams at the beginning of the century, by the year 1670 the country was practically deserted.

During the summer of 1670 the German traveler, John Lederer, of whom so little is known, traversed the wilderness as far as the Blue Ridge. Earlier in the year he had visited several Monacan villages in the valley of the James, and in the brief account of his "Third and last expedition. From the Falls of Rappahanock River in Virginia, due west to the top of the Apalatean Mountains", referred to his journey through the region that had so short a time before been the home of the scattered Manahoac tribes. Small groups of Indians may have remained in the vicinity, but they were not mentioned and may not have been encountered. Describing this last expedition Lederer wrote in part:<sup>9</sup>

On the twentieth of August 1670, Col. Catlet of Virginia and my self, with nine English horse, and five Indians on foot, departed from the house of one Robert Talifer, and that night reached the falls of Rappahanock river, in Indian *Mantapeuck*.

The next day we passed it over where it divides into two branches north and south, keeping the main branch north of us.

The three and twentieth we found it so shallow, that it onely wet our horses hoofs.

The four and twentieth we travelled thorow the Savanae amongst vast herds of red and fallow deer which stood gazing at us; and a little after, we came to the Promontories or spurs of the Apalataean-mountains.

A crudely drawn map of the region accompanies the narrative, a section of which is reproduced in figure 1. This shows the Rappahannock and the Rapidan uniting some miles above the falls, and

<sup>9</sup> Lederer, John, *The discoveries of*. . . . Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. London, 1672. Reprint 1902.



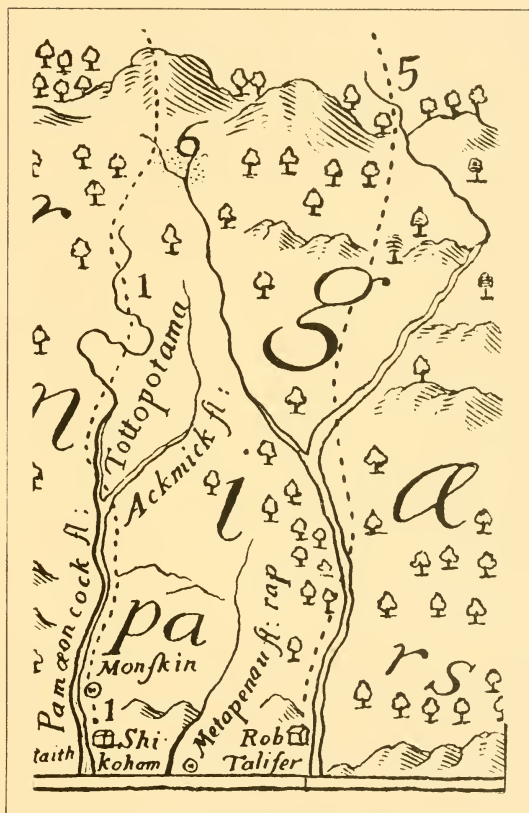


FIG. 1.—Section of the Lederer map, 1670. The stream on the right is the Rappahannock. The broken line indicates the trail followed by Lederer, "from the house of one Robert Talifer."

a broken line indicates the route of the party westward. They undoubtedly followed an Indian trail, which may have been about the course of the road that leads west from Falmouth, on the left bank of the Rappahannock at the falls, and crosses the river at Richards Ford, about 1 mile above the mouth of the Rapidan.<sup>10</sup>

The name Manahoac was not used by Lederer when referring to the native tribes, although it had been employed in the earlier records, but it is believed the names Mahoc and Mahock of his narrative were other forms of the word that were used at the later day.

As so often told in history, sometime before the spring of 1656 a large number of Indians, probably an entire village with all of their possessions, "sett downe neer the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred".<sup>11</sup> They had come as friends to seek a new home, not as enemies, and desired peace, not war. Later they were attacked by the colonists in the endeavor to expel them from the colony. The English had as allies Totopotomi and his Pamunkey warriors. In the encounter that ensued the English suffered great losses and their allies were routed and driven back.<sup>12</sup> The Indians against whom the combined attack had been directed probably retired up the James and were lost to history, but Mohawk Creek, on the right bank of the James a mile or more south of the present Goochland, is believed to perpetuate their name.

Some 15 years after the disastrous encounter Lederer mentioned it and wrote in part: "a great Indian king called Tottopotoma was heretofore slain in battle, fighting for the Christians against the Mahocks and Nahyssana."<sup>13</sup> The latter were from far up the James, and it is now believed the Mohocks, who had come from a distance,

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<sup>10</sup> The road as it was used at the beginning of the last century was shown on the Bishop James Madison map, first issued in 1807 and again in 1818; also on the Nine Sheet Map, 1827. The road from Falmouth crossed the Rappahannock at Richards Ford, then continued to Stevensburg and beyond, as it does at the present time.

<sup>11</sup> Hening, William Waller, The statutes at large . . . of all the laws of Virginia, vol. 1, New York, 1823.

<sup>12</sup> The exact date of the engagement is not known, but it occurred subsequent to March 27, 1656, when it was enacted by the General Assembly "That the two upper countyes, under the command of Coll. Edward Hill, do presently send forth a party of 100 men at least and that they shall first endeavour to remooove the said new come Indians without making warr if it may be, only in case of their own defence. . . ." (Hening, vol. 1, pp. 402-403). And it was probably between April 23 and June 4, 1656, as is suggested by brief references to early Council and General Court records. (Virginia Hist. Mag., Virginia Hist. Soc., vol. 8, no. 2, p. 164, Richmond, 1900.)

<sup>13</sup> Lederer, *op. cit.*

were a village or group of Manahoac who had been forced to abandon their country to the northward, along the Rappahannock and the Rapidan.

The pressure exerted by enemy tribes from the north undoubtedly caused the dispersal of the Manahoac from the region they had occupied in 1608. The movement may have begun soon after the middle of the century, at a time when the Iroquois were waging relentless war against the Erie, thus leaving the tribes to the south of them free to act on the offensive.

The difficulties that were being experienced by the colony along the frontier at that time were expressed in several reports recorded by Hening,<sup>14</sup> one of which is quoted, and although this is dated March 1661-2, it refers to events and happenings that had transpired sometime before. It reads in part:

Upon the report of the committee appointed for the Indian affaires it appearing that the Susquehannock and other northern Indians, in considerable numbers frequently come to the heads of our rivers, whereby plain paths will soone be made which may prove of dangerous consequence, and alsoe affront the English and destroy their stocks and gett the whole trade from our neighbouring and tributary Indians; *it is ordered by this assembly* that for prevention and of other injuries to the English from the Marylanders for the future, that the honourable governour cause by proclamation a prohibition of all Marylanders, English and Indians (which they have already done to us) and of all other Indians to the Northward of Maryland from trucking, tradeing, bartering or dealing with any English or Indians to the southward of that place, and that by commission from the governour collonel Wood be impowered to manage the said businesse.

The falls of the Rappahannock were at that time beyond the frontier of the colony, and it is easily conceived that "the Susquehannock and other northern Indians" had, during their southern raids, traversed the region to the westward, entered the valley of the Rappahannock, and thus caused the native tribes to disperse and seek new homes elsewhere.

The historic "Carolina Road", which may not have acquired its name until about the middle of the eighteenth century, followed the course of more ancient trails that led from north to south. It crossed the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy, reached the Rappahannock in the vicinity of the present Kellys Ford, thence to the left bank of the Rapidan which was probably crossed at or near Fox Neck.<sup>15</sup> The crossing may once have been at a very old, long-abandoned

<sup>14</sup> Hening, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> Harrison, Fairfax, Landmarks of Old Prince William. Privately printed. 2 vols., Richmond, 1924.

ford about 1 mile above Fox Neck, just below the mouth of a small stream now known as Sissens Run, but designated as Fleshman's R. on the Nine Sheet Map, 1827.

Leaving the Rapidan, the trail continued southward to the crossing of the James at the present town of Goochland. On the opposite or right bank of the James, above the ferry, is the mouth of Mohawk Creek. It is evident the Manahoac, or rather some part of them, moved southward from the valley of the Rapidan or the Rappahannock over the old route and arrived at the James, where they may have remained before continuing down the river to the falls. Their camp was probably at the mouth of the creek, to which their name was soon applied.

The name of another creek suggests the identity of the Manahoac tribe that had "sett downe neer the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred".

On the 1624 map the village of Shackaconia is indicated on the right bank of the Rapidan a short distance above the mouth of the stream, and it is assumed to have occupied a site on or near Fox Neck, or possibly at the present Skinkers Ford, where traces of an extensive settlement have been discovered. No one of the sites would have been more than a few miles from the trail that led southward from the Rapidan to the James.

The camping place of the Indians who had come from afar and had settled near the falls of the James was on, or in the vicinity of, the headwaters of Shaccoe Creek, which flows into the James within the City of Richmond. A manuscript map in the "Byrd Title Book", in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, dated early in the year 1663, shows the creek bearing the legend: "Shaccoe Creek formerly Called Chyinak". It is now suggested that the new name Shaccoe was derived from that of the Indians who had a few years before settled nearby, believed to have been from the village of Shackaconia on the banks of the Rapidan. Until their coming the creek had evidently been known by the name Chyinak. If this belief is correct it was the Shackaconia tribe of the Manahoac confederacy, the Mahocks of Lederer, who defeated the colonists and their Pamunkey allies in one of the most important encounters between the English and Indians recorded in the annals of the colonies. This was the last great fight in Virginia between Siouan and Algonquian tribes.

After the defeat of the English the Mahocks may have returned to the vicinity of the mouth of Mohawk Creek. Although this is thought to have been the site of the Monacan village of Massinacack

in 1607, the name of the ancient settlement was in no way associated with that of the stream.

During the year 1676 a fort was erected "at or neare the ffalls of Rapahanack river", and soon the country that lay beyond the forks became better known to the colonists. In 1682 Cadwalader Jones, then commander of the Rappahannock Rangers, explored far westward, traversed the region previously mentioned by Lederer, where were to be found "vast herds of red and fallow deer", and may have crossed the Blue Ridge. Among his companions was John Taliaferro, who some years later testified that he had been with Jones in 1682 and said in part:

We traviled up the South river till we came to sev<sup>11</sup> small mountains & so to the North River. In our travills we were sev<sup>11</sup> times on the North River and went up the South River to the great Mountains where we discovered the South River's Springs to head into the Mountains. All our Judgm<sup>ts</sup> was the South river to be the bigest and were inform'd so by all the Indians y<sup>t</sup> was our Pilotts; and saw an Indian y<sup>t</sup> made a periauger at the mountain and brought her down to the Garison with Skins and venison, where the said Jones Commanded.<sup>16</sup>

In this statement South River referred to the present Rapidan, and North River was that part of the present Rappahannock above the mouth of the Rapidan. "Periauger" was the name then applied to a dugout canoe, made of a single log.

The brief quotation from Taliaferro's testimony proves of much interest, as it contains the only reference known to the writer of the actual use of a dugout canoe by Indians in piedmont Virginia. It also indicates that long journeys were made in such craft from the foothills of the Blue Ridge, down the Rapidan, and on to the fort near the falls of the Rappahannock, then on the frontier of the colony.

#### EVIDENCE OF INDIAN OCCUPANCY

As already stated, the region now being considered extends up the Rappahannock River from the falls just above Fredericksburg to Kellys Ford, and along the Rapidan from its junction with the Rappahannock to the vicinity of Mortons Ford. The supposed site of Stegara on the Rapidan, and of Tanxsnitania on the Rappahannock, are beyond these limits and consequently will not be included in the present narrative.

It is interesting to discover traces of Indian occupancy on nearly every acre of cleared or cultivated land along the river banks, wher-

<sup>16</sup> Harrison, op. cit. The quotation was made from the manuscript of Taliaferro's testimony, document 5: 1315, in the Colonial Office, London.

ever it is possible to examine the surface carefully. Often it is literally a trace—an arrowpoint, a bit of pottery, or a flake of stone. Again, the occurrence of a large accumulation of material within a rather restricted area will indicate the location of an extensive village, or of a site that had been frequented by small groups at intervals during a long period. But all the fragmentary pottery and objects of stone encountered in the region must not be attributed to the Siouan tribes who claimed the country at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had been preceded by other groups, many of whose weapons and implements may now be intermingled with those of the later people.

A large part of the land above the falls remains heavily timbered, and some interesting sites may be hidden beneath the tangled mass of vegetation bordering the streams. But some tracts that were once cultivated are now overgrown; some such areas may be distinguished in the photographs taken from the air. Springs of clear cold water occur throughout the region. Game was abundant, and much may still be found.

The depth of water in the rivers varies greatly, and freshets and droughts often follow in quick succession, as during the summer and early autumn of 1934. In some places the banks of the rivers are of sufficient height to confine the streams at all times, but the flats are frequently overflowed. Strange as it may seem, the greater part of the material found has been recovered from land that has often been covered by water.

Many sites have been examined along both rivers and will be described separately, beginning at the falls and continuing up the Rappahannock to Kellys Ford, then along the Rapidan from its mouth to near Mortons Ford. The distances between the places mentioned are: From the falls to the junction of the two streams, in a direct line, about 8 miles, thence to Kellys Ford about 13 miles. From the mouth of the Rapidan in a direct line to Mortons Ford is approximately 17 miles. The distances between the same points by the meandering courses of the rivers would be at least twice as great.

All sites mentioned in the text are indicated on the map of the region, figure 2.

#### THE ISLAND AND VICINITY

The waters flowing past the large island, and the rapids both above and below, appear to have been favorite fishing places for all who had occupied or frequented the region since it was first known to

man. It was near the island that several hundred Manahoac Indians, the last of the native tribes to claim the country, had gathered early in August 1608, when some were met by the English who had ascended the Rappahannock, and it is easily conceived that it had served as a gathering place for others through centuries. As related by Amoro-leck, the Manahoac man who had been wounded and taken captive, the English were not discovered by the Indians until he and "those with him came thither fishing".

Fish traps may have extended across the rocky bed of the river, below the island, in the year 1608 as some do at the present time. Those still existing have been used in recent years, but by whom they were originally constructed will never be ascertained. Traps similar to these, however, had undoubtedly been made by the Manahoac, as well as by others who had preceded them in the region. They resemble the traps in the James River at Richmond, described by Beverley more than two centuries ago.

Fragments of pottery found a few years ago on the right bank of the Rappahannock opposite the middle of the large island are illustrated in plate 3. The site, which was cultivated when the discoveries were made but is now in grass, is shown in plate 2, on the extreme left above and adjoining the circular track.<sup>17</sup>

The 12 sherds belong to several types of ware that differ in texture and decoration. The nine pieces above are parts of rims of vessels. The three on the right, *a*, are of a light yellowish-gray color and are very hard. They were made of a fine, clean clay and contain no particles of stone. Although very hard, they are extremely porous, owing to the disappearance of the tempering material. Evidently a vegetal substance had served as the tempering material; possibly stems of grass or bits of wood had been reduced to the proper size and mixed with the clay. A fresh fracture through the lowest of the three specimens revealed particles of carbon filling small cavities, but the greater part of the material, after having been carbonized, had leached away, leaving the many small cavities. The fragments are decorated with incised lines.

The three specimens *b* are fragments of rims of large vessels. All are black, hard, and compact, and are tempered with finely pulverized quartz.

The two pieces *c* may have belonged to the same vessel, and resemble in texture specimens *a*. The fracture at the bottom of the lower speci-

<sup>17</sup> All specimens shown in plates 3 and 4 were collected by F. M. Aldridge, Fredericksburg, Va., by whom the pottery has been presented to the U. S. National Museum.



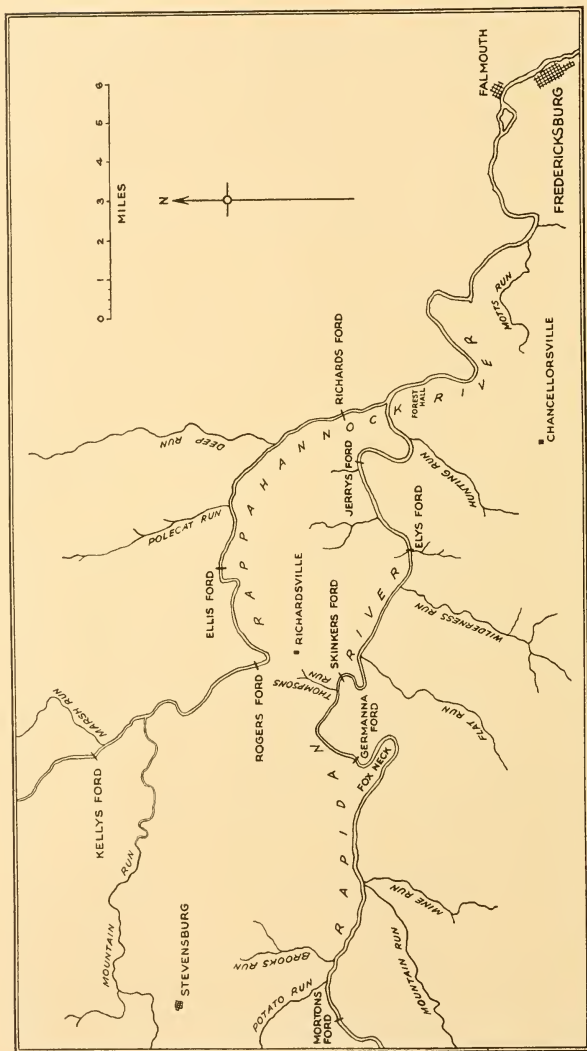


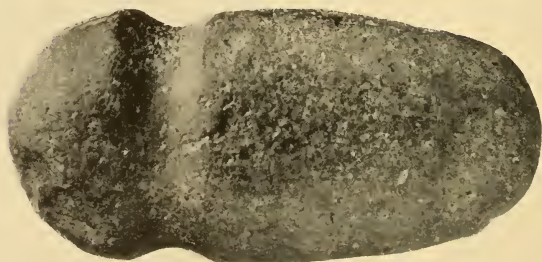
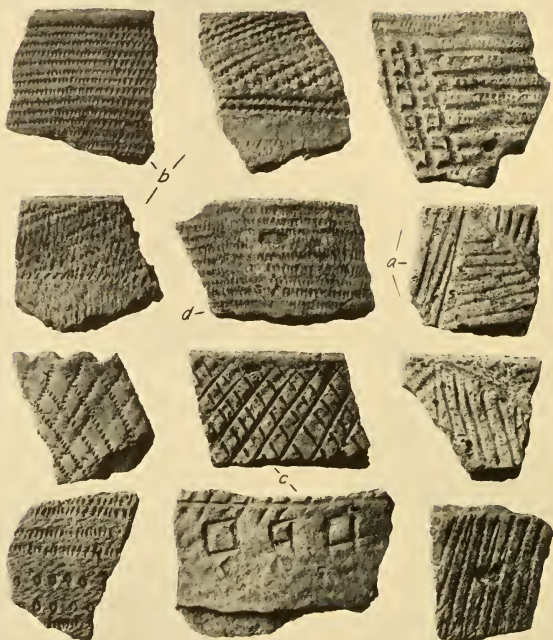
FIG. 2.—Map of the country above the falls of the Rappahannock at Falmouth.





Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

LOOKING UP THE RAPPAHANNOCK OVER THE FALLS AND THE ISLAND



SPECIMENS FOUND ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK,  
OPPOSITE THE LARGE ISLAND

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. Pottery, U.S.N.M. no. 373778.



**MATERIAL FROM OPPOSITE THE ISLAND AND FROM NEAR MOTTS RUN**

Above, specimens from the vicinity of Motts Run. Below, two chalcedony scrapers, from right bank of the Rappahannock opposite the island at the falls. Upper figure  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size; lower figure natural size.



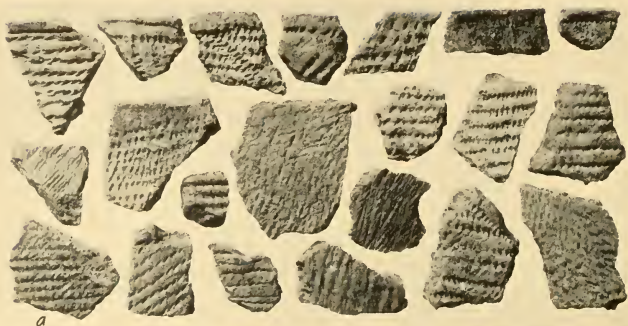
Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

LOOKING DOWN THE RAPPAHANNOCK FROM OVER THE MOUTH OF THE RAPIDAN  
Forest Hall site on right.



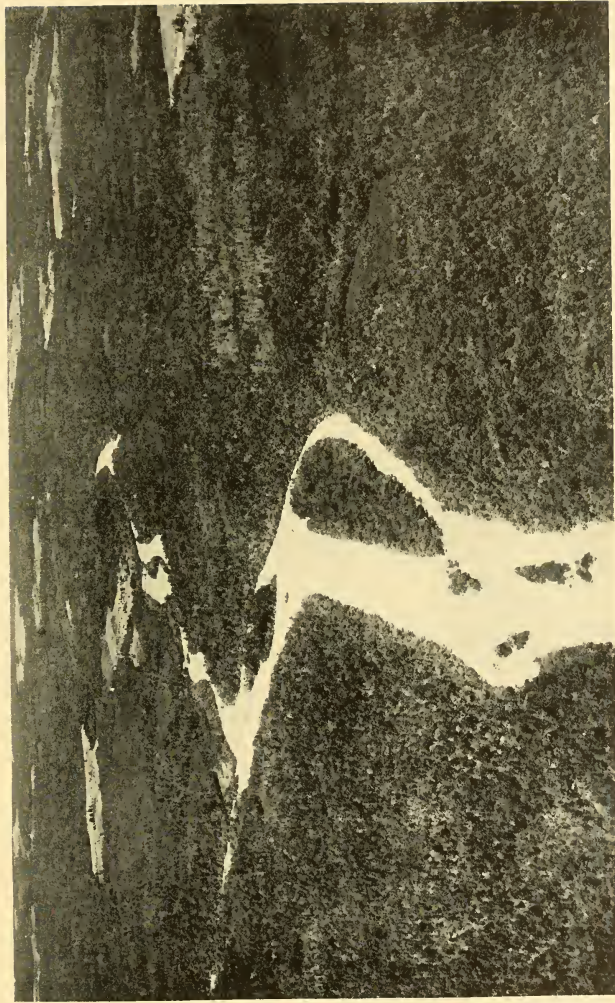


SPECIMENS FROM THE FOREST HALL SITE SHOWN IN PLATE 5  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. Arrowpoints, U.S.N.M. no. 373780. Four implements,  
U.S.N.M. nos. 373787-90.



SPECIMENS FROM THE FOREST HALL SITE SHOWN IN PLATE 5

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. Pottery, U.S.N.M. no. 373779. Celts, axes, U.S.N.M. nos. 373781-6.



Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**LOOKING UP THE VALLEY OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK**

Mouth of the Rapidan on the left and Richards Ford beyond.

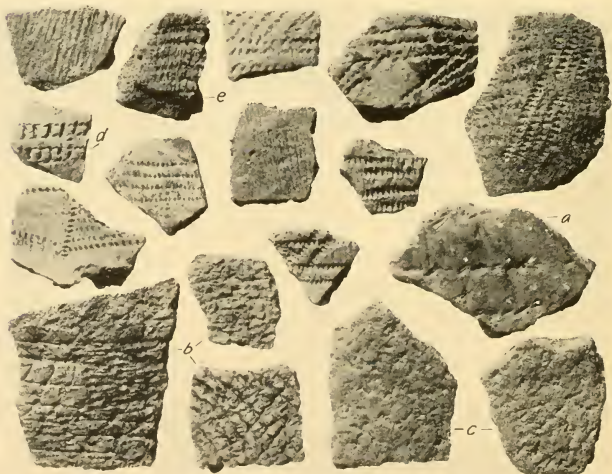




Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**1. RICHARDS FORD ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK, ABOUT 1 MILE ABOVE  
THE MOUTH OF THE RAPIDAN**

The cultivated land is on the right bank of the river.



**2. FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM RIGHT BANK OF THE  
RAPPAHANNOCK AT RICHARDS FORD**

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373791.



men follows the line of contact of two strips or coils of clay used in the construction of the vessel but which had not been closely blended.

Specimen *d* is yellowish brown in color, very hard and fine-grained. It does not show evidence of the use of tempering. The impression on the outer surface is the imprint of a rigid, coiled basket. This represents probably the oldest type of pottery found on the site.

The polished grooved ax, plate 3, is a beautiful example, being very symmetrical and carefully finished. The material is a diabasic rock.

Two flakes of chalcedony, plate 4, found on the site, had served as scrapers or cutting instruments. The edges of both are very sharp and in places have been finely serrated through use.

During a visit to the island in the spring of 1933 several small pieces of pottery, a few broken arrowpoints made of quartz and quartzite,

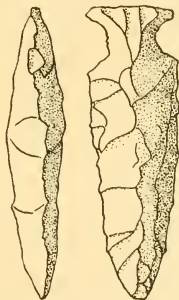


FIG. 3.—Projectile point made of brown chert. Natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373776.

and a quantity of flakes of quartz, quartzite, chert, and diabase were found on the surface near the extreme western end of the cultivated fields on the upper part of the island. The area is shown in plate 2. This had probably been the site of a fishing camp, and as parts of the island rise high above the greatest freshets, it would have been a place well suited for a native settlement.

When Captain Smith wrote regarding the fishing customs of the Virginia Indians, he said in part: "They use also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers." Such a method may have been followed by some from the shores of the island, and one projectile point found on the surface may at one time have been attached to an arrow shaft used in shooting fish. The point is sketched in figure 3. It is made of brownish chert, a material seldom encountered in the locality, and is of uniform width and thickness, which

would have been about the same as the diameter of the shaft to which it was fastened.

Many white quartz arrowpoints are found in the vicinity of the island. These will not be mentioned in detail, as they are similar to others found throughout the Rapidan-Rappahannock area, typical examples of which will later be described.

#### VICINITY OF MOTTS RUN

A small stream bearing the name Embrey Run enters the right bank of the Rappahannock about 3 miles above the falls, a little west of north of old Salem Church. About half a mile beyond, also on the right bank of the river, is the mouth of Motts Run. Between Embrey Run and Motts Run there is a sandy flat several hundred feet in width extending from the river bank to the foot of the rising ground.

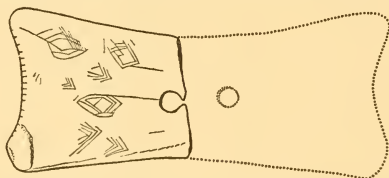


FIG. 4.—Perforated tablet found near Motts Run.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size.

Although the area has been cultivated for many years and frequently has been covered by the waters of the Rappahannock, a vast amount of fragmentary pottery and many arrowpoints and other objects of stone are still to be found scattered over the surface. This may have been the site of Mahaskahod, the "hunting Towne", in August 1608.

The pottery recovered from the area is similar to that occurring farther up the river at the Forest Hall site, examples of which are shown in plate 7. Only very small pieces were found, and in many instances the markings of the cords had been practically obliterated, worn away through exposure and contact with sand and water for three centuries or more. A single sherd was discovered that bore deeply incised lines and closely resembles specimens *a*, plate 3. The fragment is very porous but extremely hard.

A piece of a perforated tablet, made of a dark talc schist, was found on the surface near Motts Run. It is a material thought to occur locally. The specimen is sketched in figure 4, one half natural size. On one side are various simple designs formed of straight, incised

lines, but the reverse is smooth. Its maximum thickness is about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. There are several specimens of like form in the collections of the National Museum, one having been discovered in a burial mound on the Kanawha River, near Charleston, W. Va., and others in the valley of the Miami, in Ohio. The latter pieces were made of slate. All, including the fragment from the site on the Rappahannock, may have been of Siouan origin.

Several small flakes of jasper and chert were found that had served as scrapers or blades.

As elsewhere, innumerable arrowpoints, most of them made of white quartz, have been collected from the surface of the low grounds extending up the river from Embrey Run. Some of these are assumed to represent the work of the Manahoac and different tribes who frequented the region in later times, but others are thought to have belonged to a much earlier period. Some interesting examples are illustrated in plate 4. The specimens *a* are made of a diabasic rock with the surfaces greatly weathered. A small chipped ax, made of the same material and with the surface equally weathered and worn, was found about midway between the two runs. This and the points just mentioned should undoubtedly be attributed to the same early period. Other pieces included in the plate are made of quartzite, argillite, and chert.

Shallow sandstone mortars, hammerstones, and roughly flaked pieces that had probably served some purpose about the camp have been recovered from the surface. As the first extensive low ground above the falls begins at Embrey Run, it is readily conceived that it would have been an important and long frequented camping ground and as such was probably occupied the day the English reached the falls a few miles below.

Large boulders, and pebbles of diabase and diabasic rocks, are found in and near the bed of Embrey Run, and these served the Indians as raw material for their stone implements. For a hundred yards or more from the left bank of the run, and some distance from the river, the surface is strewn with a vast quantity of fractured pebbles and flakes, and often a piece of more specialized form—evidence of the fact that this was a site where much work had been done and many objects made. With few exceptions the fractured surfaces are altered to the same degree as the ax and projectile points already mentioned, but others have changed little in appearance since they were struck from the mass.

## FOREST HALL SITE

The aerial photograph of which a part is reproduced in plate 5 was made from high over the mouth of the Rapidan, with the camera pointing a little east of south. It is looking down the Rappahannock, as the stream bears to the left in the distance. On the right is the Synam farm—part of the old Forest Hall plantation—a mile or more below the junction of the two streams. The dwelling and barns, far to the right in the picture, stand on land some 40 or 50 feet higher than the Rappahannock. The flats bordering the river bank, where once stood a native village, are mostly cultivated and are very rich and productive. This is the first cleared ground on the Rappahannock below the mouth of the Rapidan, in the midst of a thickly timbered area that has changed little in appearance since the days when it was claimed by the Manahoac tribes. Here the river banks are rather high, with islands both above and below, and although when the photograph was made (Sept. 17, 1934) the river was unusually high, the waters had not spread over the bordering fields. This was a most desirable site for a native settlement, one which had evidently been occupied from the earliest times.

The entire surrounding country is of much historical interest, and less than a mile west of the Synam house are the remains of the iron furnace constructed by Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1727, the first furnace erected in North America for the exclusive manufacture of pig iron. This became known as the "Tubal Works".

The large field on the right bank in the bend of the river proved to be of interest when visited late in the summer of 1934. Much of the surface was strewn with pottery, all small fragments, broken and ground by the plow during the many years the land has been cultivated. Some arrowpoints, a few entire but the majority fractured, were likewise found, together with innumerable flakes of quartz, quartzite, and diabasic rocks. In addition to the material discovered on the site at that time, other objects were obtained that had been collected during the past few years, all tending to indicate the location of an extensive native settlement. This may have been one of the Manahoac villages occupied in 1608, but some of the specimens appear to be much older than others, suggesting more than one period of occupancy by different tribes, the last of which ended about the middle of the seventeenth century. Material from the site is shown in plates 6 and 7.

Many of the projectile points and other small chipped objects found on the site are made of white quartz, and for that reason there is no difference in the surface appearance of the specimens, although some

may be centuries older than others. Typical examples are illustrated in plate 6. One triangular point with a concave base, made of black chert, was found near the river bank. It is known that quantities of points of many types and sizes have been found scattered over the surface during past years, and the same is true of larger objects. Undoubtedly one or more burial mounds once stood nearby.

The four stone artifacts also illustrated in plate 6 are believed to have been made and used during an early period of occupancy. The surfaces of all are deeply weathered and have become so worn and smoothed that it is often difficult to distinguish where flakes had been

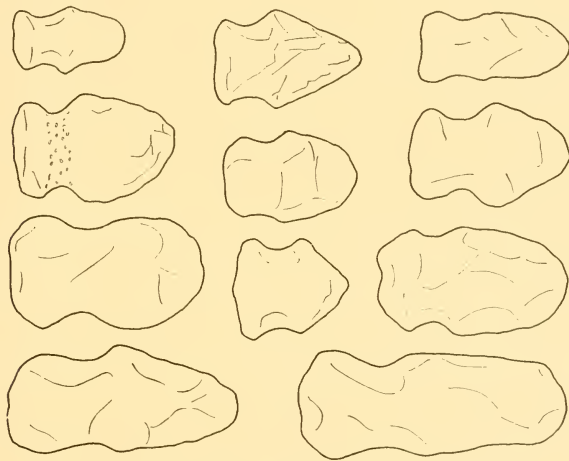


FIG. 5.—Specimens from the Forest Hall site.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size.

removed. Specimens of this class have been very numerous on the site, and the outlines of 11 examples are given in figure 5. These vary greatly in size and must necessarily have served different purposes—some as weapons, others as implements. Some larger and others smaller than any illustrated have been found. All are made of diabasic rocks.

Examples of grooved axes and celts found on the site are shown in plate 7. These resemble more closely the artifacts found on sites along the Potomac than those usually encountered west of the falls of the Rappahannock. All are attributed to a later period, and the difference between these and the four specimens illustrated in plate 6 is very apparent.

A fragment of a thin ornament, possibly a perforated tablet, made of schist was found near the center of the field. The surface is smooth and has not become altered through exposure.

The fragmentary pottery found on the site, characteristic examples of which are shown in plate 7, is very uniform in texture and decoration. Little if any tempering material had been added to the clay of which the vessels were made. Some sherds reveal a small amount of crushed quartz, but this may have been natural. The fragments on the top row are bits of rims of vessels. Some specimens were cord-marked, others appear to have been decorated by the use of a narrow roulette. As shown in the illustration, the cords that had been impressed upon the soft clay varied greatly in size; some were no thicker than a heavy thread, others were very coarse. The impression on the small specimen *a* resembles that of a rigid coiled basket, closely woven and very regular.

Only very small fragments of pottery were discovered on the surface; consequently, it is not possible to determine either the size or the form of the vessels.

RIGHT BANK OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK FROM THE MOUTH OF THE  
RAPIDAN TO RICHARDS FORD

The junction of the two streams, however large or small they may have been, was always a desirable location for a native settlement. In a densely forested country, trails often followed the banks of streams, and where it was possible to use canoes, the streams themselves served as lines of communication. Consequently, the junction of two water courses afforded three distinct routes that led away from the camp, or by which it could be approached. Fishing may also have been better at or near the mouth of a tributary stream.

In plate 8 is reproduced an aerial photograph made from high over the Forest Hall site, looking up the Rappahannock, with the camera pointing about due north. The mouth of the Rapidan is on the left, and the farm on the right bank of the Rappahannock (on the left in the view, which is looking up the river) is at Richards Ford, about 1 mile above the mouth of the Rapidan. The small, rocky, V-shaped island seen in the foreground may also be distinguished in plate 5, and had the water not been so very high, other islands and ledges would be visible in the channel of the river. It will be observed how great a part of the country remains heavily timbered, although a section of it now overgrown may, long ago, have been cleared and cultivated.

A small clearing can be seen between the two rivers at the mouth of the Rapidan. This was cultivated a few years ago, but when visited

during the autumn of 1934, it was overgrown, and the surface could not be examined. However, along the margin of the higher ground, facing the Rappahannock and less than 20 feet from it, fragments of pottery and several quartz points were discovered in a stratum about 1 foot below the present surface. This indicates the exposed surface at one period of occupancy; the superstratum of sand was deposited by the river during some great freshet. The level area is not more than 2 acres in extent, bounded by the rivers and a cliff, and this, when carefully examined, should prove of exceptional interest.

Cliffs face the Rappahannock from Richards Ford and beyond to the mouth of the Rapidan. They reach the right bank of the river just above the ford, but a short distance below the crossing the low ground, between the foot of the cliff and the river bank, is about 250 feet wide. Much of the low ground is not visible in the photograph, plate 8, as it is screened by a fringe of trees and brush along the bank, overhanging the water.

A vertical aerial view of the river and adjacent land at the ford is reproduced in plate 9, figure 1. Several large islands in the river just above the ford are not included in the picture. The house near the upper left corner is on a plateau some 50 feet higher than the river, but the cultivated field, on the right bank of the Rappahannock and extending beyond the area shown in the photograph, rises only a few feet above the normal stage of the river and was under water during the flood of September 1934. The fragmentary pottery shown in plate 9 was found on the surface of the field a few days after the waters had receded, and may be briefly described:

Specimen *a* appears not to be a fragment of a vessel, but suggests a piece of wet clay that had been accidentally pressed on a woven bag or a piece of matting. It is flat on both sides, very porous, and of a light reddish color. The textile, as restored, is shown natural size in figure 6. The long elements resemble a grass or some other vegetal fiber that had not been twisted, and these were held together by tightly twisted cords.

Three specimens, *b*, bear the impression of nets. That on the largest fragment is clearly defined, and a double impression of the net appears on part of the surface. The meshes were about one quarter inch square, knotted at the crossing of the cords. The nets used on the other two specimens had much smaller meshes, and the impressions are less distinct. The two pieces *c* were probably similar to the three preceding, but the surfaces have become smoothed, either intentionally or as the result of use and wear. The color of all is brownish. The very small quantity of crushed quartz intermixed with the clay may



have been added as tempering. The five fragments just mentioned have the appearance of greater age than the majority of specimens recovered from the site, and may have belonged to an early period of occupancy.

The decoration on the small fragment *d* is more difficult to understand. It appears as four parallel lines of cord marks, less than one-quarter inch apart. Of these the first and second, and the third and fourth, are joined by similar impressions so placed as to form rows of squares, but no indications of knots are visible. It suggests the use of a net made of finely twisted cords, impressed upon the plastic clay, with the connecting lines between two rows of the mesh smoothed away.

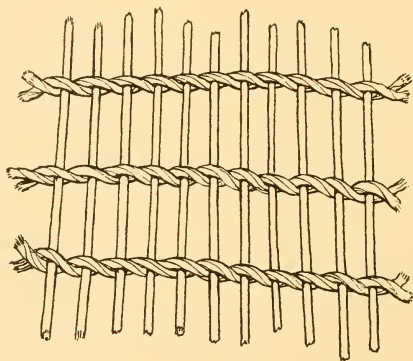


FIG. 6.—Textile, restored, from Richards Ford. Natural size.  
U.S.N.M. no. 373791.

Many of the fragments reveal the use of the roulette, and others are cord-marked. The impression on *c* was produced by either a textile or basketry, the surface is greatly worn. No examples of incised decorations were discovered on the site. The three specimens to the right in the top row are fragments of rims of vessels.

A few arrowpoints made of white quartz were found scattered over the surface of the fields, and near the center of the plowed area shown in the vertical photograph were several diabase boulders from which pieces had been struck, with a quantity of small flakes nearby. The surfaces of the flakes are only slightly altered, although they have been exposed to the action of the elements for three centuries or more. The finding of flakes in this condition indicates that some work had been done on the site at a comparatively late day.



As mentioned when reference was made to the probable location of the five settlements indicated on the 1624 map, Hassuiuga is assumed to have stood on the banks of the Rappahannock in the vicinity of the present Richards Ford. Lederer undoubtedly followed an Indian trail when making his memorable journey in 1670. On August 21, the day after leaving the falls, he and his party crossed the Rappahannock "where it divided into two branches north and south, keeping the main branch north of us", obviously at the ford later to be known as Richards Ford. A very old road not more than 6 feet in width, and probably following the course of a still more ancient trail, ascends from the river bank to the plateau at the edge of the line of trees on the southern boundary of the clearing in which the house stands. This may be traced in the vertical view, and it was undoubtedly the trail over which Lederer passed "due west to the top of the Apalataean Mountains."

#### QUARRY-WORKSHOP

Evidence of a quarry-workshop was discovered on the left bank of the Rappahannock just below a small branch known as Polecat Run, approximately midway between Ellis Ford and the mouth of Deep Run. The site proved to be of much interest and may be rather extensive, but during our brief visit its extent could not be ascertained.

The low ground continues for some distance along the stream and is here about 300 feet wide, from the river bank to the beginning of the rising ground. But it was probably too low ever to have been occupied by a permanent village, although it would have been a temporary camping ground for those seeking material at the quarry. A small ax of the early form, with its surface greatly altered through long exposure, was found on the surface near the foot of the cliff, and several quartz and quartzite points were discovered nearby. A few bits of pottery were recovered from the surface some distance from the river bank.

During September 1934 the Rappahannock was unusually high, and the waters washed away the soil to a depth of several feet for a distance of from 50 to 100 feet back from the normal bank of the river. The quarry-workshop was exposed along the face of the newly eroded surface, where boulders, and fractured pieces of diabasic rocks, quartz, and quartzite, had been uncovered by the flood. Intermingled in the mass of sand and rock were numerous flakes that had been removed during the process of shaping weapons and implements.

Typical examples of the material from the site are illustrated in figure 7. Specimens *a*, *b*, and *d* are diabase; *c* is a flake of dark brownish shale. All are altered through exposure.

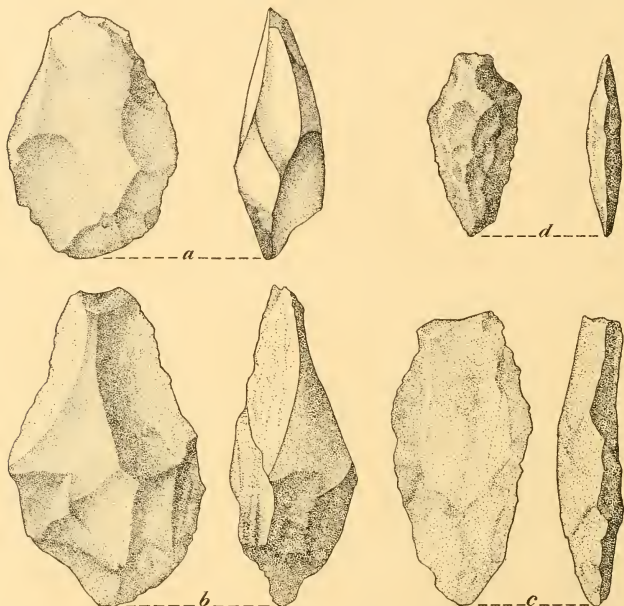
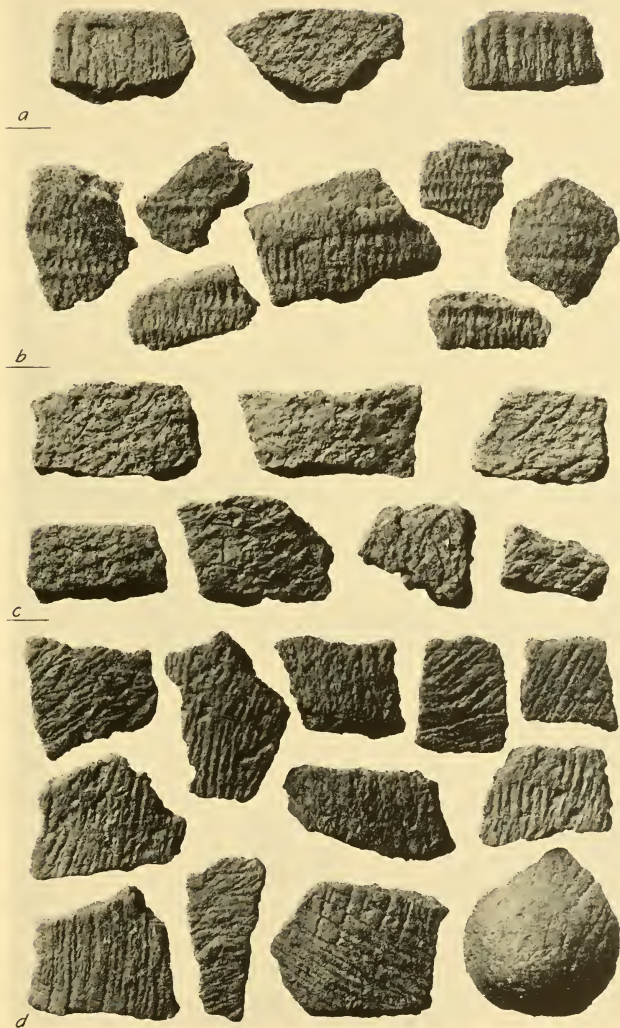


FIG. 7.—Workshop material from left bank of the Rappahannock about 1 mile above Deep Run.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373777.

#### ROGERS FORD

Rogers Ford is a crossing of the Rappahannock just above a great bend of the river. In a direct line it is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles north of Skinkers Ford on the Rapidan, where once stood a large native settlement. The sandy bottoms bordering the right bank of the river at Rogers Ford are extensive and become much wider above than below the ford, where the rising ground soon reaches to near the water. The entire area was inundated during the flood of September 1934, but the fields were not gullied, and the only erosion occurred for a space of not more than 50 feet back from the normal bank, where the surface was lowered 2 feet or more. The land on the opposite side of the stream appears to be somewhat higher but it could not be reached.



FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM RIGHT BANK OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK  
AT ROGERS FORD

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373792.



Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

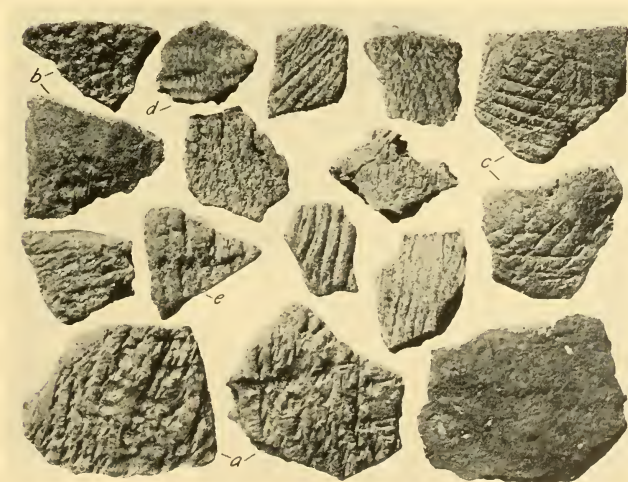
LOOKING UP THE VALLEY OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK FROM KELLYS FORD





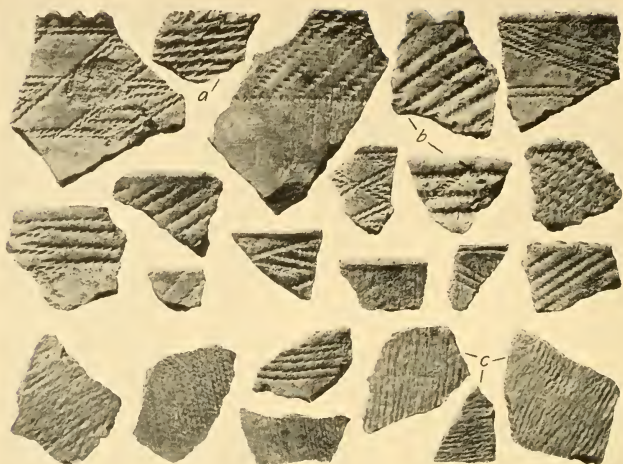
Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

1. DOWN THE VALLEY OF THE RAPPAHANNOCK FROM KELLYS FORD  
Mouth of Marsh Run on left.



2. FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM THE RIGHT BANK OF THE  
RAPPAHANNOCK AT KELLYS FORD

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373793.



1. FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM JERRY'S FLATS, ON LEFT BANK OF THE RAPIDAN ABOUT 2 MILES ABOVE ITS MOUTH

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373794.



2. POINTS ATTRIBUTED TO EARLY PERIOD

*a*, pentagonal point found north of Elys Ford. Two Folsom type points: *b*, from near Orange; *c*, found near bank of the Rappahannock about 15 miles below Fredericksburg. Natural size.



A number of arrowpoints were found on the cultivated surface several hundred yards above the ford. Many were broken, but they proved to be of interest as the majority were triangular forms, some having very deep concave bases. Several were made of black flint, others of quartz and quartzite. No examples were discovered, however, of the more common types made of white quartz, such as were found on the Forest Hall site and which occur throughout the piedmont. It is difficult to believe they are not to be found on the site. One small flake of black flint that had served as a scraper or blade was found. Scattered over the same cultivated area were innumerable fractured pebbles, and quantities of flakes of diabase, some of which were greatly altered. Many small pieces of white quartz that showed evidence of working, were likewise found. It is evident that much work had been done here, and possibly some interesting specimens could be discovered beneath the surface.

A large number of fragments of pottery were encountered on the surface near the river bank, a hundred yards or more above the ford. They had evidently been exposed when the soil washed away, probably during the freshet of last autumn, and all appear to be equally old. Examples are shown in plate 10. Three specimens, *a*, at the top of the plate, are fragments of rims of vessels, representing two forms of decoration, as will be mentioned later. Below are seven pieces, *b*, all of which are thought to bear the impression of basketry. The specimen on the extreme left is more than  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in thickness and contains some very large pieces of crushed quartz, which had been added to the clay. Next below are seven fragments, *c*, some of which may have belonged to the same vessel. The impressions on the surfaces were made by a loosely woven, rather coarse textile, possibly similar to that later to be mentioned in connection with material found at Skinkers Ford. The rim fragment in the middle of the top row is an example of this ware. A small amount of crushed quartz, some being rather coarse, had been added as tempering material.

The fragments included in *b* and *c* are bits of roughly made vessels, all of which must have been large. The pieces are now of a light brownish color and are very hard. All are examples of coiled ware as revealed by some fragments that have separated at the line of contact of the coils, a feature clearly illustrated by the specimen shown on the left, bottom row, in group *c*.

Eleven examples of cord marked sherds are reproduced in *d*, some of which undoubtedly belonged to the same vessel. The two rim fragments at the ends of the top row are the same type of ware. This differs from that included in *b* and *c*; it is somewhat thinner, is of

a reddish color, and the paste of which it was made was of a finer texture. A small amount of fine sand contained in the paste may have been added as a tempering material, although it could have occurred naturally in the clay. The walls of the vessels had been carefully made, and no indications of the coils remain.

The conical bottom of a large coiled vessel is shown in the lower right corner of the plate, and is also sketched in figure 8. The fragment is more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick in the middle, and in color and texture it resembles the cord-marked ware previously mentioned. It is broken at the line of contact of the coils; the end of one is clearly shown and reveals how they had been added, spirally, to form the wall of the vessel. This suggests an Algonquian type. The conical base was devised to hold the vessel in place when in use.

One of the drawings made by John White in 1585 bears the legend: "Their seetheynge of their meate in earthen pottes", and although



FIG. 8.—Conical base of a large vessel. Coiled ware, with the end of a coil exposed on the right. The edges of the fragment are smoothed and worn away. Natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373792.

this is intended to represent a group of Algonquian Indians living in northeastern North Carolina a generation before the settlement of Jamestown, the description would have applied equally well to people who occupied villages in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area early in the seventeenth century. It reads in part as follows:

Their woemen know how to make earthen vessells with special Cunnige and that so large and fine. . . . After they have set them uppon an heape of erthe to stay them from fallinge, they putt wood under which being kyndled one of them taketh great care that the fyre burne equallye Rounde abowt. They or their woemen fill the vessel with water, and then putt they in fruite, flesh, and fish, and lett all boyle together.<sup>18</sup>

This had been the custom through generations.

The site at Rogers Ford is one of much interest, and the material, although not plentiful, indicates a connection between it and the village that stood so short a distance southward, on the left bank of the Rapidan at Skinkers Ford. Both may have been occupied long before the coming of the Manahoac.

<sup>18</sup> Hariot's Narrative. Quaritch reprint, 1893.

## SITE AT KELLYS FORD

Traces of an ancient native settlement were encountered on the right bank of the Rappahannock above the bridge at Kellys Ford. The site was probably one of importance, as this is believed to have been near the crossing place of the old Carolina Road, already mentioned in connection with the movement of the Manahoac southward. If this belief is correct, it is evident that the area had been visited by members of many tribes in addition to those of the historic Siouan group, whose camps may at different times have occupied both banks of the river, both above and below the ford. Fragmentary pottery with other evidence of occupancy was found scattered over the surface of the cleared and cultivated area reaching to the river bank and extending to the foot of the rapids. This is shown on the left in the photograph reproduced in plate 11, a view up the valley, with the camera pointed about due north.

A short distance below the bridge, on the left bank of the Rappahannock, is the mouth of Marsh Run, a small, sluggish stream that flows through a famed hunting ground of past generations. Beyond this are Elk Run and Elk Marsh, suggestive names that have come down from the days of the colonists. A view down the valley, showing the mouth of Marsh Run on the extreme left, is reproduced in plate 12, figure 1.

Sand has been removed to a depth of 2 or 3 feet from an acre or more of the site; the excavation thus made can be seen just below the rapids, on the left, in the view looking up the river.

The sherds illustrated in plate 12, figure 2, were discovered on the sandy surface adjoining the excavations, nearer the bridge. These may be described briefly:

Specimens *a* are two pieces that evidently belonged to the same vessel, the specimen on the left being part of the rim. It is coiled ware, hard and black throughout, except where it is weathered to a light brownish on the exposed surfaces. A small amount of crushed quartz, some of which is very coarse, was used as tempering material. The fragment is  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in thickness near the rim. The surface bears the impression of very coarse cords, but no indications of a woven fabric.

Specimens *b* are the only fragments of this type of ware encountered on the site, and both may have belonged to the same vessel. The texture and color of the ware, as well as the impression on the surface, are the same as in specimen *b* discovered at Skinkers Ford on the Rapidan and figured in plate 17.

Specimens *c* are fragments of a very heavy coiled vessel with coarse quartz tempering and bearing the impression of rather fine twisted cords.

Specimen *d* is a small fragment bearing the impression of what is believed to have been a rigid basket. Crushed rock, including a small amount of quartz, was added as tempering material. It is very hard, is reddish brown in color, and has an average thickness of  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

Specimen *e* is a small sherd bearing the impression of a very coarse textile formed of twisted cords, evidently an example of wrapped weaving.

No fragments with incised decorations were found on the site.

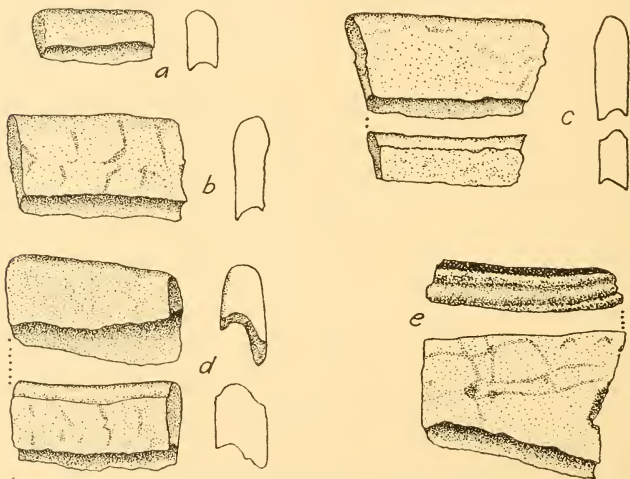


FIG. 9.—Fragments of pottery revealing the use of coils in the construction of the vessels. Natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373793.

A large number of sherds from this interesting locality reveal clearly the method of using coils of clay in building up the walls of a vessel. Fragments have separated at the line of contact of two bands, thus showing not only the size of the coils so employed, but also the manner in which they had been placed in succession, horizontally, one upon another, after which they were worked together in the endeavor to make the mass compact and uniform. In many instances, however, as shown by these fragments, the two bands of clay did not become closely united although the newly applied coil had been rubbed down over

the sides of the one below it. This process caused the bottom of a coil or band of clay to become concave in section, and the top of the one upon which it rested to remain convex. Sketches of specimens from the site illustrating this feature are shown in figure 9.

Large numbers of arrowpoints, mostly made of white quartz and of the types found throughout the region, have been discovered on the site and in the nearby country. Several points made of black chert were likewise found on the site. Flakes of yellow jasper and of dark chert were encountered near the sand pits; one of the former had evidently been used as a scraper or blade, as the edges had become serrated from use. Chipped axes of the early form and other objects of stone are known to have been recovered from the surface of the site in past years, but little now remains to mark the position of the ancient settlement.

A few bits of pottery, including one small fragment similar to plate 12, *d*, and several arrowpoints, were found near the right bank of the Rappahannock opposite and just below the mouth of Marsh Run. Traces of a camp were discovered a mile farther down the river at the mouth of Mountain Run.

The flats in the vicinity of Kellys Ford, and especially those opposite the mouth of Marsh Run, have frequently been flooded, and it is evident that the surface has been reduced since it was first cleared and cultivated; consequently few traces of Indian occupancy can now be found.

#### JERRYS FLATS

As already mentioned, Richards Ford is a crossing of the Rappahannock a mile or more due north of the mouth of the Rapidan. About the same distance from the ford, a little south of west, is a wide turn in the Rapidan some 2 miles above its junction with the Rappahannock. Here, on both sides of the Rapidan, are extensive low grounds known as Jerrys Flats, with a good ford across the river. A small stream enters the Rapidan on the left bank just above the ford, and this, according to local tradition, was the site of a large Indian village.

Persons living in the vicinity relate that a burial mound formerly stood near the left bank of the small stream 100 feet or more from the Rapidan. This was destroyed some 40 years ago at the time of a great freshet, and it is also related that when the waters had receded, quantities of human remains were found exposed on the surface. Pottery vessels and other objects are remembered to have been found at that time near the skeletal remains, but everything discovered has been lost or scattered.

The position of the mound, the existence of which is well authenticated, undoubtedly indicates the location of one of the Manahoac towns in 1608. The low grounds between the foot of the cliffs and the left bank of the Rapidan was probably occupied by part of the village, which may have bordered both banks of the river. The low grounds have been cultivated for many years and have often been overflowed, as they were during the late summer of 1934.

A slight rise is believed to indicate the former location of the mound, and possibly the lower part of it has never been disturbed. A large amount of fragmentary pottery was found scattered over the surface of the rise and on the adjacent ground. Some of the sherds appeared to have been only recently exposed, probably by the high water early in September, a few weeks before the site was visited.

Examples of the pottery found in the vicinity of the mound are illustrated in plate 13, figure 1. The 15 sherds in the upper part of

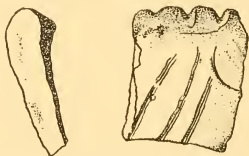


FIG. 10.—Fragment of pottery with incised decoration. Found at Jerrys Ford. Natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373794.

the figure are fragments of rims of vessels showing the variety of cord markings and also how greatly the cords varied in size. Several of the pieces were decorated with the roulette. Many of the rims are smooth and flat, but others were decorated by pressing the plastic clay at intervals to form a fluted edge, as is clearly shown in the photograph. In some instances the depressions extended obliquely across the rim, and specimen *a* is a good example of this form of decoration. Thick twisted cords were impressed in the plastic clay before the vessel was fired. The greater part of the ware is very hard, well made, and contains a very small amount of tempering material.

The two specimens *b* differ from the majority, being rather more porous and containing a greater amount of tempering material, either sand or crushed quartz.

Among the numerous fragments of pottery found on the site were some that were exceptionally thin and of a very fine texture. Examples of the thin ware are shown in the lower part of the illustration. The three specimens *c* are not more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in thickness, and some



pieces are even thinner. All appear to have been parts of rather large vessels, possibly as much as 8 or 10 inches in diameter. No rim fragments of the thin ware were discovered.

One small piece of earthenware (fig. 10) bearing an incised decoration was found near where the mound had stood. This is a fragment of a fluted rim, probably of a small vessel.

A few arrowpoints made of white quartz, and many flakes of quartz and quartzite, were found on different parts of the low grounds, and these, together with the fragments of pottery already described, were all that could be discovered to indicate the position of a native village that was occupied three centuries or more ago.

#### ELYS FORD

A bridge now spans the Rapidan at the old crossing place which still bears the name Elys Ford. This is about midway between the mouth of the river and Skinkers Ford and was evidently on the route of Indian trails long before the settlement of the colony. Although the flats on both sides of the river at the bridge have often been covered by water, sand has been deposited in some places, and on other sections the surface soil has been washed away, but nevertheless, traces of Indian occupancy are still to be found. Small fragments of pottery, arrowpoints made of white quartz and flakes and masses of the same material from which pieces had been struck, together with several chipped axes of diabase were found on the surface near the right bank of the river just above the bridge. The axes are of the early form, with surfaces greatly altered; the small bits of pottery are weathered and worn, but are unusually hard and compact and reveal the use of finely crushed quartz as tempering material. Although the evidence is scant, it suggests that this was the site of a very ancient settlement.

Points of the recognized Folsom type (pl. 13, fig. 2, *b* and *c*) have been discovered just outside the area now being considered,<sup>19</sup> one in the vicinity of Orange, another a short distance below Fredericksburg in King George County, but none is known to have been found between these localities. However, a specimen of a different form (pl. 13, fig. 2, *a*), but which may be equally old, was discovered on the high land, east of the road, about a quarter of a mile north of Elys Ford. It is made of a dark, slightly mottled yellow jasper. Its dimensions are: length from tip of point to middle of base,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; width,  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inches; greatest thickness,  $\frac{2}{16}$  inches.

<sup>19</sup> Literary Digest, June 9, 1934.

This must be accepted as a highly specialized form, and until a name is supplied, it may be referred to as a pentagonal type of point, or blade, attributed to an early culture. Very few examples have thus far been recorded. Like the Folsom points, however, they may be widely scattered east of the Mississippi, although not numerous in any one locality. Examples have been discovered in the northwestern part of Louisiana, in a region where many Folsom points have likewise been found, but the relation of the two types, if any actually exists, has not been determined. To learn the distribution of the pentagonal type would be of interest in connection with the study of the Folsom points.<sup>20</sup>

#### SITE AT SKINKERS FORD

Skinkers Ford is an old crossing of the Rapidan between 2 and 3 miles down the river from all that remains of Governor Spotswood's settlement at Germanna, adjoining Fox Neck and Indian Town, which will later be described. The ford is near the middle of a great bend in the river, and immediately below it is an ancient fish trap that occupies the entire stream bed from bank to bank. This will be termed the lower trap, to distinguish it from the upper trap, which extends across the river a little more than half a mile above.

The site gives the impression of being very extensive and of having been occupied and reoccupied by different tribes through generations. When in its native state, with dense forests covering cliffs and ravines and reaching to the river banks, it would have been one of the most desirable locations for a native settlement in the entire valley of the Rapidan. Fish were undoubtedly plentiful, as suggested by the presence of the traps, and wild game was always to have been encountered in the surrounding wilderness. Although an additional water supply was of no great importance, because of the proximity of the river, several springs of sufficient size to supply the wants of many people flow from beneath the cliffs that border the low ground.

Both sides of the Rapidan had been occupied, but only that part of the site on the left bank of the river, extending between the two fish traps, will be described at this time. However, the entire area is worthy of careful examination, and possibly the right bank, being the higher, would prove to be the more interesting.

The entire site is shown in plate 14. This is a view up the river, the camera being pointed about northwest. At the time the photo-

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<sup>20</sup> The specimen just described is in the private collection of F. M. Aldridge, Fredericksburg, Va.



Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**SITE AT SKINKERS FORD ON THE RAPIDAN**

Looking up the valley.



Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**1. SITE AT SKINKERS FORD ON THE RAPIDAN**

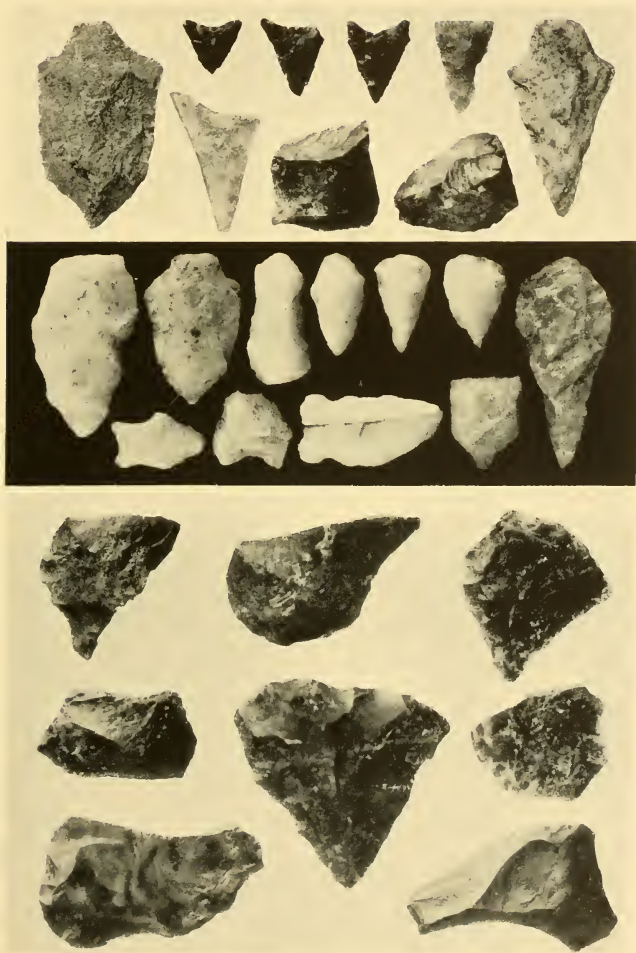
Looking down the valley.



Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**2. SITE AT SKINKERS FORD ON THE RAPIDAN**

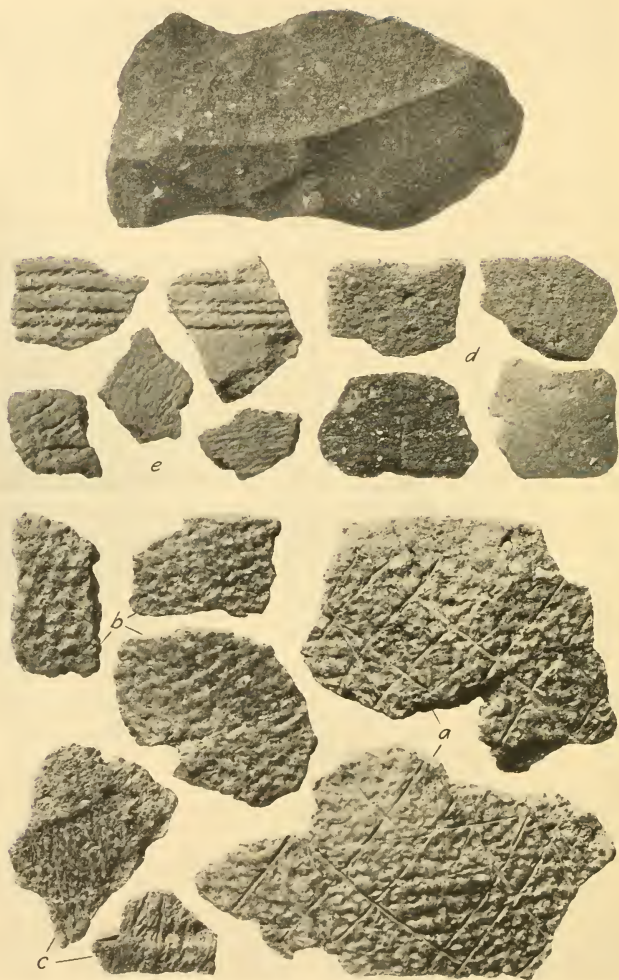
Looking down the river and showing the position of the lower fish trap.



**SPECIMENS FROM SITE AT SKINKERS FORD ON THE RAPIDAN**

Above, various small objects,  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. Below, eight jasper blades and scrapers, natural size. U.S.N.M. nos. 373795-6.





## SPECIMENS FROM SITE AT SKINKERS FORD ON THE RAPIDAN

Above, implement attributed to the early period. Below, fragments of pottery.  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. no. 373797.



graph was made, the river was higher than it had been for years, and much of the low ground was flooded. A road can be distinguished running from a group of barns near the left center of the picture to the river on the right. This is lost in the fringe of timber, but leads down to the ford, which here crosses to the left bank of the river near the cluster of trees. This is just above the lower fish trap, which cannot be distinguished by reason of the depth of the water, which likewise covers much of the low ground on the left bank of the river between the two traps. The second or upper trap crosses the river at the far end of the low ground, just below the heavy mass of timber that reaches the bank of the river where it begins to bear to the right. Nothing of the history of the traps is known to the present occupants of the adjoining farms. The traps have existed in their present condition as long as can be remembered and have never been used.

A view down the river over the ford, showing the position of the lower fish trap, is reproduced in plate 15, figure 2.

A sketch of the lower trap is shown in figure 11. This was not made to scale, no actual measurements having been taken, but it is sufficiently accurate to reveal the several peculiar features. The river at this point is approximately 25 yards in width. The two lines of boulders touch the banks and extend down the stream approaching to within 6 or 7 feet near the middle of the channel. The two walls then continue for about 10 feet, roughly parallel. Logs extending transversely are still remaining, both above and below the opening, under water and partly covered by sand and gravel. The ends of these are held in place on the right by a long log, extending with the current, and this in turn is held down by a large flat boulder. Probably a similar log, likewise held in place by a boulder, once stood on the opposite side. The upper trap is said to be of similar construction, but viewed from the left bank of the river, it appears to be rather more massive and to be better preserved.

Although it is well known that traps of this general form were constructed by Indians in prehistoric times, it is difficult to accept these two examples as having existed in their present condition for more than a century. But their history is unknown and consequently nothing definite can be told of their origin—when and by whom they were constructed. As previously mentioned, traps similar to these occur in the Rappahannock just below the large island at the falls.

Undoubtedly, innumerable objects of native origin were once scattered over the surface of the site or accumulated in refuse heaps, but little can now be found. However, considering the number of years the land has been cultivated and the frequent floods that have

covered parts of the site, it is all the more interesting to find some traces of what may have been an extensive native village, possibly one of the Manahoac settlements mentioned in 1608.

Many arrowpoints have been found on the site and on the adjacent lands. The great majority are made of white quartz and are of the forms so plentiful throughout piedmont Virginia, similar to those

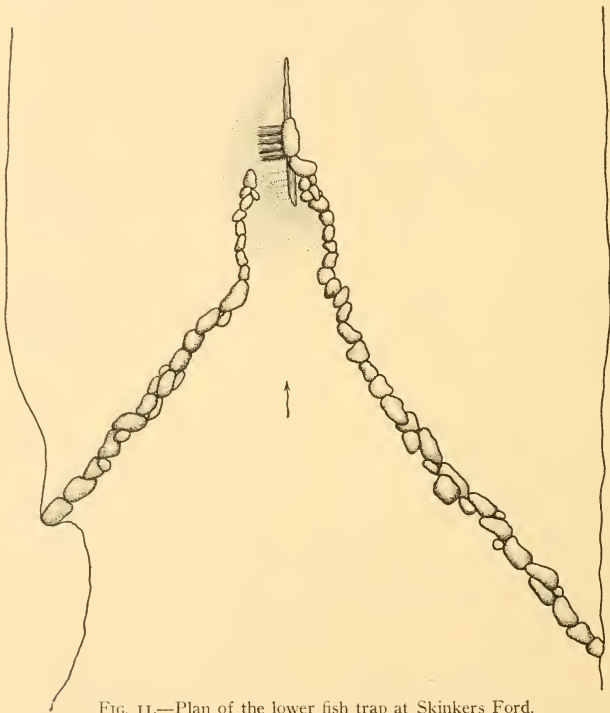


FIG. 11.—Plan of the lower fish trap at Skinkers Ford.

figured from the Forest Hall site and from the vicinity of Potato Run. Axes of the early form, roughly chipped and weathered, likewise occur on the site, and a few fragments of cord-marked pottery have been found on both sides of the Rapidan, but other material has been recovered that is rather unusual.

Small jasper scrapers and blades were found on the surface, within a very limited area, not far from the normal bank of the river, and

although this spot was under water when the photograph shown in plate 14 was made, it is clearly defined in the view reproduced in plate 15, figure 1. It is the slight rise to the right and just beyond the sharp turn in the line of brush and trees that marks the course of a small stream that joins the Rappahannock far to the left in the picture. Eight specimens are shown natural size in plate 16. The one in the lower left is made of a mottled purplish jasper; all others are of a brownish-yellow color. The material was probably found as pebbles or boulders in the stream bed.

In addition to the great number of quartz arrowpoints that have been found scattered over the surface, some examples of triangular points made of black flint have been discovered. Three of the latter are illustrated in plate 16, together with various small flaked objects which, for want of better terms, may be called scrapers, knives, and perforators.

Chips of different kinds of rock are scattered over the surface—evidence that implements and weapons were made on the site. These are numerous near the rise on which the jasper scrapers and blades were discovered, and at one place, within a space of a few feet, were many thin flakes of diabase from 2 to 3 inches in length. These are so greatly weathered and altered that it is often impossible to distinguish the natural from the flaked surfaces. Nearby was found the specimen shown in the upper left corner of plate 16, probably a cutting implement, made of diabase, the surface being deeply weathered.

Very little pottery was recovered from the site, but undoubtedly much remains to be discovered. However, fragments that had belonged to three different vessels were found on the left bank of the river, near the water, and these proved to be of much interest. The location is clearly shown in plate 15, figure 2, in the brush just beyond the edge of the cultivated ground. The area was under water during the September freshet. These specimens are illustrated in plate 17, and may be described briefly:

The two fragments, *a*, belonged to a vessel that would have measured between 20 and 22 inches in diameter and probably about 10 inches in depth. Having a thickness of only  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch, it would necessarily have been rather fragile. The ware is porous in places, but hard. It is of a light reddish brown, and as a result of unequal firing is a more brilliant red in some places than in others. The unusual feature of the vessel is the mixture of large pieces of crushed quartz with the clay, some of the pieces being more than  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in length. Several of the pieces extend through the wall of the

vessel and are visible on both the inside and outside. The outer surface bears the impression of what appears to have been a textile, probably a material woven of cords of buffalo hair similar to that known to have been made in early historic times by tribes in the Mississippi Valley. Deep lines were incised on the surface before the vessel was fired, as a decoration, and are easily distinguished in the photographs. Narrow vertical impressions about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch apart and the same in length appear on the inside of the rim at the top; otherwise the rim of the vessel is plain and straight.

Specimen *b* was similar in many respects to the preceding. It is the same color and texture, and the textile impression on the outer surface is the same, but the incised lines were not added on either the outside of the vessel or the inside of the rim. The tempering is sand or small pieces of crushed quartz, differing in this respect from the very coarse material occurring in *a*. The second piece from the left is a fragment of the rim. The sherds are small, and consequently it is more difficult to estimate the diameter of the vessel, but it was probably smaller than *a*, although the thickness is about the same.

Small fragments found on the site at Kellys Ford, already described, plate 12, figure 2, *b*, belonged to a vessel similar in texture, color, and decoration to the preceding.

Many small fragments of vessel *c* were found close together near the fragments of *a* and *b*. In texture, color, and tempering it closely resembles *b*. The outer surface bears the impression of tightly twisted cords from  $\frac{1}{16}$  to  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter. Many of the cords are parallel and in some instances overlap, but there is no impression of a textile. Cords had probably been bound over a paddle, or some hard material, and then applied to the plastic surface.

The three specimens *a*, *b*, and *c* are examples of coiled ware. The four specimens *d* were found in sand deposited on the river bank near the end of the lower fish trap. The surfaces of all are worn away through exposure to the elements. The remaining five pieces, *e*, came from the vicinity of the upper trap. These show clearly the impressions of cords, some of which were very coarse and appear to have been tightly twisted.

#### FOX NECK AND VICINITY

Fox Neck is a narrow peninsula, bordered by the left bank of the Rapidan where the river makes a sharp bend. It is a high, rolling tract some 12 or 14 miles above the mouth of the river and was included in lands granted to Governor Alexander Spotswood early in the

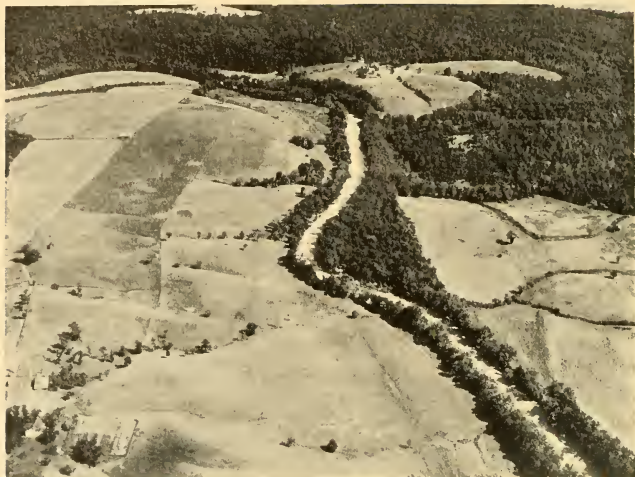


Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**FOX NECK. BORDERED BY THE LEFT BANK OF THE RAPIDAN**

Germana Ford just to the right of point where road crosses the river in upper right-hand part of picture. Camera pointing about northwest.





Photograph U. S. Army Air Corps.

**1, LOOKING DOWN THE RAPIDAN WITH PART OF FOX NECK  
ON THE LEFT**

Camera pointing about southeast.



**2, MATERIAL FROM THE RIGHT BANK OF THE RAPIDAN,  
OPPOSITE FOX NECK**

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. U.S.N.M. nos. 373798-9.





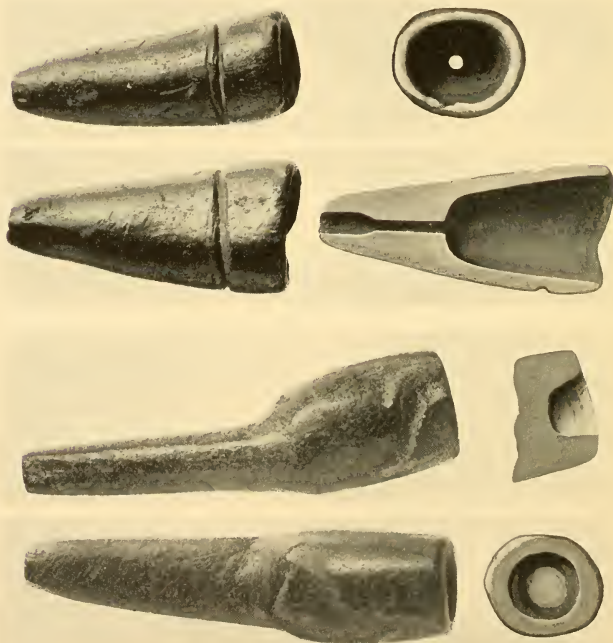
SPECIMENS FOUND ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE RAPIDAN BETWEEN  
POTATO RUN AND BROOKS RUN

$\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. Arrowpoints, U.S.N.M. no. 373800. Three implements,  
U.S.N.M. nos. 373801-3.



1. PIPE MADE OF STEATITE

Found on the supposed site of Stegara, Orange County. Natural size.



2. TWO PIPES MADE OF CHLORITIC SCHIST

Found in Orange County. Upper pipe, finished and much worn from use.  
Lower pipe, unfinished. Both  $\frac{2}{3}$  natural size.

eighteenth century. Here, in April 1714, were seated the German colonists who had been induced by agents of Spotswood to come to Virginia, where they were to work the iron mines about to be developed. The name Germanna, then applied to the settlement, has persisted, although the settlement itself has long since disappeared, and only scant traces of it remain.

In the year 1730, as told in a County Court record: "William Bohannon came into court and made oath that about twenty-six of the Sapony Indians that inhabit Colonel Spotswood's land in Fox's neck go about and do a great deal of mischief by firing the woods . . . and that he verily believes that one of the Indians shot at him the same day . . . that the Indian after firing his gun stood in a stooping manner very studdy so that he could hardly discern him from a stump. . . ." <sup>21</sup> Whether these Indians had formerly been at Fort Christanna or had always lived in the valley of the Rapidan is not known, but the presence of a native settlement on the neck in 1730 suggests that it was the site of one of the more ancient Manahoac towns occupied in 1608. Shackaconia may have stood nearby.

When gathered at Fort Christanna, the groups of Indians were known to the English as the "Sapponi nation". This fact was mentioned in 1728 by Col. William Byrd.<sup>22</sup> He wrote (p. 88):

All the grandees of the Sapponi nation did us the honour to repair hither to meet us. . . . This people is now made up of the remnants of several other nations, of which the most considerable are the Sapponies, the Occaneeches, and Stoukenhocks, who not finding themselves separately numerous enough for their defence, have agreed to unite into one body, and all of them now go under the name of the Sapponies. Each of these was formerly a distinct nation, or rather a several clan or canton of the same nation, speaking the same language, and using the same customs. But their perpetual wars against all other Indians, in time, reduced them so low as to make it necessary to join their forces together.

Consequently, the term "Sapony Indians" would have been applied to the natives who occupied Fox Neck in 1730, even though they may not have descended from the Saponi group. Mount Pony, a few miles west of Stevensburg, probably derived its name from that of the "Sapony Indians" who lived nearby.

An aerial view of Fox Neck and surrounding country is reproduced in plate 18. The camera was pointed about northwest and is looking up the valley of the Rapidan on the left. The road

<sup>21</sup> Scott, W. W., *A history of Orange County, Virginia*, p. 56. Richmond, 1907.

<sup>22</sup> Byrd, William, *The Westover manuscripts: containing the history of the dividing line . . . Petersburg, Va., 1841.*

on the right crosses the river over the recently completed Germanna bridge, and the ancient ford, one of the most historic spots in all Virginia, is less than 100 yards below. To the left of the bridge, on this side of the river, stand the chimneys that belonged to a house erected by Governor Spotswood, the site rising high above the water.

As much of the surface of Fox Neck and of the low grounds on both sides of the Rapidan has been cultivated, worked over, and occupied for more than two centuries, and with rains and floods changing the land, scant traces of Indian occupancy can now be found. But it is not to be doubted that a native settlement once stood nearby. A few fragments of pottery and stone objects were recovered from the cultivated field on the right bank of the river (pl. 19, fig. 2). The site itself is shown in the lower right quarter, near the middle, of plate 19, figure 1. When making this photograph, the camera was pointed southeast. The site may also be distinguished on the extreme left, middle, in the view looking up the valley.

The few fragments of pottery are of a reddish-brown color, hard, and all contain bits of crushed quartz that had been added for tempering. All are cord-marked. The ware resembles certain sherds discovered at Jerrys Flats some miles below.

Projectile points made of white quartz, similar to those occurring throughout the valley, have been found here, but only a few examples, some of superior workmanship and representing the rarer types, together with a blade made of yellow jasper, are shown in plate 19. Quartz is so easily fractured that perfect specimens are seldom found on land that has been cultivated for many years, and one prong is missing from the triangular point shown fourth from left, which had a deep concave base. The second from the left is a form seldom found in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area, but all that have been discovered are equally well made, symmetrical, and finely flaked on the edges. They may not have been arrowpoints, but may have served another purpose. The jasper blade is of particular interest, as other objects made of the same material have been encountered on various sites throughout the area.

#### THE RAPIDAN ABOVE FOX NECK

Mortons Ford is an airline distance of between 6 and 7 miles up the Rapidan from Germanna. From the ford down to the great bend that forms Fox Neck the course of the river is comparatively straight. Extensive flats border the left bank with much higher ground on the opposite side. A great part of the surface that was

exposed several centuries ago, and on which would have stood the native camps and villages, has now been covered with deep deposits of sand, and other sections have been washed away. As a result of these radical changes, traces of Indian occupancy are seldom encountered, and no indications were discovered during two visits made to the section. The floods of September 1934 had left much of the low ground covered with a new deposit of sand, and the same condition is said to prevail throughout the region.

Potato Run enters the left bank of the Rapidan about 1 mile below Mortons Ford, and about half a mile farther down, on the same side, is the mouth of Brooks Run. The G. G. Harris farm is between the two small runs. During an unusual freshet some years ago a number of axlike implements or weapons were exposed at the foot of the rising ground, on the edge of the flat, between the Harris house and the river. These may indicate the site of an ancient camp or village, or the specimens may have been part of a cache. Three of the pieces are illustrated in plate 20, together with examples of white quartz arrowpoints found on different parts of the farm. The three specimens are made of a diabasic rock, are greatly altered, and have changed to a light greenish color. The arrowpoints are the types so plentiful in the surrounding region.<sup>23</sup>

Traces of many camps and villages, together with much material that belonged to different periods of occupancy, may remain hidden beneath the deposits of sand along the river banks, to be revealed from time to time as were the objects on the Harris farm. And it is believed that much of this material, should it be discovered, will prove to have belonged to a time long before the coming of the Manahoac and other historic tribes to the valleys of the Rapidan and Rappahannock.

The paucity of objects makes it desirable to refer to three specimens from farther up the valley of the Rapidan, but still within the limits of Orange County. These are three tobacco pipes, shown in plate 21, and which might well have been found on any one of the sites previously mentioned.<sup>24</sup> They may be briefly described: The small specimen, plate 21, figure 1, was found on the supposed site of Stegara, on the bank of the Rapidan in the extreme western part of Orange County. It is made of a dark grayish steatite and shows the effect of long use. The entire surface is decorated with incised

<sup>23</sup> All specimens illustrated in plate 20 have been presented by G. G. Harris to the U. S. National Museum.

<sup>24</sup> The specimens are in the private collection of J. P. Thompson, Cedar Mountain, Rapidan Station, Va.

lines, and the design suggests that appearing on several fragments of pottery illustrated in plate 3. The two pieces in the lower part of the plate are made of a greenish chloritic schist and were found near the Rapidan a short distance below Orange. The smaller is worn and smoothed from use. The perforation is very regular, as shown in the drawing of the section. The larger specimen was not completed, and although it had been carefully shaped and polished, the perforation had been made for less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in the bowl, and no start had been made in drilling the stem. A solid drill had been used.

In August 1608, on the morning following the encounter between the English and the Indians near the falls of the Rappahannock, in Smith's words: "four Kings came and received *Amoroleck*: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes." And the same statement would undoubtedly have been applicable to a great majority of those who had gathered on the banks of the river. The pipes and such arrowpoints as were made of stone would have remained to the present time, but all else would have disappeared.

Pipes were made of both stone and clay, and although they must have been numerous in all the camps and villages on the banks of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, no example was discovered on any of the sites examined. This suggests the probability that pipes were buried with their owners, but nothing is known of the burial customs of the ancient Manahoac tribes.

#### COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MATERIAL FROM THE RAPIDAN-RAPPAHANNOCK AREA

In the year 1608 the native tribes whose settlements stood on the banks of the Rapidan and Rappahannock pursued the manners and customs and practiced the arts of the Stone Age, thus representing the last of the Stone Age in piedmont Virginia. It is readily agreed that other tribes or groups had preceded them, and that certain sites may have been occupied and reoccupied through many centuries.

During the periods of occupancy many objects were lost or abandoned, and these often accumulated with other material in heaps in the vicinity of the habitations. Once deserted, the site soon became covered with vegetation, which often served to protect the surface of stone or pottery from exposure to the elements. Later the land was cleared and cultivated, the heaps of refuse leveled, and the broken pottery and other traces of native occupancy scattered over the surface, where much remains to the present day. But to separate



the material and determine the period to which the various specimens should be attributed proves to be difficult and in many instances impossible. Such are the conditions encountered in the valleys of the Rapidan and Rappahannock.

Very few specimens of any sort are now found on the sites except axes, projectile points, and fragments of pottery vessels, although other objects, including shallow mortars, long cylindrical pestles, hammers, discoidal stones, and pipes, are frequently described as having been discovered in the past, only to be lost again or scattered.

#### AXES

Axes, and axlike implements and weapons of two distinct types, have been discovered in the ancient Manahoac country and are thought to represent different periods of occupancy. The first, and undoubtedly the older, are the crudely flaked specimens of which the surfaces are weathered and worn away as a result of long exposure to the elements. Typical examples are shown in plates 6 and 20. They are numerous in the valleys of the Rapidan and Rappahannock and represent forms encountered over a wide area northward to New England and southward through Virginia. Specimens from one site often vary greatly in size as is indicated by the outlines given in figure 5, and for that reason they are thought to have served various purposes as weapons and implements. Those discovered in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area appear to be very old; they are uniformly altered and must have belonged to an earlier culture than that represented by the historic Siouan tribes. This belief is substantiated by a specimen discovered in the autumn of 1928 on the supposed site of Stegara, near part of a large burial mound on the right bank of the Rapidan in Orange County. Although the site is beyond the bounds of the region being considered in the present narrative, this single specimen must, nevertheless, be mentioned at this time. It is a flaked axlike object made of diabase. After it was used and later abandoned or lost, the surface became greatly weathered through exposure. Centuries elapsed before it was found, the edges rechipped, and it was again used. But the surface exposed by the removal of the flakes during the later process of reshaping has become only slightly altered, although the object in its present condition has been exposed to the elements for not less than two and one-half centuries. This is conclusive evidence of at least two distinct, long-separated periods of occupancy in piedmont Virginia.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Bushnell, David I., Jr., Evidence of Indian occupancy in Albemarle County, Virginia. Smithsonian Misc. Coll. vol. 89, no. 7, 1933.

The crudely made objects found on the sites along the Rapidan and Rappahannock are assumed to have belonged to the earlier of the two periods indicated by the flaking on this interesting specimen.

Polished grooved axes and celts are thought to have been of much later origin than the preceding. Excellent specimens have been found on the Rappahannock sites below the mouth of the Rapidan, but no examples were encountered above the junction of the streams, although they doubtless occur in some localities. Several are illustrated in plates 3 and 7. Similar forms are numerous on sites along the Potomac, within the territory occupied by the historic Algonquian tribes in 1608, by whom they had probably been made and used. The specimens discovered in the vicinity of the falls of the Rappahannock, and a short distance above, may have been of Algonquian rather than Siouan origin, and obviously should be attributed to the recent, or later, period. Many of the earlier, cruder forms previously mentioned also occur on the Potomac sites, the majority being made of quartzite, whereas a large proportion of those discovered in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area are made of diabase or related rocks.

The collection from the Potomac sites were described and figured by Holmes<sup>20</sup> some years ago, and much of the information presented at that time will apply equally well to the region now being considered.

If the crudely fashioned implements found on sites above the falls belonged to a time before the coming of the Siouan tribes, the interesting question is presented as to what type of axes, or of axlike implements or weapons, was used during the later period. Possibly the Manahoac tribes had not been in the country for many years before they were discovered in 1608, and if this is true, only a small part of the specimens now found would have been made and used by the last of the native tribes to claim the region. Bone, antler, and wood may have been used extensively, just as the same perishable materials were employed by other Siouan tribes at a much later day in the country beyond the Mississippi. All traces of objects made of any one of the three would long since have disappeared, and this may, in part, explain the small number of artifacts now encountered on many sites.

#### PROJECTILE POINTS AND OTHER SMALL FLAKED OBJECTS

Innumerable projectile points, and many small flaked objects, the use of which is often difficult to determine, have been found on sites along the Rapidan and Rappahannock Rivers; others are frequently

<sup>20</sup> Holmes, W. H., Stone implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province. *In* 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol., 1897.

discovered away from the camp and village sites, among the hills and valleys where they had probably been lost by hunters when in quest of game.

Arrowpoints found in the region now being studied vary greatly in age, and when attempting to ascertain the period to which a specimen should be attributed and the tribe or group of tribes to which its maker may have belonged, three factors must be considered: the shape, the material of which it was made, and the condition of the surface.

As stated on a preceding page, the crudely flaked specimens made of a dark diabasic rock, now altered and changed to a brownish color through long exposure to the natural elements, are thought to be the earliest form of axlike implements or weapons encountered in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area. They have been discovered throughout the region, and without exception are so deeply weathered that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the surface from which flakes had been removed. They are assumed to have belonged to a culture that preceded, possibly by centuries, the coming of the historic Siouan and Algonquian groups who claimed the country in 1608.

Arrowheads and spearheads made of the same diabasic rock as the preceding, crudely flaked and equally weathered, have been found on sites with the axes, and it is reasonable to assign them to the same early period. The axes and points should be attributed to the same culture. Six examples of the points are illustrated (pl. 4, *a*), and other specimens in the same illustration, although made of chert, quartzite, and argilite, may likewise be of very early origin. Certain of these resemble in form and size pieces found by Harrington in the upper Tennessee valley<sup>27</sup> and ascribed by him to the earliest of three distinct periods of occupancy, the last being that of the historic Cherokee. Some specimens were made of flint, others of quartz and quartzite, and typical examples were figured by Harrington, plate 48.

Points are often discovered on the surface that differ in shape and material from the characteristic specimens of the region. They had probably been made in some distant locality, to be carried by hunters or warriors and lost near where they are now found. It is impossible to determine, even approximately, the place of origin of many specimens thus encountered, but later, when greater attention is

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<sup>27</sup> Harrington, M. R., Cherokee and earlier remains on Upper Tennessee River. *Mus. Amer. Indian*, New York, 1922.

devoted to the small flaked objects, their value in tracing the movements of tribes will become more readily understood and appreciated.

Triangular points—some of which are found in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area—are classed with those of indeterminable origin just mentioned. They are rather few in number, and the majority are made of a dark or black flint, others of a fine yellow, brown, or gray quartzite. On some the base is straight or only slightly concave, others are very deeply concave. Excellent specimens were found at Rogers Ford, some of which may have been made there. Examples from other sites are shown in plates 4, 16, and 19.

Quantities of triangular points occur on the Potomac sites, and they are even more numerous in certain localities away from Virginia. Many have been discovered in Maryland and northward; others found in the mountainous country of Tennessee and Carolina are considered by some to be the characteristic point of the ancient Cherokee. Many of the scattered specimens now encountered in the vicinity of the Rappahannock and Rapidan are thought to have been made far away from the country of the Manahoac.

The great majority of points found scattered over the surface are made of white quartz, and are similar to others widely distributed throughout piedmont Virginia. The various forms, some of which are very distinctive, are illustrated in plates 6 and 20. As the material of which they are made is not affected by long exposure there is no change in the appearance of the surface that would suggest, or aid in determining, the relative age of the different specimens. Some were made and used by the Manahoac after the year 1608, others belonged to an earlier period, but all now appear equally old.

Small blades and scrapers made of jasper and chalcedony were discovered on several sites and may be plentiful in the area. A greater number were found in the vicinity of Skinkers Ford than elsewhere, and here, as already mentioned in the description of the site, they occur only in a very limited space. Other examples were found on the surface near Motts Run, also at Rogers Ford, and larger specimens have been recovered from the site opposite the large island at the falls. All are very interesting, but it is not possible to determine to which period of occupancy they should be attributed.

Part of what may have been a projectile point found at Skinkers Ford was made of the same yellow jasper, as was also the pentagonal point found north of Elys Ford. The latter specimen should, it is believed, be assigned to an early period, to which the small pieces from the vicinity of Skinkers Ford may likewise have belonged.

The beautiful blade from opposite Fox Neck was made of the same light yellow jasper.

Many flakes and small bits of the same material that do not reveal evidence of use have been discovered on various sites, as at Kellys Ford, Motts Run, and Skinkers Ford.

The jasper had undoubtedly been obtained in the form of pebbles from the stream beds, but although large pieces of red jasper were encountered at several places, neither implements nor flakes of it were discovered.

#### POTTERY

The fragmentary pottery, occurring on many sites along the banks of the Rapidan and the Rappahannock, differs greatly in texture, decoration, and apparent age.

As yet no undisturbed refuse heap has been encountered in which it would be possible to discover successive strata that would represent the several periods of occupancy of a site and thereby make it possible to determine the sequence of the various types of ware. Some such heaps may remain hidden beneath masses of vegetation, but others have been reduced by the plow and their contents scattered over the leveled surface, resulting in the intermingling on the same site of sherds representing more than one culture. Therefore, in the endeavor to determine the relative age of the fragments and the periods to which they may have belonged, they were compared with other pieces that had been discovered under more favorable conditions in other localities.

What is believed to be the earliest pottery found in the Middle Atlantic region will be considered first. Harrington,<sup>28</sup> when exploring in Loudon County, Tenn., discovered traces of very early occupancy of the upper valley of the Tennessee. He distinguished evidence of three distinct cultures that had followed in succession, the oldest of which was designated that of the "Round Grave people," because of their curious form of burial. The characteristic pottery associated with the burials—only sherds being discovered—was "marked with parallel corrugated indentations quite different from anything seen in the Cherokee deposits." The latter were more recent. Examples of the crude ware were figured (Harrington, pl. 47), and *b* in the illustration appears to be similar to a small fragment found on the site at Kellys Ford on the Rappahannock (pl. 12, *d*), as well as to another piece discovered a short distance down the river, about

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<sup>28</sup> Harrington, *op. cit.*

opposite the mouth of Marsh Run. Crushed stone had served as tempering material in both specimens from the Rappahannock, which are very hard and of a reddish-brown color. The "parallel corrugated indentations" appear to have resulted from the use of a basket in forming the vessel, thus preserving on the outside of the pottery vessel the impression of the inside of the rigid basket.

When the surface of a bit of pottery has become partly worn away, it is difficult to distinguish between the markings made by a roulette and the impressions caused by contact of the plastic clay with woven textiles or the surface of a basket. Coiled baskets are thought to have been unknown to the historic Siouan and Algonquian tribes of Virginia, but they had evidently been made and used by others who had preceded them, by whom the early earthenware vessels had likewise been fashioned.

Two fragments of pottery found on the right bank of the Rappahannock below the mouth of the Rapidan bear the impressions of basketry, appearing to have been of the coiled variety. Of these, the specimen found opposite the falls, shown in plate 3, *d*, is the more interesting. Although the surface has become considerably worn and smoothed the impression left by the basketry in the plastic clay remains clearly defined. The second of the two examples (pl. 7, *a*) was found a few miles up the river on the Forest Hall site. This at first glance suggests the impression of a roulette, but it is believed to be that of a basket. Several very good examples of similar ware discovered farther up the Rappahannock at Rogers Ford are likewise believed to have belonged to a period that preceded the coming of the historic Siouan tribes to the Rapidan-Rappahannock area.

Fragments of ware that bear on the surface clearly made impressions of coiled basketry have been discovered on the Anacostia site in the District of Columbia. Other examples have been found in North Carolina, in the vicinity of Albemarle Sound in the northeastern part of the State, in Carteret County (U.S.N.M. No. 140929) midway down the coast, in New Hanover County just north of the mouth of Cape Fear River,<sup>29</sup> and in Granville County near the Virginia line. Farther south, fragments of pottery bearing similar impressions have been reported from near the mouth of the Santee River, midway down the coast of South Carolina; in the vicinity of Montgomery, Ala.; and in Clarke County (U.S.N.M. 331027) and Oktibbeha County (U.S.N.M. 369327), Miss., both in the eastern

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<sup>29</sup> Bushnell, David I., Jr., Notes on the archaeology of New Hanover County. In *Cape Fear Chronicles*, by James Sprunt, Raleigh, N. C., 1914.



part of the State, the former being bounded on the east by the Alabama line.

Similar material must occur on many sites along the coast as well as in the interior, and its distinctive feature makes it easily recognized. As previously mentioned, this appears to be one of the earliest types of earthenware encountered in the Middle Atlantic and Southeastern areas, and the extreme limits of the region in which it is found should be determined.

Parts of three vessels found on the left bank of the Rapidan at Skinkers Ford closely resemble material from southwest Virginia figured and described by Holmes.<sup>30</sup> Several specimens were illustrated (Holmes, pl. 133) and described as "Potsherds with textile markings, New River Valley, Virginia." The textile impression is exactly like that on plate 17, *a* and *b*, from Skinkers Ford on the Rapidan, and plate 12, *b*, from Kellys Ford on the Rappahannock. Examples were also found at Rogers Ford, also on the Rappahannock and less than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles from Skinkers Ford. It is interesting ware, and Holmes wrote regarding it (p. 150): "The people concerned may have belonged to the Algonquian stock, for Algonquian features decidedly prevail, but there is a possibility that they were Siouan." The same question of identity is presented by the pieces from the Rapidan-Rappahannock region, an area which, although claimed by the Manahoac in 1608, may earlier have been the home of Algonquian tribes. In this connection it is interesting to record that a conical base of a vessel was found in contact with the fragments at Rogers Ford, this form of base being suggestive of Algonquian pottery.

A small fragment of similar ware, of a reddish color and bearing the same impressions as on specimens *b*, from the sites at Kellys Ford and Skinkers Ford (pl. 12, fig. 2; pl. 17), and also from Rogers Ford (pl. 10), was found at Anacostia, in the District of Columbia, some distance from the country occupied by Siouan tribes at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Other small sherds found at Anacostia show the same impression on the surface but contain rather large pieces of crushed quartz as tempering, in this respect again resembling certain pottery fragments from the site on the Rapidan.

The impression of nets are more readily distinguished, and the meshes are often clearly defined. Several good examples of pottery so decorated were found at Richards Ford, on the Rappahannock, a

<sup>30</sup> Holmes, W. H., Aboriginal pottery of the Eastern United States. *In* 20th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1903.

mile above the mouth of the Rapidan, and are figured in plate 9. It was to this type of ware that Holmes referred when he wrote (pp. 154-155):<sup>31</sup> "This pottery is found in more or less typical forms intermingled with the ordinary varieties of ware on sites extending from the Yadkin to the Delaware." He was then describing a sherd discovered in the great shell heap at the mouth of Popes Creek, on the left bank of the Potomac, some miles below Washington, D. C., and had previously written, when comparing the latter with fragments found near the Yadkin, in North Carolina: "The materials are the same, the shape, size, degree of rudeness, treatment of surface, and decoration are the same, even the netting and the practice of partially obliterating the net impressions on the whole or a part of the vessels are the same." It is interesting to find at Richards Ford specimens on which the net impressions had likewise been partially obliterated, but in some instances this may have been caused by the wearing away of the surface during long use of the vessel.

Later discoveries seem to extend the net-marked ware still farther south. An illustration in the account of the partial examination of the great mound on Stalling's Island, in the Savannah River near Augusta, Georgia,<sup>32</sup> shows one fragment of pottery that appears to bear the impression of a net (Claflin, pl. 27), but it is not described, nor are any dimensions given.

As shown by comparison with material from other localities, the fragments of pottery from the Rapidan-Rappahannock area, which have already been mentioned, represent types of ware and forms of decoration that are widely distributed, though not very plentiful, and which have, in some instances, been discovered under conditions that prove their comparatively great age. It is now believed that all such ware encountered on sites along the Rapidan and Rappahannock should be attributed to a tribe, or tribes, who had inhabited the region before the coming of the historic Siouan and Algonquian groups, and who extended over a wide region both north and south from Virginia. Obviously, other pottery found on the same sites belonged to a much later period of occupancy.

There is a remarkable similarity between certain sherds shown in plate 3, from the site on the right bank of the Rappahannock facing the falls, and many pieces found at Stalling's Island. The same form of decoration was employed at both sites, and in some instances the roulette, punctate, and incised designs were used in

<sup>31</sup> Holmes, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> Claflin, William H., Jr., *The Stalling's Island Mound, Columbia County, Georgia*. Papers Peabody Mus., Harvard Univ., vol. 14, no. 1, 1931.

similar combinations on the surface of a vessel. It is also interesting to consider the similarity of the two sites, both being at the falls of large streams. All this suggests more than a mere coincidence.

Many of the fragments that may be attributed to the later period are of rather heavy ware, cord-marked and with straight rims. But pieces of vessels of a superior quality were discovered on the site at Jerrys Ford, examples of which are illustrated in plate 13. Some of this is thought to have come from the burial mound that formerly stood near where the sherds were found. Among the pieces recovered were fragments of many very thin, fragile vessels, some being less than  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in thickness, cord-marked, and beautifully made. Typical specimens are shown at the bottom of plate 13. The outer surface of the thin ware is a light brownish color, but the inner surfaces are a lustrous black, which undoubtedly resulted from a process employed in the endeavor to make the vessel impervious to water.

Many customs were probably practiced in common by the potters of the different eastern tribes. Years ago, while among the Cherokee in the mountains of Carolina, Mooney met a woman who knew the art of pottery making. Later, during the summer of 1906, Harrington visited the Cherokee in North Carolina, and learned from the same old woman—Iwi Katalsta, by name—the secrets of her art.<sup>33</sup> It is an interesting narrative, from which the following is quoted (p. 226):

"In order to be good for cooking, these pots should be smoked," she said. "If this is not done the water will soak through." So she dropped a handful of bran in each one while they were still almost red-hot, stirred it with her stick, tipped the pots this way and that, and finally, turning out the now blazing bran from each in turn, inverted the vessels upon it. In this way the inside was smoked black and rendered impervious and this without leaving any odor of smoke in the vessels when they became cold. Generally, Iwi told me, crushed corn-cobs were employed for this purpose, but she always used bran when cobs were not available.

This may explain the cause of the black inner surface of the thin vessels from Jerrys Ford. Small fragments of similar ware were found on the nearby site at Richards Ford, and it is reasonable to believe the two settlements existed at the same time.

The only example of incised decoration discovered above Motts Run was found at Jerrys Ford, a small piece sketched in figure 10. No evidence of a looped handle, nor of a projection of any sort on the outside of a vessel, was encountered on any site.

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<sup>33</sup> Harrington, M. R., *The last of the Iroquois potters*. New York State Mus. Bull. 133, 1909.

Much of the later ware was undoubtedly the work of the Manahoac tribes, and some of the vessels may have been made and used after the year 1608.

#### CORDS

Many of the vessels thought to have been made during the recent, or later, period were decorated by pressing cords into the plastic clay. Simple designs were thus produced—always straight lines, which usually extended only a short distance below the rim. Specimens of pottery decorated in this manner were found on various sites, but the majority of the more interesting pieces were discovered on Jerrys Flats; examples of these are shown in plate 13. The cords thus used varied greatly in size from that of a coarse thread to others more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter.

It is evident that the Indians of Virginia, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made a variety of cords to serve different purposes. This was referred to by Captain Smith<sup>34</sup> soon after the settlement of the colony when he wrote:

Between their hands and thighs, their women use to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; <sup>35</sup> of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, as about their housing, apparell; and also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles.

This readily explains the difference in size and appearance of the many impressions of cords that appear on the surface of the fragments of vessels. As to the materials used in making the cords, some were probably formed by twisting the bark of a milkweed as described by Colonel Byrd<sup>36</sup> more than two centuries ago. The milkweed was the Indian hemp of the early settlers, and is thought to have been the plant mentioned by Byrd as "silk grass", known to many persons in Virginia at the present time as silk weed. On November 10, 1728, Colonel Byrd described certain customs of the Saponi, a Siouan tribe related to the Manahoac, and wrote in part (p. 81): "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

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, Arber edition, p. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Rather than being the name of "a kind of grasse" this may be an Algonquian word for some cord, rope, or thread. Strachey in "A Dictionarie of the Indian Language", gave the following "*Penninaugh, a rope*", and "*Peymata, threed*".

<sup>36</sup> Byrd, William, *The Westover manuscripts: containing the history of the dividing line . . .* Petersburg, Va., 1841.

aprons which their women wear about their middles, for decency's sake." The plant mentioned by Colonel Byrd may have been the *Asclepias pulchra*. Undoubtedly, the Manahoac likewise made extensive use of the plant, which would have been found growing throughout their country.

Finely twisted sinew was used, as related by Captain Smith, but the larger, coarser cords were probably formed of the wool or hair of wild animals. Buffalo must have been known to the people by whom the pottery was made, as it is evident they were to have been encountered within a few miles of the falls of the Rappahannock only 6 years after the settlement of Jamestown. To quote from Purchas, when he wrote concerning conditions in Virginia (p. 759):<sup>27</sup>

Master *Whitaker* in his letter and book from Henrico 1612, testifieth the health and welfare of the Colonie. *Samuel Argall* in the yeare 1613, affirmed likewise that he found the state of Virginia farre better then was reported. In one voyage they had gotten one thousand and one hundred bushells of corne: they found a slow kinde of Cattell, as bigge as Kine, which were good meate.

Buffalo alone among the beasts encountered in Virginia could have been so described. But they may never have been very numerous, which would account for the lack of references by other writers of the period.

Cords made of the wool and hair of the buffalo were undoubtedly woven into a textile such as was impressed on the surface of large vessels, fragments of some of which were discovered on the site at Skinkers Ford. Bags would have been made of the same material, similar to specimens collected in the Mississippi Valley in the eighteenth century and now preserved in European museums.

The native tribes of the Rapidan-Rappahannock area may also have followed a custom practiced by the Indians of Carolina of using the hair or wool of the opossum as mentioned by Lawson<sup>28</sup> who wrote, when referring to the opossum (p. 121): "Their Fur is not esteem'd nor used, save that the Indians spin it into Girdles and Garters."

#### CONCLUSION

The material discovered during the recent examination of sites on the banks of the Rapidan and Rappahannock Rivers indicates two, and possibly more, distinct periods of occupation, which may have been separated by centuries.

<sup>27</sup> Purchas, Samuel, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*. . . . Second ed., London, 1614.

<sup>28</sup> Lawson, John, *History of Carolina*, London, 1714.

No stratified mass of camp refuse was encountered to reveal the sequence of the different types of pottery, and consequently it was necessary to compare the sherds with others of similar ware that had been discovered elsewhere under such conditions as would determine their relative age. Sherds bearing the impression of basketry are believed by the writer to be one of the earliest types of earthenware found in the Middle Atlantic and Southeastern areas and one which should be attributed to a very early culture. Fragments of this ware have been recovered from sites in the Rapidan-Rappahannock area, and other similar sherds occur far southward on the Atlantic Coast, thence westward to near the Mississippi, proving its widespread distribution. This early period of occupancy of the valleys of the Rapidan and Rappahannock is believed to have preceded by centuries the arrival of the historic Siouan groups, but the direction from which the ancient tribes first entered the region has not been determined, although it is the belief of the writer that it was from the north. Fragments of other vessels found on many sites undoubtedly represent the work of the historic Siouan and Algonquian tribes, and many of the vessels may have been made and used even after the settlement of Jamestown.

Stone implements likewise suggest two clearly defined periods, the earlier being represented by the crudely flaked objects, altered through long exposure, the later by the polished celts and grooved axes, much fewer in number.

The discovery of points of the recognized Folsom type, specimens of superior workmanship, presents a problem that may be difficult to solve. One example was found near the Rapidan a short distance west of the region now being considered, another was discovered near the banks of the Rappahannock some 15 miles below Fredericksburg. The Rapidan-Rappahannock area, therefore, must have been traversed, if not occupied, by the makers of this highly specialized form of point. Other objects of stone were necessarily made and used during the same period, and possibly some of the oldest of the numerous flaked implements were the work of the makers of the Folsom points; however, that is another question that remains to be answered.

Thus it is evident that the country beyond the falls of the Rappahannock, the Rapidan-Rappahannock area, has been occupied or frequented by man through the centuries, but floods and other forces of nature have so changed the surface of the narrow valleys that scant traces of the native camps and villages remain.





