From Woodland to Bear Mountain: Native American Architectural History in Central and Western Virginia from the Woodland Period to the Monacan Indian Nation

2013 Charles E. Peterson Fellowship Research Report for the Society of Architectural Historians and the Athenaeum of Philadelphia

By Klint Ericson, Ph. D. Candidate
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
kericson@live.unc.edu

From Woodland to Bear Mountain: Native American Architectural History in Central and Western Virginia from the Woodland Period to the Monacan Indian Nation [*]

Native American building practices in the eastern United States remain an underdeveloped component in the corpus of American architectural history, and the central and western regions of Virginia are good examples of this disparity. While copious archaeological data for indigenous settlements exists from the Woodland Period through the seventeenth century when encounters with European colonists began to affect native lifeways, there is not yet a corresponding synthesis of this information from the perspective of architectural history. Furthermore, as native builders began to adopt architectural forms and techniques similar to those of the colonists, they disappeared from conventional historical narratives, resulting in a major lacuna stretching from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1980s. During that decade, Amherst County's Monacan Indian Nation formally incorporated and successfully made the case for state recognition, calling attention to their enduring regional presence and challenging narratives that implicitly erased Indians from Virginia's history after the seventeenth century.

This essay assembles archaeological evidence, ethnohistoric accounts, and contemporary survey data to outline a Native American architectural history of central and western Virginia from the Middle Woodland Period (beginning ca. 500 BCE) until the present day. It focuses on the counties included in the forthcoming Society of Architectural Historians *Buildings of the*

[*] I would like to thank Teresa Pollak and the Monacan Ancestral Museum for helping me get started with this project, and the Society of Architectural Historians and Athenaeum of Philadelphia for supporting my research through the Charles E. Peterson Fellowship. In addition, I would like to thank the following scholars and institutions for their assistance in the process: Michael B. Barber, R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Jeffrey L. Hantman, Bernard L. Herman, Tom Klatka, Michael J. Pulice, Vincus P. Steponaitis, Christopher M. Stevenson, Karenne Wood, the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill's Wilson Library, and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

United States volume dedicated to this region.[2] These counties include a wide range of environmental settings, from fertile riverine floodplains to mountain heights, but comprise three basic topographic provinces. The Blue Ridge Mountains form a narrow band of peaks as high as 4,000 feet above sea level that cut across the center of the state. East of the Blue Ridge is the piedmont region, of rolling hills and fertile river valleys ranging from 300 to 1,500 feet in elevation.[3] Virginia's piedmont is roughly wedge-shaped, narrow in the north but widening as it approaches the border of North Carolina, and continuing south. Its eastern boundary is the fall zone, a sharp, rugged transition in which the waters of piedmont rivers such as the Potomac, Rappahannock, and James drop through a series of rapids to the lower elevation of the coastal plain. The fall zone impedes inland river transportation, and was a contested but largely unoccupied transitional area between native groups prior to the eighteenth century.[4] While the fall zone formed a distinct cultural boundary, the mountain ridges of western Virginia do not seem to have acted as barriers to cultural interactions as much as they channeled those interactions through particular gaps and valleys.[5] These regions lying west of the Blue Ridge are

[2] Though this volume serves as the general guide for the geographic focus of this essay, the relevant cultural regions that existed prior to the arrival of Europeans do not always align with those of more recent times. Therefore, while the Piedmont counties of Albemarle, Fluvanna, and Goochland were included in the previous volume of the *Buildings of the United State* series, data from their pre-contact architectural history fits best with the rest of the Piedmont region presently under consideration. Likewise, the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina has no relevance to Woodland Period cultures, and therefore some sites in North Carolina's Dan, Haw and Eno River drainages help to fill out the narrative of native architecture in central Virginia. For the previous volume, see Richard Guy Wilson, *Buildings of Virginia: Tidewater and Piedmont, Vol. 1* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[3] Debra L. Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered: Bioarchaeology and Secondary Burial in Late Prehistorical Interior Virginia," in *Bioarchaeological Studies of Life in the Age of Agriculture: A View From the Southeast*, edited by Patricia M. Lambert, 195-218 (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2000), 197-198.

[4] Jeffrey L. Hantman and Michael J. Klein, "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology in Piedmont Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 137-164 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 140.

[5] Keith T. Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period in Southwestern Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 187-223 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 215.

known collectively as the ridge and valley province, with rolling hills, fertile floodplains, and elevations lying between 1,100 and 1,600 feet above sea level.[6]

During the Paleolithic and Archaic periods (from ca. 15,000 BCE to 8000 BCE, and from 8000 BCE to 1200 BCE, respectively), small nomadic bands of hunter-gathers traversed the area that would become Virginia, taking advantage of its diverse food resources, including shellfish, fish, deer, and the plentiful harvests of acorns and nuts from oak, hickory, and chestnut trees. Archaic archaeological sites are usually small transitory camps with temporary tool-making stations in upland locations. These early people groups moved frequently and probably lived in simple shelters, which have low archaeological visibility.[7] Architecture becomes more prominent in central and western Virginia during the Woodlands Period, which is divided into Early (ca. 1200 BCE to 500 BCE), Middle (ca. 500 BCE to 900 CE), and Late Woodland (ca. 900 CE to 1600 CE) periods.

This essay begins with a typology of native architectural forms during the Middle and Late Woodland periods, with regionally specific variations following the outline of general characteristics. Archaeological data furnishes the primary means for understanding these cultural phenomena of the pre-contact period. Once cultural encounters occurred between the native population and European colonists, ethnohistoric sources augment the archaeological

---

[6] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 198. In the extreme southwest corner of the state, the terrain includes part of another topographic region, the Appalachian Plateau.

[7] Richard P. Gravely Jr., "Prehistory in the Upper Dan River Drainage System," in *Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results*, Special Publication No. 10, edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, 118-124 (Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1983), 118-119. A notable exception is the Thunderbird Site (44WR11) in the Shenandoah Valley, where excavators encountered postmolds of a Paleolithic base camp in association with fluted points that date to approximately 10,000 years before the present. It is believed to have been a base camp for nearby quarrying activities, and the postmolds have been reconstructed to indicate either three small, nearly circular structures of bentwood frames, or possibly a single, larger oval structure. See William Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads and Broken Pottery: Traces of Indians in the Shenandoah Valley* (Manassas, VA: Thunderbird Museum Publication, 1986), 36-41.

record, furnishing new details about native building traditions, even as Indians began to incorporate aspects of European architectural practices. Finally, this essay follows native architectural practices up to the present with a survey of the built environment of the Monacan Indian Nation in Amherst and Rockbridge Counties. Taken as a whole, continuous building traditions, forms, and techniques marked the Woodland Period. With minor regional variations, the record of the built environment reflects the trend of native communities towards increased nucleation and social complexity. The impact of colonial encounter eventually disrupted this indigenous architectural trajectory, leading to radical changes in building forms among Indians who remained in Virginia. While these new architectural forms manifest the external appearance of cultural assimilation, they also served to cultivate and maintain an internal sense of communal identity, which has found renewed outward expression in recent decades.

Part I: The Middle and Late Woodland Periods, an Architectural Typology

Broadly speaking, architecture includes not only individual buildings but also the relationships between those structures, as well as the permanent and ephemeral means by which people impress social structures and cultural ideas on their surrounding environment. The following architectural typology includes settlement patterns, domestic architecture, mortuary structures, civic-ceremonial buildings, and other pragmatic forms that constituted the built environment of the Woodland Period in central and western Virginia.

1. Settlement Patterns

Settlement arrangements organize the landscape according to social and cultural ideas, as well as pragmatic economic and material considerations. During the archaic period, land use was relatively dispersed, with smaller sites situated in upland settings.[8] Over the course of the Woodland Period, the population gradually shifted towards the fertile lowlands and a reliance upon two interrelated settlement types. In this "base camp/procurement camp" system, the basic social unit came together to form a seasonal residence, or base camp, which was usually located near a waterway or wetland. To supply the needs of their semi-sedentary camp, smaller groups would spread out and make forays to upland procurement sites where they could gather

[8] Michael Klein, *Settlement Patterns in Central Virginia Prehistory* (M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1986), 49-51.

particular resources at certain times of the year.[9] The Middle Woodland period gradually but consistently trends towards an increasing population, a more intensive use of territorial resources, and a greater aggregation of settlements along major rivers. These settlements functioned as base camps, and were probably not occupied year round, but continued to depend upon trips to upland procurement sites.[10]

During the Late Woodland period, the population steady increased and its shift to lower, riverine settlements with fertile soils for domesticated agricultural became more pronounced. Lithic and ceramic evidence from these sites suggests a concurrent shift towards more local economies, less extensive trade networks, and the development of increasingly "bounded" cultural groups.[11] Initially, Late Woodland villages were more concentrated than preceding base camps, but lacked the delimiting palisade fences that became typical as the period progressed. The Wood Site (44NE143) in Nelson County had multiple occupations from the ninth through eleventh centuries, spanning the transition from the Middle to early Late Woodland periods.[12] Its Middle Woodland occupation left few architectural traces, except for a large, basin-shaped pit that seems to have been an occasional, large-scale food roasting facility. During the Middle Woodland period, occasional occupants probably used the site for low-intensity visits following

---

[9] Dennis B. Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems in Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 65-96 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 83.

[10] Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 68-71, 87.

[11] Hantman and Klein, "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology," 143; Klein, *Settlement Patterns*, 35-37. Within his sampling focused on the Virginia piedmont counties of Albemarle, Fluvanna, and Goochland counties, Klein (*Settlement Patterns*, 52) notes that Woodland sites were especially concentrated on the James and Rivanna Rivers.

[12] Martin D. Gallivan, *James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 198-199. Archaeological sites in Virginia are numbered according to the Smithsonian trinomial system, in which "44" represents the state of Virginia, two letters represent the county in which the site is located, and the final digits are assigned according to the order in which that county's sites are recorded. The Wood Site was the 143rd site recorded in Nelson County, hence it is "44NE143."

a base camp/procurement camp model.[13] In the early Late Woodland period (roughly 1000-1050 CE), occupation at the Wood site became more intense, taking the form of a compact, unpalisaded community of several household clusters. The settlement formed a narrow ellipse stretching along the north bank of the James River, expanding roughly 656 by 164 feet. Within this footprint were the traces of many posts that had supported houses and other features, from which statistical analysis distinguishes at least five elliptical patterns of individual houses, associated with external storage pits for surplus food.[14]

As the Late Woodland period progressed, many settlements became relatively populous nucleated towns with palisade fences surrounding them, though dispersed settlements and small upland sites continued to function.[15] Palisaded towns were generally circular or oval in plan, with an open plaza at their center, and diameters ranging from roughly 130 to 410 feet. Around the plaza, houses stood in concentric rows, with a fence of earthfast posts delimiting the perimeter. The frequent recurrence of this socially prescribed plan indicates that Late Woodland communities had a moderate degree of complexity and centralized organization, suggesting the emergence of a tribal, potentially ranked society.[16] Excavators recognize these sites by the distinctive patterns of stained earth or post molds that become visible when they scrape the

---

[13] Ibid., 201.

[14] Ibid., 209-212; Jeffery L. Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology of the Virginia Interior, A.D. 1400-1700," in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700*, edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., 107-123 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 117.

[15] In his typology of archeological sites, Klein (*Settlement Patterns*, 68-69) roughly parallels this settlement typology, but adds aggregation sites in which regional peoples come together to maintain social relationships, information flows, and carry out ceremonial activities. He speculates that the fall zone might have served this function in Virginia (ibid, 74). Klein describes sites of longer use and occupation as "base camp" or "habitation" sites which might include a range of settlements from a small family group settlement to fully developed towns, which he contrasts to "single purpose" or "ephemeral" sites where hunting, combat, and procurement activities occurred (ibid., 71-72, 76-77).

[16] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 207, 213-214.

topsoil away from a site, marking the locations where builders had once planted vertical posts to form the frameworks of houses and palisades. With no protection from moisture, these untreated posts soon began to decay, necessitating eventual repair or reconstruction of walls.[17] In general, Woodland sites were not occupied for very long. The decay of structures, depletion of local food and firewood resources, refuse accumulation, and the agricultural exhaustion of soil eventually made relocation necessary. The reconstruction of settlements occurred perhaps as often as every ten to fifteen years.[18]

The Crab Orchard Site (44TZ1) in western Virginia's Tazewell County is a well-known example of an excavated Late Woodland palisaded town (figure 1).[19] The settlement at Crab Orchard was a typical palisaded town, although perhaps more enduring than most, since it had three apparent phases of development, each with palisade lines enclosing a greater area.[20]

---

[17] See Howard A. MacCord, Sr., *The Crab Orchard Site, Tazewell County, VA* (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1980), 151.

[18] Joan M. Walker and Glenda F. Miller, "Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland in the Northern Great Valley of Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 165-185 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 167; Daniel L. Mouer, "A Review of the Archeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans," in *Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results,* edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, 21-40 (Archaeological Society of Virginia, Special Publication No. 10, 1983), 27. In support of his claim that towns moved generationally within circumscribed lowland territories, Mouer points to the complex of Late Woodland sites on the north bank of the James River just below the confluence of the Rivanna River, and on Elk Island (sites 44GO40, 44GO60, 44GO30), a series of early contact sites with larger nucleated circular cores of debris evident during surface surveys.

[19] See MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site;* and Keith T. Egloff, "Crab Orchard Site: A Late Woodland Palisaded Town," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 34, no. 3 (1980): 130-148. The Crab Orchard Site is radiocarbon dated to 1570 +/-120 years, placing it in the early period of European contact, but its location far west of the coastal region means that contact was minimal at best. No artifacts arising from European encounter could be securely placed within the town context. The plow zone produced numerous artifacts from later colonial and U.S. occupations. Two glass beads from the plow zone could possibly come from the town, and several copper beads contained trace elements of zinc in amounts not typical for native Virginia sources, potentially coming from elsewhere in America or even possibly in Europe (McCord, *The Crab Orchard Site,* 118, 148-149).

[20] The first palisade line enclosed approximately 1.4 acres, the second line expanded to 1.85 acres and the final palisade enclosed 2.96 acres when the town was abandoned; see McCord, *The Crab Orchard Site,* 108. The Bonham Site (44SM7) in Smyth County is another site with evidence for multiple palisade lines; see Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 197.

Located on the banks of the Clinch River, the town site shows signs of prior occupation and was well situated, with a spring nearby and caves in the surrounding limestone hills containing numerous burials. The Crab Orchard palisades were concentric arcs of earthfast posts. Such structures were probably not solid fortress walls like those of later European fortifications, but rather fences of closely spaced upright posts interwoven with saplings or brush to control and impede the entry of outsiders (figure 2).[21] They also served to establish a visual barrier, demarcating the perimeter of the town and setting it apart as a distinct place, much like fences and hedges do today.[22] The town at the Crab Orchard site probably had multiple entrances or gates, although not all areas were excavated. The second and third palisade lines each had attached structures with roughly rectangular plans, which excavators believed to have been gatehouses forming part of the defensive works of the palisade.[23]

Entryways were more clearly defined at the Late Woodland Shannon Site (44MY8) in Montgomery County. Excavators have uncovered the entire settlement, which included an elliptical palisade, 322 feet long by 210 feet wide, and eleven houses around the open central plaza. The palisade posts ranged from a third of a foot to almost a foot in diameter, and were

---

[21] Howard A. MacCord Sr., "The Brown Johnson Site," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 25 (1971): 236. In the case of the Brown Jonson Site (44BD1), a palisaded town similar to the Crab Orchard Site, the palisade was probably raised shortly after the houses of the town, and its irregularities suggest that various parties or households constructed the palisade in a piece-meal fashion, rather than following a predetermined plan.

[22] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 207.

[23] The second palisade line had roughly rectangular pattern on the north-northwest side, which may have been a structural foundation or an overlapping of palisade lines to create a gateway. The last palisade line had a rectangular structure attached to the south exterior. It was about twenty-seven feet by fifteen feet with interior posts in an oval pattern. Another entrance may have existed on the east side of the palisade. MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site,* 108-109. Another site with evidence for bastions or gatehouses is Bland County's Newberry-Tate Site, which also had a double palisade line with a buffer zone between; see Emory Eugene Jones, Jr., "The Newberry-Tate Site (44BD2), Bland County, Virginia," *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 54, no. 2 (June, 1999): 90-93; and "The Newberry-Tate Site, Bland County, Virginia," in *Contributions to the Archaeology of Southwest Virginia: A Volume Honoring the Author Emory Eugene Jones, Jr. of Bluefield, West Virginia,* Special Publication No. 40, 10-106 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 2001), 105.

rammed into the ground with rocks and other objects helping to wedge them into position. The palisade was not equally stout all around the town. Its west side was relatively strong while the east side was less clearly defined, and some of the house walls seemed to supplement or replace the palisade on that side. The Shannon Site had two entrances, each with a different form. On the northwest side of the palisade, two fence sections overlapped one another in parallel, creating a narrow alleyway between to serve as an entrance. There appear to have been subsidiary posts in the middle of this space, which might have narrowed it further or supported some kind of gate. On the south end of the town, the walls of the palisade turned inward, creating a tight, funnel-shaped passage through which one had to pass before entering the settlement.[24] The overlapping and funnel shaped gates would seem to be defensively-oriented features, controlling access to the town.

Within central and western Virginia there are a several cultural areas that saw minor variations on the general palisaded form. The Crab Orchard and Shannon sites are well-excavated but typical sites for the southwestern part of the state.[25] Roanoke County's Sawyer Site (44RN39) had similar palisade lines but is notable for its doubled arrangement, with two circular towns and palisades intersecting like a figure "8." It is unclear if these two circular

[24] Joseph L. Benthall, *Archaeological Investigations of the Shannon Site, Montgomery County, Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1969), 20, 27. The Brown Johnson Site (44BD1) in Bland County exhibited features reminiscent of both the Shannon and Crab Orchard sites. Its gates were formed overlapping palisade sections like the northwest entryway at the Shannon Site, but post molds also indicated the existence of a structure along one side of the palisade that may have been a bastion or watch tower. MacCord, "The Brown Johnson Site," 236, 241-242; Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 192-193. This excavation produced radiocarbon dates of 1215 +/- 75, 1490 +/- 75, and 1505 +/- 85.

[25] According to McCord (*The Crab Orchard Site,* 151), other southwestern Late Woodland sites with palisaded forms include the Sullins Site (44WG12) in Washington County, the Brown Jonson (44BD1) and Newberry Tate (44BD2) sites in Bland County, the Lurich (44GS10) and Snidow (44GS6) sites in Giles County, and the Thomas Site (44MY18) in Montgomery County. See also Egloff ("The Late Woodland Period," 191-197) who describes these sites and adds the Flanary Site (44SC13) in Scott County, the Dunford (44TZ15) and Hoge (44TZ6) sites in Tazewell County, the Fox Farm Site (44SM4) in Smyth County, the contact-era Trigg Site (44MY3) in Montgomery County, and the Bessemer Site (44BO26) in Botetourt County.

settlements stood contemporaneously, if one served as an expansion to accommodate a growing population, or if residents constructed one after an attack burnt and destroyed the other.[26] In the northern ridge and valley province, the shift to palisaded towns appears to have occurred in the last phase of the Late Woodland period, between 1450 and 1700 CE.[27] In Bath County, houses stood in linear arrangements along bluffs overlooking the floodplains until about 1300 CE, after which palisaded towns at the Perkins Point Site (44BA3) and the nearby Beaver Pond Site (44BA39) are more closely related to the settlement patterns developing in the piedmont and southwestern portions of the state.[28] Beaver Pond's town had a triangular palisade, an unusual arrangement which seems to conform to the shape of the terrace on which it was located. Ten houses stood inside, lacking any apparent order and without a central plaza, and an additional three houses were located outside the fence.[29] In the northern Shenandoah Valley, settlements shifted to riverine locations during the Late Woodland Period, but palisaded towns appeared

[26] Both palisades were burnt, and their intersection was unclear, with an apparent gap and missing posts where they met, suggesting the possibility that they had been conjoined with a passage between. See Michael B. Barber, "Emergency Excavations at the Sawyer Site (44RN39), Area C: A Late Woodland Occupation in Roanoke County, Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 59, no. 2 (June 2004): 84-86.

[27] Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 172. Earlier Late Woodland sites exhibit housing clusters in riverine locations, but without palisades or clear order. Examples include the 44WR300 site (dated ca. 920-1320 CE, located near the Cabin Run site in Warren county), where three to four small circular houses were found together during excavations; the Huffman Site (44BA5), where at least two and perhaps as many as six houses of twenty-five foot diameter stood together on a floodplain terrace; and the Noah's Ark site (dated 1255-1305 CE, 44BA15), where two sixteen-foot diameter houses stood together. See Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 169-170; and Clarence R. Geier and J. Craig Warren, *The Huffman Site (44BA5): A Late Woodland Site on the Jackson River, Bath County, Virginia*, Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 9 (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1982), 123-137.

[28] William M. Gardner, "Early and Middle Woodland in the Middle Atlantic: An Overview," in *Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods and Interpretations*, Occasional Papers 3, edited by Roger W. Moeller, 53-86 (Washington, CT: American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1982), 83; Thomas Whyte and Clerence R. Geier, *The Perkins Point Site (44BA3): A Protohistorical Stockaded Village on the Jackson River, Bath County, Virginia*, Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 11, (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1982), 114, 117; Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 179.

[29] Perkins Point was a more typical oval palisade, 440 feet by 300 feet, with a longhouse structure and ten circular houses within the palisade, and more houses located outside near the Jackson River. Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 179. Excavators Whyte and Geier (*The Perkins Point Site,* 117) describe the settlement as "an irregular oval or a poorly defined apostrophe" arching towards the Jackson River.

even later, after 1500, and may not have represented agricultural communities, but refinements on the older system of hunter-gatherer base camps. Palisades in this northern region occupied their sites for relatively short periods of time, and may been visible markers to claim specific territories and protect the contents of houses while procurement parties were absent.[30]

The piedmont region of central Virginia had two distinct sub-areas. North of the Dan River basin in the central piedmont, few remains of settlements have survived, due to strong erosive processes.[31] Siouan-speaking peoples probably occupied this region, moving their town sites periodically within general territorial boundaries. Late Woodland settlements of the James River were usually compact clusters or linear arrangements along river banks or located near large islands and stream confluences. At the end of the Woodland period and during the seventeenth century, they became larger and more nucleated.[32] Small upland sites near the heads of streams and on spurs dividing drainages may have served as agricultural hamlets and seasonal hunting camps.[33]

Southern Siouan-speaking peoples occupied the Dan River drainage in the south-central Virginia, extending into the North Carolina piedmont and the Haw and Eno River basins. Here the modern state boundaries are not relevant to pre-contact cultural distributions, and some of the

[30] Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 181. Palisaded settlements in the northern Shenandoah Valley include the Miley Site and Quicksburg Site (44SH3) in Shenandoah County, and the Cabin Run Site (44WR3) in Warren County (176-177).

[31] Hantman and Klein, "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology," 142-143.

[32]As examples, Daniel L. Mouer ("A Review of the Archeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans," in *Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results,* Special Publication No. 10, edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, 21-40 [Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1983], 27) cites surface surveys of the 44GO40, 44GO60, and 44GO30 sites.

[33] Ibid., 27.

most thoroughly excavated Late Woodland sites come from the North Carolina piedmont.[34] During the Dan River Phase (1000-1450 CE) of the Late Woodland period, piedmont houses were clustered together on river terraces with little formal arrangement or order. Near the state border, the Leatherwood Creek Site (44HR1) in Virginia's Henry County had circular and rectangular houses arranged in a small cluster on a steeply sloping hillside, while the Powerplant Site (31RK5), also near the state line in North Carolina's Rockingham County, exhibited a linear arrangement.[35]

Most Dan River sites lacked palisade structures, although some concentrated towns with palisades developed around 1300 CE, with the Upper and Lower Saratown sites in North Carolina's Stokes and Rockingham counties as prominent examples.[36] Early Upper Saratown (31SK1) demonstrates the development of relatively large, nucleated towns with social stratification and economic specialization along the Dan River. Although the total number of occupation sites decreases at this time, the known settlement sites become increasingly large and

[34] These excavations are the result of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's North Carolina Siouan Projects, the first of which began under Joffrey Coe in 1938, and its successor which began in 1983 and concentrated on Contact Period sites; see H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 13, 20. For an overview of this work, see also Roy S. Dickens, Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II*, Monograph No. 1, Research Laboratories of Anthropology (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., "The Evolution of Siouan Communities in Piedmont North Carolina," *Southeastern Archaeology* 10 (1991): 40-53; H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000 to 1700*, Monograph No. 2, Research Laboratories of Anthropology (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); and H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., "Tribes and Traders on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000-1710," in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700*, edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., 125-141 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

[35] Gravely, "Prehistory," 121; Martin Gallivan, "The Leatherwood Creek Site: A Dan River Phase Site in the Southern Virginia Piedmont," *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 52, no. 4 (December, 1997): 150-171; Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 256

[36] Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 418; Hantman and Klein, "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology," 145. Other notable sites from this period include the Belmont (44HR3) and Koehler (44HR6) sites in Henry County, Virginia.

intensive, with palisaded exteriors.[37] Upper Saratown's successor, Lower Saratown (31RK1) was a more compact, palisaded town covering one and half acres.[38]

Palisaded towns in the lowlands around major waterways were the most recognizable settlement forms in the Late Woodland period, but other settlement types remained functional and were probably integral to the economies of lowland towns. Some sites lacked nucleated, fortified plans. These dispersed settlements may have corresponded to smaller groups, perhaps no more than a few families, and were probably tied to food production. The Buzzard Rock Site (44RN2) in Roanoke County is an important example of a dispersed settlement. This location along the Roanoke River experienced occupations dating as early as 600 CE. During the Late Woodland period, from about 1100 to 1450 CE it was occupied and abandoned numerous time.[39] Archaeologists identified a total of five circular houses and possibly as many as three longhouses together, though it is unlikely they were all occupied at once.[40] The Cement Plant Site (44AU51) in Augusta County is another example of a dispersed settlement site.[41]

---

[37] Upper Saratown was initially occupied as part of the Early Saratown phase (between 1450 and 1620), and again between 1670 and 1710 as part of the late Saratown Phase. Ward and Davis, "The Evolution of Siouan Communities, 47; Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities,* 419-420.

[38] Only one house was excavated and identified at Lower Saratown, and it was a semi-rectangular structure with a central hearth. This site and archaeological phase date between 1620 and 1670, placing it within the range of the Contact Period, but the town residents seem to have experienced little or any contact with Europeans. The only indication of such contact were a few beads and trinkets that probably arrived through trade with other native groups. See Ward and Davis, "The Evolution of Siouan Communities," 48-49; and Ward and Davis, *Time Before History*, 247.

[39] Wayne E. Clark, Joey T. Moldenhauer, Michael B. Barber, and Thomas R. Whyte, *The Buzzard Rock Site (44RN2): A Late Woodland Dispersed Town* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2005), 67. More recent CRC work at the Buzzard Rock site has produced radiocarbon dates reinforcing an occupation period focused on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 195.

[40] Clark et al., *The Buzzard Rock Site,* 39.

[41] Olier D. Valliere, and John C. Harter ("The Cement Plant Site, Augusta County, Virginia," in *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture in Virginia,* edited by Howard A. MacCord, Sr., 71-91 [Richmond: Privately Printed, 1986], 74, 90-91) suggest that this site was the location of repeated occupations by a single family group, roughly between 800 and 1400 CE, with overlapping outlines of five complete and seven incomplete circular houses, whose scarce pit

Like dispersed settlements, upland sites remained occupied and in use during the Late Woodland period. Surveys of recognized upland sites in southwestern Virginia have indicated that local patches of level terrain for building were more important for upland communities than proximity to fresh water sources. The builders of these sites seem to have preferred southern or eastern exposures, and locations near gaps, saddles, and ridge tops that were presumably strategic points along trails.[42] The Hansonville Site (44RU7) in Russell County is a notable example of an upland site located 185 meters above the headwaters of Big Moccasin Creek. With two distinct occupational phases, this site took advantage of a strategic point in Late Woodland transportation networks, sitting near a major gap between mountains and the trail that presumably passed through it.[43]

2. Domestic Architecture

The most common houses in central and western Virginia during the Woodland period were rounded or oval structures, with earthfast saplings or posts bent over and tied together to form an arched, domelike frame, upon which different coverings could be tied to protect the

features suggest above ground storage strategies, and the lack of graves may indicate an association with the nearby Lewis Creek Mound burials.

[42] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 211.

[43] Keith E. Bott, "44RU7: Archaeological Test Excavations at a Late Woodland Town in the Lower Uplands of Southwest Virginia," in *Research Report Series* 2, (Richmond: Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, 1981); Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 196. Though it is one of the better-known examples of a palisaded town, Crab Orchard actually qualifies as an upland site as well, since it is located at an elevation of more than 2,100 feet. Other towns located in upland valleys of similar or greater attitudes include the Brown Jonson and Newberry Tate Sites in Bland County, the Elk Garden Sites (44RU1, 2, and 3) in Russell County, and the Hoge Site (44TZ6) near Burkes Garden in Tazewell County, which is located at more than 3,000 feet above sea level; see Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 212.

interior of the house (figure 3).[44] Like palisades, these houses leave behind traces of their structure and design in the post molds or stains that are visible in the subsoil of carefully excavated settlement sites. This form of circular, bentwood domestic architecture was widely distributed in the piedmont and mountain regions, also occurring in present-day Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina.[45]

During the Middle Woodlands, base-camp dwellers erected small, simple versions of the round, bentwood form. Archaeologists uncovered an example at the Elk Garden Site (44RU61) in Russell County, which was oval or semi-rectangular in form, 19.6 feet long by 10.8 feet wide, with substantial posts and a possible hearth at the center of the structure.[46] The Wingina site (44NE4) in Nelson County is another well-preserved settlement offering a glimpse of Middle Woodland domestic architecture. Though much of the town site remains unexcavated, archaeologists encountered the post molds of three circular houses, with the most complete including forty-four posts in an elliptical pattern, nineteen feet long by sixteen feet wide. A gap in the eastern side may indicate an entryway.[47] The remaining houses were also circular, and though incompletely excavated, they appeared to have been ten to twelve feet in diameter.[48]

---

[44] European colonists called these structures *wigwams*, after an Algonquian word that Massachusetts settlers applied to any Indian dwelling. The term acquired its more specific sense of a circular, bentwood house with bark mats or other coverings by the mid-eighteenth century; see Peter Nabakov and Robert Easton, *Native American Architecture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 56. Italian sailor Giovanni da Verrazano was the first European to describe this structural type, noting circular, bentwood houses that stood on the shore of Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay when he visited in 1524 (ibid., 52).

[45] MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site*, 151.

[46] Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 82; Douglas C. McLearen, *Phase III Archaeological Investigations at the "656 Elk Garden Site" (44RU61), Russell County, Virginia* (Richmond: Archaeological Research Center, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1990), 71-75.

[47] Howard A., MacCord, "The Wingina Site, Nelson County, Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 28 (1974): 171. This house dates to about 920 +/- 80 C.E.

[48] Ibid., 173.

The houses of the Late Woodland period are better known and more numerous, as many examples exist in palisaded and dispersed settlement contexts. They were usually circular or oval in form, between thirteen and thirty-three feet in diameter, though rectangular structures also occur.[49] The posts that make up these frames were often smaller than those of the palisades, perhaps making them easier to bend into the form of the arched frame.[50] Like palisade posts, the untreated wood of these houses lacked durability, and many sites show signs of repair or replacement, sometimes with the post mold circles of multiple houses superimposed on the same location.[51] Once the posts were set, builders tied the frame together and covered it to seal the house. Ethnohistoric accounts and comparison to other regions suggest that house coverings might have included woven mats of reeds and grasses, and sheets of birch, elm, or chestnut bark.[52] From his visits to native towns in Carolina, eighteenth-century English explorer John Lawson observes that builders used pine, cedar, hickory, and other pliable woods for the bentwood frames of their houses, and cypress or red and white cedar bark for coverings, though inferior pine bark could also serve.[53] Mark Catesby adds sweet gum to this list of coverings, and notes that builders left room for a smoke hole at the center of their houses.[54]

---

[49] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 207.

[50] For example, at the Shannon Site, the house post were between .2 and .3 of a foot in diameter, while the palisade posts were between .3 and .9 of a foot; see Joseph L. Benthall, *Archaeological Investigations of the Shannon Site, Montgomery County, Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1969), 20, 27.

[51] Bentham, *Archaeological Investigations,* 27.

[52] Nabakov and Easton, *Native American Architecture,* 56.

[53] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina,* edited by Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 180.

[54] Mark Catesby, *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands,* Volume 1 of 2 (London: Printed for Benjamin White, 1771), X-XI. Wattle and daub, another potential construction material, occurred rarely in western Virginia. See Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 209; and the Carter Robinson site, discussed with civil-ceremonial architecture below.

Twelve house patterns were preserved at the Crab Orchard site, arranged around the circumference of the settlement, in what appear to have been two concentric rows. The typical house at Crab Orchard was 23.4 feet in diameter, with 428 square feet of interior space, a central hearth, and one or two storage pits.[55] Crab Orchard houses exhibited a particularly high number of posts per structure, indicating that residents had lived long enough in the same place that their houses required reinforcement and replacement of decayed wood. The posts around the circumference of the houses were small, averaging about five inches in diameter. They also had large interior posts about a foot in diameter, which were positioned randomly near the central hearths and probably reinforced the framework of the houses. Other interior posts may have corresponded to partitions and spatial divisions, while gaps in the exterior walls facing the town plaza seem to indicate entrances or vestibules.[56] These houses characteristically had features such as storage pits dug into their floors, as well as hearths and excavated burials. Individual storage pits inside or nearby houses served to protect and keep surplus food. At Crab Orchard, large storage pits outside the houses and near the palisades provided bulk storage, while smaller pits inside individual houses probably met more everyday needs.[57] Residents might have dug new pits fairly often as they needed storage. When empty, the pits could serve as burial chambers, particularly during winter when the cold earth would have been hard to excavate. Hearths were located inside houses or near to their entrances, and are archaeologically visible as hard, fired clay lenses that sometimes include a mix of wood ash.[58] Other exterior features

[55] MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site*, 109.

[56] Egloff and Reed, "Crab Orchard Site," 132; and Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 207. Some of the houses had been built using wall trenches, rather than individual holes to set each post. This construction technique was rare in southwestern Virginia (MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site*, 109).

[57] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 209.

[58] MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site*, 12; Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 210.

included shallow barbeque pits and small smudge pits, with high charcoal content suggesting that they probably aided in curing hides.[59]

Rounded bentwood houses were widely distributed in central and western Virginia. At the Buzzard Rock site they were about twenty feet in diameter, with central hearths, internal storage pits, and entryways facing southeast towards the nearby Roanoke River, but also in the direction of the rising sun.[60] One Buzzard Rock house had a straight line of thirty-three posts extending from the side of its entrance, probably supporting a wattle and daub fence. It provided a windbreak for the work areas outside the home, but it may also have served as a security screen in case of attack.[61] Houses elsewhere in the ridge and valley province followed the bentwood roundhouse form, with diameters of fifteen to twenty feet, though they were larger along the south valley and James River.[62] In the southern piedmont, people along the Dan River sometimes built their houses by setting wall posts in continuous trenches rather than individual holes, and they employed thatch, bark, and wattle and daub as coverings.[63] Some houses had large central posts, such as those of the Leatherwood Creek Site.[64]

Archaeologists have uncovered relatively few examples of houses from the north-central piedmont region, although the Wood Site (44NE143) in Nelson County exhibits a scatter of post

---

[59] MacCord, *The Crab Orchard Site*, 11-12.

[60] Clark et al., *The Buzzard Rock Site*, 21.

[61] Ibid., 23. The use of wattle and daub was unusual for the Dan River phase in which this house occurred.

[62] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 83. Circular houses from the Huffman Site (44BA5) in Bath County were more than twenty-five feet in diameter, dating to 1100-1250 CE (Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 117; Geier and Warren, *The Huffman Site*).

[63] Ward and Davis, "Tribes and Traders,"131.

[64] Gravely, "Prehistory," 121.

molds that appear to group into seven clusters, five of which are clearly elliptical house forms with external storage pits.[65] Using a variety of sites and data, Martin D. Gallivan has proposed that towns along the James River exhibit a pattern of increasingly differentiated house sizes as the Middle Woodland period progressed until about 1500 CE.[66] He links this pattern to the shift from exterior storage pits such as occurred at the Wood Site, to interior storage pits which increased in volume over the same period. According to Gallivan's interpretation, these developments index the individual control of households over increasing food surpluses. About 1500 CE, food storage patterns along the James River shifted again, to above-ground structures that probably indicate increased sedentariness and the use of centralized storage systems.[67] These corresponding changes in architecture and storage patterns may be evidence of social stratification and the emergence of chieftains who could control and leverage surplus resources as political power. Larger houses and food storage cribs displayed surplus means in a public manner, and permitted rituals of social cohesion such as feasts and gatherings.[68]

Round house plans predominated in Woodland Virginia, but rectangular and longhouse forms also existed. In addition to its circular houses, the Buzzard Rock settlement included arrangements of post molds suggestive of three longhouses with extended rectangular plans. The most complete plan was a rectilinear arrangement of post molds, with curving ends rather than corners, which excavators estimate would have been about forty-six feet in total length.[69] As

---

[65] Jeffery L. Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology of the Virginia Interior, A.D. 1400-1700," in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700,* edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., 107-123 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 117.

[66] Gallivan, *James River Chiefdoms*, 96.

[67] Ibid., 101.

[68] Ibid., 109-110, 120-121.

[69] Clark et al., *The Buzzard Rock Site*, 21.

with other houses at Buzzard Rock, the entryway was in the southeastern corner of the longhouse. A bench may have stood near the entrance at the eastern end of the structure. Additional posts supported two interior partitions, one across the middle of the longhouse that halved its interior space, and another near the entryway between the entrance bench and the hearth.[70] Builders set the longhouse posts in prepared holes, rather than driving them directly into the ground as they had done when constructing the smaller roundhouses nearby. The Buzzard Rock longhouse essentially derived from the more familiar roundhouses, with the same structure and rounded ends, but extended along a single axis to create greater interior space. The house had two hearths located along its central axis, which appeared to have been less intensively used than those of the nearby roundhouses. The longhouse lacked storage pits altogether. The excavators of the Buzzard Rock Site interpret the combination of roundhouses and longhouses as indicative of seasonal housing and social patterns. The smaller roundhouses may have served as winter homes for nuclear families, since they would have been more thermally efficient and their hearths exhibited more intensive usage. The longhouse, on the other hand, could have been a summer home for several families together. During the summer, storage pits would have been less necessary as was the case with internal hearths. This might have been a time when family groups socialized and lived more communally.[71]

---

[70] Ibid., 40.

[71] Ibid., 40. Similar two-house patterns of seasonal occupation existed amongst the neighboring Cherokee during historic times. See Raymond D. Fogelson, "Cherokees in the East," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 337-353 (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 2004), 241; Theda Perdue, *The Cherokee*, edited by Frank W. Porter III (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 15, 17. An alternate interpretation of these longhouse forms is that that they were evidence of increasing social stratification, and served as elite residences for village leaders, who also used them for feasts, gatherings, councils, and the storage of elite wealth items; Gallivan, *James River Chiefdoms*, 116-120.

Other longhouse and rectangular house forms have turned up in central and western Virginia, including at the Leatherwood Creek Site, where two rectangular houses incorporated large support posts at either end and in the center of their long axes. Similar central posts supported neighboring roundhouses.[72] Late Woodland rectangular houses also stood in the Shenandoah Valley at the Cabin Run, Miley, and Keyser Farm sites.[73] A longhouse fifty feet long and twenty feet wide stood inside the palisade line at the Perkins Point Site (44BA3), containing four storage pit features and four hearths. Ten irregular, circular houses with diameters from thirteen to twenty-nine feet comprised the remainder of the town, along with other houses outside the palisade.[74] The Browning Site (44WG80) in Washington County produced post molds indicative of a rectangular house or structure, and the Bessemer site (44BO26) in Botetourt County included a longhouse structure measuring fifty feet by twenty feet.[75]

3. Mortuary Architecture

Native American mortuary practices in Virginia included a range of burial types, such as depositions in town pit features, caves, ossuaries, and shaft-and-chamber tombs. Woodland natives buried their deceased in a range of positions and pit types, as well as cremations, and as

[72] Gravely, "Prehistory," 121.

[73] Walker and Miller, "Life on the Levee," 173.

[74] Ibid., 179; Whyte and Geier, *The Perkins Point Site*, 102-105.

[75] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 195, 209.

defleshed or secondary burials.[76] Most of these practices did not result in architectural structures, but a few more elaborate mortuary forms such as burial cairns and mounds were important components of the indigenous built environment.[77]

In the northern region of the Shenandoah Valley, a limited complex known as the "Western Virginia Stone Burials" emerged during the Middle Woodland Period. These mounds occurred between Luray in Page County north to the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers and west to the Appalachian Mountains, with a possible extension south towards the James River. They were closely related to similar mounds in West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.[78] These burial structures usually covered multiple linear graves placed below ground level, each containing a single burial. The "stone" mounds were a mixture of earth and river cobbles arranged above the graves.[79] These mounds probably correspond to single, primary burial events in which articulated bodies were interred shortly after death.[80] The mounds stood upon bluffs over major streams where settlements were located, often in clusters of as few as two

---

[76] Donna C. Boyd and C. Clifford Boyd, Jr., "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability in Virginia," in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 249-275 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992), 249-250.

[77] Thomas Jefferson ("Notes on the State of Virginia," in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson, 123-325 [New York: The Library of America, 1984], 223) would commend these "barrows" as "Indian monument[s]" that were "to be found all over this country [Virginia]."

[78] Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 78. See also Jay F. Custer, *Prehistoric Cultures of the Delmarva Peninsula* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989); Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*; Gardner, "Early and Middle Woodland." The only date from these mounds is a radiocarbon date of 420 BCE from a Thunderbird Ranch mound. They may be the easternmost manifestation of the general developments that occurred during the Adena/Hopewell phenomena of the upper Midwest, and though the stone mound complex ended sooner (by 200 CE), there were probably few places which had so many mounds in such a small area; Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 72-74.

[79] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 71; Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 78-79. Boyd and Boyd ("Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 259) note that not all mounds seem to have enclosed burials. Some contained artifacts but no burials, while others contained neither. Some of these may have served as trail markers.

[80] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 71. This interpretation is based upon the size and shapes of graves, since no known skeletal materials from stone mounds have survived the acidity of the soil.

and as many as eighteen or more individual mounds. The mounds themselves might express a hierarchy in their arrangement, with smaller satellite clusters surrounding a major, central mound cluster.[81] Significant mound concentrations stood along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River and the South Branch of the Potomac River, while the intervening areas had smaller clusters and individual mounds.[82]

The locations of stone mounds may have corresponded to the distribution of the population and social hierarchies, with major concentrations of mounds linked to more important groups of settlements, evidencing higher levels of social order than in preceding periods.[83] The mounds may indicative of what some scholars describe as a "Big Man System," in which local groups developed a tribal level of social organization, within which individuals managed to consolidate unprecedented status and power, and received different mortuary treatment than others in their group.[84] The inclusion of grave goods made from non-local materials, including Great Lakes copper, Ohio chert, and Carolina slate, may support an interpretation of increasing social hierarchy, though the majority of grave goods came from local sources.[85] Unfortunately, plowing, development, and looting have destroyed most of these mounds. Perhaps similar to the stone burial mounds of the Shenandoah Valley, stone cairns once existed in southwest Virginia,

[81] Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 78-79.

[82] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 72.

[83] Ibid., 72. It should be noted that except for their burial mounds, these populations were distributed in the familiar Woodland Period system of base and procurement camps. See Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 78-79.

[84] Blanton "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems," 78. This phenomenon seems to have been confined to the Shenandoah Valley during the Middle Woodlands period, and the rest of central and western Virginia exhibited no specialized mortuary structures, or significant traffic in elite/non-local goods, suggesting that more egalitarian social structures were the norm (83).

[85] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 72.

but vandals have looted these structures and no clear documentation exists to support their interpretation as mortuary structures. Today, all that remain are donut-shaped rings of stones where the cairns once stood.[86]

A different earthen mound tradition emerged in northern Virginia during the Late Woodland period. These mounds were accretional burial structures, meaning that they grew in size as additional interments and layers of earth accumulated over long periods of time.[87] All of the mounds were plowed in subsequent centuries, reducing their size, possibly obscuring their original shapes, and dispersing their most recent burials. Based on archaeological evidence and accounts by early witnesses such as Thomas Jefferson, it appears that these mounds were usually oval or circular in plan, though the outlying Leesville Mound (44CP8) in Campbell County was roughly square. They ranged in size from 20 to about 80 feet in diameter, and had heights that may have been greater than 13.5 feet. Their dimensions were variable and increased over time as the result of population size rather than prior planning. Thirteen mounds exist or are known to have existed, located primarily on floodplains associated with rivers and creeks, although three stood in raised or upland sites.[88]

---

[86] Collectors' artifacts purportedly recovered from these cairns suggest Late Woodland dates, though a much wider range is possible. They were probably very similar to the earth and stone Kittrell Mound (40LD183), located on an upland site in eastern Tennessee's Monroe County, and dating to the Middle Woodland period; Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 257-258. For the Kittrell Mound, see Jefferson Chapman, "The Kittrell Mound and an Assessment of Burial Mound Construction in the Southern Ridge and Valley Province," *Tennessee Anthropologist*, 12, no. 1 (1987): 51-73. It was a low mound situated on a ridge crest above Fork Creek, with a central burial pit, earthen mound, and limestone cap, producing radiocarbon dates of ca. 485 and 655 CE (51).

[87] Howard A. MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture in Virginia* (Richmond: Privately Printed, 1986), 1-3.

[88] The thirteen identified mounds are as follows: The Clover Creek Mound (44HD9) in Highland County; the Hirsh Mound (44BA35) and Withrow Mound #1 in Bath County, the latter of which was located near a second mound that was probably a Middle Woodland stone cairn; the Hayes Creek Mound (44RB2) and Bell #1/Battle Mound (44RB7) in Rockbridge County, the latter of which also seems to have been located near a cairn, containing a single burial; the John East Mound (44AU35) and Lewis Creek Mound (44AU20) in Augusta County; the Bowman/Linville Mound (44RM281) in Rockingham County, the Senedo Mound (44SH129) in Shenandoah County; the Brumback Mound (44PA177) in Page County; the Rapidan Mound (44OR1) in Orange County; the Jefferson Mound (44AB15) in Albemarle County (exact location now lost); and the Leesville Mound (44CP8) in Campbell County,

The soil for earthen accretional mounds came from local sources, sometimes as close as borrow pits or ditches around their perimeter. Many were layered above earlier features, usually burials deposited below the original soil level.[89] In 1901, when Edward P. Valentine excavated the Hayes Creek Mound (44RB2) in Rockbridge County, he encountered a prepared surface beneath it, comprising a circle of fine gravel and ash, thirty-four feet in diameter, with cremated bones piled in the center. Over and around these bones were three layers of flexed burials covered with stones, resulting in a burial structure twenty-four feet in diameter and rising four and half feet above the ash and gravel surface. The rest of the earthen mound stood over this initial stone burial pile.[90]

The general chronology of the earthen mounds suggests a gradually drifting trajectory from locations in the ridge and valley province eastward, into Virginia's northern piedmont region.[91] The structural similarities and concentration of known mounds within a relatively small fifty-mile radius from the present-day town of Staunton in Augusta County, led Howard A. MacCord, Sr. to propose a distinct cultural group that he called the "Lewis Creek Mound

---

which is the sole mound found in a southern piedmont context. See MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture*, 3-17 for a brief description of these sites and their excavation histories. See Gary H. Dunham (*Common Ground, Contesting Visions: The Emergence of Burial Mound Ritual in Late Prehistoric Central Virginia* [Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Virginia, 1994], 225-585) for an updated and much more thorough discussion of all the known mounds, and textual mentions for which no corresponding archaeological sites have been identified. The Withrow #1 and Bell #1 mounds stood on higher valley terraces while the Leesville Mound was located on a 'fairly high" hill. MacCord, *The Lewis Creek mound Culture,* 18. Multiple burial pits with at least twenty-five individuals, many partially or completely disarticulated at a site near Falling Spring in Allegheny County may be the remains of a submound burial pit from an otherwise destroyed accretional burial mound; Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 258.

[89] MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture,* 19.

[90] Edward P. Valentine, *Report on the Exploration of the Hayes Creek Mound, Rockbridge County, VA. (*Richmond: Valentine Museum, 1903), 2; MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture,* 7. Excavators have also encountered sub-mound habitation features; Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology" 121.

[91] Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology" 121.

Culture," a notion which has subsequently received a number of critiques.[92] More recently, Gary Dunham, Debra Gold, and Jeffery Hantman have argued forcefully for attributing the mounds to ancestral Monacan Indians, who lived in the mound building region of central Virginia during the contact period.[93]

In an effort to determine the purpose of such mounds and who might have made them, Thomas Jefferson famously excavated one that stood near his property in Albemarle County in 1783, the exact location of which is now lost.[94] Jefferson describes the mound as rounded in form, with a diameter of forty feet, and rising to a height of twelve feet.[95] Within the mound, he found bundles of bones, including those of children, from which he estimated that the entire mound contained about one thousand individuals. These remains appeared to have been deposited in a periodic manner, with layers of stone between accumulations of bones and soil.

---

[92] MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture,* 1. Notably, the archeological evidence of the mound group does not rise to the level of a new cultural group, but is more properly described as an archaeological complex. Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 258-259.

[93] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 197; Gary H. Dunham, Debra L. Gold, and Jeffrey L. Hantman. "Collective Burial in Late Prehistoric Virginia: Excavation and Analysis of the Rapidan Mound," *American Antiquity* 68, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 112; Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 121. It should be noted that David I. Bushnell, Jr. made the same attribution in 1914 (" 'The Indian Grave' – A Monacan Site in Albemarle County, Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 23, no. 2 [Oct. 1914]: 106-112) and again in 1930 ("The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 82, no. 12 [November 18, 1930]: 14), when he identified the Jefferson Mound as Monacan. The assertion that the mounds were Monacan has not gone without criticism; see Clifford Boyd, Jr., "Monacans as Moundbuilders?" *American Antiquity* 69, no. 2 (Apr. 2004): 361-363; and Jeffrey L. Hantman, Debra L. Gold, and Gary H. Dunham, "Of Parsimony and Archaeological Histories: A Response to Comment by Boyd," *American Antiquity* 69, no. 3 (July 2004): 583-585.

[94] While Jefferson does not state when he excavated the mound, Douglas L. Wilson's analysis of the drafts of Jefferson's "Notes on the State of Virginia" makes it clear that these excavations took place in the summer or early fall of 1783; Douglas L. Wilson, "The Evolution of Jefferson's 'Notes on the State of Virginia,'" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 112, no. 2 (2004): 123.

[95] Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings,* edited by Merill D. Peterson, 123-325 (New York: The Library of America, 1984), 223. Unfortunately, the Jefferson mound does not survive today, and its location remains uncertain. It is often misunderstood as having been on Jefferson's property, but he merely states that it was "in the neighborhood," not on his land. His excavation was notable for a number of reasons. It was the first attempt to verify historical suppositions by recourse to archaeological evidence in the United States. It was also a very early conception and use of stratigraphic method. See Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 108.

Jefferson notes that native peoples passing through the area still knew and visited the site as late as the mid-eighteenth century.[96] It is likely that Jefferson's mound had been a fairly late construction, with interments as recent as the seventeenth century, among whose descendants the site remained important.[97] Further accounts in which white authors observed native parties visiting burial mounds exist for Louisa and Bath Counties, and date as recently as the early nineteenth century.[98]

The primary purpose of these mounds was the burial of the dead. These interments occurred in wide variety of manners, including ossuary-like bone beds, cremations, flexed and articulated burials, and secondary burials that initially appeared to excavators like Jefferson as disorderly jumbles of bones. Some accretional mounds contained hundreds, and even thousands of individuals. Bodies were interred individually and in groups, and once a deposition was finished, stone coverings and lenses of earth were often placed over the remains.[99]

In recent years, a reanalysis of the data regarding accretional mounds, and the application of modern excavation techniques to the last remains of the Lewis Creek and Rapidan Mounds, have refined interpretations of Virginia's earthen mounds.[100] Within the general Late Woodland date range, specific shifts in burial practice have become evident. The earliest, subsoil burials at these sites predate the accretional mounds. The first interments tend to be primary and

---

[96] Jefferson, "Notes on the State," 225-226.

[97] Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 108.

[98] Bushnell, " 'The Indian Grave,' 111-112.

[99] Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 259

[100] See Gary H. Dunham, *Common Ground, Contesting Visions: The Emergence of Burial Mound Ritual in Late Prehistoric Central Virginia* (Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Virginia, 1994); Debra L. Gold, *Subsistence, Health, and Emergent Inequity in Late Prehistoric Interior Virginia* (Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Michigan, 1999); Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 195-218; and Dunham, Gold, and Hantman, "Collective Burial," 109-128.

secondary burials of individuals in pit graves from the end of the Middle Woodland period and the beginning of the Late Woodland period (between ca. 600-1200 CE). Later users of the sites raised conical mounds on top of the initial subsoil burials. These superstructures were either mounds of earth with layers of stone, or mounds of local earth without stones. From the available data, stone and earth accretional mounds tend to be earlier (ca. 900-1200 CE) and more characteristic of the ridge and valley region, while exclusively earthen mounds were later (ca. 1200-1650 CE) and more likely to occur in the piedmont and Blue Ridge foothills. Though the final dimensions for all these mounds are sketchy, the later earthen mounds seem to have been significantly larger and contained many more burials than their stone and earth counterparts.[101] These burials were largely secondary burials, in which bodies of the dead were placed in some kind of temporary repository until their flesh decayed. At a culturally determined time, descendants gathered and removed the bones so that they could be reinterred as additions to the local accretional mound.[102] Contrary to the impressions of early investigators, these secondary interments were relatively orderly arrangements of comingled bones from two dozen or more individuals, filling large deposits without grave goods or covering stones.[103]

---

[101] Dunham, *Common Ground*, 668; Dunham, Gold, and Hantman, "Collective Burial," 113-114; Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology, 121. While the Late Woodland accretional mounds have generally been treated as a separate phenomenon from the stone burial mounds and cairns of the Middle Woodlands, recent research suggests that these phenomena might be related through an evolutionary progression, and the stone and earth mounds may in some cases be continuations of the earlier stone burial cairns found in the same ridge and valley region. See Chapman, "The Kittrell Mound," 65, 71; Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 259; Gold, Dunham, and Hantman, "Collective Burial," 113. This "evolutionary" interpretation is in stark contrast to Gardner's earlier assertion that the accretional mounds "bear no similarity to the true burial mounds" by which he means the stone burial mound tradition. Gardner sees accretional mounds as lacking in intent, and says that they "simply grew up over time" (*Lost Arrowheads*, 85), an interpretation that seems overly reductive.

[102] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 196.

[103] These secondary burial deposits might be as large as five meters in width; see Dunham, Gold, and Hantman, "Collective Burial," 114.

The spatial-temporal shift in mortuary culture, from singular interments in the stone and earthen mounds of the ridge and valley province, to the communal secondary interments in earthen mounds of the piedmont region, suggests shifting social factors.[104] MacCord argues that the accumulative burials reflect an egalitarian society in which there were no restrictions on the inclusion of remains as part of the mounds, which would have been closely linked to local communities.[105] More recent interpretations have focused on the development of social hierarchy among ancestral Monacan Indians, and argue that the centralization needed to conduct mass secondary burials and construct monumental mounds necessarily implies a degree of social hierarchy.[106] Mass secondary burials require the coordination and collaboration of large numbers of people to deflesh the remains through culturally prescribed methods such as a primary burial or elevation, after which the bones must be retrieved and reinterred with others through a collective ritual process.

The stages of the secondary mortuary process brought the dead and living into close, coordinated contact with one another, and these mounds probably played a role in transforming the social environment.[107] The ongoing accretional process of mound building served to integrate the otherwise dispersed social units of Late Woodland societies, and the absence of the grave goods suggests an emphasis on collective, rather than individual identity.[108] These burial

[104] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 204.

[105] MacCord, *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture*, 67.

[106] Hantman and Klein, "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology," 151-152; Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 119.

[107] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 196-197. In addition to the remains of the accretional mound, excavations at the Rapidan site encountered a hearth, eight postholes that may have formed a structure, and a series of clustered rocks and cobbled in evenly spaced rows. The precise nature of these features is uncertain, but Dunham, Gold and Hantman ("Collective Burial," 118) interpret them as part of ritual activities at the site in addition to the burials themselves.

[108] Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads*, 85; Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 214.

mounds stood as visible territorial markers, asserting communal identity and claims on local resources through the visible, above-ground presence of ancestors, whom descendants regularly engaged through the ongoing mortuary processes.[109] The emphasis on collectivity among piedmont settlements and the date range of the large earthen mounds, suggest that accretional burials may have played a role in developing conflicts between the regions of the piedmont and coastal plains. Clear cultural distinctions on either side of the fall zone become archaeologically visible around 900 CE, continuing into the seventeenth century when coastal Powhatan informants claimed that the piedmont Monacan Indians were their traditional enemies. The development of prolonged mortuary processes may have reinforced collective Monacan identity in opposition to their coastal adversaries, a social need that was less pressing in the western ridge and valley province, where singular primary interments in stone and earth mounds were more common.[110]

4. Civic-Ceremonial Architecture

Civic-ceremonial architecture describes constructions whose principal purpose is the staging of public gatherings and/or rituals of governance, both of which may also carry religious

---

[109] Jeffrey L. Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 92, n. 3 (Sept. 1990): 630; Dunham, Gold, and Hantman, "Collective Burial," 124-125; and Gary H. Dunham, "Marking Territory, Making Territory: Burial Mounds in Interior Virginia," in *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory*, Occasional Paper No. 26, edited by John E. Robb, 112-134 (Carbondale, IL: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 1999).

[110] Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," 215-216.

significance. These structures are not primarily residential or mortuary, although burials and the dwellings of social elites may be secondary components of their primary, public functions. The most notable examples of civic-ceremonial architecture in central and western Virginia are the substructural mounds located along Indian Creek in Lee County. Three of these mounds survive today: the Ely Mound (44LE12), the Carter Robinson Mound (44LE10), and the unnamed site 44LE14.[111] These three mounds are equally spaced about seven miles apart from each other, and may represent higher status communities within a ranked settlement system otherwise unique to western Virginia.[112]

Lucien Carr excavated at the Ely Mound in 1877 for the Peabody Museum (figure 4). He found that plowing had greatly eroded the earthen structure, but at that time its base was about ninety-five feet in diameter and a shaft through the center indicated a height of nineteen feet above the soil surface. The mound had a level, oval space on top that was about fifteen by forty feet.[113] The structure's most notable features were the decayed remains of cedar posts that Carr encountered *in situ*. These regularly spaced posts formed a complete ring eight to ten feet below the crown of the mound, with a larger post planted in its center, and were the remains of a building that once stood upon the mound as a raised foundation. Carr believed that he had found the remains of a council house, which he compared to a similar structure that William Bartram

---

[111] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 212. Maureen Elizabeth Siewert Meyers (*Political Economy of Exotic Trade on the Mississippian Frontier: A Case Study of a Fourteenth Century Chiefdom in Southwestern Virginia* [Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2011], 14-20) describes the 44LE14 site as a town without a mound. She notes other possible sub-structure mound sites as the Speaks Mound (44LE7) and the unnamed 44LE17 site in Lee County, and the Flanary Sites 44SC13, 44SC7 and 44SC8 in Scott County.

[112] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 212.

[113] Lucien Carr, *Report on the Exploration of a Mound in Lee County, Virginia* (Cambridge, MA: Salem Press, 1877), 75. The Ely Mound has not suffered the subsequent damage by looting that most mound sites have, perhaps because one of Carr's workmen died in the collapse of an earthen shaft during excavations. The site was regarded by locals as haunted, and has recently been purchased by the Archaeological Conservancy; see Meyers, *Political Economy of Exotic Trade*, 7, 14; and Carr, *Report*, 78.

encountered in Cowe, a Cherokee town in North Carolina.[114] The Ely Mound not only served as the foundation for what was probably a council house, but it was also a burial mound for high status individuals. Carr encountered three burials containing four bodies, as well as grave goods including shell beads, pins, a shell mask with the Mississippian "weeping eye" motif, projectile points, and stone discoidals or chunkey stones.[115]

The Lee County mounds appear to have been directly or indirectly associated with the Mississippian fluorescence that lasted from about 800 CE until the fifteenth century.[116] Mississippian peoples often lived in ranked societies with chiefs and paramount chiefs. In some cases, such as the Cahokia Site in St. Clair County, Illinois, or the Moundville Site in Hale County, Alabama, Mississippian rulers initiated expansive civic-ceremonial complexes with monumental mounds and plazas. Other settlements sites were more modest. The structural similarity of Lee County mounds and those from other Mississippian sites, as well as the appearance of Mississippian materials like the chunkey stones and shell ornament with the

[114] Carr, *Report*, 75-76. Cowe's council house comprised two concentric rings of posts around a higher center post, together supporting a roof of lashed rafters with crossbeams, laths, and a rain-tight covering of bark. The entrance was a single doorway that also let out the smoke of the central fire, and Cowe's people sat in "cabins or sophas" (raised booths) lined with woven matts of ash and oak; see William Bartram, *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws; Containing An Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions, Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians* (Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791), 367.

[115] Carr, *Report*, 77-78; Boyd and Boyd, "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability," 257. Carr (*Report*, 80) notes that these burials were intrusive, located in the upper layers of the mound, and were probably interred after the mound was complete. In size, form, construction, and relative paucity of burials, the Ely Mound was categorically different than the stone cairns and earthen accretional mounds otherwise characteristic of central and western Virginia.

[116] The Mississippian phenomenon was wide-spread throughout the South and Midwest, and in some locations it continued into the Contact Period. For an introduction to the Mississippian phenomenon and its material expressions, see George R. Milner, *The Moundbuilders: Ancient Peoples of Eastern North America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), and Richard F. Townsend, editor, *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South* (New Haven: The Art Institute of Chicago and Yale University Press, 2004).

weeping eye motif, indicate that the Indian Creek sites represent an extension of Mississippian culture into the extreme southwestern corner of what is now Virginia.[117]

Assuming that the mounds in Lee County were part of frontier trade settlements at the edge of Mississippian expansion, Maureen Elizabeth Siewert Meyers recently conducted excavations at the Carter Robinson Mound site.[118] This mound is located southwest of the Ely Mound, on a ridge above Indian Creek in an open area with raised land features around it. This open, bowl-like setting lends maximum visibility to the mound, from which clear sight lines open to strategic mountain gaps. It was a flat-topped, square mound twelve feet high when documented in 1970.[119] While excavations have not been allowed on top of the mound, a geophysical survey indicated the possible presence of a ramp on its east side and an unidentified structure on top.[120] Small excavations on its flanks suggest that two or three stages of construction expanded the mound's dimensions over time. Radiocarbon samples indicate that the first stage was constructed between 1268 and 1287, the second between 1287 and 1315, and the third between 1293 and 1325, with final abandonment around 1375-1400. During the second stage of development, a mantle of pebbles may have covered the mound, giving it a more formal appearance, and the ramp was added about the same time.[121]

Meyers' work at the Carter Robinson site included test excavations of the town at the base of the mound, which differed in notable ways from other settlements in Woodland Virginia.

---

[117] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 213-214.

[118] Meyers, *Political Economy of Exotic Trade.* In 2013 the Radford University Archaeological Field School continued excavations at the Carter Robinson site under the direction of Meyers and Clifford Boyd.

[119] Ibid., 128-129.

[120] Ibid., 131. Survey methods included conductivity, magnetic gradiometry, and ground penetrating radar (111).

[121] Ibid., 149-150.

Her geophysical survey located the town to the north, east, and south of the mound, with an open plaza and surrounding domestic structures immediately adjoined to its eastern side.[122] The settlement developed in multiple phases with occupational foci gradually shifting over time, resulting in a complex archaeological record that remains incompletely understood. Builders at Carter Robinson appear to have used trenches for setting their wall posts in the earliest phases of construction, a technique that was rare among other Woodland sites in western Virginia, but typical for early Mississippian houses (ca. 1100-1250 CE). Later Mississippian houses changed to single set-posts as wall supports, often with four large support posts around the central hearth. Carter Robinson's later construction phases exhibit a similar shift to set posts. These structures also had mud daub coverings, a technique which was quite rare in other central and western Virginia sites.[123] Meyers concludes that Carter Robinson was a distinctly Mississippian settlement, exhibiting some regional variation but in sharp contrast to other sites in western Virginia.[124]

Although it was very different in form from the Lee County mounds, a large, semi-subterranean structure at the Carb Orchard site probably also had civic-ceremonial functions. This elongated, earthfast building was located just west of the town's palisade line, with an east-west orientation and a radiocarbon date of 1610 +/- 55 CE. It was sixty-four feet long, with an irregular, roughly rectangular form thirty feet wide on the west end and thirty-nine feet wide on

[122] Ibid., 126. The structures nearest the mound were probably higher status, based on size and artifacts within them (332).

[123] Ibid., 228-231. Another common characteristic of Mississippian houses is a square plan, with rounded corners. The traces at Carter Robinson were ultimately too fragmentary, and the excavated area to small, to definitively determine the overall form of the houses, though Meyers identified evidence for internal divisions, entryways, and distinct working areas, all characteristic of Mississippian domestic architecture.

[124] Meyers, *Political Economy of Exotic Trade*, 325, 328. The site was well positioned to take advantage of local cannel coal, and regional trade networks in salt and shell.

the east end. Small posts made up the walls, while a row a large posts (between fourteen and twenty-one inches in diameter) ran down the center of the long axis of the building, alongside three hearths, possibly indicative of multiple building periods. The floor level at the center of the building sat about nine inches below ground level, with a bench running around its edges. Excavator Keith Egloff interprets these features as a council house for public meetings, which might have included both sacred and secular activities.[125] The Crab Orchard council house is presently the only known structure of its form in central or western Virginia, though similarly arranged "town houses" with prepared clay floors and "seats," as well as sunken fire basins, were part of Mississippian sites along the Powel and Clinch Rivers in eastern Tennessee, and a large rectangular house with a row of central hearth basins existed at the Fort Ancient occupation of the Buffalo Site (46PU31) in West Virginia. Crab Orchard's semi-subterranean structure seems to be most like these sites to its west.[126] It is possible that other building which appear to be domestic in nature actually functioned in a civic-ceremonial manner as council houses. For instance, longhouse forms like those of the Buzzard Rock and the Bessemer sites, could have been council houses rather than seasonal residences.[127]

[125] Egloff and Reed, "The Crab Orchard Site," 132; Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 209.

[126] Egloff and Reed, "The Crab Orchard Site," 147.

[127] Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period," 209.

5. Other architectural forms

A variety of additional structures certainly characterized daily life in Woodland period settlements. These vernacular forms aided in preparing and storing food, processing animal and plant resources, and providing comfort and recreation. Cooking pits, racks, partitions, looms, trophy poles, windbreaks, corncribs, and other more ephemeral creations were important components of the indigenous built environment.[128] These structures probably produced many of the scattered post molds that excavators encounter in settlement sites, not conforming to the patterned traces of palisades and houses. One could categorize such varied architectural elements as utilitarian or subsistence architecture.

Granaries and corncribs for food storage appear to have constituted one form of subsistence architecture at some Woodland sites. At the Brown Johnson Site (44BD1) in Bland County, six small circular and oval patterns of vertical posts without accompanying hearths suggest the existence of above-ground food storage facilities.[129] Other rare examples of Woodlands subsistence architecture may still be visible in some of Virginia's rivers during periods of low water. Woodlands and Contact Era fishermen used "V"-shaped fish dams or weirs to make their work easier and more productive. They built low berms of river cobbles angled downstream where a swift current would channel fish through the constricting gap between the two walls. Native fishermen waited in the gap, using spears, nets, and cone-shaped woven traps to gather their catch.[130] Robert Beverley describes these traps as ten feet long and

[128] Valliere and Harter, "The Cement Plant Site," 74.

[129] MacCord, "The Brown Johnson Site," 240.

[130] Bushnell, "The Five Monacan Towns," 8; Raymond J. Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 286-300 (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 2004), 288.

about three feet at the open end, into which fish swam with the current and could not escape.[131] Fish weirs may have remained in use among the colonists, making their dating difficult. A few of the stone alignments may still be visible today, as with the well-preserved Smith River fish weir, immediately adjacent to the 44HR2 site in Henry County.[132] The walls of this weir were probably a foot high originally, and stretched from bank to bank.[133]

Many fish weirs once existed in the James River, though it is difficult to distinguish between Woodland and historic structures. A pair of fish dams were joined in a "W" shaped configuration above the falls of the James River in present-day Richmond.[134] Another fish weir is historically documented in the Otter River of Bedford County. Weirs also existed in the Rappahannock River above Fredericksburg, one of which is still visible today, and in the Rapidan River at "Skinker/l's Ford" in Culpeper County (44CU17). The Rapidan River fish weir incorporated logs sunk into the riverbed to form a permanent foundation at the mouth of the funnel, which may have facilitated rebuilding after washouts.[135]

A final architectural form worthy of mention is the sweat lodge, to which ethnohistoric accounts attest, but which are rarely identified in archaeological remains. Sweat lodges were

---

[131] Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia,* edited by Louis B. Wright (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, 1968), 148.

[132] Gravely, "Prehistory," 121.

[133] Calder Loth, ed., *The Virginia Landmarks Register*, 4th edition (Richmond: The Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1999), 231.

[134] Bushnell, 1930, 8 and plate 1; see also Allen Lutins, *Prehistoric Fishweirs in Eastern North America* (Master's Thesis, University of New York at Binghamton, 1992). According to Mouer ("A Review of the Archaeology," 29) the Richmond fish dams were most likely within Monacan territory, rather than belonging to the coastal Powhatan, for whom more productive fishing sites have been identified further downstream.

[135] Lutins, *Prehistoric Fishweirs*; David I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 94, no. 8 (October 9, 1935): 36-38; and Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 288.

probably small, bentwood frames designed to hold a single individual undergoing treatment for illness or seeking purification. They were heated using rocks removed from the fire and placed on the floor of the lodge, over which water might be poured to produce steam.[136] Feature twenty-one at the Sawyer Site in Roanoke County may provide an example of a Woodland period sweat lodge. It was a large, oval pit slightly more than six feet wide and about two feet deep. A hearth of fire-cracked stone sat at the center of the pit, distinguishing this structure from storage pits that do not usually contain hearths, but at a foot in diameter it was also much smaller than typical barbecue features.[137] Excavator Michael Barber therefore interprets this feature as a Late Woodland or early Contact Era semi-subterranean sweat lodge, perhaps having a bentwood frame enclosing the pit and hearth.[138]

[136] For ethnohistoric mentions of sweat lodges among the peoples of the coastal plains, see John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from the first beginnings Ano: 1584 to this present 1624," in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes*, Vol. II, edited by Philip L. Barbour, 33-475 (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 121; and Beverley, *The History and Present State*, 218-219. John Lawson (*A New Voyage*, 55) mentions oven-shaped stone sweat lodges near a Totero town along the Haw River in North Carolina. For modern Monacan descriptions of sweat lodges, their use, and their significance, see interviews with George Branham Whitewolf and Danny Gear in Rosemary Clark Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 21, 34-36.

[137] Barber, "Emergency Excavations," 74-77.

[138] Ibid., 87.

Part II: Contact Period[139]

Archaeology is the primary source for information about native architecture in Virginia prior to contact with European colonists. Ethnohistoric accounts begin to provide complimentary sources with the establishment of English settlements in the middle Atlantic, first at Roanoke in 1585 (abandoned by 1590), and then at Jamestown in 1607.[140] Early colonists had extensive contact with the indigenous population of the coastal plain, but rarely ventured past the fall line until the eighteenth century. Much of what these early settlers knew of the interior filtered through their coastal informants, who were the admitted adversaries of piedmont Siouan peoples.[141] In September of 1608, the English first ascended to the piedmont under the direction

---

[139] This section focuses on the piedmont Siouan peoples. The southwest portion of Virginia was the territory of Cherokees who descended from southeastern Mississippian peoples, and who spoke Cherokee, a southern branch of the Iroquoian linguistic family. Cherokee settlements were primarily located in western North and South Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia. They claimed the southwestern corner of Virginia as a hunting ground and buffer zone (Raymond D. Fogelson, "Cherokees in the East," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast,* edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 337-353 [Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 2004], 337-338). Because Cherokee building practices did not figure significantly in their Virginian hunting territory, they are not part of this essay. For an introduction, see Fogelson, "Cherokees in the East"; Perdue, *The Cherokee*; Bennie C. Keel, *Cherokee Archaeology: A Study of the Appalachian Summit* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976); and Nabakov and Easton, *Native American Architecture,* 108-114.

[140] There had been two previous attempts, one English, and one Spanish, to establish European colonies in the Virginia tidewater area; see Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank," 676.

[141] For example, in the early days of the Jamestown venture, Captain Christopher Newport led an expedition up the James River as far as the fall line, where the English dined with a petty chief of the Powhatan alliance named Pawatah, who described the Piedmont interior and its peoples, but refused to lead the English further inland. These conversations yielded initial descriptions of the Blue Ridge Mountains (known as "Quirank") and two towns, called Monanacah and Rahowacah; see Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606-1609,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 87-88; Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), 130-133; and Hantman "Between Powhatan and Quirank," 678. The following year, in August 1608, another party ventured towards the interior via the Rappahannock River. As they neared the fall line, a group of Piedmont Indians engaged them in combat, and the English managed to take one of their number hostage, a man named Amoroleck. The wounded warrior described the Monacans and Massawomecks as people living further inland; see Smith, "The Generall Historie," 175-176, and Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank," 679. The exact nature of the relationship between the Monacan and Powhatan Confederacies is uncertain. Following his sources, Smith describes the Monacans as the annual enemies of the Powhatan, but Michael Klein interprets this relationship as one of seasonal ritualized conflict serving aggregational functions (58-59). Hantman ("Between Powhatan and Quirank," 685-686) hypothesizes a more complex relationship, based in the trade of copper as a prestige item that created a situation of dependency for Powhatan who had no naturally occurring copper reserves and was forced to seek it through trade with Monacans and other peoples; see also Howard A. MacCord, Sr.

of Captain Christopher Newport, hoping to find exploitable mineral deposits. This expedition marched some forty miles inland from the falls of the James River, and visited the Monacan towns of Massinacack and Monhemenchouch, where they took hostage a petty chief to serve as a guide, despite receiving no hostilities from the Monacans.[142]

In 1612, John Smith published his *Map of Virginia* in England, providing a substantial description of the coastal plain and its peoples, as well as illustrating the approximate locations of important native towns in the piedmont. Smith notes the primary Monacan towns of Mowhemcho, Massinacack, Monasukapanough, Rassawek, and Monahassanough along the James River, as well as the Manahoac towns of Mahaskahod, Tauxnitania, Hassininga, Stegara, and Shackaconia along the Rappahannock River, which were confederated with the Monacans.[143] He seems to describe these piedmont peoples as speaking multiple, mutually-

("Copper in Prehistoric Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 60, no. 4 [December 2005]: 181-197) regarding the difficulty of identifying viable copper sources in Virginia, and need for further research and caution in interpreting native copper circulation. The name "Monacan" has complex usage, since it applied to different levels of society, referring to all peoples of the piedmont region from the James to Rappahannock basins, to those specifically along the James River as a general opposition to the Powhatans, and to Monacan Town, a specific settlement on the James River (Mouer, "A Review," 23).

[142] Philip L. Barbour, editor, "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606 till this present 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Discoveries," in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes*, Vol. I, 198-289 (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 238.

[143] John Smith, "A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion," in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes*, Vol. I, edited by Philip L. Barbour, 131-190 (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 165; Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank," 679-680. It is important to keep in mind that Smith's five towns did not represent all the settlements, or the total number of Monacan and Manahoac towns in the region; rather, it seems that he indicated towns that had chieftaincies. See Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 115. Efforts to correlate Smith's descriptions of Monacan towns with particular archaeological sites remain an uncertain project among archaeologists and historians. For example, see Bushnell, "The Five Monacan Towns," and "The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 94, no. 8 (October 9, 1935): 1-56. Daniel L. Mouer ("A Review of the Archeology," 24-27) provides a summary and analysis of these attempts, concluding that Newport's Mowhemcho was probably the same Monacan town that Lederer visited in 1670 and which Huguenots resettled in 1699, but that the town may not have stayed in exactly the same location over this time period. He believes that it was probably in Powhatan County, in the lowlands around Bernard and Norwood Creeks, along with Sabot Island and the opposite bank of the James. This area would have been an ideal location for the town, and the site of 44PO7 in particular seems to have a concentration of late Late Woodland materials.

unintelligible languages, giving the impression of less cultural affinity than was probably the case. Historians now believe that they were allied with one another though social-political bonds and tributary relationships.[144]

The cultural and linguistic affiliation of these piedmont Indians has been a matter of some academic debate, but their Siouan identity is now generally accepted.[145] Whereas early scholarship tended to divide ethno-historical accounts of different native groups and identities, more recent authors have made the case for understanding the Monacan and Manahoac Indians, as well as the Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi Indians of the central piedmont, as part of a single cultural alliance. This piedmont Siouan culture, broadly described as "Monacan," included at

---

Massinicack may also have been in Powhatan County, further upstream around a sharp bend in the James River near Mohawk Creek. Site 44PO13 is in the area, but from his inspection of the site Mouer believes that it may be too early. Mahock was probably in Nelson County, in the lowlands along the north bank of the James River, between Wingina and Norwood, but it may be premature to identify the Wingina site with the historic-era town. Smith located Monasuchapanough on the left bank of a northern tributary of the James, which has traditionally been identified as the Rivanna River, and the Monacan town correlated to a large site near Charlottesville in Albemarle County. The Jefferson Mound was located somewhere on the opposite side of the river, but its location is no longer known, and Mouer writing in 1983 was reluctant to ascribe the mound to the Monacans, and also lacked confidence that the site on the Rivanna was securely identified as Smith's Monasuchapanough. Rassawek has traditionally been located near the confluence of the Rivanna and James Rivers where Fluvanna, Goochland, and Cumberland Counties meet, but specific archaeological evidence was hard to locate. A pipeline cut in 1980 allowed closer inspection, and no occupational remains were found along the banks of the Rivanna. The north bank of the James, on the other hand, exhibited heavy Late Woodland occupation, with a sequential series of cultural layers ten feet deep. Heavy occupation and multiple sites are located along the north bank, and Moeur has also located a large, possibly palisaded town site with late ceramics on nearby Elk Island, where other sites with early contact-era components exist. The north bank and Elk Island were probably a large tribal territory with a number of shifting residential foci comprising the town of Rassawek.

[144] By the eighteenth century ethnohistoric documents indicate that these groups were using the Occaneechi language as a common trade language. It is likely that Smith's apparent assertion of cultural difference between piedmont groups is more a reflection of his ambiguous prose, as well as his conditioning by seventeenth-century European political relationships, rather than expressing the reality of relationships between piedmont cultural groups. See Klein, "Settlement Patterns," 56-57; Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank," 680-682.

[145] Horatio Hale initially identified Tutelo as a Siouan language in the nineteenth century; see "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21, no. 114 (1883): 1-49. Following Hale, it has been the practice to describe these peoples collectively as "Piedmont Siouan Speakers," although a few scholars have been reluctant to accept this attribution, since relatively few linguistic fragments survive; see Klein, *Settlement Patterns*, 55; Mouer, "A Review," 22; and Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 286. In recent years the Siouan origin of Tutelo has been confirmed by Siouan linguists and is now generally accepted; Karenne Wood, e-mail message to the author, July 23, 2013.

least sixteen different tribal groups, possibly arranged according to three confederacies: the Monacans, Manahoacs, and Tutelo or Nahyssans. These groups may have spoken slightly different dialects of the same Siouan language, with Occaneechi serving as a *lingua franca*, but the archaeological evidence of similar town sites, house forms, and material culture supports an assertion of a general cultural homogeneity among them at the time of contact.[146] This existing affinity grew even closer during the contact era, as population decline and other challenges resulted in the consolidation of previously distinct groups. After 1650, English colonists may have gradually begun to use "Saponi" and "Tutelo" to describe all piedmont Siouan peoples, making them even harder to distinguish in historic records.[147] The Treaty of 1646 established forts and trading posts along the western edge of the coastal plain, oriented inland, changing the relationship between the English colonists and piedmont Indians. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Siouan peoples of Virginia and North Carolina experienced a complex period of fragmentation, migration, and consolidation. It was about this time that the Monacans seem to have begun moving away from the floodplains of the James and Rappahannock

[146] Samuel R. Cook, *Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 27-30; Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 107; and Jay Hansford C. Vest, "Monacans and Huguenots: Manakin Town and the Ethnogensis of the Monacan Nation," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 61, no. 1 (March 2006): 38. Descendants living in the Appalachian foothills of Amherst and Rockbridge Counties also assert this designation, and in 1989 the state of Virginia formally recognized them as the Monacan Indian Nation; Karenne Wood, and Diane Shields, *The Monacan Indians: Our Story* (Madison Heights, VA: The Monacan Indian Nation, 1999), 1, 33. The precise political and social structuring of the Siouan groups remains uncertain. Mouer ("A Review of the Archaeology," 24) believes that the Monacan confederacy existed as a system of small chieftaincies with relatively low social stratification. Klein (*Settlement Patterns*, 68) sees Smith's map of Monacan settlements as evidence for autonomous petty chieftains linked in regional system. Based on the evidence of the earthen mounds of the Monacan region, Hantman and others have asserted that a greater degree of social stratification may have been part of everyday life among these groups ("Between Powhatan and Quirank," 684; see also n. 106, above).

[147] Cook, *Monacans and Miners*, 27-37.

Rivers.[148] Some relocated to the hills above the James, while other migrated out of the region entirely.[149]

Although historic sources occasionally mention various piedmont Indian groups, most reveal little about their architectural practices. German explorer John Lederer's account of his second (of three) expeditions into the interior of Virginia and North Carolina from 1669 to 1670 offers some information about the native built environment in the piedmont. Lederer began his second expedition in May of 1670 with a visit to "Monakin" Town above the falls of the James River, where he observed a pyramid of piled stones near the town entry, but said nothing more about the settlement organization or its structures. According to one of his informants, the number of stones in the mound represented the number of people drawn from a neighboring,

[148] Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 115-116. John Lederer (*The Discoveries of John Lederer*, edited by William P. Cumming [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1958], 34-37) did not report encountering any Indians during his journey up the Rappahannock in 1670. It should be noted, however, that in 1702 Francis Louis Michel visited the Huguenot settlement on the former site of Monacan Town, and noted that there were four different Indian nations "still alive" in Virginia, one far inland on the Potomac, one along the coast at the Virginia-North Carolina border, one "far up in the country" on the Rappahannock, and finally one "not far from Manig-kinton (Monacan Town)." See Wm. J. Hinke, translator, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, Oct. 2, 1701-December 1, 1702. Part II," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1916): 130. From this report, it would seem that central Virginia was never entirely abandoned by its native inhabitants. Tracking genealogical connections, Vest ("Monacans and Huguenots," 41-46) argues that remnants of the Monacan Town families remained in the area, and intermarried with the displaced French Huguenots. Their descendants migrated to Amherst and Rockbridge counties, resulting in a large number of Huguenot names such as Branham and Ramsey among today's Monacan Indian Nation.

[149] Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 116. For an overview of the movements and migrations of this period, see Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 288-298. Demallie describes the documented locations and encounters of Europeans with native groups, but does not acknowledge that the native people groups may not have all moved as single, monolithic entities, and therefore it was possible that some stayed behind or were in locations unacknowledged or unknown by the author's seventeenth and eighteenth century sources. Demallie does end by recognizing the groups asserting descent from the Piedmont Indians in Virginia and North Carolina (298), but seems ambivalent about their claims. Demallie is either unaware of Jeffrey L. Hantman's work on the subject of Piedmont archaeology and native groups, or unwilling to acknowledge it. In a more recent series of articles, J. Hansford C. Vest uses genealogical evidence to hypothesize patterns of marriage and migration among the ancestors of today's Monacan Indians of Amherst and Rockbridge counties; see Vest, "Further Considerations in the Ethnogensis of the Monacan Indian Nation: The Saponi Origins of Selected Families," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 3 (September 2005): 133-149; "Monacans and Huguenots"; "Opechancanough and the Monacans: The Legend of Trader Hughes and Princess Nicketti Reconsidered," *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 4 (December 2005): 198-215; and "The Origins of the Johns Surname: A Monacan Ethnogensis," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 1 (March 2005): 1-4.

overpopulated land whom a Monack guide led to the location, where they became the Monacan people.[150]

Leaving Monacan town, Lederer eventually arrived at Sapon, a Nahyssan town that he describes as lying on the "Rorenock" River with an absolute monarch as ruler. He observes the existence of "little temples or Oratories" in which the Nahyssan Indians stored their war trophies, but does not provide any further description.[151] Lederer seems to have next visited Occaneechi Town, a settlement located on an island in the Roanoke River near present-day Clarksville in Mecklenburg County, which he called "Akenatzy." Lederer describes the settlement as a secure island that was naturally fortified "with Fastnesses of Mountains, and Water on every side" and crops raised on the north shores of the river.[152]

Passing further to the southwest, Lederer came among the "Oenock" Indians, perhaps the Eno Indians who lived along the North Carolina piedmont river bearing their name in Orange and Durham Counties.[153] Lederer provides a brief description of Oenock Town's architecture,

---

[150] Lederer, *The Discoveries*, 19-20. One might speculate that this pyramid of stones was an iteration of the stone and earth mounds known from other Monacan sites, and could have contained the bones of ancestors, whose symbolic importance became conflated with more readily visible stones in Lederer's interpretation. In another account, Lederer ("Another French Account of Virginia Indians by John Lederer," edited by Christian F. Feest, *The Virginia Magazine* [1975]: 157) states that stone cairns commemorated battles, with each stone representing a slain warrior. This account seems similar to the unfounded eighteenth-century belief that earthen mounds commemorated ancient battles, a theory which induced Jefferson to conduct his mound excavation, and which he eventually repudiated with the evidence of child interments.

[151] Lederer, *The Discoveries*, 24. Nahyssan was apparently another name for the Piedmont Saponi Indians; Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 291.

[152] Lederer, *The Discoveries*, 24-25. This site is now submerged below the John H. Kerr Reservoir. In a 1674 letter, English fur-trader Abraham Wood echoes Lederer's assessment of Occaneechi Town's natural fortifications; see Abraham Wood, "Letter of Abraham Wood to John Richards, August 22, 1674," in *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, edited by Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, 210-226 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), 224-225. See also Howard A. MacCord Sr. ("The Occaneechis: An Archeological Enigma," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 58, no. 3 [September 2003]: 148-159) regarding the difficulties in distinguishing the Occaneechis through archaeological evidence.

[153] Ward and Davis, *Time Before History*, 99, 258.

describing it as arranged "round a field" used for sports and recreation, perhaps a later version of the plazas found at the center of Woodland settlement sites. The majority of Oenock's houses were different from the bark-covered structures with which Lederer was familiar, since their walls were wattle and daub, a style which he attributed to "Mountain-Indians." Lederer also notes the existence of rounded houses with reed thatch or bark coverings, and states that during the heat of the summer, Oenock residents used open-sided, thatched arbors for sleeping. Finally, he mentions the existence of above-ground granaries or "little hovels made like an oven" alongside each house for the storage of corn and mast.[154]

Like Lederer, the Swiss traveler Francis Louis Michel visited Monacan Town in 1702, by which time a Huguenot settlement had taken over the site.[155] When Michel arrived, calling the settlement "Manikinton," nothing remained of the native town except for a peach grove and a rough red stone about four feet tall which he believed the Monacans used for religious services. Lederer explains that about thirty years previously, a "Colonel Bornn" had attacked the town after hearing about "some injury upon the Christians," killing all of its inhabitants and destroying their homes and possessions. Michel notes that some Monacan inhabitants escaped the attack, and continued to camp nearby during the summer.[156] This account testifies to the ongoing presence of Monacan Indians in the piedmont, as well as other groups of Indians "far up

---

[154] Lederer, *The Discoveries*, 27. From Oenock Town, Lederer (27-33) went on to visit the "Shackory" [Shakori] Indians, who lived to the southwest of the Oenock, and were similar in custom, as well as the towns of Sara and Wisacky in the Carolina piedmont, Katearas of the "Eruco" River, Kawitziokan on a branch of the Roanoke River, and the already familiar Indian towns of Menchoerinck, Natoway, and Apamatuck in Virginia, all without taking note of their architecture.

[155] See Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 288-289; and Vest, "Monacans and Huguenots," 39-40.

[156] Wm. J. Hinke, translator, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, Oct. 2, 1701-December 1, 1702. Part I," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 1 (Jan. 1916): 29-30. Hinke believed this "Colonel Bornn" to have been either Colonel William Byrd, who own much of the land on Falling Creek, or Colonel William Claiborne who did not live nearby but who had a reputation for his battles with Virginia's Indians.

country" on the Rappahannock, but he gives little other information about Monacan architecture, other than indicating the continued existence of their homes in the landscape.[157] This small population of Monacans persevering in the vicinity of their old town was said to have left the area by 1722.[158]

Two years before Michel's travels, John Lawson set out to explore the Carolina backcountry.[159] Though his trip did not take him into Virginia, Lawson encountered a number of the affiliated piedmont Siouan peoples, some of whom had migrated south to establish new homes. In 1701, he visited "Sapona" Town in the Carolina piedmont on the Yadkin River, near present day Salisbury, North Carolina. There he found three small groups of Siouan people, the Toteros, Saponas, and Keyauwees consolidated and living together in order to better defend themselves. He describes their town as situated in the midst of cleared fields with palisades surrounding its houses. These protective fences blew over during a particularly strong storm which Lawson witnessed. There were also stone sweathouses, shaped like large ovens, between the town and the river.[160]

---

[157] Michel apparently saw a Monacan house belonging to a returning hunter; Hinke, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, Oct. 2, 1701- December 1, 1702. Part II," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1916): 130-132. Michel provides a drawing entitled "Three Indians—Their Houses," in which he illustrates three native men with a house in the background. It appears to be a longhouse, rather than the typical piedmont roundhouse. Michel's house has an elongated rectangular plan with bowed frame forming arches running down its long axis. The front door is arched, and two small square openings pierce the building's long flank. A smoke hole may be indicated at the center of the house, while the nature of the house's covering is unclear.

[158] Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 46.

[159] Lawson followed the Santee River inland from the South Carolina coast, along the Wattree River into North Carolina's piedmont, crossing the Yadkin and Haw Rivers, and following the Eno downstream for a distance before ending his journey near present-day Bath on the Pamlico Sound.

[160] Lawson, *A New Voyage*, 54-55. The use of stone as a construction material appears to have been unusual for the region. Further east, another Keyauwee Town had a similar palisade of wooden posts; ibid., 56. This site was probably located on the Carraway Creek (ibid., xiii).

Lawson provides a general description of native housing in North Carolina, and though he does not specify any particular cultural affiliation, his description so closely matches the archaeological evidence of Woodland buildings that it merits extended quotation:

> These savages live in *Wigwams*, or Cabins built of bark, which are made round like an Oven, to prevent any Damage by hard Gales of Wind. They make the Fire in the middle of the House, and have a Hole at the Top of the Roof right above the Fire, to let out the smoke. These Dwellings are as hot as Stoves where the *Indians* sleep and sweat all night. The Floors thereof are never paved nor swept, so that they have always a loose Earth on them [….]
>
> The bark they make their Cabins withal, is generally Cypress, or red or white Cedar; and sometimes, when they are a great way from any of these Woods, they make use of Pine-Bark, which is the worser sort. In building these Fabricks, they get very long Poles, of Pine, Cedar, Hiccory, or any Wood that will bend; these are the Thickness of the Small of a Man's Leg, at the thickest end, which they generally strip of Bark, and warm them well in the Fire, which makes them tough and fit to bend; afterwards, they stick the thickest ends of them in the Ground, about two Yards asunder, in a Circular Form, the distance they design the Cabin to be, (which is not always round, but sometimes oval) then they bend the Tops and bring them together, and bind their ends with Bark of Trees, that is proper for that use, as Elm is, or sometimes the Moss that grows on the Trees, and is a Yard or two long, and never rots; then they brace them with other Poles, to make them strong; afterwards, cover them all over with Bark, so that they are very warm and tight, and will keep firm against all the Weathers that blow. They have other sorts of Cabins without Windows, which are for their Graneries, Skins, and Merchandizes; and others that are cover'd over head; the rest left open for the Air. These have Reed-Hurdles, like Tables, to lie and sit on, in Summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting-Houses in the hot Season of the Year. The Cabins they dwell in have Benches all round, except where the Door stands; on these they lay Beasts-Skins, and mats made of rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. In one of these, several Families commonly live, though all related to one another.[161]

Though far more sparse than one might wish, ethnohistoric sources like the accounts of Lederer, Michel, and Lawson offer insight into the built environment of native communities during the Contact Period. They confirm specific materials and building techniques, as well as providing names, locations, and political affiliations of important settlement sites. These accounts augment the archaeological record with descriptions of architectural forms/functions

[161] Ibid., 180-182.

such as the Saponi temples and stone sweathouses, the Eno above-ground granaries, and their thatched arbors for gatherings and summer sleeping. Together, these sources also offer glimpses of the social parameters and uses of native buildings.

Ethnohistoric accounts confirm the continuing architectural legacy of the Woodland Period almost a century after the establishment of Jamestown. Archaeological excavations likewise indicate the conservatism of native architectural practices beyond the fall line, which did not immediately respond to the cultural encounter. Archaeologists often find European-sourced artifacts such as glass beads and copper in Contact Period sites, which are otherwise indistinguishable from Late Woodland settlements. The general pattern of palisaded towns alongside major rivers continued for at least a century.[162] The Trigg Site (44MY3) on the banks of the New River in Radford, was occupied from around 1600 to 1635, with as many as three palisade lines containing between ten to twenty-nine circular or oval houses in concentric rows around an unusually small central plaza.[163] Despite the presence of European trade goods such as glass and copper beads, as well as copper cones and bells, the general architectural style remained essentially unchanged from the Late Woodland period.[164]

---

[162] Hantman, "Monacan Archaeology," 115.

[163] William T. Buchanan, *The Trigg Site, City of Radford, Virginia* (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1984), 316, 415; and Heather A. Lapham, *Hunting for Hides: Deerskins, Status, and Cultural Change in the Protohistorical Appalachians* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 39-40.

[164] Buchanan, *The Trigg Site,* 322-325. In addition to the above sites, contact-era sites with palisaded settlement plans include the Perkins Point Site (44BA3) in Bath County, which included eleven identified houses and dates to the early contact period, the Thomas-Sawyer Site (44RN39) in Salem, the Hurt Power Plant Site (44PY144) in Pittsylvania County, and the Cabin Run Site (44WR3, late seventeenth century) in Warren County; see Mary Ellen N. Hodges, "The Archaeology of Native American Life in Virginia in the Context of European Contact: Review of Past Research," in *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia,* edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J Pogue (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993), 39-40; and Whyte and Geier, *The Perkins Point Site,* 122. Several sites have produced contact-era artifacts without clear evidence for architectural features, such as the Graham White Site (44RN21) in Salem, which was probably a small dispersed settlement in the mid seventeenth century, built on top of an early fifteenth-century town site; see T. S. Klatka and Michael Klein, "Deciphering Site Occupational History at the Graham-White Site (44RN21)," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 14 (1998): 139; and Thomas Klatka, "Totera Town Reconsidered," *The Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society and Museum* 13, no. 2 (1996): 23-27. Other non-palisaded settlements from the Contact Period include the Noah's Ark

A similar pattern of social disruption but material continuity existed among the Occaneechis, who suffered greatly during the 1676 conflict known as Bacon's Rebellion, when Nathaniel Bacon's men turned upon their supposed allies in Occaneechi Town, killing many of the group and displacing them from their protected site on the Roanoke River.[165] The Occaneechis fled to the south, into North Carolina's piedmont where Lawson reported visiting their town in 1701, though he did not describe it in any detail except to note that the "cabins" were well hung with meat.[166] The excavators of the Fredericks Site (31OR231) on the Haw River in Orange County, North Carolina believe it to be one of the towns that Lawson visited, and the destination of the uprooted Occaneechis. It was a small settlement with a single palisade of relatively small posts, some set in wall trenches rather than individual holes, enclosing ten to twelve houses. Analysis of excavated remains indicates a high rate of mortality during the period of its occupation (1680-1710), probably due to disease. Despite their reduced state, the Occaneechis demonstrated a strong continuity in their material culture and grave goods during

Site (44BA15) in Bath County, with traces of two structures and trade goods, and the Harry Jaegar Site (44BA489), also in Bath County. See Clarence R. Geier, and Melissa McFee, *The Harry Jaeger Site (44BA489): A Multicomponent Protohistoric Indian/Eighteenth Century Historic Site, Bath County, Virginia,* Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 7 (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1981); and Hodges, "The Archaeology of Native American Life," 38-41. Other sites with Contact Period components but lacking sufficient architectural data include the Philpott Site (44HR4) in Henry County, and the Bowman Site (44SH1) in Shenandoah County. See R. P. Stephen, Davis Jr., Jane Eastman, Thomas O. Maher, and Richard P. Graverly, Jr., *Archaeological Investigations at the Philpott Site, Henry County, Virginia,* Research Report No. 19 (Chapel Hill: Research Laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998); and Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "The Bowman Site, Shenandoah County, Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 19, no. 2 (1964): 43-49. Despite extensive surveys, archaeologists have been unable to identify more than a handful of Contact Period sites in the Shenandoah Valley, which may be a result of native peoples abandoning the region during this period, perhaps due to exposure to Iroquois raiders, or it may be due to unidentified limitations in the survey techniques; see E. Randolph Turner, III, "Virginia Native Americans during the Contact Period: A Summary of Archaeological Research Over the Past Decade," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 59, no. 1 (March 2004): 16; and Gardner, *Lost Arrowheads,* 93-94.

[165] Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 14. See also n. 152, above.

[166] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* 61.

this tumultuous period.[167] The Fredericks site indicates that Late Woodland architectural traditions endured the initial encounters of the Contact Period and were still vital in the late seventeenth century.[168]

By 1714, Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood enacted a plan to use native settlements as a first line of defense between the colony and other potentially hostile Indians. A number of the Siouan groups signed a treaty, relinquishing their other land claims and settling on tracts near what came to be known as Fort Christanna (44BR2/3), on the south side of the Meherrin River in present-day Brunswick County.[169] As part of the agreement, the resettled natives agreed to allow missionaries to educate their children and teach them Christianity, among other regulations. The named groups that settled near the fort were Saponis, Enos, and Saraws, and may also have included Occaneechis, Totteros [Tutelos], and Stukanox Indians, who had fought with the Virginia Rangers against Tuscarora incursions.[170] English

[167] Ward and Davis, "Tribes and Traders," 132.

[168] Like the Fredericks Site, the reoccupied Upper Saratown Site (31SK1a) also conforms to Late Woodland patterns, with palisades enclosing at least thirteen circular bentwood houses, and a large number of burials. The Madison Cemetery Site (Rockingham County, NC) contained so many tightly packed graves that its amateur excavator thought it was a cemetery and not a village. The high proportion of graves at each of these settlements indicates the arrival and devastating impact of European diseases; Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 423. The William Kluttz Site (1670-1710, 31SK6) in North Carolina's Stokes County has a similarly high number of graves. Excavators were unable to identify specific structures from the postholes at this site, but the distributions of pit features and artifacts over six and a half acres indicates a settlement of scattered houses with no palisades, and a distinct, isolated cemetery, suggesting that material patterns were beginning to adapt to the new rigors of the Contact Period. The burials themselves were shallow, without the grave goods typical of earlier periods, and dug with metal tools to produce straight-sided graves. Ward and Davis (*Indian Communities*, 425) describe these graves by saying that "it almost seems as if the energy required to maintain traditional mortuary practices could no longer be mustered."

[169] Gay Neale, *Brunswick County, Virginia 1720-1975* (Brunswick County, Virginia: The Brunswick County Bicentennial Committee, 1975), 16-17. An earlier Saponi fort had also existed on the Meherrin River in eastern Greensville County, between 1708 and 1714. The remnants of the Occaneechis and Tutelos eventually joined the Saponis, with the Tutelos settling to the north of the river in Southampton County from 1712-1714. There is evidence that all three groups considered themselves kinsmen and spoke the same language, even if they recognized distinctions between themselves. See Jane Douglas Summers Brown, "The Sapony Indians: Their Town and Fort of 1708-1714," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 50, no. 2 (June 1995): 1-12.

[170] Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 294.

observers described these peoples collectively as "Saponi," since they lived together and shared cultural and linguistic ties, while other groups such as the Meherrin and Nottoway Indians moved away from the fort, since they did not hold as much in common with the Siouan tribes.[171] Enforcing a process of assimilation was an important objective of Fort Christanna's mission, and Spotswood sent the sons of native leaders from Virginia and North Carolina to the fort as hostages, where they would receive a European education but also ensure the cooperation of the communities from which he had taken them.[172]

Fort Christanna itself was a large pentagonal fortification and trading post, with a number of warehouses and outbuildings that the Virginia Indian Company operated to facilitate the fur trade, while Spotswood constructed his own house nearby in 1717.[173] In the preceding year, John Fontaine visited the Indian town at Fort Christanna, and his description of the settlement provides a wealth of details about change and continuity in native architectural practices of the early eighteenth century. According to Fontaine, the "Saponey" town was located "about a musket shot" outside of the fort, on a plain alongside the Meherrin River. Fontaine describes the houses as joined to one another, and forming a circle with an open plaza at its center.[174] In its location and form, the town maintained the Late Woodland practice of palisaded settlements. Fontaine's descriptions suggests that the houses may have been situated with their outer walls

[171] Neale, *Brunswick County*, 17.

[172] Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 294.

[173] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Reconnaissance Level Survey: Fort Christanna Archaeological District (44BR0003/2);* Neale, *Brunswick County*, 21.

[174] John Fontaine, *The Journal of John Fontaine, An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719, e*dited by Edward Porter Alexander (Charlottesville: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the University of Virginia Press, 1972), 96. Despite systematic testing and evaluation of the topography, investigators have so far been unable to determine the precise location of the Saponi town; Chris Stevenson, e-mail message to author, June 23, 2013.

forming the protective palisade, and short segments of fence enclosing the spaces in-between, with only three passages left open to furnish entry to the town.[175]

Fontaine describes the houses as earthfast structures of large, closely spaced timbers, which the builders sharpened and drove about two feet into the ground, producing a wall about seven feet high. Unlike pre-contact houses, the Fort Christanna Indians squared their timbers, and covered their walls with what was apparently a pitched roof of rafters and oak or hickory bark.[176] About the same time as Fontaine's visit, English naturalist Mark Catesby also visited Virginia, and he describes a Totero town as "built with strong posts or trees drove into the ground close to one another, the interstices being stopt up with moss, and covered with the bark of the sweet gum-tree[…]"[177] The plan of these houses is unclear from the descriptions of Fontaine and Catesby, and so it is unknown whether they were round or rectangular in form. In 1715, Fontaine had noted a similar native house on his way to the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, the walls of which were large, closely driven posts like the houses of Fort Christanna, but "built four-square," with a pitched roof and bark covering.[178] It is possible, therefore, that the Siouan

[175] A similar form, with house walls creating the outer palisade, possibly existed along the northeast side of the Late Woodland town at the Shannon Site; Benthall, *Archaeological Investigations,* 20.

[176] Fontaine, *The Journal,* 96.

[177] Catesby, "The Natural History," XI. It is unclear whether Catesby's Totero town was the same as the "Saponey" town that Fontaine visited, whether these references represent two distinct settlements at Fort Christanna, or whether Catesby actually visited the earlier 1712-1714 Totero town and fort on the north side of the Meherrin; see n. 169, above. These divergent descriptors may simply indicate the liberty or confusion with which Euro-American observers described native peoples during this time, seemingly unable to grasp the fluid nature of native political and social alliances; see Samuel R. Cook, "The Monacan Indian Nation: Asserting Tribal Sovereignty in the Absence of Federal Recognition," *Wicazo Sa Review* 17, no. 2, Sovereignty and Governance, II (Autumn, 2002): 95-96.

[178] Fontaine, *The Journal,* 85. The Pamunkey were coastal Algonquin-speaking members of the Powhatan Confederacy, whose reservation remains to this day in King William County on the Pamunkey River (Egloff and Woodward, *First People*, 76). Since they lived primarily on the coastal plain, the building practices of the Pamunkey Indians are beyond the general scope of this essay. The similarity of Fontaine's isolated house on the way to the reservation to other Fort Christanna Indian houses, and the ambiguity of its cultural affiliation, merit its inclusion here.

Indians had switched to rectangular plans by the time of their settlement at Fort Christanna. The houses that Fontaine describes lacked windows, relying instead upon their central smoke holes and doorways for lighting. Fires were centrally located, and the houses had interior partitions and raised bedsteads.[179] Though these houses differed from earlier Siouan architecture in key aspects, Fontaine notes that Indians continued to build traditional circular, bentwood houses in the area of Fort Christanna, though none were present in the Saponi town when he visited.

Bushnell interprets the Fort Christanna houses as European in conception, due to their departures from the traditional pattern of earthfast, bentwood structures.[180] A more careful reading of these accounts suggests instead that they testify to a process in which eighteenth-century piedmont Indians selectively incorporated elements of the Euro-American building competency, while maintaining many other features from their Woodland architectural heritage. The houses of the Saponi town may well have been rectilinear in form, since Fontaine opposed them to traditionally round houses, and noted the existence of a square house on his way to the Pamunkey Reservation. Roughly rectangular plans had existed in central and western Virginia during the Woodland period, particularly in the form of longhouses, and they also existed among other indigenous cultures, but they seem to have been rare as individual house forms among Virginia's Siouan peoples. Individual rectangular houses are most characteristic of the Euro-American tradition of domestic architecture, and such houses were the norm among middling colonists in Virginia, suggesting the impact of cultural contact in the Fort Christanna houses. However, the circular arrangement of these individual domestic units around a central, communal space with a palisade delimiting the community indicates an intentional effort to

[179] Fontaine, *The Journal*, 96.

[180] Bushnell, "The Five Monacan Towns," 31.

reconfigure rectangular homes in a manner that retained familiar settlement forms and reinforced the social relationships that these forms embodied.

The treatment of materials and structural systems in Fort Christanna's Saponi town was equally reliant upon both Native American and European traditions. Bark as a sealing material had little precedent in European architecture, and the wall timbers were set in the style of Woodland earthfast construction, though they appear to have been larger in size, and more closely spaced.[181] According to Fontaine, native builders at Fort Christanna did not leave their timbers in the round, but transformed them by cutting or hewing each log square. This process relied upon metal-bladed tools such saws and adzes that European colonists introduced, and which resulted in a different aesthetic and surface treatment to the houses. At a structural level, the Fort Christanna houses mark a distinct break from the bentwood system, in which the walls and roof of interwoven arches were continuous and undifferentiated from one another. Fontaine's description indicates that Fort Christanna houses employed separate systems of vertical timber walls, and angled rafters supporting pitched roofs above these posts. This method of construction treated individual timbers differently according to their separate structural functions, conceptualizing walls and roofs as distinct parts of the building.[182] The Siouan houses

[181] There was also a Euro-American tradition of earthfast construction with medieval precedents, on which seventeenth-century colonists in Virginia relied almost exclusively. They set the supporting elements of their timber frames structures on or in the ground; see Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1981): 136. Despite the general similarity of their foundational techniques, the walls of English earth-fast houses did not typically comprise abutted vertical timbers like those of Fort Christanna's Saponi town.

[182] This conceptualization of the walls and roof as distinct structural systems is not inherently European, since many Native American cultures relied upon similar systems. In *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946], 413), John R. Swanton argues that Fort Christanna houses were indicative of a cultural transition zone between northern Algonquin *wigwams* in which walls and roofs were continuous, and southern Gulf-coast *ramadas* and other architectural forms in which walls and roofs were distinct. A much expanded understanding of Virginia's archaeological record now indicates that its Siouan peoples had their own relatively consistent and homogenous architectural tradition, and that the Fort Christanna houses are less indicative of a transitional zone between native cultures, and more clearly a place of cultural encounter between the Siouan Indians and the English colonists.

of Fort Christanna departed from Woodland building practices in numerous ways, but they were not European in conception. Rather, the descriptions of Fontaine and Catesby provide a glimpse into the process of cultural encounter and native builders' selective assimilation of architectural practices. Their construction choices manifest an interest in maintaining certain aspects of indigenous lifeways while adjusting other aspects of the built environment to take advantage of new technologies, or to meet the norms of a shifting society and the expectations that colonial authorities imposed upon the community.[183]

The Fort Christanna experiment was not the success for which Spotswood hoped. In 1717, the Virginia Indian Company lost its monopoly on the fur trade and the fort was no longer financially self-sustaining. It could not effectively protect its Saponi town, and further peace treaties were sought, both by the Indians (1720), and by the governors of Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania (1722). By 1728, William Byrd notes that the Fort Christanna native community had united as a single town, linguistic community, and political entity "under the Name of the Sapponys," for the purpose of common defense.[184] After several tumultuous decades, most of the Siouan Indians who had resided at Fort Christanna moved north to settle in the Delaware town of Shamokin on the Susquehanna River in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. They would soon move on to other, more northerly locations, and the League of the Iroquois formally adopted the Tutelos in 1753.[185] Other Siouan groups from the Virginia

---

[183] Other notes worth mentioning from Fontaine's description (*The Journal*, 96-97) include the stump on which town leaders stood to address their community at the center of the plaza, and the bentwood sweat lodges located between the town and river, which employed wattle and daub to cover their frames, and were only large enough to hold a single occupant, who warmed the lodge by means of fire-heated stones.

[184] William Byrd, *The History of the Dividing Line Between Virginia and N. Carolina Run in the Year of Our Lord 1728* (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 1728), 210; Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 295.

[185] Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 286. Many of the Tutelo ultimately settled on the Six Nations Reserve on Grand River in Canada.

piedmont moved south, through the Carolinas. Some settled among the Catawba Indians in present-day South Carolina, while other descendants remained along the path of migration.[186] Among these, the Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe of Halifax and Warren Counties in North Carolina achieved official state recognition in 1965, noting their descent from Saponi, Tuscarora, Tutelo, and Nansemond groups.[187] Another group with descent from the Saponi, Tutelo, Eno, and Occaneechi of Fort Christanna formally organized in 1984 as the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation (OBSN), and achieved state recognition from North Carolina in 2002. The OBSN community is located primary in the Little Texas settlement of Alamance County.[188]

---

[186] Ibid., 296.

[187] Ibid., 298; Theda Perdue and Christopher Arris Oakley, *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2010), 63; and Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe, "Haliwa-Saponi Tribe-Merecouremechen Kihoe, About," Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe Website, http://haliwa-saponi.com/about/ [accessed August 19, 2013].

[188] Demallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups," 298; Perdue and Oakley, *Native Carolinians*, 63; Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, "The Voice of the Occaneechi Nation," Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Website, http://www.obsn.org/home [accessed August 19, 2013].

Part III: Architecture among the Bear Mountain Monacan Indians

While some native groups left central and western Virginia during the eighteenth century, a particular community carries the story of the region's native architecture in this region forward to the present. Many of Virginia's Siouan Indians went north to join the peoples of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy in Pennsylvania, or south to settle in North Carolina and among the Catawba Indians of South Carolina. Despite these departures, other groups remained in the state, making their way north and west to seek refuge in the foothills and mountains of the Blue Ridge near the headwaters of the James River. These groups included remnants of the Monacan confederacy (Monacans, Manahoacs, Saponis, Tutelos, and Occaneechis), as well as unaffiliated Tuscaroras. Though fragmented and sporadic, documentary evidence points to their presence throughout the eighteenth century.[189] Their descendants intermarried with white settlers, but maintained a distinct native identity, even as they adopted the names and some of the outward practices of Anglo-American society.[190] Beyond personal motivations, intermarriage appears to have been a strategy that allowed Virginia's Monacans to own land in a colony and state that did not permit native landholders beyond designated reservations, and which no longer fulfilled its treaty obligations.[191]

---

[189] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 50-51; Peter W. Houck and Mintcy D. Maxham, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, VA: Warwick House, 1993), 28-39; and Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians*,16-20. Through genealogical research, Vest ties the families of the present-day Monacan Indian Nation to Fort Christanna Indians, arguing that the latter began returning to their ancestral lands following the 1722 Treat of Albany that ended Iroquois raids; see n. 149, above. It is Vest's forceful conclusion that "the aboriginal identity of the Monacan Nation is directly devolved from Fort Christanna and the 1714 treaty with the Saponi, thereby entitling them to due respect and legal rights as an aboriginal sovereign nation" (Further Considerations," 143).

[190] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 68, 138.

[191] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 57-58.

From 1705, the government of Virginia classified the mixed-race offspring of white settlers and native women as "mulattos" rather than Indians, which fed the perception that there were no longer any Indians in Virginia outside of the coastal reservations. The state also designated remaining Indians as "free persons of color," who could not vote, and required them to register with their county of residence.[192] What property they could own was not through aboriginal title; instead, they accrued it by marriage to and inheritance from white landowners.[193] Virginia's designation of indigenous peoples as "free persons of color" continues to make them difficult to discern in the early documentary record.

In 1833, a "free man of color" named William "Will" Johns purchased a 400 acre tract on Bear Mountain in Amherst County, part of the Tobacco Row range (figure 5). He added this land to forty-two acres that he already owned, together known as "The Settlement," or the "Johns Settlement."[194] Will Johns and his sons all married native women, and Bear Mountain came to be the focus of Monacan descendants with family names such as Johns, Branham, Evans, Redcross, Beverly, and Clark. The families of his sons and their wives joined the settlement, resulting in a Monacan Indian-White enclave on the mountain, providing refuge during a time of increased racial tension and restrictive laws directed at those classified as free persons of

[192] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 58-59.

[193] Ibid., 61.

[194]Ibid., 61; Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 55. According to an 1896 article in the *Richmond Times*, the Johns Settlement comprised 500 acres and was purchased "about the year 1825." See Edgar Whitehead, "Amherst County Indians, Highly Interesting History of an Old Settlement of Cherokees," *The Times—Richmond, VA* (April 19, 1896): 8; Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 20-21. As this article gives different dates for both the settlement and the establishment of the Mission School (see ns. 224-225 below), as well as a different acreage for the Johns Settlement, and given its mistaken identification of the Monacans as Cherokees and its remote publication in Richmond, it is probably a less reliable source than those that place the date of the Settlement in 1833. The Johns Settlement was by no means the first of its kind. Vest ("The Origins of the Johns Surname," 6) notes that similar settlements at Irish Creek, the upper Pedlar River, Oronoco, Beverlytown, and Hico among others, were founded earlier.

color.[195] Other families of indigenous descent also settled in Amherst and Rockbridge Counties, though not directly associated with the Johns Settlement. These communities included Beverlytown along Thrasher Creek and the Irish Creek community.[196]

With the end of the Civil War, former slaves joined the class of free persons of color, and increasingly restrictive racial laws made life more difficult for the Bear Mountain community as a "quasi-feudal" system of sharecropping peonage took hold.[197] Within the racial hierarchy of the time, formerly "mulatto" and "free persons of color" were designated as "black" by the end of the nineteenth century.[198] A system of documentary erasure was active during the post-reconstruction period, which gained force through Virginia's anti-miscegenation laws. This process expunged native identity from government records, and relegated mixed-race people to the lowest level of the local power structure. Many of the descendants of mixed-race marriages were derogatorily described as "Issue" or "Free Issue," terms that originated with the papers of freedom that were issued to former slaves. Within the context of Amherst County, whites directed the term "Issue" at Monacans as their most pejorative insult; it was a racist assertion of hopeless inferiority attributed to racial mixing and dilution, and additionally suggestive of illegitimacy.[199]

---

[195] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 55, 71; Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 20-21; Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 61.

[196] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 61, 90; Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 23. As racial tensions increased, further settlements and diaspora communities developed. In 1940, when hostilities developed within the Bear Mountain community between Monacans who appeared whiter and those whose physiognomy was believed to be more African American in character, many of the latter faction coalesced around a separate workshop and school at Pedlar Mills, or moved entirely out of Amherst County to adjacent Appomattox and Bedford Counties; see Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 85-86.

[197] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 65-67.

[198] Ibid., 59.

[199] Ibid., 69, Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 85; Rosemary Clark Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 6.

Starting in 1916, registrar for the Virginia State Bureau of Vital Statistics Walter Plecker began a personal campaign of "regulatory violence" to enforce a strict racial segregation that sought to eradicate any documentary trace of indigenous identity in the state, and especially in Amherst County. Taking his cues from the pseudo-science of eugenics, Plecker allied himself with the white supremacist Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America. He was convinced that there were only two races in Virginia, white and black, and that any racial mixing diluted the human stock. He believed that the Bear Mountain community was racially inferior as a result of miscegenation, and attempted to enforce Monacan attendance in segregated black schools and denied them marriages. Under the Virginia Racial Integrity Law of 1924, he began rewriting state documents and requiring county clerks, registrars, and hospitals to classify people whose surnames appeared on his "hit list" as "Negroes" against their will, unless they could prove otherwise.[200]

Plecker's campaign of racial cleansing had many detrimental effects upon the Bear Mountain community. People of different racial classifications could not legally marry one another.[201] Monacan people became ashamed or fearful of revealing their indigenous identity, and many beliefs and cultural attributes, such as language, died out during this period because they were not passed on to younger generations.[202] Divisions within the Bear Mountain community developed as individuals internalized the racial code, and those who looked "lighter" accused "darker" neighbors of being of mixed race. The community was depleted as many

---

[200] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 79-82; Cook, *Monacans and Miners*, 104-107.

[201] Cook, *Monacans and Miners*, 109.

[202] Ibid., 110-112.

members simply left and went to other states where they would no longer encounter the same racial persecutions and stigmas.[203]

Over time the residents of the Johns Settlement and others like it lost possession of their land as a result of an inability to pay property taxes and due to the greed of their white neighbors.[204] School segregation and the hostility of Amherst County society to Indian identity prevented Bear Mountain's native residents from getting the education necessarily to obtain wage-earning jobs, forcing them into menial positions as sharecroppers or tenant farmers, paid in foodstuffs and/or a small cabin in which to live, rather than cash wages.[205] The orchard industry, which expanded rapidly in Amherst County during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, became the primary means of survival for poor whites, blacks, and Monacans. They lived on the orchard properties, tending the trees, for irregular and often arbitrary or non-existent wages, which they supplemented with subsistence gardens and personal livestock.[206] Even many of those Monacans who did not receive housing in exchange for labor remained on Bear Mountain, living with relatives or settling where they could on white-owned lands. Since the territory was rough and underdeveloped, these landless Indian families could often get by in a subsistence manner without paying rent to the white property holders.[207]

---

[203] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 78, 112. One major settlement was in Glen Burnie, a suburb of Baltimore; see Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 133.

[204] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 58; Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 18, 136.

[205] George Branham Whitewood, quoted in Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 18.

[206] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 70-71; for oral accounts of life for sharecropping families, see Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 63, 115, 133, and 137.

[207] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 62. This property-less, rent-less lifestyle is usually described as "squatting," a term which I find inaccurate in this case due to its pejorative and transient tone. The native ancestors of the Bear Mountain Monacans had lived in the region for centuries or millennia, and their descendants could hardly be described as "squatting" on lands that white titleholder had only recently appropriated.

Unlike the settlement at Fort Christanna, there is no clear evidence for a process of architectural acculturation among the Monacans of Amherst and Rockbridge Counties. They apparently adopted the Euro-American vernacular of corner-timbered log construction sometime in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and continued to follow wider vernacular trends in domestic architecture from that time forward, including small balloon-frame houses, mobile home trailers, and modern domestic buildings.[208] The eighteenth-century presence of Monacans in Amherst County is documented, but their architectural practices are currently unknown until the foundation of the Johns Settlement in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Perhaps these Indians transitioned more directly from surviving Woodland practices to the Euro-American architectural forms because they adopted a strategy of intermarriage with white traders and settlers. However, Jay Hansford C. Vest argues that it is possible to establish direct genealogical connections between the Bear Mountain and Fort Christanna communities, in which case the fort is the most likely arena in which the process of architectural acculturation took place.[209] Émigrés from that community may have arrived in what would become Amherst County with a fully developed understanding of Euro-American domestic architecture.

An example of early Monacan architecture at the Settlement is Will Johns' residence, which a later newspaper article describes simply as a "humble dwelling in a little cove making out from the east side of Bear Mountain[...]" Edgar Whitehead, the author of this article, was apparently unaware of any unusual or indigenous qualities worth noting about this house.[210] Will Johns' son Tarleton also built a house at the settlement, which was in rubble by the time of

[208] Tom Klatka, May 24, 2013, email message to the author.

[209] Vest, "Further Considerations," 143.

[210] Whitehead, "Amherst County Indians," 8; "Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians*, 20-21.

Whitehead's 1896 article.[211] The chimney of this house was still standing on the crest of Bear Mountain, suggesting that the structure had been of timber with a more durable brick or stone chimney, a form typical of mountain dwellings at this time among Anglo- and African-American populations as well.[212] Architectural surveys in 1991 and 2010 located the remains of Tarleton John's house (44AH0650). Its chimney was of local gneiss and other stones, seven feet wide and three and half feet deep, with a four foot wide firebox. In 1991 the chimney still stood sixteen feet tall, with a large piece of lightly colored stone spanning the firebox as a lintel, and traces of an unidentified mortar type visible in some of the crevices. These surveys did not identify any further remains of the house. While it may date as early as 1831, Tarleton was definitely in residence by 1856.[213]

The practice of living in single-pen log cabins continued into the twentieth century, as Reverend Arthur Gray describes Monacan houses in 1908, writing that,

---

[211] Whitehead, "Amherst County Indians," 8; Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 55.

[212] For Appalachian log architecture in general, see Henry Glassie, "The Smaller Outbuildings of the Southern Mountains," *Mountain Life and Work* 40 (Spring 1964): 21-25; Audrey Horning, *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows* (Bridgewater, VA: Shenandoah National Park Association, 2004); Terry G. Jordan, *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985); Terry G. Jordan, and Matti Kaups, *Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Kenneth E. Koons, and Warren R. Hofstra, *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000); Michael J. Pulice, "Notes on Defining, Dating and Documenting Early Log Structures in Southwest Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 65, no. 2 (September 2010): 49-56; John B. Rehder, *Tennessee Log Buildings: A Folk Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012); Ed Trout, and Margaret Lynn Brown, *Historic Buildings of the Smokies* (Gatlinburg, TN: Great Smoky Mountains Association, 1995); W. L. Whitwell, and Lee W. Winborne, *The Architectural Heritage of the Roanoke Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 13-33; Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004); and Stanley Willis, "Log Houses in Southwest Virginia: Tools Used in their Construction," *Virginia Cavalcade* 21, no. 4 (Spring 1972): 36-47.

[213] Martin C. Perdue, "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain, Amherst County, Virginia" (unpublished monograph, scanned copy filed with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1991), 7; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Tarleton Johns and Claudi Branham Farms (44AH0650),* Thomas Klatka (Richmond, 2011), 3.

> Their homes are mostly little log cabins about 16 feet square, with a loft above, and shed outside and one such cabin will be the home of two or three families and more than a dozen individuals. They lived scattered about on the lands of the white people raising tobacco on their shares, women working in the fields with men.[214]

Another note by Gray describes the family of Paul Redcross and his wife, along with a dozen children and grandchildren, as living in a sixteen- by eighteen-foot log cabin, and working as sharecroppers, difficult conditions that had not diminished their pride and stoic attitude.[215] Two decades later, Bertha Wailes wrote that,

> […] most of them are farm laborers or cropper tenants, raising corn and tobacco on shares.
>
> Their manner of living, their habits and customs have changed but little since those early days. They live in log cabins of one or two rooms, sometimes with a lean-to termed 'cook room.' These cabins are frequently quite difficult to access, possibly one near the home of the owner, while the rest are scattered on remote parts of the farm.
>
> Their housing, however, is in a large measure beyond their control, for that is in the hands of the landlords.
>
> The interiors vary, but are usually rough log with "chinking" between, or rough board. Occasionally occupants cover cracks in partitions with pictures from magazines or with newspapers.[216]

According to Isobel Wagner, who served as deaconess of the Episcopal mission on Bear Mountain from 1938 until the mid-1940s, the Monacans continued to live in simple houses, and "move[d] constantly, often exchanging homes. Most families move at least once a year."[217]

---

[214] Rev. Arthur Gray, quoted in Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 64.

[215] Ibid., 103

.

[216] Bertha Pfister Wailes, *Backwards Virginians: A Further Study of the Win Tribe* (MA Thesis, University of Virginia, 1928), 13.

[217] Isobel Wagner, quoted in Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 113, see also 126. Wailes (*Backwards Virginians*, 41) notes that leases on tenant houses were usually only a year in length, which probably contributed to the transient occupations that Wagner describes. An article by Martin J. Bram in *The Southwestern Episcopalian* from 1921 ("Bear Mountain, or Indian Mission") confirms this interpretation:

> They [Bear Mountain Indians] rent and on a crop sharing basis, live as tenants, and are seldom on the same place twice in succession. Moving day takes place usually January first. On this day everybody is busy moving. And since they move into one another's houses all must move on the same day, and if one delays all are delayed (5, 14).

Oral history accounts confirm that log cabins, often with large families in residence and assorted outbuildings, made up the typical built environment of the Bear Mountain community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[218]

In general, log cabin remains throughout Amherst County are corner-timbered with full-V notches. Their builders cut the top of the logs into inverted v-shapes at each end, which locked into similarly shaped cuts in the logs above.[219] These general characteristics aptly describe many of the documented Monacan houses on Bear Mountain, as well as the Bear Mountain Indian Mission School (as it is called in the National Register of Historic Places), which is perhaps the best-documented Monacan structure from the nineteenth century.

The Mission School is a one-story, single-pen log structure roughly seventeen by nineteen feet, standing on the east side of Bear Mountain's Falling Rock Creek (figures 6-8).[220] Its logs appear to have been pine, hewn flat on the interior and exterior, and joined with V-shaped notches at all four corners (figure 9).[221] The structure presently rests on sills cut with both square and half-dovetailed joints, which in turn sit upon fieldstone foundations. These foundations are now cemented together, and concrete chinking fills the horizontal gaps between logs. The entryway is on the east side, with a single window in the north and west walls. The

---

[218] See Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 154, 157; and Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation*, 39, 69-70, 97, 133, and 137-138.

[219] Examples of half-dovetail and saddle notches are also documented in the county, the former at Peacedale Farm, and the latter among agricultural outbuildings; see HistoryTech and Landmark Preservation Associates, *Amherst County Historic Resources Survey Report* (Amherst and Richmond, VA: The County of Amherst and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2010), 20.

[220] United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*, Martin C. Perdue, VDHR File No. 05-230 (1996), section 7, page 3. Houck and Maxham (*The Monacan Indians*, 104) describe the schoolhouse as sixteen by eighteen feet; presumably they measured the interior space.

[221] United States Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*, section 7, page 3.

south wall contains a doorway leading into a frame addition that dates to 1908. It originally comprised a storage room and an open porch, which are fully enclosed today.[222] The mission was whitewashed, traces of which remain on the logs. It had a gable roof with eight supporting pairs of rafters nailed together without a ridgepole.[223] The origins of this structure are somewhat murky. It was purported to have occupied the site forty years prior to the opening of the mission in 1908, placing its construction in the late 1860s.[224] Houck and Maxham describe the building as a donation that the Coleman estate made during the 1860s. It doubled as a part-time school house and prayer room for the Monacan community, with occasional, itinerant preachers as the only minsters during the nineteenth century.[225]

It is unclear if Monacans actually built the Mission School, or if it was an existing structure that passed into their usage after the Civil War, but this distinction is of relatively little significance.[226] Whether their construction, or that of an earlier owner, the Bear Mountain Mission School acquired tremendous significance as the center of Monacan communal life during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though the institution of the mission exuded an attitude of paternalism, it also provided a means and focus for the Monacan community to

---

[222] Ibid. In recent decades, the Mission School was restored by Woody Wood Chinking, Inc. of Monroe, Virginia. At the time of restoration, there were two double-hung milled windows on either side of the door, which were replaced with solid log walls in the present, restored structure; see Monacan Ancestral Museum display documenting the restoration.

[223] United States Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*, section 7, page 3.

[224] Perdue, "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain," section 8, page 9.

[225] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 104. Whitehead ("Amherst County Indians," 8) describes the Mission School as constructed in the late 1870s, a dating which seems unlikely; see also Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians*, 21; n. 224, above.

[226] A similar log cabin with equally uncertain origins was located behind Crawford's Store, not far from the Mission at Falling Rock Creek. This cabin served as the rectory for the mission when Arthur Gray Jr. arrived in 1908; see Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 104, 107 fig. 10.

preserve a sense of peoplehood during the trying period of racial segregation. It remained a "safe place" for Monacans to come and meet, even after desegregation brought the mission school's expressed purpose to an end, and it remains significant to this day.[227] In an interview with Rosemary Clark Whitlock, Monacan Chief Kenneth Branham described its importance as follows:

> The log schoolhouse means so very, very much to our people, especially the senior ones. In those days of long ago that little building was the site of the activities that was their salvation in more ways than one. That was where they gathered to renew their courage and keep hope alive. That was where they endeavored to obtain an education. That was where the teachers and priests encouraged them to believe in God and to hold their heads high and to believe in themselves.[228]

The log houses in which Monacan Indians lived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shared many formal and technical characteristics with the Mission School. Limited surveys of Bear Mountain structures have identified several noteworthy houses. William B. Johns was one of Will Johns' four sons, and a brother to Tarleton. His house site (44AH0649) is a steeply sloping location on an unnamed upper tributary of Falling Rock Creek, and like the Tarleton Johns House, the remains of William B. Johns' house date between 1831 and 1856. Johns used dry-laid rock walls to construct terraces, leveling parts of the mountain slope for residential and agricultural use. The modified bench or terrace on which the house sat is 50 by 140 feet. The house foundations were stone rubble, which Johns laid without mortar and built up on the downslope side, producing a level foundation. The house was a single-pen log construction, oriented towards the southeast, measuring 20 by 23.5 feet. Its logs were chestnut, with "V" notches at the corners. Johns left the logs in the round but without bark on

[227] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 91-92.

[228] Chief Kenneth Branham, quoted in Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 13. For other attestations of the mission's significance, see also ibid., 30, 68, 98, 118.

three sides of the house, but hewed flat the inside and outside of the southeastern façade. A single door and window opened on this front side, and a chimney and hearth were located opposite, on the northeast side of the house.[229] The present landowner recalls that the house was originally one and a half stories tall, though only a few layers of logs still stand. A cellar lay below the unhewn floor joists of the southwest quarter of the structure, with a small crawl-space entrance on the house's southwest side, opening no more than two and a half feet wide.[230]

The remains of the more recent Claudi Branham House stand near Tarleton Johns' chimney, furnishing an early twentieth century component to its site. Claudi's father, Sylvanis Branham moved the house to Bear Mountain from elsewhere in 1918, when Claudi was thirteen. The Branham family lived in the house, and Claudi continued to live there through the 1970s.[231] The house was a single log pen, measuring roughly 17.5 by 14.5 feet, with a shed addition extending 9 feet from the back. Round joists supported a second floor, and the house was probably one and a half stories tall, though the upper section does not survive. A boxed-in stair in the southeast corner provided access to the upper floor.[232] The front of the house faced south, with a single window and door equally spaced across its width. A back door in the center of the northern (back) wall communicated with the lean-to, and side doors opened in the east walls of the main room and of the lean-to.

---

[229] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: William B. Johns Farm (44AH1649),* Thomas Klatka (Richmond, 2011), 2-3. The window was two and a half feet wide, and the door three feet wide. Little remains of the chimney and hearth, which were destroyed and reused around 1960, but apparently were of fieldstone.

[230] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: William B. Johns,* 3.

[231] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Tarleton Johns and Claudi Branham Farms (44AH0650),* Thomas Klatka (Richmond, 2011), 5.

[232] Perdue, "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain," 1-4.

The logs of the main house were V-notched at the corners, flat on the interior, but left round and possibly with their bark on the exterior walls. Often, the builder hewed the logs into a more rectangular form at the corners, creating a better fit for the notches, and then sawed the extending ends flat, two to three inches beyond the plane of the wall. He filled the interstices with substantial sawn-log chinking, and covered them with a layer of mud or clay and a whitewash finish. The shed was not spliced into the main structure; rather, the ends of the logs abutted the back wall of the house, and were nailed into two earthfast posts against the original wall, one post for each abutting wall of the shed. Unlike the main pen, the logs of the shed were hewn flat inside and out.[233] Claudi Branham's house did not have a fireplace or hearth, but a hole in west end wall accommodated a metal stove flue.[234] The main door and the window frames were wood planks, but the builder rounded off the upper corners of the lintels over the front window and door, creating the effect of simple pediments.[235] The house has a number of idiosyncrasies, including the hewn interior/rounded exterior of the logs, and its rather diminutive proportions.[236]

---

[233] Ibid., 1-2.

[234] Ibid., 4. The flue stack was of masonry, and remains fallen alongside the house; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Tarleton Johns,* 3.

[235] Perdue, "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain," 5. Notably, a similar pediment was attached to the lintel of the door of the original Mission Rectory. See n. 226, above; Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 107, picture 10.

[236] The upper floor joists are only five feet nine inches above the joists of the first floor, resulting in a very low interior space. Likewise, many of the doors are relatively small. In documenting the structure, Perdue ("Structures Survey, Bear Mountain," 5) suggests that these dimensions might have been related to Claudi's small stature, since he was remembered to have been barely five feet tall. The subsequent revelation that the house was moved to the site by Claudi's father in 1918 calls this speculation into question. Perdue (12) also believes that the rustic exterior of the house (rounded, bark-covered logs) may have been a cultural preference of Native American builders when they adopted Euro-American log architectural styles. A survey of nearly five hundred Cherokee log houses in Georgia indicated that over half were left in the round, while only thirty-six percent were hewn. Among Euro-Americans, it was rare for log houses to be left in the round until the 1920s and 1930s; see Richard Pillsbury, "The Europeanization of the Cherokee Settlement Landscape Prior to Removal: A Georgia Case Study," *Geoscience and Man* 23 (1983): 65-66; and Jordan, *American Log Buildings,* 17. While intriguing, this suggestion is also complicated by the uncertain origins of the structure, and by the limited sample size of documented Monacan log houses to which one can compare the Claudi Branham house.

Rosemary Clark Whitlock provides photographic documentation of another Monacan log house, presumably taken during her fieldwork in 1997-1998. The Ned Branham house stood one and a half stories tall, a single-pen log structure from the late nineteenth century.[237] It was located behind the packing shed of Morris Orchards where the Branham family worked, and Ned was the first person to live in it.[238] It appears to have been built on a relatively steep slope, necessitating the use of a high stone and log foundations to level the downslope side. It had V-shaped notches at the corners, no windows, and a large fieldstone chimney along the uphill gable end. The rounded ends of the first and second floor joists were visible at the front of the house, and a pitched roof of raised-seam metal covered it when Whitlock took her photograph in the late 1990s. She notes that it had already stood vacant for many years.[239] Aside from its lack of windows, the Ned Branham house gives a good impression of what other Monacan houses, such as those of William B. Johns and Claudi Branham, might have looked like prior to their deterioration.

While log cabins were the primary housing form among Monacans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some frame structures also existed. The late Chief Harry Branham lived in what appears to have been a frame house along Father Judge Road. Chief Branham rented this house from his employer, Judge Ambler, a prominent Amherst community member. Branham served as Ambler's foreman, organizing teams of Monacan laborers to cut and haul

---

[237] Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation*, 63, fig. 8.

[238] Ibid., 43.

[239] Ibid., 63. Lucian Branham claimed that the house was "a hundred years old at least without a doubt" at the time; quoted ibid., 43.

pulpwood, and work on Ambler's farmlands.[240] The Harry Branham house was one and a half stories tall, with a single room on either side of a centrally located brick chimney, a symmetrical structural type often referred to as a "saddlebag house." This house probably dated to the late nineteenth century.[241] The Branhams had twelve children of their own, in addition to adopting Jo Ann Staubitz from another Monacan family. She recalls that the house had seven rooms: one bedroom for the younger girls, one bedroom for the older girls, one bedroom for their parents, and individual bedrooms for the boys.[242]

Another frame house, the Lucian Branham House, originally belonged to an orchard owner who gave it to Branham along with two acres.[243] It stands one and a half stories, with a pitched roof, a central entryway, and symmetrically flanking pairs of windows on both floors. According to Branham, the house was built around 1895, and was given to him in the 1940s.[244] He had grown up in an older log tenant house, with two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs for seven people. It had glass windows, but these were closed tight according to the landowner's wishes, forcing the family to sleep outside during the summer. The unsatisfactory condition of the house became a symbol of the white owner's racial hostility to Branham's family. As he recounts, his father had requested repairs to the crumbling tenant structure, to

[240] Branham's daughter, Hattie Belle Branham Hamilton remembers that her father had moved to the house when she was six months old; Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 110.

[241] Ibid., 111, fig 14. Given the graininess of the photograph, it is possible that this too was a log structure. A foster daughter of Harry and Edith Branham, Jo Ann Staubitz grew up in the Harry Branham House, which she referred to as the "old Coleman Place."

[242] Ibid., 57.

[243] This house is pictured along with Branham and an interview in Houck and Maxham's *Indian Island in Amherst County,* 159, figure 21. Branham's plot of land apparently adjoins but predates the donation of land to John Haraughty for the construction of a Monacan housing subdivision in the 1970s (ibid., 126).

[244] Lucian Branham, quoted in Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 159.

which the owner replied, "No. We'll be glad when you people are gone from our property and hopefully from Amherst County. Maybe when this house finishes falling down about your ears you'll do just that." As Branham explains, "The landowner had used up our family and so he was ready to cast off my aging parents like so much chaff."[245]

Monacan house sites include a range of agricultural and working structures common to the Appalachian built environment. Some of these vernacular modifications were quite simple. At the Branham Barns site (44AH0648) near the headwaters of Falling Rock Creek, two subsidiary springs were modified by removing soil and placing dry-laid stone berms to form pools, presumably making the springs more accessible as water sources.[246] William B. Johns also employed dry-laid stone walls at his house to permit limited farming in what is otherwise a very steep and rugged location. Linear piles and arrangements of rocks supported three narrow agricultural terraces on the slope south of the house, and another terrace to the northeast.[247]

Log corncribs, often hewn and tightly notched, were a standard outbuilding in the upland regions of the south.[248] One such corncrib survived at the Claudi Branham house site in 1991. It was almost eight and a half feet long by six feet wide, and stood east of the Branham house, with a two foot wide plank door in its gable end. Pine logs with simple saddle notches at the corners made up its walls. The builder had cut the ends of the logs off with a hatchet and saw, but they projected as much as a foot from the plane of the wall. A pitched roof rested on coarse purlins

[245] Ibid., 40-41. It is unclear whether this landowner was related to the orchard owner who later gave Branham a house in which to live.

[246] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Branham Barns (44AH0648),* Thomas Klatka (Richmond, 2011), 2.

[247] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: William B. Johns*, 2. No other working structures remained visible at this site in 2011.

[248] John Michael Vlach, *Barns* (New York: W.W. Norton and the Library of Congress, 2003), 205.

made from the top parts of the pine trees comprising the walls. Two tiers of large shingles or "shakes" covered the roof. In documenting this crib, Martin C. Perdue estimated that it had been built no more than fifty or sixty years prior to the survey, placing its construction in the 1930s or 1940s.[249]

Barns were another important feature of the rural built environment. In surveying the Claudi Branham house site, Perdue also noted traces of what may have been a log barn, thirty-four feet north of the crib, but did not describe it further.[250] The remains of two log barns exist at the Branham Barns site along the headwater springs of Falling Rock Creek. The remains of these single-pen log structures are in an advanced state of decay. The builder had stripped the bark but left the oak logs in the round, and many of their saddle notches were very cursory. The ends of the logs were sawn flat, close to the wall planes. The barns stood 128 feet apart, the larger, southern barn measuring 18 by 20.5 feet and the slightly smaller, northern structure almost square, 17.5 by 18 feet. Deteriorating cedar logs in the northern structure may represent rafters or purloins from the roof. These remains were unused and deteriorating by 1960, and were probably constructed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.[251] In a somewhat different style of construction, a domed hog-house reportedly once stood near to the main house at the William B. Johns site. Probably by coincidence, it harkened back to more ancient

[249] Perdue, "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain," 8-9.

[250] Ibid., 10. By the time of the 2010 survey, these remains were no more than a sunken ruin of decomposed log remains and lines of stone foundations. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Tarleton Johns,* 3. Two other, similarly decomposed features near the Claudi Branham house might represent additional outbuildings.

[251] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: Branham Barns,* 2-3. Their function as barns is conjectural, though likely.

Monacan constructions, since it was built in a bentwood fashion, with saplings arched and intertwined to produce the shelter.[252]

Though it was not the design of Monacan builders, the Episcopal mission church of Saint Paul was also an important component in the built environment of the Bear Mountain Monacan community. Prior to 1908, occasional itinerate preachers made use of the log Indian Mission School. It was too small for the entire population of roughly 350 community members, and when Episcopal seminarian Arthur Gray Jr. arrived in 1908, one of his first goals was the construction of a permanent mission church on Bear Mountain. A wealthy associate of his father helped to obtain the land, directly across Falling Rock Creek from the Mission School. Outside entities partly initiated and funded this project, but the fact that the Monacan community provided $350.00 of the total $1,500.00 construction cost during a period of increasing economic hardship signals the local importance of this structure.[253]

The original mission stood on fieldstone foundations, a single rectangular room with a pitched-roof and timber-frame construction, measuring twenty-six feet wide by sixty-two feet long. It could hold approximately two hundred people.[254] The church had clapboard siding, painted white with simple gothic details that included a large triangular window surmounting a pair of rectangular lights centered in the west gable-end. Together these elements emulated the effect of pointed gothic arch, and their rigid geometry reoccurred in a diamond-shaped opening at the apex of the gable and a smaller triangular transom window over the double-door entryway,

[252] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, *Archaeological Report: William B. Johns*, 3.

[253] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 103.

[254] Ibid., 104.

which was offset in the northwest corner of the facade. A tall cross stood at the gable peak.[255] The original mission church and neighboring house burnt during the winter of 1930, and Reverend Thomas Lewis, rector of the Ascension church in Amherst, oversaw its rapid reconstruction.[256] The rebuilt church which presently stands on the site is similar to the original in its size, style, and orientation (figure 10).[257] The entryway is now a pair of doors centered in the gable end, with a triangular transom window above. A single circular window is centered above the gabled porch that protects the entryway, and four pointed windows line the nave.

As the twentieth century progressed, the built environment of the Monacan community became more closely tied to wider trends in American domestic architecture. In the 1970s, Captain John Haraughty was serving as director of the Episcopal Diocese's mission among the Bear Mountain Monacan community. Haraughty sought to address many of the social and economic needs of his congregation, such as the lack of access to health care and the ongoing racial stigmatization that Monacans received when they visited hospitals. He also desired to improve what he considered to be the sub-standard housing situation of many Bear Mountain Monacans at the time. Haraughty made arrangements to purchase an acreage near Bear Mountain. With financing pooled among Saint Paul's congregation, he secured a low interest loan that permitted the construction of twenty-nine Monacan houses to be built, a development

[255] United States Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*, section 7, page 1; Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 107, picture 11.

[256] Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island*, 105.

[257] United States Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*, section 7, page 1-2. Other buildings at the site include the mission worker's house, the more recent school building south of the log Mission School, which presently houses the Monacan Indian Ancestral Museum, and the Parish Hall/Monacan Indian Tribal Association Center.

now known as Orchard Hill Estates.[258] Perhaps unintentionally, this collective settlement based in common identity and economic need at the end of a period of detrimental racial oppression evokes aspects of the original Johns Settlement. The structures of the housing development may be individually unremarkable, but when viewed in light of their historic context, they acquire additional significance in a continuum of Native American settlement and self-preservation strategies after the colonial encounter.

Since the difficult period of the segregation, the situation of Bear Mountain's indigenous community has significantly improved. Working conditions gradually got better after the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1948 (though this legislation did not immediately affect the orchard industry) and minimum wage laws. The encroachment of Lynchburg's suburbs, combined with increased wages, eventually put an end to the exploitative orchard industry in the 1970s.[259] Likewise, the civil rights movement and desegregation benefited the community, as Bear Mountain Indian children could attend high school for the first time, though Amherst authorities initially resisted their admission.[260] In 1981, members of the Monacan community joined with Virginia's Mattaponi and Pamunkey Indian tribes to form the Mattaponi-Pamunkey-Monacan Consortium (MPM) seeking funds from the U.S. Department of Labor. In the case of the Monacans, this effort aided in finding jobs and enabling students to attend

[258] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 119; Houck and Maxham, *Indian Island,* 125-126; and Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation,* 152-153. It appears that at least one structure, Lucian Branham's frame house, already stood on the site of the new development; see above. It is unclear if the housing developments described in Cook, Houck and Maxham, and Whitlock are the same initiatives. Cook describes a 200 acre development called "Orchard Hill, Estates," while Houck and Maxham describe 120 acres, and "The Minister" in Whitlock describes multiple projects, the first comprising 15 acres purchased from a Mr. Burgess and called "Ridgecrest," and the second being a purchase of 85 acres on High Peak Mountain that was ongoing at the time of Whitlock's interview.

[259] Cook, *Monacans and Miners,* 78, 82.

[260] Ibid., 82.

college. The Monacan Tribe officially incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1988, and the State of Virginia recognized the tribe the following year. Since 1993, the proceeds of an annual Powwow have provided funds to purchase ancestral lands on Bear Mountain, and the Monacan Indian Ancestral Museum opened in the old mission school buildings.[261] The Tribe voted to change its designation to the Monacan Indian Nation in 1996 as an assertion of cultural sovereignty.[262] The Episcopal Diocese has returned the 7.5 acres of the mission site and its buildings to the Monacan Indian Nation, and in 1999 the Virginia General Assembly passed a resolution asking Congress to grant federal recognition to the Monacan Indians along with other tribes from Virginia's coastal plains.[263]

Though the process of achieving federal recognition may be difficult and lengthy, recent decades have seen a resurgence in and reassertion of Monacan identity, centered on Bear Mountain but also reaching out to other communities in Rockbridge County and the wider Monacan diaspora. In an important gesture of recognition and cooperation between the Monacan Indian Nation and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, the state turned over two different sets of excavated human remains to the Bear Mountain community. These remains came from excavations of Late Woodland accretion mounds, and comprised hundreds of Monacan ancestors. They were interred in an ancestral graveyard on Bear Mountain, and their

[261] Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 33. For more on the powwow, see Cook, "The Monacan Indian Nation," 105-106; and Samuel R. Cook, John L. Johns, and Karenne Woods, "The Monacan Nation Powwow: Symbol of Indigenous Survival and Resistance in the Tobacco Row Mountains," in *Powwow,* edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham, 201-223 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

[262] Cook, "The Monacan Indian Nation," 100.

[263] Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 34-35. This request, introduced in 1999, passed the House of Representatives in 2009, but the Senate tabled it. See Laura Elizabeth Masur, *Virginia Indians, NAGPRA, and Cultural Affiliation: Revisiting Identities and Boundaries in the Chesapeake* (M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 2013), 5.

reburial spurred interaction with Piedmont Siouan descendants from the Occaneechi Nation in North Carolina, who retained elements of early burial rituals known as the Fourth Night Adoption Ceremony.[264] Though no longer buried in accretional mounds, the interment of ancestors once again served to mark tribal land and draw together related peoples long dispersed through the disruptive events of colonial encounter.

[264] Wood and Shields, *The Monacan Indians,* 34; Gold, " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered," iii; and Cook, "The Monacan Indian Nation," 109. These remains came from the Rapidan Mound in Orange County (excavated 1988-1990, reburied 1998), and the Hayes Creek Mound (excavated 1901, reburied 2000); Masur, *Virginia Indians, NAGPRA, and Cultural Affiliation,* 22, 43. For issues of sovereignty and federal recognition more generally, see Cook, "The Monacan Indian Nation," and George Roth, "Federal Tribal Recognition in the South," in *Anthropologists and Indians in the New South,* edited by Rachel A. Bonney and J. Anthony Paredes, 49-70 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001).

Part IV: Conclusions

This survey of the architectural history of central and western Virginia's native peoples demonstrates a relatively homogenous building tradition that developed during the Middle and Late Woodland periods, and continued through at least a century of contact with European colonists. The Woodland architectural tradition incorporated nucleated settlements, often surrounded by earthfast palisades along waterways and lowland agricultural sites, though these towns remained connected to upland and dispersed sites. Houses were typically round, earthfast bentwood structures, with mats or bark as covering, and containing central hearths, storage features, and other forms of furniture. While regional and local variations existed in the details of these structures, they are more remarkable for their similarity throughout the region, indicating a general cultural homogeneity amongst these peoples. Other structures included stone mounds and cairns in the Middle Woodland ridge and valley province, accretional mortuary mounds in the Late Woodland piedmont and ridge and valley, Mississippian platform mounds and towns in Lee County, occasional remains of council houses such as at the Crab Orchard Site, and more quotidian architectural forms such as sweat lodges and fish weirs.

By the eighteenth century, the disruptions resulting from epidemics, warfare, and displacement began to have a demonstrable effect on the built environment. The town at Fort Christanna in particular indicates a selective process of architectural acculturation, in which Siouan builders appropriated aspects of the Euro-American architectural competency, including metal tools, rectangular plans, hewn timbers, and distinctions between the supporting structural members of walls and pitched roofs. Despite these adaptations, the town plan with individual houses surrounding a central plaza and a delimiting palisade fence continued the Late Woodland

nucleated form, and many of the materials and construction techniques demonstrate the preservation of certain aspects pertaining to indigenous building traditions.

While many of Virginia's Siouan peoples left the state during the mid-eighteenth century, a core group remained, employing strategies of intermarriage with white traders, land ownership, architectural assimilation, and the establishment of native mountain enclaves. These Monacan Indians lived primarily in log cabins around Amherst County's Bear Mountain, and as racial segregation and hostility increased, their community came to center increasingly on the Bear Mountain Indian Mission School and the Saint Paul Mission Church. This survey of preceding research therefore characterizes the history of native architecture in central and western Virginia as a living, persevering history of Woodland traditions eventually disrupted during the Contact Period and ultimately resorting to new forms and styles of architecture as a preservation strategy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A history of indigenous architecture in central and western Virginia calls attention to the wealth of knowledge and archaeological evidence pertaining to Woodland Period settlements, but also indicates the great lacunae among the centuries following European contact. Very little material evidence is available to describe the transition from Woodland to European-style buildings. This lack is partly due to the difficulty of distinguishing native house sites from those of comparable white and black houses, once Indian groups adopted log cabins as living quarters. Further research is needed to better identify sites with native components during and after the eighteenth century, including the area of Fort Christanna, seeking to determine whether these sites exhibit any material distinctions from comparable non-Indian houses. This research would help to identify stages and individual material choices that marked the process of acculturation. Careful genealogical investigations such as those of Jay Hansford C. Vest might be combined

with primary documents to assist in identifying and locating potential sites for further historic archaeological investigation.

Monacan architecture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is another area lacking in documentation. Samuel R. Cook indicates that the remains of Monacan cabins from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "lay strewn around the remote hollows of Bear Mountain and adjoining Sweet Briar Mountain. Decaying cabins are clustered near numerous aged cemeteries with occasional markers bearing names such as Johns, Branham, and Redcross amid a plethora of unmarked graves."[265] This observation would suggest that an important component of Monacan history remains largely undocumented and at risk of deterioration and loss.

A survey of vernacular architecture in the area of Bear Mountain, identifying and recording the remains of Monacan sites would be a tremendous historical asset. Abandoned Monacan houses and occupation sites comprise a body of evidence that potentially bolsters Monacan assertions of cultural identity and continuity, and may ultimately contribute material evidence to their case for Federal recognition. A study of Monacan buildings in Amherst County might consider whether any archaeologically visible characteristics of form, technique, location or associated artifacts distinguish Monacan residential patterns from those of other Appalachian communities. The existing historic record suggests that settlements patterns and the placement of houses in relationship to one another and within the larger landscape might be particularly important considerations. A coordinated effort to collect oral history regarding houses and occupation sites would be a critical component of this proposed study. Since Monacan houses were often very similar to others in the region, the memories of community members are the best

[265] Cook, *Miners and Monacans,* 62.

resource for connecting sites to specific users. Previous investigations have encountered difficulties in gathering this information, and for this reason the needs, concerns, and participation of the community should be placed at the forefront of any research design.[266] A study of the architectural remains of everyday life on Bear Mountain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would document important cultural resources and Monacan connections to the landscape. As the experience of segregation and the early Bear Mountain settlements grow increasingly remote with the passing of time, these ancestral sites are potentially powerful components in the narration of Monacan history, physical landmarks testifying to Monacan experience during a time when documents were construed to erase it.

[266] A recent effort to survey Monacan archaeological sites from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on Bear Mountain is currently under review by the Monacan Indian Nation Tribal Council. Its results will undoubtedly contribute to these objectives, but the lack of formal documents from the nineteenth century, combined with a paucity of oral history specifically related to occupation sites, resulted in relatively low success identifying these structures and sites; Tom Klatka, e-mail message to the author, May 24, 2013.

Bibliography

Barber, Michael B. "Emergency Excavations at the Sawyer Site (44RN39), Area C: A Late Woodland Occupation in Roanoke County, Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 59, no. 2 (June 2004): 61-89.

Barbour, Philip L., ed. "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606 till this present 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Discoveries." In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes,* Vol. I, 198-289. Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

---. *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606-1609,* 2 Vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

---. *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

Bartram, William. *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws; Containing An Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions, Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians.* Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791.

Benthall, Joseph L. *Archaeological Investigations of the Shannon Site, Montgomery County, Virginia.* Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1969.

Beverley, Robert. *The History and Present State of Virginia.* Edited by Louis B. Wright. Charlottesville: Dominion Books, 1968.

Blanton, Dennis B. "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems in Virginia." In *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*. Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 65-96. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

Blanton, Dennis B., and Donald W. Linebaugh. *Archaeological Assessment of Sites 44PY7, 44PY43, and 44PY152 at Leesville Lake, Pittsylvania County, Virginia.* Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1996.

Bott, Keith E. "44RU7: Archaeological Test Excavations at a Late Woodland Village in the Lower Uplands of Southwest Virginia." *Research Report Series* 2. Richmond: Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, 1981.

Boyd, C. Clifford, Jr. "Monacans as Moundbuilders?" *American Antiquity* 69, no. 2 (Apr. 2004): 361-363

Boyd, C. Clifford, Jr., Donna C. Boyd, Michael B. Barber, and Paul S. Gardner. *The Bonham Site (44SM7): A Late Woodland Village Complex in Smyth County, Virginia,* revised. Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2005.

Boyd, Donna C. and C. Clifford Boyd, Jr. "Late Woodland Mortuary Variability in Virginia." In Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis. Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 249-275. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

Bram, Martin J. "Bear Mountain or Indian Mission." *The Southwestern Episcopalian* (1921): 5, 14.

Brown, Jane Douglas Summers. "The Sapony Indians: Their Town and Fort of 1708-1714." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 50, no. 2 (June 1995): 1-12.

Buchanan, William T. *The Trigg Site, City of Radford, Virginia.* Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1984.

Bushnell, David I., Jr. " 'The Indian Grave' – A Monacan Site in Albemarle County, Virginia." *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 23, n. 2 (Oct. 1914): 106-112.

---. "The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607." In *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 82, no. 12 (November 18, 1930): 1-38.

---. "The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608." In *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 94, no. 8 (October 9, 1935): 1-56.

Byrd, William. *The History of the Dividing Line Between Virginia and N. Carolina Run in the Year of Our Lord 1728.* Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 1728.

Carr, Lucien. *Report on the Exploration of a Mound in Lee County, Virginia.* Cambridge, MA: Salem Press, 1877.

Carson, Cary, and Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton. "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies." *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1981): 135-196.

Catesby, Mark. *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands,* Volume 1 of 2. London: Printed for Benjamin White, 1771.

Chapman, Jefferson. "The Kittrell Mound and an Assessment of Burial Mound Construction in the Southern Ridge and Valley Province." *Tennessee Anthropologist,* 12, no. 1 (1987): 51-73.

Clark, Wayne E., Joey T. Moldenhauer, Michael B. Barber, and Thomas R. Whyte. *The Buzzard Rock Site (44RN2): A Late Woodland Dispersed Village.* Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2005.

Cook, Samuel R. *Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

---. "The Monacan Indian Nation: Asserting Tribal Sovereignty in the Absence of Federal Recognition." *Wicazo Sa Review* 17, no. 2, Sovereignty and Governance, II (Autumn, 2002): 91-116.

Cook, Samuel L., John L. Johns, and Karenne Woods. "The Monacan Nation Powwow: Symbol of Indigenous Survival and Resistance in the Tobacco Row Mountains." In *Powwow.* Edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham, 201-223. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Custer, Jay F. *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986.

---. "Late Woodland Settlement Diversity in the Middle Shenandoah Valley: Some Thoughts on MacCord's "Lewis Creek Mound Culture." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 42 (1987): 146-149.

---. *Prehistoric Cultures of the Delmarva Peninsula.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989.

Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr., Jane Eastman, Thomas O. Maher, and Richard P. Graverly, Jr. *Archaeological Investigations at the Philpott Site, Henry County, Virginia.* Research Report No. 19. Chapel Hill: Research laboratories of Archaeology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998.

Demallie, Raymond J. "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast*. Edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 286-300. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 2004.

Dickens, Roy S., Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II.* Monograph No. 1, Research Laboratories of Anthropology. Chapel Hill University of North Carolina, 1987.

Dunham, Gary H. *Common Ground, Contesting Visions: The Emergence of Burial Mound Ritual in Late Prehistoric Central Virginia.* Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Virginia, 1994.

---. "Marking Territory, Making Territory: Burial Mounds in Interior Virginia." In *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory.* Occasional Paper No. 26, edited by John E. Robb, 112-134. Carbondale, IL: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 1999.

Dunham, Gary H., Debra L. Gold, and Jeffrey L. Hantman. "Collective Burial in Late Prehistoric Virginia: Excavation and Analysis of the Rapidan Mound." *American Antiquity* 68, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 109-128.

Eastman, Jane M. *The Sara and Dan River Peoples: Siouan Communities in North Carolina's Interior Piedmont from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1700.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, 1999.

Egloff, Keith T. "The Late Woodland Period in Southwestern Virginia." In Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis. Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 187-223. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

---. *Native American Sites in a Fall Line Transition Study Area.* Richmond: Virginia Department of Historical Resources, 1989.

Egloff, Keith T. and Celia Reed. "Crab Orchard Site: A Late Woodland Palisaded Village." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 34, no. 3 (1980): 130-148.

Egloff, Keith and Deborah Woodward. *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia*, 2nd ed. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.

Egghart, Christopher. "Summary Report of Findings at the Edd's Mill Site (44LE99), Lee County, Virginia. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 58, no. 3 (September 2003): 160-174.

Fagan, Brian M. *Ancient North America: The Archaeology of a Continent.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Fogelson, Raymond D. "Cherokees in the East." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14, Southeast*. Edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 337-353. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 2004.

Fontaine, John. *The Journal of John Fontaine, An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719.* Edited by Edward Porter Alexander. Charlottesville: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the University of Virginia Press, 1972.

Gallivan, Martin. *Early Horticultural Settlement in the James River Piedmont: Excavations at The Partridge Creek Site (44AH193), Stapleton, Virginia*. Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2003.

---. *The Late Prehistoric James River Village: Household, Community, and Regional Dynamics.* Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Virginia, 1999.

---. "The Leatherwood Creek Site: A Dan River Phase Site in the Southern Virginia Piedmont." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 52, no. 4 (December, 1997): 150-171.

---. *James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

---. "Reconnecting the Contact Period and Late Prehistory: Household and Community Dynamics in the James River Basin." In *Indians and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region.* Edited by Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King, 22-46. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Gardner, William M. "Early and Middle Woodland in the Middle Atlantic: An Overview." In *Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods and Interpretations.* Occasional Paper 3, edited by Roger W. Moeller, 53-86. Washington, CT: American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1982.

---. *Lost Arrowheads and Broken Potter: Traces of Indians in the Shenandoah Valley.* Manassas, VA: Thunderbird Museum Publication, 1986.

Geier, Clarence R., and Melissa McFee. *The Harry Jaeger Site (44BA489): A Multicomponent Protohistoric Indian/Eighteenth Century Historic Site, Bath County, Virginia.* Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 7. Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1981.

Geier, Clarence R. and J. Craig Warren. *The Huffman Site (44BA5): A Late Woodland Site on the Jackson River, Bath County, Virginia.* Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 9. Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1982.

Glassie, Henry. "The Smaller Outbuildings of the Southern Mountains." *Mountain Life and Work* 40 (Spring 1964): 21-25.

Gold, Debra L. *Subsistence, Health, and Emergent Inequity in Late Prehistoric Interior Virginia.* Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Michigan, 1999.

---. " 'Utmost Confusion' Reconsidered: Bioarchaeology and Secondary Burial in Late Prehistorical Interior Virginia." In *Bioarchaeological Studies of Life in the Age of Agriculture: A View From the Southeast.* Edited by Patricia M. Lambert, 195-218. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.

Gravely, Richard P., Jr. "Prehistory in the Upper Dan River Drainage System." In *Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results.* Special Publication No. 10, edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, 118-124. Virginia: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1983.

Hale, Horatio. "The Tutelo Tribe and Language." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21, no. 114 (1883): 1-49.

Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe. "Haliwa-Saponi Tribe-Merecouremechen Kihoe, About." Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe Website. http://haliwa-saponi.com/about/ [accessed August 19, 2013].

Hantman, Jeffrey L. "Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown." *American Anthropologist,* New Series, 92, no. 3 (Sept. 1990): 676-690.

---. "Monacan Archaeology of the Virginia Interior, A.D. 1400-1700. In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700,* edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., 107-123. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.

---. "Monacan Mediation: Regional and Individual Archaeologies in the Contemporary Politics of Indian Heritage." In *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Archaeology.* Edited by Paul A. Shackel and Erve J. Chambers, 19-33. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Hantman, Jeffrey L., Debra L. Gold, and Gary H. Dunham. "Of Parsimony and Archaeological Histories: A Response to Comment by Boyd." *American Antiquity* 69, no. 3 (July 2004): 583-585.

Hantman, Jeffrey L. and Michael J. Klein. "Middle and Late Woodland Archaeology in Piedmont Virginia." In *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis.* Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 137-164. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

Hinke, Wm. J., trans. "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, Oct. 2, 1701-December 1, 1702. Part I." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 1 (Jan. 1916): 1-43.

---. "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, Oct. 2, 1701 December 1, 1702. Part II." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1916): 113-141.

HistoryTech and Landmark Preservation Associates. *Amherst County Historic Resources Survey Report*. Amherst and Richmond, VA: The County of Amherst and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2010.

Hodges, Mary Ellen N. "The Archaeology of Native American Life in Virginia in the Context of European Contact: Review of Past Research." In *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia,* edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J Pogue. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993.

---. "Late Woodland Period Research in Virginia: Recent Trends and Contributions." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 59, no. 1 (March 2004): 1-13.

Holland, C. G., Sandra D. Speiden, and David Van Roijen. "The Rapidan Mound Revisited: A Test Excavation of a Prehistoric Burial Mound." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 38, no. 1 (March 1983): 1-42.

Horning, Audrey. *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows.* Bridgewater, VA: Shenandoah National Park Association, 2004.

Houck, Peter W., and Mintcy D. Maxham. *Indian Island in Amherst County.* Lynchburg, VA: Warwick House, 1993.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Notes on the State of Virginia." In *Thomas Jefferson: Writings,* edited by Merill D. Peterson, 123-325. New York: The Library of America, 1984.

Jones, Emory Eugene, Jr. "The Newberry-Tate Site (44BD2), Bland County, Virginia. *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 54, no. 2 (June, 1999): 82-123.

---. "The Newberry-Tate Site, Bland County, Virginia." In *Contributions to the Archaeology of Southwest Virginia: A Volume Honoring the Author Emory Eugene Jones, Jr. of Bluefield, West Virginia.* Special Publication No. 40, 10-106. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 2001.

Jones, Emory E., and Howard A. MacCord, Sr. "The Hoge Site, Tazewell County, Virginia." In *Contributions to the Archaeology of Southwest Virginia: A Volume Honoring the Author Emory Eugene Jones, Jr. of Bluefield, West Virginia.* Special Publication No. 40, 109-182. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 2001.

Jordan, Terry G. *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Jordan, Terry G., and Matti Kaups. *Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Keel, Bennie C. *Cherokee Archaeology: A Study of the Appalachian Summit.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976.

Klatka, Thomas. "Totera Town Reconsidered." *The Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society and Museum* 13, no. 2 (1996): 23-27.

Klatka, T. S., and Michael Klein. "Deciphering Site Occupational History at the Graham-White Site (44RN21)." *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 14 (1998): 125-145.

Klein, Michael. *Settlement Patterns in Central Virginia Prehistory.* M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1986.

Koons, Kenneth E., and Warren R. Hofstra. *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000.

Lambert, Patricia M. "Life on the Periphery: Health in Farming Communities of Interior North Carolina and Virginia." In *Bioarchaeological Studies of Life in the Age of Agriculture: A View from the Southeast.* Edited by Patricia M. Lambert, 168-194. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.

Lapham, Heather A. *Hunting for Hides: Deerskins, Status, and Cultural Change in the Protohistorical Appalachians.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Lawson, John. *A New Voyage to Carolina.* Edited by Hugh Talmage Lefler. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967.

Lederer, John. *The Discoveries of John Lederer.* Edited by William P. Cumming. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1958.

---. "Another French Account of Virginia Indians by John Lederer." Edited by Christian F. Feest. *The Virginia Magazine* (1975): 149-159.

Loren, Diana DiPaolo. *In Contact: Bodies and Spaces in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Eastern Woodlands.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008.

Loth, Calder, ed. *The Virginia Landmarks Register,* 4th edition. Richmond: The Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1999.

Lutins, Allen. *Prehistoric Fishweirs in Eastern North America.* Master's Thesis, University of New York at Binghamton, 1992.

MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The Bowman Site, Shenandoah County, Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 19, no. 2 (1964): 43-49.

---. "The Brown Johnson Site." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 25 (1971): 230-270.

---. "Copper in Prehistoric Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 60, no. 4 (December 2005): 181-197.

---. *The Crab Orchard Site, Tazewell County, VA.* Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1980.

---. "The Intermontane Culture: A Middle Appalachian Late Woodland Manifestation." Archaeology of Eastern North America, 17 (1989): 89-108.

---. *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture in Virginia.* Richmond: Privately Printed, 1986.

---. "Linking Archaeological Cultures with Historic Indian Groups." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 46, 3 (1991): 141-144.

---. "The Occaneechis: An Archeological Enigma." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 58, no. 3 (September 2003): 148-159.

---. "The Wingina Site, Nelson County, Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia,* 28 (1974): 169-180.

Masur, Laura Elizabeth. *Virginia Indians, NAGPRA, and Cultural Affiliation: Revisiting Identities and Boundaries in the Chesapeake.* M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 2013.

McLearen, Douglas C. *Phase III Archaeological Investigations at the "656 Elk Garden Site" (44RU61), Russell County, Virginia.* Richmond: Archaeological Research Center, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1990.

Meyers, Maureen Elizabeth Siewert. *Political Economy of Exotic Trade on the Mississippian Frontier: A Case Study of a Fourteenth Century Chiefdom in Southwestern Virginia.* Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2011.

Milner, George R. *The Moundbuilders: Ancient Peoples of Eastern North America.* London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Mouer, L. Daniel. "A Review of the Archeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans," in *Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results.* Special Publication No. 10, edited by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, 21-40. Virginia: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1983.

Nabakov, Peter, and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Neale, Gay. *Brunswick County, Virginia 1720-1975.* Brunswick County, Virginia: The Brunswick County Bicentennial Committee, 1975.

Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation. "The Voice of the Occaneechi Nation." Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Website. http://www.obsn.org/home [accessed August 19, 2013].

Perdue, Martin C. "Structures Survey, Bear Mountain, Amherst County, Virginia." Unpublished monograph, scanned copy filed with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1991.

Perdue, Theda. *The Cherokee.* Indians of North America, edited by Frank W. Porter III. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989.

Perdue, Theda, and Christopher Arris Oakley. *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina.* Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2010.

Pillsbury, Richard. "The Europeanization of the Cherokee Settlement Landscape Prior to Removal: A Georgia Case Study." *Geoscience and Man* 23 (1983): 59-69.

Pulice Michael J., "Notes on Defining, Dating and Documenting Early Log Structures in Southwest Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 65, no. 2 (September 2010): 49-56.

Rehder, John B. *Tennessee Log Buildings: A Folk Tradition.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012.

Reinhardt, Theodore R. and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, Eds. *Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis.* Special Publication 24. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1991.

---. *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis.* Special Publication 25. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

Roth, George. "Federal Tribal Recognition in the South." In *Anthropologists and Indians in the New South.* Edited by Rachel A. Bonney and J. Anthony Paredes, 49-70. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001.

Smith, John. "A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion." In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes,* Vol. I. Edited by Philip L. Barbour, 131-190. Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

---. "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from the first beginnings Ano: 1584 to this present 1624." In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1630) in Three Volumes,* Vol. II. Edited by Philip L. Barbour, 33-475. Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Swanton, John R. *The Indians of the Southeastern United States.* Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

Townsend, Richard F., ed. *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South.* New Haven: The Art Institute of Chicago and Yale University Press, 2004.

Trout, Ed and Margaret Lynn Brown. *Historic Buildings of the Smokies.* Gatlinburg, TN: Great Smoky Mountains Association, 1995.

Turner, E. Randolph III. "Virginia Native Americans during the Contact Period: A Summary of Archaeological Research over the Past Decade." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 59, no. 1 (March 2004): 14-24.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bear Mountain Indian Mission School*. Martin C. Perdue. VDHR File No. 05-230. 1996.

Valentine, Edward P. *Report on the Exploration of the Hayes Creek Mound, Rockbridge County, VA.* Richmond: Valentine Museum, 1903.

Valliere, Olier D. and John C. Harter. "The Cement Plant Site, Augusta County, Virginia." In *The Lewis Creek Mound Culture in Virginia.* Edited by Howard A. MacCord, Sr., 71-91. Richmond: Privately Printed, 1986.

Vest, Jay Hansford C. "Further Considerations in the Ethnogensis of the Monacan Indian Nation: The Saponi Origins of Selected Families." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 3 (September 2005): 133-149.

---. "Monacans and Huguenots: Manakin Town and the Ethnogensis of the Monacan Nation." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 61, no. 1 (March 2006): 38-52.

---. "Opechancanough and the Monacans: The Legend of Trader Hughes and Princess Nicketti Reconsidered." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 4 (December 2005): 198-215.

---. "The Origins of the Johns Surname: A Monacan Ethnogensis." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 60, no. 1 (March 2005): 1-14.

Virginia Department of Historic Resources. *Archaeological Report: Branham Barns (44AH0648).* Thomas Klatka. Richmond, 2011.

---. *Archaeological Report: Tarleton Johns and Claudi Branham Farms (44AH0650).* Thomas Klatka. Richmond, 2011.

---. *Archaeological Report: William B. Johns Farm (44AH1649).* Thomas Klatka. Richmond, 2011.

---. *Reconnaissance Level Survey: Fort Christanna Archaeological District (44BR0003/2).* Richmond, Report generated 5/28/2013.

Vlach, John Michael. *Barns.* New York: W.W. Norton and the Library of Congress, 2003.

Wailes, Bertha Pfister. *Backwards Virginians: A Further Study of the Win Tribe.* MA Thesis, University of Virginia, 1928.

Walker, Joan M. and Glenda F. Miller. "Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland in the Northern Great Valley of Virginia." In *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis.* Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, 165-185. Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1992.

Ward, H. Trawick and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "The Evolution of Siouan Communities in Piedmont North Carolina." *Southeastern Archaeology* 10 (1991):40-53.

---. *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000 to 1700.* Monograph No. 2, Research Laboratories of Anthropology. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993.

---. *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

---. "Tribes and Traders on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000-1710." In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700*, edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., 125-141. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.

Waugaman, Sandra F. and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz. *We're Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories.* Richmond: Palari Publishing, 2001.

Whitehead, Edgar. "Amherst County Indians, Highly Interesting History of an Old Settlement of Cherokees." *The Times—Richmond, VA* (April 19, 1896): 8.

Whitlock, Rosemary Clark. *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008.

Whitwell, W. L. and Lee W. Winborne. *The Architectural Heritage of the Roanoke Valley.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982.

Whyte, Thomas, and Clerence R. Geier. *The Perkins Point Site (44BA3): A Protohistorical Stockaded Village on the Jackson River, Bath County, Virginia.* Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 11. Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, 1982.

Williams, Michael Ann. *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

Willis, Stanley. "Log Houses in Southwest Virginia: Tools Used in their Construction." *Virginia Cavalcade* 21, no. 4 (Spring 1972): 36-47.

Wilson, Douglas L. "The Evolution of Jefferson's 'Notes on the State of Virginia.'" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 112, no. 2 (2004): 98-133.

Wood, Karenne, and Diane Shields. *The Monacan Indians: Our Story.* Madison Heights, VA: The Monacan Indian Nation, 1999.

Wood, Abraham. "Letter of Abraham Wood to John Richards, August 22, 1674." In *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674.* Edited by Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, 210-226. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912.

Wood, Peter H., et al. *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians of the Colonial Southeast.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

List of Figures

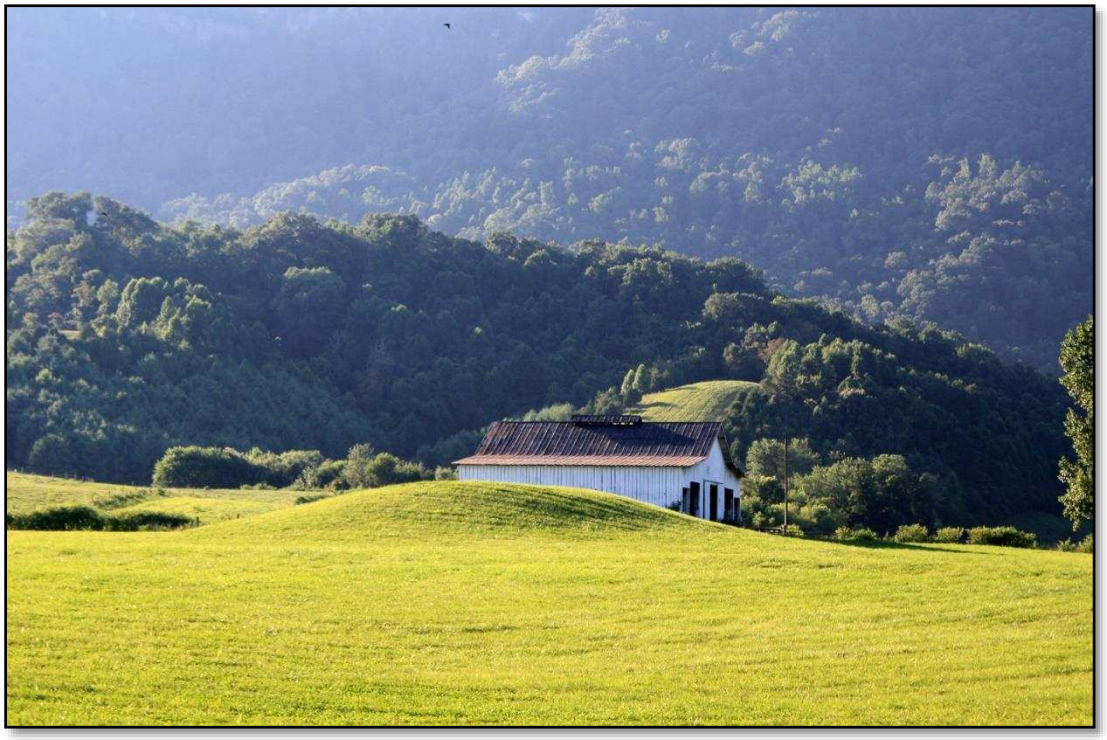
Figure

Figures

1. Panoramic photomontage of the present-day Crab Orchard Site (44TZ1) in Tazewell County. The remains of the sixteenth-century town are backfilled and lie beneath the hayfield in the foreground. An access highway bisects the site, the construction of which instigated excavations. Photos by the author, 2013.

2. Modern reconstruction of what a Late Woodland palisade fence and overlapping gateway might have looked like. The Natural Bridge Park, Rockbridge County, photo by the author, 2013.

3. Modern reconstruction of an incomplete earthfast, bentwood house such as were common in Late Woodland settlements. The builders of this reconstruction used thatch rather than bark as ethnohistoric sources most often describe. The Natural Bridge Park, Rockbridge County, photo by the author, 2013.



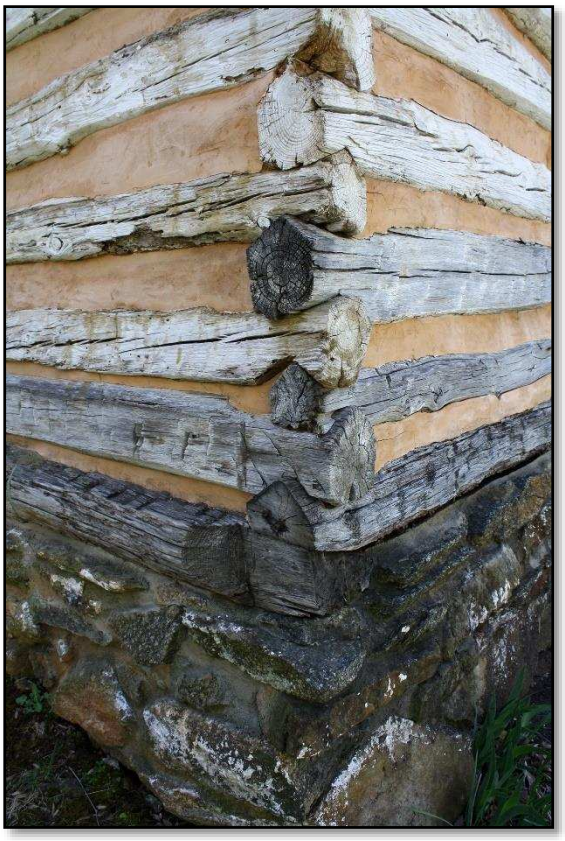
4. The Ely Mound (44LE12) in Lee County. The remains of the low, substructural mound rise in front of a local barn. Photo by the author, 2013.

5. Panoramic photomontage of the Tobacco Row Mountains in Amherst County, viewed from the east. Bear Mountain is a low peak visible immediately to the left of the central power pole. Photos by the author, 2013.

6. Frontal view of the restored Bear Mountain Indian Mission School (part of the present day Monacan Ancestral Museum). The original log pen is to the right, built in the 1860s. The frame addition to the left was added in 1908, and later altered. Photo by the author, 2013.

7. Side view of the restored Bear Mountain Indian Mission School, showing foundations set on bedrock. Falling Rock Creek lies behind the Mission School. Photo by the author, 2013.

8. Photomontage of the interior of the restored Bear Mountain Indian Mission School. Photos by the author, 2013.



9. Detail of the V-shaped corner notching of the restored Bear Mountain Indian Mission School. Photo by the author, 2013.

10. St. Paul's Episcopal Mission, with Falling Rock Creek and the Bear Mountain Indian Mission School visible behind. Photo by the author, 2013.