

**Collective Expressions of Monacan Indian Nation Identity:  
A Communicative Arts Genre Study**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
Table of Contents .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	iv
Abstract .....	v
Illustrations .....	vi
 <b>Chapter</b>	
<b>I. Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Why Research Virginia Indians? .....	1
Statement of the Problem .....	3
Need for the Study .....	5
Research Questions .....	6
Limitations and Assumptions .....	7
 <b>II. Background and Literature Review</b> .....	 <b>11</b>
Demographic Data .....	12
Pre-Contact .....	14
First Contact (Smith meets Amoroleck) .....	14
Migrations, Encroachment, Settlements .....	17
Miscegenation Laws, Indian Removal Act .....	19
St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and Mission School .....	20
Stolen Identity (Virginia Eugenics Movement) .....	21
Conclusion .....	24
 <b>III. Current Monacan Literature Review</b> .....	 <b>24</b>

Introduction .....	24
Archeology .....	25
Local Ethnography .....	28
Anthropology .....	29
Monacan Authors and Scholars .....	32
Ethnomusicology .....	35
Southeastern Pow wow Region .....	38
<b>IV. Research Methodology .....</b>	<b>43</b>
Theory .....	43
Fieldwork Procedures .....	44
Data Collection and Research Tools .....	46
Participants .....	47
Analysis Procedure .....	48
<b>V. Analysis .....</b>	<b>52</b>
Event and Interview Data .....	52
Monacan Indian Nation Pow wow .....	54
St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church .....	59
St. Paul’s Homecoming and Bazaar .....	66
Monacan Indian Nation Art Show .....	73
<b>VI. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>76</b>
Summary .....	76
Conclusions .....	79
Recommendations .....	81

<b>Appendix A: Song Transcriptions</b> .....	85
<b>Appendix B: Charts and Maps</b> .....	87
<b>Appendix C: Photos</b> .....	93
<b>Appendix D: Community Event Profiles</b> .....	95
<b>Glossary of Terms</b> .....	98
<b>References</b> .....	101

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**Abstract**

This study considers the current communicative arts practices of the Monacan Indian Nation, an Indigenous Virginia tribe of approximately 2500 people located in Amherst County, Virginia. Historically the tribe was a large nation that extended from the falls of the James River near Richmond, Virginia to the Southwestern portions of the state near Roanoke and now the Monacan Indian Nation homeland is at Bear Mountain in Amherst County, Virginia. The study was conducted through interviews and observations at tribal events such as the annual Powwow and culture class, as well as consistent attendance and participation as a musician at St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church at Bear Mountain. Early Monacan music, dance, language, and traditional art forms were largely undocumented or lost, and this study examines how current Monacan ethnic identity is expressed over multiple generations showing continuity within these forms. The study includes concepts about Monacan identity through the lenses of multidisciplinary fields and incorporates a table comparing artistic communication genres, a model developed by Brian Schrag and Kathleen Van Buren (2018). This approach assisted in demonstrating an ethnomusicological approach to Monacan identity expression through the various communicative arts genres within the community.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

<b>Figure 1.1</b> Captain John Smith’s Map of Virginia, 1624 .....	16
<b>Figure 1.2</b> Arts-Related Words in ICTM’s 2017 World Congress Program ...	50
<b>Figure 1.3</b> Arts-Related Words in ICTM’s 2017 World Congress Program ...	51
<b>Figure 1.4</b> Four Monacan Events and their Artistic Communication Genres ..	54
<b>Figure 1.5</b> Gertrude P. Kurath’s choreographic analysis of the Tutelo step ....	58
<b>Figure 1.6</b> Cycle of Transmission and Change .....	59
<b>Figure 1.7</b> Cultural Dynamism .....	62
<b>Figure 1.8</b> Adapted Monacan Hymn .....	85
<b>Figure 1.9</b> Ms. Bertie creating base of basket .....	68
<b>Figure 1.10</b> Ms. Bertie scraping honeysuckle vine .....	69
<b>Figure 1.11</b> Ms. Bertie’s baskets .....	70
<b>Figure 1.12</b> Betty Hicks quilt panels .....	71
<b>Figure 1.13</b> Finished quilt by Betty Hicks .....	72
<b>Figure 1.14</b> Monacan Anthem Song .....	76
<b>Figure 1.15</b> Monacan Community Map .....	91
<b>Figure 1.16</b> Map of Monacan Pow wow .....	92
<b>Figure 1.17</b> Road to Bear Mountain .....	93
<b>Figure 1.18</b> St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church .....	93
<b>Figure 1.19</b> Old Monacan School House .....	94

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### Why research Virginia Indians?

Every September my family would attend our annual family reunion on my Mother's side. Driving through the Appalachian Mountains from our small town of Lynchburg, Virginia and into West Virginia was always a time to hear family stories from my Mother about growing up with the mountains as her playground. Inevitably the conversations would turn to our family lineage, especially on my Grandmother's side. Sometimes we would get the "don't bring it up" talk as we neared the reunion grounds just outside of Doddridge County, West Virginia. As a ten-year-old kid you rarely understand or care much about family genealogy, but my Mother would always kindly warn us about the arguments that may ensue about my Grandmother's side of the family, especially as it pertained to her Mother (my Great Grandmother). We couldn't wait to get out of the car and play with our cousins in the creeks and streams and run barefoot through the woods, something we "city" kids didn't get to do very often. As food was laid out on picnic tables under the park shelter the grown-ups would talk and eat and often a banjo, fiddle, or guitar would emerge to play an old-time mountain tune with melodic hints of our Scotch-Irish descent. Sometimes songs would be shared A cappella with an Appalachian twang and harmony at which only my Mother and her sisters seemed to be skilled. Eventually conversations around family lineage would ensue as it related to specific songs, and as kids often do we would eavesdrop on the conversations of the adults. As songs and hymns were sung, stories were exchanged about our Irish, Welsh, and German relatives who settled in the area and then an awkward silence when an Aunt or Uncle began to discuss my Grandmother's Mother. Whispers such as, "well that may or may not be true" or "we can talk about that later 'cause it might upset your Grandma" would naturally stir a kind of mystery that any kid would want to venture into. The rides back to

Grandma's were filled with questions. By the time we wore our Mom and Aunties down someone say would say "well...her Dad was supposedly Cherokee, but you know how it was back then, people don't bring up certain things." This was the beginning of my own personal journey into part of my family's lineage and eventually lead me to an interest in the American Indian culture of the Appalachian Mountain region where I was born.

In 2018 during my studies in ethnomusicology, I read about a subfield called "backyard ethnomusicology"<sup>1</sup>. Being a Mom of a young daughter, I was not prepared to go to another country to study, so I began to explore cultures of my own community near Lynchburg, Virginia. "Ethnomusicology at home is the study of what is in some sense our own culture and that as ethnomusicologists we study the values that govern our own society's educational institutions."<sup>2</sup> I recalled childhood conversations with my Mother about our West Virginia roots with its mysterious Cherokee heritage and the connection to the governing educational institutions that Nettl mentions. The public-school curriculum I recalled was less than satisfactory in presenting the history of American Indians, much less the tribes that resided in the Appalachian regions of the United States in Virginia where I was lived. Why was this? I recalled what we were taught as kids about Native American people in our region. It was mostly repetitive information about Chief Powhatan, Pocahontas, and the Trail of Tears<sup>3</sup>, a point where southeastern American Indian history curriculum seemed to end. Having the knowledge that coastal tribes were not the only indigenous inhabitants of Virginia and Eastern Woodland regions, I turned to investigate the closest First Nations tribe I knew of near my home in Lynchburg, Virginia, the Monacan Indian Nation. One Sunday morning I visited St. Paul's Episcopal church at Bear Mountain in Amherst

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<sup>1</sup>Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts, New Edition*. (Champaign, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 186.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 451.

<sup>3</sup> See glossary under Indian Removal Act, p. 99.

County to meet some of the members of the Monacan community who attended there, and I kept being drawn back every Sunday. This became part of the fieldwork included in this study.

### *Statement of the Problem*

Throughout this study I will use Native American, American Indian, First Nations or Indigenous Virginians interchangeably. When necessary, I will refer to specific tribal associations. Historically there is little written record of early Monacan language, songs, and traditional arts. On the surface, the few historic documents mentioning the Monacan people seem like an easy answer as to why their Siouan language, songs, and customs seem to have vanished. Scholars in the fields of anthropology, ethnohistory, and archeology have challenged theories of Monacan post contact and early colonial documentation, and these will be discussed later in this study. Currently, there is a lack of ethnomusicological and heritage arts studies within the Monacan Indian Nation. First contact tribes in the southeastern regions of the United States experienced centuries of assimilation, migrations, wars, and disease; putting music and heritage arts traditions at risk of disappearance. Although certainly not idyllic in their own history, reservations helped preserve plains, southwest, pacific northwestern, and some eastern coastal tribal traditions. American Indian people of the Appalachian region have no specific boundary of tribal land. Nestled in the mountains of Amherst County, Virginia are Bear Mountain and Tobacco Row, geographic areas symbolic of the persistence and resiliency of the Monacan people. The Monacan Indian Nation has purchased and re-established their land through consistent powwow revenue and now federal recognition.

As with many Indigenous communities there is a concern that future generations will face continuous challenges in the preservation and transfer of their culture.<sup>4</sup> The annual Monacan

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<sup>4</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

Pow wow, culture classes, and Homecoming events were all postponed due to the unprecedented effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic and many members shared with me how disconnected they felt to family members and their extended community during this time.<sup>5</sup> The challenge to maintain a transference of heritage arts knowledge has become increasingly difficult as many Monacan elders are getting older and walking on, and with them the oral history, knowledge, and skills. Opportunities for Monacan youth to learn these traditions face various challenges such as the distance of travel for some members, urban demands on those living outside the main community, and even the new administrative responsibilities that recent federal recognition has presented.<sup>6</sup> In this study, I have utilized ethnographic fieldwork from an observer and participatory method along with ethnomusicological and ethno-arts analysis approaches to examine Monacan heritage arts expressions as they connect, where possible, to “collective ethnic identity renewal.”<sup>7</sup>

In any ethnographic research it is necessary to understand the nature of the insider and outsider relationship, the ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ approaches.<sup>8</sup> An approach which decolonizes the very idea of fieldwork is of highest concern when collaborating with First Nations communities. I was not without my challenges in this area due to the centuries of misrepresentation of the Monacan people. The deliberate eugenics movement spurred by the Racial Integrity Act of 1926 as well as a publication of that same year titled, *Mongrel Virginians: The WIN tribe* “suggesting that racial mixing had created a group of people who were mentally inferior and morally degenerate”<sup>9</sup> is

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<sup>5</sup> Monacan woman, interview by author, Amherst county, VA, November 14, 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Author’s observations and field notes.

<sup>7</sup> Joane Nagel, “American Indian ethnic renewal: Politics and the resurgence of identity,” *American Sociological Review* 60, no. 6 (1995): 948.

<sup>8</sup> Marvin Harris. “History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction,” *Annual Anthropology Review*, no. 5 (1976): 331.

<sup>9</sup>Karenne Wood, “The Language Ghost: Linguistic Heritage and Collective Identity Among the Monacan Indians of Central Virginia” (PhD, diss., University of Virginia Department of Anthropology, 2016), 65.

still embedded in the memories of some Monacan elders and their children.<sup>10</sup> Ethnographic fieldwork has been linked to the “crisis of representation, as well as representation to colonial, imperial, and other repressive power structures.”<sup>11</sup> Though I could easily see that current Monacan heritage arts and music preservation was paramount and that historic misrepresentation was of concern, I also recognized that the sharing of some cultural knowledge was protected by the community. Tara Browner states that American Indian people “perceive the gradual erosion of cultural knowledge as the latest in a series of threats to their survival as distinct peoples”<sup>12</sup>. At times even my best efforts to collaborate didn’t change the fact that I was an outsider, and it would be imperative that I understand that “control of the discourse about culture is seen as one way to assert cultural sovereignty.”<sup>13</sup>

### *Need for the Study*

The need for a proposed study investigating how Monacan music and ethno-arts has historically been portrayed, how it is currently being created, and how its continuity of expression continues to influence contemporary Monacan identity will assist in the community’s preservation and education efforts. Concern for heritage arts transference to younger generations and education about Monacan culture is a high priority for the community<sup>14</sup> and I hope this study will contribute to the narrative. During my fieldwork it was obvious that The Monacan Indian Nation is continuously making strides to protect and preserve their culture’s material and non-material legacy. I hope that this research has assisted in these efforts. Using a participant-

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<sup>10</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., December 3, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

<sup>12</sup> Tara Browner, “Making and Singing Pow-Wow Songs: Text, Form, and the Significance of Culture-Based Analysis.” *Ethnomusicology* 44, no. 2 (Spring- Summer, 2000): 214.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Vickie Ferguson, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., April 16, 2021.

observer method, I have been able to collaborate with members of the community through music, poetry, and heritage art. My hope is that it was a mutual exchange.

From a broader perspective, this study could assist future ethnomusicological and ethno-arts studies and exchanges with the Monacan Nation. I have by no means pioneered research of the Monacan people, yet at the time of this research, any concrete studies of their heritage arts were lacking. This study will serve as a snapshot of what is taking place currently and over the past few decades. Monacan youth are active in their communities as high school athletes, Powwow dancers, and volunteers at events and initiatives of the tribe. Some older Monacans shared painful memories of racism and oppression and that the younger generation has been raised to take more pride in their Indian heritage, unlike what they felt safe to do.<sup>15</sup> This study will help document a transference of heritage arts knowledge that is taking place within the younger Monacan generation, and I hope will carve out new entry points for further research. To help broaden the view of this Monacan music and heritage arts study, I have used a communicative arts genres model.<sup>16</sup> This method provides a wide range of lenses by which to view Monacan arts and music.

### Research Questions

This study will explore the interrelatedness of Monacan arts and music with individual and collective Monacan cultural values with the intent that twenty-first century Monacan ethnic identity would be better understood. Artistic Communication Genres<sup>17</sup> will provide a framework

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<sup>15</sup> Monacan man, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., December 9, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Brian Schrag and Kathleen J. Van Buren, *Make Arts for a Better Life: A Guide for Working with Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1, Google Books.

<sup>17</sup> Brian Schrag, "It was Never Just about the Music: How Artistic Communication Genres Could Liberate Ethnomusicology," *International Journal of Traditional Arts*, Issue 2 (2018): 3, [www.tradartsjournal.org](http://www.tradartsjournal.org)

for the study. Artistic communication genres are a community's category of artistry characterized by a unique set of formal characteristics, performance practices, and social meanings.”<sup>18</sup> In Schrag and Van Buren’s model, artistic communication genres include music but are not limited to the elements and characteristics from other artistic domains. I will cover this model further in the methodology section. Using artistic communication genres allowed a flexible approach to answering questions about Monacan musical and heritage arts traditions such as: When a Monacan communication artist makes music, baskets, poems, stories, dances, or jewelry, what are the characteristics that make it uniquely Monacan? How does Monacan ethnic identity interrelate to these characteristics? How is a Monacan communication artist decolonizing their ethnic identity through their chosen genre of art? How is continuity revealed through a twenty-first century Monacan heritage artist?

Investigating these questions required an understanding of Monacan history and revealed the continuity of Monacan cultural resilience. The utilization of anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory, and linguistics has provided pathways to understanding Monacan culture and history in this study and is common practice for the ethnomusicologist.<sup>19</sup> Further discourse on these theories as they relate to First Nations communities will be reviewed in subsequent sections.

### Limitations and Assumptions

All research has limitations and assumptions, and for this study many of them were unearthed during my fieldwork. The history of ethnomusicological research in Native American communities has common threads and this study revealed some similarities. Most glaring is the concept that fieldwork within First Nations communities is often viewed through lenses of

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<sup>18</sup> Schrag and Van Buren, 295.

<sup>19</sup> Nettl, 454.

decolonization, outdated Christian missiology, and the mishandling of academic discourse, which have all had long lasting, damaging effects. The saturation of anthropology and ethnomusicology studies within these communities and early research with unethical standards can create assumptions about an outsider's intentions. Monacan Chief Kenneth Branham reiterated to me on multiple occasions during our conversations that the Monacan people had been misrepresented by writers in the past and that it would be important for me to remember this as I documented the project.<sup>20</sup> This unethical research is still embedded in the memories of some elders of the Monacan community<sup>21</sup> so it was understandable that there were a few speculations as to my intentions. Nettl states that "...there is the fear that a fieldworker's findings will be used, inevitably, to support some preconceived and probably pejorative notion of the value of a society, a suspicion sometimes justified even where nothing pejorative is intended."<sup>22</sup> Mark Slobin warns that "ethnics tend to be situational, and often misunderstandings in the field are from questioning the researcher's intentions in regard to the relevancy of the research to the needs of the host community and that any "suggestion of neocolonialism" would be disdained.<sup>23</sup> I took this to heart and frequently considered the significance of the advice I was given. Aspiring to participate in a collaborative, applied model of fieldwork for this study helped me to embrace the idea that "the best approach is to reconcile oneself to being an outsider, providing a limited if unique view."<sup>24</sup> This limitation was a process of acceptance of my own reflexivity, and was synchronous with the research itself. Attempting to determine what characteristics were evident

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<sup>20</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., December 3, 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Nettl, 204.

<sup>23</sup> Mark Slobin, "Ethical Issues," in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers, (London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1992), 331.

<sup>24</sup> Nettl, 160.



in Monacan music or art forms based on ethnocentric colonial history proved to be mostly unfruitful and, in some ways, implicated my own biases as to what “Indianness”<sup>25</sup> should be.

The assumed view that the Monacan people had all but disappeared from the social and geographical landscape of Virginia is a well-documented theory by scholars and shown as a flood light on how long-standing narratives drive neocolonialism and permeate western perspectives of American history. Simultaneously, this limitation helped me explore new theories within the interdisciplinary fields of ethnomusicology - anthropology, archaeology, ethnohistory, and missiology. In reference to Virginia Indian people, archeology scholar Jeffrey Hantman states that it is the “perception that Indians and their ‘authentic’ oral traditions disappeared from the region long ago.”<sup>26</sup> It would be too simplistic to say that centuries of assimilation or cultural appropriation is the reason for the lack of obvious continuity within Monacan music and heritage arts as the very persistence of Monacan culture connects their communicative arts to the twenty-first century. “Forced removal, Christian missionary churches and schools, intermarriage, racial identity policies, and racism all fostered the image of the “disappearing Indian”” throughout much of the East.”<sup>27</sup> These events are contributors to the assumption of the disappearance of Monacan arts and music and can appear to be limits of this study, but they contribute to the continuity of Monacan ethnic identity. The creation of Monacan baskets, quilts, songs, or the Northern singing style by a Monacan Pow wow drum group, all contribute to a collective Monacan arts and music landscape and are valuable contributions to recognizing cultural continuity.

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<sup>25</sup> Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary Native Culture* (Ontario: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 2004), 152, ProQuest Ebrary.

<sup>26</sup> Jeffrey L. Hantman, *Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2018), 181.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

In this study, the impact of language loss for the Monacan Indian Nation is important to mention and will be addressed further in the next section. Karenne Wood, Monacan scholar and poet, contributed to the resurgence of efforts by the Monacan Indian Nation to revitalize their language and suggests that cultural interlocutors such as ancestral land can be considered, in her theory of a “language ghost” within the Monacan community.<sup>28</sup> I suggest in this study that the continuity of Monacan heritage arts and music has been a type of interlocutor which Wood’s work addresses, however the theories surrounding Monacan language are a part of a greater tribal contingency and was a limitation in this study.

My attendance at St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church provided more inclusive interactions with some Monacan elders and their families but was also a limitation of the study as not all tribe members attend the church. Many Monacan elders have memories of the schoolhouse and church from their childhood, while others who had moved away and returned or who were too young to have attended the school, have a different connection with this part of Bear Mountain albeit no less of one. This could be compared with the changing dynamics between indigenous people who reside on a bounded reservation and those who leave and come back, “urban Indians.”<sup>29</sup>

### *Conclusion*

I am currently attending St. Paul’s and have become a part of the worship services by singing and playing hymns on my guitar or violin. At times I have also taken on the role of teaching songs either to the regular congregation or to a few children and grandchildren of members. In backyard ethnomusicology, an essential element is the philosophy that your work is

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<sup>28</sup> Wood, 178.

<sup>29</sup> Nagel, 952.

a part of your own community.<sup>30</sup> This type of locally applied approach can be a huge win both for the betterment of our communities and within the field of ethnomusicology.

In conclusion of this section, I feel it is necessary to mention that during the final portion of this study (2020-2021) our globe was about to experience a worldwide pandemic, unprecedented in human history as we know it today. In previous research with the Monacan community, I attended multiple events and was able to conduct a few interviews and some of these will be included in this study as archives. When I began final preparations for the study, the annual Monacan Pow wow and weekly culture classes were cancelled and some of the face-to-face interviews were now called “zoom meetings.”

## **Chapter II: Background and Literature Review**

### **Introduction**

The focus of this chapter is to explore how historic and current literature relates to the timeline and necessity of this study. A literature review of Monacan arts and music would be incomplete without historic, anthropological, and archeological works, and this will be included in the first half of this section. More importantly, the second half of this section are scholarly works written by Monacans themselves. As previously mentioned, there is no ethnomusicological work which is directly related to the Monacan Indian Nation, therefore I will incorporate what I have learned from these scholars with my findings.

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<sup>30</sup> Barz and Cooley, 13.

### *Demographic Data*

There are seven federally recognized tribes in the state of Virginia: the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Upper Mattaponi, Rappahannock, Nansemond, and Monacan. The Monacan Indian Nation first became a state-registered corporation in 1988, and in 1989 they were recognized by the Virginia General Assembly. They became the seventh federally recognized tribe in Virginia in 2018. The Monacan Indian Nation is predominantly located in the Appalachian regions of Virginia known as the Piedmont and Blue Ridge, but is historically recognized as part of the Eastern Woodland region of the United States,

Currently The Monacan Nation has over two thousand members. The general council consists of seven elected members and a chief who function together as the governing body. Many members are located throughout the United States and abroad, but the heart of the tribe's homeland is in Amherst County, Virginia. In addition, "the Monacan Nation is the only federally recognized Native American community located west of the Coastal Plain."<sup>31</sup> Monacans named their land in Amherst County *Bear Mountain*, and here is where their heritage museum, historic mission school, and St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church and fellowship hall are located. A few miles from the Monacan's sacred Bear Mountain is the site of their annual powwow, an event that is attended by many members, the public, and other First Nations communities extending as far as the southwestern and plains areas of the United States. I recalled attending the powwow with my family as a child, but it was at a different location which will be discussed in another section of this study. Many Monacan members live outside of Amherst County, Virginia and the Pow wow and annual homecoming, hosted by St. Paul's at Bear Mountain, serve as connection points to their community.

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<sup>31</sup> Hantman, 2.

Recently the MIN moved their main tribal offices to a more central location in Madison Heights, also in Amherst County, Virginia. This main office provides a network of communications to visiting Monacan members as well as educational resources to the public, administrative functions of the tribe, and coordination of events held at the attached community center. Since 1984 resources provided by the Monacan Indian Nation have helped build bridges to a better and broader understanding of the region's indigenous history. The Monacan Indian Nation is active in civic activities and commemorations such as "acknowledging their central historic ties such as the Lewis and Clark Commemoration held at Monticello, a recognition that Thomas Jefferson's home and Meriwether Lewis's home were built on Monacan ancestral territory."<sup>32</sup>

#### Historic Background

It is impossible to understand American Indians in their contemporary setting without first gaining some knowledge of their history as it has been formed and shaped by the Indian experience with Western civilization."<sup>33</sup> In the following pages I will provide a timeline of Monacan history to provide a reference point to show how the Monacan Indian Nation has been shaped by western civilization. I have chosen to divide Monacan history periods into subsections (Pre and Post Contact) which will help with the timeline and flow of this section of the literature review.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Vine Deloria and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 1-2.

### *Pre-Contact*

University of Virginia professor and archeologist, Jeffrey Hantman's work, *Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People*, states from the Introduction, "Around the globe, anthropologists have observed that the hinge point that connects "prehistory" (pre-European contact) and "history" in European-authored perspectives does not typically include a deep past, because that history is unwritten."<sup>34</sup> Archeologists have an advantage in interpreting pre-contact culture and civilizations, and it is therefore necessary for this ethnomusicological study to begin with this field. Hantman's work is invaluable in that it not only provides concrete findings of pre-contact Monacan towns, migratory patterns, and burial mounds, but also in understanding the philosophy and positionality of those who wrote the first historic documentations of the Monacan people. For the purposes of this study, pre-contact will be considered the Paleo-Indian period. In Virginia, high concentrated discoveries of projectile points made of jasper, or Clovis points, within the boundaries of what would be considered Monacan territory have been found.<sup>35</sup> These pre-contact people were "transitory (following big game to hunt) and seldom settled in permanent sites as would the succeeding Archaic and Woodland Indians."<sup>36</sup> By the time European's made contact with these ancient people, "numerous cultural groups existed with multiple sectional rivalries among them."<sup>37</sup>

### *First-Contact*

The actions of Indian people, individually and collectively, are too often permanently engraved at the moment of the first colonial encounter (to the extent an actual first

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<sup>34</sup> Hantman, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Peter W. Houck and Mintcy D. Maxham, *Indian Island* (Lynchburg, VA: Warwick House Publishing, 1993), 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

encounter can be determined). This engraving is done by the first ethnographic descriptions created by missionaries, traders, and settlers.<sup>38</sup>

The Monacan people were first documented by frontiersman in the mid-seventeenth century and noted “as residing west of the Rappahannock and James rivers starting near Richmond, Virginia.”<sup>39</sup> These two rivers feed into the Chesapeake Bay where Captain John Smith first encountered Chief Powhatan, *Wahunsonacock* (Algonquian name) in 1607. It is also noted by Mooney and Jefferson that the “tribes within Powhatan’s confederacy spoke Algonquian, the Monacan spoke Siouan.”<sup>40</sup> They were not as well documented as Powhatan’s confederacy, and this is due in part, to the “difficult journey of frontiersman to explore the Central and Southwestern portions of the Blue Ridge and Piedmont mountains of Virginia which would have involved a treacherous ascent up the Rappahannock and James rivers.”<sup>41</sup> These areas went unexplored until the “mid-seventeenth century when traders were given authorization to explore the country west and south of the Appomattox River near Amherst County, Virginia.”<sup>42</sup>

Captain John Smith writes of a first encounter with a Monacan man by the name of “Amoroleck.”<sup>43</sup> Following a skirmish in which their guide (Mosco, a Powhatan) helped to protect them, Smith’s crew captured Amoroleck, and Mosco translated his responses. Amoroleck was asked “What countries were beyond the mountains, and he replied that he had heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them.”<sup>44</sup> When Smith asked him how many worlds he knew, Amoroleck replied that “he knew no more but that which was

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<sup>38</sup> Hantman, 5.

<sup>39</sup> James Mooney, “Siouan Tribes of the East,” *Bureau of American Ethnology*, no. 22 (1894): 26.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Notes On the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 92, ProQuest Ebrary.

<sup>41</sup> Mooney, 27-28.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Captain John Smith, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631)*, ed. and trans. Philip L. Barbour, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 174.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

under the sky that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans, and the Massawomeks, that were higher up in the mountains.”<sup>45</sup> This encounter would later have significance in Smith’s first map of the state of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson’s, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1782) gives further insight into first contact documentation.

When the first effectual settlement of our colony was made, which was in 1607, the country from the seacoast to the mountains, and from Patowmac to the most southern waters of James river, was occupied by upwards of forty different tribes of Indians. Of these the Powhatans, the Mannahoacs, and Monacans, were the most powerful. But the Monacans and their friends were in amity with the Mannahoacs and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the Powhatans.<sup>46</sup>



**Figure 1.1** Captain John Smith’s Map of Virginia, 1624  
Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 176-177.

<sup>46</sup> Jefferson, 107.



After Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, in which Nathaniel Bacon organized an all-out war on Virginia Indians, the Treaty of The Middle Plantation (Williamsburg, Virginia) was created stating that all tribes were now subject to the British throne. Although the treaty was a well-intentioned effort to create peace and give protection to the "aborigine" Virginia Indians, in the end it merely offered platitudes for the rights that inherently belonged to them.

### *Migrations, Encroachment, Settlements*

Indian scholar James Mooney was able to piece together the mystery that shrouded the enigmatic Central Virginia Indians called the Monacans, and the possible reasons for the lack of well documented tribal history after the late seventeenth century:

Beverley, in his history of Virginia, published in 1722, makes no mention of them in his list of existing tribes, but in speaking of the Huguenot colony of 1699, already mentioned, says that these exiles settled on a piece of very rich land on the southern side of James river, about 20 miles above the falls, "which land was formerly the seat of a great and warlike nation of Indians called the Monacans, none of which are now left in these parts; but the land still retains their name, and is called the Monacan Town" (Beverley, 2). It is probable that between 1670 and 1699 the small remnant had removed westward and joined the Nahyssan (Tutelo) and Saponi.<sup>47</sup>

While the birth of the American Revolution was breathing new and independent life into the English colonies, the fragments of Monacan history and culture were becoming increasingly shrouded. The colonist's encroachment of land further west of Virginia and their pursuit of economic superiority through continuous search for valuable minerals and goods, forced Southeastern Woodland tribes to combine into groups for survival. Combined groups of the Tuscarora, Tutelo, Saponi, and Monacan fled toward Pennsylvania and eventually Canada after

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<sup>47</sup> Mooney, 30.

the Iroquois Five Nations received them, making them the Sixth Nation.<sup>48</sup> The question that has puzzled many Virginia historians was whether there were Monacans who refused to join in these migrations to the north after 1728.<sup>49</sup>

At the onset of the nineteenth century Eastern Woodland tribes were losing land at lightning speed to settlers and colonizers, exception for two reservations established before the ratification of the constitution in 1789, the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey of the Powhatan Confederacy. The English did not recognize Indians as landowners and granted land only to whites.<sup>50</sup> As a result of continuous migration, wars with the Iroquois, and colonial encroachment, remaining Monacans assimilated into sister tribes such as the Tutelo and Saponi while others scattered. This would eventually lead to the formation of the John's settlement near Bear Mountain in Amherst County, Virginia during the early 1800s. Anthropologist Helen Rountree states:

There were still others living along the Blue Ridge, who knew they were partly of Indian descent but had no particular group identity. All of these kinds of Indians followed a lifestyle that by 1800 had come to be much like that of their small-farmer neighbors. And this got them into new trouble with those neighbors: the Indians no longer seemed like "real Indians" to many Virginians<sup>51</sup> (Rountree,1979, as cited by Houck, 1993).

The establishment of Virginia indigenous communities such as the John's settlement would culminate into a greater issue of land rights, and lead to what Hantman describes as colonial selective silence. "It is important to recognize the adoption of a new Monacan settlement strategy that was invisible to the colonists, who spoke of a terra nullius: empty land,

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<sup>48</sup> Jefferson, 109.

<sup>49</sup> Houck, 28.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 57.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 58.

belonging to nobody. Colonial era selective silence on an Indian presence is not surprising— colonists saw and recorded what they wanted to see and ignored the rest.”<sup>52</sup>

*Miscegenation laws, Indian Removal Act*

By the early 1800s Monacans of the John’s settlement were considered squatters by the white settlers and for them to become landowners the best way was to marry a white.<sup>53</sup> The Virginia General Assembly passed a law (1823) which stated, “be it enacted and declared, and it is hereby enacted and declared, that the child of an Indian and the child, or great-grandchild of a Negro, shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto”<sup>54</sup> The swelling of racial unrest was made greater as the Missouri Compromise created an equal twelve free and twelve slave states. The fear of slave rebellion spread to create a growing paranoia of all people who were non-White.<sup>55</sup>

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 forced all American Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi out of their tribal land pushing them further west (Trail of Tears). Eventually individual land-owning Monacans of the John’s settlement became tenants for failure to pay property tax and others being coerced to sell their land.<sup>56</sup> These instances created a harsh imbalance in the socio-economic system of rural Amherst County, Virginia. “The last surviving individual of sole Monacan descent is said to have died in 1871 in Canada living with the Tutelo, Iroquois, and Cayuga tribes”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Hantman, 138.

<sup>53</sup> Houck, 58.

<sup>54</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large Vol. IV* (Philadelphia, PA: Thomas De Silver, 1823), 252.

<sup>55</sup> Houck, 59.

<sup>56</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., December 3, 2020.

<sup>57</sup> Horatio Hale, “The Tutelo Tribe and Language,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21, no. 114 (1883): 10.

As could be expected during these times, revealing, or acknowledging your Native American heritage could cost you your land or worse, your life or the lives of your family, “thus the Johns Settlement on Bear Mountain, which started as a benevolent refuge for Indian-white families, became a target for the sting of growing racial unrest.”<sup>58</sup>

*Establishment of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and Mission School*

The Post Reconstruction era brought economic and social changes to Southern Appalachian Mountain communities like those of the Johns settlement at Bear Mountain. The establishment of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and Mission School in 1908 brought spiritual and educational resources to the community. There are a multitude of missionaries, teachers, and volunteers who are a part of the history at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and Mission School, and further research on this era would be beneficial to understanding missiology in this region.

Anthropologist Samuel R. Cook’s work, *Monacans and Miners*, helps to understand how the underpinning of the church and Mission School was beneficial to the community, yet influenced a type of dependance upon the missionization of the Appalachian region at this time:

While many Indians and non-Indians believe that the Monacan community could not have survived without the mission, others argue that it was yet another colonizing agent. For years the mission provided a source for spiritual consolation, education, clothing, food, and health care that had previously been unavailable to Indians in the county. On the other hand, it is sometimes argued that these fundamental amenities made the Monacan people too dependent on the church.<sup>59</sup>

At the encouragement of Reverend Edgar White, young Reverend Arthur Gray helped establish the church and mission school at Bear Mountain in 1908. In my conversations with Monacan elders who attended the mission school, there was a sense of community and belonging

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<sup>58</sup> Houck, 59.

<sup>59</sup> Samuel R. Cook, *Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 90.

expressed.<sup>60</sup> The land on which the mission school, St. Paul's, and the Monacan museum reside is described by Monacan scholar Karenne Wood. "The mission school and church was a spiritual center for Monacan people and the only place where they felt safe to acknowledge their Indian heritage through the twentieth century."<sup>61</sup> The Reverend Gray's writing about the settlement, though at times ethnocentric, provides documentation of turn of the century life at Bear Mountain:

They are fond of painting themselves.... they call themselves "Indian Men" and "Indian Women" and the white people have usually judged the whole tribe from the lowest element among them, as these are the most conspicuous and so fair treatment has not always been afforded them.... These Indians are mostly tenants, though a few of them own land. They raise tobacco in the bottoms and on new ground, and a little corn and oats on the hillsides."<sup>62</sup>

#### *Stolen Identity (Virginia Eugenics Movement)*

The timeline following the establishment of the Johns settlement until the recorded death of the last Monacan in 1871 could be seen as a deliberate silence of the Monacan people due to the risks involved in claiming their Indian identity, especially in the state of Virginia. With the establishment of St. Paul's Episcopal Church and Mission School, the residing Monacans at Bear Mountain were in some ways protected from the rest of the county. Additionally, missionary workers at the mission and school were consistent defenders of the Monacan community and "they often launched aggressive assaults against miscegenation laws that threatened to incriminate many Monacans, they lobbied relentlessly for the integration of public schools on behalf of Indians, and they provided certain services and opened doors to social and economic opportunities that otherwise would not have been available to Amherst County Indians until

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<sup>60</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>61</sup> Wood, 55.

<sup>62</sup> Arthur Gray, "A Virginia Tribe of Indians," *Southern Churchman* (1908)  
<https://www.virginiaindianarchive.org/items/show/67>

much later.”<sup>63</sup> Still, publications such as *Mongrel Virginians* (1926), written by Ivan McDougale and eugenicist Arthur A. Estabrook was written two years after of the passing of The Racial Integrity Act by the Virginia General Assembly and as Cook states, their work was “used to justify the proliferation of miscegenation laws”<sup>64</sup> The Racial Integrity Act stated:

Every person in whom there is ascertainable any Negro blood shall be deemed and taken to be a colored person, and every person not a colored person having one-fourth or more of American Indian blood shall be deemed an American Indian; except that the members of Indian tribes living on reservations allotted them by the Commonwealth having one-fourth or more of Indian blood and less than one-sixteenth of Negro blood shall be deemed tribal Indians so long as they are domiciled on such reservations.<sup>65</sup>

The Racial Integrity Act of 1924 prevented Monacan descendants from claiming their Indigenous heritage. The eugenics movement in Virginia lead by Dr. Walter Ashby Plecker, the state’s first registrar of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, forced Monacans to check Negro or Issue on their birth certificates and on census reports. Plecker proclaimed in one of his many treatises on miscegenation, that all Indians in Virginia were mixed, so as far as the state government was concerned, were considered part of the Negro culture.<sup>66</sup> It is important to note that “The Act described ‘white’ as having no other admixture of race but provided an exception of less than one-sixteenth Indian. Virginia Indian scholar Helen Rountree states that this act was written to ensure that an “exception was made for a peculiarly Virginian reason: there were still prominent whites in the state who traced their ancestry back to Pocahontas.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Cook, 95.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>65</sup> Virginia Health Bulletin: The New Virginia Law To Preserve Racial Integrity. March 1924, Box 76, Folder 8, Virginia Governor (1922-1926: Trinkle), Executive Papers, Acc. 21567b, State Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>66</sup> Houck, 81.

<sup>67</sup> Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas’s People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 221.

Virginia's Racial Integrity Law denied any Monacan decedents public claim as American Indians. Plecker began sending memorandums and lists to local doctors, registrars, clerks, school superintendents and public health workers listing those of the Johns settlement who were scientifically able to show to have more than one-sixteenth "mulatto" blood as to block their admission to white facilities.<sup>68</sup> "In the Bear Mountain area, phenotypically white individuals lived there who wanted to be identified as White, and there were also phenotypic Indians who were proud of their Indian pedigree"<sup>69</sup> This attack on identity would later become the impetus for Monacans to begin to reclaim not only their corrected birth certificates, but their place as an Indigenous Virginia tribe.

The Racial Integrity Act was repealed in 1968 and struck down as unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Loving v. Loving*, but repercussions continued within the small community at Amherst County, Virginia causing many families to leave to avoid the difficulties of racial segregation and lack of economic opportunity. One Monacan elder I spoke with recalls:

My family would go into town, and I remember being with my Uncle, who looked white. We were going to town to see a movie and they would not allow us, my siblings and me, to enter through the front of the theatre and wanted us to go through the back. My Uncle they motioned to go in, but he refused saying that if his entire family couldn't enter through the front door then he wouldn't either. We were not allowed to attend the schools the white children did and were forced to go to the all-black schools.<sup>70</sup>

After the U.S. Supreme Court's decision on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, schools were desegregated and, though integration was threatened by Virginia's own initiative, it was the "beginning of the modern era for Monacan people, which began in 1963 and which permitted them access to public schooling and more awareness of the world outside of Amherst

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<sup>68</sup> Houck, 81.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Monacan elder, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., May 20, 2016.

County as a result, ultimately affecting their own beliefs and attitudes about their identity and culture.<sup>71</sup>

### *Conclusion of Background and History*

This section of the study serves as an overview of the history of the Monacan Indian Nation and the authors mentioned have provided more exhaustive research within their fields of study. The historic and cultural landscape of the MIN should be seen as an “indelible thread of red in the tapestry of the American people” states the late Thomasina Jordan, the first American Indian chair of the Virginia Council on Indians.<sup>72</sup> Jordan’s statement seems particularly applicable to the Monacan Indian Nation in that their thread of red is a journey of perseverance, resistance, and long-awaited recognition weaving succinctly within the landscape of Virginia’s rivers, streams, peaks, and valleys.

## **Chapter III: Current Monacan Literature Review**

### Introduction

This portion of the literature review will contain perspectives from current scholarly works by both Monacans and non-Monacans; interviews with perspectives by other Monacans will be contained in the analysis section. A brief review of historic literature from Speck and Herzog, Mooney, and Hale will also be included. Mention of notable ethnomusicologists such as Bruno Nettl and Tara Browner, whose work within First Nations communities have impacted my own perspectives, will be interwoven later in the study.

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<sup>71</sup> Wood, 76.

<sup>72</sup> Sandra F. Waugaman and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, *We’re Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories* (Richmond: Palari Publishing, 2000), 5.



Current literature examining contemporary and historic Monacan identity expression is sparse yet growing in publication. Recent publications such as Jeffrey L. Hantman's *Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People*, Peter Houck and Mintcy D. Maxham's *Indian Island*, and Sam Cook's *Monacans and Miners* point toward a new discourse on historic theory and contemporary identity within the Monacan Indian Nation. More importantly, scholarly works from the voices of Monacans themselves have come to the forefront by Karenne Wood, Diane Shields, Rosemary Clark Whitlock, and Jay Hansford Vest. Many Monacan voices of today are still contained within the oral tradition of culture bearers and story tellers and will be presented later in this study.

### *Archeology*

*Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People* (2018), combines University of Virginia archeology professor Jeffrey Hantman's decades of work in the fields of archaeology, ethnohistory, and anthropology to challenge the long-standing view that the Monacan people disappeared after colonization of the interior of Virginia. His work exposes the silencing of Monacan history as being a result of the "uncritical privileging of English colonial 'ethnography' and not disappearance."<sup>73</sup> Hantman states that "giving voice to a long-silenced Monacan history begins with a challenge to the lingering authority of colonial histories and colonial naming."<sup>74</sup> From the start he directs the reader to take a closer inspection of how documented dialogue between coastal tribal leaders, specifically Chief Powhatan, and early colonial leaders such as Captain John Smith and Christopher Newport drew upon not only the

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<sup>73</sup> Hantman, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 6.

colonists' assumptions about who the Monacans were, but also the relationships between

Algonquin speaking coastal tribes and the Siouan speaking Monacans:

It was John Smith that attached the term “barbarous” to the Monacan people he hardly knew. “Barbarous” carries many meanings in colonial rhetoric, but one is the failure to know how to maximize the productivity of land. This term stuck to reconstructions of Monacans in the past, but it was used in colonial writing frequently to refer to the Powhatans as well (Hantman 1990: 681; Sheehan 1980). “Barbarous” or “savage” were used interchangeably and universally to refer to indigenous non-Christians in the colonies. To seventeenth century Europeans the emphasis on what today is called sustainability but was then seen as a failure to maximize productivity was an affront to God’s very purpose for land and its inheritors. The failure to maximize also provided a convenient ideological and religious justification for colonial expansion (Gosden 2004). The long reach of colonial rhetoric and bias has been felt differentially in the centuries after they were produced.<sup>75</sup>

One of the main themes of Hantman’s work confirms that Monacan cultural continuity was sustained based upon thirteen Monacan burial mounds specific to the geographical areas of the Piedmont, Shenandoah, and Blue Ridge of Virginia’s interior.<sup>76</sup> Beginning with a more thorough investigation of Thomas Jefferson’s documentation of an Indian party revisiting a mound site, Hantman invites us to consider Jefferson’s report differently than previously held historic interpretations, “I believe that careful consideration of his evocative report of the visit of Indians to the mound opens new doors to understanding Monacan mortuary ritual and evidence for long term cultural continuity in the region.”<sup>77</sup> Hantman concludes that “the mounds were not all in use at the same time but gradually shifted in geographic focus from west to east”<sup>78</sup> suggesting that secondary burials were a continuous practice among the Monacans as indigenous geography was rapidly changing after the mid-seventeenth century.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 67.

“Ritualization of secondary burial and the continuing treatment and veneration of bones has the potential to change this to a history of persistence and change rather than one defined solely by colonialism and loss.”<sup>79</sup> This will have significant meaning later in this study.

Hantman continuously challenges the narrative that post-contact Monacan cultural holds less viability than traditional historic inquiry based upon physical documentation by colonists.

With very few exceptions, European colonizers and later historians and anthropologists acted and wrote as if no Indians were living in the Virginia Piedmont by the mid-eighteenth century. They confused the adoption of log cabin architecture in the middle eighteenth century for a change in identity, suggesting acculturation and disappearance. The assertion of varied tribal names in colonial documents— there were no more centralized chiefdoms in Virginia— may have suggested that the Monacans were no more. Local dispersal was a successful response to English colonization. It was not disappearance.<sup>80</sup>

In the final chapter, Hantman shares insights he gained through collaborations with the Monacan community. A main collaborative was his invitation to assist in the repatriation of ancestral remains taken from the mounds and previously displayed in the Valentine and Smithsonian museums. Hantman worked in partnership with Monacan Nation leaders and historians to provide proof to the Indigenous council of The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) that enabled the remains to be returned and repatriated to their ancestral Bear Mountain in Amherst County, Virginia. “The sanctioned return of remains from the mounds to the Monacans in Amherst County extends the historical connection from the earliest mound construction (ca. A.D. 1000) to the present day and acknowledges the geographic scale of the ancestral Monacan world. The mounds are the homes of the ancestors, and they embody Monacan history.”<sup>81</sup> Hantman’s final chapter is a personal glimpse into how indigenous approaches to archaeology, history, geography, and place, changed how he viewed “the

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 154.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 68.

relevance of the past to the present, the role of descendant communities, and the place of contemporary politics in affecting both the continuation and the invention, or reinvention, of traditions.”<sup>82</sup> I will continue to integrate some of these concepts from Hantman’s work as a part of this study’s methodology in Monacan non-material and material heritage arts continuum.

### *Local Ethnography*

Peter W. Houck and Mintey D. Maxham’s *Indian Island* (1993) preceded Hantman’s work by twenty-five years and is considered to be the first modern work written from an anthropological and ethnographic perspective about contemporary Monacan identity. Houck’s work began during his time as a physician in Lynchburg, Virginia just about thirty miles from the Bear Mountain community. As a family physician Houck began to take notice and interest in the Monacan community when the children of families he was treating were noticeably different in appearance. Houck states at the start of his work, “There are more cultural gems out there to be discovered about these kindred of the native Indian who have grown up in our midst and now are rapidly disappearing.”<sup>83</sup> This viewpoint leads Houck’s investigation throughout the work. I have included some of Houck and Maxham’s work in the previous section on Monacan history and as a result will focus more on the anthropological offerings of the work.

Where Hantman’s research focuses on linking historic documentation, archeology, and anthropology to reverse the long-held view that the Monacans disappearance was non-negotiable, Houck and Maxham’s work is more ethnographic in its approach showing the resiliency of the Monacan people in the face of social, political, and economic change during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Through the charting of genealogical lines in collaboration

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 186.

<sup>83</sup> Houck, vii.

with Monacan historians and interviews with members of the community Houck's approach to contemporary Monacan identity is historically based, qualitative and ethnographic. Noteworthy are chapters on early histories of Monacan interracial marriages and family records as early as the mid-1700's which emphasize the extensive social network of the Monacan Nation in Amherst county and throughout the state of Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland. Interviews with Monacan people spotlight the micro and macro struggles of the community leading up to state recognition. It should be noted that Houck and Maxham's work, as with the others mentioned in this section, are collaboratives with the Monacan community and the importance of this point cannot be understated. As a physician to Monacan families during the 1980s and 90s, perhaps Houck was positioned to be the first to do non-academic fieldwork within a collaborative and applied methodology within the Bear Mountain community, long before it would be an obvious requirement.

### *Anthropology*

Ethnomusicology is the anthropology of music, or music 'in' culture.<sup>84</sup> "...Anthropology and ethnomusicology grew up at almost precisely the same time, each influenced the other, although the impact of the former upon the latter was the greater"<sup>85</sup> This section of the literature review will focus on the anthropology and ethnomusicology studies of the Tutelo leading up to the twenty-first century Monacan Nation.

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century there is very little anthropological writing about the Monacan and Tutelo people outside of Smith, Jefferson, and Beverly's colonial documentation. In 1883 linguist and ethnographer, Horatio Hale's "The Tutelo Tribe and Language" was

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<sup>84</sup> Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 30.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

published and contained an interview with the last surviving Tutelo, Nikonha, who was residing among the Cayuga.<sup>86</sup> Hale's work documents at least one hundred Tutelo words taught to him by Nikonha and contains a comparative linguistic study with Dakota and Hidatsa words showing the unique similarities and confirming that "a comparison of its grammar and vocabulary with those of the western Dakota tongues has led to the inference that the Tutelo language was the older form of this common speech."<sup>87</sup> A decade later, Indian scholar James Mooney's, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, goes on to state that linguistic evidence indicates that the eastern tribes of the Siouan were established upon the Atlantic slope long before the western tribes of that region had reached the plains.<sup>88</sup> Anthropologist David Bushnell's "The Indian Grave" appeared in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1914 with this statement at the close of the article:

At present time there are living along the foot of the Blue Ridge, in Amherst County, a number of families who possess Indian features and other characteristics of Aborigines. Their language contains many Indian words; but as yet no study has been made of their language. While these people may represent the last remnants of various tribes, still it is highly probable that among them are living the last of the Monacan.<sup>89</sup>

Unfortunately, Bushnell did not visit the community to document these Indian words.

Contemporary Monacan linguist and anthropologist, Karenne Wood, identifies how Monacan language revitalization has been perceived over the past few decades and how it is currently being addressed in her work "The Language Ghost: Linguistic Heritage and Collective Identity Among the Monacan Indians of Central Virginia." Wood's work is an academic and personal journey through the concept of a language ghost which exists because of missing

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<sup>86</sup> Horatio Hale, "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21, no. 114 (1883): 8.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>88</sup> Mooney, James, "Siouan Tribes of the East," *Bureau of American Ethnology* no. 22 (1894): 6.

<sup>89</sup> David Bushnell, "The Indian Grave: A Monacan Site in Albemarle County, Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine* 23, no. 2 (1914): 112.

interlocutors that are a part of Monacan identity, such as elements of the natural geographical landscape.<sup>90</sup> “I have hypothesized that for many Monacan people, even today and despite the profound loss of cultural knowledge they have experienced, the natural world as perceived through their lived landscape is participatory, as it is for so many indigenous peoples.”<sup>91</sup> Wood suggests that contemporary Monacans express this language ghost through “now-invisible interlocutors, that constitute the Monacan language ghost.”<sup>92</sup> Later in this study, I will explore how contemporary Monacans bring expression to this language ghost through art forms.

*Monacans and Miners* (2000) is a comparative anthropological study by author and anthropology Professor Sam Cook and makes important contributions in the field of applied anthropology and ethnohistory. Cook uses the methodology of controlled comparison in his study of two Appalachian communities, the Bear Mountain Monacan community and the predominantly Scotch-Irish mining town of Wyoming County, West. Virginia.<sup>93</sup> He examines how the power dynamics of colonialism and situations of dependency has underpinned the economic and political oppression of these regions.<sup>94</sup> Cook also explores issues of insider and outsider relationship to these dynamics, especially as it pertains to the history of the visiting missionaries at St. Paul’s Mission school. Through interviews with Monacan people who attended St. Paul’s Church and Mission, and documentation by the first permanent missionary to stay and teach at the school, Arthur Gray, Cook looks at the practice of “Christianize and civilize” which was common during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>95</sup> Cook also points out that contrary to the common philosophy during this time, “the missionaries who came to Bear Mountain were among

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<sup>90</sup> Wood, 178.

<sup>91</sup> Wood, 183.

<sup>92</sup> Wood, 204.

<sup>93</sup> Cook, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Cook, 89.

the few non-Indians in Virginia who recognized the Monacans as Indians, not as “mixed-race” people.”<sup>96</sup> Though Cook is quick to point out the benevolence and good will of these early missionaries of St. Paul’s Mission school and the cooperation with many of the families in need of education for their children, he reminds the reader that despite the “sincere concern for an oppressed people, they still used methods entrenched in mainstream Western cultural biases.”<sup>97</sup> As previously mentioned, a further study of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Appalachian missiology is needed and limits assumptions for the purposes of this study. *Monacans and Miners* ends with a deep dive into important questions from the lens of a social science pedagogy, synthesizing the work. Cook raises questions such as “At what point did internal colonial structures emerge and how have they changed over time? Have the initial colonizers been supplanted/augmented by other agents?”<sup>98</sup> These questions from Cook’s works published in the *Society for Applied Anthropology* (2003) and *Collaborative Anthropologies* (2015) will no doubt be of influence on my own.

### *Monacan Authors and Scholars*

The collection of academic and narrative literature from Monacans themselves has gained momentum in the past few decades and individual works by Jay Hansford Vest, Karenne Wood, Diane Shields, and Rosemary Clark Whitlock stand out. Jay Hansford Vest’s work holds a magnifying glass to the period considered to be the largest diaspora of the Monacan Nation (1722). Vest utilizes investigative studies in historic documentation of southeastern Siouan speaking people and his own genealogy studies. The significance of his research offers an

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 263.



alternative viewpoint of the migrations of multiple bands of the Monacan Nation (Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi, Nahyssan) from Fort Christianna to the North, joining the Iroquois, or returning to the geographic boundaries of the Bear Mountain area of Amherst County and further into the Blue Ridge of Rockbridge County.<sup>99</sup> For the purposes of this study, I will pay most attention to Vest’s work which supports a continuum of Monacan oral history. In “Odyssey Among the Iroquois: A History of Tutelo relations in New York” Vest recounts a story from a collection by Onondaga/French American film scholar and writer Trevanian.<sup>100</sup> In the collection of short stories Trevanian shares an Onondaga tale that his mother told to him as a child called, “*How the Animals Got Their Voices*.”<sup>101</sup> Vest suggests that the story has an “unmistakable accord with the Tutelo creation narrative.”<sup>102</sup> and concludes the story’s oral transmission had Tutelo and Onondaga origins due to several conditions. First, Vest states the similarities from stories he heard as a child, and that the use of Cray fish and Buzzards used in the story are not found in Iroquoian creation narratives but are commonly found in southeastern Native traditions.<sup>103</sup> Vest references anthropologist Frank G. Speck’s visits to the Six Nations Ontario reserve and states that he was “assisted by Chief John Buck, an Onondaga-Tutelo mixed-blood who was fire-keeper at the Oshweken Longhouse” and therefore surmises that the story “may be an authentic survival, within creative license, of Tutelo culture.”<sup>104</sup> Vest also notes in his

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<sup>99</sup> Jay Hansford Vest, “Mormons and Indians in Central Virginia: J. Golden Kimball and the Mason Family’s Native American Origins,” *Journal of Mormon History* 3, vol. 40 (2014): 128. <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/24243806>

<sup>100</sup> Jay Hansford Vest, “An Odyssey among the Iroquois: A History of Tutelo Relations in New York,” *American Indian Quarterly*, no. 1 & 2, vol. 29 (2005):146-47, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.liberty.edu/article/185740>

<sup>101</sup> Trevanian, “How the Animals got their Voices” in *Hot Night in the City* (New York: St. Martins Press 2001), 101.

<sup>102</sup> Vest (2005), 146.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 147.

conclusions that the archetype of the trickster in Tutelo and Iroquoian stories is not the Coyote as it is in Trevanian's story, but is known as Bobtail.<sup>105</sup>

The academic and literary work of Monacan author and poet, the late Karenne Wood (2019) cannot be understated. In addition to the previously mentioned ethnographic and linguistic work of Wood, she has two collections of poetry - *Markings on Earth* (2001) and *Weaving the Boundary* (2016) and has written a state guide, "The Virginia Indian Heritage Trail." Wood's collections stand out not only as a significant Monacan work but places her as a prominent Native American poet.<sup>106</sup> Wood's work connects the past with the present such as in "Sky Woman" a modern creation story in which she borrows from Eastern Siouan archetypes such as the Great Turtle (Turtle Island), a frog, and a muskrat who all help to carry Sky Woman (Ataensic) who fell from the sky.<sup>107</sup> Wood's work contains poems honoring Native American veteran heroes such as Zhooniyah Ogitchida (Ojibwe) who stood up for the water protectors at the Pine Ridge pipeline protests in 2016 and Ira Hayes (Pima), the famous U.S. Marine pictured in the 1945 "Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima" statue. Wood also honors her own Monacan community such as in the poem, "Without Wings" dedicated to Mary Belvin Wade.<sup>108</sup> I will return to more of Wood's poetry later in this study.

A collaborative work from Wood, Jeffrey Hantman, and Diane Shields (Monacan historian), expounds on the importance of including and re-writing the narrative of Virginia

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<sup>105</sup> Jay Hansford Vest, "From Bobtail to Brer Rabbit: Native American Influences on Uncle Remus," *American Indian Quarterly*, no. 1, vol. 24, (2000): 101, <https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/docview/216854492>

<sup>106</sup> Wood's first book of poetry, *Markings on Earth*, won the North American Native Authors' First Book Award. In 2002, she was selected as Writer of the Year in Poetry by the Wordcraft Circle of Native Writers. Her poems have appeared in *The Kenyon Review*, *Orion*, *Shenandoah*, and in numerous other journals and anthologies.

<sup>107</sup> Karenne Wood, "Sky Woman" in *Weaving the Boundary* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2016) 34. <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/j.ctt19jcgks>

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

indigenous histories in, “How the Monacan Nation and archaeologists worked together to enrich our understanding of Virginia’s native peoples.”

Monacan history has been obscured by the biases and limited insights of colonial narratives, and, as a part of American history, has received far too little attention. Understanding the Jamestown era demands that we have a richer understanding of the native people of Virginia, both Powhatans and Monacans. Such understanding will come from moving beyond the written colonial record via analysis of archaeological data and inclusion of native people in the interpretation of their own cultural histories.<sup>109</sup>

Author and Monacan elder, Rosemary Clark Whitlock was the first to write an autobiographical ethnography of her people. “The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life” contains interviews conducted by Whitlock in 2008 with Monacans who are now considered elders or who have walked on. Whitlock was born in 1926 and now resides in Lancaster, South Carolina. Whitlock and her family left Amherst county early in her life and she returns to the annual Homecoming held in October to conduct the interviews and visit family and friends. The compilation of interviews has a heavy focus on individual Monacan members’ family history and experiences. Whitlock’s work reaffirms the oral history of many Monacan elders who express “to talk about being Indian was a taboo subject.”<sup>110</sup>

### *Ethnomusicology*

“The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony” (Speck and Herzog 1942) is the earliest documentation of what is considered part of Monacan music culture. The ethnography written by anthropologist Frank G. Speck with musical transcriptions by ethnomusicologist George Herzog. Although the

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<sup>109</sup> Jeffrey Hantman, Diane Shields, Karenne Wood, “Writing Collaborative History: How the Monacan Nation and archaeologists worked together to enrich our understanding of Virginia Native Peoples,” *Archeology* 53, no.5 (2000): 56.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=asu&AN=503711051&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

<sup>110</sup> Rosemary Clark Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 106, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/lib/liberty>

ceremony is Tutelo, it does have significance in the context of possible elements of early Monacan musical culture. It should be noted that in some of my conversations with members of the Monacan community, this ceremony and Speck's book are known but not considered to be a current Monacan practice.<sup>111</sup> The work gives emphasis to the transference of Tutelo religious rites and traditions as they became absorbed into the Six Nations during the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The study leaves an opening for further investigation into what Speck identifies as:

...” the idea of a protracted sojourn of the spirit of the deceased which is deeply embedded in the soul-philosophy of the entire southern region from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. Tutelo mortuary observances continue from the event of demise on through a period which may extend itself to a year. Similar conceptions occur in a cross section of creed and ritual throughout the area in question.”<sup>112</sup>

The practice was conducted at the request of the family of the deceased within the first year after their death and its purpose was to bring back their loved one's soul for one night.<sup>113</sup> By using a living representative, typically a close family friend, the person is adopted as the deceased so that a ceremony can be performed for their soul to be formally escorted into the afterlife.<sup>114</sup> The ritual remained with the Tutelo even as they themselves were adopted into the Six Nations and in this particular ethnology, the adoption ceremony is being performed at the request of the family of a woman of Cayuga-Onondaga descent who had previously been re-clothed earlier in her life as a living substitute for a deceased Tutelo.<sup>115</sup> It was customary for Cayuga tribal members and other members of Six Nations tribes such as the Iroquois living amongst the Tutelo to be adopted and re-clothed as substitutes.<sup>116</sup> In the Cayuga language the

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<sup>111</sup> Monacan men and women, interview by author, Amherst co., VA, November 21, 2020.

<sup>112</sup> Frank G. Speck and George Herzog, *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony: Reclothing the Living in the Name of the Dead* (PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1942), 6.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

ceremony is called, *odiyedahinahta*, or “Great Dressing” or “they are going to redress him.”<sup>117</sup>

Speck concludes that Tutelo tribal representation has been maintained in name among the Iroquois.<sup>118</sup>

It is important to mention that in 1942 Speck estimated that though the Tutelo were a minority among the Six Nations Cayuga they were still influential, about fifty Tutelo among the approximately six hundred adherents to the Long House faith.<sup>119</sup> “The creed of the Tutelo, whose residuum of culture is now extinct, is carried out by an attendance of approximately one hundred fifty participants of varied tribal identity who believe in the Spirit Adoption Ceremony – the “high mass” of Tutelo religion – a congregation about three times the size of that of its originators!”<sup>120</sup> For the purposes of this study, full and detailed examination of the Spirit Adoption Ceremony will not be included, however Speck and Herzog’s chapter on material furnishings and musical instruments required for the ceremony provides historic insight into various instrumentation used by Monacans today such as the water drum.

Gertrude P. Kurath’s, “The Tutelo Harvest Rites: A Musical and Choreographic Analysis” published in 1953 examined Tutelo musical structure in relation to its dance movements. At the time of the publication, Kurath broke new ground with her studies in methods of ethnic choreography and musicology suggesting that the harvest rites were uniquely Tutelo based on her study of scales, drum patterns, and mime and dance steps. Among her conclusions was that a dance style such as the pattern of the “Fish type” was a crossover with an Iroquois

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4. <sup>117</sup> Gertrude P Kurath, “The Tutelo Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing,” *Midwest Folklore* 4, no. 2 (1954):

<sup>118</sup> Speck, 10.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>120</sup> Speck, 3.

dance form and the “Tutelo step” is atypical.<sup>121</sup> Kurath makes an important statement in her work which relates to this study,

The sum total of forms gives several clues as to Tutelo culture: the importance of women, their share in food gathering and preparation of corn and unleavened bread, artistically a vigorous and precise, well-organized quality, a predilection for functional mime and for functional, repetitious, and unadorned designs, corresponding to the recovered artifacts. Traditions and facts indicate unostentatious, domestic ritualism, with dances accommodating their circular ground plans to the circular confines of the habitations.<sup>122</sup>

### *Southeastern and Eastern Woodland Powwow Region*

This section of the literature review will include a summary of literature on Southeastern Pow wow regions to assist in showing consistent continuity of Monacan Pow wow musical identity expression and heritage arts practices. This summary is by no means exhaustive in current Pow wow literature.

Out of the varied tribal dance and music traditions, the Pow wow, based on the evolution of Plains dance traditions, has emerged as the quintessential public American Indian cultural expression.<sup>123</sup> The Pow wow is a broad area of study among First Nations scholars such as Tara Browner, Clyde Ellis, Loretta Fowler, Chris Goertzen, and others. The Pow wow serves as a function of American Indian tribal sovereignty and can be studied from a cultural, socio-political, or identity negation vantage point. In the next section of this study, I will use some elements of the Monacan Pow wow to show how it functions as a continuous thread in the connection of past, present, and future Monacan heritage arts expression.

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<sup>121</sup> Kurath, 160.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 161.

<sup>123</sup> R.D. Theisz, “Putting Things in Order: The Discourse of Tradition,” in *PowWow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke E. Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 86.

On the heels of The Civil Rights Movement came the American Indian Movement (AIM). One of the many achievements of this movement was the strengthening of tribal sovereignty. The movement also sparked a rise of what sociologist Joane Nagel refers to as the “urban Indian”<sup>124</sup> “The number of Americans claiming American Indian heritage on the Federal census grew and this began the rise of the urban Indian.”<sup>125</sup> Many in the Monacan community began to feel safe publicly proclaiming their cultural identity and one of those ways of expression was to host a Pow wow.<sup>126</sup> At the suggestion and encouragement of the late Monacan leader and culture keeper, George Whitewolf, the Monacan Indian Nation hosted their first Pow wow in 1992.<sup>127</sup> The MIN grossed enough from the first four years of hosting the Pow wow that they were able to buy back some of their land at Bear Mountain producing a momentum for the tribe’s future endeavors.<sup>128</sup>

In a 2004 article in *Southern Anthropologist*, John Johns, and Karenne Wood (both Monacan) and Sam Cook explore the socio-political and economic implications of the Pow wow for the Monacan Indian Nation:

We contend that this Pow wow constitutes a political expression for the Monacan people, a celebration of survival as indigenous people not only in a state where Indian policy took the form of “documentary genocide” (Smith, 1992), but in a county where local power brokers managed to configure a local political economy in which Indians were integrated at the bottom of a virtual caste system. Considered in its community context, this gathering also constitutes a space where the Monacan people can articulate, on their own terms their existence as a contemporary indigenous people with a unique history.

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<sup>124</sup>Joane Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity,” *American Sociological Review* 60, no. 6 (1995): 948.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst co., VA., December 3, 2020.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

Understanding functions of Pow wow culture on unique tribal sovereignty in an everchanging landscape of what is called “Indianness” will be helpful in the next section of the study:

For Native Americans and Canadians, themselves, each Pow wow reflects the cultural specificity of a tribal nation a unique community, a particular ceremony. But for the different Native people who experience them, Pow wows express certain cultural similarities and a deeply felt and shared sense of “being Indian” that threads through the dichotomies used to analyze power and identity- belonging and exclusion, knowledge and ignorance, control, and resistance – all signified in the rhythm of the drum and the collective singing of seemingly wordless songs. In this site of cultural struggle over conflicting identities and competing ideologies, Natives, newcomers, performers, and spectators negotiate the meaning of Indianness<sup>129</sup>

The Pow wow supports a broader perspective on Indianness as well as individual tribal sovereignty. It is necessary to clearly define the inter-tribal tradition of the Pow wow as common practice to distinguish from what some anthropologists have considered Pan-Indianism. Pan-Indianism is an old term proposed by anthropologists for the resultant culture, though today it is usually called ‘intertribal’ by Pow wow participants.<sup>130</sup> The most accurate terminology would be processual, recognizing a dynamic among tribal, intertribal, and non-Indian influences.<sup>131</sup> The process by which Pow wows can be better understood resides in specific contexts, but is generally understood as being a vehicle of social and cultural change within the host community’s region.

In “Local Contexts of Pow wow Ritual” Loretta Fowler explains:

Pow wow ritual both creates a context for the expression of modern identities, values, and interpretations of the past and is a means by which social cooperation and emotional bonding occur. The Pow wow is used by participants to effect sociocultural change and to challenge the status quo, for in the context of Pow wow ritual, change is made culturally and socially acceptable.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Valaskakis, 152.

<sup>130</sup> Daniel J. Gelo, “Powwow Patter, Indian Emcee Discourse on Power and Identity”, in *PowWow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke E. Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 130, ProQuest Ebrary.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Loretta Fowler, “Local Contexts of Powwow Ritual”, in *PowWow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke E. Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 68, ProQuest Ebrary.



American Indian (Choctaw) music scholar Tara Browner suggests that the need for a bi-analytical approach to talking about Pow wow music among indigenous tribes is essential in understanding the music.

Indian musicians do not talk about song making in a densely analytical way, but then again, neither do most musicians outside of the academy. What Indian musicians do talk about is process, which involves personal (and sometimes tribal) history, tradition, and song function, and the immediacy of performance. With this in mind, for the past three years I have been working toward a bi-analytical methodology, incorporating, and privileging Native musical vocabulary and including narratives from Pow wow singers in tandem with scholarly literature and recording reviews.<sup>133</sup>

Browner emphasizes the importance of this approach in helping tribes maintain cultural sovereignty. “Ownership of non-material culture is crucial to North American Indians, who perceive the gradual erosion of cultural knowledge as the latest in a series of threats to their survival as distinct peoples.”<sup>134</sup> In my discussions with Pow wow organizers and leaders of the Monacan community a common point was that hosting the Pow wow enabled the community, Monacan or non-Monacan, to see and participate in the culture so that it would not be lost.<sup>135</sup>

Pow wows in the United States can be recognized by geographical locations which provide contextualization for a specific tribe(s) of that area. The Southeastern (Eastern Woodland) Pow wow region contains the Piedmont, Coastal Plains, and Blue Ridge areas of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and is associated with the Monacan Nation, Haliwa-Saponi, Lumbee, Tuscarora Nation, Mattaponi, Occaneechi Saponi, and Mattamuskeet, Chickahominy, and Nansemond.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Tara Browner, “Making and Singing Pow-Wow Songs: Text, Form, and the Significance of Culture-Based Analysis,” *Ethnomusicology* 44, no. 2 (2000): 214.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Monacan leaders, interview by author, Amherst co., VA. November-December 2020.

<sup>136</sup> Chris Goertzen, “Powwows and Identity on the Piedmont and Coastal Plains of North Carolina,” *Ethnomusicology* 45, no. 1 (2001): 63.

Chris Goertzen, professor of musicology at the University of Southern Mississippi, looks at how Pow wow practices such as inter-tribal song sharing within the Occaneechi-Saponi, Lumbee, and Haliwa-Saponi of North Carolina are given and transferred among members. Goertzen's work shows how these intertribal song adoptions create both separate and unified identity within these southeastern tribes. "The way the Occaneechi are building a local repertoire today, through modern gifts of songs from groups with whom they share a past as well as through creativity in which sharing looms large, is not so different from how the Haliwa-Saponi local repertoire came together."<sup>137</sup> The Occaneechi and Haliwa-Saponi are a closely related tribe to the Monacan Nation.<sup>138</sup>

Clyde Ellis, professor of history and geography at Elon University, in Elon, North Carolina has expanded research in the southeast North Carolina Pow wow culture with his work, "My Heart Jumps Happy When I...Hear That Music: Pow wow Singing and Indian Identities in Eastern North Carolina." The article expands upon how tribes of this region have used Pow wow song structure to recreate their own regional songs:

Like pow-wow culture itself, pow-wow singing in eastern North Carolina began as a tradition borrowed from the Plains tribes. Local influences and practices were present from the beginning, but generally speaking early pow-wow singing relied heavily on outside models. While those singing traditions were persuasive expressions of Native identity, their ability to speak directly to local contexts was inherently limited, and over time this became a source of frustration for many singers. By the 1980s and 1990s, however, an important transition occurred when singers began – in pow-wow parlance – to "make" songs using local tribal languages and speaking to local community perspectives.<sup>139</sup>

This 'making of songs' takes into consideration documented use of the Tutelo language in a memorial song composed by the Haliwa-Saponi drumming group *Stoney Creek*.<sup>140</sup> The song

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid, 80.

<sup>138</sup> Matt Latimer, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., December 9, 2020.

<sup>139</sup> Clyde Ellis, "My Heart Jumps When I...Hear That Music: Powwow Singing and Indian Identities in Eastern North Carolina," *Native South* no. 6 (2013): 2.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 13.

was distinct from the Plains style that is common in Eastern North Carolina Pow wows, yet the song's lyrics honored a specific person in their community and contained words from the Tutelo language.<sup>141</sup> Though the song was unmistakably done in a Northern Plains style, its context was clearly rooted in the Haliwa-Saponi community identity. The Tutelo language is also a shared value within the Monacan Indian Nation.<sup>142</sup>

Tara Browner, associate professor of Ethnomusicology and American Indian studies states that Pow wow songs are “detached from their original function and meaning and create a kind of portable Indian space, not really an extension of the powwow arena but instead an intensification of self.”

## **Chapter IV: Research Methodology**

### Theory

Alan Merriam describes the relevance of theory to method based upon the work of anthropologist Melville Herskovits.<sup>143</sup> Merriam's methods of ethnomusicology fieldwork were influenced by the work of anthropologists and is revealed through whether the fieldworker is simply gathering lists of traits or observing the cultural functioning of music.<sup>144</sup> The methodology used for this study is based on this theory - observing music as a function of the whole of the community. Merriam emphasizes that in this approach, the fieldworker should aim “to understand music in the context of human behavior, and that the field worker becomes almost automatically an anthropologist, for his concern is not more upon the recorded sample than it is upon much broader questions of the use and function of music, the role and status of musicians,

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>142</sup> Matt Latimer, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., December 9, 2020.

<sup>143</sup> Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 40.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 42.

the concepts which lie behind the music behavior, and other similar questions.”<sup>145</sup> Based on this theory of methodology I used a mixed methods approach to data gathering and analyzed it based upon its interrelatedness to the whole of the Monacan community as well as to the specific individuals producing the songs, art, poems, dances, or heritage art.

### *Fieldwork Procedures*

Fieldwork is regarded as the most effective method for gathering data and most scholars agree that collaboration is a necessary tool that should apply to the needs and adhere to the sensitivities of the community of study. Applied ethnomusicological fieldwork involves a network of collaborators that can result in practical objectives for the community.<sup>146</sup> Seeger states:

We should not underestimate the necessity of utilizing both “pure” (useless) and “applied” (useful) ethnomusicology field work. What begins as research without a practical objective for the community (as distinct from the practical objective of completing a dissertation) may produce results that become important in practical ways years later. On the other hand, what begins as a practical project may, if it is documented and reflected upon, inform theoretical understanding in the future.<sup>147</sup>

I utilized the participant-observer method to build a network of collaborators that allowed connections to form during participatory events, interviews, and at church services, while also being able to observe from an etic perspective. As a regular song leader at St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church, I was able to collaborate on special hymns that had personal and important meaning to Monacan members which led to natural conversations about a variety of related

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Anthony Seeger, “Theories Forged in the Crucible of Action: The Joys, Dangers, and Potentials of Advocacy and Fieldwork,” in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2008), 283. ProQuest Ebrary.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

topics. Leading and participating in learning these songs and hymns fostered an applied collaborative approach to my fieldwork method, and later assisted my gathering of data during interviews. Michelle Kisliuk emphasizes how our participation in performance enhances our awareness as ethnomusicologists. “Because of our participation in performance, ethnomusicologists are especially aware that there is much one can only know by doing.”<sup>148</sup> Participating as a volunteer at the annual Monacan Pow wow and helping with practical aspects of church services and other cultural events was crucial to this awareness. Knowing through participation assisted in my analysis to identify characteristics of Monacan communication genres that reflect Monacan collective and individual identity.

The participant-observer method also includes social networking which enabled me to begin to frame what social scientists Berger and Luckmann call a “social stock” of knowledge.<sup>149</sup> This social stock of knowledge is described by Dennis Kelley as “the constructivist position that this collection of knowledge is gained primarily, if not exclusively, through social interaction and that meaning is both gained and reinforced within the communally-located semantic fields.”<sup>150</sup> Since constructivism refers to “the process by which the cognitive structures that shape our knowledge of the world evolve through the interaction of environment and subject”<sup>151</sup> the social interaction with the Monacan people provided a way to gain knowledge of their culture without formal interviews or direct questions.

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<sup>148</sup> Michelle Kisliuk, “(Un)doing Fieldwork: Sharing Songs, Sharing Lives” in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2008), 193. ProQuest Ebrary.

<sup>149</sup> Peter L. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966), 65.

<sup>150</sup> Dennis F. Kelley, “Ancient Traditions, Modern Constructions: Innovation, Continuity, and Spirituality on the Powwow Trail.” *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, 11, no. 33 (Winter 2012): 107-136.

<sup>151</sup> Oxford Reference, s.v. “constructivism” accessed October 20, 2021, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/>

### *Data Collection and Research Tools*

I began collecting data prior to fieldwork by investigating historic, archeological, and anthropological discourse about Monacan culture. Nettl states, “historic enquiry should be integrated into ethnomusicological studies.”<sup>152</sup> Gathering this data helped build a foundational understanding of the history and culture of the Monacan people and prepared me for the nuances of fieldwork. In addition to exploring these fields, I read writings by contemporary Native American thought leaders such as Vine Deloria, and pastors Richard Twiss (Lakota) and Steven Charleston (Choctaw). Although this list is not exhaustive, I wanted to gain a better understanding of contemporary Native American perspectives and beliefs, which helped me to frame my findings and challenge my own reflexivity. Richard Twiss explains:

As Native people, we are in between the worlds of yesterday and where we will be; between traditional worldviews and Western rationalism; between community and individuality; between spirituality and religion. We are not what we used to be, and we are still becoming what we are not yet. In this in-between time, we experience confusion, deep loss, fear, the unknown, searching and despair. In Native terms, “our circle is broken.” Our identity is constantly being stressed, reshaped, redefined, or altered as we regain our balance in the hegemonic, modernist world where we live as Indigenous peoples. This process of adaptation is now often referred to as “retraditionalization.”<sup>153</sup>

The data collection methods and tools used for this research assisted in gathering data during and after fieldwork. Qualitative data was gathered through written and recorded interviews and ethnography through exploratory investigation. LeCompte and Schensul state, “The conventions of ethnographic design call for exploratory investigation (participant

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<sup>152</sup> Bruno Nettl, “Historical Aspects of Ethnomusicology,” *American Anthropologist* 60, no. 3 (1958): 518.

<sup>153</sup> Richard Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys: A Native American Expression of the Jesus Way* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 65-66.

observation and open-ended interviewing).<sup>154</sup> During fieldwork my observations often resulted in informal interviews about specific topics related to Monacan music and communication genres, which LeCompte and Schensul further describe as an “elective investigation of targeted topics (semi structured observations and interviews).<sup>155</sup> Other methods of exploratory investigation in ethnographic design included “collection of data and artifacts related to cultural domains, and the collection of generalizable survey data on individuals and networks.”<sup>156</sup> The collection of data and artifacts related to cultural domains were obtained through interviews, and physical documents such as a song, a poem, videos, and photographs. More specific tools used for data collection were the iPhone voice record application for in-person interviews or song sharing, Zoom for online interviews, the RevCall application, as well as my personal camera for pictures used with consent. An application for musical notation, ScoreCloud, helped in the song transcriptions covered in the next section. Also used in data collection were charts, maps, and graphic models to organize the communicative arts genres categories (Appendix B).

### *Participants*

The participants in this study included enrolled members of the Monacan Indian Nation who attend St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church and who are active participants in the annual Pow wow and culture classes. Other participants included those who hold leadership positions on tribal council for the MIN. I started my research by attending the annual Monacan Pow wow, culture classes, and church services at St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church. Attending the Pow wow and culture classes allowed me to meet members of the MIN who are leaders in various

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<sup>154</sup> Margaret D. LeCompte and Jean J. Schensul, *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction* (California: AltaMira Press, 2010), 77. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

aspects of the Pow wow and culture class. Many of the attendees of the culture class had children or nieces and nephews who were preparing for the spring Pow wow by learning Monacan and Lakota traditions such as Plain's dance styles and the art of making regalia. Culture classes were conducted at the church's fellowship hall in Amherst county during the early spring, a few months from the weekend of the Pow wow in May. The culture classes and were lead and taught by Monacan culture bearer or wisdom keeper, Matt Latimer. "Gatekeepers are individuals who control access to a community, organization, group of people, or source of information"<sup>157</sup> Matt was a valuable source of information about Monacan history and tradition but did not control access to the community (I received permission to interview interested enrolled members from current Monacan Chief, Kenneth Branham and individual members of the MIN). George Whitewolf, a former Monacan leader and culture bearer who has walked on, mentored Matt. Both Kenneth and Matt were able to direct me to other MIN members who had knowledge in specific areas of Monacan tradition and culture. Through my attendance at St. Paul's, I was able to meet lay leader Brenda Garrison whose help was an important aspect of understanding how the church and the greater Monacan community interrelated. Brenda introduced me to many members of the community and became a good friend in the process. Brenda is also the sister of former Monacan Indian Nation Chief, Sharon Bryant, the first female chief of the Monacan Indian Nation. Sharon walked on in 2015, but her legacy reverberates throughout the community.

### *Analysis Procedures*

To organize and analyze the data collected for this study, I used a mixed-methods approach. The Artistic Communication Genre is a relatively new method of analysis in

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<sup>157</sup> Margaret D. LeCompte and Jean J. Schensul, *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction* (California: AltaMira Press, 2010), 21. ProQuest Ebook Central.



ethnomusicology designed by Brian Schrag and Kathleen Van Buren. Analyzing artistic communication genres allows the ethnomusicologist to view enactments of these genres from various lenses when considering how music functions within a community and as it relates to other artistic expressions, including but not limited to music.<sup>158</sup> Considering the loss of Monacan musical practices, I needed to consider a more inclusive and fluid approach to analysis. Using the categories of lenses and artistic genres would show how Monacan artistic communication genres and current Monacan musical practices inter-related. Schrag states that the conception of artistic communication genre analysis was built on what Ruth Stone referred to as a constellation of artistic communication in her work with the Kpelle.<sup>159</sup> Schrag and VanBuren define artistic communication genres as “a community’s category of artistry characterized by a unique set of formal characteristics, performance practices, and social meanings. It can draw on features from multiple artistic domains.”<sup>160</sup>

If we make the ethnomusicologist’s primary research object events containing enactments of artistic communication genres, I believe we will increase the profundity and replicability of ethnomusicological research. Anchoring our research and analyses in the visceral expressions of people keeps us close to reality as understood by local communities. Analyses that do not consider non-musical features when they exist in a genre are incomplete.<sup>161</sup>

Without considering the non-musical features of Monacan communication genres, the analysis would be incomplete.

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<sup>158</sup> Brian Schrag, “It was Never Just about the Music: How Artistic Communication Genres Could Liberate Ethnomusicology,” *International Journal of Traditional Arts*, Issue 2 (2018): 3, <https://tradartsjournal.org/index.php/ijta/article/view/19>

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Brian Schrag and Kathleen J. Van Buren, *Make Arts for a Better Life: A Guide for Working with Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 295. Google Books.

<sup>161</sup> Schrag, 3.

The basis for development of this analysis method comes from what Schrag states are six strategies that have helped ethnomusicologists understand traditions with non-musical features.<sup>162</sup> One of those strategies comes from a survey of arts related words from the 2017 International Council for Traditional Music’s World Congress. The chart below shows these arts related words as they relate to musical performance.<sup>163</sup>

music (alone)	136	dance (alone)	109	song	40
sound	38	music and dance	35	ethnomusicology	28
arts	24	performing arts	13	ethnochoreology	7
dance and music	7	folklore	3	poetry	2
drama	2	sports	2	story	1
ethnoarts	1	visuality	1	mask	1
ethnodramatology	0	architecture	0	proverb	0
food studies	0	ethnopoetics	0		

**Figure 1.2:** Arts-Related Words in ICTM’s 2017 World Congress Program (Schrag 2018).

Analyzing the data based upon these enactments of artistic communication genres became especially useful in the study when considering the Monacan Indian Nation’s music and heritage arts has experienced centuries of colonization. Merriam states that, “music influences language and language influences music.”<sup>164</sup> Gaps in the documentation of language or oral transmission of Monacan songs, dances, art, and stories resulted in an adaptation of their artistic communication genres and are important to consider as a part of the overall musicking within the community. Below is the diagram Schrag and VanBuren use to illustrate the process of analysis for identifying artistic communication genres within specific artistic event lenses.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>164</sup> Merriam, 208.



**Figure 1.3** Analyzing Enactments of artistic Communication Genres through Lenses (Schrag and Van Buren 2018:95)

This analysis method allowed me to funnel Monacan communicative arts genres into frequency of use (Figure 1.2) and overall function within the community (Figure 1.3). My choice in the use of these methods of analysis is based upon what Merriam states about ethnomusicology research, “the emphasis is upon music but not upon music divorced from its total context, the investigator attempts to emerge from his study with a broad and generally complete knowledge both of the culture and the music, as well as the way music fits into and is used within the wider context.”<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Merriam, 42.

## Chapter V: Analysis

### Event and Interview Data

#### *Event Analysis Data*

This chapter will provide the analysis of Monacan Communicative Arts Genres using Schrag and Van Buren's model. Ethnographic fieldwork notes and participant interview data from four Monacan Indian Nation events will be examined to show the unique characteristics of Monacan communicative arts genres and how Monacan ethnic identity inter-relates to these characteristics. In addition, reflections on how Monacan communication artists are decolonizing their ethnic identity through specific genres and how it is revealed through a twenty-first century Monacan lens will also be examined.

Schrag defines an event as “something that occurs in a particular place and time, related to larger sociocultural patterns of a community. It is divisible into shorter time segments. An artistic event contains at least one enactment of a genre.”<sup>166</sup> Each of the four events will be examined using the one lens from each of the categories (first glance, artistic event, artistic domain, and cultural domain, see Figure 1.3). The lenses act as a metaphorical idea to guide arts research.

In physical terms, a lens is a piece of glass that has been polished or otherwise changed in a way that alters any light coming through it. Depending on its maker's goal, someone who looks through a lens at an object may see that object as closer, farther, or perhaps with one color intensified. A lens, then, is a way of looking at something to make one of its aspects clearer.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Schrag, Brian and Krabill, James, eds. 2012. *Creating Local Arts Together : A Manual to Help Communities to Reach Their Kingdom Goals*. Pasadena: William Carey Publishing. Accessed December 16, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, 70.

The accompanying charts will provide a visual of the categorization of the chosen lens as per event. The limitations of this study as an overview of Monacan Communicative Arts Genres resulted in the dominant analysis focus to be on one artistic domain lens from each event as it relates to one cultural domain lens.

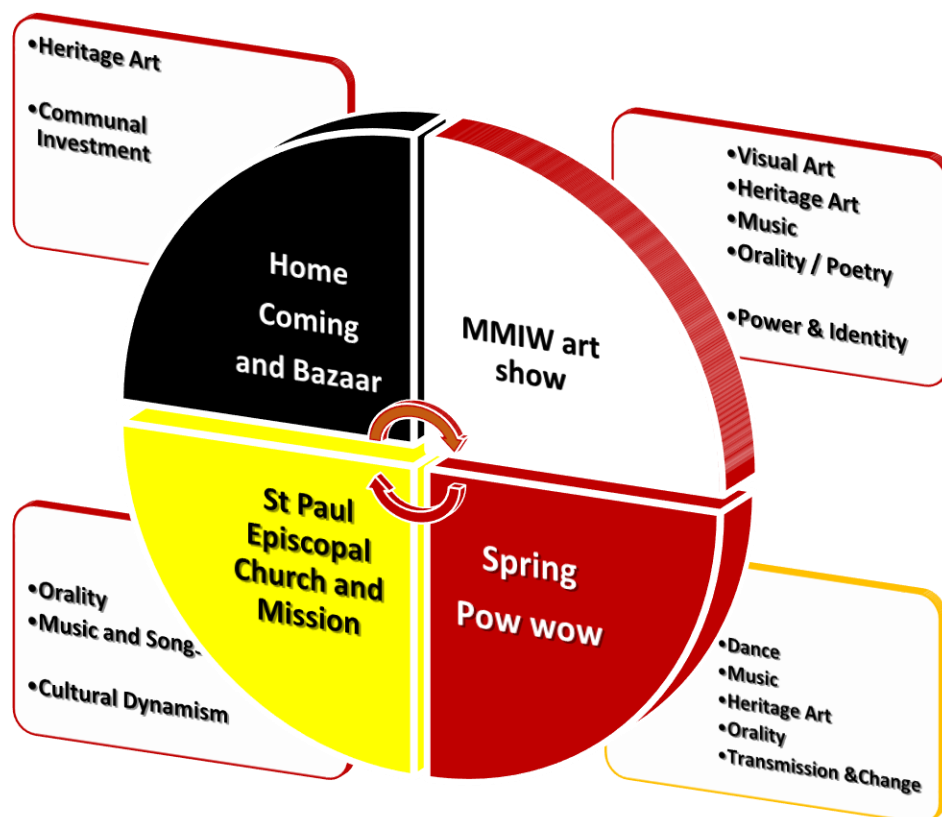
Evaluation of the data using this model shows a continuum of artistic communicative arts genres that can be further understood by reflecting on Indigenous concepts of the inter-relatedness of natural cycles of the four seasons and four directions. John Mohawk, Haudenosaunee scholar and author states, “The Indian sense of natural law is that nature informs us, and it is our obligation to read nature as you would a book, to feel nature as you would a poem, to be part of that and step into its cycles as much as you can.”<sup>168</sup> Figure 1.4 displays the construct of a Lakota Medicine Wheel to assist in understanding how these events can be understood as described within this cycle of natural law that John Mohawk describes. A further explanation of the Medicine Wheel can be found in the glossary and reference section of the Appendix.

The four events are:

1. Annual Monacan Indian Nation Pow wow
2. St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church Sunday Worship Service
3. St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church Homecoming and Bazaar
4. Monacan Community Arts for Awareness Show

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<sup>168</sup> Marchand, Michael E., et al. *The Medicine Wheel: Environmental Decision-Making Process of Indigenous Peoples*, Michigan State University Press, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central,



**Figure 1.4** Four Monacan Events and their Artistic Communication Genres.

### *Monacan Indian Nation Pow wow*

The Monacan Indian Nation Pow wow was recognized by most interviewees as the largest and most public facing event hosted by the tribe. Interviewees such as Vickie Ferguson, Monacan cultural educator and wisdom keeper, frequently reminded me to be “cautious in identifying the Pow wow as single Monacan event, but rather that we choose to participate in its structure as an evolution of Pow wows in a Pan Indian way.”<sup>169</sup> Cook, Woods, and John’s state, “this now-integral event based on Plains cultural forms must not be seen as a wholesale cultural

<sup>169</sup> Vickie Ferguson, interview by author, Zoom, April 16, 2021.

appropriation, but rather, as a means of expressing the Monacan community’s relationship with the rest of the world.”<sup>170</sup> It is generally understood that the Pow wow circuit includes a larger outreach that includes a wide reach of American Indian tribes and features professional dancers and drum groups for competition. Local and regional Pow wows share this common structure, but have elements that are unique to their community and tribe.

For almost thirty years, the MIN has developed a successful Pow wow which includes all the artistic domain lenses, yet the most prominent one shared in the analysis of the interview data was dance. Using dance as the prominent artistic domain lens we can get a sharper focus on how the cultural domain of transmission and change is manifested as a unique characteristic of this Monacan communicative arts genre. Most of the Pow wow participants interviewed began dancing at the Pow wow at early ages (5 – 16 years old)<sup>171</sup>. When asked about the transmission of learning various Pow wow dances, Chief Kenneth Branham recalls, “During the early days of our Pow wow it was not unusual to see our kids’ making friends at the vendor booths with kids from other tribes in Virginia or North Carolina. You could see the kids from other tribes teaching our kids how to dance.”<sup>172</sup>

Matt Latimer shared that he danced in his early twenties and learned men’s northern traditional from his mentor, the late and former Assistant Chief, George Whitewolf.<sup>173</sup>

I grew up in ceremonies and that’s the place that I really went to grow spiritually and the dancing for me was always more of a way to stay strong mentally as an Indigenous person. People have said that Indian people live in two worlds, but I don’t believe that – I believe we live in one – in this one. You can live in it as an Indian person or not and that’s how I see that, the dancing helped me to do that – to help me keep my feet where they needed to be.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Woods, Cook, Johns, p. 2.

<sup>171</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>172</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst county, Va., December 3, 2020.

<sup>173</sup> Matt Latimer, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., December 9, 2020.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

George Whitewolf, a Monacan elder and mentor who came back to Amherst County to help his people regain their culture was mentioned in multiple interviews.<sup>175</sup> Whitewolf had spent time living with the Lakota people and eventually returned to the area to infuse the Monacan community with motivation and encouragement to develop and sustain their culture.<sup>176</sup> As previously mentioned in Karenne Wood's work, Tutelo and Lakota are considered sister languages and scholars like Horatio Hale have concluded that the maturation of their language is attributed to migration patterns of Siouan speaking people as they travelled through the Ohio Valley and to the regions we now recognize as homelands of the Southeastern Siouan people.<sup>177</sup> The relationship of these Siouan languages are considered by some Monacan people to be a substantiated reason for the use of some Lakota traditions.<sup>178</sup>

Lyndsey Gunter shares her experience growing up learning Pow wow dances and how it has impacted her Monacan identity.

I was about 6 years old when I started dancing. Carol Durham and her husband, O.L. would have us over to their house and they helped big groups of us kids learn the different dances. Carol would make our regalia. They taught us what we needed to do. It's not something my Mom grew up doing so she didn't know what to do. The first Monacan Pow wow I was in, I was in kindergarten, and I was terrified because of all the people so I didn't dance that year, but eventually I did fancy dance and then moved to jingle and back to fancy. I danced up until High School.<sup>179</sup>

I asked Lyndsey if learning the Pow wow dances growing up impacted how she viewed being Monacan.

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<sup>175</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Wood, 108.

<sup>178</sup> Wood, 111.

<sup>179</sup> Lyndsey Gunter, phone interview by author, Lynchburg, Va., July 26, 2021.



Our Monacan background wasn't something my Grandmother ever spoke about with me, I guess it was just a lot of hurt there, from experiences. With my Mom growing up, I think they were proud, but they didn't have a lot of background on their Monacan heritage. Now with my generation we can proudly share with our children. I try to explain to my boys that it's okay to be different and have this history that goes way back that not a lot of other people do and that we're in the process of trying to rediscover all those things.<sup>180</sup>

Vickie Ferguson shared her experience as a Northern women's traditional dancer. "We have seen more Eastern Woodland dances included in the Pow wows over the past three to four years – the male warrior's dance, the women's dance, there seems to be a resurgence in that. Men's and women's traditional would be the closest to an Eastern Woodland traditional dance. I dance a double step Northern which is like what the Eastern Woodland women would have danced."<sup>181</sup>

In Gertrude P. Krauth's 1953 study of the Tutelo Harvest Rites ceremony, she describes the "Tutelo step"<sup>182</sup>

The feminine style is usually characterized by tiny, prim motions, as in the side shuffle, enskanye, and back run. Usually, the knee flexes slightly with each impulse, although the posture remains erect. The Tutelo step is slightly larger, with mild torso inclination. The stride contrasts with the typical style by its length and the forward bend of the body.<sup>183</sup>

Teresa Pollak, who has been actively involved with the tribe's language and cultural revitalization touched on some of the Tutelo traditions. "Our culture was colonized for so long that it has disappeared. Portions of it have been documented (dance, song, language) but also portions are with other tribes up north where our people went, traveling north, and were accepted into those communities. We've talked about going and getting back those traditions, but we have to show an intent to do the right thing."<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Vickie Ferguson, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., April 16, 2021.

<sup>182</sup> Kurath, 156.

<sup>183</sup> Kurath, 158.

<sup>184</sup> Teresa Pollak, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., November 22, 2020.

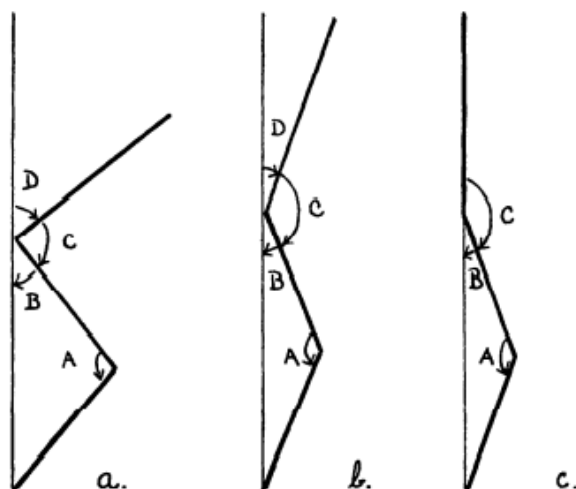
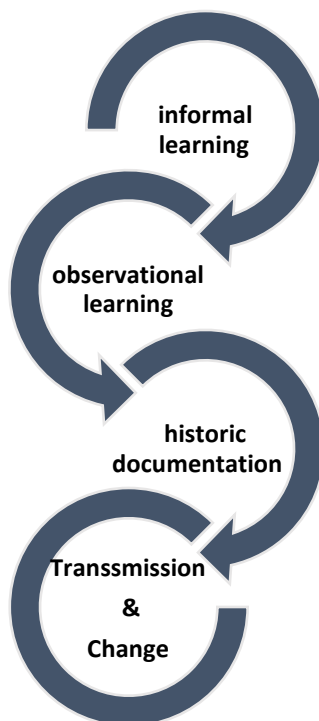


FIG. 11. Rudimentary silhouette of knee and torso angles in forward flexion: (a) Tutelo stride, (b) Tutelo step, (c) side shuffle. Enskänye step is slightly more erect and back run is little more flexed than (b). These represent only two of the many measurements involved in accurate choreographic analysis.

**Figure 1.5** Gertrude P. Kurath's choreographic analysis of the Tutelo step.<sup>185</sup>

Through the artistic domain lens of dance, the cultural lens of transmission and change is made clearer through the emergence informal learning, observational learning, and ethnographic documentation. Using the artistic communicative genre of dance, the cultural context lens of transmission and change was evident. Sharing Indigenous culture with the next generation and within the community at large was a common characteristic of Monacan arts genres and can be seen as having continuity through Pow wow dance.

<sup>185</sup> Kurath, 160.



**Figure 1.6** Representation of methods in a cycle leading to the cultural domain lens of transmission and change.

*St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church Sunday Worship Service*

St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church, originally known as Falling Creek, is a symbol of Monacan resiliency. When I interviewed Betty Hicks, she described this resiliency:

Do you know why the church is built where it is? It goes back to everything else - what the white man tells us - what we could and couldn't do. The piece of land our church sits on was nothing but rock. It didn't have the dirt on it that it does now. When we were trying to find a place where we could build our church, they gave that land to the Monacan people, and they thought we couldn't build anything on it. We fooled them.<sup>186</sup> Since its establishment in 1908, St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church has served as the

Monacan community's hub of spiritual and educational support, especially in the early years.

<sup>186</sup> Betty Hicks, interview by author, Amherst, Va., August 7, 2021.

Located only about a mile from Bear Mountain and the Monacan Ash Garden, it stands as a symbol of constancy amidst change. I often observed that it served as a place of meeting that holds familiarity and deep meaning for the Monacan community. Reflecting on the history of St. Paul's Mission Church, Karenne Wood states, "The mission provided a community center for the Monacan people, a place where they could be themselves without fear of racial persecution. It permitted the people to maintain their sense of themselves as separate from the surrounding community, because of their shared history and familial ties."<sup>187</sup>

One of those familiar ties that many of the older Monacans I interviewed shared were the consistent Sunday services at the church. Some who attended the Monacan Mission School prior to its closing in 1963 still remember attending chapel during their school day.<sup>188</sup> St. Paul's sits about thirty feet from the Mission School and was established at the time of the church by the Monacan people and the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. Most Monacans have fond memories of the church being a place where families grew up together and shared their lives. Bradley Branham, a younger generation Monacan recalls how active the church used to be when he was a child:

I'm only twenty-eight, but I've seen the church reduce in size. Growing up at the church, St Paul's on the weekend on Sundays – the whole church was full, every pew was full. If you look at the history of that, it was a home, that church and that schoolhouse was the only home and safe haven and vacation that people in our tribe really had. There wasn't a church choice for them growing up, you were going to that church and that school. Over time older people die off and the younger people advance a little more, they start moving out more and spreading out more, they are reaching for more opportunities and that makes the community there a little thinner.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Wood, 61.

<sup>188</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>189</sup> Bradley Branham, interview by author, Zoom, July 19, 2021.

Serving as a song leader during my fieldwork at St. Paul's Mission Church allowed me to fully utilize the participant-observer role in the music and flow of the service under the direction of Carol Durham (organist) and Brenda Garrison, a friend and longtime member of the church. Carol and Brenda were generous sources of information during the fieldwork, and we developed friendships. In addition, priests from the Episcopal Diocese would frequently visit and provided useful information regarding liturgy structure and the history of the church there.

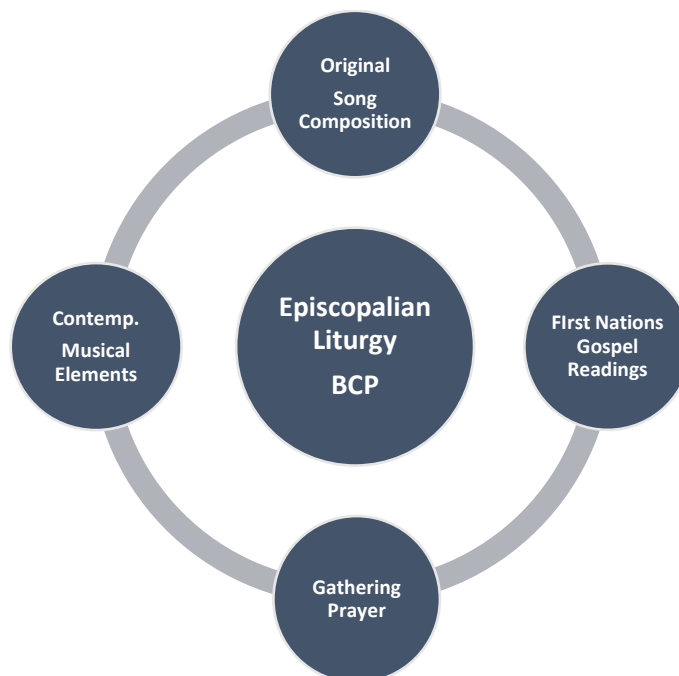
The predominant communicative artistic genre for this event was music and orality. I will show how Cultural Dynamism from the lenses model operates within the Monacan community church services at St. Paul's. As with the previous event and subsequent events in this section, full event profiles can be found in Appendix A. Schrag and Van Buren define why Cultural Dynamism is important.

Healthy communities maintain a mix of continuity and change. Artistic genres can feed into this vitality through interactions between their stable and malleable elements. Stable elements occur regularly in time and place and are tightly organized. More malleable elements are less predictable (perhaps marked by improvisation) and more loosely organized. Cultural dynamism happens when artists masterfully use the most malleable elements of their arts to invigorate the most stable.<sup>190</sup>

During my time at St. Paul's, I observed examples of how the stability of the liturgical structure based on The Book of Common Prayer remained stable, while malleable elements such as musical adjustments and orality changes were woven into the structure creating cultural dynamism. Figure 1.7 represents the stable element (Book of Common Prayer Liturgy) and its malleable elements (those circles following a moveable path around the center of the liturgical circle that represent the artistic communicative genres of music and orality).

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<sup>190</sup> Schrag and Krabill, 166.



**Figure 1.7** Cultural Dynamism

The framework for worship service at St. Paul's is The Book of Common Prayer (BCP). For the purposes of this event analysis, the order of service and liturgical calendar will not be fully examined, only a brief overview of the outline of the service will be included. There is a definitive beginning, middle, and end of the service which I have outlined below with accompanying notes as to whether the musical or orality enactment is stable(S) or malleable(M).

St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church Order of Service:

- (S) 9:55am – bell is rung calling all to enter
  - congregation seated, some chatter among members
  - Announcements are made
- (M) Monacan elder sings an original praise song acapella as congregation responds (call and response) song lyrics based on Psalm 103 (see Figure 1.8)
- (M) The Gathering Prayer found on the back of the bulletin is recited in unison
- (S) Opening Hymn (common instrumentation – organ)
- (S) Opening Sentences (BCP 355)
- (S) Collect for Purity (BCP 355)
- (M) Gloria (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost/Kyrie (Advent, Lent, Palm Sunday)
- (S) Collect of the Day Scripture/Collect appropriate for the day (BCP)
- (S) Readings from the Sunday Eucharistic Lectionary found on Scripture insert
- (S) First Lesson

- (M) Psalm – chanted
- (S) Second Lesson
- (M) Hymn
- (S) Proclamation of The Gospel – responses from BCP 357-358
- (M) Gospel Reading from First Nations Version
- (S) Sermon
- (M) Praise Songs
- (S) Nicene Creed (BCP 358)
- (S) Prayers of the People (BCP 392)
- (S) Confession (BCP 292)
- (S) Offertory Words
- (M) Hymn – presentation of the offering by ushers
- (S) The Lord’s Prayer (BCP 364)
- (S) Final Prayer of Thanksgiving (BCP 836)
- (S) The Peace (BCP 360)
- Dismissal
- (M) Closing Hymn
- (M) Final Prayer offered by a member of the congregation

During my initial visits to the church, I observed definitive ways in which Monacan culture was emerging and interwoven through visual symbols, songs, readings, and stories. Prior to opening prayers or recitations, the “Blessing Song” is sung as a call to worship and the accompanying response by the congregation contains a traditional hymn-like melodic pattern and was written by a Monacan elder making it a contemporary Monacan hymn (Figure 1.8). The Gathering Prayer<sup>191</sup> from the “Native American/Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian Liturgies is read following the “Blessing Song.” Brenda Garrison shared with me that her late sister, Sharon Bryant, had begun to incorporate the prayer in the services a few years prior to her passing as a step toward incorporating more Indian ways into the church.<sup>192</sup> “Without creative, malleable structures to infuse new energy into the stable structures, the stable structures will decay and dissipate.”<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Native American/Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian Liturgies, “The Gathering Prayer”, 76<sup>th</sup> General Convention of the Episcopal Church, Anaheim, CA. July 2009.

<sup>192</sup> Brenda Garrison interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. March 13, 2021.

<sup>193</sup> Schrag and Krabill, 166.

## The Gathering Prayer

Creator, we give you thanks for all you are  
 And all you bring to us for our visit within your creation.  
 In Jesus, you placed the Gospel in the Center of this  
 Sacred Circle through which all of creation is related.  
 You show us the way to live a generous and compassionate life.  
 Give us your strength to live together with respect and commitment  
 as we grow in your spirit,  
 For you are God, now and forever. Amen

## Blessing Song

based on Psalm 134

by Louise Branham

Adapted Monacan Hymn  
 Transcribed by: Gretchen Cline  
 as performed by Louise Branham

♩ = 75

B $\flat$  F B $\flat$  F F B $\flat$  B $\flat$  F

Come Bless the Lord All you servants of the Lord who stand by night

6 B $\flat$  F B $\flat$  B $\flat$  F Gm

in the house of the Lord Lift up your hands in the Holy - Place and

12 D Gm B $\flat$

Bless the Lord and Bless the Lord

**Figure 1.8** Adapted Monacan hymn

The main accompaniment for congregational singing is the organ, played by Carol Durham, who I quickly learned has been a stable part of St. Paul's service for over twenty years. Carol, now retired, was a music teacher and she and her late husband began to attend St. Paul's and became heavily involved with the Monacan community after living near Bear Mountain. As



I developed a relationship with Carol and the rest of the congregation, I was asked to help with the music. As a contemporary worship musician and singer, I knew it would be a challenge to adjust to playing traditional hymns with an organ, but I was reminded that the participant-observer method most often involves stepping out of our comfort zone. In the beginning I was able to utilize my classical violin training to play along with Carol as an instrumentalist during offertory songs, which eventually opened the door for me to introduce a more contemporary style using my acoustic guitar as accompaniment. This variation in accompaniment instruments can be seen as an example of stable (organ) verses malleable (guitar).

Monacan elder/song leader, Louise Branham sings gospel hymns acapella at most every service from an old gospel tune book. Listening to and discussing her song choices helped me to understand how traditional hymns and gospel songs fit into the lives of the members. Eventually I learned that most of them had a favorite hymn or song, and these functioned as links to the memories of family members, especially those who had walked on. “Doing fieldwork, we weave ourselves (or are woven by others) into the communities we study, becoming cultural actors in the very dramas of society we endeavor to understand, and vice versa.”<sup>194</sup> As I began to get to know the tastes and preferences of the congregation, I found out that many of them loved to sing and hear gospel hymns from their childhood. An exchange of a more malleable construct began to take shape as I began to bring my guitar as an accompaniment instrument for such hymns as “What a Friend We Have in Jesus”, “Just As I Am”, and “Amazing Grace.” Currently we are preparing to learn a version of “Amazing Grace” in the Lakota language, which as mentioned earlier, is closely related to the Tutelo language. Most of the time, the organ was not played while I accompanied congregational singing using my guitar as instrumentation.

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<sup>194</sup>Kay Kaufman Shelemay, “Historical Ethnomusicology”: Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History.” *Ethnomusicology*, 24, no. 2 (May 1980): 234.

Readings from the First Nations Version of the New Testament, “Walking the Good Road”<sup>195</sup> were introduced by Brenda Garrison during my time at St. Paul’s and followed the traditional Episcopal Gospel reading from the New Revised Standard Version. This malleable change in the genre of orality utilized storytelling, characteristic of Monacan communicative arts genres. For example, in Mark 16:19 describing Jesus’ Ascension, we hear:

When he was finished speaking to them, Creator Sets Free (Jesus), our great Chief and *Wisdomkeeper*, was taken up into the world above to sit down at the right hand of the Great Spirit – *the place of greatest honor, dignity, and power*. His followers then went out from there, far and wide, telling everyone the *Story of Creator’s Good Road*.<sup>196</sup>

This change in the genre of orality was made malleable within the stability of the gospel resulting in a cultural context lens of Cultural Dynamism. “Without stable undergirding, the creators in malleable forms will have no dependable reference points to anchor their creativity.”<sup>197</sup>

#### *St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church Homecoming and Bazaar*

Every Fall on the first Saturday of October, St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church hosts their Annual Homecoming and Bazaar event in cooperation with the MIN. Since 1967 St. Paul’s Homecoming and Bazaar has provided revenue needed for the operation of the church. An auction is also held which supports the scholarship fund for Monacan youth and the museum is open and makes its own money from sales.<sup>198</sup> The Homecoming and Bazaar is a time of celebration where family and friends come together to connect and rekindle relationships over

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<sup>195</sup>*Walking the Good Road: The Gospels and Acts with Ephesians: First Nations Version (FNV)* Great Thunder Publishing, November 2017.

<sup>196</sup>*Ibid*, 122.

<sup>197</sup> Schrag and Krabill, 166.

<sup>198</sup> Brenda Garrison interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. March 13, 2021.

food and social interaction while also supporting their community. Monacan and non-Monacan community members attend the event to socialize and purchase handmade traditional art such as quilts, baskets, pottery. It is not unusual to have jars of apple butter, various pickled items, breads, and cakes reserved for pick up along with extras for those who did not have an advanced order. The event is a type of marker that ends the busy season of summer and planting and opens the fall season of harvest and returning home (Homecoming). Many MIN members who have moved away from the area consider this event a type of reunion with their community, and like the Pow wow it is a time of gathering and re-connecting.<sup>199</sup>

The artistic communicative genre of art can be seen in every aspect of this event. For the necessity of this study, I will look at the event through the lens of Monacan quilting and basket making. Through this genre, the broader cultural context lens of communal investment can be seen as a function of Monacan heritage arts. “The amount of energy a community invests in different kinds of artistic activity varies widely. An assessment of the social, material, financial, and spiritual resources a community invests in an event provides important clues to its importance and influence.”<sup>200</sup> As I spoke with Monacan heritage artists, Bertie Branham and Betty Hicks, the communal investment for the Annual Homecoming and Bazaar was evident.

Monacan elder and basket artist, Bertie Branham, has been making baskets as long as she can remember<sup>201</sup> and her work can be purchased at the Monacan Museum, Pow wow, and Homecoming. Most everyone in the community has been positively influenced by Ms. Bertie and she is known for her dedication to not only basket making, but other Indigenous Southeastern Siouan traditions such as beading, gardening, and knowledge of the natural world

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<sup>199</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>200</sup> Schrag and Krabill, 171.

<sup>201</sup> Bertie Branham, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. November 21, 2020.

surrounding the area. I was able to talk with Bertie about her work as she was creating baskets at the museum. The Homecoming was cancelled that year due to the 2020 Pandemic, but the museum was open. As Ms. Bertie created a basket, she shared personal stories and practical ways early Monacans would have lived.<sup>202</sup> Every vine Ms. Bertie wove included a story. “At times, as a child you didn’t want anyone to know you were of Indian descent because of how you would be treated here. Some families of the area left to avoid difficulties.”<sup>203</sup>



**Figure 1.9** Ms. Bertie creating base of honeysuckle basket

As Ms. Bertie and I continued the conversation, flakes of honeysuckle vine fell to the ground. I asked Ms. Bertie how she learned to make baskets and how the early Monacans used them.

From my Grandmother and my Mother many years ago, it is something they always did. It’s something that you can very easily forget how to do it if you don’t do it often. We would use them for different things back then – store bread, fruit, seeds, whatever you want. Before Europeans came, they were used to store anything you needed to keep dry – beans, corn, squash, berries, nuts – whatever you needed to keep dry. Everything was

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

used for something, nothing was wasted. Clay pots and baskets – the early Monacans would put them over top of their bed – in a Wigwam – to dry them – the heat kept them dry – you would put your meat and veggies up on the racks in the wigwam cause all your smoke would gather at the top and it would cure your meet and keep veggies dry - and no mice would go up there. It takes about three hours to collect the honeysuckle.<sup>204</sup>



**Figure 1.10** Ms. Bertie scraping honeysuckle vine

I asked Ms. Bertie where she finds her honeysuckle.

I find my honeysuckle in the woods around the edge of the fields, you can't get it out of a tree - it has to be the runners on the ground. If you don't use the runners off the ground, they will be too brittle and will break on you. You have get them green. Then take your knife and scrape off the thin bark from the vine. The early Monacan people would have had a knife made of bone.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 1.11** Ms. Bertie's baskets

I remember growing up going to town with my Uncle, who looked whiter. We were going to town to see a movie and they would not allow us, my siblings and me, to enter through the front of the theatre and wanted us to go through the back. My Uncle they motioned to go in, but he refused saying that if his entire family couldn't enter through the front door then he wouldn't either. We were not allowed to attend the schools the white children did and were forced to go to the black schools. Most of us went to school at the Mission School run by the Episcopal Church. I was able to get an education, but my brothers worked in the orchards and tobacco fields to earn for our family and so did not attend school.

For as long as most in the community can remember, Betty Hicks has been creating quilts for the Homecoming raffle. Betty is also a Monacan elder and heritage artist whose quilts are an anticipated part of the Homecoming event. Growing up near Bear Mountain, Betty recalls how she learned to make quilts and baskets.

The Virginia state quilt consists of blocks. It takes 35 blocks altogether, 17 blocks (8 embroidered cardinal, 1 block is of the state of Virginia, and 8 flowers). I do all of that by hand, but when I put all the blocks together, I do that on the sewing machine, then put the backing on it and batting to put in the middle and top. I make quilts but I tack them. It's what we call tack, some call it ties (ties knots). My ancestors called it tacks. I learned

from my Grandmother and my Mother, they made them all the time. I watched them do that. They did it by hand. I do mine on a sewing machine. I'll have this one finished by the bazaar.<sup>206</sup>



**Figure 1.12** Betty Hicks' embroidered and quilted panels

I asked Betty if she thought about her Monacan heritage when she put together a quilt.

Not so much this one, but when I do ones that I take scrapes of all kinds of different material I think about it. But this design and this idea is from a white lady. I do think about how my Momma and Grandmother had to use everything. They never ever threw away anything. Many times, I saw them with clothes they couldn't mend or patch anymore, that's what they would put in their quilts for the batting. When I was a kid, my Momma took pieces of all kinds of different cloth to make me a coat and I could remember it so well and I thought it was so pretty. And the kids picked on me about it (3 girls older than me) I went home crying. Have you ever heard that song "Coat of Many Colors"?<sup>207</sup> I lived that; I lived that song. When I first heard it, I thought how did she know?

<sup>206</sup> Betty Hicks, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>207</sup> "Coat of Many Colors" is a song that charted in 1968 by Dolly Parton.



**Figure 1.13** Finished quilt by Betty Hicks

I just want these younger people to get educated and learn, because as I said we didn't have a lot of money growing up. My Momma and Daddy did not raise us to be lazy and they did not raise us to depend on somebody else, you had to learn to depend on yourself. That's why so much of our Monacan ways went away because my parents didn't teach us anything Indian, other than they wanted us to be able to take care of ourselves and that we knew we were Indian. They had to live in a white man's world, and they couldn't live in a white man's world and do what Indians are supposed to do and keep their culture. Maybe that's why they used to say we were Cherokee, because that was considered the "whitest" tribe and it would keep us from being mistreated. I guess sometimes when I think about it, I got so caught up in being white that I became white.<sup>208</sup>

Bertie Branham and Betty Hicks create their baskets and quilts not only to support the St. Paul's annual Homecoming, but also as a communal investment that is characteristic of Monacan heritage arts. People will leave their culture and one way or another they come back to it."<sup>209</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Betty Hicks, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>209</sup> Bertie Branham, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. November 21, 2020.



*Monacan Indian Nation Art Show*

The fourth and final event analysis is the Monacan Visual Arts Event. Held for the first time in August of 2021 at a local community art center (Madison House of the Arts), this event was organized by the next generation of Monacan artists. The intention behind the event was to bring awareness to MMIW (Missing Murdered Indigenous Women) through art created by Monacan women. MMIW is a national campaign by Indigenous tribes across the United States to educate and provide resources to the long-silenced issue of the human trafficking of indigenous women. “Human trafficking of women and girls is disproportionate within indigenous communities and Native American women suffer sexual assault at a much higher rate and with more serious consequences than any other racial or ethnic group in the United States.”<sup>210</sup> When asked what inspired her to participate and help organize the event, artist Carrie Pruitt states, “Hearing the news about indigenous children found in mass burials and the abuses to Native people, I wanted to help bring light to that situation. I am proud of who I am, and I am proud of being Monacan, but it took me a long time to get to that point. I was picked on a lot as a kid at school.”<sup>211</sup>

Red dresses were hung at the entrance of the event’s art space as a part of the Red Dress Project<sup>212</sup> The dresses symbolize indigenous women who have been murdered or who have not yet been found. Tables were set up displaying bead and leather work by local Monacan women, while photographs and paintings were hung in the gallery area. Most of the artists were also present at the event to talk about and sell their work. Jen Williams, bead artist and event organizer, creates purses, pouches, and other Native items out of leather.

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<sup>210</sup> Marie Quasius, “Native American Rape Victims: Desperately Seeking an Oliphant-Fix” *Minnesota Law Review*, 2009, p. 1903 <https://minnesotalawreview.org/article/note-native-american-rape-victimes-desperately-seeking-oliphant-fix/>

<sup>211</sup> Carrie Pruitt, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>212</sup> <https://www.jaimeblackartist.com/exhibitions/>

I just started picking up scrapes of leather and making stuff out of it. I don't like patterns, I just let the leather tell me what it wants to do and it turns into what it wants to be. I didn't get to grow up around my culture, I was out of state. If you said you were native – you would get “there's no natives, your lying, or you're not dark enough to be native,” and things like that. People have such a stereotype on natives that they expect to see this Hollywood version and unless you fit that stereotype, they think you're lying.<sup>213</sup>

Jen shared that she wanted the women in the MIN to come together for this event and share their artistry and bring awareness.<sup>214</sup> Visual artist, April Branham, is working on ideas for a mural for the Monacan Food Bank. “I want to do a big Native blanket on the outside wall of the Food Bank. The blanket would show how we're covering all our people, not just our people, but everyone in the community. We are all one and I think there are many ways to represent ourselves besides the common depiction of us in buckskins cooking or shucking corn.”<sup>215</sup> There was a sense that this new effort to stand and be heard as Monacan people, especially Monacan women artists, was a long-awaited collective effort. “Every dance step, song, story, proverb, hairstyle, piece of jewelry, and woven cloth is an act of identity affirmation. These affirmations relate to social power structures in different ways.”<sup>216</sup> As a participant-observer at this event, I was honored to read poems by Karenne Wood and a song by Sharon Bryant. The atmosphere was palpable and the cultural context of identity expression through art and orality in opposition to power structures was evident. “Artistic communication can affirm power structures, as with national anthems or royal pageantry. People can also use it to oppose power, as in early African American rap and Rastafarian reggae. In terms of visibility, art forms can be expressed publicly or in hidden ways.”

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<sup>213</sup> Jennifer Williams, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> April Branham, interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>216</sup> Schrag and Krabill, 167.

Below is a transcription of the song written by the late Sharon Bryant, known as Bear Woman by her tribe.<sup>217</sup> As previously mentioned, Sharon was the first female Chief of the Monacan Indian Nation and her strength and influence as an educator, artist, and protector of her tribe was expressed by many Monacan people I interviewed.<sup>218</sup> The song text reflects upon the injustices of land rights endured by her people in the Appalachian region. The first verse of the song shows a continuity of collective memory shared by many First Nations people who were subjected to constant relocation from their homelands. Bryant was active in the opposition to the construction of the Atlantic Coast Pipeline through Nelson County, Virginia specifically through an area known as the Norwood-Wingina Historic District, due to the locations of Monacan archaeological sites found there.”<sup>219</sup> The song was written in 1991, prior to her activism as a water protector. I asked several interviewees about the title of the song and got various answers such as “The Monacan Anthem”, “Sharon’s song”, or the “Land Song”<sup>220</sup> which accounts for the multiple titles. The song’s form is strophic (AAA) with a folk melody reminiscent of “Wayfaring Stranger.”

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<sup>217</sup> Brenda Garrison interview by author, Lynchburg, Va. March 13, 2021.

<sup>218</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>219</sup> <https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/water-protectors-fight-atlantic-coast-pipeline>

<sup>220</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021

## The Monacan Anthem

©1991 Chief Sharon R. Bryant

Monacan Land Song  
A protest song written by Sharon Bryant  
transcribed by Gretchen Cline

$\text{♩} = 120$

How ma - ny times will you take our land a way how ma ny times

till its your own How ma ny times will we have to move a way from the place

we call our home

You have always envied us our land  
Even though you gave us the worst.  
When the Creator drops his heavy hand  
Maybe you'll be the ones to go down first.

We have always wanted to be left alone  
And your ways we did not want to learn.  
But to beat you at your game of "all I own"  
To your schools we finally had to turn.

And now you think you have educated the savages  
But we forgot more than you'll ever know.  
Yes, it's true that the "white" disease ravages  
We pray for cleansing with the winter snow.

Please leave my people alone.  
You cheat us out of land you cannot own.  
This whole nation from sea to shining sea  
Is everyone's to roam and be free.

**Figure 1.14** The Monacan Anthem Song

## Chapter VI: Conclusion

### Summary

This study has reviewed Monacan communicative arts genres to consider how their unique characteristics are distinguished in Monacan ethnic identity. Backyard ethnomusicology had its unique advantages and challenges. At times the greatest challenge was managing fieldwork around family and other work, but the advantages were that there were very few language barriers or long-term travel involved. At times, the insider-outsider relationship was

blurred, and I often found myself feeling like I was just talking to my neighbors and at other times I wondered why I never knew the truth about this community whose culture was like a super imposed photograph nestled under a history of enculturation, colonial naming, and racism.

Based upon initial interviews with Monacan members and the history of racism written in misrepresented writings, I knew that my intentions would need to be clear; to be of service and not just another researcher. Nettl states in reference to his participant experiences within Native American communities, “they wished to avoid misinterpretation, and they wanted to know that I applied to their music those standards that I normally applied to my own.”<sup>221</sup> I also found this to be true in the Monacan community. During conversations and interviews, it was a consistent concern that collective Monacan identity not be misinterpreted.<sup>222</sup> I had to accept that some members were happy to share with me and others were more reluctant. There were Monacan Pow wow songs that I was unable to hear due to the Monacan drum group being inactive at the time of this research. There was a song that was shared with me in a group setting and sung in Tutelo. After talking with the singer about the function and use of the song in a repatriation ceremony, it was clear that to share it outside of that setting would be a dishonor to the Monacan people. Fieldwork did not always go as planned and I was challenged to see beyond surface enactments of artistic expressions. When Ms. Bertie wove her baskets, I could hear rhythms and tempos, melodies, and lyrics, telling of a time that was in some ways much simpler, but in other ways wrought with pain and rejection. Like the connecting vines circling Ms. Bertie’s baskets, we are all inter woven in some way with an indigenous culture. During my observations I found more than artistic expressions, I witnessed living history, oral stories, and the rebirth of new creations coming out of the Monacan Indian Nation.

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<sup>221</sup> Nettl, 156.

<sup>222</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

The balance of the participant-observer role was often decided for me, which allowed me to utilize my skills and time as was fitting to the needs of the community and St. Paul's Mission Church. My own ideas of how I might operate within this role was not always up to me. It was more of an assignment given that enabled me to participate, observe, collaborate, and serve. Leading songs at church services, teaching music at a summer Bible camp, teaching a guitar lesson, and playing requested songs for specific occasions were needs I was happy to meet. Non-musical roles played a part in the participant-observer role as well. Taking tickets at the Powwow entrance, painting the parish hall, or helping to clean up after events allowed me to develop friendships and talk with a variety of people in the community. Admittedly, I may have been a little overzealous in my approach in the beginning, and if it had not been for a few Monacan friends in the field (who no doubt had a few folks like me in their midst before), I would not have recognized the subtle nuances that a participant-observer role entailed. "We get to know other people by making ourselves known to them, and through them to know ourselves again, in a continuous cycle."<sup>223</sup>

My approach used mixed methods of fieldwork and ethnography, historic research, and communicative arts analysis. Schrag and Van Buren's lens model supported the need for a research design that would allow enough flexibility to explore a variety of artistic genres within a community whose music and arts traditions suffered loss due to centuries of colonization and are now continually being reinvented and revived. The Monacan people have studied their own history and they celebrate and honor their ancestors' resiliency through artistic expressions as unique to each individual as it is to the whole. A community's collective view of how a specific art genre enactment reflects their cultural values may sometimes be subjective. If we view the

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<sup>223</sup>Kisliuk, 20.

genre through a lens of cultural domains, that which is created, made, or performed becomes an expression that can help distinguish the unique characteristics and values of a culture.

### Conclusions

The intent of this work was to determine how Monacan cultural values could be recognized in the expression of specific communicative arts genres, including music but not limited to it, to better understand Monacan ethnic identity. The artistic genres that were expressed within the four cultural domain lenses of Transmission & Change, Cultural Dynamism, Communal Investment, and Identity & Power helped to identify three distinct features of Monacan culture.

A prominent characteristic of Monacan music, dance, songs, and heritage arts expressions were that they held little meaning to those who practiced them if they were not shared and taught to the next generation and used to create stronger communities (Communal Investment /Transmission & Change).

You can have the knowledge of all these things (referencing heritage arts and music traditions of his people), but if you don't have the community to go behind it then it doesn't mean anything – the music doesn't mean anything – if you don't have community then it just becomes a relic of the past. That's what we fought against being in other people's eyes forever and now too. Indian ways are Indian ways, they are not old ways, to me they don't have a time frame on them, they are our culture.<sup>224</sup>

A genuine concern was held by interviewees that continued teaching of musical practices of the Monacan Nation (drumming and songs), was an important aspect of strengthening community bonds. Former Chief Dean Branham stated in an interview, “We have to keep them involved (the kids). It's by keeping them involved that this drumming is kept alive, and it keeps

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<sup>224</sup> Matt Latimer, interview by author, Zoom, Amherst co., Va., December 9, 2020.

it going. I've often wondered what will happen if the younger ones don't step it up and keep it going?"<sup>225</sup>

The acknowledgement and use of place and geographic presence of Monacan land was also a consistent quality in Monacan artistic communicative genres. The Monacan Pow wow grounds, Bear Mountain, and the land where the church and museum are sustained were represented through songs, visual arts, dance, beading, and poetry. The cultural domain of Power and Identity was inextricably linked to land ownership by the tribe and can be seen as an act of decolonizing Monacan identity. During the time of my research, the MIN purchased a large tract of land in Amherst County near Bear Mountain and plans on how to develop the property are being discussed by the tribe.<sup>226</sup>

Chief Kenneth Branham, "More of our people and local people got involved in the preparation of the Pow wow when we moved it to Amherst, county – it became more of a community event. It also became a greater source of pride for us to have it back near our home. We were able to buy back some of our land after our earnings from the first few years of the Pow wow and that was a huge blessing for us."<sup>227</sup> Referencing her work as a bead artist at the Monacan museum near Bear Mountain, Lou Branham stated, "Working at the museum is like coming back home, it's always been a haven for me. When I faced problems, I would always come to the bridge and gather my thoughts."<sup>228</sup> The tribe's development of places where their ancestors lived can be seen as further solidifying Monacan identity and power. Tewa scholar, Gregory Cajete

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<sup>225</sup> Dean Branham, interview by author, Amherst co., Va. April 30, 2016.

<sup>226</sup> Herbert Hicks, interview by author, Amherst, co. Va. August 7, 2021.

<sup>227</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. December 03, 2020.

<sup>228</sup> Lou Branham, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. August 04, 2021.



states, “the life of the indigenous community is mutually reciprocal and interdependent with the living communities of the surrounding natural environment.”<sup>229</sup>

A third recognizable characteristic of Monacan cultural values and ethnic identity as expressed within the genres is the unanimity with collective First Nations communities. Issues such as land rights, community activism, and the repatriation of ancestral remains and artifacts were shared values among the Monacan artists interviewed. Songs, visual art, and orality can be viewed as expressions of kinship to the whole of issues facing other Native American communities. “Given the Monacans' unique and turbulent history in their dealings with non-Indians, there is certainly a degree of collective comfort to be found in relating to other indigenous groups whose historical experiences have been comparable.”<sup>230</sup>

### Recommendations

This study was an overview of Monacan communicative arts genres as they were expressed at four Monacan cultural events. Monacan Indian Nation communicative art genres and cultural domains should be further explored to complete a broader ethnomusicology study. The demographic of Monacans least recognized in this study are those who are not living in the Amherst county area. Additionally, not all Monacans attended all events or St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and Mission. A study including these demographics would provide a more complete picture of Monacan artistic communicative genres and their impact on collective identity.

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<sup>229</sup> Donna Elder, Gregory Cajete, and Natural Child Project. 2010. *Life Lessons through Storytelling: Children's Exploration of Ethics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Accessed December 5, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>230</sup> Cook, Johns, and Wood, 12.

Federal recognition of the Monacan Indian Nation (2018) has greatly impacted the tribe's daily functions and goals.<sup>231</sup> Interviewees agreed that the tribe's fight for federal recognition has had a positive impact. They also shared that more administrative functions and responsibilities required a greater investment of time and resources.<sup>232</sup> Data showed that many of the older generation of Monacans had concerns about how to help empower the next generation to continue to shape and define what it means to be Monacan.<sup>233</sup> A study on how Monacan youth communicative art genres have been enhanced since federal recognition would help to identify ways to prevent further culture and language loss.

Tutelo and Lakota language studies would be beneficial as language loss is a shared concern among many Monacans and other Southeastern Siouan tribes.<sup>234</sup> A study that would consider how Monacan communicative arts genres can act as cultural interlocutors, such as Wood's study considered a Monacan language ghost being present through cultural interlocutors such as ancestral land,<sup>235</sup> could support efforts toward language revitalization. A language revitalization program has been developing within the Monacan Indian Nation and sister tribes such as the Haliwa-Saponi have begun to prioritize language studies.<sup>236</sup> Many Monacan artists shared that creating within their artistic genre helped them to express and reconcile past hurt caused by racism inflicted on family members or themselves and that it was important for people to know and understand this.<sup>237</sup> The reconciliation of Monacan language using artistic communicative genres could aid in healing collective trauma.

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<sup>231</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. December 03, 2020.

<sup>232</sup> Chief Kenneth Branham, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. December 03, 2020.

<sup>233</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>234</sup> Diane Shields, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. November 21, 2020.

<sup>235</sup> Wood, 183.

<sup>236</sup> Diane Shields, interview by author, Amherst, co., Va. November 21, 2020.

<sup>237</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

A final consideration would be to examine how St. Paul's Mission Church has contributed to the stability or instability of Monacan identity expression from an Indigenous Christian worldview. This type of study would go far in building relationships with the younger generation of Monacans who do not regularly attend Sunday worship services at St. Paul's. Owanah Anderson, (Choctaw), states "it appears that there was an early recognition that the white man's education was essential to survival, and missionaries were welcomed, not so much for salvation of the soul, but for literacy in the language of the people who were infringing upon our homeland in a never-ending flow."<sup>238</sup> The establishment of St. Paul's Mission Church was a little over a century ago and current attendees are mostly elders of the MIN whose children and grandchildren live farther away. Greater efforts toward reciprocity with the next generation of Monacans would be essential to the survival of the church as attendance has become less over the years.<sup>239</sup> The need for the "white man's education" as Anderson states is now reversed and the need for an "indigenous education" is required for the church's growth.

My Grandparents and Great Grandparents never spoke a lot about being Monacan and I never heard them speak about being Native American. I think a lot of that was not necessarily fear, but more of a hardened take on culture. For them, you knew what you were, and you didn't need to explain or talk about it. They had been through so much pain- why would they? So, when we talk about art in our own tribe's history - the songs, the dances, the crafts, and the spiritual practices – those are still very fresh to us.<sup>240</sup>

This study in collective expressions of Monacan communicative arts genres has shown a cycle of continuity and resiliency within a community that has been peeling back the layers of assimilation and colonization for generations. Indigenous cultures who have endured the erosion of their language and cultural practices can seem to be living in two different worlds to an

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<sup>238</sup> Owanah Anderson, "400 Years Anglican/Episcopal Mission Among American Indians"

<sup>239</sup> Monacan interviews by author, Amherst co., Va., 2019 – 2021.

<sup>240</sup> Bradley Branham, interview by author, Zoom, July 19, 2021.

outsider. These enactments of artistic communicative genres weren't separate from the life of the Monacan people, but were like roads merging between the past, present, and future of their experiences as Monacan people.

Monacan heritage arts, songs, dances, and visual arts are expressions functioning as synchronous elements of both cultural revitalization and cycles of reinvention as a path forward. Exploring Monacan communicative arts began as a search for a single song and became a collage of many expressions, a hoop expanding that contains more than one direction home.

## Appendix A: Song Transcriptions

### Blessing Song

based on Psalm 134

by Louise Branham

Adapted Monacan Hymn  
Transcribed by: Gretchen Cline  
as performed by Louise Branham

$\text{♩} = 75$

Come Bless the Lord All you servants of the Lord who stand by night

in the house of the Lord Lift up your hands in the Holy - Place and

Bless the Lord and Bless the Lord

**Figure 1.8** “The Blessing Song”

(used by permission of Louise Branham, ©Louise Branham)

# The Monacan Anthem

©1991 Chief Sharon R. Bryant

Monacan Land Song  
A protest song written by Sharon Bryant  
transcribed by Gretchen Cline

$\text{♩} = 120$

How ma - ny times will you take our land a way how ma ny times  
till its your own How ma ny times will we have to move a way from the place  
we call our home

You have always envied us our land  
Even though you gave us the worst.  
When the Creator drops his heavy hand  
Maybe you'll be the ones to go down first.

We have always wanted to be left alone  
And your ways we did not want to learn.  
But to beat you at your game of "all I own"  
To your schools we finally had to turn.

And now you think you have educated the  
savages  
But we forgot more than you'll ever know.  
Yes, it's true that the "white" disease ravages  
We pray for cleansing with the winter snow.

Please leave my people alone.  
You cheat us out of land you cannot own.  
This whole nation from sea to shining sea  
Is everyone's to roam and be free.

**Figure 1.14** Monacan Anthem Song, ©1991 Chief Sharon R. Bryant  
(used by permission of the family of Sharon Bryant and the Monacan Indian Nation).

## Appendix B: Charts and Maps



**Figure 1.1** Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1624  
 Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA

music (alone)	136	dance (alone)	109	song	40
sound	38	music and dance	35	ethnomusicology	28
arts	24	performing arts	13	ethnochoreology	7
dance and music	7	folklore	3	poetry	2
drama	2	sports	2	story	1
ethnoarts	1	visuality	1	mask	1
ethnodramatology	0	architecture	0	proverb	0
food studies	0	ethnopoetics	0		

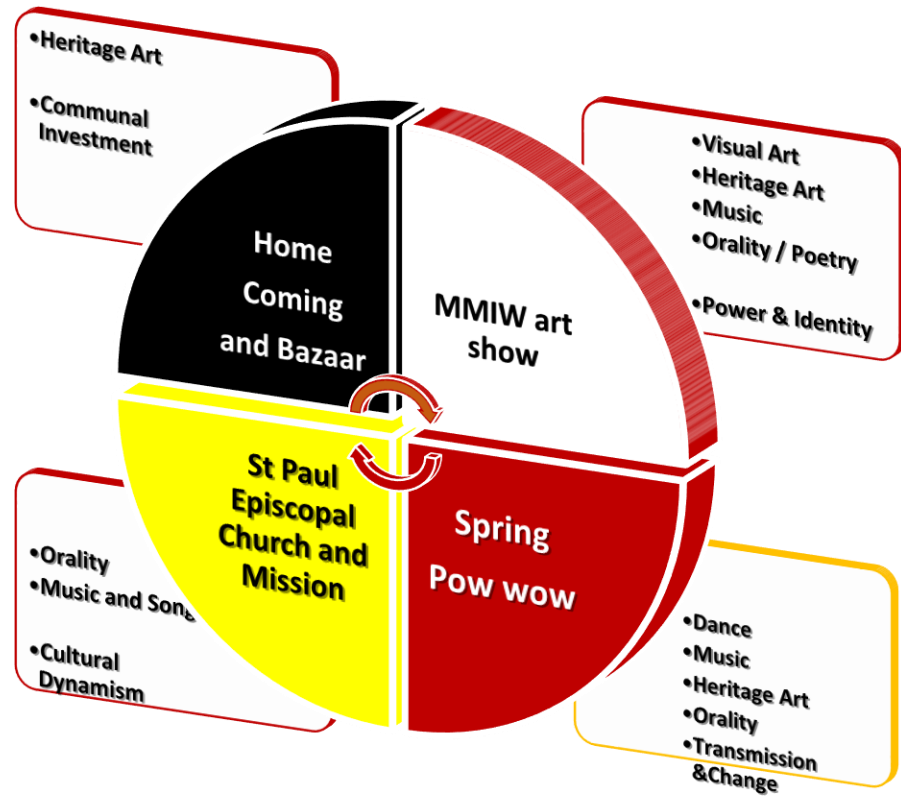
Figure 1.2: Arts-Related Words in ICTM's 2017 World Congress Program.

(Schrag2018). Image used by permission of Schrag and Van Buren.



**Figure 1.3** Analyzing Enactments of artistic Communication Genres through Lenses (Schrag and Van Buren 2018:95) Image used by permission of Schrag and Van Buren.





**Figure 1.4** Four Monacan Events and their Artistic Communication Genres. Image created by author.

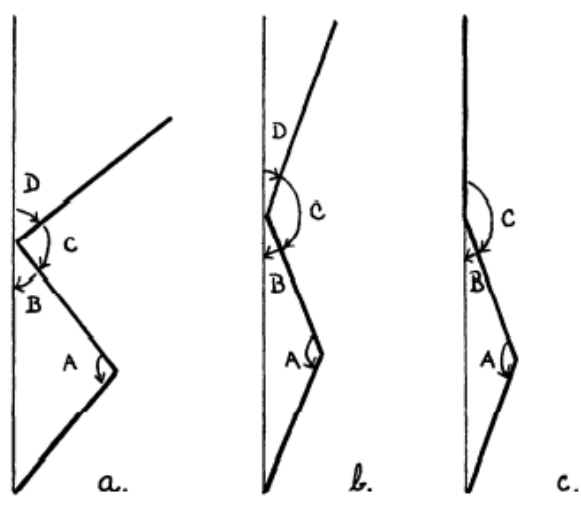


FIG. 11. Rudimentary silhouette of knee and torso angles in forward flexion: (a) Tutelo stride, (b) Tutelo step, (c) side shuffle. Enskänye step is slightly more erect and back run is little more flexed than (b). These represent only two of the many measurements involved in accurate choreographic analysis.

Figure 1.5 Gertrude P. Kurath's choreographic analysis of the Tutelo step.

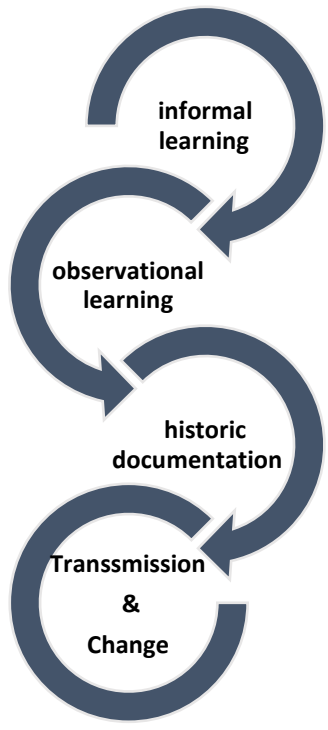
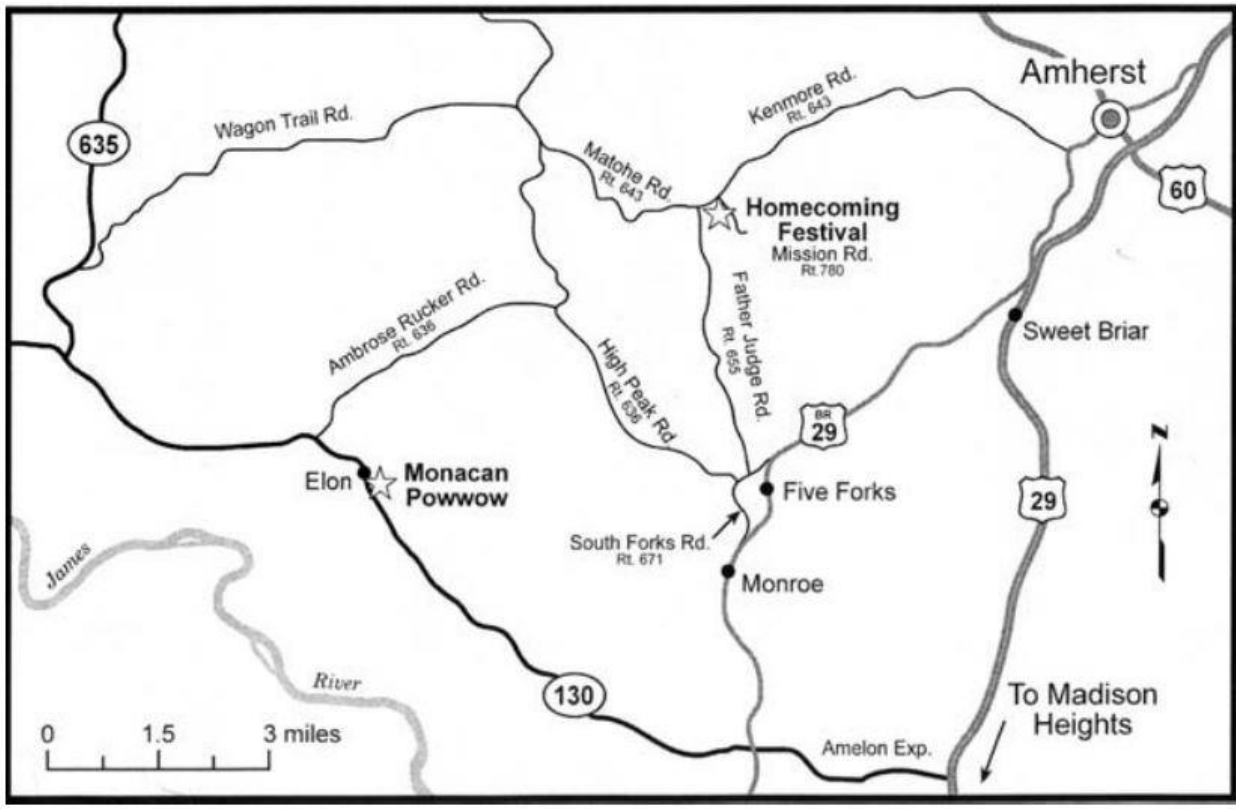


Figure 1.6 Representation of methods of **Transmission and Change** through Pow wow Dance. Image created by author.



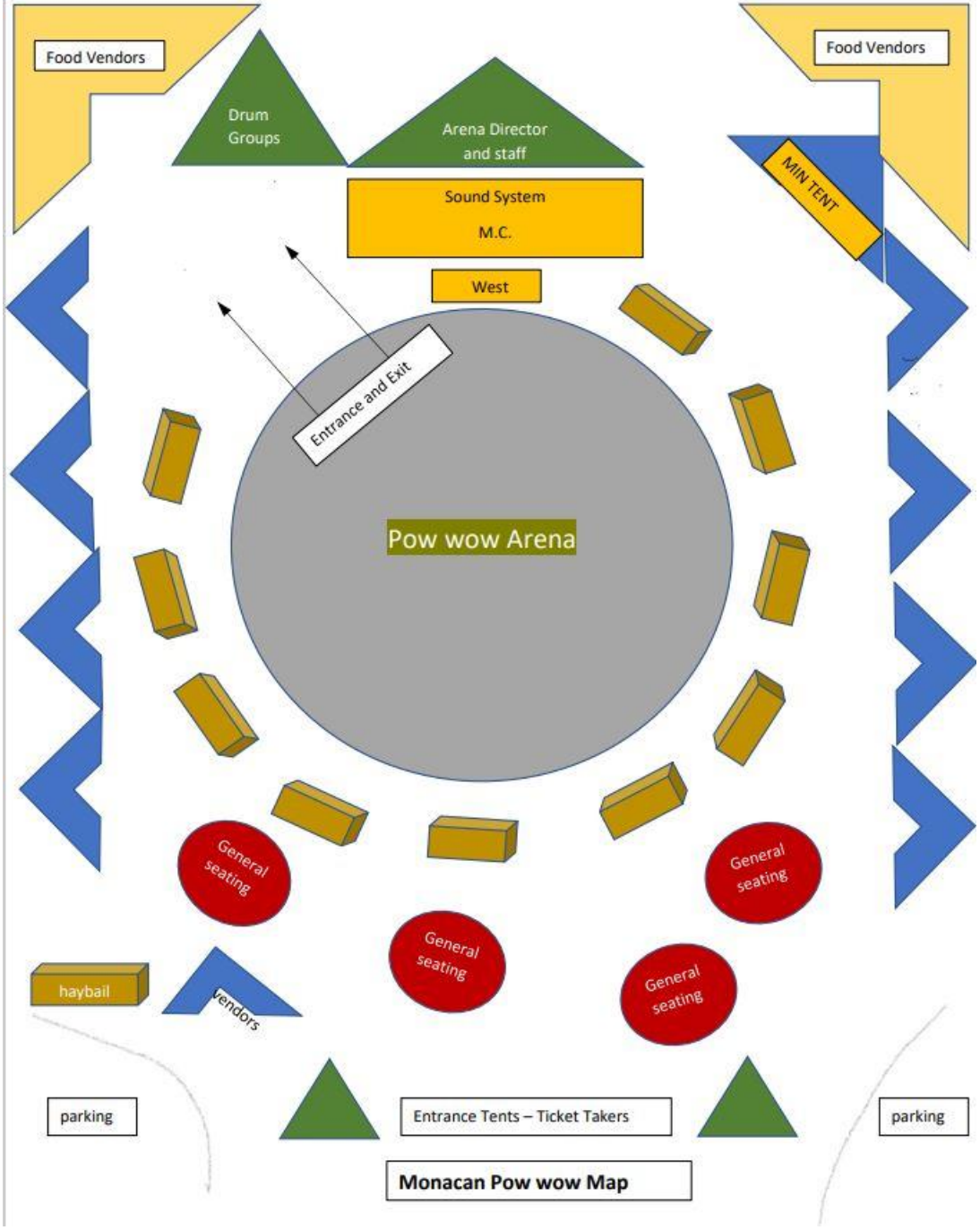
**Figure 1.7** Representation of **Cultural Dynamism** within stable and malleable genres of Music and Orality. Image created by author.



Frontispiece. Map of the Monacan region in Virginia.

**Figure 1.15** Map of Monacan Community at Bear Mountain

(From: *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia: The Drums of Life*. By Rosemary Whitlock)



**Figure 1.16** Map of Monacan Pow wow  
(author's ethnography notes)

**Appendix C: Photos**



**Figure 1.17** Road to Bear Mountain, photo by author.



**Figure 1.18** St. Paul's Episcopal Mission Church, photo by author (used by permission of St. Paul's Episcopal Church)



**Figure 1.19** Old Monacan School House, photo by author (used by permission of the Monacan Indian Nation)

**Appendix D: Community Event Profiles**



<b>Monacan Indian Nation Pow wow</b>
<p><b><i>First Glances:</i></b>            Dates and times: May 19 – 21 2019 (2020 and 2021 cancelled due to COVID)            Demographic data:            Open to public, all ages, family oriented, outdoors, celebratory, inter-tribal, food, vendors, large revenue, Pan-Indian, 1000s in attendance, multi-generational, large tribe participation, Monacan and non-Monacan volunteers and attendees.</p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Event Lens: Space</i></b>            Outdoor arena style circle approximately 40'X40' hoop where inter-tribal and competition dances are performed, single entrance located approx. 12' from the drum tent, at the south end of the circle was the M.C and Arena Director's area with (3) long rectangle tables with sound equipment, administrative paperwork, and chairs. To the right of this tent was the drum tent containing (3) drum groups with chairs and approximately 5' between each drum circle. The arena director appeared to be the prominent controller of the space. Entrance and exit from the circle were permitted only from the entrance about 10' from the top of the drum and M.C. tent area.</p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Domain Lens: Dance (Women's Traditional)</i></b>            Participant dancers enter through single entrance near the top of the circle (West) where the M.C., Arena Director, and Drum groups are located. Dancers move clockwise in the same direction following the circumference of the circle. There are various dance styles and categories: men's traditional, women's traditional, jingle dress, men's fancy, women's fancy, crow hop, and others. There are inter-tribal and specific dance segments. During inter-tribal segments everyone dances and the outer circle within the arena circle is typically used by women's traditional dancers, while the more inner circle is used for faster dancers such as men's fancy, women's fancy, jingle, etc. Regalia often reflects the dancer's category such as jingle. Understanding honor beats – Southern Women's traditional will bow to the Creator on the honor beat and Northern Women's traditional will raise their fans. Jingle dancers also raise their fans to the honor beats.</p>
<p><b><i>Cultural Domain Lens: Transmission &amp; Change</i></b></p>

<b>St. Paul Episcopal Mission Church Worship Service</b>
<p><i>First Glances:</i> <i>The main church and spiritual center of the Monacan community at Bear Mnt., established 1908 by the Monacan community with the help of the Reverend Arthur Gray and the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. Sunday worship service, funeral services, weddings.</i> <i>Predominantly used for Sunday morning services</i> <i>Sunday services begin at 10am – approx. 11:30am. Seats approx. 60 people.</i> <i>Traditional Episcopal liturgy, readings from The Book of Common Prayer and hymns sung from a traditional Episcopal hymnal. Ages mostly older.</i></p>
<p><i>Artistic Event Lens: Shape Through Time</i></p>
<p><i>Artistic Domain Lens: Music and Orality</i></p>
<p><i>Cultural Domain Lens: Cultural Dynamism</i></p>

<b>Fall Homecoming and Bazaar</b>
<p><b><i>First Glances:</i></b>  Held at St. Paul's Episcopal Mission and Church fellowship hall and grounds between hall and church. Outdoors and indoors. Outdoors – food, auction items, chairs, tables, parking. Indoors – food, canned goods for sale, tables with food, some indoor seating, but mostly outdoors. All ages, public access.</p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Event Lens: Participant Organization</i></b></p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Domain Lens: Heritage Arts</i></b></p>
<p><b><i>Cultural Domain Lens: Creativity</i></b></p>

<b>Monacan MMIW Awareness Art Show</b>
<p><b><i>First Glances:</i></b>  Held at local art space, Madison House of the Arts in Lynchburg, Va. Space is intended for art and music performances in a coffee house type of setting. Event was inner city outside of Amherst, co. Walk through event with music. Approx. 30 people can be in gallery at a time. Art, food, music, oral readings.</p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Event Lens: Content</i></b></p>
<p><b><i>Artistic Domain Lens: Visual and Oral Arts</i></b></p>
<p><b><i>Cultural Domain Lens: Identity and Power</i></b></p>

## Glossary of Terms

**American Indian Movement** – a movement which began in 1968 to address Native American socio-economic, political, and urban issues. Lead to the term “urban Indian.”

**Bear Mountain** – Tribal land and home place of the Monacan Nation in Amherst County, Virginia.

**Cayuga Nation** – The Cayuga Nation are part of the Iroquois that reside in the state of New York and Canada and are associated with the Monacan people during their assimilation into other tribes beginning around the 1800s.

**Haliwa-Saponi** – a sister tribe of the Monacan Nation who reside in the North Carolina counties of Halifax, Warren, Nash, and Franklin.

**Heterophonic** – multiple performers playing or singing the melody, but with their own interpretation and embellishments.

**Indian Removal Act** – Also known as The Trail of Tears. An act passed by President Andrew Jackson on May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1830 which authorized the government to grant lands west of the Mississippi in exchange for Indian lands within existing states. Some tribes went peacefully, some resisted relocation.

**Iroquois** – Largest Northeast Native American Confederacy, “League of Nations” consists of six tribes: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora – Monacans assimilated with during the late-seventeenth century.

**John’s settlement** – first Monacan settlement identified during the early 1800s.

**Medicine Wheel and Four Directions** – “The Medicine Wheel can be called a mental

construct. It orients us on a time-space continuum. The Wheel divides our world into different directions and applies specific meaning and significance to each direction. This directional orientation is achieved by simple observation of the natural world. The sun rises in the east and sets in the west. Regardless of where we sit on the globe there are four phases of the moon and typically four recognized seasons. These phases and seasons follow each other in a circular and sequential rotation, because of this, our personal medicine wheels are a reflection of our relationship to the natural circular evolution of the world.” <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/lib/liberty/reader.action?docID=5981494&query=Medicine+Wheel>

**Monacan Indian Nation (MIN)** – Federally recognized Eastern Woodland Indigenous tribe of the Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Central regions of the state of Virginia. Upon first contact with colonizers, the Monacan and Mannahoac tribes were arranged in a confederation ranging from the Roanoke River Valley to the Potomac River, and from the Fall Line at Richmond and Fredericksburg west through the Blue Ridge Mountains.

**Mulatto** – an ethnocentric word used predominantly during the 20<sup>th</sup> c. to describe indigenous/white/black mixed-race people.

**Pan-Indianism** - old term proposed by anthropologists for the resultant culture, though today it is usually called “intertribal” by powwow participants.

**Phenotype** - the observable characteristics or traits of an organism that are produced by the interaction of the genotype and environment.

**Pow-wow** - Algonquin term, "pauwau" or "pauau", which referred to a gathering of medicine men and spiritual leaders. Today a powwow is a gathering of American Indian communities and the public in which specific tribal dances, music, food, and art are shared in an atmosphere where culture, family, and friends gather and community bonds are strengthened.

**Racial Integrity Act** – A federal law passed in 1924 prohibiting inter-racial marriage.

**Song Blessing / Honor Song** – a shared American Indian value where songs are shared or given to honor someone.

**St. Paul’s Episcopal Mission Church at Bear Mountain**– location of the Episcopal church and Mission School established in 1908 where many Monacan children of Amherst, County Virginia went to school until desegregation. The mission school and museum are open to visitors, the church continues to hold services and is attended by a predominantly Monacan congregation.

**Tobacco Row** – location of Monacan land just below Bear Mountain where many Monacan lived and worked on orchards and farms.

**Tutelo** – the most common name used by the Iroquois and in colonial documents to describe Virginia and Carolina Siouan. The Tutelo language is considered closest to what the Monacan people would have spoken.

**Yesàng** – name the Monacans and Tutelo called themselves, meaning “the people” (Hale, 1883)

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