

The First Description of an Iroquoian People: Spaniards among the Tuscaroras before 1522

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Abstract

It is widely accepted that the first documented encounter between Europeans and the Iroquois occurred in 1534 when the French explorer Jacques Cartier encountered the Laurentians. The Iroquois, however, say that they had met Spaniards before the French arrived. A re-examination of a document pertaining to early Spanish explorations of North America in the context of the history of the League of the Iroquois shows that both the Western and Native views of history are correct.

The first documented voyage of discovery to the New World by a French explorer occurred in 1534 when Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River and laid claim to New France. Sometime between July 16 and July 25 of that year in a bay 12 to 18 leagues upriver from Cap de Pré, Cartier encountered people who spoke a Northern Iroquoian language (*Société littéraire et historique de Québec* 1843:15-16). As Mithun (1982) demonstrated, the two vocabularies of the language – known in the literature as Laurentian – actually contain a mixture of Huron-like, Mohawk-like, and Algonquian words.¹ Since the Mohawk were one of the Five Nations of the League of the Iroquois in the sixteenth century – the other four being the Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca, western scholars consider Cartier’s encounter with the Laurentians to have been the first meeting between Europeans and the Iroquois. However, the Iroquois tell a different story. At a ceremony confirming a treaty between the Six Nations – the expanded, eighteenth-century League of the Iroquois that also included the Tuscarora nation – and the Colony of Massachusetts on September 20, 1723, the speaker for the Confederate Chiefs stated that the first Europeans whom the League had met were Spaniards (*Council Meeting 1723, Six Nations 1723*). The Iroquois version of history seems at first implausible since there is no evidence that Spanish explorers ever made landfall as far north as Iroquois territory in present-day New York State. Nevertheless, early documentation of Spanish explorations of the New World show that, within the context of Iroquois history, the statement by the speaker for the Confederate Chiefs is correct.

Spaniards in the Carolinas prior to 1534

The expeditions through the Carolinas of such Spanish explorers as Hernando de Soto in 1544 and Juan Pardo in 1566 and 1567-1568 are well known and well documented in the scholarly literature (Clayton, Knight and Moore 1993; Hudson 1990). Much less has been written about the earlier explorations of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón, Francisco Gordillo, and Pedro de Quexos between 1521 and 1526, and of landfall in the area by other Spanish seafarers even before them. The most accessible documentation of these explorations for English speakers is a work prepared by John Gilmary Shea from original Spanish sources and first published in Winsor (1884-1889: 238-241). Reprinted with commentary by Swanton (1922:32-46; 1940:326-338), the document is generally referred to as the “Testimony of Francisco de Chicora.”

Swanton (1922:34) provides the following background to the Testimony. In 1520 Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón, an auditor of the Island of St. Domingo, financed an expedition under the command of Francisco Gordillo to locate a site on the mainland for a colony. While at sea, Gordillo met an expedition financed by a colleague of Ayllón's, Alonzo Fernandez Sotil, which was commanded by Pedro de Quexos. Quexos's mission was to capture Carib Indians as slaves in the Bahamas, but he had found none. Quexos joined Gordillo in his mission to sail to the mainland, but never lost sight of his own mission to find slaves.

Gordillo and Quexos made landfall in 1521 at a river that they named San Juan Bautista. There, they were well received by the local people. After Gordillo claimed the land for Ayllón, Quexos tricked about 70 individuals onto his boat and carted them off as slaves. News of Quexos' slave raid angered Ayllón since he wanted peaceful relations with the locals for his colony. A commission freed the slaves and ordered their return to the mainland, but due to the cost of the venture, they remained on St. Domingo. Meanwhile, Ayllón proceeded with his plan to settle the mainland, and a colony was established in 1524 but failed after only a few months.

One of the individuals enslaved at the Rio San Juan Bautista was baptized into the Catholic faith, learned Spanish, and was given the name Francisco de Chicora. He was hired to work in the household of Ayllón and accompanied him on a trip to Spain where he and Ayllón met and dined with Peter Martyr d'Anghiera. In the course of dinner conversations, Ayllón and Francisco provided Peter Martyr with a description of the territory that Gordillo and Quexos had visited, which Peter Martyr combined with information he had obtained from other sea captains in writing the Testimony (Swanton 1922:34).

The Testimony includes a number of non-Spanish words, twelve of which are names for places on the northern fringe of Spanish La Florida. Swanton (1922:37) provides a list of the names with the different spellings found in the various original sources for the Testimony. The list is reproduced in table 1. The names numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 19, and 22 are from the voyage of Gordillo and Quexos in 1521; the other names are from the records of the founding of the Ayllón colony in 1524.

As Swanton (1940:333) noted, most of the Testimony is a description of *Duharhe*. *Chicora* is mentioned only once in the opening sentence. However, Swanton's commentaries deal principally with this efforts to determine the location of the presumed homeland of Francisco - *Chicora*. The impetus for his research derived most likely from the fact that the name *Chicora* had gained some notoriety as a result of efforts by French Huguenot settlers at Port Royal to locate the place, which they spelled *Chiquola* (Laudonnière 1562:381). In any event although Swanton did a good job of identifying Winyah Bay as the most likely location where Gordillo and Quexos made landfall and captured Francisco de Chicora, he made little effort to locate *Duharhe*. His only statement on the issue was the following.

The ending of the word *Duharhe*, and various other terms, shows that we are dealing with tribes of the Catawba division of the Siouan stock. In the later historic period the region from which Francisco came was occupied by the Winyaw, Waccamaw, Pedee, Sewee, Sampit, and Santee Indians from which we have very scanty information (Swanton 1940:333).

Swanton's list of tribes indicates that he believed that *Chicora* and *Duharhe* encompassed the area bounded on the southwest by the Santee River, extending northward past the Pedee River at least as far as Lake Waccamaw, and stretching from the Atlantic Coast to the central piedmont

(Rudes, Blumer and May 2004:302, map). Not surprisingly, the area corresponds almost exactly to the territory covered by the word *Chicola*, another French rendition of the name *Chicora*, on maps from the settlement of Port Royal (e.g. the 1591 LeMoyne map in Cumming 1962:plate 15). The French never actually visited *Chicora*; in fact, there is little evidence that the French ventured outside the immediate vicinity of the colony at Port Royal during its brief existence. French knowledge of *Chicora* appears to have been derived entirely from hearsay, and the placement of the name *Chicola* on French maps was undoubtedly a surmise at best. The fact is that the Testimony offers no specific information on the location of *Chicora* other than to say it was somewhere along the coast in the vicinity of *Duharhe*. On the other hand, the Testimony provides a wealth of information about *Duharhe* that makes it possible to pin down its location rather precisely. As I shall illustrate, the identification of the location of *Duharhe* substantially narrows down the possible locations for *Chicora*.

Spanish Knowledge of the Carolinas in the Early Sixteenth Century

Spanish records of the Ayllón colony do not say whether Gordillo and Quexos ventured north or south along the Carolina coast in their search for a site for a colony, but there is evidence in the Testimony to suggest that their explorations led them northward.

Explorations Around Winyah Bay

Swanton (1922:38) associated one of the names given in the Testimony, *Pahor* (table 1, no. 29), with a native group known to have lived historically around Winyah Bay, namely the *Hooks* or *Backhooks* (Lefler 1967:35 [Lawson 1709]). Swanton based the suggestion on the similarity of the name as spelled in other sources (e.g. *Pahoc* [Oviedo 1851:628]). Other early Spanish spellings of the name of what may have been the same community are *Chaque* (and related spellings listed in table 1, no. 16) and *Uca* (Bandera 1990b:297). The name may come from Catawba (*pa*) *hawú·ka* ‘(some) black’. The phonetic similarity of the names is particularly striking when one realizes that in Catawba the sound sequence *-awu-* was regularly pronounced [ɔ] (the vowel of the English word ‘law’) even in the early Spanish records of the language (Rudes 2003: 231). It is also worth noting that the river that flows into Winyah Bay near the former location of the *Backhooks* has been called the Black River early colonial times.

Swanton (1922:194) discusses a number of other place names from early Spanish explorations that he erroneously attributes to Francisco de Chicora but which instead come from the records of the establishment of the Ayllón colony in 1524. Two of the names appear to refer to communities in the Winyah Bay area. The first place name is *Yenyochol* (*Ymgo*, *Yenyohol* – see table 1, no. 18), which Swanton (1922:37) identifies with the historic Winyaw community from which Winyah Bay gets its name. The second is *Anoxa* (*y Noxa* – see table 1, no. 23). Swanton does not propose an etymology for *Anoxa*; it may be the Catawba name of the people who lived in a town mentioned in the chronicles of the Pardo expeditions, namely, *Usi*, a place “where salt is made next to the sea 60 leagues from Santa Elena” (Bandera 1990b:302). Hudson (1990:33, figure 6) locates the *Usi* town on the Pee Dee River just above Winyah Bay. In the Catawba language, the residents of the town would be called *yí Úsi* ‘Usi people’.

Explorations to the Southwest of Winyah Bay

The last line of the first paragraph of the Testimony reads “another country near Duharhe is called *Xapida*. Pearls are found there, and also a kind of stone resembling pearls which is prized by the Indians.” Swanton (1922:38) proposes that the name *Xapida* (*Xapira* – see table 1, no. 3)

was the same as the English name of the Sampit River, a river that flows into Winyah Bay. Swanton apparently assumes that the native name contained a nasal vowel. Lacking nasal vowels in their own language, the Spaniards typically failed to record them in words from the languages of the Southeast, whereas the English recorded the nasality as a nasal consonant (*m* or *n*) following the vowel. Hudson (1990:75) also equates the name *Sanapa* from the Pardo chronicles with the name of the Sampit River, which would mean that *Xapida* and *Sanapa* named the same place. Hudson (1990:75) and Booker, Hudson and Rankin (1992:420) propose a derivation of the name *Sanapa* from Creek *sámpa* ‘basket’ (Martin and Mauldin 2000:113). Pardo’s notary specifically states that *Sauapa*, a miscopying of *Sanapa*, like *Usi* is a place “where salt is made next to the sea 60 leagues from Santa Elena” (Bandera 1990b:302). Bandera’s statement would place *Sanapa* roughly in the area of Winyah Bay.

An equation of *Xapida*, *Sanapa*, and *Sampit* is not, however, as straightforward as the above discussion might make it seem. English settlers in the Carolinas wrote about a community whose name they spelled variously *St. Pa* (Cheves 1897:335, n. 2), *Sampitt* (Smith 1919:20-23 [1704]), *Sanpitt* (Smith 1919:20-23), *Sampa* (Mathews c. 1685), *Sampit* (c. 1722 Barnwell map in Cumming 1962:plate 48), *Sawpit* (Mills 1825), and *Sompa* (1695 Thornton-Morden map in Cumming 1962:plate 42). Based on an analysis of the references contained in English colonial documents, Waddell (1980:284) concluded that the Sampa “lived N[orth] of the Wando R[iver], probably on Point Hope Island (32 53N 79 52W) in c. 1685. They seem earlier to have lived on the Ashley R. ... and late to have moved N[orth] of the Santee R[iver] (c. 1722).” Assuming *Sanapa* of Pardo’s time is the same community as *Sampa* in the seventeenth century, it appears that the community was located near Winyah Bay in the mid-sixteenth century, moved sometime after 1567 southwest to the Ashley River, moved a bit northeast by 1685 to the north side of the Wando River, and then moved back to its sixteenth-century location in the area of Winyah Bay by 1722. The migratory behavior of the community raises some questions regarding the etymology of the name. Other native communities around Winyah Bay have names that appear to have Catawban origins, as do the names of communities between the Wando River and the Santee River. Towns located from the Wando River to the Savannah River all appear to derive from the local language, which Swanton (1922:24) labeled Cusabo. The distribution of town names would thus suggest that there were two cultural areas on the coast: a Cusaboan area from the Savannah River to the Wando River and a Catawban area from the Wando River to Winyah Bay, and that the *Sampa* were migrating between these two areas.

Swanton (1922:24) proposed that Cusabo was a Muskogean language; his proposal, however, was based on a single suffix that he tried to connect with a single word in a rather distant Muskogean language, Choctaw, as well as words in such non-Muskogean languages as Timucua, and a misinterpretation of Spanish records regarding the use of interpreters in the Cusabo and Guale areas (Rudes 2004b, Waddell 2004). A more careful examination of the data reveals that the Cusabo language (or languages) was definitely not Muskogean. Instead, analysis of the very limited linguistic material available from the Cusabo-speaking area points to a possible connection with such Arawakan languages of the Caribbean as Taino (Rudes 2005). Thus if the name *Xapida* is related to Creek *sámpa*, it is either not the native name for the community or the community was a group of foreign, Muskogean-speakers within the Catawban and Cusaboan cultural areas on the coast. More likely, the name derives from an as yet unidentified Catawban or Cusaboan etymon.

Another possible place name from the Charleston area identified by Swanton (1940:333) is *Hitha*, also spelled *Ta-*, *Yta*, *y Ta-* (table 1, no. 4). Swanton (1940:333) suggests that *Hitha*

may have been an attempt to render the name of the town known to the English settlers as *Etewaus* (Glen 1751), *Etiwans* (Rivers 1856:37), *Ituan* (Owen 1670:199), *Ittiwan* (1671 Culpepper map in Cumming 1962:plate 37), *Ittawans* (Ferguson 1682:13), and *Ittuwan* (Gascoyne 1682). According to Mooney (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:444), the name *Etiwan* comes from the Catawba (Saraw dialect) word *itá-wa* ‘long-leafed pine tree’ or a dialect variant thereof with final *q* for *a*.² The Etiwan community was located just to the southeast of two communities that probably spoke a Catawban language: Santee and Sewee (Rudes 2004b, Rudes et al. 2004:302). It seems unlikely, however, that Spanish explorers would have so consistently omitted the last syllable of the name *Etiwan* in their writings. Therefore, a connection between the name *Hitha* and the name of the historic *Etiwan* community remains uncertain.

A place called *Tihe* (*-tiya*, *-tuye*, *Tive-*, *-tiye*, *Tihie* – see table 1, no. 7) is also mentioned in the Testimony. No one has ever proposed an etymology for the name. All that is known about the location is the following description from the third paragraph of the Testimony.

In the last named [Tihe] the inhabitants wear a distinctive priestly costume, and they are regarded as priests and venerated as such by their neighbors. The cut their hair, leaving only two locks growing on the temples, which are bound under the chin. When the natives make war against their neighbors, according to the regrettable custom of mankind, these priests are invited by both sides to be present, not as actors, but as witnesses of the conflict. When the battle is about to open, they circulate among the warriors who are seated or lying on the ground, and sprinkle them with the juice of certain herbs they have chewed with their teeth; just as our priests at the beginning of the Mass sprinkle the worshippers with a branch dipped in holy water. When this ceremony is finished, the opposing sides fall upon one another. While the battle rages, the priests are left in charge of the camp, and when it is finished they look after the wounded, making no distinction between friends and enemies, and busy themselves in burying the dead.

The reference to a priestly class and the description of practices typical of traditional healers suggests that the name *Tihe* may be connected with the name *Toya* mentioned in connection with the settlement of the French colony at Port Royal (Laudonnière 1562:314-315, cited in Waddell 1980:133-134).

By this time [after a brief visit to Stalame] the friendship was growne so great between our men and king *Audusta* [Edisto] and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of celebrating their feasts of *Toya*, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadors to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to undersatnd what this might be. They imbarked themselues therefore and sailed towards the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards thē, to receiue them couteously, to bid them welcome & bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselues to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brouth them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept:

where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celbrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themselues on the way to go frõ the kings house toward the place of *Toya*: whereunto when they were come they set themselues in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad & woeful as was possible: & in such rage they cut the armes of the young girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shells of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, *He Toya*. The king Audusta had gathered all out men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laught. This he did, because the Indians are very angrey when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtle means he gate out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behind a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast are named *Iawas*: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly also because they are so subtile magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for thes things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they haue. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the midst of the faire place, and to cheere up their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of the naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedinesse, that they seemed rather to duoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselues very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certain trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him understand by signes, that the *Iawas* had made inuocations to *Toya*, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand diuers strange things of him, which for feare of the *Iawas* he durst not utter.

The names *Toya* and *Tihe* are also suspiciously similar to the initial portion of the word *Taino*, the name of the indigenous peoples of the Greater Antilles islands. Taylor (1977:20) analyzes *Taino* into *tay-* ‘the name of a high ranking lineage’ and *-no* ‘pluralizer’. Thus, we have *Tihe* – a

community of priests or traditional healers, *Toya* – a god, and *Taino* – members of a high-ranking lineage. Given the variations in spellings common to colonial French and Spanish documents and the imaginations shown by explorers in their narratives, it is not inconceivable that these three words refer to the same entity – whether a place, a god, or a social rank. If *Toya* and *Tihe* are related, a location in the Charleston area in Cusabo territory is indicated for *Tihe*.

Two other place names from the narratives of the Ayllón colony appear to refer to communities in Cusaboan territory: *Cocayo* and *Orixa* (table 1, nos. 8 and 21). Swanton (1922:37) suggests that *Cocayo* may name the same locale as *Coçapoy*, the spelling given by Martínez Cavajal (1579:249) for the Cusaboan village of *Kussoe* (Waddell 1980:255-270).³

Swanton (1922:37) identifies *Orixa* with the town near the Spanish fort at Santa Elena named *Orista* in the Pardo narratives (Bandera 1990a:289), the town named *Audusta* in the narratives of the French colony at Port Royal (Laudonnière 1562:310-328), and the town named *Edistoh* in the chronicles of the English settlement of Charleston (Sanford 1666:62-82). The name of the community is one of the several pieces of evidence that points to a connection between the Cusabo language(s) and the Taino language (Rudes 2004a).⁴

One other place name found in the records of the Ayllón colony that may refer to a community in Cusabo-speaking territory is *Pasqui* (table 1, no. 13). Swanton alludes to a correspondence with the town named *Pasque* in the Pardo narratives (Bandera 1990a:260, Swanton 1940:333). Nothing else is known of the town.

Explorations Inland

Several of the names in the Testimony indicate that Spanish explorers had knowledge of native communities in the interior of the Carolinas and beyond, including towns on the southwest side of the Savannah River. Two of the other regions said to have been visited by the Spaniards were *Quohothe*, also spelled *Cohoth*, and *Tansacca*, also spelled *Tanzaca* and *Tanaca* (table 1, nos. 9, 17). *Quohothe* may be an early rendition of the name of the Muskogean town *Coweta* (Adair 1930 [1763]:257), which appears in modern Creek as *Kawíta* (Martin and Mauldin 2000:168). The town was located on the southwest side of the Savannah River in present-day Georgia. The name has no etymology within the Creek language, and Swanton (1922:225-226) suggests the name may have been Yuchi in origin although there is no evidence that Yuchi were present along the Savannah as early as 1520.

Tanzacca appears to be the name of the same place as *Transequa* on the 1733 Popple map (Brown 1966), an otherwise mysterious village located somewhere in the vicinity of the Catawba-Wateree valley near the present-day boundaries of North and South Carolina. The name may represent Catawba *tási ka* ‘wolf den’.

A separate paragraph of the Testimony is devoted to another “country” called *Insignanin*, also spelled *Inisiguanin*, *Ynsiguanin*, and *Ynsignavin* (table 1, no. 22). Given colonial spelling conventions, the name was probably sounded to the Spaniards something like [insiwani], which is roughly how the Catawba name for the Shawnee people, *yí Sawá·ne*, would sound. While it is unlikely that the Spaniards actually visited the Shawnee in their sixteenth century home territory north of the Wabash River, they may have encountered a Shawnee hunting party or trading delegation much as Henry Woodward, one of the Charleston settlers, noted a Shawnee band on the Savannah River in 1674 (Swanton 1922:307, 317). More likely, however, the Spaniards learned about the existence of the Shawnee from Catawba-speakers.

Spanish knowledge of the interior of the Carolinas by 1524 appears confirmed by the name *Aymi* (table 1, no. 24) in the narratives of Ayllón’s colony. *Aymi* almost certainly names

the same place as *Aymay* (*Hymahi*) in the Soto chronicles (Elvas 1993:81, Rangel 1993:275) and *EmaE* in the Pardo chronicles (Bandera 1990a:259). The information contained in the latter chronicles indicate that *EmaE* was located inland to the northwest of Santa Elena not far from the river that flowed past the principal village of Cofitachequi. Hudson (1990:fig. 6) places the town on the southwest side of the Congaree River just above the point where the river joins the Wateree River to form the Santee River.

The place name *Yamiscaron*, also spelled *Amiscaron* and *Aunicoon* (table 1, no. 20) also appears in the narratives of the Ayllón settlement. Swanton (1922:37) pointed to a connection with the name of the historic Yamacraw people, which would put *Yamiscaron* inland to the west of Santa Elena on the Altamaha River in present-day Georgia.

Finally, *Arambe* (table 1, no. 14) may have named the same location as *Ilapi* in the Soto chronicles (Rangel 1993:279) and/or *Herape* in the Pardo chronicles (Bandera 1990a:261). Pardo met with the leader of *Herape* on September 14, 1567, in the village of *Gueca* (Waxhaw) (Bandera 1990a:261, Rudes 2004b). There is no further mention of the village in the Pardo narratives. Earlier during the Soto expedition, *Ilapi* is mentioned as a town where the Spaniards sought corn. *Ilapi* and *Herape* are considered names for the same town in both Hudson (1990:74) and Booker et al. (1992:421). Swanton (1922:258) suggests that *Ilapi* was an early spelling of the Creek town *Hilibi*. He notes that by the time there is good historic documentation, *Hilibi* is located on Hilibi Creek in Alabama; however, he points to evidence that suggests that the town may have originally been located further to the east. According to a tradition related to Swanton by Hilibi native (1922:258), the name derives from Creek *hilikbi* ‘quick’ (see modern Creek *hilapk-itá*, *hiłap-* ‘to be quick’ [Martin and Mauldin 2000:49]). In their dictionary of modern Creek, Martin and Mauldin (2000:168) give the town name *hilápi* without further analysis.

Hudson (1990:82) further suggests a connection between the name *Herape* and the name *Aranbe* (sic). It is possible to see a connection between the two names if one assumes that the word contained a nasal vowel and that the Spaniards omitted indication of the nasality – as they often did – in writing *Herape* (and *Ilapi*) but rendered the nasal vowel with *am* in *Arambe*. However, there is no evidence of a nasal vowel in the Creek town name *Hilibi* or in the modern Creek version *hilápi*. In summary if *Herape* is the same place as *Ilapi*, but is not the same place as *Arambe*, then *Herape* and *Ilapi* may both be early spellings of the name *Hilibi* (*hilápi*); however if *Arambe* is the same place as *Herape* and *Ilapi*, then they cannot have been early names for *Hilibi* (*hilápi*). The evidence available at present is insufficient to choose between these alternatives.

Northern Explorations

One other region visited by the Spaniards that is mentioned in the Testimony is *Guacaia*, also spelled *Guayaca* and *Quayaca* (table 1, no. 10). Swanton (1922:37) equated the name with the historic *Waccamaw* community, which was located north of the Pee Dee River and northwest of Winyah Bay. While Swanton was indirectly correct in his proposal, the more direct connection is with the historic *Woccon* community. Until around 1710, the Woccon were located at Wheat Field near the juncture of the Neuse River and Contentnea Creek west of Pamlico Sound (Mooney 1894:76). After that date, there is no mention of the community. Not long thereafter in 1711, the first mention is made of the *Waccamaw* community. Citing earlier researchers, Taukchiray (1983:424) concludes that the *Woccon* moved to the southwest at the outbreak of the Tuscarora Wars of 1711-1713 where they became known as the *Waccamaw*. It has been shown

that the Woccon spoke a Catawban language (Carter 1980, Rudes 2000b), and the names Woccon and Waccamaw appear to derive from a cognate to the Catawba root *wakq̄d-* ‘powerful, sacred’ the name of a pre-Christian figure in Catawba beliefs, *Yi Wakádye* ‘Man of Power’ (Rudes 2004b, Speck 1939:27). The name *Woccon* means simply ‘Powerful (people or place)’ while the name *Waccamaw* means ‘Powerful place’.

Identification of *Guacaia* with *Woccon* means that the Spaniards had either visited or were knowledgeable about the people around Pamlico Sound by the 1520s. An analysis of other non-Spanish words in the Testimony further supports this conclusion. Three of the words appear to be of Algonquian derivation, and Pamlico Sound marks the southeastern limit of the territory of Algonquian-speaking peoples. Two of the words appear in the ninth paragraph of the Testimony. The first word, *Quexuga*, is the name of the ruler of a warm and pleasant region where souls find their final resting place, while the second word is *Mateczungua*, the name of the ruler of a cold-region to which souls go immediately after death before they go to their final resting place. The name *Quexuga* is identical with the word for ‘god’ in the Virginia Algonquian (Powhatan) and Carolina Algonquian (Roanoke) languages: Powhatan *okeus* ‘their chief god’ (Wright and Freund 1953:88 [Strachey 1612]), Roanoke *kéwas*, plural *kewasówak* ‘gods’ (Hariot 1590:folio E3). The name can be derived from Proto-Eastern Algonquian **ki-wəhre-wak* ‘they fly around’, from Proto-Algonquian **ki-we?le-wa* ‘he flies around’ (Hewson 1993:entry 1311).⁵

The derivation of the name *Mateczungua* is less certain; it may come from pseudo-Proto-Eastern Algonquian **matahkəsankw* ‘he who does not burn it up’ (compare Proto-Algonquian **axkesamwa* ‘he burns it up’ [Hewson 1993: entry 1311]). The reference may be to the cold (not hot) region over which *Mateczungua* reigned. In this word, the spelling *cz* must stand for [ks] or a similar sequence since sixteenth century Spanish, like modern Spanish, spelled [č] with *ch*.

The third word in the Testimony that may be Algonquian, *guacomine* ‘tree that bears a fruit a little larger than a quince’, appears in the last paragraph. It appears to end with the common Algonquian noun final meaning fruit, nut or berry, Proto-Algonquian **-min-i*, and may derive from pseudo-Proto-Algonquian **waxkwimini* ‘berry cluster’ (Hewson 1993:248, entries 3583-3586).

The Identity and Location of Duharhe

The data in the Testimony examined up to this point suggest that by 1522, Spanish explorers were aware of native towns on Winyah Bay, to the southwest across the Savannah River, to the west as far as the point where the Congaree and Wateree rivers join to form the Santee, and to the north up to Pamlico Sound. It is somewhere within that territory that *Chicora* and *Duharhe* lay.

In order to narrow down further the location of *Duharhe*, I will first examine the vocabulary items reportedly associated with features of *Duharhe* to see if they reveal anything about the identity of the place. It is reported in the Testimony that the population of *Duharhe* grew *xathi*, which was ‘another cereal [other than maize]’. Swanton (1940:334) suggests that the cereal in question was probably beans on the basis of the common practice among Indians in the Southeast of growing corn and beans together. Based on what is known of colonial Spanish spelling, the word *xathi* should reflect a pronounced like [šahi]. A search of the vocabularies of the Algonquian, Catawban, Cusaboan, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Siouan, and Yuclean languages spoken in or near the Carolinas reveals only one word that resembles *xathi* [šahi], specifically the

Tuscarora word for beans: Old Tuscarora *Saugh-he* ‘Pease’ (Lefler 1967:228 [Lawson 1709]), modern Tuscarora *θáhe?* ‘beans’ (Rudes 1999:409).

Even before mention is made of *xathi* in the Testimony, the word *Datha* appears in reference to the ruler of Duharhe. The description in the Testimony would suggest that *Datha* is the man’s name; however, it could equally well be his title since the ‘king of Duharhe’ is the only regent mentioned in the Testimony. *Datha* looks a lot like the Old Tuscarora word *Teeth-ha* ‘king’ (Lefler 1967:227 [Lawson 1709]), which appears in modern Tuscarora in the words *ratírher* ‘man exempt from work’ and *yetírher* ‘woman exempt from work’ (Rudes 1999:447).

There are two other words in the Testimony that may also be Tuscarora in origin. Both of these words refer to local plants. The first word is *guahi*, which is described in the fifteenth paragraph of the Testimony as a plant used to cure a bilious stomach. As Swanton (1940:337) noted, the plant was probably *Ilex vomitoria*, better known in the Southeast as yaupon holly. Both the later French and English explorers of the Carolinas described the use of this plant to make the *black drink* that was used to induce vomiting and, among other things, cure a stomachache. Yaupon holly does not grow in New York State or Ontario where Tuscarora-speakers reside today; thus, no Tuscarora name for the plant has ever been recorded. However, it is noteworthy that the yaupon holly – like other hollies – grows its berries in clusters and, therefore, a not improbable name for the plant in Tuscarora would be ***wáhyi?* ‘berry cluster’ (see Rudes 1999:35, 245; also Mohawk, Oneida *wáhik* ‘berry, fruit’).

The second word of interest is *coritho*, which is described in the last paragraph of the testimony as a tree ‘with fruit resembling a small melon in size and flavor’. Swanton (1940:338) speculated that the word referred to either the persimmon or wild plums, both of which are native to the Carolinas. However, the word may not have been the native name of a plant. If the word originated in Tuscarora, it most likely reflects Tuscarora *karíthha?* ‘it is ripe’, an expression the Spanish might have heard if the were offered a ripe rather than a green fruit to eat.

The strongest indication that Duharhe was within Tuscarora-speaking territory comes from the description of a particular piece of sorcery said in paragraph 12 of the Testimony to have occurred in the land.

Another fraud of the priests is as follows: When the chief is at death’s door and about to give up his soul they send away all witnesses, and then surrounding his bed they perform some secret jugglery which makes him appear to vomit sparks and ashes. It looks like sparks jumping from a bright fire, or those sulphured papers, which people throw into the air to amuse themselves. These sparks, rushing through the air and quickly disappearing, look like those shooting stars which people call leaping wild goats. The moment the dying man expires a cloud of those sparks shoots up 3 cubits high with a noise and quickly vanishes. They hail this flame as the dead man’s soul, bidding it a last farewell and accompanying its flight with their wailing, tears, and funereal cries, absolutely convinced that it has taken its flight to heaven. Lamenting and weeping they escort the body to the tomb.

Swanton (1940:336) himself observed that the description of this ceremony is essentially identical to the description of a funeral celebration among the Tuscarora proved by Baron von Graffenreid from his personal observations in the early eighteenth century.

After the tomb was covered, I noticed something which passes imagination, and which I should not believe, had I not seen it with my own eyes. From the tomb arose a little flaming fire, like a big candle-light, which went up straight in the air, and noiselessly, went straight over the cabin of the deceased widow, and thence further across a big swamp above 1 ī mile broad, until it finally vanished from sight in the woods. At that sight, I have way to my surprise, and asked what it meant, but the Indians laughed at me, as if I ought to have known that this was no rarity among them. They refused, however, to tell me what it was. All that I could ascertain was that they thought a great deal of it, —that this light is a favorable omen, which makes them think the deceased a happy soul, but they deem it a most unpropitious sign when a black smoke ascends from the tomb. This flying flame, yet, could not be artificial, on account of the great distance; it could be some physical phenomenon, like sulphurous vapors, —but this great uniformity in its appearance surpasses nature (Saunders 1886-1890, I:982).

Such a ceremony has not been described for any other cultures in the Southeast.

The information examined so far points to a location with historic Tuscarora territory for *Duharhe*, that is, a location somewhere between the Neuse and the Roanoke Rivers on or inland from the fall line in the eastern portion of present-day North Carolina. An examination of the name *Duharhe* itself allows us to narrow down the location to a specific Tuscarora town.

Swanton (1940:333) thought that the name might be Catawba in origin because of the ending *-re*, which is similar to the ending of a number of known or presumed Catawba place names, e.g. Congaree, Sugaree, Wateree (Rudes 2004b). However, no name for a town in Catawba territory mentioned in any later sources bears any resemblance to *Duharhe*. In fact, the only town name with 300 miles of Winyah Bay that is at all similar to *Duharhe* is the name of a Tuscarora town located historically on the lower Neuse River that was the focus of important skirmishes during the Tuscarora Wars of 1711-1713. The name of the town is variously spelled either *Tarhunta* (Anonymous 1712), *Toughoutnith* (Anonymous 1711) or *Naur-hegh-ne* (Lefler 1967:242 [Lawson 1709]), *Norhunta* (Hollman 1966:1711, von Graffenreid map), *Narhunte* (Barnwell 1908:map). The contrast between the spellings with an initial *T-* versus an initial *N-* corresponds to a dialectal difference within the Tuscarora language, where under certain circumstances an original *t-* came to be pronounced *n-* in the southern towns (compare, for example, modern Tuscarora *né·θne* ‘fly!’ – a word derived from a southern dialect of the language – with Seneca, Cayuga *testēh* ‘fly!’, Onondaga *téstēh* ‘fly!’, Oneida, Mohawk *téstə* ‘fly!’). The spelling *Tarhunta* and *Toughoutnith* are more or less successful attempts by English authors to render the Tuscarora name *Teyurhéh̄tē* ‘Way-station, Over-night Resting Place’ as pronounced by Tuscarora speakers who had the older pronunciation found in the northern villages; the spellings *Naur-hegh-ne*, *Norhunta*, and *Narhunte*, on the other hand, are attempts to write the changed pronunciation the town name found in the southern dialects, *Neyurhéh̄nē*.

Duharhe and its spelling variants (*Duaché*, *Duache*, *Duahe*, *Duhâre*, and *Duaarhe* – see table 1, no. 1) appear to be Spanish attempts to render *Teyurhéh̄tē*. The Spanish spellings are fairly good approximations of the pronunciation of the Tuscarora name, which in modern Tuscarora would be [d̥eyurh̄hd̥ə], considering that the Spanish more often than not did not note nasality on vowels in place names from Southeastern Indian languages such as Tuscarora *ə* (Rudes 2004b) and had no way to render the voiceless, aspirated trill represented by Tuscarora *-rh-*. In fact, there is very little about the pronunciation of the name *Teyurhéh̄tē* that would have

sounded familiar to the Spanish ear and it is in some ways remarkable that the Spanish spellings are at all recognizable.

The Identity and Location of *Chicora*

The only concrete information on the identity and location of *Chicora* appears in the first line of the Testimony: “Leaving the coast of *Chicora* on one hand, the Spaniards landed in another country called “*Duharhe*.” Having identified the most likely location of *Duharhe* as the Tuscarora town of *Teyurhéhte*, the information would suggest looking along the coast either to the north or the south of Tuscarora territory off Pamlico Sound for *Chicora*. Since the evidence indicates that the explorers who provide the information on which the Testimony is based made initial landfall in the vicinity of Winyah Bay, *Chicora* should be somewhere between Winyah Bay and Pamlico Sound or to the south of Tuscarora territory.

Swanton (1922, 1940) suggested that *Chicora* was identical with either of two communities known from later historical records: the *Shakori* or the *Sugaree*. His suggestion was clearly premised on a presumption of similarity in the pronunciation of the names. Two other place names that appear in the historical records and bear some resemblance to the name *Chicora* also warrant consideration: Rio “Chico” on an early Spanish map of the Southeastern coast and the *Coree*. In table 2 I provide the four possible candidates for equation with the name *Chicora* along with the presumed pronunciation of the names according to Spanish or English spellings, the source of the names, and the attested location of the places. Each candidate has its own strengths and weaknesses.

Although Swanton had little to say about the identity and location of *Duharhe*, he did try to give a more specific identification for *Chicora*. Specifically, he stated “in the opinion of the writer, ‘Chicora’ is a synonym for the *Shakori*, a tribe later found in North Carolina, or the *Sugaree* who lived near the Catawba, for there is evidence of the movement of a number of South Carolina tribes toward the northeast some time after 1567” (Swanton 1940:333-334). It appears likely that Swanton’s opinion was based at least in part on the presumed phonetic similarity between the names *Chicora* and *Shakori* on the one hand and between *Chicora* and *Sugaree* on the other. Of the five candidate locales listed in table 2, *Shakori* does show the greatest phonetic similarity to the presumed pronunciation of *Chicora*. It is particularly close to the French pronunciation of *Chiquola/Chicola*; however, we do not know where the Huguenots obtained the name. The most likely scenario is that the French obtained it from the Spanish, which would suggest that the French pronunciation is a spelling-pronunciation since *ch* in colonial French, as in modern French, was pronounced [ʃ]; if the name was borrowed from Spanish, however, it is unclear why the French spelled with an *l* rather than *r*. The substitution of *l* for *r*, however, is the least of the problems when it comes to equating *Shakori* with *Chicora*.

To support his equation of *Chicora* with the *Shakori*, Swanton proposes that group moved from eastern South Carolina, his presumed location for *Chicora*, to north-central North Carolina, the historic location of the *Shakori*, sometime between early sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century. If that were the case, then the migration of the *Shakori* could not have been a direct one since in 1651 Bland reported finding the *Shackoore Old Fields* in southeastern Virginia (Salley 1911:27), which indicates that the *Shakori* moved to their historic location near present-day Burlington, N.C., from the northeast and not from the southeast.

The name *Chicora* also shares phonetic similarities with the name *Sugaree*, although the similarity is not as great as with *Shakori*. However, there is reason to believe that the English pronunciation of the name *Sugaree* is a particularly poor match for the native pronunciation.⁶

The historic, eighteenth-century *Sugaree* village was located in close proximity to the Esaw village in the Catawba-Wateree valley and what little is known about its residents strongly suggests that they were culturally and linguistically close kin of the Esaw who formed the core of the Catawba Nation. If so, the name *Sugaree* should have a Catawba etymology. As discussed in Rudes (2004b), the name appears to derive from Catawba *súkʔa·re·* ‘it is our home’, which is the predicated form of *súkʔa·* ‘our house, our home’. The spellings *Sugaree* and *Sagaree* in table 2 reflect the long, predicated form of the name; the spellings *Succa* and *Sucah* appear to represent the short, nominal form of the name. The English spellings represent well the initial, velar segment *-k-* of the *-kʔ-* cluster in the Catawba forms. If Hudson (1990:77) is correct in his equation of the name *Suhere* in the Pardo narratives with *Sugaree*, then the Spanish chose to represent the second, glottal *-ʔ-* of the cluster with *-h-*.

No indication of the location of *Suhere* in the mid-seventeenth century is given in the Pardo narratives. However, it seems unlikely that a place named spelled *Chicora* by Spanish explorers in the 1520s would be spelled so differently as *Suhere* by Spanish explorers in 1567. If *Suhere* names the same community as *Sugaree*, then it seems unlikely that *Chicora* names that same community.

Swanton (1922:36) mentions another name that may be connected with *Chicora*, although he himself does not make the connection. In discussing the possible locations of *Chicora*, Swanton reports from Navarrete (1825-1837, 3:70) the appearance on an early Spanish map of a river named the *Rio ‘Chico’*. Swanton takes the notation on the map to be an erroneous entry for what should be the Rio San Juan Bautista, i.e. Winyah Bay, and omits it from further discussion. Navarrete reports that the *Rio ‘Chico’* is located about 48 miles north of the Rio Jordan, i.e. the Santee River; Winyah Bay is less than 20 miles from the Santee. It seems unlikely that the Spanish explorers – nearly all of whom were also seafarers – would make such a large error in locating the river. A more likely scenario is that the *Rio ‘Chico’* was another river further north than Winyah Bay. The only river within that distance that is large enough to have drawn the attention of Spanish explorers is the Cape Fear River.

Another reason one might be tempted to dismiss the *Rio ‘Chico’* from the discussion of the location of *Chicora* is the fact that the name could mean ‘little river’ in Spanish. Certainly, the Cape Fear River is smaller at its mouth than is Winyah Bay or the Santee and Savannah rivers further south. However if *Chico* in this name was the Spanish word for little, there is no explanation for why the early cartographers enclosed the name in apostrophes. The added punctuation can only be taken as a cartographers indication that the name is not to interpreted literally as meaning little.

Swanton (1922:36) concludes that the name *Chicora* is probably Catawban in origin because of the final *-ra*, which he sees as comparable to the ending *-ree* on other place names of apparent Catawban origin such as *Congaree*, *Suteree*, and *Wateree*. Assuming for the moment that Swanton is correct in his surmise, the final *-ra* of *Chicora* could represent either of two suffixes. As discussed in Rudes (2004b), the final sequence *-ree* in such place names as *Congaree* and *Suteree* appears to represent the Catawba indicative suffix *-re·* that is used to form predicates. *Congaree* may be analyzed as Catawba *kúka·re·* ‘(the place that) is over there’, compare *kúka·* ‘over there’, and *Suteree* may be analyzed as *súti·re·* ‘it is (the) entryway’, compare *súti·* ‘door, entryway’. On the other hand, the name *Wateree* appears to contain the Catawba suffix *-ri·* ‘powerful, strong’: *wátiri·* ‘current, rapids’ from the verb root *wáti-* ‘flow (of water)’. If Swanton is correct in his assumption about the Catawban origin of *Chicora*, the word might be related to the name *Chico* in Rio “Chico” in the same way that the name *Sugaree*

is related to the short-form *Succa*. *Chico* resembles the Catawba verb form *čikhu·ʔ* [tʃikhoʔ] ‘advancing, coming forward’, while *Chicora* might reflect another form of the same verb: *čikhú·re* [tʃikhó·re] ‘it advances, it comes forward’. The Catawba words could refer to the waters of the Cape Fear River entering the Atlantic Ocean. Certainly, a location for *Chicora* in the vicinity of the Cape Fear River would fit the description provided in the opening line of the Testimony, for it would place *Chicora* just down the coast from *Duharhe* in Tuscarora territory.

There is one other place name worth considering if only for geographic reasons, the name *Coree*. From the time they were first noted by European cartographers in the late sixteenth century onward, the *Coree* were located on Cape Lookout on the south side of Pamlico Sound where to the present-day the barrier islands are named the Core Banks and the waters between the barrier islands and the mainland are named Core Sound. The earliest spellings of the name, *Cwareuuock* (1590 DeBrÿ map in Cumming 1962:plate 14) and *Cawruuock* (1624 Smith map, Cumming 1962:plate 23), show an Algonquian ending *-euuock* (*-uuock*) [-əwak] that may be translated roughly “people of”; thus, the names meant ‘people of *Cwar* (*Cawr*)’. Taken together with Eighteenth-century English spellings such as Lawson’s *Coree* (Lefler 1967:174) and Barnwell’s (1908:46) *Core*, the various forms of the name point to an original (native) pronunciation something like [kwar] or [kɔr]. Other spellings of the name from the late seventeenth and eighteenth century show an additional ending that at present cannot be identified, e.g. *Corannine* (11682 Gascoyne map, Cumming 1962:plate 39), *Coranines* (Archdale [1707] in Salley 1911:286), and *Coranne* (1714 Homman map, Cumming 1962:plate 76). It may reflect a native *Coree* ending.

The ethnic identity of the *Coree* is a complete mystery. The only relevant information is a statement by Lawson, who reported that “I once met with a young *Indian* Woman, that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold a Slave into *Virginia*. She spoke the same Language, as the *Coranine* [*Coree*] *Indians*, that dwell near *Cape-Look-Out*, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise, than that they might understand on another very well” (Lefler 1967:174). A reasonable assumption is that “the Mountains” in Lawson’s statement refers to the Appalachian Mountains; however, that does little to narrow down the possible languages the woman may have spoken. At the time of Lawson’s writing, the area from the western slopes of the Appalachians to the Mississippi River was home to people who spoke languages belonging to the Algonquian (Shawnee, Miami-Illinois), Iroquoian (Cherokee), Muskogean (Chickasaw, Choctaw, Koasati), Siouan (Monetan), and Yuclean language families, as well as possibly languages belonging to other families. Since Lawson had some familiarity with the Algonquian language Pamlico and the Iroquoian language Tuscarora, it is unlikely that the *Coree* spoken a language belonging to either of these two families. They may have spoken a Muskogean, Siouan, or Yuclean language, or something else entirely.

The ethnic identity of *Coree*, however, is irrelevant to its comparison with *Chicora* since there is no information in the Testimony that sheds any light on the ethnicity of the *Chicora* population. The historic location of *Coree*, however, makes it the best match of the four candidates considered to the statement in the Testimony that Spanish explorers arrived at *Duharhe* after leaving the coast of *Chicora*. The only community intervening between *Coree* and the Tuscarora-territory in historic times was the Neuse (Neusiok), a small nation that is also of unknown ethnic identity. The only problem posed by identifying *Coree* with *Chicora* is the fact that the names only partially match phonetically, i.e. *Core* [kor] matches only the middle syllable of *Chicora*. However, it is possible that the initial *chi-* and final *-a* represent native affixes just like the *-euuok* of *Cwareuuock* and the *-anine* of *Coranine*.

In summary, the most likely candidates from among the indigenous community known from seventeenth and eighteenth century records for identification with the fabled sixteenth century land of *Chicora* is *Coree*. Its location vis-à-vis *Duharhe* (*Teyurhéhte*) fits the description in the Testimony, and the name is a partial, phonetic match for *Chicora*. The second best candidate is the river named Rio “Chico” on early Spanish maps provided it does in fact name the Cape Fear River – which would reasonably fit the location for *Chicora* in the Testimony – and provided “Chico” represents a word from a language indigenous to the Carolinas and not the Spanish word *chico* ‘little’. The name is a somewhat better match for *Chicora* than is *Coree*. The other two candidates – *Shakori* and *Sugaree* – do not fit well with the location for *Chicora* given in the Testimony nor are they particularly good phonetic matches for the name. The weight of the circumstantial evidence thus favors the identification of *Chicora* with *Coree*.

Conclusions

The re-analysis presented here of the indigenous vocabulary found in the Testimony provides important insights into the Spanish explorations of the North American Southeast. First, the analysis confirms that the Spanish had already explored the coast as far north as Pamlico sound before 1522 and knew of communities in the interior decades before the expeditions of Soto and Pardo. Second, the findings show that the Testimony provides written confirmation of Iroquois tradition that states that the first Europeans they encountered were the Spaniards and not the French. However, the fact that the Testimony proves that the version of history related by the Confederate Chiefs of the Six Nations in 1723 correct does not mean that Western version of history that holds that the French were the first to encounter the Iroquois is incorrect. The two versions of events merely reflect different understandings of history.

According to Iroquois tradition, the League of the Iroquois was formed sometime before Europeans arrived through a confederation of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations, who together are generally referred to as the Five Nations of the Iroquois (Woodbury, Henry and Webster 1992). Following European contact, the constituency of the League grew to include captives and refugees from neighboring peoples including Hurons, Munsees, Neutrals, Tionnontates, and Wenroes, as well as remnant groups from tribes to the south including Nanticokes, Susquehannocks, Tutelo-Saponies, and Tuscaroras. The status of these latecomers differed according to the circumstances under which they were accorded the protection of the League. For example, the conquered peoples from the Iroquoian-speaking Neutral and Huron confederacies were adopted into individual nations of the League and ultimately assimilated into the general population of the nation; the defeated Munsees were accorded a dependent nation status, as were the Tutelo-Saponi although the latter nation was also given a seat on the Grand Council of the League. Of all the captive and refugee groups that came among the Five Nations, however, only the Tuscarora were adopted as an independent nation of the League. The adoption of the Tuscarora into the League of the Iroquois occurred sometime prior to 1721, after which time the League came to be known as the Six Nations of the Iroquois.

The homeland of the Tuscarora was on the coastal plain along the fall line in the eastern portion of present-day North Carolina. There, they had formed a formidable barrier for nearly 100 years between the English settlements on the coast and the Native peoples of the interior. In the early part of the eighteenth century, relationships between the English settlers and the southernmost Tuscarora towns along the Neuse River deteriorated and resulted in a series of skirmishes known as the Tuscarora Wars of 1711-1713. Following their defeat in the conflict, many of the residents of the towns along the Neuse fled northward. After a failed effort to find

sanctuary among the fellow Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannock in Pennsylvania, the Tuscarora continued northward where they were allowed to settle on the southern fringe of Five Nations' territory and were adopted into the League as the Sixth Nation with nearly all of the same privileges and rights as the founding nations.⁷

In order to fulfill their responsibilities as a member nation of the League, the Tuscarora were required to adopt not only the superficial manifestations of League governance and jurisprudence, but also the oral history and traditions that explained and justified the existence of the League (Rudes 1999:xvi-xix; see also Rudes and Crouse 1987). The original nations of the League also had to adapt to the addition of the Tuscarora, which they did not only by modifying procedural aspects of the ruling Grand Council by, for example, granting the Tuscarora seats on the Council and incorporating the Tuscarora representatives into the Roll Call of the Chiefs, but also by incorporating Tuscarora history into the history of the League.

Depending upon the time period under discussion, the word *Iroquois* may refer to either of two different entities in Western usage. In the first instance, the term refers to the original five Iroquois nations – the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca nations. This was the Iroquois political entity known to the first European settlers in the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. Prior to sometime in the 1720s, the Tuscarora were not politically allied with the Five Nations, and therefore, it is not correct in Western usage to refer to the Tuscarora as *Iroquois* during that time period. When the membership of the League of the Iroquois was expanded in the early eighteenth century to include the Tuscarora as the Sixth Nation, the meaning of the term *Iroquois* was also expanded such that for the time period from around 1720 forward, the word refers to the alliance of the six nations of the Iroquois – the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. Since the encounter between Jacques Cartier and the Laurentians – a mixed group of Mohawk-speakers and Huron-speakers – occurred in the sixteenth century, it is correct in Western usage to refer to the event as the first meeting between a European and the Iroquois (i.e. the Mohawk-speakers among the Laurentians).

The Iroquois perspective on history differs from the Western view in being additive rather than strictly sequential. While Iroquois tradition makes it clear that the League of the Iroquois originally comprised only the five founding nations, it incorporates events that affected the sixth nation – the Tuscarora – even prior to that nation's entry into the League, or said another way, Tuscarora history is just as much a part of Iroquois history as is Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, or Seneca history regardless of when the Tuscarora joined the League. From that perspective, the Tuscarora encounter with Spanish explorers in the 1520s was already part of Iroquois history by the time the Confederate Chiefs spoke in 1723.

An understanding of the ways in which Western culture and Iroquois culture differ in their perspectives on historical events makes it clear that there is nothing incompatible with saying the French were the first Europeans to encounter and the Spanish were the first Europeans to encounter the Iroquois. It just depends on who is speaking.

Notes

Earlier versions of this work were read at the Iroquois Research Conference, Rensselaerville, New York, October 8, 2002, and the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Charlotte, North Carolina, November 13, 2003. I am grateful to David Costa and David Pentland for reviewing the Algonquian etymologies presented here, and to Mary Drew Becker for bringing to my attention the citations of the Iroquois tradition regarding early contact with the Spaniards. I also wish to thank Ives Goddard for his careful review and input on many of the etymologies of place names provided herein. All Catawba data are taken from Rudes (2005).

1. The linguistic data suggests that the Laurentian villages of Hochelaga and Stadaconé in the vicinity of present-day Montreal and Quebec were within Huron territory but served as centers for trade among the member nations of the Huron and Iroquois confederations and Algonquian peoples. The proposed view of the nature of the Laurentian people helps explain the fact that when French missionaries arrived later in the area, they found only Huron Indians.
2. The names of several other villages on the coastal plain refer to one or another species of pine, e.g. Woccon *Yupwauremau* 'loblolly pine place' (Rudes 2000b:229), Tuscarora *Kahtéhnw-?* 'loblolly pine in water' (Rudes 1999:236). Waddell (1980:232) interpreted information in the narrative of the Spanish sea captain Ecija (1609) as indicating that the *Etiwan* were known locally as the *Ypaguano*. His interpretation, however, appears to be incorrect. Given the resemblance of the last portion of the name *Ypaguano* to the well-documented name of the Cusaboan community just to the south of the *Etiwan* – the *Guando* (Bandera 1990a:293), *Wando* (Owen 1670:199), *Wandoe* (Mathews 1671:334-335) – it appears more likely that Ecija's *Ypaguano* prisoner was a member of the latter community.
3. Spanish authors often wrote *c* for *ç*; for example, the spellings *Gueca* and *Gueça* appear for the same village in Cofitachequi in the Pardo narratives (Bandera 1990a:261, 1990b:302).
4. For example, the rather radical differences in the Spanish (Orista), French (Audusta), and English (Edisto) spellings of the vowels in the name suggest that the native pronunciation employed the high, central, unrounded vowel *i*, a sound which is otherwise unknown in the languages of the Southeast but which is characteristic of Arawakan and Carib languages in the circum-Caribbean area.
5. I thank David Pentland for noting the identity of the Powhatan and Roanoke words for god and the word in the Testimony.
6. Swanton erroneously assumed that *Suteree* named the same community as *Sugaree* and included the name *Suteree* and its variants in his identification of *Sugaree* with *Chicora*. *Suteree*, however, was a distinct town original located somewhere on the headwaters of the Yadkin River in the mid-seventeenth century (**Alvord and Bidgood 1912:18**) whose resident later moved to the Catawba-Wateree valley where they remained a separate community (Barnwell 1908:30).
7. The status of the Tuscaroras in the League is not quite equal to that of the original Five Nations since they do not have a voice in the governing Grand Council but must instead speak through the intermediaries of the Oneida Confederate Chiefs. The Tutelos were also granted a seat on the Grand Council but were not give the status of a member nation of the League.

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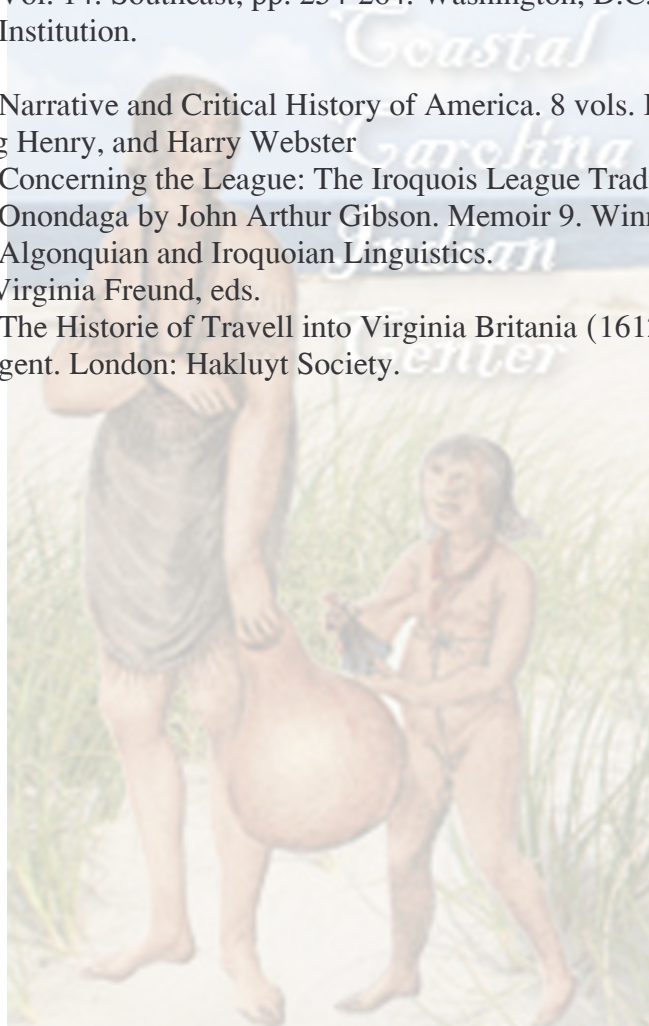
the kingdome of New Mexico, to the botttome of the gulfe of California, and vp the Riuer of Buena Guia: And likewise to all the yles both small and great lying before the cape of Florida, The bay of Mexico and Tierra firma, to the coasts and Inlands of Newe Spaine, Tierra firma, and Guiana, vp the mighty Riuers of Orenoque, Dessekobe, and Marannon, to euery part of the coast of Brasil, to the Riuer of Plate, through the Streights of Magellan forward and backward, and to the South of the said Steights as farre as 57. degrees: And from thence on the backside of America, along the coastes, harbours, and capes of Chili, Peru, Nicaragua, Nueua Espanna, Nueua Galicia, Culiacan, California, Noua Albion, and more Northerly as farre as 43 degrees: Together with the two reknowned, and prosperous voyages of Sir Francis Drake and M. Thomas Candish round about the circuference of the whole earth, and diuers other voyages intended and set forth for that course, pp. 304-319. London: George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie, and Robert Baker.

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Appendix: The Testimony of Francisco de Chicora

(1) “Leaving the coast of **Chicora** on one hand, the Spaniards landed in another country called “**Duharhe**.” Ayllon says the natives are white men, and his testimony is confirmed by Francisco Chicorana. Their hair is brown and hangs to their heels. They are governed by a king of gigantic size, called **Datha**, whose wife is as large as himself. They have five children. In place of horses the king is carried on the shoulders of strong young men, who run with him to different places he wishes to visit. At this point I must confess that the different accounts cause me to hesitate. The Dean and Ayllon do not agree; for what one asserts concerning these young men acting as horses, the other denies. The Dean said: “I have never spoken to anybody who has seen these horses,” to which Ayllon answered, “I have heard it told by many people, “ while Francisco Chicorana, although he was present, was unable to settle this dispute. Could I act as arbitrator I would say that, according to the investigations I have made, these people were too barbarous and uncivilized to have horses. Another country near Duhare is called **Xapida**. Pearls are found there, and also a kind of stone resembling pearls which is much prized by the Indians.

(2) “In all of these regions they visited the Spaniards noticed herds of deer similar to our herds of cattle. These deer bring forth and nourish their young in the villages of the natives. During the daytime they wander freely through the woods in search of their food, and in the evening they come back to their little ones, who have been cared for, allowing themselves to be shut up in the courtyards and even to be milked, when they have suckled their fawns. The only milk the natives know is that of the does, from which they make cheese. They also keep a great variety of chickens, ducks, geese, and other similar fowls. They eat maize bread, similar to that of the islanders, but they do not know the yucca root, from which cassabi, the food of the nobles, is made. The maize grains are very like our Genoese millet, and in size are as large as our peas. The natives cultivate another cereal called **xathi**. This is believed to be millet but it is not certain, for very few Castilians know millet, as it is nowhere grown in Castile. This country produces various kinds of potatoes, but of small varieties. . . .

(3) “The Spaniards speak of still other regions—**Hitha**, **Xamunambe**, and **Tihe**—all of which are believed to be governed by the same king. In the last named the inhabitants wear a distinctive priestly costume, and they are regarded as priests and venerated as such by their neighbors. They cut their hair, leaving only two locks growing on their temples, which are bound under the chin. When the natives make war against their neighbors, according to the regrettable custom of mankind, these priests are invited by both sides to be present, not as actors, but as witnesses of the conflict. When the battle is about to open, they circulate among the warriors who are seated or lying on the ground, and sprinkle them with the juice of certain herbs they have chewed with their teeth; just as our priests at the beginning of the Mass sprinkle the worshippers with a branch dipped in holy water. When this ceremony is finished, the opposing sides fall upon one another. While the battle rages, the priests are left in charge of the camp, and when it is finished they look after the wounded, making no distinction between friends and enemies, and busy themselves in burying the dead. The inhabitants of this country do not eat human flesh; the prisoners of war are enslaved by the victors.

(4) “The Spaniards have visited several regions of that vast country; they are called **Arambe**, **Guacaia**, **Quohathe**, **Tanzacca**, and **Pahor**. The color of the inhabitants is dark brown. None of them have any system of writing, but they preserve traditions of great antiquity in rhymes and chants. Dancing and physical exercises are held in honor, and they are passionately fond of ball

games, in which they exhibit the greatest skill. The women know how to spin and sew. Although they are partially clothed with skins of wild beasts, they use cotton such as the Milanese call *bombasio*, and they make nets of the fiber of (certain tough grasses), just as hemp and flax are used for the same purposes in Europe.

(5) “There is another country called **Inzignanin**, whose inhabitants declare that, according to the tradition of their ancestors, there once arrive amongst them men with tails a meter long and as thick as a man’s arm. This tail was not movable like those of the quadrupeds, but formed one mass as we see is the case with fish and crocodiles, and was as hard as a bone. When these men wished to sit down, they had consequently to have a seat with an open bottom; and if there was none, they had to dig a hole more than a cubit deep to hold their tails and allow them to rest. Their fingers were as long as they were broad, and their skin was rough, almost scaly. They ate nothing but raw fish, and when the fish gave out they all perished, leaving no descendants. These fables and similar nonsense have been handed down to the natives by their parents. Let us now notice their rites and ceremonies.

(6) “The natives have no temples, but use the dwellings of their sovereigns as such. As a proof of this we have said that a gigantic sovereign called *Datha* ruled in the province of *Duhare*, whose palace was built of stone, while all the other houses were built of lumber covered with thatch or grasses. In the courtyard of this palace, the Spaniards found two idols as large as a three-year-old child, one male and one female. These idols are both called **Inamahari**, and had their residence in the palace. Twice each year they are exhibited, the first time in the sowing season, when they are invoked to obtain successful result in their labors. We will later speak of the harvest. Thanksgivings are offered to them if the crops are good; in the contrary case they are implored to show themselves more favorable in the following year.

(7) “The idols are carried in procession amidst pomp, accompanied by the entire people. It will not be useless to describe this ceremony. On the eve of the festival the king has his bed made in the room where the idols stand, and sleeps in their presence. At daybreak the people assemble, and the king himself carries these idols, hugging them to his breast, to the top of his palace, where he exhibits them to the people. He and they are saluted with respect and fear by the people, who fall upon their knees or throw themselves on the ground with loud shouts. The king then descends and hangs the idols, draped in artistically worked cotton stuffs, upon the breasts of two venerable men of authority. They are, moreover, adorned with feather mantles of various colors, and are thus carried escorted with hymns and songs into the country, while the girls and young men dance and leap. Anyone who stopped in his house or absented himself during the procession would be suspected of heresy; and not only the absent, but likewise any who took part in the ceremony carelessly and without observing the ritual. The men escort the idols during the day, while during the night the women watch over them, lavishing upon them demonstrations of joy and respect. The next day they were carried back to the palace with the same ceremonies with which they were taken out. If the sacrifice is accomplished with devotion and in conformity with the ritual, the Indians believe they will obtain rich crops, bodily health, peace, or if they are about to fight, victory, from these idols. Thick cakes, similar to those the ancients made from flour, are offered to them. The natives are convinced that their prayers for harvests will be heard, especially if the cakes are mixed with tears.

(8) “Another feast is celebrated every year when a roughly carved wooden statue is carried into the country and fixed upon a high pole planted in the ground. This first pole is surrounded by similar ones, upon which people hang gifts for the gods, each one according to his means. At nightfall the principal citizens divide these offerings among themselves, just as the priest do with

the cakes and other offerings given them by the women. Whoever offers the divinity the most valuable presents is the most honored. Witnesses are present when the gifts are offered, who announce after the ceremony what every one has given, just as notaries might do in Europe. Each one is thus stimulated by a spirit of rivalry to outdo his neighbor. From sunrise till evening the people dance round this statue, clapping their hands, and when nightfall has barely set in, the image and the pole on which it was fixed are carried away and thrown into the sea, if the country is on the coast, or into the river, if it is along a river's bank. Nothing more is seen of it, and each year a new statue is made.

(9) “The natives celebrate a third festival, during which, after exhuming a long-buried skeleton, they erect a wooden cabin out in the country, leaving the top open so that the sky is visible; upon a plank placed in the center of the cabin they then spread out the bones. Only women surround the cabin, all of them weeping, and each of them offers such gifts as she can afford. The following day the bones are carried to the tomb and are henceforth considered sacred. As soon as they are buried, or everything is ready for their burial, the chief priest addresses the surrounding people from the summit of a mound, upon which he fulfills the functions of orator. Ordinarily he pronounces a eulogy on the deceased, or on the immortality of the soul, or the future life. He says that souls originally came from the icy regions of the north, where perpetual snow prevails. They therefore expiate their sins under the master of that region who is called **Mateczungua**, but they return to the southern regions, where another great sovereign, **Quexuga**, governs. Quexuga is lame and is of a sweet and generous disposition. He surrounds the newly arrived souls with numberless attentions, and with him they enjoy a thousand delights; young girls sing and dance, old grow young and everybody is of the same age, occupied only in giving himself up to joy and pleasure.

(10) “Such are the verbal traditions handed down to them from their ancestors. They are regarded as sacred and considered authentic. Whoever dared to believe differently would be ostracized. These natives also believe that we live under the vault of heaven; they do not question that there are antipodes. They think the sea has its gods, and believe quite as many foolish things about them as Greece, the friend of lies, talked about Nereides and other marine gods—Glaucus, Phorcus, and the rest of them.

(11) “When the priest has finished his speech he inhales the smoke of certain herbs, puffing it in and out, pretending to thus purge and absolve the people from their sins. After this ceremony the natives return home, convinced that the inventions of this impostor not only soothe the spirits, but contribute to the health of their bodies.

(12) “Another fraud of the priests is as follows: When the chief is at death's door and about to give up his soul they send away all witnesses, and then surrounding his bed they perform some secret jugglery which makes him appear to vomit sparks and ashes. It looks like sparks jumping from a bright fire, or those sulphured papers, which people throw into the air to amuse themselves. These sparks, rushing through the air and quickly disappearing, look like those shooting stars which people call leaping wild goats. The moment the dying man expires a cloud of those sparks shoots up 3 cubits high with a noise and quickly vanishes. They hail this flame as the dead man's soul, bidding it a last farewell and accompanying its flight with their wailing, tears, and funeral cries, absolutely convinced that it has taken its flight to heaven. Lamenting and weeping they escort the body to the tomb.

(13) “Widows are forbidden to have commerce with men if the husband has died a natural death; but if he has been executed they may remarry. The natives like chastity in women and hate unchaste women and drive them from the company of the chaste women. The lords have the

right to have two women, but the common people have only one. The men engage in mechanical occupations, especially carpenter work and work with skins of wild beasts, while the women busy themselves with distaff, spindle, and needle.

(14) “Their year is divided into 12 moons. Justice is administered by magistrates, criminals and the guilty being severely punished, especially thieves. Their kings are of gigantic size, as we have already mentioned. All the provinces we have named pay them tribute and these tributes are paid in kind; for they are free from the pest of money, and trade is carried on by exchanging goods. They love games, especially games with balls; they also like lozenges shaken on boards (a game with dice), and they shoot arrows at a mark. They use torches made of pine trees for illumination at night. They likewise have olive-trees. They invite one another to dinner. Their longevity is great and their old age is robust.

(15) “They easily cure fevers with the juice of plants, as they also do their wounds, unless the latter are mortal. They employ simples, of which they are acquainted with a great many. When any of them suffers from a bilious stomach he drinks a draught composed of a common plant called **guahi**, or eats the herb itself; after which he immediately vomits his bile and feels better. This is the only medicament they use, and they never consult doctors except experienced old women, or priests acquainted with the secret virtues of herbs. They have none of our delicacies, and as they have neither the perfumes of Araby nor fumigations nor foreign spices at their disposition, they content themselves with what their country produces and live happily in better health to a more robust old age. Various dishes and different foods are not required to satisfy their appetites, for they are contented with little.

(16) “It is quite laughable to hear how the people salute the lords and how the king responds, especially to his nobles. As a sign of respect the one who salutes puts his hands to his nostrils and gives a bellow like a bull, after which he extends his hands toward the forehead and in front of the face. The king does not bother to return the salutes of his people, and responds to the nobles by half bending his head toward the left shoulder without saying anything.

(17) “I now come to a fact which will appear incredible to your excellency. You already know that the rule of this region is a tyrant of gigantic size. How does it happen that only he and his wife have attained this extraordinary size? No one of their subjects has explained this to me, but I have questioned the above-mentioned licentiate Ayllon, a serious and responsible man, who had his information from those who had shared with him the cost of the expedition. I likewise questioned the servant Francisco, to whom the neighbors had spoken. Neither nature nor birth has given these princes the advantage of size as an hereditary gift; they have acquired it by artifice. While they are still in their cradles and in charge of their nurses, experts in the matter are called, who by the application of certain herbs, soften their young bones. During a period of several days they rub the limbs of the child with these herbs, until the bones become as soft as wax. They then rapidly bend them in such wise that the infant is almost killed. Afterwards they feed the nurse on foods of a special virtue. The child is wrapped in warm covers, the nurse gives it her breast and revives it with her milk, thus gifted with strengthening properties. After some days of rest the lamentable task of stretching the bones is begun anew. Such is the explanation given by the servant, Francisco Chicorana.

(18) “The Dean of La Conception whom I have mentioned, received from the Indians stolen on the vessel that was saved explanations differing from those furnished to Ayllon and his associates. These explanations dealt with medicaments and other means used for increasing the size. There was no torturing of the bones, but a very stimulating diet composed of crushed herbs was used. This diet was given principally at the age of puberty, when it is nature’s tendency to

develop, and sustenance is converted into flesh and bones. Certainly it is an extraordinary fact, but we must remember what is told about these herbs, and if their hidden virtues could be learned I would willingly believe in their efficacy. We understand that only the kings are allowed to use them, for if anyone else dared to taste them, or to obtain the recipe of this diet, he would be guilty of treason, for he would appear to equal the king. It is considered, after a fashion, that the king should not be the size of everybody else, for he should look down upon and dominate those who approach him. Such is the story told to me, and I repeat it for what it is worth. Your excellency may believe it or not.

(19) “I have already sufficiently described the ceremonies and customs of these natives. Let us now turn our attention to the study of nature. Bread and meat have been considered; let us devote our attention to trees.

(20) “There are in this country virgin forests of oak, pine, cypress, nut and almond trees, amongst the branches of which riot wild vines, whose white and black grapes are not used for wine-making, for the people manufacture their drinks from other fruits. There are likewise fig-trees and other kinds of spice-plants. The trees are improved by grafting, just as with us; though without cultivation they would continue in a wild state. The natives cultivate gardens in which grows an abundance of vegetables, and they take an interest in growing their orchards. They even have trees in their gardens. One of these trees is called **corito**, of which the fruit resembles a small melon in size and flavor. Another called **guacomine** bears fruit a little larger than a quince of a delicate and remarkable odor, and which is very wholesome. They plant and cultivate many other trees and plants, of which I shall not speak further, lest by telling everything at one breath I become monotonous.”



Table 1: Native Place Names in the Chronicles of the Explorations for and Establishment of Ayllón's Colony (Swanton 1922:37)

	Documentos Inéditos 1864-1884:14	Documentos Inéditos 1864-1884:22	Oviedo 1851	Martyr 1912	Navarrete 1825-1837	Barcia 1723
1	Duaché	Duache	Duahe	Duhâre, Duharhe	Suache	Duarhe
2	Chicora	Clricora	Chicora	Chicora	Chicora	Chicora
3	Xapira	Xapiracta	Xapira	Xapira	Xapira	Xapira
4	Tatancal		Yta	Hitha	y Tatacal	
5		Taucal	Tancac			
6	Anicatiya	Auricatuye	Anica		Anicatiye	
7			Tiveçocayo	Tihe		Tihie
8	Cocayo	Cayo			Cocayo	
9				Quohathe		Cohoth
10	Guacaya	Quacaya	Guacaya	Guacaia	Guacaya	Xuacaya
11	Xoxi	Xoxi	Xoxi		Xoxi	
12	Sona	Sonpasqui	Sona		Sona	
13	Pasqui		Pasqui		Pasqui	
14	Arambe	Armbe	Aranui	Arambe	Arambe	Arambe
15	Xamunabme	Xaminambe	Xamunamuc	Xamunambe	Xamunambe	Xamunaunbe
16	Chuaque	Nuaq	Huaque		Huaq	
17	Tanzaca	Tancaca	Tanaca	Tanzacca	Tanzaca	Tamceca
18	Yenyochol	Ymgo	Yenyohol		Yenyohol	
19	Paor	Holpaos	Pahoc	Pahor	Paor	Paor
20	Amiscaron	Aunicoon	Yamiscaron		Yamiscaron	
21	Orix	Ouxa	Orixa		Corixaynsinguanin	
22	Guanin	Ynisquanin	Inisiguanin	Inzignanin		Ynsignavin
23	Anoxa	Anoxa	y Noxa		Anoxa	

24	Aymi					
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Table 2: Previously Proposed and Other Historic Communities in the Carolinas that May Be Later Representations of Spanish *Chicora* and French *Chiquola* (*Chicola*)

Spelling	Probable Pronunciation	Source	Historic Location
(1) Chicora			
Chicora	[tʃikóra]	Peter Martyr 1522 (Swanton 1922:333)	Unknown
Chicola	[ʃikola]	1591 LeMoyne Map (Cumming 1962:plate 15)	
Chiquola	[ʃikola]	Laudonnière 1562:381	
(2) Shakori			
Shockoores	[ʃakor]	Bland 1651 (Salley 1911:27)	Nottoway River in southeastern Virginia prior to 1650s; southwest of the Eno in the vicinity of present-day Hillsborough, N.C. from the 1650s into the 1700s.
Cacores	[kakor]	Yardley 1654 (Salley 1911:19)	
Shakory	[ʃakori]	Lederer 1672:28	
Schoccories	[ʃakori]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:242)	
Schocioes	[ʃako]	Barnwell [1713] 1908:31	
Shacco	[ʃako]	Byrd 1866, 2:2	
(3) Sugaree			
Suhere	[suhere]	Bandera [1567] 1990a:261	Unknown
Sugarees	[ʃugəri]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:49)	On Sugar (Sugaw) Creek near the Catawba River not far from the Esaw village.
Sagarees	[sagəri]	Barnwell [1713] 1908:31	
Succa	[ʃukə]	1722 deerskin map (Merrell 1989:93, map 2)	
Sucah	[ʃukə]	1756 map (Merrell 1989, 163, map 5)	
(4) Chico			
Rio ‘Chico’	[tʃiko]	Navarrete 1825-1837, 3:70	North of the Rio San Juan Bautista; the placement on the

			map suggests the Cape Fear River.	
(5) Coree				
Cwareuuock	[kwarəwak]	1590 DeBrÿ map (Cumming 1962:plate 14)	On Pamlico Sound immediately to the southeast of Tuscarora territory. (The spelling on the Smith map is most likely a mis-copying from the DeBrÿ map)	
Cawruuock	[kwarəwak]	1624 Smith map (Cumming 1962:plate 23)		
Corannine	[korənin]	1682 Gascoyne map (Cumming 1962:plate 39)		
Coranines	[korənin]	Archdale 1707 (Salley 1911:286)		
Coranine	[korənin]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:234)		
Coree	[kori]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:174)		
Cor	[kor]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:174)		
Connamox	[konəmaks]	Lawson 1709 (Lefler 1967:234)		(The name in Lawson either shows copying errors or is a nasalized pronunciation of Algonquianized *Corrawoks with <i>n</i> for <i>r</i> and <i>m</i> for <i>w</i> , as well as an English plural -s.)
Coranne	[koræn]	1714 Homman map (Cumming 1962:plate 76)		
Core	[kor]	Barnwell [1713] 1908:46		