

Austin Serio

Chiefdoms, Collapse, and Coalescence

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### Origins of the Chicoran People — The Stone People from the Sun

When one investigates the indigenous history of South Carolina, there is a conspicuous absence of peoples who do not identify as Catawba. The expectation by the 18th century is that there is only one indigenous polity in South Carolina, namely the Catawba polity, which is said comprised solely of Siouan speakers from the Mississippian World. However, such an understanding appears to be a project by the South Carolina government and Catawba polity. Close research of archeology, history, and linguistics demonstrate a much broader diversity of peoples in the Mississippian world, through the 18th century. Understanding the diversity of peoples in the Carolina Piedmont and coastal plain is critical as it changes the way we understand the history of indigenous peoples in South Carolina in the 18th century.

While most anthropologists and historians have placed the Shakori as Piedmont peoples, contemporary Shakori burials are “decorat[ed] graves with seashells such as whelk and clamshell”, a practice said to be “found among many coastal Indian tribes, and probably represented one of a very few cultural survivals”<sup>1</sup>. It is equally instructive that the Saxapahaw are thought to be upstream representatives of the Cape Fear

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, Craig. The Dimery Settlement. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://www.hchsonline.org/places/dimery.html>.

Indians<sup>2</sup> and either the same as, or a branch of, the Shakori<sup>3</sup>. The Haw river, an upstream branch of the Cape Fear, is named for the Saxapahaw<sup>4</sup>. During the contact era, the Saxapahaw are found to be incorporated with the Shakori as slaves<sup>5</sup> to Enoe Will, and are said to dwell upon the “Hau” or “Reatkin”<sup>6</sup>. The Old Haw Fields of the Haw-Cape Fear are named for the Saxapahaw<sup>7</sup>. The Mitchum pottery series attributed to the Saxapahaw is said to be “very similar to the pottery of the contemporary Jenrette” series of the Shakori<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, the earliest recorded accounts of Shakori contact take place on the Cape Fear river, a matter which will be discussed later in further detail. Accordingly, the coastal plain region of the Cape Fear river basin is an appropriate place for such an investigation to begin.

Throughout the Early and Middle Woodland periods, the ceramic assemblages present in the Cape Fear-Pee Dee region are consistent with those present in Algonquian speaking areas. The most notable series of these ceramic assemblages are the Hanover series, the Mount Pleasant Series, and the Cape Fear series. The Mount

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<sup>2</sup> Simpkins, David L. "Aboriginal Intersite Settlement System Change in the Northeastern NC Piedmont during the Contact Period." *University of Chapel Hill*, 1992. <https://archaeology.sites.unc.edu/files/2017/07/Aboriginal-Intersite-Settlement-System-Change-in-the-Northeastern-NC-Piedmont-during-the-Contact-Period-1992-Simpkins.pdf>. Pp.224

<sup>3</sup> Swanton, John Reed. *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. pp.84

<sup>4</sup> Swanton, John Reed. *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. pp.84

<sup>5</sup> Lawson. "Lawson's History of North Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country, Together with the Present State Thereof and ..." HathiTrust. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028518309>. pp.57

<sup>6</sup> Ibid pp.53

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Contact C Piedmont\_Mitchum." UNC. Accessed May 19, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact\\_CPied\\_Mitchum.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact_CPied_Mitchum.htm).

Pleasant series, which dates “within the latter half of the Middle Woodland range (A.D. 300–800)...is represented on sites from southern Virginia to northern South Carolina”<sup>9</sup>. Notably, there is a “a core area north of the Neuse River in the Upper Coastal Plain portion of the Pamlico basin”<sup>10</sup>. Similarly, “Hanover pottery [dates from] 780 B.C. to 1675”<sup>11</sup>. Hanover pottery ranges from “the northern coastal counties of South Carolina” with a “reduced frequency...in the Albemarle Sound region” before “its gradual diminution and disappearance on the southern coast of Virginia”<sup>12</sup>. Finally, the Cape Fear series dates from from the Early Woodland (300 B.C) through through the Late Woodland (1320 C.E). Notably, Cape Fear “sherds are found in Currituck County and the Outer Banks, along the central coast and especially in the Pamlico drainage, lower Cape Fear Valley, and Sandhills”<sup>13</sup>. Overall, the continuities of pottery series throughout the Middle to Late Woodland periods suggest a cultural zone from the southern coast of Virginia, to northern coast of South Carolina. Given that the northern half of this region is well uncontroversially documented as Algonquian, it stands to reason that the continuities of pottery largely suggests an Algonquian speaking region from southern coastal Virginia, down to northern coastal South Carolina.

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<sup>9</sup> Ewen, Charles R., Thomas R. Whyte, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "Recent Woodland Archeology of Coastal North Carolina." *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*, North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number, 30 (2011). <http://www.rla.unc.edu/NCAC/Publications/NCAC30/index.html>. pp.10

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Ibid pp.13

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ibid pp.15

Such an understanding is consistent with the findings that the Shakori autonym<sup>14</sup>, spelt variously as “Shocco”, “Shacco”, “Shakoe”, are derived from the Powhatan “Shacahocan” “to describe a large flat rock situated at the mouth of the creek where it flowed into the river...[which] marked the beginning of what the Powhatans called Paqwachowng”<sup>15</sup>. Virginia Historian William Strachey recorded “Shacquohocan” as meaning “stone”<sup>16</sup>, and as applied to the people, the name is rendered as “Shacahocan-añoughs”<sup>17</sup>, meaning “the stone people”<sup>18</sup> or “people of” stone<sup>19</sup>. “Shacahocan-añoughs” is very likely an earlier rendering of the later “Sucanoro”, “Stuckanox”, “Stuckenock”, upon which there is broad agreement of being either the Eno or Shakori<sup>20</sup>. While there are many contrived tribal name translations, stemming from questionable early records, such findings are consistent with later statements such as it being “a sad, stony Way to [the Shakori village of]

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<sup>14</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.25 — When William Byrd II met with Enoe Will in 1729, Will referred to himself as “Shacco Will”. During the Tuscarora War, it was John Barnwell (1898:394), who reported that they were "called by some Shacioes". Richard Traunter who had a long running relationship with Enoe Will affirms these findings, calling them “Nation of Indians called the *Shockoes*.”

<sup>15</sup> "Otherwise Known As 'Chyinek'." *Richmondmagazine.com*. September 27, 2013. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://richmondmagazine.com/news/shockoe-creek-history/>.

<sup>16</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Appellatives of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia." *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 4 (1895): 376-92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/658384>. pp.388

<sup>17</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Names of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia; with Historical and Ethnological Notes." Accessed May 14, 2019. [https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took_djvu.txt). pp.63

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Richmondhistory2009. "Ruggles Origin for Shockoe 8-10." *Scribd*. September 22, 2012. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130331055350/http://www.scribd.com/doc/36421679/Ruggles-Origin-for-Shockoe-8-10>.

<sup>20</sup> "A Brief History of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation." *Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation*. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://obsn.org/a-brief-history-of-the-occaneechi-band-of-the-saponi-nation/>.

Adshusheer”<sup>21</sup>. The Shakori are so synonymous with stones, that John Lawson complained that “The stony Way made [him] quite lame”<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, it has been repeatedly noted the Shakori are “are much addicted to a Sport”<sup>23</sup> of the “Slinging of stones”<sup>24</sup> which comprises “their chief Recreation”<sup>25</sup>. It is from this activity which we are provided with only one of the two “attested word[s] of the Shoccoree-Eno language...Chenco”, from which the English word “chunkey” is derived<sup>26</sup>. Chenco is thought to be derived from the Algonquian “chungke”<sup>27</sup>. The only other attested word of the Eno-Shoccoree language is “Soc-ca-hick” or Shockahick, referring to “a Commission to be King of these Occhaneeches”<sup>28</sup>. While the restricted nature of the attesting document has precluded analysis by other linguists, the “Shocka” prefix appears quite similar to the aforementioned Shakori autonym, while the suffix “hick” bears close resemblance to the Algonquian “hocan”<sup>29</sup> and the suffix of other Virginia

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<sup>21</sup> Lawson. "Lawson's History of North Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country, Together with the Present State Thereof and ..." HathiTrust. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028518309>. pp.54

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Ibid pp.55

<sup>24</sup> The Discoveries of John Lederer. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/LedererText.html>. pp.15

<sup>25</sup> Ibid pp.15

<sup>26</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.26

<sup>27</sup> Speck, Frank G. "Reptile Lore of the Northern Indians." *The Journal of American Folklore* 36, no. 141 (1923): 273-80. doi:10.2307/534993. pp.278-279

<sup>28</sup> Traunter, Richard. *The Travels of Richard Traunter*. 1698. A private document maintained by the keepers of colonial Williamsburg, Virginia records. Obtained by Shakori tribal historian Rebecca Fecher.

<sup>29</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Names of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia; with Historical and Ethnological Notes." Accessed May 14, 2019. [https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took_djvu.txt). pp.63

Algonquian words such as “tomahawk”. While an analysis of “Soc-ca-hick” is less than certain at the moment, its pairing alongside other clear Algonquian elements demonstrates that the earliest origins of the Shakori can be traced to the Algonquian speaking world. Anthropologists and historians have long struggled to classify the linguistic origins of the Shakori, attesting “It is doubtful if they, or at least the Eno and Shoccoree, were of Siouan stock, as they seem to have differed in physique and habit from their neighbors”<sup>30</sup>. The Shakori later unite with Virginia-Siouan speakers, an alliance which James Mooney cites as grounds for classification of the Shakori as Siouan. However, analysis of said alliance, which will be discussed later, too yields the previously unaccounted presence of Virginia-Algonquian speakers.

Understanding the Cape Fear as the home of the Shakori further clarifies and bolsters their origin as Algonquian, as the Cape Fear Indians are generally thought to be Algonquian speakers<sup>31</sup> who forged ties with peoples further to their south<sup>32</sup>. A closer inspection of the Shakori’s first home on the Cape Fear helps to clarify apparent contradictions stemming from Algonquian origins, Muskogean polities, and Siouan alliances. Returning our attention to the Middle to Late Woodland periods on the Cape Fear, there appears a clear change in social organization, reflecting growing ties to areas South and West of the river basin.

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<sup>30</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. pp.62

<sup>31</sup> Blair A. Rudes; Thomas J. Blumer; J. Alan May (2004). Fogelson, Raymond D. (ed.). *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. pp. 310

<sup>32</sup> Hotz, Amy, and Amy Hotz. "The Lost Tribe." *Wilmington Star News*. November 08, 2007. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://www.starnewsonline.com/lifestyle/20071109/the-lost-tribe>.

Although the Sandhills region is understood as “a place of perpetual mobility”<sup>33</sup> due to its “environmentally challenging nature”<sup>34</sup>, it is “perhaps instructive to note that, beginning in the Middle Woodland period, the mobility range of people living in the Sandhills apparently decreased”<sup>35</sup>. Such an increase in sedentism can be partially attributed to participation in “a well-established trade system, receiving and passing along objects from each direction, retaining some of the trade objects as payment or tribute for their own use”<sup>36</sup>. An increase in sedentism can also be attributed to the elevated importance of agriculture. While some have argued that the poor soil quality of the Sandhills region would prohibit the development of intensive agriculture characteristic of Mississippian societies, key crops of the Eastern Agricultural Complex, such as Yaupon Holly (*Ilex Vomitoria*) and Goosefoot (*Chenopodium berlandieri*) are generally found thriving in “disturbed”<sup>37</sup> soils also characterized by “poor drainage, compacted soil, and/or drought”<sup>38</sup>. Yaupon Holly was used to make “the black drink”, a practice vital to southeastern and Mississippian cultures who

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<sup>33</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.59

<sup>34</sup> Ibid pp.81

<sup>35</sup> Ibid pp.82

<sup>36</sup> MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The McLean Mound, Cumberland County." *Southern Indian Studies* XVII (1966). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS\\_18.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS_18.pdf). pp.43

<sup>37</sup> Hollenbach, Kandace D., and Stephen B. Carmody. "Agricultural Innovation and Dispersal in Eastern North America - Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Environmental Science." *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*. February 15, 2019. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://oxfordre.com/environmentalscience/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780199389414.001.0001/acrefore-9780199389414-e-309>.

<sup>38</sup> Gilman, Edward F., and Dennis G. Watson. "Ilex Vomitoria." <http://hort.ufl.edu/trees/ILEVOMA.pdf>.

revered it “as a sacramental beverage in many social and ritual contexts”<sup>39</sup>. Therefore, the ability for Yaupon Holly to thrive in a region such as the Sandhills is telling, as it would permit the transmission of Mississippian traditions from further south by way of emergent trade networks. The local variant of these extra-regional dynamics has been dubbed the “Town Creek-Irene axis”<sup>40</sup> by J. Jefferson Reid.

An important and under-examined phenomenon in the Cape Fear region is the sand-mound complex, which emerges “sometime in the Middle or Late Woodland period”<sup>41</sup>. The sand-mound cultural complex “occurs in a dynamic social environment with an intrusive Mississippian chiefdom to the immediate west (Oliver 1992), Siouan communities in the Piedmont (Ward and Davis 1993), and Algonquian groups on the coast (Phelps 1983)”<sup>42</sup>. Critically, “the sand-mound complex [shows] relationships which can be traced southward along the coastal plain to and around the southern tip of Florida”<sup>43</sup> heavily suggesting “the northern expression of a southern culture trait”<sup>44</sup>, rather than a “local innovation”<sup>45</sup>. Both the McLean and Buie mounds of the complex “exhibit some association with the Mississippian Pee Dee and Savannah traditions to

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<sup>39</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “Departure from Tampa Bay”

<sup>40</sup> Boudreaux, Edmond A. "A Mississippian Ceramic Chronology for the Town Creek Region." *North Carolina Archeology* 56 (2007). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_56.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_56.pdf). pp.79

<sup>41</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.62

<sup>42</sup> Ibid pp.82

<sup>43</sup> MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The McLean Mound, Cumberland County." *Southern Indian Studies* XVII (1966). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS\\_18.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS_18.pdf). pp.38

<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

the west and south”<sup>46</sup> and are seen as “being contemporary with the Lamar and Pee Dee Mississippian cultures to the west and south into Georgia”<sup>47</sup>. Such an association with cultural zones to the south and west are consistent with the areas identified as the Town Creek-Irene axis. The distributions of sand-mounds “extend[s] into the Coastal Plain” with “at least one mound...documented on the Southern North Carolina coast” but “do not extend into the Piedmont, nor do they appear to cross the Pee Dee River into South Carolina”<sup>48</sup> suggesting a previously overlooked cultural region of the Town-Creek Irene Axis.

While the sand-mounds are generally thought to “represent a Late Woodland culture”<sup>49</sup>, which would be in step with the Algonquian heritage of the region, it is more instructive to understand that such mounds emerge “in part [as] a response to [the] regional and extra-regional social dynamics” of the Town Creek-Irene axis<sup>50</sup>. It is imperative to note that the “advent of [Mississippian] chiefdoms” is seen as synonymous with the “institutionaliz[ation] [of]...inequality...in the Southeast”<sup>51</sup>. Accordingly, “the emergence of a collective [sand-]burial-mound phenomenon,

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<sup>46</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.71

<sup>47</sup> Ibid pp.62

<sup>48</sup> Ibid pp.59

<sup>49</sup> Ibid pp.59

<sup>50</sup> Ibid pp.59

<sup>51</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “Indians”

concurrent with extra-regional trade [within the Town Creek-Irene axis], is analogous to similar developments throughout the Late Woodland Southeast”<sup>52</sup>.

The general function of the sand-mound ossuaries are understood as “a social response...correlated with increasing inequality or heterogeneity” to “serve as a mechanism of social integration”<sup>53</sup>. Such mounds effectively “serve a dual purpose” by “creat[ing] a sense of solidarity and mask[ing] inequality”<sup>54</sup>. Overall, the ceremonial complex serves to “simultaneously reproduce the very social relations that enhance heterogeneity and that provide impetus for ritual”<sup>55</sup> to forge and maintain a “collective identity”<sup>56</sup>. The institutionalization of inequality in the Southeast and Cape Fear-Sandhills region is understood as a “negotiatio[n] toward risk management” through the “interregional...and inter-group relations” which comprise the emergent Mississippian chiefdoms, to the effect of “control over trade”<sup>57</sup>. The interregional and inter-group relations which comprise the Sandhill’s “control over trade” can again be understood in terms of participation within the Town Creek Irene axis.

While sand-mound burial complexes are “common to the coastal regions of the southeastern United States”, those of the Cape Fear-Sandhills also “relate to ossuary-type burials found northward in [the Algonquian-speaking regions of] Virginia, Maryland

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<sup>52</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.62

<sup>53</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.80

<sup>54</sup> Ibid pp.80

<sup>55</sup> Ibid pp.81

<sup>56</sup> Ibid pp.81

<sup>57</sup> Ibid pp.82

and Delaware”<sup>58</sup>. The structure of the sand-mounds “are in effect inverted ossuaries rather than tomb structures” exhibiting a blending of “customs [related]...to the Algonquian tribes' charnel houses (quioccosan houses)” and “the bone-cleaning and boxed preservation of bones by the Choctaws and others in the Southeast”<sup>59</sup>. While the incorporation of bone cleaning appears as a cultural importation from the Mississippian world to the Southeast, the burial remains are of those “wide spread to the north along the coastal zone of the Middle Atlantic States [and have] been reported also from a few places in the Piedmont”<sup>60</sup>. Summarily, the sand-mound burial complex can be understood as a Mississippian rendition of Algonquian burial practices, and therefore indicative of a Mississippianized Algonquian population.

Notably, other pottery samples from the Sandhills area are also more closely connected to those associated with other regions. There is the curious presence of Deptford pottery<sup>61</sup>, a series generally synonymous with South Carolina, the Savannah River, and areas further south<sup>62</sup>. There is a marked presence of Middle Woodland Yadkin Pottery in the Sandhills region. Yadkin pottery is “typically not considered a

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<sup>58</sup> MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The McLean Mound, Cumberland County." *Southern Indian Studies* XVII (1966). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS\\_18.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS_18.pdf). pp.45

<sup>59</sup> Ibid pp.42

<sup>60</sup> MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The McLean Mound, Cumberland County." *Southern Indian Studies* XVII (1966). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS\\_18.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS_18.pdf). pp.74

<sup>61</sup> Herbert, Joseph M. "Ceramics." *Woodland Pottery Sourcing in the Carolina Sandhills* 29 (2008). <http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/pdf/ResRep29.pdf>. pp.21

<sup>62</sup> Cordell, Ann S. "CHRONOLOGICAL VARIABILITY IN CERAMIC PASTE: A COMPARISON OF DEPTFORD AND SAVANNAH PERIOD POTTERY IN THE ST. MARYS RIVER REGION OF NORTHEAST FLORIDA AND SOUTHEAST GEORGIA." *Southeastern Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (1993): 33-58. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40712986>. Pp.33

Coastal Plain series...is regularly represented in assemblages from the Sandhills”<sup>63</sup> yielding the conclusion that “The absence of Yadkin series pottery elsewhere on the Coastal Plain suggests a cultural boundary in the Sandhills”<sup>64</sup>. There is also a clear and significant presence of Piedmont and Town Creek-connected artifacts within sand-mound sites, namely Yadkin and Caraway arrow points<sup>65</sup> and pipes synonymous with “non-mound sites in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain of North Carolina and southeastern Virginia”<sup>66</sup> as well as Town Creek<sup>67</sup>. The presence of Caraway style artifacts is significant, it is understood “the southern Piedmont's version of the widespread Lamar style...represent[ing] the culmination of the Badin, Yadkin, Uwharrie, and Dan River ceramic traditions with an overlay of some Pee Dee influence”<sup>68</sup>. Additionally, “Mica cutouts...thought to be [sourced] [from] the [Mississippian] Appalachian Summit”<sup>69</sup>, as well as “other artifacts [that] are fairly common elements

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<sup>63</sup> Ewen, Charles R., Thomas R. Whyte, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "Recent Woodland Archeology of Coastal North Carolina." *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*, North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number, 30 (2011). <http://www.rla.unc.edu/NCAC/Publications/NCAC30/index.html>. pp.9

<sup>64</sup> Ewen, Charles R., Thomas R. Whyte, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "Recent Woodland Archeology of Coastal North Carolina." *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*, North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number, 30 (2011). <http://www.rla.unc.edu/NCAC/Publications/NCAC30/index.html>. pp.9

<sup>65</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp. 72-73

<sup>66</sup> Ibid pp.76

<sup>67</sup> Ibid pp.76

<sup>68</sup> "RLA Archeology of NC - Woodland - South Pied L Wood - Caraway Phase." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArcheoNC/time/wood\\_SPied\\_L\\_Caraway.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArcheoNC/time/wood_SPied_L_Caraway.htm).

<sup>69</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.79

of...Mississippian culture"<sup>70</sup> have been retrieved from sand-mound burials. Such a constellation of artifacts continues to suggest a predominately Algonquian population connected to Piedmont and Mississippian populations. Quite significantly, "The pottery from Town Creek was so different from other assemblages in central North Carolina that Coe (1952:308) was convinced the site represented the movement of people **from the coast** into the North Carolina Piedmont and the subsequent displacement of indigenous groups"<sup>71</sup>.

Furthermore, the documented presence of Shakori pottery (Jenrette) at the Piedmont Doerschuk site, just outside of Town Creek, is highly significant. The presence of Shakori pottery near Town Creek is vital to account for, as it serves not only to link the Shakori to the the Yadkin-Pee Dee region, but also the Town Creek polity. Understanding the Shakori connection to the Town Creek polity better explains the discontinuity between Hillsborough pottery (of which Shakori-Jenrette pottery is derived)<sup>72</sup> and the preceding Haw River phase. The Town Creek connection illustrates the origin source of "Ceramic differences" characterized by the Hillsborough-Jenrette-Shakori series, and adds depth to the "stron[g] suggest[ion] that the early Hillsboro phase population moved here from outside the area, much like Pee Dee in the southern

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<sup>70</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.79

<sup>71</sup> Boudreaux, Edmond A. "A Mississippian Ceramic Chronology for the Town Creek Region." *North Carolina Archeology* 56 (2007). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_56.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_56.pdf). pp.6

<sup>72</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - Piedmont L Wood - Hillsboro Phase." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_pied\\_L\\_Hillsboro.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_pied_L_Hillsboro.htm).

Piedmont”<sup>73</sup>. Additionally, the interconnected and migratory character of the Sandhills-Coastal plain and Piedmont also suggests that the Catawba-Siouan Woccon did not have their first origins in the coastal region, but rather, in the Piedmont. Taken as a whole, the assemblages of the sand-mound burial complex and surrounding areas demonstrates a clear participation within the broader Town Creek-Irene interaction axis.

It is noteworthy that the sand-mounds may be “indirectly [compared] to earth mounds containing cremations and flexed and secondary burials in the western parts of Virginia”<sup>74</sup> and the “old burial mounds on Jefferson’s Virginia plantation”<sup>75</sup>. The indirect connection to the more northerly mounds excavated by Thomas Jefferson and attributed to the Monahoac and Monacan is profound, as it helps to explain a cultural affinity which would have made the Shakori comfortable migrating from the Cape Fear<sup>76</sup>. Some Shakori are later found amongst the Monacan and Monahoac under the name “Shachaconia” or “Shackaconia” from which the previously discussed Shacahocan is derived<sup>77</sup>. When John Lederer first visited Algonquian and Siouan Piedmont Indians in 1670, among which the Eno and Shakori are mentioned, he noted

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<sup>73</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Contact C Piedmont\_Jenrette." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact\\_CPied\\_Jenrette.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact_CPied_Jenrette.htm).

<sup>74</sup> MacCord, Howard A., Sr. "The McLean Mound, Cumberland County." *Southern Indian Studies* XVII (1966). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS\\_18.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/SIS_18.pdf). pp.45

<sup>75</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.80

<sup>76</sup> "Monticello." Jefferson's Excavation of an Indian Burial Mound. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/jeffersons-excavation-indian-burial-mound>.

<sup>77</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Appellatives of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia." *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 4 (1895): 376-92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/658384>. pp.388

that “Where a Battel has been fought, or a Colony seated, they raise a small Pyramid of these stones, consisting of the number slain or transplanted”<sup>78</sup>. Additionally, John Lawson noted a similar practice amongst the Santee who raised “A Mole or Pyramid of Earth [with] the Mould thereof being worked very smooth and even, sometimes higher or lower, according to the Dignity of the Person whose Monument it is”<sup>79</sup>.

Ultimately however, the clearest evidence linking the sand-mound burial complex of the Cape Fear to the Town Creek-Irene axis is the presence of materials connected to the Town Creek site. Although most of the Late Woodland pottery recovered directly from sand-mound sites appear “to be a late expression of the Hanover tradition”<sup>80</sup> synonymous with Algonquian speaking regions, there are variations within this later expression of the Hanover series that are especially significant. Namely, “The circular and flat reed-punctate bowls suggest some affinity with Pee Dee” pottery, as “Circular reed-punctate decorations noted on sand-tempered plain ware from the lower Cape Fear were suspected by South (1976:42) to represent a relationship with Lamar period traditions”<sup>81</sup>. While must be noted that “other decorative features of Pee Dee pottery...are not evident”<sup>82</sup>, such discontinuities can best be

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<sup>78</sup> The Discoveries of John Lederer. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/LedererText.html>. pp.4

<sup>79</sup> Lawson. "Lawson's History of North Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country, Together with the Present State Thereof and ..." HathiTrust. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028518309>. pp.17

<sup>80</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.71

<sup>81</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.71

<sup>82</sup> Ibid pp.71

understood as a blending of traditions exemplified by the relationship between the sand-mounds and Algonquian ossuary houses. A similar relation is seen in the character of Shakori wigwams. Described as “usually round instead of long as among the coast tribes”<sup>83</sup> yet “resembled that of the mountain Indians”<sup>84</sup> being made not “of Bark, but of Watling and Plaister”<sup>85</sup>. These may be the oval houses attributed to Town Creek<sup>86</sup>, and possibly those later observed by the Ocaneechi at the Frederick’s site<sup>87</sup>. Additionally, it is thought that “the plain pottery from the McLean Mound was likely associated with the Pee Dee culture”<sup>88</sup>. The mound in question is “dated as late as the fifteenth century”<sup>89</sup> which would make such artifacts contemporaneous with the occupation and political rule of Town Creek (1200 C.E. - 1400 C.E)<sup>90</sup>. Finally, the presence of Pee Dee associated pottery at the McLean mound can be seen as reflective of the “rimsherd at Cameron [sand-]Mound ‘secured by these mound builders from much further westward’...presumably a sherd from either the Piedmont or

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<sup>83</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp.63

<sup>84</sup> Ibid pp.63

<sup>85</sup> The Discoveries of John Lederer. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/LedererText.html>. pp.15

<sup>86</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - South Pied L Wood - PeeDee Culture." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_SPied\\_L\\_PeeDee.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_SPied_L_PeeDee.htm).

<sup>87</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Contact C Piedmont\_Fredricks." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact\\_CPied\\_Fredricks.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/contact_CPied_Fredricks.htm).

<sup>88</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.62

<sup>89</sup> Ibid pp.62

<sup>90</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - South Pied L Wood - PeeDee Culture." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_SPied\\_L\\_PeeDee.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_SPied_L_PeeDee.htm).

Appalachian Summit Region”<sup>91</sup>. Together, such pottery samples serve as “indicators of contact with Mississippian groups”<sup>92</sup>, namely, those at the Town Creek polity. Although, excavations of sand-mounds largely yields the previously discussed Cape Fear, Hanover, and Mount Pleasant series<sup>93</sup> synonymous with Algonquian speaking regions, the presence of a Pee-Dee influenced ceramics and contact with regions further West demonstrate a clear participation in the Town Creek-Irene axis. Overall, “ceramics in the mound are similar to later types such Pee Dee and Irene”<sup>94</sup>.

In conclusion, the sand-mound cultural complex appears to be the cultural domain of a Algonquian population, Mississippianized through participation in the Town Creek-Irene axis. The sand-mound people engaged in alliance formation and trade connections within the Town Creek-Irene axis, which materialized as a response to the institutionalized inequality of Mississippian society. Consequentially, sand-hills alliance formation most clearly understood as a coastal extension of the Town Creek-Irene axis. Therefore, the Sandhills burial-mound complex, which spans from the Neuse to the Great Pee Dee, can be included as falling under the political rule of a broader Town Creek polity.

The artifacts which emerge from the Town Creek-Irene axis are broadly referred to as “Pee Dee”, but more clearly, comprise a general “ceramic construct...Stanley

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<sup>91</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.81

<sup>92</sup> Ibid pp.81

<sup>93</sup> Herbert, Joseph M. "Ceramics." *Woodland Pottery Sourcing in the Carolina Sandhills* 29 (2008). <http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/pdf/ResRep29.pdf>. pp.21

<sup>94</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - Coastal\_MWood." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_Coast\\_MWood.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_Coast_MWood.htm).

South and Leland Ferguson...refer to as Chicora”<sup>95</sup>. The generalized construct of a Chicoran cultural zone comprised of varying cultural regions is in line with observations from other nearby paramount chiefdoms, most notably, that of neighboring Coosa<sup>96</sup>. Before broaching the subject of Late Mississippian paramount chiefdoms however, it will be more instructive to understand the development of the Town Creek polity upon which much of this activity and political connection is centered. To understand the nature of the Town Creek polity, we shall turn our attention to the era in which it ruled, the Middle Mississippian.

The Middle Mississippian period is generally defined as ranging from 1100 C.E. through 1350 C.E.<sup>97</sup> and is generally characterized by the spread of the Mississippian mode of organization<sup>98</sup>. The Mississippian mode of organization can best be understood as supporting an economic mode of production known as “*staple finance*, in which agricultural surpluses support the institutions of chiefship”<sup>99</sup>. The rise of staple finance economics allowed for “The population of existing Mississippian chiefdoms to expan[d] during this middle period, and it was at this time that some few of the

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<sup>95</sup> Boudreaux, Edmond A. "A Mississippian Ceramic Chronology for the Town Creek Region." *North Carolina Archeology* 56 (2007). [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_56.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_56.pdf). pp.6

<sup>96</sup> Hudson, Charles, Marvin Smith, David Hally, Richard Polhemus, and Chester DePratter. "Coosa: A Chiefdom in the Sixteenth-Century Southeastern United States." *American Antiquity* 50, no. 4 (1985): 723-37. doi:10.2307/280163. Pp.735

<sup>97</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid* — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>99</sup> BECK, ROBIN. *CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH*. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.30

chiefdoms achieved their most elaborated form”<sup>100</sup>. As a result of such rapid growth, “the number of chiefdoms in the southeast increased”<sup>101</sup> markedly resulting in “the period during which the largest and most elaborate mounds were built; it was also the period during which the most impressive artistic productions of the Mississippian period were realized”<sup>102</sup>. The political rule of Town Creek, marked by the construction of a large central mound, is thought to have occurred from 1200 C.E. - 1400 C.E.<sup>103</sup>, suggesting the rise of Town Creek can be understood as part of the broader growth in Mississippian organizing. However, “Such population growth also resulted in increased “competition for resources, perhaps most especially for fish and game” thereby “contributing to an increased level of warfare among the chiefdoms”<sup>104</sup>. Eventually “warfare became a grim concomitant of Mississippian life”<sup>105</sup>.

Consequentially, “the developmental path of any particular Mississippian society was not onward and upward forever”<sup>106</sup> as “Archaeological evidence indicates the occurrence of a pattern of cycling in complex and simple chiefdoms — a seeming

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<sup>100</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>101</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>102</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>103</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - South Pied L Wood - PeeDee Culture." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_SPied\\_L\\_PeeDee.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_SPied_L_PeeDee.htm).

<sup>104</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid* — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* — taken from section “Indians”

endemic rise and fall of chiefdoms through time”<sup>107</sup>. Perhaps the most striking and relevant example is “in the Savannah River area in present-day Georgia and South Carolina, [where] there were a number of chiefdoms that rose and fell between 1100 and 1450 ce, after which the area was abandoned until around 1660 ce”<sup>108</sup>. While it is likely that some combination of environmental degradation due to soil depletion, an unfavorable shift in climate, and warfare led to the political decline of Town Creek, the most weight must be given over to warfare. The competitive character of Mississippian societies suggests that it was ultimately resource competition caused by both unfavorable environmental conditions and a larger population which spurred war. The Cofitachequi origin story remembered by the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles suggests the war-induced political decline of Town Creek was the product of interregional strife and a cycling of Mississippian Chiefdoms.

The Apalachees recall “plant[ing] this Colony, the Cofachites, wholly more towards the north of America, in a fenny and somewhat barren Country” until one day, “knowing that they were then far from their best and most valiant men” the Cofitachequi “f[e]ll upon their Neighbours the Apalachites...to force them out of their habitations” desiring that “after they should become Matters thereof”<sup>109</sup>. The “fenny and somewhat barren Country” could be understood as land suffering from resource depletion resulting in the general character that “they were then far from their best and most valiant men”. The competition grew so intense that “Civil War brought among the

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<sup>107</sup> Ethridge, Robbie Franklin, and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall. Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone the Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South. Lincoln (Neb.): University of Nebraska Press, 2009. pp.18

<sup>108</sup> Ibid pp.18

<sup>109</sup> Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbian Vocabulary. London: Dring, 1666. pp.210-211

[Cofitachequi], who mutually destroy'd one the other, till at-last, after many fights, the Apalachites joyning with that party which carried on their interests, the other was forced to quit the Provinces of Amana and Matica"<sup>110</sup> after refusing to convert to the religion of the Apalachees<sup>111</sup> and set out "to find out a more settled habitation elsewhere"<sup>112</sup>.

Around the same time Town Creek (1400) and the Savannah River Valley were abandoned (1450 C.E), Mound B was raised at the Mulberry site attributed to Cofitachequi (1450-1500)<sup>113</sup>. Notably, Mound B is the tallest "originally about 12-15 feet (3.7-4.6m) high"<sup>114</sup>. However "evidence from the contexts associated with public architecture shows that the depopulation which occurred after the early Town Creek phase did not result in the site's abandonment...Instead, there is site-wide evidence for the performance of ritual activities, some aspects of which appear to have been integrative in purpose and community-wide in scope"<sup>115</sup>. In line with the centralization of political power at the Mulberry site and political abandonment of Town Creek, a similar phenomenon can be observed at the important town of Talimeco. Although Talimeco's main period of political power dates to the "A.D. 1250-1400 interval, there

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid pp.210-211

<sup>111</sup> Ibid pp.216

<sup>112</sup> Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. *The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbean Vocabulary*. London: Dring, 1666. pp.216

<sup>113</sup> DePratter, Chester B. "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence." Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa\\_staffpub](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa_staffpub). pp.144

<sup>114</sup> Ibid pp.144

<sup>115</sup> COMMUNITY AND RITUAL WITHIN THE MISSISSIPPIAN CENTER AT TOWN CREEK Boudreaux, Edmond A. "COMMUNITY AND RITUAL WITHIN THE MISSISSIPPIAN CENTER AT TOWN CREEK." *American Antiquity* 78, no. 3 (2013): 483-501. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43184893>. pp.492

is some indication of later use”<sup>116</sup>. At the time of Soto’s *entrada*, Talimeco is still observed as the final resting place of Cofitachequi’s leaders with well maintained mound temples. The important matter of Talimeco will be further expanded upon during the discussion of Soto’s visit. Overall, the creation of the largest mound at the Mulberry site alongside the abandonment of many sites within the Town-Creek Irene axis suggests a centralization of political power in Cofitachequi, while the continued ritual usage of Town Creek and Talimeco clarifies the event as a shift in political power, as opposed to a population shift. This shift in political organizing can be understood “building societies above the chiefdom level” dubbed “paramount chiefdoms”<sup>117</sup>. Paramount chiefdoms are understood as “constellations of chiefdoms under the sway of a particular chiefdom that was dominant or paramount...[and] could be multicultural and multilingual”<sup>118</sup>. Such an understanding of paramount chiefdoms is consistent with the knowledge of Cofitachequi being a “multilingual paramountcy, with speakers of Muskogean, Catawban, and possibly Yuchi...languages, living in some kind of amity, and very likely with other unknown languages present as well”<sup>119</sup>.

A further investigation of the an origin story of the Cofitachequi chiefdom yields info pertinent to understanding the linguistic dynamics of the Town Creek-Irene axis and Chicoran cultural complex. The Caribs of the Lesser Antilles relate to us that they

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<sup>116</sup> DePratter, Chester B. "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence." Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa\\_staffpub](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa_staffpub). pp.144

<sup>117</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid* — taken from section “Indians”

<sup>119</sup> Beck, Robin, and Robin Beck. "On Interpreting Cofitachequi." *Academia.edu - Share Research*. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On\\_Interpreting\\_Cofitachequi](http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On_Interpreting_Cofitachequi). pp.475

“came to Inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites”<sup>120</sup> and claim “their first origine is from the Cofachites”. It is instructive to note that the Provinces of Amana and Matica are said to be close to “the famous River which the French have called the River of May”<sup>121</sup>. The “River of May” is known today as the Saint John’s River in Florida. The Caribs of the Lesser Antilles changed their autonym from Cofitachequi after being named “Caribbians in the Country of the Apalachites”<sup>122</sup>. The Cofitachequi invasion of Amana and Matica provinces earned some Cofitachequi the name “Caribbians” to indicate “a sort of people added, or suddenly and unexpectedly coming in strangers, or stout and valiant men; as if they would express, that a generous people, whom they expected not, were come upon them, and had been added to them”<sup>123</sup>. The “Carribbians” of the Lesser Antilles remark that “Cofachites...hath been kept up only in some weak and wretched Families which liv’d more towards the **north of Florida**”<sup>124</sup>. The story of religious struggle and migration to the northern areas of Spanish Florida by Tupi-Carib speakers, who would have their first origin in South America, appears corroborated by the Cusabo by way of James Adair. Adair recorded that “those seven tribes on the Koosah river, who spoke a different tongue from the Muskohge and preserved “a fixed oral tradition that they

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<sup>120</sup> Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. *The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbean Vocabulary*. London: Dring, 1666. pp.210-211

<sup>121</sup> Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. *The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbean Vocabulary*. London: Dring, 1666. pp.216

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid* pp.210

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid* — pp.215

<sup>124</sup> Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. *The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbean Vocabulary*. London: Dring, 1666. pp.215

formerly came from South America, and after sundry struggles in defense of liberty settled their present abode”<sup>125</sup> at the head of the Savannah River.

Furthermore, the Cusabo were tributaries to the Cofitachequi proper “as late as the 1670s”<sup>126</sup>. Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón “reported that the unconverted coastal [Cusabo] province of Escamazu was still at that time subject to the ‘Mico of Cofatache’ following his 1674–75 visitation of the Florida missions”<sup>127</sup> and “the chief of Kiawa accompanied Woodward on his expedition to visit the chief of ‘Chufytachyque’ and acted as his interpreter”<sup>128</sup>. The aforementioned statement implies the Cusabo and Cofitachequi spoke the same non-Muskogean language. Accordingly, Dr. Blair A. Rudes has found Tupi-Carib and Arawak translations for remaining Cusabo words<sup>129</sup>, as well the borrowings of grammatical structures and Arawak loanwords in the Catawba language<sup>130</sup>. Any further doubts of the presence of Tupi-Carib speakers in South Carolina can be assuaged by the following statement referring specifically to the English towns around Charleston<sup>131</sup>: “The Spanish Governor Dionisio de la Vega, who

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<sup>125</sup> Brinton, Daniel G. Notes on the Floridian Peninsula: its literary history, Indian tribes and antiquities. Philadelphia: Joseph Sabin, 1859. Web.. <https://lccn.loc.gov/01021606>. — CHAPTER II. THE APALACHES

<sup>126</sup> Beck, Robin, and Robin Beck. "On Interpreting Cofitachequi." Academia.edu - Share Research. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On\\_Interpreting\\_Cofitachequi](http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On_Interpreting_Cofitachequi). pp.470

<sup>127</sup> Ibid pp.470

<sup>128</sup> Swanton, John Reed. Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors. Washington: G.P.O., 1922. Pp.25

<sup>129</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Pre-Columbian Links to the Caribbean: Evidence Connecting Cusabo to Taino." Accessed May 14, 2019. <http://lavis.as.ua.edu/handouts/rudes.pdf>.

<sup>130</sup> Picone, Michael D., and Catherine Evans. Davies. New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. Pp.86

<sup>131</sup> Ibid pp.89

on August 27, 1728, remarked that **“all around their [i.e the English] towns are settlements, where they have congregated a large number of Caribe Indians,** allowing them those liberties to which they are accustomed, and in this manner they have succeeded in annihilating over four-fifths of the number of Indians who had sought refuge”<sup>132</sup>.

By understanding the Cusabo as tributaries to the Mico of Cofitachequi, it also becomes possible to understand what precisely is referred to by the name “Chicora”. Chicora has long been assumed to be a geographical term interchangeable with Cofitachequi<sup>133</sup>. However, the Cusabo refer to the Mico of Cofitachequi, “the greatest Lord of this country”, as “Chiquola”<sup>134</sup>. Furthermore, Francisco de Chicora was given the name “Chicora” after his baptism “because he spoke so much of this Lord of Chiquola whose subject he was”<sup>135</sup>. Therefore, Chicora or Chiquola can be more clearly understood as the proper name or autonym for the Mico of Cofitachequi.

The dispersion of Tupi-Carib linguistics and presence of Algonquian speakers is comports with the aforementioned understanding of Cofitachequi as a multilingual paramountcy “very likely [comprised] of other unknown languages present as well”<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> Picone, Michael D., and Catherine Evans. Davies. *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. pp.89

<sup>133</sup> DePratter, Chester B. "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence." Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa\\_staffpub](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa_staffpub). pp.144

<sup>134</sup> Quattlebaum, Paul. *The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint, 2009.pp.47

<sup>135</sup> Ibid pp.48

<sup>136</sup> Beck, Robin, and Robin Beck. "On Interpreting Cofitachequi." Academia.edu - Share Research. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On\\_Interpreting\\_Cofitachequi](http://www.academia.edu/5676213/On_Interpreting_Cofitachequi). pp.475

Consistent with the overlooked Algonquian component of the Cofitachequi paramountcy, the “Renape mărăkak would be ultimately from Tupi (Lingoa geral) murukuja, which was adopted in the form of mericoya by the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles, by way of which the fruit, with its Tupi-Carib name, would have reached the country of the Southern Algonquians”<sup>137</sup>. Additionally, the grammatical structure of “with first person markers in /n/“ appears to be another Tupi-Carib influence as “there are [no other languages apart from Catawba] in the Southeast” containing such a structure “with the sole exception of the Virginia and Carolina Algonquian languages”<sup>138</sup>. Generally however, the prevalence of Muskogean place names, extensive contact with the Apalachees, and the understanding of Cofitachequi as “colony”<sup>139</sup> of the Apalachee, suggests the usage of Muskogean trade language by Tupi-Carib speakers. While there may be some debate as to whether a Tupi-Carib or Muskogean language was the primary language of Cofitachequi, the presence of nearby Catawban speakers should not be viewed as indicating the Cofitachequi to be Catawban as some such as Dr. Blair Rudes has suggested<sup>140</sup>. Dr. Brooke Bower of the Catawba nation has confirmed to me that the Catawba understand themselves as distinct from the Cofitachequi, and know the Cofitachequi as Muskogean speakers.

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<sup>137</sup> Gerard, William R. "Virginia's Indian Contributions to English." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 9, no. 1 (1907): 87-112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/659021>. pp.96

<sup>138</sup> Picone, Michael D., and Catherine Evans. Davies. *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. pp.91

Rochefort, Charles De., and John Davies. *The History of the Caribby-Islands: With an Caribbean Vocabulary*. London: Dring, 1666. pp.210-211

<sup>140</sup> Picone, Michael D., and Catherine Evans. Davies. *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. pp.86

Understanding the Algonquian Cape Fear region as belonging to the Muskogean-speaking Chicoran cultural paramountcy helps to clarify the seemingly enigmatic linguistic identity of the Coree or Coranine Indians. The Coranine are said to have a language similar to the one spoken “beyond the Mountains”<sup>141</sup>. As will be discussed further in depth later, it is extremely dubious to suggest a Cherokee presence in the Mississippian world, particularly in the sand-hills, coastal Cape Fear region, and Town Creek-Irene axis. Ample evidence demonstrates the Cherokee were not present in the Mississippian-Appalachian summit until sometime after the Soto and Pardo expeditions. Therefore, the most common suggestion of a Cherokee affiliation cannot be considered credible<sup>142</sup>. A broader Iroquoian affiliation is suggested based on the Coree’s later cohabitation with the Tuscarora, but a myriad of other non-Iroquoian speakers, such as the Saponi, Saxapahaw, and Eno, are found living amongst the Tuscarora after the fall of the Mississippian World. Therefore, a Iroquoian affiliation on any level for the Coree is not a credible suggestion. The various names of the Coree such as “Connamocksocks”<sup>143</sup> and “Connamox” appear as generally Algonquian, and the Coree also later confederate with the Algonquian speaking Mattamuskeet. However, the usage of a non-Catawban and non-Iroquiouan language spoken from beyond the mountains is likely Muskogean, and would be reflective of the Hillabee nearby on the Pee Dee. Such findings are instep with the dualities of the deep Algonquian heritage of the region and participation in a Muskogean-speaking cultural

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<sup>141</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.22

<sup>142</sup> Ibid Pp.22

<sup>143</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.22

complex extending along the Cape Fear basin to the Savannah river. Additionally, Chief John Squires of the Mattamuskeet-Machapunga<sup>144</sup> is thought to be the same Squires we know are core Shakori family<sup>145</sup>, and may possibly be connected to the passing of the oral history of Chicora. The most deeply held Shakori memories of Shakori history begin with memories of Chicora, rather than Cofitachequi. Accordingly, we shall turn to the voyage of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

The voyages of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón comprise a monumental moment in both Shakori history, as well as the broader history of the colonization of the area now referred to as the United States. The arrival of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón's slavers, Pedro de Quexos and Francisco Gordillo, paves the way the for the founding of the first European colony in Eastern North America<sup>146</sup>. Against Ayllon's orders to cultivate friendly relations with the indigenous peoples they encounter, Quexos resolve to trade with the Chicoran people for 30 days before duplicitously taking some 60 Chicoras as slaves<sup>147</sup>. One Chicoran Indian survives the perilous journey of enslavement on Hispaniola and is set free through a commission headed by Diego Columbus<sup>148</sup>. He is baptized, given the name "Francisco de Chicora", and is taken back to Spain<sup>149</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> Editor. "SQUIRES Surname Research." Coastal Carolina Indian Center. February 06, 2017. Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/squires-surname-research/>.

<sup>145</sup> Shakori Tribal Historian Rebecca Fecher

<sup>146</sup> Hoffman, Paul E. "The Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (1984): 419-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30146593>. pp. 421

<sup>147</sup> Ibid pp.420

<sup>148</sup> Johnson, J.G. A Spanish Settlement in Carolina, 1526 - GaHQ 7:339-345 (1923). Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/GaHQ/7/4/A\\_Spanish\\_Settlement\\_in\\_Carolina\\_1526\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/GaHQ/7/4/A_Spanish_Settlement_in_Carolina_1526*.html).

<sup>149</sup> Ibid

Francisco de Chicora is evidently the same person mentioned in Rene de Laudonnière's recollection of "certain Spaniards of Santo Domingo, in the reign of Emperor Charles V, stole away by subtlety the inhabitants of that region, and that one was taken to the emperor, "which a little while after he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own name called Charles of Chiquola, because he spoke so much of this Lord of Chiquola whose subject he was"<sup>150</sup>. Once again, such evidence demonstrates the name Chicora referring to the Mico of Cofitachequi, as opposed to a commonly assumed geographic region.

Upon being brought back to Spain, Francisco meets Peter Martyr d'Anghiera and gives "The Testimony of Francisco de Chicora". While there is some debate as to the precise route of Ayllon's initial exploration, information supplied through Francisco's Testimony suggests first landfall in a "gulf reaching into the land", identified as Winyah Bay<sup>151</sup>, "Leaving the coast of Chicorana"<sup>152</sup> sailing up the Waccamaw River/ Intercoastal Waterway to Cape Fear<sup>153</sup> in "another country" called Duahe<sup>154</sup>. There can be little doubt that Duahe is a direct reference to the Cape Fear Indians who called

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<sup>150</sup> Quattlebaum, Paul. *The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint, 2009. pp.48

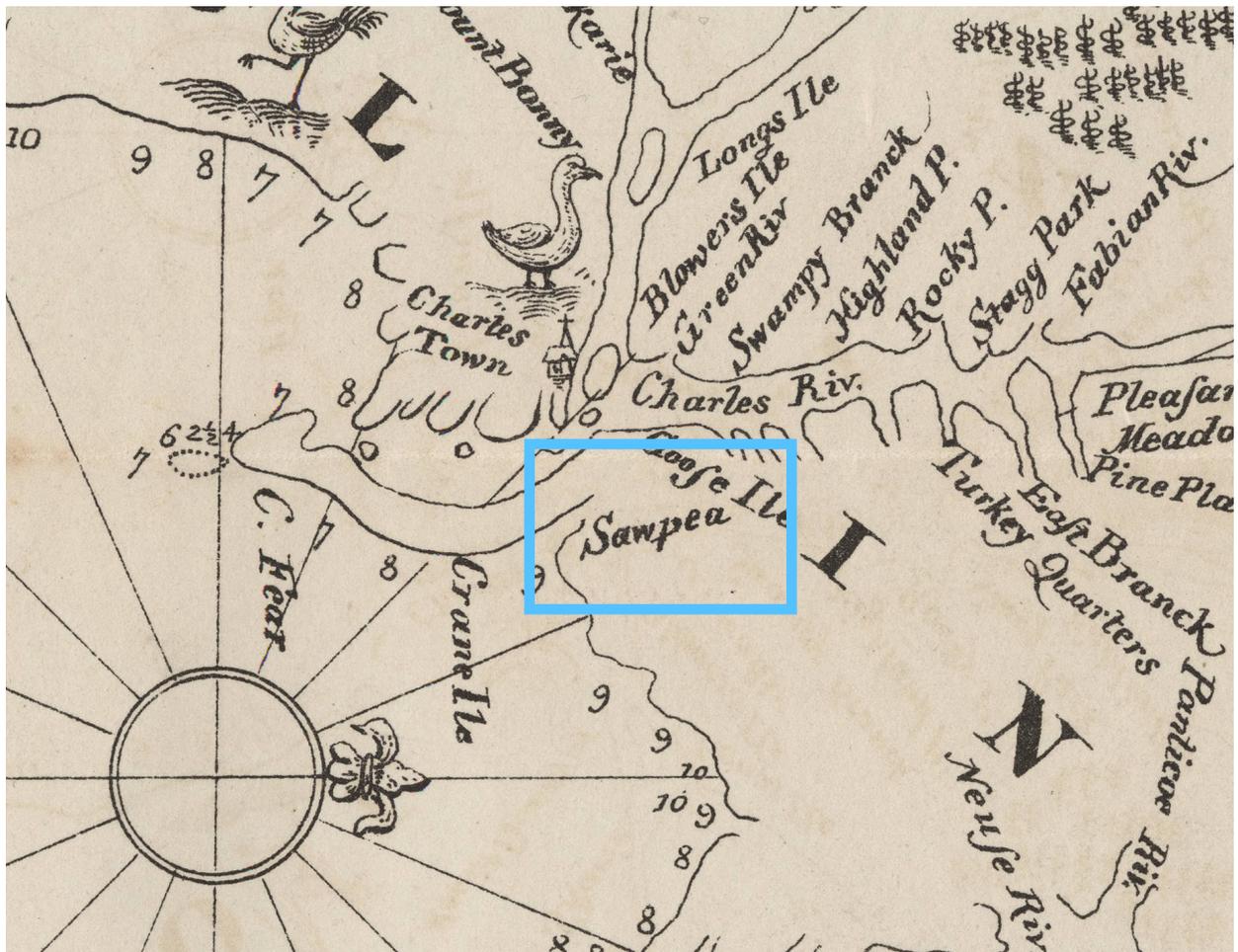
<sup>151</sup> Hoffman, Paul E. "The Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (1984): 419-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30146593>. pp. 420

<sup>152</sup> Anghiera, Pietro Martire D. *De Orbe Novo*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Theclassics Us, 2013. pp.259

<sup>153</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "The First Description of an Iroquoian People: Spaniards ..." Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/the-first-description-of-an-iroquoian-people-spaniards-among-the-tuscaroras-before-1522/>. pp.14

<sup>154</sup> Spelled variously as "Duahe", "Duhare", "Duharhe", "Duaarhe", "Duaché", "Duache", and "Suache" — Swanton, John Reed. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Washington: G.P.O., 1922. Pp.37

themselves “Dawhee”<sup>155</sup>. Such an assertion is bolstered by a later visit by Francisco Fernando de Ecija who mentions a Daxe province “four days travel beyond” the Santee and “and one and a half days’ travel beyond that another, called Guandape, on an island near which the English had established themselves”<sup>156</sup>. Not only does the described geographic location of Daxe most closely track to the Cape Fear region, the phonetic pronunciation of Daxe is “Dache”, matching one of the alternative spellings



<sup>155</sup> Blair A. Rudes; Thomas J. Blumer; J. Alan May (2004). Fogelson, Raymond D. (ed.). *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. pp.315–316

<sup>156</sup> Swanton, John R. "Some Information from Spanish Sources regarding the Siouan Tribes of the East." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 6, no. 17 (1916): 609-12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24521245>. pp.611

of Duahé — “Duache”. A more likely pronunciation of “Daxe” may be “Dawsee”, as the phonetic Spanish X was known to be pronounced somewhere between an “s” and an “sh” sound<sup>157</sup> with the most well known being the famed town of Xualla, identified as the Suali or Saraw Indians<sup>158</sup>. The Chicoran town of Xapida is found nearby on Cape Fear as the “Sawpea”<sup>159</sup>, sometimes written as “Sampee”. Their immediate area was known as Sampee Bay<sup>160</sup>. Being described as only a short distance from the Dawhee



<sup>157</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services Corp., 1995. Pp.57

<sup>158</sup> Ibid

<sup>159</sup> “Carolina Described 1666.” North Carolina Maps. Accessed October 26, 2019. <https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/8519>.

<sup>160</sup> Lawson, John. To His Excellency William Lord Palatine; The most Noble Henry Duke of Beaufort; The Right Honoble. Iohn, Lord Carteret; The Honoble Maurice Ashley, Esq., Sr. John Colleton Baronet; Iohn Danson, Esq; And the rest of the True and Absolute Lords Proprietors of Carolina in America This Map is Humbly Dedicated by Ion. Lawson Surveyor General of North Carolina. 1709. Map. 37 x 30 cm. North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill Libraries, <https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ncmaps/id/2641/rec/6>

of Duhare, the Sawpea can likely be attributed to the archeological site at Carolina Beach.

While Ecjia's mention of Guandape (pronounced "Wan-da-pe") occurs in 1609, two years after the founding of Jamestown, it is more readily identified with the earlier Roanoke Island expedition<sup>161</sup> to Wingandecaew or Wingandacoa<sup>162</sup>. Wingandacoa, ruled by Weroance Wingina, is better known as Secotan<sup>163</sup>. Additionally, Ecjia's mention of "Ypguano"<sup>164</sup> is likely a reference to the Woccon town of "Yupwanremau"<sup>165</sup>. Furthermore, the sacred black drink is mentioned by Francisco as "guahi"<sup>166</sup> suggesting a phonetic pronunciation close to "wah-hee". While phonetic pronunciations of questionably transcribed indigenous words from the 1500s are generally not much to go on, it is significant that "guahi" or "wah-hee" is a far cry from the Catawban "yaupon", suggesting a closer match with the Muskogean "assi"/"assi"/"asse". Understanding the both Duahe of Francisco de Chicora as the Cape Fear Indians and linguistic suggestions of "guahi" is highly significant as it clearly illustrates the relationships between the Cape Fear Saxapahaw-Shakori, the Town

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid pp.611

<sup>162</sup> Irwin, Jeffery D., Wayne C.J. Boyko, Joseph M. Herbert, and Chad Braley. "Woodland Burial Mounds in the North Carolina Sandhills and Southern Coastal Plain." *North Carolina Archeology* 48 (1999): 59-83. [http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA\\_48.pdf](http://www.rla.unc.edu/Publications/NCArch/NCA_48.pdf). pp.153

<sup>163</sup> Wilson, Woodrow. *History of the American People Volume 1*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Harpress Publishing, 2012. Pp.248-249

<sup>164</sup> Swanton, John R. "Some Information from Spanish Sources regarding the Siouan Tribes of the East." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 6, no. 17 (1916): 609-12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24521245>. pp.611

<sup>165</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp. 65

<sup>166</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "The First Description of an Iroquoian People: Spaniards ..." Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/the-first-description-of-an-iroquoian-people-spaniards-among-the-tuscaroras-before-1522/>. pp.10

Creek-Irene axis, Cofitachequi, and the Muskogean-speaking Chicoran cultural complex.

Alternatively, “guahi” may be both non-Catawban, as observed by its clear difference from “yaupon”, and non-Muskogean, as suggested by later evidence in Francisco’s testimony. Perhaps the most demonstrative indicator of a people would be their religious beliefs, as it is arguably the values derive which from religion that many cultures structure themselves. Francisco recounts a Duahe, or Duache<sup>167</sup>, ceremony of worshipping a “Quescuga”<sup>168</sup> or “Quexuga”<sup>169</sup> described as of “lame and...sweet and generous disposition”<sup>170</sup>. Quescuga is readily identified as “identical with the word ‘god’ in the Virginia Algonquian (Powhatan)...okeus...and Carolina Algonquian (Roanoke) languages...kéwas, plural kewasówak”<sup>171</sup>. Such information on the identity of Quescuga likewise comports with the “good” spirit of “Quiacosough”<sup>172</sup> of Lederer. Lederer relates that “Quiacosough” is one of the “lesser Deities” subject to “Okaeè”,

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<sup>167</sup> Spelled variously as “Duahe”, “Duhare”, “Duharhe”, “Duaarhe”, “Duaché”, “Duache”, and “Suache” — Swanton, John Reed. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Washington: G.P.O., 1922. Pp.37

<sup>168</sup> Anghiera, Pietro Martire D. *De Orbe Novo*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Theclassics Us, 2013. pp.264

<sup>169</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "The First Description of an Iroquoian People: Spaniards ..." Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/the-first-description-of-an-iroquoian-people-spaniards-among-the-tuscaroras-before-1522/>. pp.9

<sup>170</sup> Anghiera, Pietro Martire D. *De Orbe Novo*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Theclassics Us, 2013. pp.264

<sup>171</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "The First Description of an Iroquoian People: Spaniards ..." Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/the-first-description-of-an-iroquoian-people-spaniards-among-the-tuscaroras-before-1522/>. pp.9

<sup>172</sup> The Discoveries of John Lederer. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/LedererText.html>. pp.4

who others call “Mannith”<sup>173</sup>. While “Mannith” is comparable to both the Ottawa-Algonquian “Manitou”<sup>174</sup> and the “Mateczunga” of Francisco de Chicora, “Okaeè” is clearly Virginia Algonquian.

The information furnished by Francisco de Chicora has far reaching implications in other realms as well. The information supplied by Francisco prompts the aforementioned first North American colony of San Miguel de Gualdape, which was founded in the year 1526<sup>175</sup>. San Miguel de Gualdape marks not only the first trafficking of enslaved Africans to North America, but also the first recorded slave rebellion in North America<sup>176</sup>. When Francisco’s captors return with him to North America, intending to use Francisco’s knowledge to found San Miguel de Gualdape, Francisco jumps ship and escapes back to Cofitachequi<sup>177</sup>. Although San Miguel de Gualdape ended in disaster, it was Fransico’s stories about the riches of Xapira province which spurred the famous and calamitous *entrada* of Hernando de Soto<sup>178</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> "Speech of Pontiac, near Detroit, May 1763." [https://lms.brocku.ca/access/content/group/aea5aba8-4476-42e9-ab88-76ac3642cb6b/HIST2F90/15. Seven Years War/Pontiac\\_s speech, 1763.pdf](https://lms.brocku.ca/access/content/group/aea5aba8-4476-42e9-ab88-76ac3642cb6b/HIST2F90/15.Seven%20Years%20War/Pontiac_s%20speech,1763.pdf). pp.1

<sup>174</sup> Anghiera, Pietro Martire D. *De Orbe Novo*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Theclassics Us, 2013. pp.264

<sup>175</sup> Cameron, Guy, and Stephen Vermette. "The Role of Extreme Cold in the Failure of the San Miguel De Gualdape Colony." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2012): 291-307. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23622193>. pp.291

<sup>176</sup> Ibid — pp.291

<sup>177</sup> Johnson, J.G. A Spanish Settlement in Carolina, 1526 - GaHQ 7:339-345 (1923). Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/GaHQ/7/4/A\\_Spanish\\_Settlement\\_in\\_Carolina\\_1526\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/GaHQ/7/4/A_Spanish_Settlement_in_Carolina_1526*.html).

<sup>178</sup> Hoffman, Paul E. "The Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (1984): 419-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30146593>. pp. 425

The *entrada* of Hernando de Soto is significant as his march proves extremely disruptive, prompting another cycling of Mississippian chiefdoms. The violent gold-seeking mentality of Spaniards is promptly noted by leaders of Native Southern Chiefdoms, as they remark to Soto that they “**have long since learned who you Castilians are . . . through others of you who came years ago to my land [i.e., Panfilo de Narváez]; and I already know very well what your customs and behavior are like. To me you are professional vagabonds who wander from place to place, **gaining your livelihood by robbing, sacking, and murdering people** who have given you no offense. I want no manner of friendship or peace with people such as you, but instead prefer mortal and perpetual enmity**”<sup>179</sup>.

In similar vain, Soto is only able to reach Cofitachequi after arriving in the Cusabo town of Hymahi after crossing the “Desert of Ocute” created by the Cofitachequi civil war and subsequent abandonment of the Savannah river valley. Upon arrival in the town of Hymahi, Soto ordered his soldiers to burn...captives alive one by one until someone disclosed Cofitachequi's location”<sup>180</sup>. “Finally, a villager relented, and others informed the Spaniards that the chief was aware of their presence and awaited their arrival”<sup>181</sup>. It is also quite probable that Ayllon’s expedition and Fransico de Chicora’s return to Cofitachequi too supplied information pertaining to Europeans. When Soto reached Cofitachequi, the female Mico, known as The Lady of

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<sup>179</sup> Hudson, Charles M. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the Souths Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. — E-Book edition does not include concrete page numbers — taken from section “The Swamp of Ocale”

<sup>180</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.11

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid* pp.11

Cofitachequi, “greeted him through an interpreter, saying she hoped he had come in goodwill”<sup>182</sup>. The Lady then bestowed upon a string of pearls “and gave hides, blankets, meat, corn, and salt to his men”. “Understanding that the Spaniards sought precious things, the Lady took them to the temple of [Cofitachequi’s] principal town”<sup>183</sup> named Talimeco.

As previously mentioned Talimeco is a Muskogean word meaning “chief town”<sup>184</sup>. The description of Talimeco or Talomeco is a significant contribution to understanding the chiefly culture of the Chicoran cultural complex. Due to its cultural significance to the Chicoran cultural complex and Chicoran people, Garcilaso’s description is reproduced below<sup>185</sup>:

*“WHEN they knew the riches of the temple where were interred the most distinguished of the inhabitants of Cofaciqui, they had it guarded, and, at the return of Aniasco, the general and the captain went there. They found in this temple great wooden boxes without locks, and they were astonished that, without tools, the Indians had been able to make them so well. These boxes were around the wall upon benches two feet from the ground, and inclosed the dead, embalmed in such a manner that they had not an offensive odor. Besides these great boxes, they had smaller ones, and cane baskets very well made. These last boxes were filled with clothing of men and women, and the baskets with pearls of all sorts. The Spaniards were rejoiced at so much wealth; for they found there more than a thousand measures of pearls. They examined twenty measures, and took only two, with as many of the seed pearls, to send to Havana, where their*

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<sup>182</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.15

<sup>183</sup> Ibid pp.17

<sup>184</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. Pp.412

<sup>185</sup> Garcilaso De La Vega. "History of the Conquest of Florida". Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://www2.latech.edu/~bmagee/louisiana\\_anthology/texts/vega/vega--florida.html](http://www2.latech.edu/~bmagee/louisiana_anthology/texts/vega/vega--florida.html).

value was known. In fact, the general did not wish that they should encumber themselves with many things, and he even would have had the rest of the pearls replaced in the baskets, if they had not begged him to distribute them. He therefore gave them liberally to the soldiers and the officers, with orders to make chaplets of them, for which they were suited. Afterwards the Spaniards left the temple, and Soto, two days after, took three hundred men, the principal of his troops, and went to Talomeco.

Both sides of the road, from the camp to this town, were covered with trees, of which a part bore fruit, and it seemed as though they promenaded through an orchard, so that our men arrived with pleasure and without difficulty at Talomeco, which they found abandoned on account of the pest. Talomeco is a beautiful town, and quite noted, as it was the residence of the caciques. It is upon a small eminence near the river, and consists of five hundred well built houses. That of the chief is elevated above the town, and is seen from a distance. It is also larger, stronger, and more agreeable than the others. Opposite this house is the temple, where are the coffins of the lords of the province. It is filled with riches, and built in a magnificent manner; but as I despair of describing it properly, I conjure the worthy persons who shall read this history to supply the defects of my description in forming to themselves a grand idea of the things with which I am going to entertain them.

THE temple of Talomeco, where is the sepulchre of the caciques, is more than a hundred steps long, by forty broad. The walls are high in proportion, and the roof very elevated, to supply the want of tiles and to give more slope to the water. The covering is of canes, very thin, split in two, of which the Indians make mats which resemble the rush carpets of the Moors, which are very beautiful to view. Five or six of these mats, placed one upon the other, serve to prevent the rain from penetrating and the sun from entering the temple; which the private people of the country and their neighbors imitate in their houses.

Upon the roof of this temple are many shells of different sizes, of divers fishes, ranged in very good order. But they could not comprehend whence they could have brought them, these people being so far from the sea, unless they had taken them in the rivers and streams which

*water the province. All these shells are placed with the insides out, to give more brilliancy, putting always the great spiral sea-shell between two small shells, with the interval from one piece to the other filled with many strings of pearls of divers sizes, in the form of festoons, from one shell to the other. These festoons of pearls, which extend from the top of the roof to the bottom, joined to the vivid brightness of the mother-of-pearl and the shells, produce a very beautiful effect when the sun shines upon them.*

*The temple had doors proportioned to its grandeur. There were seen at the entrance twelve statues of giants, made of wood. They are represented with an aspect so ferocious and menacing that the Spaniards stopped a long time to consider these figures, worthy of the admiration of ancient Rome. They say that these giants were placed there to defend the entrance of the door; for they are in a row on each side, and gradually diminish in size. The first are eight feet high, and the others proportionally a little less, in the order of the tubes of an organ.*

*They have arms conformable to their height, the first on each side have clubs ornamented with copper, which they hold elevated, and seem ready to bring them down with fury upon those who may dare to enter. The second have maces, and the third a kind of oar; the fourth, copper axes, the edges of which are of flint; the fifth hold a headed bow with the arrow ready to leave. Nothing is more curious to see than these arrows, the lower end of which is a piece of stag's horn very well finished, or a flint stone as keen as a dagger. The last giants have very long pikes, ornamented with copper at the two ends, and are in a menacing posture as well as the others, but all in a different manner, and very natural.*

*The height of the walls of the temple within is adorned conformable to the exterior of the roof; for there is a kind of cornice made of the great spiral sea-shell, placed in very good order, and between these are seen festoons of pearls which hang from the roof. In the intervals of the shells and pearls, there is seen in the arches a quantity of plumes of divers colors tied to the roof, and very well arranged. Besides this order which reigns above the cornice, many plumes and strings of pearls hang from all the other parts of the roof, retained by imperceptible threads tied above and below, so that it seems as though these works might be ready to fall.*

*Beneath this ceiling and cornice, there are around the four sides of the temple two rows of statues, one above the other, the one of men and the other of women, of the height of the people of the country. Each one has his niche joining another, only to adorn the wall which lead otherwise been too naked. All the men have arms in their hands, on which are rolls of pearls of four or five rows with tassels at the end, made of very fine thread, and of divers colors. As for the statues of the women, they hold nothing in their hands.*

*At the base of these walls there are wooden benches very well worked, where are placed the coffins of the lords of the province, and of their families. Two feet above these coffins, in the niches of the wall, are seen the statues of the persons who are buried there. They represent them so naturally that we can judge how they were at the time of their death. The women have nothing in their hands, but the men have arms. The space which is between the images of the dead, and the two ranks of statues, which commence under the cornice, is decorated with bucklers of divers sizes, made of reeds so strongly woven that there is no arrow of a crossbow, nor even shot of a musket that can perforate them. These bucklers are all adorned with pearls and with colored tassels, which greatly contribute to their beauty.*

*In the middle of the temple there are three rows of chests upon separate benches; the largest of the chests serve for a base to the medium size, and these for the smallest. and ordinarily, these pyramids are composed of five or six chests. As there are spaces between the benches, they do not prevent going from one side to the other, and seeing, in the temple, all that one wishes.*

*All these chests are filled with pearls, in such a manner that the largest contain the largest pearls, and thus, in succession, to the smallest which are full of seed pearls only. Besides, the quantity of pearls was such, that the Spaniards avowed, that even if there had been more than nine hundred men and three hundred horses, they all together could not have carried off at one time all the pearls of this temple. We ought not, however, to be too much astonished at this, if we consider that the Indians of the province conveyed into these chests, during many ages, all the pearls which they found, without retaining a single one of them. And hence we can judge by comparison, that if all the gold and silver, which they have brought from Peru to Spain, had not*

*been transported elsewhere, the Spaniards would now be able to cover with gold and silver many churches.*

*Besides the innumerable quantity of pearls, there were found many packages of chamois skins, some of one color and others of another, without counting many raiments of skin with the hair variously dyed; many garments of cats', martens', and other skins, as well dressed as at the best places in Germany and Russia.*

*About this temple, which everywhere was very clean, there was a great magazine divided into eight halls of the same size; which added much ornament to it. The Spaniards entered these halls, and found them filled with arms. There were, in the first, long pikes, mounted with very beautiful copper, and ornamented with links of pearls, which made three or four turns. The place where these pikes touched the shoulder was embellished with colored chamois; and at the extremities there were tassels with pearls, which contributed greatly to their beauty.*

*There were, in the second hall, maces, like those of the giants, furnished with links of pearls, and, in places, with tassels of divers colors with pearls roundabout. In the third were found hammers, embellished as the others; in the fourth, pikes decked with tassels near the blade and at the handle; in the fifth, a kind of oar adorned with pearls and fringes; in the sixth, very beautiful bows and arrows. Some were armed with flint, sharpened at the end in the form of a bodkin, a sword, a pike blade, or the point of a dagger with two edges. The bows were adorned with divers brilliant colors, and embellished with pearls in divers places. In the seventh hall there were bucklers of wood and of cow-skins, brought from a distance, decked with pearls and colored tassels. In the eighth were bucklers of cane, woven very skilfully, and decked with tassels and seed pearls. Such is the description of the temple and magazine of Talomeco; which the Spaniards, who had been in Peru and in other parts of America, admired as the wonder of the Sew World. Afterwards, they asked the Indians, what had led them to amass so mach wealth; and they replied that all the chiefs of the country, and principally those of their province, made their grandeur to consist in the magnificence of their temples. Our people contented themselves with this reply, and immediately the controllers of the emperor, who attended the army to receive the fifth of all the wealth it*

*should find, deliberated upon taking the claims of their master. But Soto told them that they ought not to burden themselves with anything; that they were sufficiently encumbered with the arms and provisions which they carried; that after the conquest of Florida they would divide it, and that he to whom should fall the province of Cofaciqui should pay the fifth of the treasure which should be found in the temple of Talomeco. Everybody approved this sentiment, and they retraced their route to the quarters.*

Significantly, “the Spaniards found glass beads, rosaries, and Spanish axes, [at Talimeco] which they correctly concluded had come from the failed colony of a fellow Spaniard, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón”<sup>186</sup>. The Ayllón artifacts are thought to be “offered [to the Mico] as gifts or tribute to Cofitachequi”. The presence of Ayllón’s trade artifacts obtained through tribute or trade further bolsters the linkage of Cape Fear Duaha sand-mound burial complex, and the Town Creek-Irene trade axis which defines the Muskogean-speaking Chicoran cultural complex.

Following Soto’s raiding of the pearl rich Talimeco temples, the Lady of Cofitachequi becomes increasingly tired of “hosting the hungry, demanding Spaniards”<sup>187</sup>.

“After roughly ten days, de Soto and his men had exhausted the chiefdom's food stores, and they determined to go into the Appalachians, which were rumored to contain gold.-' Predictably, de Soto had no intentions of leaving peacefully. He ordered his men to find and capture the Lady of Cofitachequi, which they did. Because deSoto knew that the Lady was a paramount chief

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<sup>186</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.17

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid* pp.18

who controlled many others, he forced her to join the expedition so that she could order tributaries to provide the Spaniards with food. Against her will, the Lady went along.”<sup>188</sup>

The Lady of Cofitachequi travels with Soto’s men through “Chalache”, a Muskogean word indicating a province meaning “those of different speech”<sup>189</sup>. The province of Chalache has incorrectly been appropriated to extend the date of Cherokee presence in the region, permitting the Cherokee to falsely claim historic ownership of South Appalachian Mississippian mound sites. The inhabitants of the Chalache province, likely subject to the Mico of Cofitachequi, are most readily attributed to Catawban speakers. “At about the present North Carolina-South Carolina state line, there was the previously discussed linguistic boundary with Muskogean languages spoken to the south and Siouan spoken to the north”<sup>190</sup>. To the north of said line, town names, such as “Otari”<sup>191</sup>, appear which the suffix “ree or ri being the demonstrative suffix of the Catawba and closely cognate languages”<sup>192</sup>. More conclusively, Juan Pardo finds the towns of “Yssa” and “Yssa the Lesser” within the region of Chalache. “All researchers have agreed that the place name [and Catawba

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<sup>188</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.17

<sup>189</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. Pp.385

<sup>190</sup> DePratter, Chester B. "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence." Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa\\_staffpub](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa_staffpub). pp.149

<sup>191</sup> Ibid pp.149

<sup>192</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp. 62

autonym of] Ysa (Ysaa, Yssa, Esau, Esaw, Isaw) derives from that word”<sup>193</sup>.

Additionally, Robin Beck identifies the region Catawba Valley region of Chalaque as the later site of Catawba coalescence<sup>194</sup>. It is noteworthy that the province of Chalaque is described as “a vast sparsely occupied territory that stretched the 100 or so miles until reaching to Xualla”, crossing in the South Appalachian Mississippian cultural zone. The scarcity of Catawban speaking peoples throughout the Piedmont demonstrates the problematic nature of the outsized area typically attributed to Catawban speakers. It was noted by Soto’s scribed that as they “traversed her lands for a hundred leagues... she was very well obeyed, for all the Indians did with great efficiency and diligence what she ordered of them”<sup>195</sup> thus demonstrating a broad swath of political control. After the Soto expedition traversed the Piedmont, they reached the South Apalacian Mississippian summit town of Xualla or Joara which “marked the northernmost reaches of the Lady's dominion”<sup>196</sup>.

As previously hinted, the town of Xualla is readily attributed to the chiefdom of Joara and the Saraw<sup>197</sup> people. The Saraw are generally thought to have spoken a non-

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<sup>193</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. Pp.405

<sup>194</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.95

<sup>195</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.21

<sup>196</sup> Ibid pp.21

<sup>197</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.20

Catawban language<sup>198</sup>. Some have suggested either a linguistic isolate<sup>199</sup> or a Muskogean language for the Saraw due to marked differentiations in the later Saraw dialect of Catawba<sup>200</sup>. While a linguistic isolate such as Yuchi is possible, the presence of Muskogean loanwords in the Saraw dialect of Catawba “that refer to basic, everyday features of life”, such as mother, “yáksu”, “could only occur if the contact were intimate, for example, the result of intermarriage, or if the community were bilingual over a prolonged period of time”<sup>201</sup>. As previously mentioned, the predominately Muskogean-speaking Chicoran cultural complex is also widely acknowledged as multilingual. It is therefore instructive to note that during the time of Juan Pardo’s visit, “Catapa” orata was subject to the chiefdom of Joara<sup>202</sup>. Overall, the presence of certain Muskogean loan words, differences in linguistic pronunciations, and inhabitation of the South Appalachian Mississippian area within the Chicoran cultural complex point to a Muskogean affiliation. Being that Joara “marked the northernmost reaches of the Lady's dominion...the Lady hatched a plot to escape...She knew she had to break away from the Spaniards before she reached lands controlled by other chiefs, who might well have been her enemies”<sup>203</sup>. The Lady soon informed “the Spaniards she needed ‘to attend to her necessities’” and snuck away with several

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<sup>198</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. pp.391 - 392

<sup>199</sup> Ibid pp.391-392

<sup>200</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. pp.391-392

<sup>201</sup> Ibid — pp.381

<sup>202</sup> Ibid — pp.362

<sup>203</sup> Spruill, Marjorie Julian, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie. Johnson. *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. pp.21 pp. 21

deserters, which “included several enslaved men of West Indian and African descent”<sup>204</sup>.

The *entrada* of Hernando de Soto had profound effects felt across the southeast. Soto’s methods “upset the balance of power in some complex and paramount chiefdoms” as “Records from the expedition describe several instances in which *micos* of simple chiefdoms challenged and defied the authority of a chief under whose power they had fallen”<sup>205</sup>. Such phenomenon is attributed to “Cofitachequi in South Carolina, Coosa in north Georgia, and Guachoya in Arkansas”<sup>206</sup>. More specifically, Soto’s excessive demands for resources put so heavy a strain on the Cofitachequi paramountcy that it shattered and prompted yet another cycling of Mississippian chiefdoms.

The decline of Cofitachequi’s power is most clearly noted by the lacking presence of a Mico during Pardo’s time. While “the long shadow of this chiefdom continued to hinder the development of any similar or rival polities along its peripheries”<sup>207</sup>, the shattering of Cofitachequi’s hegemonic power allowed for the subsequent emergence “along the old paramount’s northern frontier: Joara to the northwest on the upper Catawba and Guatari [(Wateree)] to the northeast on the Yadkin”<sup>208</sup>. More specifically, Soto’s onerous demands for corn would have crashed the

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid — . pp.21

<sup>205</sup>Ethridge, Robbie Franklin, and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall. Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone the Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South. Lincoln (Neb.): University of Nebraska Press, 2009. pp.9

<sup>206</sup> Ibid — pp.9

<sup>207</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.14

<sup>208</sup> Ibid — pp.14

Mississippian economy of staple finance based on corn. Upon Soto's arrival, the Mico's legitimacy already appeared to be in question by several unruly subjects. The spectacle of an outsider thrashing through the chiefdom's temples and forcibly sequestering the backbone of daily life likely pushed the previous crisis of legitimacy far over the edge. When Juan Pardo returned to Cofitachequi, it was referred to as Canos, or perhaps more accurately, Canosi. Canos is thought to be a Muskogean word meaning "the earth raised up in the air"<sup>209</sup>, very likely in reference to the mounds at the Mulberry site<sup>210</sup> attributed to the principal town of Cofitachequi. The variant "Canosi" however is illustrative of the broader political change at play. The suffix "os-i" is the form of the diminutive used<sup>211</sup> in Muskogee-Creek, mirroring the decline of Cofitachequi's political power and shrunken domain. A similar dynamic is seen within the paramount chiefdom of Coosa after the *entrada*. Some "Sixty years later, by 1600, the people of Coosa had quit building mounds, moved away from their mound centers, and began a migration south into present-day Alabama where they eventually coalesced with the Creek Confederacy"<sup>212</sup>. As will be continuously demonstrated, European visits to indigenous polities repeatedly proved disruptive, causing the rise and fall of a myriad of polities.

In addition to being informative of political conditions, Juan Pardo's visit is also instructive on various ethnographic fronts. Generally speaking, it is likely that

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<sup>209</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. pp.407-408

<sup>210</sup> Ibid — pp.407-408

<sup>211</sup> Ibid pp.407-408

<sup>212</sup> Ethridge, Robbie Franklin, and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone the Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln (Neb.): University of Nebraska Press, 2009 — pp.12

Catawban Wateree chiefdom which was formed following Soto's entrada was comprised of former Town Creek, upper Pee Dee, and Cape Fear peoples. While there is some debate as to whether Juan Pardo met with a group by the name of "Sauxpa"<sup>213</sup> or such an interpretation is simply the favorable reading of a misspelling<sup>214</sup>, the proximity of the Haw Old fields to the center of the Wateree chiefdom suggests the Saxapahaw were indeed under the sway of Wateree. Importantly, it is by Juan Pardo's visit to the Wateree chiefdom on the Yadkin where an important historical misconception regarding the Cheraw must be finally dispelled. Upon visiting the Wateree chiefdom, Chara orata inquires of Pardo if he should change his alliance to the Saraw chiefdom of Joara<sup>215</sup>, thus refuting the prior belief names Cheraw and Saraw are interchangeable. Understanding the Cheraw and Saraw as two separate groups is vital to understanding the later movements of Shakori-connected groups. As will be elaborated on later, the Cheraw are found amongst the Powhatan as the Chawopo or Chippokes tribe, and substantiates previously unsubstantiated claims of the Cheraw being of Algonquian origins<sup>216</sup>. Such a finding also further underscores the Algonquian heritage of groups previously thought to be Siouan, and further bolsters the presence of Algonquian-speaking peoples in the Town Creek-Irene axis and broadly Muskogean-speaking Chicoran cultural complex.

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<sup>213</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp. 64

<sup>214</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.25

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid* — pp.21

<sup>216</sup> Gregg, Alexander. *History of the Old Cheraws*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Theclassics Us, 2013. pp.2

Also of interest are Juan Pardo's movements through the Piedmont and Appalachians. Juan Pardo is thought to have met with the Eno the under the name of "Anduque" at Cauchi<sup>217</sup>. Juan Pardo's time in Cauchi is culturally significant as it not only documents the under-discussed presence of Two-Spirit peoples in the native southeast and Mississippian World, but also serves as an important contribution to the understanding of the Chicoran cultural complex. Due to the event's great significance and underreported character, it is reproduced below for accessibility<sup>218</sup>:

After what has been said above, on October 3, 1567, the captain, being in the place called Cauchi, saw an Indian walking among the Indian women with an apron before him as [the women) wear it and he did what they did. The captain, having seen this, summoned Guillermo Rufin, interpreter, and the other interpreters and when FOLIO 8 they were thus called, the captain, before many soldiers of his company, told them to ask why that Indian went among the Indian women, wearing -an apron as they did. The interpreters asked the above mentioned of the cacique of the place and the cacique replied through the interpreters that the Indian was his brother and that because he was not a man for war nor carrying on the business of a man, {Look} he went about in that manner like a woman and he did all that is given to a woman to do. The captain, having learned the above, commanded me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, to write it in the above form in order that it may be known and understood how warlike are the Indians of these provinces of Florida in order to give it as truth and testimony whenever I am asked for it. I attest all that has been said, because all that has been said happened in my presence, and (in that] of many soldiers of the company. Juan de La Bandera, notary.

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<sup>217</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015> pp.382

<sup>218</sup> Pardo, Juan. *An Account of Florida - The Long Bandera Relation*. <http://www.americanjourneys.org/pdf/AJ-139.pdf>. pp.267



earlier position of the non-Esaw Catawba is memorialized by the 1718 de L'Isle map<sup>222</sup>. Although the name Catawba most readily translates to mean “people of the fork”<sup>223</sup>, there is some speculation that the name may be originally of Muskogean origins<sup>224</sup>. It is possible that “Catawba” may represent importations similar to those previously discussed by the non-Esaw Saraw.

Finally, the Eno are also noted at Joara<sup>225</sup> under the aforementioned “Anduque”, and their presence at Joara likely explains subsequent Shakori migration northward and confederation with the Powhatan. After Pardo’s “men waited “three of four moons” for Pardo to return to the interior...they began to commit ‘improprieties’ with native women, angering [native] men”<sup>226</sup>. These acts of “sexual violence” likely “played a [large] role in the ultimate destruction of Pardo’s forts”, as “A Jesuit priest, Juan Rogel, did blame the destruction of Pardo’s forts on the soldiers’ mistreatment of their Indian hosts”<sup>227</sup>. Such events appear to be later corroborated by the Tuscarora, recalling “Haynokes” of “a great nation called the Cacoires...who valiantly resist the Spaniards further northern attempts”<sup>228</sup>. At this juncture, the Shakori appear to split into northern

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<sup>222</sup> L'Isle, Guillaume De. Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississippi i.e. Mississippi: dressée sur un grand nombre de mémoires entr'autres sur ceux de Mr. le Maire. Paris: Chez l'auteur le Sr. Delisle sur le quay de l'horloge avec privilege du roy, 1718. Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2001624908/>.

<sup>223</sup> Rudes, Blair A. "Place Names of Cofitachequi." *Anthropological Linguistics* 46, no. 4 (2004): 359-426. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029015>. pp.382

<sup>224</sup> Ibid pp.384

<sup>225</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.91

<sup>226</sup> Ibid pp.91

<sup>227</sup> Ibid pp.91

<sup>228</sup> Carolana Explorers - Francis Yeardley. Accessed May 21, 2019. <https://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Explorers/fyearley.html>.

and southern branches, being variously described as a “disjunct ethnic group” with the “Weinock [of Powhatan as a]...emissary between the two branches”<sup>229</sup>. The northerly Weinock are most readily confirmed as Eno-Shakori by “guns to be those of the ‘Wainoake spies’” either in or nearby “Schockoore ‘old fields’ at the eastern edge of the Piedmont in 1650, just twenty years before Lederer encountered Shakor”<sup>230</sup>. Recognizing Powhatan-Weinock in Shockoores old fields “is a key to understanding the ethnohistory and settlement systems of the study area”<sup>231</sup>. The Weinock of Powhatan are noted as being highly mobile, having “at least five instances where the entire Weanock community moved as a corporate body from one location to



another”<sup>232</sup>. Enoe Will relates that he is originally from a place known as “Enoe Bay”, to which Lawson infers he is a “Core by birth”<sup>233</sup>. Understanding the disjunctive nature of the late-Mississippian Eno adds

<sup>229</sup> Simpkins, David L. "Aboriginal Intersite Settlement System Change in the Northeastern NC Piedmont during the Contact Period." *University of Chapel Hill*, 1992. <https://archaeology.sites.unc.edu/files/2017/07/Aboriginal-Intersite-Settlement-System-Change-in-the-Northeastern-NC-Piedmont-during-the-Contact-Period-1992-Simpkins.pdf>. pp.265

<sup>230</sup> Ibid pp.271

<sup>231</sup> Ibid pp.271

<sup>232</sup> Ibid pp.267

<sup>233</sup> Lawson. "Lawson's History of North Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country, Together with the Present State Thereof and ..." HathiTrust. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028518309>. pp.57

clarity to Lawson's statement, as there was a community of "Weetocks" just below the Coree<sup>234</sup> for which the present White Oak river is named. Returning to earlier themes, the White Oak river is apart of the Cape Fear basin, and harkens back to the first origins of the Eno-Shakori within the Chicoran cultural complex.

While the White Oak river serves as the most probable location of Will's homeland, the mention of an Enoe Bay somewhere south of the Neuse and near the Coree is highly significant in and of itself. As previously mentioned, the Eno and Shakori are typically classified as Piedmont peoples despite our burial practices appearing to retain coastal origins. The existence of an area of water by the sea known by native peoples as Enoe Bay further bolsters the likely costal origins of the Eno. Furthermore, the Bay's location near the Coree would put it, at the very least, south of the Neuse. Placing the origins of the Eno south of the Neuse corroborates an origin within the Duahe sand-mound province of the Chicoran cultural complex.

Additionally, the Cheraw are found on the James River as the Chawopo or Chippokes. The Cheraw appear just south of the Eno, and across the way from Jamestown. The family of Thomas Parker, Chief of Churrah hails from Chippokes Creek in Virginia, and is the person who secures the lands of the Dimery settlement<sup>235</sup>. The Parker's are granted Dimery lands after being removed from their earlier reservation in Corapeake, VA. Another member of the Cheraw tribe, Cheepoke Harris is said to hail

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<sup>234</sup> See map

<sup>235</sup> "Chief Thomas Parker/ Old Cheraw." *Geni\_family\_tree*. April 15, 2019. Accessed May 21, 2019. <https://www.geni.com/people/Chief-Thomas-Parker-Old-Cheraw/6000000074362214387>.

from Lower Chipokes appears to commemorate the location by her namesake<sup>236</sup>.

Jemmy Harris of Sugar Town and leader of the Cheraw amongst the Catawba is also said to have gone by Chuppepaw<sup>237</sup>, likely a corruption of the earlier Chippoke.

Summarily, there is ready evidence connecting the Cheraw to Chipokes Creek, evidentially underscoring the importance of this location to the Cheraw people. It may be connected to the fact that chief Chipok was among the first to greet the British, and made British survival in North America possible. Chief Chippok of the “Chippokes Tribe”, of the Upper and Lower Chippokes, “was among those who made survival possible for the English settlers five miles across the river at Jamestown during the period of the uneasy peace between the Indians and colonists in the early years of the Virginia colony”<sup>238</sup>. Given that the Cheraw were previously looking to switch polities during Juan Pardo’s visit, it is likely that they and the Eno confederated with Powhatan on the basis of Powhatan accepting “refugees”.

Just as some Eno appear to have stayed further south, a similar relationship may be inferred between the Saxapahaw of the Old Haw Fields and the Shacaonia of the Monahoac. At this point, the linguistic character of the Moncan, Monahoac, must be addressed. Although generally presumed to be Virginia Siouan, the Mannahoacs are

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<sup>236</sup> "Cheepoake Elizabeth (Harris) Terry-Saunders / Old Cheraw." *Geni\_family\_tree*. November 23, 2018. Accessed May 21, 2019. <https://www.geni.com/people/Cheepoake-Elizabeth-Harris-Terry-Saunders-Old-Cheraw/6000000045614461881>.

<sup>237</sup> "Catawba Indian Genealogy." Full Text of "Catawba Indian Genealogy". Accessed May 21, 2019. [https://archive.org/stream/catawba-indian-genealogy/catawba\\_indian\\_genealogy\\_2004\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/catawba-indian-genealogy/catawba_indian_genealogy_2004_djvu.txt). pp.31

<sup>238</sup> [https://www.bayjournal.com/article/at\\_chippokes\\_plantation\\_visitors\\_feast\\_on\\_slices\\_of\\_natural\\_agricultural\\_hi](https://www.bayjournal.com/article/at_chippokes_plantation_visitors_feast_on_slices_of_natural_agricultural_hi)

“all confederates with the ‘Monacans though many different in language’<sup>239</sup>.

Furthermore “Smith's statements that the Monacan and Manahoac spoke different languages and that, in fact, the components of the Manahoac by themselves spoke several ("many") languages (section 3.1) undercut any claim that the Monacan and Manahoac groups all spoke Virginia Siouan”<sup>240</sup>. The aforementioned statement suggests a heretofore overlooked component of linguistic diversity, and a closer inspection yields "Most of the names are presumably, in fact, from Virginia Algonquian”<sup>241</sup>. The most notable example is the Monacan capital of Rassawek, an Algonquian word meaning “it is bright, it glistens or shines”<sup>242</sup>. Another notable example however is “Tanxsnitania (section 3.1) is pidgin Algonquian for 'little Nitania', combining tanx 'little' and a name Nitania”<sup>243</sup>. In accordance with the Algonquian dominance of the Monahoac and Monacan confederacies, William Wallace Tooker has written a book entitled “*The Algonquian names of the Siouan tribes of Virginia; with historical and ethnological notes*”. Before pressing onward however, it is equally important to highlight that the Nahyssan are likely Tutelo-Saponi speakers, particularly as Sapona is said to be “a Village of the Nahyssans”<sup>244</sup>.

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<sup>239</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. pp.15

<sup>240</sup> Ibid pp.18

<sup>241</sup> Ibid pp.17

<sup>242</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Appellatives of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia." *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 4 (1895): 376-92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/658384>.pp.380

<sup>243</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. pp.17

<sup>244</sup> The Discoveries of John Lederer. Accessed May 19, 2019. <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/LedererText.html>. pp.11

Accounting for the large Algonquian presence within the aforementioned polities is key to understanding the Ocaneechi who become important players in the post-Mississippian era, and with whom the Shakori are good friends. The “one language in common” referred to by Lederer (section 3.1) is almost certainly the...[Ocaneechi] lingua franca referred to by Beverley in 1705 (section 2.1), given the inclusion of both Iroquoians and Siouans in Lederer's list of those speaking it”<sup>245</sup>. Robert Beverley who heard the trade language at Fort Christianna relates “they have a sort of general language, like what Lahotan calls Algonkine” and confirms that “the Language here us'd is said to be that of the Ocaneeches...what in this Language may differ from that of the Algonkines, I am not able to determine”<sup>246</sup>. As previously discussed with the Saraw, it is significant that the Algonquian words recorded as Ocaneechi at Fort Christianna are those which relate to basic everyday things. Most significantly, the numeral system is clearly Algonquian, as are the words for “no”, “shoes”, and more<sup>247</sup>. Furthermore, the Fredericks site of the Ocaneechi, which is built roughly next to or onto of the Shakori Jenrette site, expresses “similarity between the intrasite village pattern... and the drawing by John White of Pomeiooc”<sup>248</sup>. Finding the architecture of the Shakori

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<sup>245</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. pp.18

<sup>246</sup> Alexander, Edward P. "An Indian Vocabulary from Fort Christanna, 1716." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79, no. 3 (1971): 303-13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4247661>. pp.309

<sup>247</sup> Alexander, Edward P. "An Indian Vocabulary from Fort Christanna, 1716." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79, no. 3 (1971): 303-13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4247661>. pp.310

<sup>248</sup> Simpkins, David L. "Aboriginal Intersite Settlement System Change in the Northeastern NC Piedmont during the Contact Period." *University of Chapel Hill*, 1992. <https://archaeology.sites.unc.edu/files/2017/07/Aboriginal-Intersite-Settlement-System-Change-in-the-Northeastern-NC-Piedmont-during-the-Contact-Period-1992-Simpkins.pdf>. pp.220

and Ocaneechi to be inline with that of other Algonquian speaking groups serves to bolster the aforementioned linguistic connections. According with the Ocaneechi's clear Algonquian heritage, their name can be translated to mean "people of a strange talk"<sup>249</sup> which is a clear reference to the Ocaneechi trade jargon. At this point is equally important to note the clear presence of Tutelo and Iroquoian loanwords, likely acquired through interactions with the confederated Nahyssans, Ohio Valley Siouan groups to the northwest, and trade with the Tuscarora. It is likely the presence of Siouan and Iroquoian loanwords which renders the Ocaneechi speech strange. It is perhaps this advantages language which enables the Ocaneechi to become key players in the post-Mississippian era. The end of Mississippian-era can best be understood however by the rise of the Five Nations, or the Haudenosaunee.

The formation of the "Great League of Peace and Power" known as the Haudenosaunee, or more colloquially the Iroquois League, occurred by 1525<sup>250</sup> with effects beginning to be felt across the Northeast between 1608 and 1624<sup>251</sup>. The first signs of emerging disturbances can be observed through the absorption of St.Lawrence Valley Iroquoian groups into the Huron confederacy<sup>252</sup>. However, the disruptive force of the Five Nations truly accelerates with the beginning of the Bever Wars in 1624 as the conflict is credited with "unleash[ing] the Five Nations' aggression

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<sup>249</sup> Tooker, William Wallace. "The Algonquian Names of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia; with Historical and Ethnological Notes." Accessed May 14, 2019. [https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/algonquiannameso00took/algonquiannameso00took_djvu.txt). pp.69

<sup>250</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.104

<sup>251</sup> Ibid pp. 106-107

<sup>252</sup> Ibid pp.106

against their neighbors”<sup>253</sup>. The formation of the Great League of Peace and Power largely coincided with the adoption of fur-trade economics. A combination of economic motivations and devastating epidemics unhinged a perpetual “search of slaves for the northeastern markets and prisoners for their ever-widening mourning wars” to “replenish their own dwindling numbers while thinning their enemies’ ranks”<sup>254</sup>. The Five Nations soon “set upon the path of war, killing, absorbing, or dispossessing thousands of neighboring peoples in the years from 1630–1657, a period that Daniel Barr has recently described as ‘one vast, prolonged mourning war’<sup>255</sup>.

The continuously expansive mourning wars of the Five Nations shattered the Mississippian chiefdoms by a manner in which the previous cycling of polities became no longer possible, in part by severely restricting movement to the North and West. As a result, many groups appear to have been pushed South and East. The rise of the Haudenosaunee and adoption of a trade-based mode of production can be understood simultaneously as signaling the end of the Mississippian World. As a result, the Mississippian mode of production based on staple finance ceased, giving rise to new societies dubbed “militaristic slaving societies...to describe...Native slavers who emerged as the English, Dutch, and French pursued capitalist economic strategies in their trade for furs and slaves across the Eastern Woodlands”<sup>256</sup>. The rise of short-lived Militarist Slaving Societies enabled a broader transition to a trade based mode of

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<sup>253</sup> Ibid pp.107

<sup>254</sup> Ibid pp.108

<sup>255</sup> Ibid pp.108

<sup>256</sup> Ethridge, Robbie Franklin, and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall. Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone the Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South. Lincoln (Neb.): University of Nebraska Press, 2009. pp.

production described as “wealth finance” characterized by “gun-wealth resources of slaves and hides, the capitalist schemas of commodification”<sup>257</sup>. It is within the context of the rising Haudnesaunee and new modes of economic production that the Appalachian Mountain migrations of the Cherokee and Ohio Valley Siouan groups are best understood.

The connection between the earlier “TocaE” and later Cherokee Toccoa is interesting, in that the name recalls an out-migration of non-Cherokee group. By extension, the term also thereby an in-migration by the historic Cherokee. While many have attempted to position the Cherokee as members of the Mississippian World, it is the Cherokee themselves who recall “emigrating into a strange country, and now move our encampments”<sup>258</sup> and recall overthrowing a “haughty” class of religious mound builders “who called themselves Anikanos”<sup>259</sup>“Ani-kanos”. Given that “ani is the plural prefix”<sup>260</sup> which is generally used to denote a group of people, it is instructive to recall that the “local name” for Cofitachequi was known as “Canos”<sup>261</sup>. Furthermore, recalling that Cofitachequi ruled the area later controlled by the Cherokee<sup>262</sup> during the time of

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<sup>257</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. pp.264

<sup>258</sup> Cordell, Ann S. "CHRONOLOGICAL VARIABILITY IN CERAMIC PASTE: A COMPARISON OF DEPTFORD AND SAVANNAH PERIOD POTTERY IN THE ST. MARYS RIVER REGION OF NORTHEAST FLORIDA AND SOUTHEAST GEORGIA." *Southeastern Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (1993): 33-58. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40712986>. pp.257

<sup>259</sup> Ibid pp.274

<sup>260</sup> Conley, Robert J. *The Cherokee Nation: A History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. pp.14

<sup>261</sup> Goddard, Ives. "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast." *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 1 (2005): 1-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132315>. Pp.6

<sup>262</sup> DePratter, Chester B. "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence." Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa\\_staffpub](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1122&context=sciaa_staffpub). pp.149

the Soto entrada. Therefore, there is little concrete evidence to support the presence of Cherokee speakers during the Mississippian era, rendering the arrival of the Cherokee to be part of the broader shattering of the Mississippian World. By understanding the prior presence of groups connected to Cofitachequi and the Chicoran cultural complex in the South Appalachian Mississippian region, another enigma of Shakori cultural customs is clarified. Through such an understanding, the presence of “provision house...identical with [that]...of the Cherokee”<sup>263</sup> in Shakori homes cannot not be attributed to the Cherokee. Similar storage houses are present in Pisgah phase sites<sup>264</sup> which are also inaccurately attributed to the Cherokee. Overall, the migration story of the Cherokee suggests displacement by Haudenosaunee into Cofitachequi territory and is representative of one of the largest processes involved in destabilizing and ultimately shattering the Mississippian World.

Similarly, the earlier location of the non-Esaw Catawba may also be indicative of the earlier origins of Siouan speakers, if this group is not Muskogean speaking. The Toccoa River is a branch of the Ohio by way of the Tennessee. The migrations of Fort Ancient-Ohio Valley Siouan groups such as the Ofo (Mosopelea from the Clinch River tributary of the Ohio River), Biloxi, and Tutelo (Toteroy from the Big Sandy or Sikeacepe tributary of the Ohio River) can be understood as part of the broader dispersal of interior peoples near the Great Lakes who followed Ohio River tributaries further south. By 1680 the Ofo-Mosopelea had fled southward and confederated amongst the Tunica due to hostilities by the Five Nations, as their villages are marked as “destroyed” on the

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<sup>263</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp. 63

<sup>264</sup> "RLA Archaeology of NC - Woodland - Appalachian Miss - Pisgah Phase." UNC. Accessed May 20, 2019. [http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood\\_App\\_Miss\\_Pisgah.htm](http://rla.unc.edu/ArchaeoNC/time/wood_App_Miss_Pisgah.htm).

1684 Franquelin's map of Louisiana<sup>265</sup>. Similarly Ofo's eastern neighbors the Tutelo-



Sikeepee are found in Virginia by 1670 with the Saponi and Monahoac around 1701<sup>266</sup>. Accordingly, the Cherokee appear not far off either.

By 1656, the fallout of the expanding Haudnesaunee “arrived at Virginia’s backdoor”<sup>267</sup> with a group of displaced Eries known as the Rickohockens. They may also be the “Rakouageya” near lake Erie on the Franquelin map. The Rickohockens are

<sup>265</sup> Franquelin, Jean Baptiste Louis. *Franquelin's map of Louisiana*. [S.l., to 1901, 1896] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2001620469/>.

<sup>266</sup> Mooney, James. *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services, 1995. Pp. 37

<sup>267</sup> BECK, ROBIN. CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH. S.I.: CAMBRIDGE UNIV PRESS, 2018. Pp.107

later known as the fearsome Westo, a group who pillages the southeast, bringing about the end of any remaining chiefdoms, most notably that of Cofitachequi.

EDITED:

While it was the intention of the author to continue to demonstrate the persistence of non-Catawba groups in the region by progressing through the transition from the Mississippian World to the rise of the Catawba confederacy, the writing must unfortunately draw to a close at the present juncture. By starting in the deep history of the Woodlands and mapping out the rise of the Mississippian era however, the presence of a diverse grouping of non-Catawba peoples is clear. The author has attempted to illustrate this diversity by focusing on the movements over time of an otherwise overlooked Algonquian population, and its interactions with other Algonquian and non-Algonquian groups in the Chicoran cultural complex and beyond. Further writings down this line of inquiry into the 18th century will map the movements of these groups out of the Mississippian era as they transition to wealth finance through gun wealth, slaving, and trade. While these groups largely settle in with the Tuscarora during the period of militaristic slaiving societies which follows the Mississippian era, these groups flee southward following the opening of the Tuscarora war. During the Yamasee War, the Catawba are routed by settlers, and resolve to become allies of the colonial Carolina government. Other groups however continue to fight the dynamics enacted by Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars and continue to resist the encroachment of the colonial South Carolina government and its alliance with the emergent Catawba polity. Overall, these diverse groups pursue a project of resistance in opposition to the project of ethnic hegemony enacted by Governor James Glenn in

direct partnership with the Catawba polity, and ultimately remain on the Pee Dee river to become known as settlement Indians.