ABSTRACT

MCMULLAN, PHILIP S. JR. Beechland and the Lost Colony. (Under the direction of Dr. Holly Brewer.)

In a well known story, Sir Walter Ralegh's attempt to settle ‘Virginia’ in 1587 became ‘The Lost Colony;’ 117 men, women and children simply disappeared. John White, the colony's governor, described how the colonists were forced to remain on Roanoke Island when their intended destination was Chesapeake Bay. There they were abandoned and became lost to history after the Spanish Armada caused their resupply ships to be diverted.

However significant evidence suggests that they intentionally relocated inland and that Ralegh, at least, kept in touch with them. They continued the alliance they had formed with the Croatan and, for at least ten more years, supplied Ralegh with a valuable commodity – Sassafras. They chose Beechland, a protected sassafras site about 50 into the mainland, in order to prevent the Spaniards (and potential competitors) from finding them. This profitable venture ended when Ralegh lost his patent and his head after the death of Queen Elizabeth. In this scenario, the so called ‘Lost Colonists’ were not lost but were finally abandoned when Ralegh could no longer send ships to them.

Evidence for the colonists’ movement was found in original accounts, native alliances, oral histories, naming patterns, archeological remnants, and reanalysis of early maps. A thorough archeological investigation of the site might yield the crucial clues to resolve the longstanding mystery of what became of the majority of the lost colonists.
Beechland and the Lost Colony

by
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DEDICATION

To Norma.
BIOGRAPHY

The author is a native of historic Edenton, North Carolina, and has been immersed in the colonial history of his state since childhood. Despite his early interest in history, he elected to study engineering and business administration before becoming a research scientist with RTI International in the newly created Research Triangle Park in 1960.

He maintained only a mild interest in the Lost Colony before 1982. That year, he assisted in preparing an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for Prulean Farms, a proposed 22,000-acre farm on the mainland of Dare County. One of his assignments was to prepare a history of developments on the Dare mainland and its surrounding region. During his research, he learned of an abandoned settlement on the Dare mainland called Beechland. He was intrigued by numerous oral histories claiming that the original settlers of Beechland were Sir Walter Ralegh’s abandoned colonists and their Native American allies.

After retirement, he researched the history of Beechland and its possible relationship to the abandoned colonists and decided that it could help explain the fate of the abandoned colonists. He was then accepted in the Masters of History program at North Carolina State University and began to prepare this thesis. He has taught World History and American History for the Gateway to College Program at the College of the Albemarle since 2007.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grandmother Penelope Skinner McMullan, Edenton Cupola House librarian and Cannon Cup recipient for preserving Edenton history, was the first to interest me in history. I was further inspired by historical novelist Ingles Fletcher, a frequent visitor to the Edenton library. I became interested in the Lost Colony when Charles Overman, who was Manteo in the first Lost Colony outdoor drama, became my scoutmaster. My interest in world history was inspired by Professor. Bill Holley, who taught history to freshman engineers at Duke in 1948 and was still teaching when I returned for a Colonial History course at Duke in 2005.

At the Research Triangle Institute (RTI International), I was encouraged by. Neil Fitzsimons, historian of the American Society of Civil Engineers, to write the history of Civil Defense. Toward the end of my career at RTI, I was engaged by Hobart Truesdell, President of First Colony Farms, to write the history of agricultural development in Dare County and the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula. In this, I was greatly assisted by Quentin Bell, Paul Lilley, Mike McCarthy, and especially Steve Barnes. While assisting First Colony Farms, I discovered Mary Wood Long’s unpublished *Five Lost Colonies of Dare*; and her chapter on Beechland was my inspiration for this thesis. This inspiration led me to Fred Willard and the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research, whose members accompanied me on several field trips to Beechland.

I decided before continuing my Beechland research that I needed to sharpen my writing and historical research skills and sought a Masters degree in History at North Carolina State University. I am especially grateful for the help and encouragement given me
by all of my professors and especially by Norene Miller, the History Department’s Student Services Assistant.

In preparing this thesis, I was assisted by many friends and family members. Miss Elizabeth Moore, Edenton’s first lady of history until her passing last year, provided a most helpful review of my thesis proposal. My wife Norma, my son Philip III, and my daughters Margaret, Donny, and Julia all echoed my thesis advisor’s warning that I must stick to my subject and resist a strong tendency to digress. Useful comments on drafts were received from Roberta Estes, Douglas Treado, Albert Eure, and Raymond Winslow. The introduction was expanded after John O’Donnell advised that characters in the Roanoke voyages are familiar to Carolina natives, but they need to be introduced to non-natives. I also appreciate the valuable information I received from Roberta Estes and Kay Lynn Shepherd. Finally, I offer special thanks to Fred Willard who caused me to reexamine much of history’s ‘common knowledge’ about the fate of Sir Walter Ralegh’s 1587 colony and who introduced me to evidence that sassafras was found near Beechland.
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INTRODUCTION

“The Roanoke voyages and colonizing experiments of the years 1584 to 1590 were the first to bring English men, women, and children to settle in any part of North America. Although these attempts failed, they lie at the very roots of English experience in North America and the beginnings of what was to become the thirteen colonies and the United States.”

In a story well known to native North Carolinians and most historians, Sir Walter Ralegh’s last attempt to settle ‘Virginia’ became known as ‘The Lost Colony.’ The ‘Legend of the Lost Colony’ began when Governor John White failed to find his abandoned colony in 1590. One may reasonably ask why a colony abandoned in 1587 deserves the attention that it has received from historians, novelists, and the public in general. The mystery itself is one answer, but British historians David and Allison Quinn provide historical perspective in the quotation that begins this introduction.

The abandoned colony has been commemorated for 73 years by the outdoor drama The Lost Colony. At its conclusion, the colonists are lost in the mist, as the legend requires. Many long-time residents of northeastern North Carolina do not subscribe to this mysterious conclusion. They believe the colonists were not lost but merged with the Indians from Croatoan Island and remained in what is now North Carolina. I agree and contend that the 1587 colonists were sent 50 miles into the mainland beyond Roanoke Island to gather sassafras to treat syphilis. After a delay caused by the Spanish Armada, Ralegh send ships to collect sassafras and bring it back to England. The colonists were not finally abandoned until


Ralegh was beheaded after the death of Queen Elizabeth I. This thesis fully supports my hypothesis through historical documents, oral histories, and some physical evidence.

Before analyzing my own and others’ hypotheses in the following chapters, I have reviewed the narratives of the Roanoke voyages for clues to the fate of the abandoned colonists. Readers educated in North Carolina schools know the story of ‘The Lost Colony,’ but others may need an introduction to the principle players and their voyages. The term ‘Roanoke Voyages’ was adopted by historian David Beers Quinn for the first six ocean voyages in Walter Ralegh’s efforts to plant a permanent English Settlement in North America. The first voyage was a brief and successful 1584 reconnaissance expedition by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to Hatteras and Roanoke Island in what is now the Outer Banks of North Carolina. When Amadas and Barlowe returned to England, Sir Walter Ralegh was knighted, and most of what became the United States was named ‘Virginia’ for Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen. The second Roanoke voyage in 1585 was commanded by Ralegh’s cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, who left 108 men under Captain Ralph Lane on Roanoke Island to explore the New World. Lane and his men explored the region west of Roanoke Island for almost a year. After making enemies of the native Secotan, Lane departed in haste with Sir Francis Drake. The third Roanoke voyage, a single supply ship, arrived to find the colony deserted. On the fourth Roanoke voyage, Sir Richard Grenville returned in a fleet of seven ships with supplies and new colonists. Finding the colony deserted, Grenville

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left a skeleton crew and returned to England, but not before mounting successful privateering attacks against Spanish ships.

The fifth Roanoke voyage, led by Governor John White in 1587, was the second attempt by Sir Walter Ralegh to colonize ‘Virginia.’ White arrived on Roanoke Island with one hundred and seventeen English men, women, and children. Most of these colonists were left on Roanoke Island when White returned to England to obtain assistance. Because of war with Spain, White was not able to return to his colonists until the sixth and last ‘Roanoke Voyage’ in 1590. When White reached ‘Virginia,’ the abandoned colonists had left Roanoke Island; but they had left behind messages that told White how to find them. A severe storm caused his ship to return to England without a further search for the colonists. The ‘Legend of the Lost Colony’ traditionally ends with John White’s 1590 voyage, but documents have been found showing that additional voyages were sent to Roanoke by Sir Walter Ralegh. These documents suggest that contact with the abandoned colonists did not end with White’s 1590 voyage.

I have made a few editorial choices in this thesis. I have shown Ralegh’s ‘Virginia,’ in single quotation marks to distinguish it from the much smaller colony that became the state of Virginia. Thomas Harriot defined Ralegh’s ‘Virginia’ as “. . . the parte of the Worlde, which is betwene the Florida and the Cap Breton,” and that includes most of the future United States.4 To distinguish the southern part of ‘Virginia’ that became Carolina, I use ‘Ould Virginia,’ or ‘south Virginia,’ or ‘Roanoak’ depending upon the term used by my

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sources. For Sir Walter, I have used ‘Ralegh’ rather than ‘Raleigh,’ which he never used.\(^5\) Although Renapoak (and singular Renape) was the generic name by which Ralph Lane said the Algonquians he met were known, I identify the Native Americans as either ‘Indian’ or by the name of their Indian confederation.\(^6\) The names of the Indian villages in ‘Virginia’ were spelled in a variety of ways in the primary source documents and maps, but I have adopted the spelling used by John White in his 1590 White-DeBry map. I have assumed that ‘Croatan’ was the name of the Indians of Croatoan Island. In most instances, I have used the term ‘abandoned colonists’ rather than ‘lost colonists.’ I have also chosen to place primary source quotations in italics to clearly distinguish them from secondary sources.

My childhood interest in the fate of the abandoned colonists was revived in 1982 when I first heard the story of the Beechland community. I was employed in the preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for Prulean Farms, a proposed 22,000-acre farm on the mainland of Dare County. One of my duties was to prepare a history of developments on the Dare mainland and its surrounding region.\(^7\)

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\(^5\) “Ralegh's name can be found spelled in over 70 different ways in contemporary documents. Ralegh himself signed it variously, until finally settling on ‘Ralegh’ -- it is to be noted that Ralegh himself never spelled it with an ‘i’, as ‘Raleigh.’ Anniina Jokinen, *English Literature and History Luminarium Discussion Forum*, (2010) Web April 7, 2010.

\(^6\) Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, Vol 2. Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute. (Washington: GPO, 1910) 371; Ralph Lane learned that the natives called themselves the ‘Renapoak’ or ‘true men.’ “The singular of Renapoak is Renape, which was reinterpreted in historic time as Lenape.”

\(^7\) Research Triangle Institute, *Draft Environmental Impact Statement for Prulean Farms* (Wilmington, NC: US Army Corps of Engineers, 1982.)
During my research, I learned of the two abandoned settlements on the Dare mainland in figure 1 called Buffalo City and Beechland.\(^8\) Dare County Sheriff Frank Cahoon, who grew up in Buffalo City, told me that his ancestors had lived in the Beechland community for hundreds of years. Cahoon’s family legend held that the first Beechland settlers were the abandoned colonists or their close descendents, and he claimed to have Indian blood himself. I then learned that the Beechland legend was well known locally. It had been in several publications; the most revealing of which was *The Five Lost Colonies of Dare* by Mary Wood Long, who had played Queen Elizabeth in *The Lost Colony* for ten years. In her manuscript she described the legend of the Beechland community, with quotes from a

number of the descendants of former residents – all of whom support Sheriff’s Cahoon’s claims.  

After learning of this oral history, I revisited the Beechland legend in *The Legends of the Outer Banks*, written by Judge Charles Whedbee. He told of an ancient child’s coffin in a Beechland mound that was dug up accidentally by a West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co. (Westvaco) crew while digging canals for improved forest drainage. Whedbee wrote:

“In this mound, in the heart of the wilderness, they found numerous Indian artifacts, arrowheads, works of pottery, and potsherds. They also found several riven coffins that were made from solid cypress wood. They were made in a form that can he best described as two canoes—one canoe being the top half of the coffin, and the other the bottom half. On the top of each of these coffins was plainly and deeply chiseled a Roman or Latin cross, the type that has come to be universally and traditionally accepted as the cross of Christianity. Beneath each cross were the unmistakable letters, I N R I. These are thought to represent the traditional ‘Jesus Nazarensus, Rex Judaeorum’ or, translated, ‘Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews,’ the inscription which adorned the cross of Christ at the time of the crucifixion. . . . A riven coffin with English carvings buried in the midst of a wilderness in an Indian burial ground—is that coincidence?”

Although I had previously assumed this was just another tall tale, I interviewed the operator who claimed to have uncovered the coffin. He said he had uncovered a child-sized dugout cypress log coffin with a juniper cover and that other coffin parts were seen extending from the canal wall. The uncovered coffin had been hastily reburied, and he could not locate it when we searched.

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9 Long’s five lost colonies included Ralegh’s 1587 colony, the vanishing Indians, the 1860-1865 colony of escaped slaves on Roanoke Island, Buffalo City, and Beechland. Mary Wood Long, *The Five Lost Colonies of Dare* (Elizabethtown NC: Family Research Society of Northeastern North Carolina, 2000.)


11 Westvaco purchased Dare County land from the Richmond Cedar works in 1953. I have found no record of when their canal operation had reached Beechland, but it is likely to have been before 1960.
Our environmental study for Prulean Farms engaged archaeologists whose brief survey uncovered physical evidence of an early European settlement at Beechland.\textsuperscript{12} Although their cursory examination found no Indian artifacts at the Beechland sites, they found artifacts at Indian villages nearby on Milltail Creek and the Alligator River.

\textbf{Figure 2 – Migration Trail of the Croatan Indians} \textsuperscript{13}

I was not able to research Beechland any further in 1982, but twenty years later I decided to seriously pursue the Beechland legend. I enrolled at North Carolina State University in 2005 to obtain a Master of History degree and began to explore Beechland and Croatoan Island, often in the company of ECU archaeology student Fred Willard who organized the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research. Willard was convinced that the

\textsuperscript{12} Carolina Archaeological Services, \textit{A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance for Prulean Farms Joint Venture Proposed Farmlands Project} (Research Triangle Park NC: The Research Triangle Institute, October 1982.)

\textsuperscript{13} Fred Willard, “Migration Patterns of Coastal N.C. Indians” (nd) \textit{Lost Colony Center for Science and Research}, Web Apr. 15, 2006.
abandoned colonists were with the Croatan on the mainland as well as on Croatoan Island. Genealogical research enabled Willard to locate Croatan descendants in Chocowinity near Washington, NC and in Free Union near Williamston, NC. He proposed that over many decades the Croatan had migrated along the trail shown in figure 2. Willard’s research had begun at a Croatoan village on Hatteras Island where primary sources had placed men of the Roanoke voyages with the Croatan. With Willard’s assistance, Dr. David Phelps discovered significant English and Croatan artifacts of the Roanoke voyages period at the Buxton site.

“The disappearance of this colony has been truly called the tragedy of American colonization, and around it has hung a pathetic interest which ever leads to renewed investigation, in the hope of solving the mystery.”

Theories concerning the fate of the abandoned colony have been put forward for more than 400 years, beginning with Governor John White who wrote in 1590 that he was convinced his colonists were safe on Croatoan Island. “I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.” If White had reached Croatoan Island in 1590, we would surely have learned the destination of the abandoned colonists. Because he did not, we are left to develop hypotheses from the primary sources and our own imagination.

14 Fred Willard explains how he traced the Elk and Buck families from Hatteras and Hyde mainland villages to Chocowinity in Beaufort County in, “Possible Croatoan Descendants” (2007) Lost Colony Center for Science and Research, Web December 13, 2009.
15 Sallie Southall Cotton, The Legend of Virginia Dare (Manteo: Roanoke Island Historical Association, 1901) 13.
At least one recent writer, Scott Dawson, makes a strong case that White’s statement solves the mystery. He believes that all the colonists went to Croatoan Island and remained there until they were certain White would not return.\textsuperscript{17} Some historians acknowledge White’s statement but minimize its importance, preferring to give more weight to information collected in Jamestown. While president of the Jamestown Council in 1607, Captain John Smith was told that some colonists were living with the Chawanook west of the Chowan River. Historians Thomas Parramore, Lee Miller, and James Horn have developed their hypotheses around such reports.\textsuperscript{18} William Strachey, Secretary of the Colony in 1610, wrote that the Powhatan had slaughtered the abandoned colonists just as the first Jamestown settlers were arriving in 1607.\textsuperscript{19} Strachey’s statement gained wide acceptance when it was adopted at the 400 Anniversary celebrations of the Roanoke voyages by highly respected historians, David and Allison Quinn.\textsuperscript{20} That the abandoned colonists became the Lumbee Indians was also proposed by several writers, and the claim became part of an early 1900s Congressional Hearing about the Lumbee demand for federal tribal recognition.\textsuperscript{21} Others have conjectured that the colonists were washed away by a hurricane, starved in a severe drought, drowned trying to sail to England, massacred by Indians, or killed by the Spaniards.

\textsuperscript{17} Scott Dawson, “Take another look at the past,” \textit{Outer Banks Sentinel}, 4 August 2007.


\textsuperscript{19} William Strachey, \textit{The historie of travaile into Virginia Britannia} (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1849.)

\textsuperscript{20} David B. and Alison M. Quinn, \textit{The Lost Colonists: Their Fortune and Probable Fate} (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1984.)

\textsuperscript{21} Hamilton McMillan, \textit{Sir Walter’s Lost Colony: An Historical Sketch of the Attempts of Sir Walter to Establish a Colony in Virginia} (Wilson, NC: Advance Presses, 1888.)
My own hypothesis about the fate of Ralegh’s colonists has leaned heavily on the writings of the participants of the Roanoke voyages, and especially on the two narratives prepared by Governor John White.22 White believed that the colonists were with the Croatan and were not in immediate danger. White also clearly states twice that the colonists intended to move 50 miles inland, but no reason is given for this intended move. His narrative provides the following significant clues to the intentions of the colonists. Any reasonable hypothesis about the fate of the colonists must account for these statements:

➤ White saw the letters CRO carved on a tree and believed the colonists were with the Croatan: “which letters presently we knew to signify the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed on between them and me”23

➤ White found CROATOAN carved on a post without a cross at the entrance to the fort, indicating again that they were with the Croatan and that they were safe. “I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places that then they should carve over the letters or name a Cross ✡ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse.” 24

➤ They intended to move 50 miles inland: White wrote, “Also, [I] alleaged, that seing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine.” In a second narrative, he wrote: “for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke 50 miles into the maine.” 25

22 “John White’s Narrative of the 1590 Virginia Voyage,” in Quinn, First Colonists, 115-130; “John White’s Narrative of the 1587 Voyage,” in Quinn, First Colonists, 93-106.

23 White, First Colonists, 125.

24 White’s narrative shows a cross pattée, such as is often found of the crown of monarchs. However, the published form of the cross may have been at the printer’s discretion. Quinn, First Colonists 126.

25 White, First Colonists, 103, 126.
White’s narrative of the 1587 voyage states that the colony intended to go to Chesapeake Bay after a brief stop at Roanoke Island, but pilot Simon Fernando forced the colonists to remain on the Island. I contend that Fernando followed Ralegh’s instructions when he left the colonists on Roanoke Island, and they were not forced to remain. White’s report of a Chesapeake Bay destination was made to mislead the Spaniards and Ralegh’s enemies. I believe the colonists were ordered to move 50 miles into the mainland to collect sassafras, which had been discovered by Ralph Lane’s 1585-1586 expedition.26

In a formal ceremony ordered by Ralegh, John White insured that the Croatan would be allies of his colonists before he returned to England. The Croatan then escorted the colonists into the mainland where sassafras was located. A rear guard remained behind on Croatoan Island to watch for Spanish ships and await White’s return. It is likely that the colonists initially separated into several Croatan villages to limit their impact on the Indian’s drought-restricted food supply. One of these villages was near a large grove of sassafras trees that provided this valuable commodity. After a delay because of the Spanish Armada, Ralegh began to send ships to resupply the colonists and bring back sassafras.27 When Ralegh lost his charter and his head, no further voyages were taken to Croatoan Island. The colonists were then truly abandoned.

I contend that many of the abandoned colonists mated with and remained with the Croatan. Other colonists left their Croatan villages—possibly to explore Chesapeake Bay,

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26 As I explain in Appendix C, sassafras was a commodity highly valued in Europe as a cure for syphilis.

Albemarle Sound, and the Chowan River— and were killed, captured, or adopted into the culture of the local Indians. Their actions explain the reports to Jamestown of surviving colonists in ‘Roanoak.’

I propose that, when it was clear that they had been abandoned, the colonists in family groups moved a short distance from their Indian village to Beechland. There they maintained a semblance of their English culture. Some descendants of these colonists remained in Beechland for 250 years while others gradually drifted away along the migration trail of the Croatan. Many of the residents of Eastern North Carolina today believe they are descendents of the original Beechland community.

My hypothesis will surely raise questions for readers familiar with traditional Lost Colony historiography. Why am I convinced that the colonists found sassafras 50 miles into the mainland? Why would Ralegh attempt to hide the location of this commodity? Did Ralegh actually sent ships to ‘Virginia’ to collect sassafras? Did the Croatan control villages on the mainland? Why did the colonists remain undiscovered by Colonial authorities? Why did they choose a dismal swamp as their home? I have answered these questions in the following text.

I am hopeful that this thesis will stir interest in an archaeological survey in and near Beechland. Artifacts found by a thorough survey should establish the age of the Beechland community. The survey might thus identify the first permanent English community in North Carolina, and possibly in America. Perhaps archaeological studies, combined with the ongoing DNA research, will finally determine the fate of the abandoned colonists.
Chapter 1

ENGLAND’S RISE TO POWER.

The Roanoke voyages were a significant episode in the sea-war between Elizabethan England and Spain, since it is now clear that their short-term objective was to facilitate privateering by the establishment of a mainland base in North America from which the Spanish Indies and the fleets coming from them might be more effectively attacked. ¹

Sir Walter Ralegh’s attempt to establish a permanent English settlement in America was part of a greater mission—to reduce the power of Spain by sinking its ships and taking its wealth. English privateers had expanded the war into the Americas where Spanish treasures could best be taken.² The mission of the 1585-86 ‘Virginia’ military colony, led by Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane, was intended to find a safe harbor in the New World from which English seamen could carry the fight into Spanish territory.

Unlike Ralph Lane’s colony, the 1587 colony of ordinary planters under John White was not sent to establish a naval base for privateers. Its mission was to supply sassafras to rebuild Sir Walter Ralegh’s depleted fortune. However, the 1587 colonists in ‘Virginia’ were under constant treat of discovery and annihilated by Spain, whose war with England significantly influenced all of the Roanoke voyages. Because of the war, maps and narratives of the period were sometimes written to mislead England’s foreign enemies—and Ralegh’s domestic enemies. One reason to mislead Spain was to protect the location of the 1587


² Richard Hakluyt, The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation, 1552-1616, 3 Vols. (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598-1600.)
colonists. This chapter describes the century long conflict between England and Spain and explains the role this conflict played in England’s attempts to place a colony in ‘Virginia.’

Between the reign of Henry VIII and that of Elizabeth I, England was not an important player in Europe’s worldwide expansion. After Portuguese explorers sailed to the Far East and Columbus to the West Indies, Pope Alexander VI divided all the new lands, discovered and to be discovered, between Spain and Portugal. Gold and silver flowed from America to make Spain the strongest nation in Europe. After annexing Portugal, Spain laid claim to all newly discovered and to be discovered lands. Within less than a century Spain had taken possession of much of America and had established enduring footholds in Asia and Africa. Within another century this huge empire would start to crumble – primarily from its own failings but with contributions from the small kingdom of England.

Figure 3 - The Caverio Map (1505)

3 Helen Hill Miller, Captains from Devon (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1985) 5.
5 Currently at Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.
Before Columbus, England was a feudal agricultural economy on the western edge of world maps. After Columbus, Europe’s world maps marked new discoveries that placed England nearer the center (figure 3.) England began to wake up to the potential of world trade. English merchants of Bristol sent John Cabot to the New World. His 1497 voyage would later provide England with a claim to the territory from Newfoundland to south of Chesapeake Bay where the Roanoke voyages would first venture.\(^6\) No further English exploration of America occurred after Cabot until much later in the sixteenth century when Elizabeth I became Queen.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, England and Spain were allied by the marriage of King Henry VIII to the daughter of the King of Spain. The annulment of this marriage sparked the Protestant Reform in England and a century-long conflict between these two countries. Even after Henry VIII turned England away from Roman Catholicism, England did not immediately compete with Spain on the world stage. However, Henry built a large navy to provide England with a defense against Spain. A marriage after his annulment produced the princess who became Elizabeth I, Queen of England, in 1558. A modicum of religious peace then returned inside England, allowing England to turn its attention to the rest of the world.

Conflict with Spain resumed when Elizabeth became Queen. King Philip II of Spain, the widower of Catholic Queen Mary of England, proposed marriage to Elizabeth to restore Spain’s alliance with England. Elizabeth refused, knowing Philip would expect her to allow

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\(^6\) Miller, *Captains from Devon*, 30.
England to return to Catholicism.\textsuperscript{7} Philip II and Elizabeth I became archenemies and competed for power and territory in the New World as well as in Europe.

Because England had no standing army, Elizabeth looked for another way to successfully defend against Spain. Unfriendly Scotland was on England’s northern border, rebellious Ireland to the west, and France remained England’s longtime enemy. Queen Elizabeth decided that the island nation of England could best defend itself by strengthening the aging navy she had inherited from her father. However, debt left by Queen Mary Tudor made it impossible for her to construct a large navy. The desire of wealthy merchant seamen to compete with Spain and Portugal for trade in the Far East gave her an alternative way to strengthen her sea power.

Before Elizabeth’s reign, many English merchant seamen had become wealthy trading in Mediterranean and Atlantic coastal towns; but, like the Spanish and Portuguese, they wanted the riches of the Far East. During the early stages of the conflict with Philip II, Elizabeth encouraged her merchant seamen to build oceangoing ships and search for northwest and northeast passages to the riches of the Far East. The experience they gained in seamanship, navigation, and shipbuilding proved invaluable when the Spanish Armada attempted to invade England. Elizabeth initially demanded that her seamen avoid the territories and sea routes previously granted to Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI. However, when the northwest and northeast passages resisted discovery, English adventurers urged Queen Elizabeth to allow them to explore unoccupied southern territories claimed by Spain.

\textsuperscript{7} Miller, Captains from Devon, 7.
Catholic-Protestant differences in the Netherlands turned the cold war between Philip II and Elizabeth I into a heated war. In 1568, Dutch Protestants in the northern provinces of the Netherlands revolted against Philip’s rule and the severity of his Inquisition.\footnote{Insurgents eventually formed the Dutch Republic and the war continued for eighty years before Spain capitulated. John Simkin, “Philip II” (1997) \textit{Sparticus Schoolnet}, Web 4 June 2009.} Spanish successes against the Dutch revolt caused Elizabeth to reexamine her policy of neutrality toward Spain. Having the Spanish army within 100 miles of England was a threat that Elizabeth could not ignore, and she allowed private English armies to go to the aid of the Dutch. Philip II was concerned when England welcomed Dutch Protestant refuges, became angry when English volunteers aided the rebels, and reacted with rage when Dutch privateers found safe harbors in England. By 1570, the Spanish ambassador had financed an unsuccessful plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, the pope had excommunicated Elizabeth, and England was in a \textit{de facto} (undeclared) war with Spain.\footnote{Samuel Eliot. Morison, \textit{The European Discovery of America, the Northern Voyages: A.D. 500-1600} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) 496.}

After the \textit{de facto} war began around 1570, Elizabeth was much less concerned with stopping unauthorized privateering (piracy) on the high seas against Spain. As long as she could maintain plausible deniability and receive a share of the prizes, her public disapproval could be safely ignored by the privateers. French and English privateers had plundered each others merchant ships for generations, and Dutch privateers were attacking Spain’s merchant ships as part of their war with Spain.
In 1574 Sir Walter Ralegh’s cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, asked Elizabeth’s for permission to open a new route to the Far East around South America. Elizabeth first granted and then denied Grenville’s request for fear of offending Spain. She later gave Walter Ralegh’s half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, broad authority to explore and settle a northern route far from Spanish occupied territory. 10 Gilbert had stressed to the Queen that: “English colonies should be established in the New World, both for trade and to open new opportunities for the unemployed.” 11 Aware of Elizabeth’s caution concerning Spain, Gilbert argued that his discoveries would be “without injurie done to any Christian prince, by crossing any of their used trades [routes], whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.” 12 Queen Elizabeth resisted until 1578 when she granted Gilbert the first English colonial charter to explore and settle pretty much anywhere north of Florida. Gilbert failed and died in the attempt, but Walter Ralegh later received a similar charter authorizing expeditions that became know as the Roanoke voyages.

England’s fear of Spain increased in 1580 when Philip II invaded Portugal and gained its ports, foreign possession, and experienced merchant marine. “Europe saw herself. . . threatened by a new and living Roman Empire.” 13 After 1580, Spain and England often confiscated each other’s ships. The conflict intensified in 1583 when Spain’s wheat crop

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10 Gilbert was one of the famous “Captains from Devon” that played such important roles in English exploration, privateering, and the defense of England. The great Elizabethan seafarers – the Hawkins, Francis Drake, John Davis, Walter Ralegh, Humphrey Gilbert, Thomas Cavendish, and Richard Grenville – were cousins from Devon who led England to maritime fame and defended England against the Spanish Armada. Miller, Captains from Devon, 21.

11 Gilbert’s Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia, was written in 1566 but became a sensation when printed ten years later. Morrison, Northern Voyages, 556.

12 Miller, Captains from Devon, 59.

failed, and Philip II invited an English merchant fleet to deliver wheat to the Spanish port of Bilbao. Spain confiscated the English fleet in Bilbao harbor, but one ship escaped after capturing the Governor of Bilbao. “In his boot, was discovered Philip’s personal order to confiscate the grain ships, and evidence that he intended to use those same ships to fulfill ‘Gods obvious design’ - the punishment of Elizabeth of England.”¹⁴ This gave Elizabeth her first confirmation that Spain planned to invade England, which it would attempt to do in 1588—the year after John White’s colony arrived in ‘Virginia.’

Prior to the Bilbao incident, Elizabeth had steered a middle course between her chief advisor, the cautious Lord Burghley, and her principal secretary and spymaster, the ambitious Sir Francis Walsingham who was an important supporter of the Roanoke voyages. Merchant seamen had begun to take advantage of Elizabeth’s ambiguity and ventured into previously forbidden territory.¹⁵ Elizabeth was angry over Spain’s treachery at Bilbao, but she was not yet prepared for war. Instead, she gave privateering licenses to merchants who had lost ships and told them to capture Spanish ships to compensate for their loss. Some privateering licenses went to Elizabeth’s more adventurous privateering captains such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins who had begun privateering even before Bilbao.¹⁶

Although Queen Elizabeth was not ready for war with Spain over the Bilbao treachery in 1583, Richard Hakluyt gave Gilbert and Ralegh a rationale that persuaded

¹⁵ Helen Miller, Captains from Devon, 24.
¹⁶ A Spanish report stated: “On June 3 of the present year of ’83 an English corsair named William Hawkins arrived at this island with the greatest force in men and ships ever seen in these parts.” Irene A. Wright, Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1949) 4.
Elizabeth to allow their privately-funded settlement efforts to go forward. Hakluyt recognized that war with Spain was inevitable and recommended that a colony be placed close enough to Spanish territory to permit more frequent attacks on Spanish shipping. The younger Richard Hakluyt enthusiastically sought out documentation of voyages in any language, translated them, and helped his cousin move knowledge out of university libraries into public view.

In 1582, Hakluyt had published his first book, *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America*. This book caught the eye of many of the maritime adventurers of Queen Elizabeth’s court, including Walter Ralegh. At Ralegh’s request in 1583, Hakluyt wrote a confidential report to the Queen, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, which made an eloquent plea for English settlements in America. The many purposes of this planting would be:

“To extend the Reformed Religion; to replace other English trades which, thanks to Spain, have grown beggarly or dangerous; to supply England’s wants from her own

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17 Scholar Richard Hakluyt was a major source of Gilbert’s and Ralegh’s knowledge of ‘The New World’ and of prior voyages of exploration. Hakluyt also collected and published narratives of the Roanoke voyages that are now primary sources for Sir Walter Ralegh’s attempt to settle ‘Virginia.’ More than any other Englishman, Hakluyt was responsible for generating English desire to explore and settle America—and his vision went far beyond winning the war with Spain. His cousin, Professor Richard Hakluyt, had introduced him to advance knowledge about the world that great European voyages were uncovering. “[... began to instruct my ignorance [...” Hakluyt in David B. Quinn and Allison M. Quinn, eds., *The First Colonists: Document on the Planning of the First English Settlements in North America 1584-1590* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982), vii. “His cousin ... was busy assembling documents on economic and trading conditions outside Europe and was exploiting his knowledge by placing it at the disposal of merchants who were interested in opening up new channels of trade.” Morrison, *Northern Voyages*, 557

18 “small and cheap enough to be bought and read by anyone.” Morrison, *Northern Voyages*, 558.

19 Quinn wrote: “To Hakluyt the narratives of the Virginia voyages from 1584 onwards represented a vital element in his record of English enterprise in North America. He considered them as historical documents, no doubt, but he also thought of them as guides and an inspiration to future transatlantic explorers and planters.” Quinn, ed., *First Colonists*, xvii.

20 This document was not made public at that time and was not published until 300 years later.
dominions, instead of from foreign countries; to employ numbers of idle men; and to discover the Northwest Passage.”

The document also recognized that the Queen would soon face war with Spain and that she needed funds to enlarge the navy. Thus, he added other purposes: “to enlarge the Queen’s revenues, and increase the Royal Navy, and to provide overseas bases in the event of open war with Spain.”

Soon after Humphrey Gilbert’s tragic loss in 1578, Walter Ralegh had requested letters-patent to colonize America for England. Unlike his cousin Gilbert, Ralegh intended to colonize on the edge of Spanish occupied territory in the New World. Queen Elizabeth would not permit him to colonize so close to occupied Spanish territory at first, but Spain’s confiscation of English merchant ships changed her mind. Elizabeth’s grant stated:

“We giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued servant Walter Ralegh, Esquire . . . free libertie and licence . . . to discover . . . such remote, heathen and barbarous lands . . . not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people. [He] shall within sixe yeeres. . . haue, holde, occupie and enjoy . . whatsoever we by our letters patents may graunt.”

Because the Queen gave him only six years to establish his colony or lose his patent, Ralegh dispatched the first of his voyages almost before the ink was dry on the letters-patent. Thus, in April 1584 the Roanoke Voyages began with a brief reconnaissance expedition—followed in 1585 by a much larger fleet carrying the first serious English attempt to colonize the New World.

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21 Morrison, Northern Voyages, 558.
22 Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages I: 82-89.
The war with Spain remained *de facto* until 1585 when Spain captured the Netherlands port of Antwerp, from which Philip II was expected to launch his invasion of England. England then began to provide overt financial and military support to the Dutch rebellion and undeclared war began in earnest.23 In that year, Sir Richard Grenville led a large fleet to Roanoke Island in ‘Virginia’ to establish a port in the New World from which to attack Spanish treasure ships. Between 1584 and 1590, Sir Walter Ralegh would send six Roanoke voyages to ‘Virginia’.

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23 Between 1523 and 1566 more than 1,300 Dutch people were executed as heretics, far more relative to population, than for instance in France. H. G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2001.)
Chapter 2

THE ROANOAK VOYAGES AND THE COASTAL INDIANS

“We were entertained with all love, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly devise.” Barlowe, 1584.¹

“Some of our companie towards the ende of the yeare, shewed themselves too fierce, in slaying some of the people.” Harriot, 1586.²

This chapter summarizes the narratives of the participants in the Roanoke voyages of 1584, 1585, and 1586, giving particular attention to their encounters with the Indian confederations of the region. The survival of John White’s abandoned 1587 colonists was surely in the hands of the Algonquin speaking American Indians who lived in the coastal region of ‘Virginia.’ In seeking to learn the fate of the colonists, it is essential to know which of the natives might have supported them, which threatened their existence, and where friendly and enemy Indians were located. At first contact, all the coastal Algonquin were friendly and asked the English explorers to become their allies against enemy Indians from the west. After a year of close contact, this early friendship grew strained and some of the coastal Algonquin rose up against the Englishmen. One group of these coastal Algonquin, the Croatan, remained allies of the English colonists and were of critical importance to the survival of John White’s colony.

The primary sources for this chapter are Roanoke voyage narratives collected by Richard Hakluyt, maps drawn by John White, and Spanish archives. In 1603, Richard

² Harriot, First Colonists, 31.
Hakluyt collected and published narratives by the participants in the Roanoke voyages, and David Beers Quinn re-published them in the twentieth century. Irene Wright collected, translated, and published documents from the Spanish archives that explain what the Spanish knew of the voyages. While these narratives are often self-serving, they are surprisingly comprehensive.

The maps of John White are additional invaluable sources of information for this thesis. When Sir Walter Ralegh sent a fleet under Sir Richard Grenville to ‘Virginia’ in 1585, he sent artist John White and scientist-navigator Thomas Harriot with him to survey, document, and map the New World. Thomas Harriot was a member of Sir Walter Ralegh’s household. His talent in navigation and mathematics became invaluable to Ralegh’s captains as they sailed into unknown waters. The accuracy of John White’s 1585 map of ‘Virginia’ in figure 4 is impressive for the sixteenth century, as can be seen by comparing it with the 2007 satellite photograph in figure 5. Map expert William P. Cumming suggests that Thomas Harriot assisted White with his map accuracy. Quinn claims that White’s map of the

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4 Irene A. Wright, Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1949.)


7 Some of the differences between figure 4 and figure 5 are actual changes in the landscape. See Appendix A for a discussion of the changes caused by rising sea levels.
region must be accepted: “... as the major contemporary authority on the configuration of the coastline in the later sixteenth century, on the nomenclature and spelling of place-names, and on the location of villages.”

“This was certainly some suppression and some consequent distortion in the picture which these narratives presented of the two expeditions and the first settlement.”

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9 Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Map 8 “John White 1585B: Map of Virginia.”
In order to help Sir Walter Ralegh find investors, some of the narratives exaggerated ‘Virginia’s’ economic potential and gave inaccurate views of relations with the native population. I have accepted most of the primary source material in the Roanoak voyage narratives but have attempted to point out examples of intentional suppression and distortion. As I explain in Appendix A, despite the navigation talents of Thomas Harriot, one of White’s sixteen century maps contained grossly misleading coordinates. This was probably done intentionally to avoid disclosing the location of the Roanoke colonists to Spain.\textsuperscript{11} Also, Harriot wrote that he intentionally avoided identifying the locations of two valuable commodities to deceive Ralegh’s enemies. Most of the distortions were made to deceive the Spaniard. “From 1584 to 1586 it was in the interests of English security to keep as quiet as possible about the North American plans of Ralegh and his associates.”\textsuperscript{12}

\vspace{1em}

White’s map of ‘Virginia’ in figure 6 is the centerfold of Thomas Harriot’s “\textit{Briefe and True Report},” published in 1590 by Theodor de Bry. Harriot’s report informed all of Europe about “... the parte of the Worlde, which is betwene the Florida and the Cap Breton nowe nammed Virginia.”\textsuperscript{13} On the 1590 map, White listed Indian villages identified by the Amadas-Barlowe and Grenville-Lane expeditions, plus others that White identified in 1587.

\textsuperscript{10} Quinn, ed., \textit{First Colonists}, xvi.

\textsuperscript{11} John White’ maps and other maps of sixteenth century ‘Virginia’ are discussed in Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{12} Quinn, \textit{Roanoke Voyages}, 1: 6.

\textsuperscript{13} Harriot first published this report in 1588. The de Bry version of 1590 was published in Latin, English, French, and German and received wide a distribution. Thomas Harriot, \textit{A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: The Complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition}, Ed. Paul Hulton (New York: Dover, 1972.)
Some of the villages in White’s 1585 map were relocated or removed in the 1590 map, and others were added. Villages were spelled in a number of different ways in the Roanoke voyage narratives, but I have used White’s spelling as much as possible. On figure 6, I have drawn the approximated territories of the Secotan, Chawanoock, and Weapemeoc confederations, which were the three major Indian confederations encountered by the Roanoke voyagers.

Figure 6 - Confederations and Villages on the White-DeBry 1590 Map

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14 In the White-DeBry 1590 map in figure 6, the North-South orientation of ‘Virginia’ in figure 4 was altered into an East-West orientation. I have printed the Indian village names and geographic features on the map in larger type to make them somewhat more readable.
The Indians of these confederations spoke an Algonquin language, but their enemies to the south and west spoke Iroquois or Siouan. The narratives inform us that each confederation had a chief weroance, usually identified as the ‘King’ in the narratives, whose authority over his people could be moderated by the elders of the village.

The Secotan Confederation first encountered by Captains Amadas and Barlowe comprised the villages of Roanoac, Dasamonquepeuic, Pomeiock, Aquscogoc, Secota, and Cotan. These villages were under a king named Wingina.\(^{15}\) John White drew the village of Roanoac on the northeast end of Roanoke Island above Dough Creek. The village of Dasamonquepeuic stood on the east side of the Dare County Mainland about where Mann’s Harbor village is now located. The Secotan villages of Secota, Cotan, Aquscogoc, and Pomeiock were on the north side of the Pamlico River and Pamlico Sound in present day Hyde and Beaufort counties. The English colony of 1585-1586 camped beside the Roanoac.

The Weapemeoc Confederation villages were Pasquenoke, Chapanuu, and Mascoming on the north side of Albemarle Sound in Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Chowan counties respectively. Metocuueum was on Salmon Creek in Bertie County near the Roanoke River. The chief weroance of the Weapemeoc was King Okisco. John White’s 1585 map (figure 4) shows a complex of Weapemeoc villages around Edenton Bay, but only Mascoming appear there in the 1590 White-de Bry map. Philip Amadas visited the Weapemeoc soon after the English arrived in 1585, and no other contacts were recorded in

\(^{15}\) In Set Fair, Quinn treats the Roanoac, and Dasamonquepeuic Indians as separate from the Secotan. David Beers Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.) Lee Miller explains that most authorities on the Indians of the region, including James Mooney, Frank Speck, and Maurice Mook have concluded that the Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuic villages were not of a “Roanoke” confederation but were constituents of the Secotan. Lee Miller, Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2000) 256-8.
the narratives. The Chawanook Confederation villages on the Chowan River were Ramushouuog, Ohaunook, and possibly Catokinge, and Waratan, under King Menatonon.\textsuperscript{16} Ralph Lane wrote of a Chawanook village that is not on White’s 1590 map.\textsuperscript{17} Ramushouuog village is located in the fork where the Meherrin River branches from the Chowan. Ohaunook village was near present day Colerain, NC on the west side of the Chowan River.

The other Indian villages in figure 6 were not identified in the narratives as belonging to any of the three confederations.\textsuperscript{18} A 1585-86 expedition sent north to Chesepiooc village by Ralph Lane added Chesepiooc, Skicoak, Apasus and Comokee villages to White 1590 map. While spending the winter with the Chesepiooc, the expedition was visited by the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians whose villages are not identified on the map. The narratives do not tell us if these villages were affiliated with any confederation. The expedition explored the southern shore of Chesapeake Bay (Chesepiooc Sinus.)

Moratuc, Tandaquomuc, and Mequopen villages may comprise a separate confederation with Moratuc as its principal village, but this confederation was not specified in the narratives.\textsuperscript{19} These three villages and the Mangoack Confederation were identified by Ralph Lane during a western expedition up the Moratuc (Roanoke) River. Mangoack, far to

\textsuperscript{16} The Fort Raleigh National Historic Site interprets Catokinge, and Waratan as belonging to the Weapemeoc Confederation rather than the Chawanook Confederation. They are not in the same locations in White’s 1585 and 1590 maps. National Park Service, “White deBry Map of 1590” (n.d.) National Park Service for Teachers, Web, April 11, 2010.

\textsuperscript{17} Archaeologist David Phelps found Chawanook village near Haroldsville in Hertford County.


\textsuperscript{19} Fred Willard suspects that these villages were of the Secotan Confederation, based on their ‘uc’ suffix, which suggests they are also ‘big water’ or shellfish people.
the west on the 1590 White-de Bry map, may have been Iroquois speaking *Tuscarora* who would later dominate the coastal Algonquin.\(^{20}\)

The *Panauwaioc* and *Nuusiooc* on the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers, respectively, were neighbors of the Secotan and were their enemies. A Secotan weroance tried several times to enlist the English in the Secotan fight with the *Panauwaioc* King. *Cwareuuoc* village on Core Sound in figure 6 was likely associated with the *Core* or *Coree* Indians who fought against the English in the 1711 Tuscarora War. They were not recorded as being in contact with the English in the Sixteenth Century.

*Tramasquocooock* appears on the north side of the Alligator River in White’s 1590 map (figure 6) and on the south side of the river in the 1585 map (figure 4.) On the 1590 map, the Alligator River is drawn to *Tramasquocooock* and beyond, which suggest that it was visited by the English – but there is no mention of it in the narratives. Because *Tramasquocooock* is a village 50 miles into the ‘maine’ from Roanoke Island and near the location of then-valuable sassafras trees, there is reason to suspect that some of the abandoned colonists may have gone there. It is most likely to have been affiliated with the Secotan Confederation before the Croatan dominated the Alligator River.

Of greatest importance to the abandoned colonists were the Indians of Croatoan Island, and the most important Croatan was Manteo. He traveled twice to England and became a Christian. Manteo became an important source of information for Thomas Harriot and John White as an interpreter for the Englishmen. The Croatan often traveled to Secotan

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\(^{20}\) Miller and others have identified Magoack as an Algonquin word for an enemy nation, possibly meaning snake. Lee Miller explains that Mandoag and Nottoway are “both epithets traditionally employed by Algonquian speakers to designate foreign, generally enemy, nations.” Miller, *Roanoke*, 271.
territory on the mainland to hunt, gather, and trade. John Lawson reported: “A farther Confirmation of this [Roanoke Island settlement] we have from the Hatteras [Croatoan] Indians, who either then lived on Roanoak-Island, or much frequented it.” 21 Quinn believes the following is evidence that the Croatoan people were independent of the Secotan: “Manteo had his mother and many of his kinred, dwelling in that Island.” 22 John White’s 1587 narrative contains another clue that the Croatan were not closely allied with the Secotan. After a member of the 1587 colony was killed by the Secotan, the Croatan “desired us earnestly, that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friendes, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island.” 23

In 1584, soon after he had received his charter from Queen Elizabeth, Walter Ralegh sent Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe on a quick reconnaissance voyage to find a place for a colony. 24 Barlowe’s report of the 1584 voyage was the first to describe the natives and the geography of ‘Virginia.’ 25 Although Barlowe wrote an optimistic promotional document, his narrative became a valued report on the region’s resources and its people.

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22 John White “Narrative of the 1587 Voyage” in Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 99.

23 White, First Colonists, 99.

24 This narrative was published to engender interest in settlement, and it accomplished that purpose. Arthur Barlowe, “First Voyage to Virginia,” in Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 1-12.

25 Barlowe had no Algonquin translator in ‘Virginia,’ but he credited Manteo and Wanchese with helping him prepare his narrative back in England. “. . . as these men which we have brought with us into England, have made us understande.” Barlowe, First Colonists, 10.
Unlike later Roanoke voyages, Amadas and Barlowe hastened to America without privateering in the West Indies. On July 13, 1584, they arrived in America in a 200-ton bark and a sea going pinnace. The bark, piloted by Simon Fernando, passed with difficulty through either Chacandepoco Inlet or Hatteras Inlet behind the pinnace (figure 7.) For two days Amadas and Barlowe had no contact with the natives, possibly because they had fired an arquebus to scatter the massed waterfowl. Eventually, three Indians arrived and one, who may have been Manteo, came on board ship from Croatoan Island to receive gifts from the

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26 Quinn suggests the 200 ton Bark Ralegh sailed with Amadas as captain and Simon Fernando as master. It was accompanied by a pinnace commanded by Barlowe. We are faced with some difficulty in learning exactly where they landed, but this may have been an intentional attempt to keep this knowledge from Spanish Ambassadors who collected all such widely circulated reports and a few secret ones. David Beers Quinn, Editor, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, Vol. I (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955) 91, footnote 6.

27 I explain in Appendix A why I believe that Pilot Fernando entered the now closed inlet of Chacandepoco just north of Cape Hatteras in figure 8, but Willard and Quinn prefer Hatteras Inlet.
Englishmen.\textsuperscript{28} He paddled away and quickly filled his canoe with fish, then returned and divided the fish as gifts for the two ships. Several days later Granaganimeo, a Secotan weroance from Roanoak Island, arrived with forty warriors.

Granaganimeo offered great value in skins for metal tools, utensils, and weapons. He introduced the Englishmen to the Indian trading protocol, in which trade is treated as an exchange of gifts. Granaganimeo insisted that gifts were to be given to the king or his representative, and the king would distribute to others as he saw fit.\textsuperscript{29} From Granaganimeo, Barlowe learned that Secotan from Secota village on the mainland crossed the Pamlico Sound to the uninhabited island of Wokokon (Ocracoke) to hunt and fish.\textsuperscript{30} There they met shipwrecked Spanish seamen and collected a few metal tools from shipwrecks. The men from Secota village were the only Secotan known to have seen white men before Amadas and Barlowe arrived.

Granaganimeo apologized that his brother Wingina, king of the Secotan Confederation, was not there to greet the Englishmen. Wingina had been severely injured in battle with his enemies and was resting at his chief town of ‘Sequotan,’ six days journey to the west.\textsuperscript{31} Barlowe learned that battles occurred frequently between the confederations of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{28}] “Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne . . .” Barlowe, First Colonists, 126.
\item[\textsuperscript{29}] “After wee had presented his brother with such things . . . we likewise gave somewhat to the other[s] . . . but presently he arose, and tooke all from them, and put it into his owne basket . . .” Barlowe, First Colonists, 4.
\item[\textsuperscript{30}] This is the first report of the Secotan practice of moving in season to the Outer Banks to hunt and fish.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Secota was near either Bath or Belhaven. This information from Granaganimeo suggests that Wingina was chief of the Secotan and that Roanoak was but one of his villages, as Lee Miller discusses in Appendix A of Roanoke. Miller, Roanoke, 265-9.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the region, and “the people are marvelously wasted.”32 Granganieo said that a town called ‘Ponouike’, which adjoined ‘Sequoton’ territory, was ruled by a King Piemacum who was the mortal enemy of Wingina. Piemacum was allied with the ‘Neiosioke’ and the next king “adjoining towards the setting of the Sunne.”33 Piemacum had made peace with Wingina two years earlier but the two remained enemies because of the many deaths and injuries Piemacum had inflicted. Granganieo told a story in which the Secotan king invited some of his ‘Ponouike’ enemies to a feast. When the Neiosioke were distracted by the festivities, the ‘Sequoton’ fell upon them and slew all but the women and children, who became captives. Wingina’s wound suggests that the Ponouike had retaliated, and the war had been renewed.34

Granganieo offered a large box of pearls for their swords.35 Barlowe pretended not to be interested in pearls in the hope that he would be told where they might be found.36 Impressed by their weapons and armor, Granganieo asked the Englishmen several times to

32 Quinn states this is the earliest comment on the long series of wars that continually disrupted Indians society. Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 14.

33 Ponouike was Panauaioc, and Neiosioke was Nuusiooc in White’s 1590 map. This information sets the western boundary of Secotan Confederation territory up the Pamlico River as far as present day Bath and the southern boundary as the south shore of the Pamlico River.

34 John Lawson told almost the same story about the Coranines and the Machapunga (Secotan descendants?) who lived in the same region 100 years later: “The Machapungas were invited to a Feast, by the Coranines; (which two nations had been a long time at War together, and had lately concluded a Peace.) The Manchapungo King, order’d all his Men to carry their Tamahawks along with them, hidden under Match Coats, when the Machapunga King saw the best Opportunity offer, he gave the Word, and his Men pull’d their Tamahawks and kill’d severl, and took the rest Prisoners.” Lawson, A New Voyage, 209.

35 “The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sworde, and divers other things. They offered us very good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swordes: but we would not depart with any.” Barlowe, First Colonists, 5.

36 From that day forward, a search for pearls was high on the list of priorities for Barlowe’s company and for Lane in 1585-6. Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 8.
help him surprise Piencum at his town.\(^{37}\) He assured then that Piencum had a great store of commodities, but Amadas and Barlow would not become involved in a Secotan war.\(^{38}\)

Grangenimeo’s wife arrived later with forty or fifty women – a far larger number than should be found in Roanoke Island’s small village.\(^{39}\) “After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people.”\(^{40}\) Word of the English ships had spread to all Secotan villages, and they all wanted to see and trade with these strange people.

\[\text{Figure 8 – Method of Constructing a Canoe}\]

After a few days of trading near Croatoan Island, Grangenimeo escorted eight of the explorers up the Pamlico Sound to a small village on Roanoke Island where Grangenimeo’s wife entertained them royally. There the Secotan told the Englishmen about their methods of

\(^{37}\) “these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprise Piencum his Towne,” and “the people are marvelously wasted.” Quinn states this is the earliest comment on the long series of often senseless wars, which continually disrupted Indians society. In this context, I have assumed that the people were “wasted” in death or made weak by disabling injury. Barlowe, First Colonists, 14.

\(^{38}\) Grangenimeo’s request for allies with impressive weapons may help explain why the Croatoan would assist the abandoned colonists in 1587. If they allied with John Whites colony in 1587, the Croatoan became the strongest confederation in Raleigh’s Virginia.

\(^{39}\) “and at the North ende thereof, was a villages of nine houses.” Barlowe, First Colonists, 9.

\(^{40}\) Barlowe, First Colonists, 7.
making canoes, hunting and fishing, growing crops, and practicing their religion – all of which White later illustrated.\textsuperscript{41} After six weeks in the New World, Amadas and Barlowe returned to their ships and headed for England.

Barlowe returned to England in mid-September, 1584, and Amadas followed later. A Spanish report states that Amadas entered Chesapeake Bay where the Indians were hostile to him, but Barlowe did not report this encounter.\textsuperscript{42} Wanchese, a Secotan, and Manteo, a Croatan, sailed to England with Amadas and Barlowe. With their help, Thomas Harriett learned and documented the native’s language before joining the second Roanoke voyage.\textsuperscript{43} Manteo became an important interpreter and negotiator for the two later attempts at colonization, but Wanchese became an avowed enemy of the Englishmen.

Barlowe prepared a glowing report for Sir Walter Ralegh about the territory and the people who welcomed the explorers. Elizabeth knighted Sir Walter Ralegh and named the new land ‘Virginia’ for herself, the Virgin Queen. From Barlowe’s report, Ralegh had reason to believe that a colony in ‘Virginia’ would be received in friendship by the Indians. “\textit{We were entertained with all love, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly devise;}”\textsuperscript{44} and also, “\ldots for a more kinde, and loving people, there can

\textsuperscript{41} “my selfe, with seven more, went twotie mile into the River, that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoake, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, we came to an Island, which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues [39 kilometers].” Barlowe, First Colonists, 8- 9.


\textsuperscript{43} “I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in the discoverie and in dealing with the naturall inhabitanites specially imploied.” Harriett, \textit{Brieve and True Report}, 5.

\textsuperscript{44} Barlowe, \textit{First Colonists}, 9.
not be found in the world, as farre as we have hitherto had triall." It would not take long for Ralegh’s second expedition to ‘Virginia’ to turn the Secotan into enemies.

Ralegh was prepared to command the second Roanoke voyage to ‘Virginia’, but Elizabeth would not allow him to leave England. The conflict with Spain had become a crisis after Amadas and Barlowe left for America, and it would become an undeclared war a few months after they returned. Anticipating the approaching war, Elizabeth wanted Ralegh at her side. When he was not allowed to lead the 1585 expedition, Ralegh chose his cousin Sir Richard Grenville to take his place. Because England expected to be at war with Spain soon, Grenville was given a military mission. In addition to colonizing a protected anchorage for English privateers in ‘Virginia,’ the Grenville mission included disrupting Spanish shipping in the West Indies.

A second fleet was changed with assisting Grenville’s mission but was redirected to Newfoundland. Sir Bernard Drake, first cousin of Sir Richard Grenville, “... was to lead a second squadron through the West Indies, with its chance of Spanish prizes, to Roanoke Island where a colony was to be settled by Sir Richard Grenville, who had left Plymouth in

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45 Quinn expresses concern that Barlowe’s flowery praise of Virginia “may be thought to have contributed to the long-term failure of the 1584-90 enterprises.” Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, 32.

46 Ralegh had proven his worth as a military commander in Ireland and as an appreciated addition to Queen Elizabeth’s court in London. Elizabeth’s appointments had made him wealthy, and in 1586 she appointed him captain of her personal Queen’s Guard. “Sir Walter Ralegh” (2008) National Maritime Museum, Web May 2010.

47 Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages- I, ix; Quinn, ed., First Colonists, xii.
April.” When Spain seized English ships at Balboa in May, 1585, Ralegh diverted Bernard Drake’s fleet to Newfoundland to warn the English fishing fleet to stay away from Spain and Portugal. He was also ordered to seize ships of the Spanish fishing fleet at Newfoundland. Bernard Drake’s fleet never reached Roanoke Island with the supplies that Grenville’s colony badly needed.

Sir Richard Grenville departed from Plymouth, England, in early April, 1585 with a fleet of five ships and two pinnaces. He reached ‘Virginia’ in July, 1585. A narrative of this second Roanoke voyage was obtained by Richard Hakluyt from an anonymous member of Grenville’s company. Grenville remained in the West Indies for three months during which time he captured Spanish ships, collected additional supplies for the colony, and built a pinnace to replace the one his flagship had lost. The fleet reached Wokokon Island on ‘Virginia’s’ Outer Banks in July. They arrived just before the surrender of Antwerp in August led England into open warfare.

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49 Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages- I, 173.
50 Sir Richard Greenville’s fleet included the Tyger, of 140 tuns commanded by Greenville, Simon Fernando pilot, Dorothy, a small bark; Elizabeth, of 50 tuns; Lyon of 100 tuns; and the flyboat Roebuck, of 140 tuns. There were also two pinnaces of 20-30 tuns each "for speedie services.” “Ships of the Roanoke Voyages” (n.d.) National Park Service for Teachers, Web April 11, 2010.
When the fleet reached Wokokon Island (figure 9), Fernando tried to take the Tiger, through Wokokon Inlet. Instead he ran aground, spoiling much of the food and other supplies intended for the expedition.\textsuperscript{52} When Grenville learned that Amadas and Barlowe had successfully entered Pamlico Sound, he must have thought that an adequate harbor could be found there for English ships.\textsuperscript{53} Because he had taken a bark into the Pamlico on the 1584 voyage, Fernando must have expected that Wokokon inlet would be passable.\textsuperscript{54}

With the Tiger aground, it is likely that Manteo, who had returned from England with Grenville, left Wokokon to visit his mother on nearby Croatoan Island. He returned to inform Grenville that the Lion, under Captain Raymond, had reached Croatoan Island earlier but had already departed for the Newfoundland fishery, leaving behind 30 starving men and no supplies.\textsuperscript{55} Grenville sent a ship to Croatoan to retrieve the men left by the Lion, and the ship returned with two men and no explanation of the fate of the others.

\textsuperscript{52}“The 29. wee waighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the unskilfulness of the Master whose name was Ferdinando, the Admirall strooke on grounde, and sunke.” The loss of the Tiger’s supplies and the delay in planting would cause Lane to become heavily dependent upon the natives for food. Anonymous, First Colonists, 17.

\textsuperscript{53}Ferdinando had entered the Pamlico Sound further north: “. . . we entred, though not without some difficultie, and cast anker about three harquebushot within the havens mouth.” Anonymous, First Colonists, 2.

\textsuperscript{54}Quinn has suggested that Barlowe may have come in on an especially high spring tide after heavy rains in 1584, whereas Grenville may have arrived at the beginning of an extended period of drought. “A drought reconstruction, stretching back to 1185, indicates that the most severe growing season drought and the most severe three year period of drought in 800 years coincided with the disappearance of the Roanoke Island Colonists. David W. Stahle “The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts.” Science 24 April 1998:Vol. 280. no. 5363, pp. 564 – 567.

\textsuperscript{55}“Captayne Aubry and Captaine Boniten . . . were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dates before.” Anonymous, First Colonists, 17.
Grenville “sent word of our arriving at Wokokon, to Wingino at Roanocke.” ⁵⁶ When Barlowe was in ‘Virginia’ the previous year, King Wingina had been at his chief village of Secota recovering from a wound.⁵⁷ When Wingina learned that the Englishmen had returned, he apparently moved to Grangenimeo’s village on Roanoke to keep an eye on the foreigners. Grenville then sent “Master John Arundell . . . to the mayne, and Manteio with him,” to announce his intention to tour the Pamlico while his crew repaired the Tiger.⁵⁸ With Manteo as guide and interpreter, Grenville toured Secotan villages of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, and Secota (figure 9) while identifying other villages around the shores of the Pamlico.⁵⁹ Grenville’s company of gentlemen explorers presented an impressive military force to the Secotan. While on the tour, John White made sketches in Pomeiok and Secota such as those in figures 10, 11, and 12.

After a visit to the Secotan village of Aquascogoc, Grenville discovered that a silver cup was missing, and Amadas was sent to recover it: “The 16. . . . one of our boates with the admirall was sent to Aquascocoecke to demaund a silver cup which one of the Savages had stolen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt, and spoyled their carne, and Towne, all the people beeing fledde.”⁶⁰ This was the first recorded conflict between the Secotan and the English in ‘Virginia.’

⁵⁶ Anonymous, First Colonists, 17.
⁵⁷ Granganieo had told Barlowe that Wingina “was resting at his chief town of Sequotan, six days journey to the west.” Barlowe, First Colonists, 6.
⁵⁸ Anonymous, First Colonists, 17.
⁵⁹ “Grenville in his Tilt boate with Master John Arundell, Master Stukelye, and divers other Gentelmen. . . . passed over the water from Ococon to the mayne land victualled for eight dayes.” Anonymous, First Colonists, 18.
⁶⁰ Anonymous, First Colonists, 18.
The grounding of the Tiger was a blow to Ralegh’s plans. The colony arrived too late to plant spring crops, thus the loss of the Tiger’s supplies made it inevitable that the colony would become dependent on the Secotan for food. A shortage of food apparently occurred each year in the spring months before the first harvest, but it was much more serious in the drought year of 1586. Conflict between the Secotan and the Englishmen was inevitable.

When the Pamlico tour returned to Wokokon, the Tiger was repaired; but Grenville decided that he and his fleet should not stay in ‘Virginia.’ Ralegh’s had given instructions to Grenville: “injoining him either to tarry himselfe, or to leave some gentleman of good worth
with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of ‘Virginia’, to begin an English Colonie there.’”\(^{61}\) The loss of supplies from the Tiger, little chance for a crop, the diversion of Bernard Drake’s squadron, and the lack of a safe harbor all made it unwise for Grenville and his fleet to remain. Grenville decided to privateer and then return to England for more men and supplies. He would first leave behind 108 of his 400 men on Roanoke Island under the command of Captain Ralph Lane.\(^ {62}\)

Grenville’s fleet sailed north of Wokokon and anchored off Port Fernando inlet at the north end of Hatteras Island. King Wingina’s brother Granganimeo rode out with Manteo to greet the fleet. It appears that Wingina then instructed Grenville to place Ralph Lane’s colony on Roanoke Island.

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\(^{61}\) An extract from the Holinshed account of the 1587 expedition in Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages- I, 174.

\(^{62}\) Harriett, Briefe and True Report, 32.

He may have placed Lane in the same small village visited earlier by Amadas and Barlowe. (See the village above Shallowbag Bay in figure 13.)

“...at the North ende thereof, was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made it like a turfe pike very artificially.”

Grenville then departed, leaving Ralph Lane in command. To pay for the voyage, he renewed his attacks on Spanish shipping. In a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Grenville told of taking a Spanish ship of great wealth. Of his colony he wrote: “I have possessed and peopled the same to her Majesties use, and planted it with suche cattell & beastes as are fitte and necessary for manuring [fertilizing] the Country.”

Captain Ralph Lane was left in command of the 107 men who would remain with him in ‘Virginia’ from August 1585 until June 1586. Early in his stay in ‘Virginia’ before all of Grenville’s fleet had departed, Lane wrote to his supporters in England. These letters stated that he had prepared a ‘sconce’ or fort at Port Fernando to defend against the Spaniards.

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64 “Grangenimeo had probably come to invite Grenville to establish his settlement near the Secotan village at the north-west end of Roanoke Island, and it was probably on this occasion that final decisions were taken.” Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 18, footnote 6. Archaeologists thought they had found Ralph Lane’s fort at the northwest end of the island, but they now know they were mistaken. E. Thomson Shields and Charles R. Ewen, ed., Searching for the Lost Colony: An Interdisciplinary Collection (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, 2003) 119-131.


66 Lane dispatched three letters to Sir Francis Walsingham reporting on the conditions and opportunities in Virginia. In them he praised Walsingham’s representatives on the voyage and complained bitterly about Richard Grenville’s treatment of himself and his friends. Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages- I: 197-198, 199-204, and 210-214: In a letter to Hakluyt, Lane wrote “we have discovered the maine to bee the goodliest soile under the cope of heaven...” and in other ways praised the potential of Virginia. Lane, Roanoke Voyages- I: 207-210. Finally, he wrote to Sir Philip Sidney, Walsingham’s son-in-law, telling of the great glory and reward Sydney could gain by leading an English expedition against the weak Spanish forces they had encountered in the Spanish West Indies. Lane, Roanoke Voyages- I: 204-206:
Figure 14 - Expeditions to Chesepiooc, Chawanook, and Moratuc.  

After he returned to England in 1586, Lane prepared a narrative for Richard Hakluyt in which he wrote of his explorations, his troubles with the Secotan, and his reason for leaving with Drake.  

While his company built a fort and garrison buildings, Lane organized explorations to seek a better harbor, search for a northwest passage to China, and look for commodities to repay Ralegh for his investment. His narrative gave brief reports on his company’s expeditions to Weapemeoc and Chesepiooc and more elaborate descriptions of his expeditions to the Chawanook and up the Roanoke River to the Moratuc and Mangoack (figure 14.) Lane tried to track down Chawanook rumors of gold, copper, and pearls without

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67 “. . . our discoverie of the same hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.” Lane, First Colonists, 25.

68 “The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boats with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caried away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c. “Ralph Lane’s Narrative of the Settlement of Roanoke Island 1585-1586,” in Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 24-45.
success. He said nothing until late in his narrative about planting crops to feed his colony, and then he depended upon the Secotan to plant for him. Ralph Lane’s narrative included little about his relationship with the Secotan until he became their enemy.

Lane was not impressed by what he had learned of the shallow Pamlico Sound on his tour with Grenville, and he decided to postpone exploring it further until a larger force arrived from England. In August, 1585, he sent Amadas to visit Okisko, king of the Weapemeoc, where Barlowe’s report had indicated that pearls might be found. Soon after Amadas returned from the Weapemeoc in September, Master John Arundel sailed for England with Lane’s rough sketch of ‘Virginia’ and glowing reports of the mainland’s potential for development. 69 Lane sent an expedition 130 miles north to winter with the Chesepiooc near Hampton Roads, and Thomas Harriot was in that party. It is likely that John White left ‘Virginia’ with Arundel and was not with Harriot in Chesepiooc. 70 Our only information about this expedition, which surprisingly said nothing about the harbor potential of Chesapeake Bay, is the following from Lane:

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the breth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flawe was there to be had. But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifieene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever. There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adjoyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there. 71

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69 The sketch map is presented and described in Appendix A.

70 My reasons for believing White departed in 1586 are presented in Appendix A.

71 Lane, First Colonists, 25.
Thomas Harriot’s *Brief and True Report*, published in 1590 by Theodore DeBry, provides some useful cultural and environmental details about the coastal Algonquin. Harriot wrote that he kept a journal to be published at a later time, but that manuscript has not been discovered.\(^\text{72}\) Unfortunately, Harriot seldom identified the places he visited or the natives he interviewed, but we know from Lane’s narrative that he spent the winter with the Chesapioc. Harriot was also with John White during the Pamlico tour and on Roanoke Island, which allowed him to present and explain John White’s drawings in his *Brief and True Report*.\(^\text{73}\) His report on inland features of the mainland also suggests that he traveled beyond Roanoke Island into the Chowan River.

Harriot wrote that the Indians worshiped many gods but had one chief and great God who created the universe much as described in Genesis. Their lesser gods were represented by images in the form of men, which they call Kewas. White’s drawing of Secota village in figure 10 includes a house in which the weroances remains were kept and protected by their image of Kewas. (See the small idol sitting inside the tomb in figure 15.)

![Figure 15 Weroances Tombe](image)

*The Tombe of their Cherounes or cheife personages, their flesh clene taken of from the bones saue the skynn and heare of theire heads, wch flesh is dried and*

\(^\text{72}\) “I have ready in a discourse by it self in maner of a Chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall bee thought convenient shall be also published.” Harriet, *Brief and True Report*, 32-33.

enfolded in matts laide at theire feete. their bones also being made dry, ar couered wth deare skynns not altering their forme or proportion. With theire Kywash, which is an Image of woode keeping the deade.  

The Secotan believed in the immortality of the soul in a heaven or a hell, which were believed to be at the physical end of the earth. Harriot became familiar with some of their priests, who became interested in adding the Christian religion to their own. Harriet said they were also in awe of the navigational instruments, weapons, clocks, and writing tools, which the priests assumed the English had been given by the gods. They especially admired the Bible, which Harriot thought represented to them a god as much as any of their idols. Wingina and many others joined the English in prayer and song as they traveled together, and Wingina asked for their prayers when he was twice sick near death.  

Fear of offending the English God grew as Harriot and company moved from town to town, and many of the Indians died a few days after they left. Harriet said: “... the people began to die very fast, in some townes about twentie, in some fortie, in some sixtie, and in one sixe score which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers.” Since such invisible deaths had never occurred before, Harriet said the deaths were attributed by the Secotan to some offenses against the English God who punished them through invisible English spirits. Some even came to the English and asked that this invisible weapon be used

74 Harriet, Brief and True Report, 72.

75 “Twise this Wiroans [Wingina] was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as hee laie languishing, doubting of anie helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking he was in such daunger for offending us and thereby our god, sent for some of us to prawe and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might live or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requestes of manie others in the like case.” Harriet, Brief and True Report, 27.

76 “... fearing that it had come to pass by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many woulde come to us & desire us to prawe to our God of England, that he would preserve their corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite.” Harriet, Brief and True Report, 28.
against their enemies, but the English denied that God could be used in such a manner. When their enemies died suddenly anyway, the English God received the credit. In contrast, Lane’s soldiers were unusually healthy. The four who died near the end of their stay were “feeble, weak, and sickly persons before ever they came thither.” Since there were no English women and Lane’s men showed no interest in the Secotan women, opinion grew that Lane’s company of men were “not borne of women” but had come back from the dead. There were stories of Secotan men returning from the dead, so they could believe this of the English. It was such a belief that caused Wingina’s father Ensenore to prevent Wingina from killing the English for fear they would only come back for revenge.

All of the leading men were called ‘weroance,’ an Algonquian word for tribal chief, leader, commander, and king. Harriot’s report about the manner of warfare was much the same as Barlowe’s report: few set battles, great dependence on surprise, and “suttle devises” or deceptions. The taking of captive women and children by the Secotan was noted by Barlowe. Their weapons were bows of witch hazel and arrows of reeds. Their arrows had stone or animal points that could penetrate clothing but not English armor. They used clubs of wood about a yard long to finish off their kills. Stories from Roanoke and Jamestown tell of men and animals surviving multiple wounds from the arrows of the Indians, only to be run down and finished off with a club. Their shields were sticks, whickered together.

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77 Lane to Walsingham. “As yt wee haue not had one sycke synce wee enterdde into ye countrey.” Lane, Roanoke Voyages-I, 200.
78 Harriet, Brief and True Report, 29.
79 Harriet, Brief and True Report, 25.
80 “...pierced by six arrows, yet managed to run into the half-finished fort to raise the alarum.” Edward-Maria Wingfield, A Discourse of Virginia, 1608 (Boston, MA, 1860) 8. Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 98-99.
Figure 16 – "Old Indian Man"

Figure 17 – "Indian in Body Paint"

Figure 18 – "Indian Woman of Secotan"

Figure 19 – "Indian Woman & Young Girl"
**Fishing:** “They have likewise a notable way to catche fishe in their Rivers. The inhabitants use to take then two maner of wayes, the one is by a kind of wear made of reedes which in that countrey are very strong. The other way which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one ende, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irishmen cast darters; either as they are rowing in their boates or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose. Whear as they lacke both yron, and steele, they fasten unto their Reedes or longe Rodds, the hollowe tayle of a certaine fishe like to a sea crabb in steede of a poynte, wherwith by nighte or day they stricke fishes, and take them opp into their boates.¹

**Farming:** The ground . . . doeth there yeeld in croppe of corne, beanes, and peaze, at the least two hundred London bushelles When as in England fourtie bushelles

The ground they never fatten with mucke, dounge or any other thing; neither plow nor digge it as we in England, the men with wooden instruments; the women with short peckers onely breake the upper part of the ground to rayse up the weedes, grasse, & old stubbes of corne stalkes with their rootes. . . burne into ashes.²

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Their manner of dress is illustrated by John White in figures 16-19. Their methods of fishing and farming are illustrated in figures 20 and 21. The major products grown for consumption in ‘Virginia’ were ‘maize’ corn, tobacco, and many varieties of beans and peas. Harriet listed a large variety of edible roots, plants, animals, fish, shellfish, and oysters that the natives consumed while awaiting the first corn harvest. (The list is so long that it is difficult to see how John White’s colonists could starve as long as there were friendly Indians to show them how to hunt, fish, and find edible roots and plants.) The year Grenville’s fleet arrived was a difficult one for the natives because: “. . . their corne began to wither by reason of a drouth which happened extraordinarily.”83 Despite the drought’s effect on island crops, Harriot found that the rich soil on the mainland could produce 200 bushels of grain per acre, compared to only 40 bushels of grain per acre in England.

Harriot said towns were no more than 10 or 12 houses near the coast but larger inland. The largest town he saw contained 30 houses. The houses were made of small poles fastened at the top and covered with bark or mats made of rushes (figure 21.) Most of the chief weroances controlled one to three towns, but the largest confederation Harriot visited contained 18 towns and 700 to 800 fighting men.84 Although most that he met spoke Algonquian, Harriot noted language differences between every confederation and greater differences with greater distances. He may have encountered Iroquois speakers while at Chawanook.

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83 “. . . fearing that it had come to pass by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many woulde come to us & desire us to praise to our God of England, that he would preserve their corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite.” Harriot, Brief and True Report, 27-28.

84 Chawanook must have been the largest confederacy Harriot visited. It appears that he did not come in contact with the Powhatan confederation while he was with the Chesapioc.
A large part of Harriot’s report was on the commodities of ‘Virginia’ that might provide a profit for investors. He especially promoted a ‘silk grass’ that grew abundantly in the shallow waters of ‘Virginia’ and could provide a silk-like yarn. He also touted ‘Virginia’s great potential for producing silk from the abundant silk worms and mulberry trees of the region. He lists a number of trees of use to the maritime industry and sassafras trees that are “of most rare vertues in phisick for the cure of many diseases.” Other products that could bring wealth to England were furs, iron, copper, pearls, dyes, and sugar cane.

Harriot concluded that he and his companions had discovered but a small part of the country. As they traveled away from the sandy soil of Roanoke and Croatoan islands, he “found the soyle to bee fatter; the trees greater and growe thinner; the grounde more firme and deeper mould [fertile soil];” and the grass was finer, fruit and game animals more plentiful, and there were greater towns with more people. He had learned from the Chawanook that a country undiscovered by any Christian extended for many miles to the west, and many excellent commodities should be found there.

Harriot concluded with a promise to provide a fuller journal account of the voyage at a later date: “I have ready in a discourse by it self in maner of a Chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall bee thought convenient shall be also published.” He confessed that he had held back information for fear it would get into the wrong hands

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85 Harriot, Brief and True Report, 7.
86 Harriot, Brief and True Report, 9.
87 Sugar cane was the most profitable crop of the Caribbean, but it proved unsuitable in Virginia.
88 Harriot, Brief and True Report, 31.
89 This is the first of several references to Harriot's chronicle, which has entirely disappeared, along with almost every scrap of his other papers on North America. Harriot, Brief and True Report, 12.
because Ralegh had enemies who would not like to see him succeed. “So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might have said more; as of the particular places where they are founde and best to be planted and prepared: . . . but because others then welwillers might bee therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them.”90 The ‘other than welwillers’ Harriot was concerned with could simply be those who would try to find and profit from the hidden commodities.

Although Harriot appeared to have maintained friendly relations with the Secotan, by the spring of 1586 Ralph Lane’s had turned the Secotan king into an enemy. Neither Lane nor Harriet explain exactly why, but Lane’s constant demand for food during a drought period may have driven Wingina beyond his patience. He must also have ceased believing that the English were invincible. Wingina had changed his name to Pemisapan when his brother Granganimeo died, and he began to implement a scheme to defeat the Englishmen.91

In the spring of 1586, Lane planned an expedition to the Chowan and Moratuc (Roanoke) rivers with Manteo along to interpret. Wingina told Lane that King Menatonon of the Chawanook and his allies were preparing to ambush the Roanoke colony. After convincing Lane of this, Wingina sent word to the Chawanook that Lane was on his way to

90 Lee Miller believes that Walsingham removed his support from Ralegh in order to invest in the Virginia Company – but first Ralegh must lose his charter. She believes that Walsingham’s principal ally in his scheme was Simon Fernando who unloaded John White’s colony on Roanoke Island and refused to take them to Chesapeake Bay. Miller, Roanoke, 256-8, et al.; Harriot, Brief and True Report, 12.

91 “The names of these Indians vary in the course of their life. Originally given in childhood, from the mere necessity of distinguishing objects, or from some accidental resemblance to external objects, the young warrior is impatient to change it by some achievement of his own. Any important event . . .entitles him at once to a new name, which he then selects for himself, and it is confirmed by the nation.” “Lewis & Clark Encounter the Shosone” (2003) The Shosone Indians, Web November 1, 2010. From this point on in the Ralph Lane narrative, Wingina had become Pemisapan, but I continue to use the name Wingina. Lane, First Colonists, 26.
attack them. This caused Menatonon to ask the Mangoack for help against Lane’s attack.92 Wingina expected that the numerous Chawanook warriors and Mangoack would kill the Englishmen. Because of their swift travel in the pinnacle, Lane’s small but well armed company was able to surprise and scatter the war party before it had completely assembled.93

Lane captured King Menatonon, who was too lame to flee with his warriors. Menatonon soon realized that he and Lane had both been deceived by Wingina, and they began a friendly conversation. Although a prisoner, Menatonon became a source of information for Lane.94 King Menatonon impressed Lane with his 700 warriors, and he informed Lane of copper mines to the west and pearls in a great Bay to the northeast.95 The king of the great country to the northeast had visited Menatonon two years before and tried to sell him inferior black pearls. Menatonon said that more valuable white pearls were saved for trade with “white men that had clothes as we have.”96

Menatonon offered to guide Lane’s to Bay in the northeast, but he warned that the king of that country would not welcome them. Lane then began to make plans for an

92 “[Wingina] had given both the Choanists, and Mangooks worde of my purpose touching them, . . . and yet hee did never rest to solictive continually my going upon them, certifying me of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise.” Lane, First Colonists, 33.

93 “I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacie against us of the Choanists and Mangooks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe.” Lane, First Colonists, 33.

94 “The King of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, . . . in matters not onely of his owne Countrey, . . . but also of his neighbours, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. . . . he tolde me, that going three dayes journey in a Canoa, up his River of . . . you are within foure dayes journey . . . Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey. . . . had so great quantitie of Pearle Lane, First Colonists, 26.

95 Chesapeake Bay. Lane, First Colonists, 26.

96 There were initial friendly Spanish contacts with the Chesapeake Bay Indians in 1559, but their 1572 encounter was not friendly. It is possible Amadas visited the Chesapeake in 1584. Lane, First Colonists, 26.
expedition to that Bay by land and sea, but first he would search for copper up the Moratuc (Roanoke) River. Lane exchanged Menatonon for his son Skyco, whom he sent as a hostage to Roanoke Island. Lane’s reduced company then proceeded in two boats against the swift current of the Moratuc River to search for copper mines and look for the promised passage to the Pacific Ocean.

The expedition proceeded slowly against the swift current and soon ran short of food. Perhaps because of Wingina’s warnings, Lane found only deserted Moratuc villages with no food. Lane was attacked by Mangoack warriors, but a timely warning by Manteo saved Lane’s men. Lane’s expedition turned back toward Roanoke Island and avoided starvation by eating their mastiffs in a stew with sassafras leaves. When they reached Albemarle Sound, they raided the fish weirs of the Chapanuu village. All of the residents had fled – suggesting that they were aware of Wingina’s scheme, may have been a party to it, and were concerned that Lane would launch a revenge attack.

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97 Apparently the Chesapeake Bay expedition had not explored far enough beyond the Chesapioc Indians village to bring back convincing evidence of a suitable harbor on the Chesapeake because Lane wrote; “... if your supplie had come before the ende of April, ...I would have sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to have found out the Bay he spake of, ...while I ...would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guids. ... would I have marched ... two dayes journey. ... untill I had arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there have raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harbborough, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harbborough and port there unto this other before mentioned. Lane, First Colonists, 31.

98 “the Savages of Moratoc ... report strange things of the head of that River, ... from Moratoc ... Towne ... it is fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof; which ... springeth out of a maine rocke ... it maketh a most violent stremme: ...this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stremme, so that the fresh water for a certaine space growth salt and brackish.” Lane, First Colonists, 27.

99 “This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarce be navigable.” Lane, First Colonists, 34: “Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their [women.]” Lane, First Colonists, 32.
When Lane and company arrived back at Roanoke Island in March 1586, Wingina was surprised that they had survived the Mangoack ("whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces.")\textsuperscript{100} In Lane’s absence, Wingina had caused many of the Secotan to renounce their belief in the Christian God and to agree to help him remove the Englishmen. According to Lane, Wingina’s plan was to have the Secotan vandalize the Englishmen’s fishing weirs and run away with their seed corn before the time of planting. The English could then either stay on the Island and starve or separate to find food in the woods or estuaries where they would be easy prey for Wingina’s warriors.\textsuperscript{101}

Wingina was initially constrained by Ensenore, “a savage father to Wingina,” who held the belief that the English were the servants of God who could not be destroyed by the Secotan. Ensenore told Wingina that the dead Englishmen would return to do more harm to the Secotan than when they lived. Ensenore had observed Secotan die of invisible bullets (diseases) when the Englishmen who had visited them were 100 miles away, and he believed this to be the work of “dead men returned into the world againe.”\textsuperscript{102} At Ensenore’s insistence, the Secotan planted corn on Roanoke Island for the English as well as on the mainland for themselves. They also built and repaired fishing weirs for Lane’s men.

\textsuperscript{100}Lane, First Colonists, 35.

\textsuperscript{101}Quinn states that the art of setting fish-traps would require rather specialized craftsmanship, but the complete lack of confidence which Lane had in his men's skill is surprising, seeing that there were presumably some craftsmen amongst them. Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 35 footnote 4.

\textsuperscript{102}Lane, First Colonists, 35.
During this short time of truce with Wingina, King Menatonon commanded King Okisko of the Weapemeoc to pay homage to Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Ralegh.\textsuperscript{103} At that time his son was still Lane’s hostage. By the end of April, seed had been sown and Lane was confident that there would be plenty to eat by July; but he was concerned about the two months before harvest. Unfortunately for Lane, a few days after the seeds were sown, Ensenore died and Wingina resumed his previous plan to be rid of the English before their crops matured. He removed himself from Roanoke Island to Dasamonquepeuiuc to avoid Lane’s daily request for food and to plan for a final blow against the colonists. As Wingina had predicted, Lane split up his men to search for food. Parties were sent to Croatoan Island and to Port Fernando to fish and watch for the relief ships. Smaller groups went to the mainland for oysters and cassava root.

Although Menatonon’s son Skyco was Lane’s prisoner, Lane wrote that Skyco had become an ally. When Wingina attempted to use his English-supplied copper to gather a mercenary army at Dasamonquepeuiuc, Skyco and several other friends of the English learned of this. They told Lane that Wingina had approached the Weapemeoc, Mangoack, and Chesepiooc to join the Secotan in a band of 700 warriors to wipe out the Englishmen.\textsuperscript{104} Wingina planned to deceive Lane by telling him that the warriors had come for Elsinore’s funeral ceremonies. King Okisko had refused Wingina’s invitation and moved his close allies into the forest, but some of the Weapemeoc accepted the promised copper.

\textsuperscript{103} Okisco was in some manner subordinate to Menatonon, and was therefore obliged to enter into a form of submission to the English on his orders. Quinn, ed., \textit{First Colonists}, 37 footnote 1.

\textsuperscript{104} “\textit{all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.”} Lane, \textit{First Colonists}, 40.
According to Lane, Wingina’s plan was to surround Lane and his lieutenants’ cottages while they were asleep, set their cottages on fire, and bash in their heads when they ran out without armor or weapons. The other men would then be tracked down and killed. Lane decided to act first, before the complete war party could assemble; but he would have to deceive Wingina. He sent a message to Wingina that he planned to go to Croatoan Island to meet Grenville fleet. He requested food for the journey and men to hunt and fish for him at Croatoan Island. Wingina said he would come to Roanoke Island with the requested men and food, but he delayed while waiting for his allies to assemble. Lane expected Wingina’s visit to Roanoke Island would be a pretext for his planned assault, and Lane decided he must move first even though his force was divided.

Lane first made certain that the canoes on Roanoke Island would not be used to take a warning to Dasamonquepeiuuc. This action caused his plot to be discovered by the Secotan remaining on Roanoke Island, and a skirmish broke out. Wingina was not warned, but Lane decided he must move quickly and planned an assault the next morning, the first of June, with only 25 men. He landed on Dasamonquepeuc village shore and sent word ahead to Wingina that he had come for the food and men he would take to Croatoan Island. Once inside the circle that included Wingina and seven or eight chief men, Lane gave the word to strike. Wingina was struck by a bullet and fell, but he soon rose and ran. He was chased by Lane’s Irish deputy, a soldier named Edward Nugent, who killed and beheaded Wingina.

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105 This tactic would be used successfully by Wanchese against 15 men left behind by Grenville in 1586.
106 “for in deed tenne of us with our armes prepared, were a terrore to a hundred of the best sort of them.” Lane, First Colonists, 38.
Within a fortnight, the colonists were rescued from their very difficult situation by Sir Francis Drake. In 1586, Elizabeth dispatched Sir Frances Drake with large fleet to take the war to Spain in the West Indies. His attacks on Spanish forts were partial successes at best, and his losses of men to diseases forced his return to England. While returning, he attempted to reinforce the colony left by Sir Richard Grenville. Lane’s attack on Wingina occurred on the first of June. On the eighth of June, Captain Stafford sighted a very large fleet approaching Croatoan Island and sent his boat to warn Lane to be on guard. On the ninth, Stafford came overland with a message that Sir Francis Drake had arrived and had offered to reinforce Lane’s colony. Apparently Drake sent messengers to Croatoan Island while his fleet moved slowly thorough the shoals that would become Cape Hatteras.

Stafford’s men directed Drake to Port Fernando and Lane rowed out to meet him. Drake must have been surprised at the small force that he found at Port Fernando and on Roanoke Island. When he left England for his attacks on Spanish American cities, Drake had expected to meet Sir Richard Grenville and Bernard Drake with their large fleets of privateer ships. On his campaign through the Caribbean, Drake had collected black slaves and household goods that he thought would be of use to the ‘Virginia’ colony. Drake learned that Grenville had left only Lane’s small force to explore the land and find a better harbor. Drake offered to leave men, supplies, and ships so that Lane could carry out his plan. Lane would then use the ships left by Drake to explore and then return to England in August as originally

107 “Drake, too, is likely to have expected to find Grenville there with a substantial fleet, capable of carrying out some of the longer-term plans against the Spanish Indies.” Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 42 footnote 2.
intended. A sudden storm thwarted Lane’s plans, sinking some of Drake’s ships while others sailed for England. When the weather cleared somewhat, the smaller ships Lane needed for his exploration were gone, and Lane decided to return to England with Drake. As the weather was still threatening, they left in haste – leaving behind many items collected by Harriot. They also left behind the men who had returned Skyco to Menatonon.

Manteo returned to England with Lane’s company, and Wanchese remained to become a leader of the surviving Secotan. Soon after Lane’s colony had departed with Drake, relief supplies from Sir Walter Ralegh arrived at Roanoke Island, probably at the end of June. The 100 ton supply ship returned to England with the colonists’ supplies still on board. A fleet led by Sir Richard Grenville arrived in July, about 15 days after the supply ship. Hakluyt received no first person narrative for these two voyages, but he authored a brief report on the supply ship and on Grenville’s return in 1586. According to Hakluyt, Grenville traveled into the country for news, but learned nothing. Grenville had arrived with new colonists as well as supplies for the Roanoke colony. He may have intended to remain with an augmented colony on this voyage. When he found that Lane had abandoned the colony, he left only a token force before returning to the Caribbean to attack Spanish shipping. He left 15 well-supplied men on Roanoke Island to maintain Ralegh’s patent, then captured a rich Spanish ship before returning to England.

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108 “That he would leave us so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.” Lane, First Colonists, 42.

109 There is no verification that the supply ship ever found its way to Roanoke Island.

110 “Richard Hakluyt’s Narrative of the 1586 Virginia Voyages,” in Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 85-56
A Spaniard named Pedro Diaz was a captive pilot in Grenville’s fleet when it arrived in ‘Virginia’ to resupply the departed Ralph Lane. His first person account of Grenville’s second Roanoke voyage was found in the Spanish archives. Diaz told his story to a Spanish interrogator after escaping from the English and returning to Havana.\textsuperscript{111} Diaz reported that the land was wretchedly poor on the island but that the soil of the mainland, which he could only see at a distance, appeared fertile and well wooded. He also described a wooden fort of little strength on the inside by the water.\textsuperscript{112} Diaz reported that Grenville found one dead Englishman and one hanged Secotan in the otherwise empty colony. Diaz said Grenville remained for 14 days and left 18 men, four pieces of artillery, and supplies for a year.\textsuperscript{113}

Grenville’s departure essentially ended Raleigh’s first attempt in 1585-1586 to colonize ‘Virginia.’ Amadas and Barlowe friendly relationships with the Secotan continued during the early period of Ralph Lane’s expedition. This friendship was based on mutual curiosity, on the natural desire to exchange gifts, and through admiration conveyed in simple, nonlinguistic terms. Harriot believed that in time the Indians would come to understand the English God as he did, as long as they were treated fairly. But year-long contacts by Raleigh’s


\textsuperscript{112} Quinn understood “inside by the water” to mean Roanoke Island, but Diaz may have referred to the back side of Port Fernando Inlet. Lane had sent a company to Port Fernando as well as Croatoan Island to look for food, and a “wooden fort of little strength” is likely to have been constructed there as an alarm fort.

\textsuperscript{113} Diaz said 18 rather than 15 men were left behind by Grenville. Diaz reported that Grenville’s fleet departed England in May and returned in December, 1586, but he does not give a date of their arrival in or departure from ‘Virginia.’ “The Relation of Pedro Diaz,” Diaz, \textit{Roanoke Voyages- II:} 786-795.
first colony under Ralph Lane inevitably brought tensions. Harriot wrote that Lane’s attack had changed the Secotan’s favorable opinion of England—to the detriment of the 1587 colony. “... some of our companie towards the ende of the yeare, shewed themselves too fierce, in slaying some of the people, in some towns, upon causes that on our part, might easily enough have been borne withal... yet notwithstanding because it was on their part justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally & for the most part concerning us is the lesse to bee doubted.” When John White’s colony arrived in 1587, the Secotan had become enemies and relations with the Weapemeoc and Chawanook confederations were strained. Only Manteo’s people of Croatoan Island remained reliable friends of the English.

114 Quinn, ed., First Colonists, iv.
115 Harriot, First Colonists 31.
Chapter 3

THE ABANDONED 1587 COLONY

“In the yeere of our Lorde, 1587 Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour, and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.” ¹

Ralph Lane’s desertion of his post and Sir Richard Grenville’s failure to resupply him were serious setbacks for Sir Walter Ralegh. The Roanoke voyages of 1585-1586 had been costly, and Grenville’s 1586 privateering had produced far less return on investment than it had in 1585. Queen Elizabeth was most displeased.² To make matters worse, Ralph Lane and Richard Grenville were publicly blaming each other for the mission’s failure, and Lane’s men were miserable after failing to discover gold and silver.³ Throughout the fall of 1586 they made vicious and defamatory statements about ‘Virginia’ and their leaders, causing Harriot to write:

There have bin divers and variable reportes with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from thence. . . . some have maliciously not onelie spoken ill of their Governours; but for their sakes slandered the crowtie it selfe.⁴


² “In London the witness understood that he fell out of favor with the queen for having brought the settlers from Jacan.” David Glande, “Dispositions Sent by Gonzolo Mendez de Canzo to Philip III,” Roanoke Voyages II, 835.

³ Lane records the relative keenness of his men to take risks for the discovery of treasure, contrasting this with their lack of enthusiasm for agriculture or commerce. David Beers and Allison M. Quinn., eds., The First Colonists: Document on the Planning of the First English Settlements in North America 1584-1590 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982) 33, footnote 2.

The venture’s losses and the public slander made it more difficult for Ralegh to finance another expedition. He needed a less expensive way to maintain his patent, which would expire in four years unless he established a permanent colony. He decided that a colony of ‘planter’ families would be more permanent than one of soldiers and gentlemen adventurers – whose interests were gold, silver, and a quick return home. While he had not given up on establishing a harbor for privateers, Ralegh decided to place artisans and subsistence farmers on his land to secure his patent. These farmers would be sent where they could harvest sassafras, which Ralegh would use to replenish his fortune.

Ralegh was too involved with his Irish settlements and the military threat of the Spanish Armada to consider leading this small expedition. Ralph Lane had eliminated himself as a potential leader. Thomas Harriot, more scientist than colony leader, was busy responding to slanderers and publicizing ‘Virginia’s’ virtues. Sir Richard Grenville was held back to organize a military expedition that would follow later. Other candidates lacked experience in ‘Virginia.’ Thus, John White was chosen by default to become governor of Ralegh’s second “Virginia” colony. Although White had no apparent leadership qualifications, he had been to America several times. More importantly, he had many friends and relatives who might be willing to consider a new start in ‘Virginia.’

Having decided on the type of colony and chosen its leader, Ralegh took measures to minimize his personal financial and managerial commitment to the enterprise. He offered each colonist 500 acres of land in ‘Virginia’ and additional acres for family members. In

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6 To “imparte so much unto you of the fruittes of our labours, as that you may knowe howe injuriously the enterprise is slandered.” Harriot, A Briefe and True Report 5.
return, he asked the colonists to pay for their transportation and purchase supplies for one year.\(^7\) In the incorporation of ‘The City of Ralegh,’ Ralegh gave broad authority to White and the twelve associates to govern in ‘Virginia’ while Ralegh would continue to exercise overall authority.\(^8\) To help White with recruiting men who would help him lead, Ralegh provided coats of arms for the Governor and his associates. White recruited associates and artisans from the City of London guilds, such as his own Painter Strainers’ guild and the Tilers’ guild of his son-in-law Ananias Dare. Three assistants remained behind to represent the colony's commercial interests and lobby for additional financial support.

Armed with Ralegh’s enticements, White recruited 119 men and women who were willing to move to ‘Virginia’: 80 men who would not bring wives, 11 married couples without children, and two couples with one child each. The rest were 6 single women, two sons or younger brothers, and three other boys. Who were these men and women, and why were they willing to turn their backs on England and risk their lives in a New World? The colonists included yeomen, husbandmen, gentlemen, a sheriff, a lawyer, a vestryman, a goldsmith, a tailor, scholars, and prison inmates.\(^9\) Two had been to Roanoke before. The roster of 1587 colonists is listed in Table I.

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\(^7\) After examining pertinent primary documents, Quinn was uncertain how the 1587 colonial project was financed. Quinn believed the colonists put in their own investment for their stores, equipment, and additional land. “They must have sold their own possessions to finance their venture, but we can assume that it was Ralegh's merchant friends, William Sanderson and Thomas Smith among them, who found some additional capital for them to complete their equipment for the voyage.” Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, Vol. II 506-512. Harriot stated that each man had a promise of 500 acres of land in Virginia for himself and additional acres if he brought wife and/or children. Nothing was said about accommodating the natives who were already there on the land. Quinn, ed., *First Colonists*, 76.

\(^8\) It is possible that the associates were also investors in the venture to harvest sassafras.

### Table I. John White’s 1587 Colonists [1]

**Governor John White**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Married Assistants</th>
<th>3 Single Assistants with Boy</th>
<th>4 Single Assistants [2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ananias Dare, <em>tiler</em></td>
<td>Roger Prat</td>
<td>Simon Fernando, <em>pilot</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyonis Harvie, <em>ironmonger</em></td>
<td>George Howe, <em>gentleman</em></td>
<td>Thomas Stevens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Sampson</td>
<td>Roger Bailie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christopher Cooper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4 Couples with Children [3]**

- Ambrose & Elizabeth Viccars (& boy Ambrose)
- Arnold, & Joyce Archard (& boy Thomas)
- Assistant Ananias & Elyoner Dare [& Virginia Dare born in Virginia]
- Assistant Dyonis & Margery Harvie [& Harvie child born in Virginia]

**5 Couples with No Children [4]**

- John & Alis Chapman
- Thomas & (no first name) Colman
- John & Jane Jones

**8 Women Alone [5]**

- Agnes Wood.
- Elizabeth Glane
- Joan Warren

**4 Men with 4 Boys [6]**

- Thomas Ellis, *vestryman* & Robert Ellis (boy)
- George Howe & George Howe (boy)

**3 Boys Alone**

- Thomas Humfrey.
- Tomas Smart.

**2 Indians [7]**

- Manteo
- Towanye
Table I. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morris Allen</th>
<th>Charles Florrie</th>
<th>Henry Rufoote.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Arthur</td>
<td>John Gibbes</td>
<td>Thomas Scot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marke Bennet, husbandman</td>
<td>Thomas Gramme</td>
<td>Richard Shaberdge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Berde, yeoman</td>
<td>Thomas Harris, scholar</td>
<td>Thomas Smith [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Berrye, gentleman</td>
<td>Thomas Harris, (duplicate?)</td>
<td>William Sole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Berrye</td>
<td>John Hemmington</td>
<td>John Spendlove, gentleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Bishop</td>
<td>Thomas Hewet, lawyer</td>
<td>John Starte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Borden</td>
<td>James Hyde, inmate.</td>
<td>John Stillman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bridger</td>
<td>Henry Johnson</td>
<td>Martyn Sutton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bright</td>
<td>Nicholas Johnson</td>
<td>Richard Taverner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brooke</td>
<td>Griffen Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Browne</td>
<td>John Jones</td>
<td>Hugh Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Browne, goldsmith</td>
<td>Richard Kemme</td>
<td>Richard Tomkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Butler</td>
<td>Peter Little</td>
<td>John Tydway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Cage, sheriff</td>
<td>Robert Little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cheven</td>
<td>William Lucas</td>
<td>William Waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Clement, inmate</td>
<td>George Martyn</td>
<td>Cutbert White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cotsmur.</td>
<td>Michael Mylet</td>
<td>Richard Wildye, scholar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Darige</td>
<td>Henry Myton</td>
<td>Robert Wilkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Dorrell</td>
<td>Humfrey Newton.</td>
<td>William Willes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Dutton</td>
<td>William Nicholes, tailor</td>
<td>Lewes Wotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Earnest</td>
<td>Hugh Patterson</td>
<td>John Wright [9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmond English</td>
<td>Thomas Phevens</td>
<td>Brian Wyles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Farre</td>
<td>Edward Powell</td>
<td>John Wyles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] The colonists are listed in Quinn, First Colonists, 107-109. Information about the colonists was also found in William S. Powell, "Roanoke colonists," 205-222; and James Horn, A Kingdom Strange, 119-141. Of the 119 who arrived, Howe was killed by the Secotan before White departed, Smith died on shipboard, and White and Fernando returned to England. Virginia Dare and a Harvey child born in ‘Virginia’ completed the 117 abandoned colonists.


[3] Virginia Dare and the Harvie child were included on John White’s list of colonists.

[4] These couples are assumptions based only on their having the same names.

[5] William Powell said several of these single women were related to other members of the colony. Powell suspects that Joan Warren and Audry Tappan were married to Thomas Warner and Thomas Topan, respectively but their names were misspelled.

[6] These men and boys are assumed from their names to be related.

[7] Quinn suspects Manteo returned to England either with Lane in Drake's fleet or with Grenville. Towaye may well have accompanied Lane or Grenville in 1586.

[8] Powell, Horn, and Quinn all point out the similarity of names throughout the list of colonists. Among the men traveling alone, seven surnames appear twice: Berrye, Browne, Harris, Johnson, Jones, Little, and Wyles. I have also indicated in italics the positions or occupations of some of the men, as presented by Powell in “Roanoke colonists.”

[9] John Wright and James Lasie had also been in ‘Virginia’ with Ralph Lane.
The single women appeared to have been related to other colonists by marriage, and many other colonists were probably related. Others were acquainted because they were neighbors in England. The colonists expected to be joined by others after the colony became established, including the wives of some of the single men. Most of the Roanoke colonists had either come from London or from the west of England— principally Devon and Cornwall.10 Some of the less well identified colonists may have been tenant farmers before migrating to London.11 The population of London increased from an estimated 50,000 in 1530 to about 225,000 in 1605. Wool manufacturing had produced jobs in the city, and enclosed sheep pastures had reduced cropland and the need for tenant farmers.12 Although they would be subsistence farmers in ‘Virginia,’ these former tenants were ambitiously called ‘planters’ by White and Ralegh.’ With over 500 acres granted per family, becoming a tobacco plantation was not an unreasonable expectation.

Some of the colonists were possibility Puritans.13 Like the Pilgrims of Massachusetts who followed them to America, the colonists may have wished to get out from under the structure of Queen Elizabeth’s Church of England that so resembled the hated Catholic Church. Puritans or not, the colonists surely sought improvement in their economic status and 500 acres of was a powerful incentive in farmland-poor England.

10 Powell, Roanoke colonists, 212-215.
11 Quinn, ed., First Colonists, xiii.
13 The Reverend James Harold Lupton of Belhaven has researched the parish from which many of the 1587 colonists were recruited. Many came from the same London parish from which the Pilgrims were recruited for New England. Lupton suggests that descendents might be located through the genealogy of the Massachusetts Puritans as well as through searching for descendents in England. Ralegh had fought beside the Huguenots in France as a young man and may have been sympathetic to the Puritan desire for religious freedom. Horn, Kingdom Strange, 131.
After months of preparation, the colonists assembled in Portsmouth, England and made ready to depart. On the 26th of April 1587, Governor White and the colonists left Portsmouth, England. Their ships were the Lion of 120 ton piloted by Simon Fernando, an unnamed flyboat under Captain Spicer, and a pinnacle under Captain Stafford.\footnote{Governor John White provided Richard Hakluyt with a narrative of the 1587 voyage. According to Quinn, this is the earliest White narrative, and it was evidently compiled by him before 25 March 1588 using his journal as a basis. “John White’s narrative of the 1587 Virginia Voyage,” in Quinn, ed., \textit{First Colonists}, 93-106.} They delayed 8 days on the Isle of Wight where White and Fernando coordinated plans with Sir George Carey. A Carey fleet may have been engaged to bring additional settlers to ‘Virginia’ while on a privateering venture to the West Indies. Carey’s fleet may also have been sent to join Grenville on Chesapeake Bay and assist with the naval installation that was to have been placed there.\footnote{Carey’s \textit{Commander} and two consorts left England before John White’s colonists. They evidently called at Chesapeake Bay but the exact relationship of Carey's expedition to White's colony has not been established. “Ships of the Roanoke Voyages” (2010) \textit{National Park Service For Teachers}, Web May 19, 2010.} White’s ships returning to Portsmouth on the 5th of May then departed for the West Indies on May 8th 1587.\footnote{Lane, \textit{First Colonists}, 93.} Their May departure occurred shortly after Sir Francis Drake April raid on Spanish ships at Cadiz that delayed the arrival of the dreaded Spanish Armada.\footnote{Dr Simon Adams, “The Spanish Armada: Drake's Raid on Cadiz” (2009) \textit{British History}, Web May 2010.}

The colonists were anxious to reach ‘Virginia’ in time for spring planting, but the captains and crew of the ships had another objective –the rewards of privateering. Simon Fernando, master pilot in the \textit{Lion}, kept the colonists in the West Indies until mid-summer. White complained often in his narrative about Fernando’s antagonism toward him and neglect of the colony’s mission. White expressed anger that Fernando abandoned their
distressed flyboat near Portugal and failed to acquire livestock, fruit, salt, and adequate fresh water in the West Indies. He also left behind two Irish men in the West Indies, including Darbie Glaven who would later tell the Spanish authorities what he knew of the colony’s plans. After further delays, on July 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1587, two of the three ships finally arrived at the inlet nearest Roanoke Island on the north end of Hatteras Island that Lane called Port Fernando.

According to White’s narrative, Ralegh had instructed White to visit the men left behind by Grenville on Roanoke Island before continuing on to “the Baye of Chesepiok where we intended to make our seate and forte.” White said that after his party had boarded the pinnace and headed for the island, someone on the Lion yelled to the pinnace’s crew that White’s planters should be left on Roanoke Island. White said he pleaded with the ships’ officers and crews, but he said they would not oppose Fernando. Instead, White claimed that he and his planters had no choice but to disembark on Roanoke Island. Fernando’s excuse to White was that he had too little summer left for taking Spanish prizes before returning to England.

White searched unsuccessfully for the 15 men left on Roanoke Island by Sir Richard Grenville. He was distressed to find the bones of one of the men and no indication where the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item[18] “Muskites Baye, where were left behind two Irish men of our companie, Darbie Glaven, and Denice Carrell,” White, Roanoke Voyages II, 834–8.
  \item[19] “... according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh.” These written directions have not been found. White, First Colonists, 97.
  \item[20] “Unto this were all the sailers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governour to contend with them.” White, First Colonists, 97.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
others might be. At the north end of the island White found Lane’s fort “raised downe,” but the houses remained standing. The surviving houses were soon repaired and new cottages were built. On July 25th Captain Edward Spicer’s flyboat found its way to Roanoke Island, bringing the rest of White’s planters and supplies. Spicer had surprised Fernando with his navigational skill “for that he never had beene in Virginia.” White said Spicer’s arrival displeased Fernando, who had expected that Spicer had been captured, returned to England, or gone directly to Chesapeake Bay.

On July 28th George Howe, one of the twelve assistants, was ambushed and killed while crabbing without armor or weapons. He was struck by sixteen arrows and then clubbed to death with wooden swords. White expected that Secotan had come over from the Dasamonquepeuc mainland to hunt deer or to spy on the colony, and they had fled back to the mainland after killing Howe. White sent Stafford with Manteo and 20 others to Croatoan Island to learn what had happened to Howe and to Grenville’s men. They were also to renew their previous friendship with the Croatan.

Because of Ralph Lane’s killing of Wingina and his councilmen the previous year, the Croatan were frightened by the arrival of armed Englishmen and ran from them. Manteo called out to them in their own language, and they cautiously returned. Manteo knew that some of them had been present at Dasamonquepeuc and were injured when Ralph Lane

21 “... at Sunne set, went aland the Island, in the place where our fiftene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe, that they had bene there, saving onely we found the bones of one of those fiftene, which the Savages had slaine long before.” White, First Colonists, 98.

22 “... Fernando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for he purposely left them in the Baye of Portingall...[expecting that] they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.” White, First Colonists, 98.

23 “At our first landing, they seemed as though they would fight with us: but perceiving us begin to marche with our shot towards them, they turned their backes, and fled.” White, First Colonists, 99.
attacked Wingina.\(^{24}\) The Croatan asked for some type of badges that they might wear to avoid being mistaken again for the Secotan when they were on the mainland. Because of an extended drought, the Croatan begged Stafford not to take the little corn they had left. Stafford had led a group of Lane’s men to Croatoan Island in 1586 when food was scarce on Roanoke Island, and he appreciated their plight.\(^{25}\) He said they would not take their corn. He only wanted to renew the friendship they had enjoyed with the Croatan in the past.

Stafford then asked the Croatan if they knew who had killed George Howe and what had happened to the 15 left by Grenville. The Croatan answered that Wanchese and Secotan warriors from Dasamonquepeuc had slain Howe. He was “. . . slaine by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke, with whom Wanchese kept companie.”\(^{26}\) They also told Stafford that the Secotan from Aquascogoc, Pomeiock, and Secota villages joined with those from Dasamonquepeuc village in a 30-warrior attack on the men left behind by Grenville. Knowing they could not defeat the Englishmen when they were armed and alert, the Secotan resorted to trickery such as Lane had used against them. Two Secotan warriors who appeared to be unarmed called out as friends, and two English captains came out to greet them. They held and clubbed one of the Englishman to death as the second Englishman escaped into the house to alert the others. When the Secotan set fire to the house, the men seized any weapons they could find and ran out to engage the Secotan.

\(^{24}\) Lane wrote, “The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends.” Lane, First Colonists 41.

\(^{25}\) Lane wrote, “For the famine grew so extreeme among us, or weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20, with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serve two turnses in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warne us of the same.” Lane, First Colonists, 39.

\(^{26}\) White, First Colonists, 100.
Under cover of trees, the Secotan fired a hail of arrows at the Englishmen. A second Englishman died of an arrow through his mouth and others suffered injuries. The survivors retreated to the creek where they had left their boat. They picked up the four who had been away digging oysters and rowed to Bodie Island, “the little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbor of Hatorask.” They remained there for a few days and then departed, but the Croatan did not know where they had gone.

At White’s instructions, Stafford told the Croatan that John White wanted to make peace with the Secotan. White asked the Croatan to invite the weroances from the villages of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiock to a meeting with him. The Croatan replied that they would try to bring the Secotan to a conference at Roanoke Island within seven days, or bring their answer—which never arrived.

Wanchese and his small group of warriors apparently feared they would be attacked at Dasamonquepeici, so they left – leaving ripening crops in the fields. When the Croatan learned that Wanchese had departed from Dasamonquepeici, some of the Croatan went there to gather the ripe corn, tobacco, and melons. Unfortunately, they had not informed Governor White of their movement.

When the Secotan weroances did not show up after seven days, White decided to revenge George Howe’s murder. In the dark of dawn, his men attacked Dasamonquepeici village, believing that the Secotan warriors were still there. Croatan men and women who were in the village were not easily recognized at dawn, and White’s men shot several before

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27 White, First Colonists, 101.
28 White, First Colonists, 100.
recognizing a woman by the child on her back. Then one of the Croatan called Stafford by
name and ran up to embrace him. White and his men realized they had made a serious
mistake.29

Manteo was upset by the assault on his kinsmen, but he told White that the Croatan
must share the blame.30 They had failed to bring the Secotan weroances to White’s peace
conference or give notice that they were not coming. White’s company gathered the ripe
crops and returned to Roanoke Island. Several days later, as Ralegh had commanded, White
declared Manteo ‘Lord of Dasamonquepeiuec and Roanoak’ for his faithful service.31

With the abandonment of Dasamonquepeiuec by the Secotan and the installation of
Manteo as Lord, the Croatan gained territorial control over the Dare mainland and Roanoke
Island.32 Although Manteo’s new authority was only as good as his ability to enforce it, his
alliance with well-armed Englishmen would allow the Croatan to dominant the region.
Henceforth, the Secotan Confederation would be no more and its former villages would turn
to Manteo and the Croatan for leadership. Since this occurred after John White’s departure,
we can only speculate that this occurred. The Croatan would themselves soon come under
pressure from the Tuscarora and are likely to have come to an accommodation with them.

29 White, First Colonists, 102.

30 “Although the mistaking of these Savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their
owne follie, saying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promise in coming to the Governour, at the
day appointed, they had not known that mischance.” White, First Colonists, 100-101.

31 “The 13. of August, our Savage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in
Roanoak, and called Lord therof, and of Dasamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull service, installed Manteo
as sub-lord in place of Wingina.” White, First Colonists, 102.

32 That they would continue to occupy the mainland for decades is confirmed by numerous historical maps
presented in Chapter 4 and Appendix B.
Soon after Manteo’s appointment and christening into the Church of England, John White’s granddaughter Virginia was born on August 18, 1587.\(^{33}\)

Despite his claim that he did not have time to take the colonists on to Chesapeake Bay, Fernando remained at Roanoke Island for more than 30 days while he overhauled his ship. As Fernando’s *Lion* and Spicer’s flyboat were preparing to depart, John White and his assistants realized that someone must return to England. White’s assistants prevailed upon him to return to England and represent them there. White resisted for fear he would be criticized in England for returning so quickly when he had persuaded so many to leave their homes for the unknown. Knowing that the colonists intended to move 50 miles into the mainland after he had left, White was also concerned that all his goods would be spoiled or stolen. After being requested by all of the company to leave and being assured in writing that the colonists would protect his belongings, White finally agreed to return to England.\(^{34}\)

The two ships departed on the 27\(^{th}\) of August, leaving behind the pinnace and several boats needed to move 50 miles into the mainland. On White’s voyage to England in the flyboat, several men died of sickness and the others nearly perished as food and water ran out. They made land in Ireland on the 16\(^{th}\) of October, and a pinnace came out to rescue the nearly starved men who did not have boats or strength to row to shore. White finally arrived in England on November 5\(^{th}\) only to find that Fernando had arrived three weeks earlier with

\(^{33}\)“The 18. Elenora, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christeneth there the Sunday following,\(^{33}\) and because this childe was the first Christian borne in Virginia, she was named Virginia.” White, First Colonists, 102.

\(^{34}\)“...for the present and speedie supplie of certaine our knowne, and apparent lackes, and needes, most requisite and necessarie for the good and happie planting of us, or any other in this lande of Virginia, wee all of one minde, and consent, have most earnestly intreated, and uncessantly requested [103].John White, Govement of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England.” White, First Colonists, 103-104.
no prizes and many sick and dead crewmen.\textsuperscript{35} White completed his narrative of the 1587 voyage by March 1588.

\begin{quote}
\textit{The first voyage intended for the supply of the Colonie planted in Virginia by John White which being undertaken in the yeere 1588 by casualtie tooke no effect.}\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Catholics throughout Europe challenged Queen Elizabeth’s right to the throne, claiming that Elizabeth was the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn and that Mary Queen of Scots was the rightful Queen because she was a legitimate descendant of King Henry VII. Shortly before John White left for ‘Virginia’, Queen Elizabeth’s execution of Mary Queen of Scots had exacerbated the antipathy between Queen Elizabeth and Philip II. With Mary Queen of Scots’ death, Philip saw no further reason to delay an attack on England and rid Spain of the troublesome English Queen and her privateers.\textsuperscript{37} Thereafter, England was on constant alert for a Spanish attack.

When John White finally met with Ralegh on November 20, 1587, Ralegh was preoccupied with his plantation in Munster, Ireland, and with preparations for the Spanish Armada.\textsuperscript{38} English spies had reported that the Armada was nearly ready to sail. As Vice-Admiral of Cornwall and Devon, Sir Walter Ralegh and his cousin Sir Richard Grenville were responsible for the land defenses of these two counties. Ralegh had little time for

\textsuperscript{35} White, \textit{First Colonists}, 106.

\textsuperscript{36} John White’s recorded his 1588 failed rescue attempt in a narrative that he sent to Richard Hakluyt in 1593. White, \textit{First Colonists}, 110-114.


\textsuperscript{38} Ralegh had designed his own ship, the Arc Ralegh, but he bartered it to Queen Elizabeth in 1588 in part repayment of his debts. The "Ark Royal" was then chosen to lead the English fleet against the Armada. \textit{“Sir Walter Ralegh”} (2008) National Maritime Museum, Web May 2010.
White, but he offered a pinnacle for immediate relief of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville was already preparing another fleet at Bideford for privateering in the West Indies and installing a military-naval base in ‘Virginia.’\textsuperscript{39} Fearing for White’s safety at sea, Grenville instructed White’s pinnacle to wait several months until Granville’s fleet sailed. In March 1588, Grenville was ready to sail, but orders came from Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Council to abandon the voyage. The Council ordered Grenville’s ships to move to Plymouth and join the fleet awaiting the Armada’s arrival.\textsuperscript{40}

White continued pleading for vessels to relieve his colony. After failed attempts, he finally found two small ships not needed in Plymouth. He engaged the 30 ton bark \textit{Brave} and the 25 ton pinnacle \textit{Roe}, with a crew that included captive pilot Pedro Diaz who had been at Roanoke Island on Grenville’s second voyage. White took on board 15 new planter families and supplies for the relief of the colonists. The two small ships departed from Bideford on the 22 of April 1588. Soon after they lost sight of Cornwall, they began to attack any non-English ships they could catch. On May 6, White’s bark was itself attacked and boarded by a French ship. The Frenchmen took everything they could transfer to their ship – including the Spanish pilot Diaz who would later escape and tell his story to Spanish authorities.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{39} “It would be a mistake to think that in 1587 White’s colony was the sole English project afoot in North America. It is clear to us not that sooner or later a major effort would be made to establish a military-naval base on the shores of Chesapeake Bay to step up the western offensive against Spain.” Quinn, \textit{Set Fair for Roanoke}, 297.

\textsuperscript{40} “At the same time there was spread throughout all England such report of the wonderfull preparation and invincible fleetes made by the king of Spaine joyned with the power of the Pope for the invading of England, that most of the ships of warre then in a readiness in any haven in England were stayed for service at home.” White, \textit{First Colony}, 110.

\textsuperscript{41} “There the captain fitted out and prepared two pinnaces in which he embarked seven men and four women for the settlement, their provisions consisting of biscuit, meal and vegetables. They were sent in the charge of Captain Artefaz, and the pilot was Pero Diaz.” “The Relation of Pedro Diaz,” Quinn, ed., \textit{Roanoke Voyage II}, 793.
bark limped home to England with no weapons or cargo. With no pilot to guide them, the
pinnacle also returned to England without going to ‘Virginia.’

❖

A Spanish ship found evidence of an English colony near Roanoke Island in 1588.
While White limped back to England in May, Captain Vicente Gonzalez sailed from St.
Augustine. With his 30 soldiers and seamen he was instructed to find the English colony.\(^{42}\)
Spain had been informed by the abandoned Irishman, Darbie Glaven, and by spies in
Elizabeth’s court that the colony intended to settle on Chesapeake Bay. Captain Gonzalez
had been to Chesapeake Bay twice before; on a 1570 expedition to deliver Catholic
missionaries and on a 1572 expedition to revenge their massacre. Failing to find Ralegh’s
colony after a thorough search of Chesapeake Bay, Gonzalez headed back to Saint Augustine
with two Indian captives. When forced by a storm to seek shelter through an Outer Banks
inlet near Roanoke Island, Gonzalez found evidence that the English had been there:\(^{43}\)

“... they worked their way south with the aid of a strong west wind. The wind
then freshening so much they were forced to dismast the ship and to bring her to the
shore by means of oars. They entered on a bar of very little depth, and inside found a
large cove, the southern part of which at low tide was almost dry.\(^{44}\) The view towards
the north gave on to a great part of the bay and revealed a large arm in the north-west
curve which was heavily wooded. And along the shore towards the north there was
another opening which appeared to be better than that by which they had entered, this
part of the coast for about a league, between one bar and another, being low and free
of sand.\(^{45}\) And on the inside of the little bay they had entered there were signs of a

\(^{42}\) Paul E. Hoffman, P. E. (1986) New light on Vicente Gonzalez's 1588 voyage in search of Raleigh's


\(^{44}\) Was this Port Lane or Port Fernando? (See Figure 22 ) Quinn said that all indications are that this was
Port Ferdinando. Lane gave its bar as 12 ft. at high water. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages II*, 863-4.

\(^{45}\) This may mean the Island was covered with vegetation.
slipway for small vessels, and on land a number of wells made with English casks, and other debris indicating that a considerable number of people had been here.

Figure 22 - Inlets Identified by Gonzales

The slipway observed by Gonzales is likely to have been used for unloading vessels in the harbour and for laying-up and repairing boats and the pinnace. Barrels had evidently been sunk in the sand to collect fresh water. The debris had thus been lying there for months. Despite Gonzales discovery, Spain continued to believe that the main English settlement was on Chesapeake Bay.

Spain reacted to Gonzalez’s report by ordering the assembly of a large fleet to eliminate the English colony and place a Spanish fort on the Chesapeake. Instead, this order was superseded by another that sent the fleet to Mexico where they received an accumulation

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46 Quinn was apparently not aware, as were English sailors, that fresh water is held in the sand hills by the underlying salt water “... caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hilles for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient.” White, Roanoke Voyages II, 611.

47 “The whole expedition would then proceed to Roanoke Island, liquidate the English post, and go on to Chesapeake Bay where a strong fortress with a garrison of 300 men was to be established.” Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages II, 817-18.
of silver, gold, and pearls to take to Madrid.\textsuperscript{48} The plan to eliminate the English colony and to settle on the Chesapeake may have been made known to the English to divert their attention from the planned treasure voyage.\textsuperscript{49} Spanish archives disclose no further attempt to locate the English colony until 1609, after Jamestown was settled.\textsuperscript{50}

Due to the continuing war with Spain, White did not find ships to take him safely to ‘Virginia’ until 1590. In 1589, Ralegh had encouraged his business manager William Sanderson to organize a holding company for further explorations of ‘Virginia.’ Sanderson was joined by several wealthy English gentlemen, but no voyages were initiated in 1589. Apparently, Sir Francis Drake had confiscated most of the available merchant ships—still heavily armed for Armada defense—for an unsuccessful invasion of Portugal. This left few if any seaworthy ships for the holding company to send to ‘Virginia.’\textsuperscript{51}

By 1590, a few privateers had begun to venture into the West Indies again—with and without the Privy Council’s permission. London Merchant John Watts had three privateers ready to sail for the West Indies. Their departure had been held up by the general stay still in effect from the Queen’s Privy Council. White saw in them an opportunity. He convinced Ralegh to intercede with the Queen and procure a license for those three ships to proceed –

\textsuperscript{48} “These plans were, however, soon seen to be less urgent than the maintenance of the flow of treasure from the New World to Spain.” Quinn, ed., \textit{Roanoke Voyages II}, 775.

\textsuperscript{49} “The story that Menéndez Marques was bound for Florida was a deliberate deception agreed upon at the highest level of the Spanish government to provide a cover for his voyage to Tierra Firme (the Spanish Main.)” Hoffman, \textit{New light}, 222.

\textsuperscript{50} Hoffman, \textit{New light}, 223.

\textsuperscript{51} Quinn, \textit{Set Fair for Roanoke}, 311.
but only if they agreed to take John White, relief supplies, and new settlers with all their necessary furniture to ‘Virginia.’ Richard Sanderson would add a ship to the fleet that would carry supplies for the colonists.  

Despite all his pleas to the authorities, when the time to depart arrived, White “. . . was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me.”  

There was no time left before departure to obtain help from Ralegh, who was in Ireland, and White decided he must go alone because he expected this to be his last opportunity. He wrote to Hakluyt about his predicament and lamented: “Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailors, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia.”

The three ships were Captain Abraham Cooke’s Hopewell, Captain William Lane’s John Evangelist, and the Little John commanded by Captain Christopher Newport who would later transport the Jamestown colony to ‘Virginia.’ Richard Sanderson’s Moonlight under Captain Spicer was left behind by their sudden departure but caught up with the others

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52. “There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of Master John Watts of London Marchant.” A license issued to Raleigh’s agent Richard Sanderson and to John Watts required that they post a bond to guarantee that they fulfill the terms of the agreement concerning White. John White, “Letter to Richard Hakluyt, 4 Feb 1593.” White, First Colonists, 115-116.

53 White, First Colonists, 116.

54 “The prominence which the sailors gave to White in their dealings with the Spaniards and their frequent references to the intended relief of the colony do not suggest, whatever the element of bluff involved, that they considered the Virginia visit of no importance.” Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 116 footnote 1.
in July. The voyagers left “about the end of Februarie” 1590, but they did not arrive on Roanoke Island until the middle of August.\(^5\) The ships spent all of May, June, and July cruising for Spanish ships and attacking Spanish villages on the islands around Dominica. They captured a few smaller ships, but on May 2\(^{nd}\) they sighted and chased a fleet of 14 ships commanded by our old friend Vicente Gonzalez. The Spanish ship Buen Jesus was captured and outfitted to operate with the privateer fleet, and the crew was released ashore on Cuba. After a few more unsuccessful chases, two of the ships turned north toward Roanoke Island, and the prize ship was sent on to England.

On the 12\(^{th}\) of August, the fleet anchored off of Croatoan Island to take sounding within the breach (Chacandepoco Inlet), but they decided not visit the island at that time.\(^6\) Three days later on the 15\(^{th}\), they anchored off Port Fernando and saw smoke rise over Roanoke Island. White said that it “put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.”\(^7\) On the 16\(^{th}\), White went ashore with Captains Cooke and Spicer intending to go to Roanoke, but they saw smoke to the southwest by Kendrick Mount and believe they would find the colonists there. When they found nothing but an unattended fire, they had wasted a day in a fruitless search.

On the 17\(^{th}\), White again prepared to go to Roanoke Island but was delayed by Captain Spicer who had sent his boats ashore for water. Finally at 10 am, the boats left the ships and approached the inlet. The first boat passed over with great difficulty in the rough

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\(^5\) John White letter to Richard Hakluyt, 4 February 1593. White, First Colonists, 115.

\(^6\) It is unfortunate that no boat was sent ashore at Croatoan Island as they passed because it very likely that some of the colonists were there as White anticipated.

\(^7\) White, First Colonist, 123.
sea, but the second boat was upset, and Captain Spicer and six others drowned.\(^{58}\) The surviving sailors, ready to give up, were convinced by Captain Cooke and John White to continue the search. White’s party searched for the colonists for the rest of that day and the next. The numbers in figure 23 show the path of John White’s search as he tried to find the colonists or news of their location:

(1) Two boats with 19 men left Port Ferdinando for Roanoke, but it was already becoming dark. When they approached the place where John White had left the colonists, “we overshot the place a quarter of a mile.”\(^{59}\)

(2) They spotted another fire at the north end of the island and continued on to that place. There in the dark they sang English tunes, blew trumpets, and called out with no response. Going ashore at daybreak, they again found only smoldering grass and rotten trees.

(3) Cutting through the woods, they came to the Roanoke Sound shore opposite Dasamonquepeuc which White assumed the Secotan still occupied.

(4) They returned back east, following the shore around the north end of the island until they approached the place where White left the Colony. Along the way they saw footprints “trodeth that night” of several Indians, perhaps Croatan on the island to hunt deer.\(^{60}\) As they climbed up a sand bank on the way to the place where he left the colonists, they saw carved on the brow of a tree:

“[T]hese faire Romane letters CRO: which leters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated. . . for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine.”\(^{61}\) Therefore at my

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\(^{58}\) “For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre.” Northeast winds increase the wave action in Outer Banks inlets, especially when the tide is running out. Such wind conditions tend to last for several days and make it difficult for ships to hold close to the shore. White, First Colonist, 124.

\(^{59}\) “but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile.” This suggests that he had left the colonist at a landing on Shallowbag Bay. White, First Colonists, 125.

\(^{60}\) White, First Colonists, 125.

\(^{61}\) Quinn’s opinion was that “50 miles into the maine” meant that had removed either north to Chesapeake Bay or west and then north-west up the Chowan River. Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 126, footnote 1.
departure from them in Anno 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be
distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a
Cros in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse.\footnote{White, \textit{First Colonists}, 125.}

(5) Continuing to where the houses had been, White found all the houses taken
down and the place where they had been was enclosed by a palisade of trees. On one of
the trees at the entrance to the palisade was carved CROATOAN but without a cross.
Inside the palisade were bars of iron, pigs of lead, four cannon, iron shot, and other such heavy things.

(6) White then went down to the creek (Dough’s Creek?) to see if he could find the colonists’ boats or pinnace or any of the weapons left with them. He found no boats or weapons, but sailors found White’s own possessions that had been buried in five chests by the colonists. The “savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk” had apparently found the chests and most of the contents had been rusted or spoiled. Despite his loss, he was happy that he had found “certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Island our friends.” 63

White and the sailors then hurried to the ships because the storm was becoming stronger. They got on board with difficulty and Captain Cooke sent the boat back for those who had gone ashore to fill their water casks. The men were brought back, but the fresh water had to be left behind. The Captain agreed to go to Croatoan Island, “where our planters were” and return later for the water casks. 64 As they turned the capstan to bring in the anchor, the cable broke, and the ship drove fast toward the shore. With Cooke’s good seamanship and a deep channel near the shore, they were able to sail around Kendrick point. 65 But with only one cable and anchor remaining, Cooke would not chance stopping at Croatoan Island. Cooke agreed to go to San Juan, Puerto Rico, or Trinidad for fresh water and food. They would remain over the winter seeking prizes and return to Croatan Island the following year.

63 “White’s assumption that the settlers had gone to Croatoan was a reasonable one and explains, amongst other things, why he described in detail the soundings recently made at the mouth of the channels dividing Hatarask and Croatoan Islands. (p. 123.) The main Indian settlement on Croatoan was near the southern side of the inlet, near the present village of Buxton. The Croatoan Indians formed a tribe separate from those of Roanoke Island. Manteo would have returned there in August 1587. But White’s belief, and the likelihood that some of the settlers visited Manteo, do not point to the whole colony having moved south instead of north.” Quinn, ed., First Colonists, 127, footnote 1.

64 White, First Colonists, 127.

65 Kendrick point has since been eroded away by the rising sea level.
After the loss of Captain Spicer, the *Moonlight* would not go south with Cooke. The *Moonlight* turned for England as Captain Cooke set out for Trinidad. On the 28th of August another storm arose so forcibly that the *Hopewell* had to lower sails and run with the wind – which took them straight for England. They managed to reach the Azores by the 17th of September and found the English there in force, waiting for the Spanish fleet. Captain Cooke stayed with the English fleet until 30 September when he headed for England.

Samuel Mace of Weimouth, a very sufficient mariner, and honest sober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was imploied this year by Sir Walter Ralegh, to finde those people which were left there in the year 1587. To whose succour he hath sent five severall times at his owne charges. 66

When White returned for the last time in 1590, he retired to Ireland to write the narrative of his last voyage for Richard Hakluyt. In most writings about the Legend of the Lost Colony, the Roanoke voyages end with White’s return. There is reason to question this ending because Ralegh continued sending ships to the New World until the death of Elizabeth in 1603 and even later while he was imprisoned. There were rumors that Richard Hawkins was bound for ‘Virginia’ in 1592 rather than the South Seas. 67 Ralegh may have visited ‘Virginia’ on his trip to Guiana in 1595, but he said only that he would have gone there “if extremity of weather had not forced me for the said coast.” 68 Herbalist John Gerard, a friend of Ralegh and Harriot, wrote in 1597 that in “Virginia . . . are dwelling at this present


68 Ralegh wrote about his intended visit to ‘Virginia’ in *The discoverie of the large rich, and bewtiful empire of Guiana* (1596). Quinn, *Set Fair*, 353.
Englishmen.”

Then in 1597, Ralegh began sending a small bark or pinnace to ‘Virginia’ each year for six years. He kept these voyages quiet until 1602 when the journal of a voyage made to ‘Virginia’ without Ralegh’s permission made them widely known.

Ralegh may have sent ships before 1597, but his military duties and personal difficulties made this less likely. He remained active in the war against Spain and was forced to defend himself from those who accused him of being an atheist and a traitor. Also, Queen Elizabeth became angry with him when he married Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of her ladies in waiting. In 1592, the Queen had Ralegh and his wife put into prison in the Tower and then banished him to the countryside. Ralegh was allowed to sail to Guiana in 1595 and to return to Elizabeth’s court in 1597. He then began to again send ships to ‘Virginia.’ Unlike Grenville’s fleet, his small barks and pinnaces did not draw the attention of Spanish spies.

Ralegh claimed that the voyages after 1597 were sent to search for the abandoned colony, but it is more likely that they were sent to collect sassafras. The voyages were not made public until 1602, after Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert led an unauthorized voyage to ‘the ‘North Part of Virginia’ (New England.) Gosnold and Gilbert planned to establish a fur trading post near a place they named Cape Cod, but they found “Sassafras trees plenty all the Island over, a tree of high price and profit.”

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69 Quinn, *Set Fair*, 355.


Gosnold and Gilbert hurried back to England with their valuable cargo of sassafras. Ralegh learned of the unauthorized cargo when at the Weymouth port to meet Samuel Mace, his ship’s captain, who was also returning with sassafras. When Ralegh learned that Gilbert and Gosnold’s ship had sailed to ‘Virginia’ without authorization, he tried to have the cargo confiscated for violating his patent rights. Ralegh was also concerned that this new supply would lower the price of sassafras on the English market. He also realized that discovery of sassafras elsewhere in ‘Virginia’ threatened his monopoly. In an Aug. 21, 1602 letter from Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, Ralegh asked Sir Robert to help maintain his patent rights.

Whereas as I wrote unto yow in my last that I was goun to Weymouth to speak with a pinnes [small ship] of mine arrived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captyane Gilbert, ther also, who went on the same voyage [to Virginia]. But myne [Mace] fell 40 leaus to the west of it,[Roanoke Island] and this bearer [Gilbert] as much to the east; so as neither of them spake with the peopell [the colonists.] But I do sende both the barks away agayne, having saved the charg in sarsephraze woode; but this bearer[Gilbert] bringing some 2200 waight to Hampton, his adventurers have taken away their parts [shares] and brought it to London. I do therefore humble pray yow to deal with ye my Lord Admirale for a letter to make seasure of all that which is come to London, either by his Lordship’s octoretye [authority] or by the Judge: because I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade their without my leve. And whereas Sassafras was worth 10s., 12s. and 20s. per pound before Gilbert returned, his cloying of the market, will overthrow all myne and his own also. He is contented to have all stayde: not only for this present; but being to go agayne, others will also go and destroy the trade, which otherwise would yield 8 or 10 for one [return on investment], in certainty and a return in XX weeks. I beseich yow, favor our right: and yow shall see what a pretie, honorabell and sauf trade wee will make.

In the letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Ralegh repeated the claim that his ship’s captain could not find the colonists. However, he describes Mace’s landfall to have been "fortie

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74 Ralegh was given six years from 1584 to establish a colony in ‘Virginia.’ He was allowed to exercise his patent until 1602 while Elizabeth lived, on the presumption that he still had a settled colony in ‘Virginia.’ Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages I. 82-89.

leagues to the Southwestward of Hatarask, in thirty foure degrees or thereabout.” Forty leagues (120 miles) south of Hatarask (Port Fernando) would have placed Mace’s landfall at or near modern Cape Lookout. However, 34° north latitude is approximately one hundred miles to the southwest of Cape Lookout near Cape Fear (figure 24.) A latitude error of this magnitude was unlikely and must have been another of Ralegh’s attempts to lead his enemies away from his colony.

Figure 24 – The Capes on North Carolina’s Coast

Ralegh realized that other merchant seaman would soon learn where to find sassafras in ‘Virginia,’ and he took steps to minimize the impact. He sent his share of the unauthorized

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cargo to Germany to keep it off of the English market. Because Gilbert was well connected in Court, Ralegh decided to negotiate a deal with him. He allowed Gilbert and his associates to keep part of their sassafras. In return, Ralegh required that the brief relation written by John Brereton be submitted to him for editing before its release. The unauthorized 1602 voyage to New England was described by John Brereton in his Brief and True Relations. Brereton added an addendum to his report—very likely at Ralegh’s insistence. The following addendum gave Ralegh’s rationalization for the failure of his ships to find the abandoned colonists and, in this manner, continued to hide their location:

A briefe Note of sending another barke this present yeere 1602, by the honorable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, for the searching out of his Colonie in Virginia,

Samuel Mace of Weimouth, a very sufficient mariner, and honest sober man, who had beene at Virginia twise before, was imploied this year by Sir Walter Ralegh, to finde those people which were left there in the year 1587. To whose succour he hath sent five severall times at his owne charges. The parties by him set forth performed nothing; some of them following their owne profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoid all excuse, he brought a barke, and hired all the company for wages by the moneth: to be departing from Weimouth in March last 1602, fell fortie leagues to the Southwestward of Hatarask, in thirte foure degrees or thereabout; and having there spent a moneth; when they came along the coast to secke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather and losse of some principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the port of Hatarask, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought sassafras, Radix China or the China root, Beniamin, Cassia legnea, and a rine of a tree moss stronger than any spice as yet known, with divers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.”

Brereton’s addendum disclosed Ralegh had sent six voyages “to finde those people which were left there in the year 1587. But he concluded that “The parties by him set forth

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77 “Ralegh arranged to dispose of a considerable quantity of sassafras to a German merchant, J. B. Zechelius, to be delivered to his Hamburg agent.” Quinn, “Hariot and the Virginia Voyages,” 277.

78 Brereton, A Briefe and True Relation, 14.
performed nothing.” He reported that the first five voyages failed to find the abandoned colonists because they “following their owne profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations.” The sixth voyage of Samuel Mace was accused of “pretending that the extremitie of weather and losse of some principall ground-tackle” had cause him to fail to find port Hatteras. These excuses have all the earmarks of Ralegh’s intent to ‘suppress and distort’ in Quinn’s words. Although, he would soon be unable to protect his sassafras monopoly, he would continue to mislead Spain about the location of his colonists. Although Ralegh claimed the voyages had not found the colonists, “they brought sassafras.”

The 1602 voyage of Samuel Mace was the last of Ralegh’s voyages, but British merchants soon sent ships to find sassafras. In April 1603 merchants sent Martin Pring to Cape Cod where Gosnold had discovered sassafras, after first secured Sir Walter Ralegh’s permission. Prang wrote: “As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of sovereign virtue for the French Poxe [syphilis], and as some of late have learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies. Pring objective was to gather sassafras because he wrote: “But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places. . .;” “. . . here we could find no Sassafras;” “Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras;” and “By the endo of July we had laded our small Barke called the Discoverer, with as much Sassafras as we though sufficient, and sent her home into England.” Queen Elizabeth’s death ended recognition of Sir Walter Ralegh’s patent to ‘Virginia’ and his sassafras monopoly. Soon after Elizabeth’s

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80 The Voyage of Martin Pring, 1603: A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of th chiefest Merchants and inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discoverie of the North part of Virginia. 1603. Henry Burrage, Ed., Early English and French Voyages, 346-350.
death, Ralegh was again made a prisoner in the Tower of London, was convicted of treason, and after a long stay in prison was executed.\textsuperscript{81} It would appear that the colonists were then truly abandoned, but I would not be surprised if further research uncovered voyages sent out by Ralegh even as he was confined to prison.\textsuperscript{82}

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\textsuperscript{81} Quinn, \textit{Set Fair}, 356.
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\textsuperscript{82} Such information is most likely to be found in the Spanish archives where numerous English voyages not recounted in English document are disclosed in dispositions to Spanish authorities. Examples may be found in Irene A. Wright, \textit{Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594} (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1949.)
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Chapter 4

BEECHLAND

“Seeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine . . .”

Figure 25 – 50 miles to Tramasquocooch (red line)

I began my research to test the theory that the 1587 colonists left Roanoke Island with the Croatan, traveled ‘50 miles into the maine,’ and eventually settled in the community of Beechland. To give credibility to this theory, I needed to find a reason why the colonists would travel to that location. My research led me to question some of the statements in the Roanoke voyage narratives, and I learned that David Quinn had similar concerns in 1955.¹ For example, why was the 1587 colonists’ mission never published by Hakluyt? Why did

Harriot suppress information on certain natural products of North America?² Why were White’s criticisms of Fernando and Fernando’s excuse for leaving the colonists on Roanoke Island so unconvincing?³ Why did John White need forty of his best men with him when he went to Roanoke Island if he meant only to talk to the men left behind by Grenville?⁴ When Spicer’s ship fell behind off Portugal, why did he go to Roanoke Island rather than directly to Chesapeake Bay?⁵ If their destination were Chesapeake Bay, why did the colonists relocate 50 miles into the mainland from Roanoke Island and take their houses with them? If Ralegh intended to send a military expedition to Chesapeake Bay, why would he send unprotected planters to Chesapeake well ahead of such an expedition⁶

Sir Richard Grenville was preparing a large fleet at Bideford to sail to ‘Virginia.’ The fleet would not have been ready to sail for at least a year, and the Spanish Armada kept them in England even longer. Spanish spies heard that Ralegh planned to settle Chesapeake Bay before the voyage had left England. On the voyage through the West Indies, Simon Fernando intentionally let Irishman Darbie Glaven escape so that he would tell Spanish authorities that


³ After “saying that the Summer was farre spent” and he had to hurry to the West Indies to attack Spanish shipping, Fernando remained near Roanoke Island for more than thirty days. John White in David B. Quinn and Allison M. Quinn, eds., The First Colonists: Document on the Planning of the First English Settlements in North America 1584-1590 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982) 97.

⁴ “Governour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men.” White, The First Colonists, 97.

⁵ “White uses the occasion to belabour Fernandez again for his deliberate desertion of Spicer, the fly-boat master, but his allegations of conspiracy are too vague to be convincing.” Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, Vol. II (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955) 505.

⁶ “It would be a mistake to think that in 1587 White colony was the sole English project afoot in North America. It is clear to us now that sooner or later a major effort would be made to establish a military-naval base on the shores of Chesapeake Bay to step up the western offensive against Spain.” Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, Vol. I (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955) 9-10.
the colony was going to Chesapeake Bay.\textsuperscript{7} The Spaniards were so convinced of the Chesapeake Bay destination that they ignored evidence found by Spanish Captain Gonzales of an English presence near Roanoke Island.\textsuperscript{8} Why would Ralegh send a colony of planters to Chesapeake Bay and then make certain Spain knew that they were there?

The questions above can be answered if it is assumed that the 1587 colonists were sent to ‘Virginia’ with the intent that they harvest sassafras secretly “50 miles into the maine” beyond Roanoke Island. I believe that Ralegh never intended for the 1587 colonists to go to Chesapeake Bay. The discovery that Ralegh sent ships to ‘Virginia’ after 1590 to collect sassafras should explain why he intended that the colonists disembark at Port Fernando. I believe that sassafras was found 50 miles into the mainland, and the colonists were sent there to harvest this valuable commodity.

\footnote{Quinn, ed., \textit{Roanoke Voyages, II}: 834–8.}


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The 1585-86 voyages had been expensive for Ralegh, and the abandonment of Lane’s colony threatened Ralegh’s patent. Lane would have taken sassafras with him to England, but his sudden stormy departure may have made that impossible. When Lane and Harriot reported their sassafras find, Ralegh would have seen an opportunity to recoup his losses. He must have decided to send a colony of planters to ‘Virginia,’ without waiting for Sir Richard Grenville to prepare his fleet. Ralegh was worried that enemies in England as well as those in
Spain would learn of his plans.⁹ He did not want the location of his colony or of his sassafras known. Raleigh’s deception required that the true mission of the colony be hidden and the charter for the ‘Citie of Raleigh’ be kept secret.¹⁰ He knew Spain would try to destroy any settlement he attempted in the New World, and a colony of planters would be especially vulnerable in ‘Virginia.’ Assisted by Hakluyt and Harriot, Raleigh promoted the fiction that his 1587 colony was part of a larger fleet bound for Chesapeake Bay; and he organized leaks of a Chesapeake Bay destination to Spanish authorities. On his return to England, White published the excuse that Fernando forced the colony to remain on Roanoak Island. He acknowledged in his narrative that the colonists were going to a secret place which he was to learn of on his return, “according to a secret token agreed on between them and me”¹¹

Sassafras was the most valuable commodity exported from Jamestown until tobacco surpassed it when John Rolfe introduced a superior variety in 1612. The President of the Jamestown council said in 1607, “Our easiest and richest commodity [is] sassafrass.”¹² Dr. Cowen wrote that its price was even higher in 1602 when Raleigh held a sassafras monopoly.

Sassafras was one of the most important drugs involved in this process of empire building. Sir Walter was selling sassafras for £1,000 to £2,000 a ton and he estimated his return as from 800% to 1,000%. In one voyage in 1602 he made enough to outfit two more ships, and he fought, unsuccessfully apparently, to stop incursions on his patent.¹³

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⁹ Quinn was of the opinion that “… Hakluyt pruned and trimmed his material for security purposes or to meet the desires of Raleigh or Grenville.” Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages, II: xvi.

¹⁰ What is known of the charter of 7 January 1587 is given in Roanoke Voyages II, but the “The charter for the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia,” itself has not survived. Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages, II: 506-12.

¹¹ Quinn, First Colonists, 125.


Although no longer considered safe for medicinal use today, sassafras was thought to have near-miraculous healing powers in the sixteenth century. Syphilis had spread throughout Europe after it was brought from America by Columbus.$^{14}$ Sassafras remained extremely valuable as long as it continued to be accepted as a treatment for syphilis. Appendix C explains how the French discovered sassafras in America, how Spain and England learned of the discovery, and why it became so highly valued for medicinal purposes in Europe at the time of the Roanoke voyages.$^{15}$

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$^{14}$ The exaggerated belief in the medicinal value of sassafras may be explained by the current use of safrole, one of its components, in the recreational drug ‘ecstasy.’

Thomas Hariot's *briefe and true report* provided a guide to the "merchantable commodities" to be found in ‘Virginia.’ He included sassafras and identified its special quality as being anti-syphilitic, but he gave no clue as to its location. An abundant supply of sassafras was apparently discovered during Ralph Lane’s expedition down the Alligator River in 1585 or 1586. This sassafras was located at the lower end of the Alligator River near the village of Tramasquococoock, 50 miles from Roanoke Island (figure 25.) I learned of this location from the John Farrar map of 1651 which shows a sassafras tree (figure 26.) The ‘*Saffrafras tree*’ at the bend of the Alligator River is the only labeled tree on the entire map. Because he was Thomas Harriot’s friend, it is quite possible that Ferrar had a copy of Harriot’s unpublished journal and learned the location of the sassafras trees from it. Ralegh kept the sassafras location secret for many years, but Farrar’s map was published after sassafras had been found in much of North America and the need for secrecy had passed.

John White’s narrative of the 1587 voyage and Harriot’s *Brief and True Report* maintained Ralegh’s suppression and distortion. The location of sassafras near Beechland was suppressed in the Roanoak voyage maps. All of the narratives avoided mention of Tramasquococoock village. Lane and Harriot wrote of sassafras as only one of many promising commodities. However, Thomas Harriot wrote that he had information about “*Two more commodities of great value one of certaintie, and the other in hope I might have specified,***

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17 Fred Willard found this sassafras tree map and brought it to my attention. Farrar’s 1651 “A mapp of Virginia discovered to ye Hill” is found in Edward Williams and John Ferrar, *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia richly and truly valued* (London: Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Stephenson, and are to be sold at his shop, 1651)

18 In John White’s 1587 map, Tramasquococoock was on the southeast side of the river; but in the 1590 White de Bry map it was located to the northwest side.
but because others then welwillers might bee therewithall acquainted. . . I have wittingly omitted them”\textsuperscript{19} The commodity in hope was either silk grass or silk worms, and the commodity of certainty was surely sassafras. Harriot promised to say more when he was allowed to publish his journal, which has never been found.\textsuperscript{20}

After John White’s 1590 voyage, Ralegh sent a ship six times to “search for the colonists” and they brought back sassafras.\textsuperscript{21} Ralegh made the unlikely claim in each case that they did not reach the colonists because they were not able to reach Croatoan Island. I cannot be sure that the voyages sent by Ralegh after 1597 reached the colonists, resupplied them, and returned with a full cargo of sassafras; but I believe that they did. The early Roanoke voyages may have needed an experienced pilot such as Simon Fernando to guide them, but many ships reached Croatoan Island later without his guidance. In 1585, the \textit{Lion}, under Captain Raymond arrived at Croatoan Island before Sir Richard Granville’s fleet. In 1586, Sir Francis Drake’s fleet found its way to Croatoan Island. A supply ship reached Roanoke Island after Lane had departed with Drake for England, and Sir Richard Granville arrived shortly thereafter. In 1587, Captain Edward Spicer’s flyboat found its way to Roanoke Island, surprising Fernando with his navigational skill “\textit{for that he never had beene


\textsuperscript{20} In a class paper, Willard proposed that the 1587 colonists were meant all along to remain with the Croatan and not continue on to Chesapeake Bay, and I now agree with him. Willard has also found evidence suggesting that Farrar learned of the location of the Tramasquocock from Thomas Harriot’s unpublished manuscript. Fred Willard “Raleigh’s 1587 Lost Colony: Conspiracy, Spies, Secrets & Lies” (2009) \textit{Lost Colony Center for Science and Research}, Web July 15, 2010:

\textsuperscript{21} Brereton, \textit{A Briefe and True Relation}, 14
in Virginia.” Finally, the three ships with John White in 1590 arrived safely at Hatteras (Fernando) Inlet after first sounding the depths off Croatoan Island.

The ships sent by Sir Walter Ralegh after 1590 knew the latitude of Croatoan Island, and they would have seen Cape Hatteras protruding from the Croatoan Island shoreline. (See figure 24, The Capes of North Carolina, in Chapter 3.) It is inconceivable that all six ships could have missed Cape Hatteras. Quinn noted Ralegh’s small expeditions and stated: “It was natural that he would have focused this search on Croatoan since this was a precise location to which some were known in 1590 to have gone.” They would only need to find Croatoan Island to be met by some of the colonists and the Croatan.

A cargo of sassafras could have been waiting at Croatoan Island, brought around from Tramasquoccock in the pinnace. Ralegh’s ships could have delivered supplies and perhaps some additional colonists.

Thomas Harriot provided the following list of supplies for Mace’s voyage of 1602.

“Whether [weather] compasses or diales [running glasses]
Copper not brasse 20 or 30 pound in plates some as thin as paper and small and great.
lead and powder, powder and shot.
Sheres, Sawes.
clothes for men. Booke of voyages.
Copper in plates.
A Payne of glass, An [and] punches”

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22 “. . . Fernando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for he purposely left them in the Baye of Portingall. . . . [expecting that] they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.” White, First Colonists, 98.

23 Quinn, ed., Set Fair, 354.

This list contained copper, knives, and possibly other items for trade with the Croatan. Lead, powder, shot, clothes, and a pane of glass would surely have been for the colonists. Power and shot would be especially important to maintain Croatan-English superiority in the region. Mattocks, iron shovels, and hatchets would be needed for harvesting sassafras and farming. Shears and saws would be needed by the colonists in their homes. The compasses, running glasses, and book of voyages would probably remain on the ship. These same items might have been used to trade and collect sassafras at any other place, but the pane of glass suggests these items were for the colonists, although there is an absence of items specifically for women.

My Beechland hypothesis assumes that the colonists began their move into the mainland soon after John White departed in 1587. Probably fifteen or twenty colonists remained on Croatoan Island to watch for the arrival of friendly or enemy ships, as Master Stafford had done in 1586. The others would have left Roanoke Island by water and traveled “50 miles into the maine.” All of the colonists could not have left immediately after John White’s departure because transport was limited. They had a pinnace, at least one boat, and Croatan canoes to move 117 colonists, household goods, weapons and armor, livestock, food, and houses. John White’s report of his visit in 1590 states “. . . we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe.” 25 We

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may thus assume that the colonists took their Roanoke Island houses with them to reassemble at their destinations.

Quinn estimated the number of trips that would be required if the colonists went to Chesapeake after White’s departure, and his estimate would work as well for a move down the Alligator River. The pinnace would have a capacity of about twenty tons. Using two chests per assistant and one for each of the others, they would have about 120 chests. At 100 pounds per chest, that would mean 12,000 pounds or 6 tons of personal belongings. Similar calculations for tools, implements, and weapons added 15 tons and food added another 25 tons. Human cargo then added another 6. If they had livestock with them or found animals left by Ralph Lane, that bulk would be added. Additional trips would be necessary to transport the houses that were taken down and moved. Even with the help of the boats and canoes, the pinnace would need to make no less that six to eight trips of as much as a week each.

Because the colonists arrived during a period of extreme drought, it is likely that they would have been separated into several villages to reduce their impact on the Croatan food supply. The trips of the pinnace and boats to each village would have been carefully planned. Each trip would have transported the people, goods, livestock, and houses destined for one village. As each trip was made, the people remaining would believe that the danger of attack by the Indians loyal to Wanchese had increased. To protect those who remained, the colonists constructed a palisade. In 1590, John White found the houses gone but “the place

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26 Quinn, *Set Fair*, 126.
very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like.”[^27]

![Map of Albemarle Sound](image)

*Figure 27 - Path of the Colonists 50 miles into the mainland with the Croatan*

[^27]: White, *First Colonists*, 126.
Eventually all had moved to their intended destinations, leaving behind the palisade, Lane’s abandoned heavy weapons and iron bars, John White’s chests, and signs to lead White to the Croatan. Figure 27 shows the path the colonists might have taken into the Croatan villages around the Alligator River. Some of the colonists would have been taken to Tramasquocooock and others to the Little Alligator, Brier Hall, Laurel Bay, and Sandy Ridge and later to Beechland (figure 27.) We have some archaeological and anthropological evidence for the sites on the Dare County peninsula. The 1982 Prulean Farms Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) required that an archaeological survey be completed before the development of the proposed 22,000 acre farm could proceed. I requested Dr. David Phelps’ assistance in satisfying North Carolina Historic Preservation Office requirements, and he provided a preliminary assessment based on his past research. Dr. Phelps advised of the potential for prehistoric sites within the Prulean Farms property wherever there are mineral soils relatively close to stream systems. He identified Brier Hall and Laurel Bay within the Prulean Farms project area as having the potential for transient Indian camps, and Sandy Ridge as potentially a major Indian village. He offered no historical, oral, and/or archaeological evidence for the Little Alligator village, but he said the site has the same characteristics as the Briar Hall and Laurel Bay sites. Phelps also expected to find villages of the 1584 -1650 period at Mann’s Harbor, and Tramasquocooock outside of the Prulean Farms area.

Dr. Phelps recommended Carolina Archaeological Services (CAS) for the reconnaissance-level archeological study.²⁹ CAS first examined Brier Hall, Laurel Bay and Sandy Ridge. They identified Sandy Ridge as the most important of these villages in both pre-historic and historic periods.³⁰ Figure 28 shows the sites of archaeological significance identified by CAS at Sandy Ridge and figure 29 shows those at Beechland, which was primarily an English cultural community. ³¹ CAS recommended that both Beechland units “should be considered archaeologically and historically extremely sensitive.”³²

Figure 28- Archaeological Sites at Sandy Ridge  /  Figure 29- Archaeological Sites at Beechland

²⁹ David Sutton Phelps, “Archaeological Potential of the Prulean Farms Project Area” (East Carolina University: Unpublished manuscript prepared for Prulean Farms, 1981)
³² Carolina Archaeological Services, Cultural Resources Reconnaissance, 6.
I believe that the colonists were escorted into the mainland by the Croatan who had taken control of the land in which Beechland and Tramasquocooock were located. The Croatan took control of the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula between the Alligator River and Roanoke Island and held it with the help of the colonists and their weapons. After George Howe was “slaine by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke, with whom Wanchese kept companie,” the Secotan abandoned Dasamonquepeuc.33 The Croatan then occupied the abandoned Dasamonquepeuc village, and White declared Manteo ‘Lord of Dasamonquepeiuic and Roanoak’ for his faithful service.34 The Croatan, supported by the colonists and their weapons, were then in possession of Dasamonquepeuc. But what was Dasamonquepeuc?

I had always assumed that Dasamonquepeuc was a single village – present day Manns Harbor. However, Dasamonquepeuc included all of the present day Dare County mainland and possibly both sides of the Alligator River. Dasamonquepeuc in Algonquin meant “where there is an expanded land surface separated by water.”35 Dasamonquepeuc thus may have included all of the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula, but I will call only the current Dare mainland as the ‘Croatan Peninsula.’36

33 White, First Colonists, 100.
34 “The 13. of August, our Savage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord therof, and of Dasamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull service, installed Manteo as sub-lord in place of Wingina.” White, First Colonists, 102.
36 This has been noted by three other authors: Scott Dawson, Croatoan: Birthplace of America, (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2009) 63; Fred Willard, The Machapungo Indians and the Barbados Connection 1663 to 1840, (Directed Studies in History, East Carolina University, 2008) 18; and Stephen B.
Historian Stephen B. Weeks, a proponent of the Lumbee hypothesis, argued that the colonists went first to the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula with the ‘Hatteras’ Indians of Croatoan Island before they continued on to the Lumbee River.\(^{37}\) Dr. Weeks was the first professional North Carolina historian, and his collection of 9,000 books became the nucleus of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina.\(^{38}\) In his 1891 article about the fate of the abandoned colony, Dr. Weeks explained that Dasamonquepeuc was a peninsula and that the Hatteras Indians from Croatoan Island were there:

It is probable, then, that . . . the Hatteras Indians having abandoned their residence on Croatan Island, and the English colonists having given up their settlements on Roanoke Island, both settled on the fertile peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk, which the Hatteras tribe had already claimed and partly occupied, but which they had not been able to defend against enemies. The name of their former place of residence followed the tribe, was applied to their new home, and thus got into the later maps . . . [that] located Croatan on the mainland, just opposite Roanoke Island, in the present counties of Dare, Tyrrell, and Hyde. It is marked thus on Ogilby's map, published by the Lords Proprietors in 1671, on Morden's map of 1687, and on Lawson's map, published in 1709.\(^{39}\)

As Weeks claimed, the name ‘Croatan’ is found on many of the maps of the peninsula published between 1600 and 1800. I have examined the maps to which Weeks referred and found others similarly marked. The first to place ‘Croatan’ on the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula was A New Description of Carolina drawn by John Ogilby around 1672 for the Lord’s Proprietors. The Ogilby map in figure 30 has the name Croatan

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\(^{37}\) After Chacandopeca Inlet closed, the two islands combined leaving only Hatteras Island and thereafter its Croatoan Island natives were called the Hatteras Indians.


prominently displayed. Appendix B, The Croatan Peninsula, contains seven other historical maps that identify all or part of the peninsula as Croatan.

Figure 30 - John Ogilby’s A New Description of Carolina, c.1672

There is a popular misconception that that the colonists would not have relocated on the Croatan peninsula because it was nothing more than swamps and marshes. The U.S Fish & Wildlife Service recognizing this misconception in their refuge brochure: “Long ago, the area that now comprises Alligator River National Wildlife Refuge was considered by most people to be a vast wasteland.” No surveyors entered the ‘vast wasteland’ to learn what might be there before 1800, and few ventured in afterwards. Surveyors preferred to observe from the water and were unaware of the productive sandy ridges between the swampy areas. The Mouzon map in figure 31 has ‘Great Alligator Dismal Swamp’ across the Croatan peninsula. Cartographers for the US Coast Survey continued the mistaken impression

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through 1860 in figure 32. Because of the misleading maps, lost colony theorists overlooked the entire mainland between the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds as destinations for the abandoned colonists.

![Figure 31 - 1775 Mouzon Map](image1) ![Figure 32 - US Coast Survey Map 1860](image2)

Unlike Quinn and the cartographers of figures 31 and 32, Thomas Harriot and Arthur Barlow observed excellent soil on the mainland beyond the Outer Banks islands. To Arthur Barlow’s exaggerated statement that, “The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome of all the world,” David Quinn responded that “while cleared patches of ground along the sounds were, and are, very fertile, the greater part of the mainland accessible from the sounds was swamp or swamp-forest.”[^5] But Harriot stated that: “farther into the maine and countrey; we found the soyle to bee fatter; the trees greater; the grounde more firme and deeper mould; finer grasse and as good as ever we saw in England.”[^6]

Harriot’s statement applied to most of the excellent soils around the waterways of the Albemarle Sound region, and the Croatan peninsula was not an exception. Soil samples taken by the Prulean Farms blacklands soils expert identified 22,000 acres of excellent row crops soil within the approximately 90,000 acres of the peninsula. About 7,000 acres were cleared and are still in production within the Alligator River National Wildlife Refuge. Appendix B, *The Croatan Peninsula*, explains the drought-resistant row crop potential of the peninsula in greater detail. That potential explains why the Croatan peninsula and the western side of the Alligator River were excellent places for the abandoned colonists to seek shelter in a severe drought year.

If the colonists left Roanoke Island without any further loss of life, there would have been 80 men without wives, eleven husbands and wives without children, and two families with one child each.\(^{43}\) Even before it became apparent that they would not be relieved by John White, the 80 men without wives are likely to have taken up with Croatan women and become comfortable with Croatan culture. Crops would have been planted at each of the villages, and the Croatan would have helped the colonists hunt, fish, and harvest edible roots while waiting for the harvest. The land was rich in deer, bear, and smaller game such as raccoon, opossum, squirrel, rabbit, muskrat, mink and otter. Because the land was dryer and the large tree canopy reduced the undergrowth, travel through the woods was much easier than today. Wild turkeys were in the trees, and migratory water fowl crossed the mainland in

season. Fish could be taken in the small freshwater streams and crabs in the nearby rivers and sounds. Oysters and clams were close by in Long Shoal Bay, as well as fresh shrimp, shellfish and varieties of table fish.\textsuperscript{44} There was a ‘flax field’ near Beechland where the native flax observed by Hariot could be made into clothing. Game was important not only for food but for hides. Shoes and outer clothing were made from tanned skins.\textsuperscript{45}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure33.png}
\caption{Locations of Sandy Ridge and Beechland on Milltail Creek.}
\end{figure}

Milltail Creek (figure 33) is wide in some places, but its entrance from the Alligator River is narrow and disguised by overgrowth. As it is far down Milltail Creek, Sandy Ridge would have provided safety from Spanish invaders and fairly effective protection from

\textsuperscript{44}“In an article in The Coastland Times, Victor Meekins wrote that there was a footpath from Beechland to Long Shoal River, a path so walked for many years until its location was easily discernible. In several places pegged wooden bridges crossed streams or marshes too wide for the traveler to jump across. This was the path taken by the settlers as they went to Long Shoal Bay for their oysters, clams and shrimp.” Mary Wood Long, \textit{The Five Lost Colonies of Dare} (Elizabeth City, NC: Family Research Center) 50.

\textsuperscript{45}Long, \textit{Five Lost Colonies}, 44.
enemy Indians. Colonists there would have had access to productive row crop lands as well as excellent hunting and fishing. The distance from Roanoke Island is about 50 miles by water, but figure 33 shows that it is no more than 12 miles by land. A five mile trek through the woods would take the colonists to Spencer Creek where a canoe would take them to Roanoke Island—or they could have jumped across on the many small islands that no longer exist between Roanoke Island and the mainland. Milltail Creek is deep enough for a small ship such as the colonists’ pinnace. Colonists could have sailed and rowed between Tramasquocooock, Sandy Ridge, and Roanoke Island,—or gone further to the Weapemeoc, Chawanook, Chesapioc, and Croatoan Island.

![Figure 34 - Location of Buck Ridge](image)

The location of Tramasquocooock is uncertain because it was placed to the south of the Alligator River in White’s 1585 maps and to the north in his 1590 map. Fred Willard and his associates with the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research are continuing to search for
the village on both sides of the Alligator. Local residents led them to a known Indian site called ‘Buck Ridge’ in figure 34 near the Tyrrell County community of Gum Neck at the south bend of the Alligator River. Willard has since investigated sandy ridges on the south side of the river. One of his objectives is to find the location of the sassafras trees that attracted the colonists to Tramasquocook. While single men might have gone to Croatoan Island and to Tramasquocook, families are more likely to have been with the group at Sandy Ridge. The married colonists would have wanted to establish an English culture apart from the Croatan villages. If the legends of Beechland are to be believed, the colonists’ families rowed a short way down the Milltail from Sandy Ridge and walked less than a mile to a new sandy ridge with excellent stands of timber. There they were even better hidden than at Sandy Ridge. With the tools they had brought with them, they felled timber and cleared land more efficiently than the Indian were able to do, using their burning methods. After planting crops and building rough houses, the planters moved their families from Sandy Ridge to Beechland.

When Ralegh resumed the sassafras voyages in 1597, supplies and Indian trade goods would have been brought over for the colonists. The ships may also have brought additional family members and neighbors of the original colonists. Some may even have been wives and children left behind by the men who came over alone. Others newcomers may have added to the names that would later be associated with the Beechland community. I believe that the colony was not completely abandoned until Ralegh was beheaded. When Jamestown was settled, the Virginia Company ordered their ships captains to locate the colonists; but
their efforts were minimal and unrewarded. Because of Ralegh’s secrecy about the location of the colony and the sassafras, no Englishman reported a visit to Roanoke Island again until 1651.  

Chapter 5

COMPETING HYPOTHESES

What happened to the lost colony of Roanoke? Theories, theories, theories, a dozen different ones at least, each backed by shreds of evidence or purported logic. . . . the fate of the lost colonists remains as much a mystery today as it was when John White departed from the Banks in late August of 1590. \(^1\)

Hardly a year goes by without someone publishing a book with a new hypothesis about the fate of the abandoned colony. \(^2\) The more reasonable ones deserve testing against the primary sources described in the previous chapters. In *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama, the colonists abandon Roanoke Island because they are warned that a Spanish fleet is approaching. \(^3\) Hypotheses are usually as difficult to disprove as to prove; but, at least in the case of the *Lost Colony* drama, Spanish archives state that no Spanish fleet was sent to eliminate the colony. \(^4\) I have not bothered to disprove speculations that all the colonists died in a hurricane, succumbed to disease, tried to sail back to England, or starved to death. \(^5\) Also, I find it unlikely that the colonists were slaughtered by the Powhatan of Tidewater Virginia—as I will explain below.

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\(^3\) “An thus the Lost Colony disappeared into the vast unknown—out of our sight forever—some of them to be slaughtered by the Spaniards, others to die in the forest, and still others to live forgotten with the Indians.” Paul Green, *The Lost Colony: An Outdoor Play in Two Acts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937) 129.

\(^4\) See Chapter 3, page 80.

Two critical questions should be asked of any hypothesis about the fate of the colonists. First, how does it account for the signs left for John White that indicate the colonists were with the Croatan? The Croatan were in frequent contact with the English during the Roanoke voyages from 1584 through 1587. The narratives suggest that the Croatan were a smaller tribe than the Secotan confederation when Amadas and Barlowe arrived. However, Barlowe reported that the Secotan under Wingina had been weakened by their constant wars. They were further weakened by Ralph Lane’s assault and by the diseases spread by the Englishmen. Given the severely reduced strength of the Secotan, the Croatan’s relative strength would have increased – even though they too must have experienced losses from disease. Manteo and the Croatan were certainly critical to the fate of the colonists. When allied with John White’s colonists and weapons, the Croatan would have become stronger than any of the Indian confederations in the Albemarle and Pamlico regions. We know that Granganameo proposed a military alliance to Amadas and Barlowe, Menatonon proposed an alliance to Lane, and Manteo surely allied with the colonists after he became King of Dasamonquepeuc and Roanoke Island. When John White returned in 1590, he was not surprised to see ‘Cro’ on a tree and ‘Croatoan’ on a palisade post. White fully expected that, if he had been able to reach Croatoan Island, he would have found his colony or at least learned where they had gone. Therefore, the Croatan’s relationships to the colonists must be part of any viable hypothesis.

The second critical question is: how does the hypothesis account for the colonists’ plan to move ‘50 miles into the maine’? John White reported that the colonists intended to move “fifty miles into the maine” in narratives of both his 1587 and his 1590 voyage. Figure
36 show a 50 mile radius from Roanoke Island. To the satellite photograph in figure 36, I have added the villages identified by the Roanoke voyage narratives and a circle of 50 miles around Roanoke Island. Somewhere within or not far beyond the circle was the intended destination of the abandoned colonists. Pomeiock and Aquascogoc on the north shore of the Pamlico Sound are approximately 50 miles from Roanoke Island, but they were Secotan villages. Above the Albemarle Sound the Weapemeoc villages of Chepanuu and Mascoming are reasonably close to 50 miles from Roanoke Island. The Chesapioc and Chowanook villages lie well beyond the 50 mile arc.

![Figure 36 – Villages ‘50 Miles Into the Maine’](image)
Most published Lost Colony hypotheses concede that some of the colonists went to Croatoan Island in 1587; but, except for Scott Dawson, most don’t accept it as the colonists’ primary destination. Historians Christopher Crittenden, William S. Powell, and David Beers Quinn participated in a Manteo conference on the Lost Colony in 1959. It was moderated by author David Stick who invited them to debate the fate of the colonists. Agreeing that some of the colonists moved to Croatoan Island, the historians debated whether the others had gone west to the Chowan River, north to Chesapeake Bay, or south to Robeson County where they became the Lumbee tribe. The historians could not agree on a single hypothesis at the conference, but David and Alison Quinn proposed in Their Fortune and Probable Fate and in Set Fair for Roanoke that most of the colonists moved north to live with the Chesapioc. They point to the expedition Ralph Lane sent to Chesapeake Bay in the winter of 1585-86 that brought back favorable reports of the Chesapioc territory. They believe that Ralegh’s gave direction to the 1587 colonists to settle on Chesapeake Bay. They present a well developed scenario for the move that explains exactly how it could have taken place. The Quinns’ hypothesis has been accepted by a number of historians, including David Durant and Karen Kupperman.

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6 The conference proceedings were not published, but they were discussed on the following web site: “Legends of North Carolina” (nd) North Carolina Museum of History, Web June 15, 2009.

7 David B. and Alison M. Quinn, eds., The Lost Colonists: Their Fortune and Probable Fate (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1984); Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, Chapter 19.

8 “So the colony lived on, most likely on the southern shore of Chesapeake Bay, in the territory of the Chesepian tribe;” David N. Durant, Raleigh’s Lost Colony (New York: Atheneum 1981) 158. “Probably the bulk of the colonists did go to Chesapeake Bay and lived there in peace with the Indians for 20 years.” Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony (Savage, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1984) 136.
It is reasonable to consider that the colonists who had been abandoned on Roanoke Island might attempt to reach Chesapeake Bay where they were told to settle, but I do not believe that was their destination in 1587. The Chesapioc villages were much more than 50 miles away, and the expedition traveled north and not “into the maine.” Although the straight line distance from Roanoke Island to the Elizabeth River (Norfolk) is between 85 and 90 miles, Lane reported that this expedition traveled 130 miles.\(^9\) I also disagree with the Quinns’ claim that the colonists were friendly with the Chesapioc. Ralph Lane reported that the Chesapioc were willing to take Wingina’s copper to fight the English. “At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio.”\(^10\) Also, the Chesapioc hypothesis undervalues the important role of Manteo and the Croatan. There were two clear signs concerning the Croatan, but no message was left to suggest they went to Chesapeake Bay.

It is also troubling that Jamestown settlers heard no rumors that the colonists had lived with the Chesapioc and that no archaeological evidence was found in the Chesapioc villages.\(^11\) Quinn explained away these inconsistencies in his hypothesis by proposing that the Chesapioc and most of the colonists were slaughtered by the Powhatan shortly before the Jamestown colony arrived, and evidence of the colonists in the Chesapioc village was then removed or destroyed. We know that the Powhatan did not attempt to hide their actions when they wiped out a Spanish mission, killed Englishmen who dared to go outside the Jamestown

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\(^10\) Lane, *Set Fair*, 38.

\(^11\) Quinn, *Set Fair*, 352.
fort unprotected, and tried twice to eliminate all of the Englishmen. There is little reason to think they would hide the killing of the abandoned colonists if they had done so.

One source for Quinn’s proposal that they were slaughtered is Williams Strachey, secretary to the Jamestown colony, who wrote in 1609: “. . . the men, women, and children of the first plantation at Roanoak were by praxitze and comaunderment of Powhatan (he himself persuwad therunto by his priests) miserably slaughtered.”12 Strachey also wrote that Powhatan’s priests predicted that the Chesapioc would grow strong enough to defeat him, and Powhatan struck them down before they gained such strength.

[H]is priests told him how that from the Chesapeack Bay a nation should arise which should dissolve and give end to his empire . . . according to the ancienyt and gentile customs, he destroyed and put to sword all such who might lye under any doubtful construccion of the said prophyse, as all the inhabitant,. . . of that province, and so remayne all the Chessiopeians at this daye, and for this cause extinct.13

Another source for Quinn was Samuel Purchas who wrote in 1625 that "Powhatan confessed to Captain Smith that he had been at their slaughter and had divers utensils to show."14 This after-the-fact evidence is weak as other have acknowledged. Helen C. Roundtree, Thomas C. Paramore, James Horn, and Lee Miller accept that there was a slaughter, but they don’t believe the colonists were slaughtered on Chesapeake Bay.15

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12 William Strachey, The History of Travaile into Virginia, (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1533-1616) 86.
13 Note that there is no mention in this quote of the colonists. Strachey, The History of Travaile, 101.
14 Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his pilgrims (London: W. Stansby for H. Fetherston, 1625. Volume IV.)
Neither Purchas nor Strachey claimed that the 1587 colonists were in Chesapeake or that they were slaughtered when the Powhatan slaughtered the Chesapioc. Paramore wrote: “Strachey promises, early in his 1612 history of Jamestown, to reveal the colonists' ‘miserable and untymely destiny.’ But Strachey fails to say that they settled among the Chesapioc or even left Roanoke territory.”\(^{16}\) Similarly, Roundtree states: "... at no point does [Strachey] indicate any connection between the Roanoke colonists and the obliterated Chesapeakes."\(^{17}\)

Strachey makes frequent reference to a slaughter of the colonists at ‘Roanoke’ but never at Chesapeake. He wrote: “... as they have done to our other colony at Roanoak;” and “... those Englishe who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak;” and “... to offer us a taste of the same cuppe which he made our poore countrymen drinck of at Roanoak.”\(^{18}\) William Powell explained that “In order to distinguish between the new colony of Virginia centered in Jamestown and Ralegh’s Virginia, the name Roanoke was frequently used for the older area.”\(^{19}\) Paramore points out that Nathaniel Batts boasted of having served as "governor of Roanoak."\(^{20}\) He also points to early maps that labeled present day Albemarle Sound as the ‘Sea of Roanoke’\(^{21}\) and as ‘Roanoke Sound.’\(^{22}\) Therefore, there is no reason to believe that by ‘at Roanoak’ Strachey meant ‘at Chesapeake.’

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\(^{17}\) Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 21-22.

\(^{18}\) Strachey, History of Travaile, 26, 20, 50, respectively.


\(^{21}\) Paramore, “Lost Colony found,” 68.
It is not certain where Strachey received his information (or rumor) about the
slaughter of the colonists, but it is not hard to understand why he repeated it so often.\textsuperscript{23} King
James I wished to finally eliminate the Powhatan threat to Jamestown.\textsuperscript{24} Strachey was
apparently given the task of writing a justification for ending the dominance of the Powhatan
and laying claim to all ‘Virginia’.\textsuperscript{25} He wrote that the evil priests who had caused the
Powhatan to slaughter the colonists at Roanoke must be killed, the Powhatan king must be
weakened, and the Powhatan must be converted to Christianity. The accusation that the
Powhatan slaughtered the colonists gave Strachey the event he needed to justify the attack
that James I had ordered against Powhatan. Roundtree wrote that “Powhatan was unaware
that he was now being officially charged by the Virginia Company with the extermination of
the ‘Lost Colonists.’ It did not matter whether or not all of them had died violently (the
Carolina tribes never said that) or whether he had ever been in contact with them (the earlier
records give no hint of it.) He had been accused, and his adversary arrived primed to see him
as a criminal.” \textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{22} Nicholas Comberford's 1657 map, "The South Part of Virginia," Cumming, Southeast in Early Maps,
plate 32.

\textsuperscript{23} Strachey may have received his information in London from a Powhatan named Machumps. “The most
likely candidate is a shadowy Indian called Machumps, who may have learned of the slaughter from his sister,
Winganuske, one of Wahunsonocock’s favorite wives, or from other relatives close to the great chief.” James
Horn, A Land as God Made It, 144. Lee Miller also supposes that Strachey may have received his information

\textsuperscript{24} Horn thinks there was sufficient motivation to eliminate the Powhatan without inventing the excuse of a
slaughter of the colonists. Horn, A Land As God Made It, 99.

\textsuperscript{25} “Wherein . . . , the [ancient] right and clayne which we make to this part of America, and therin bothe the
objections answered and doubts cleiry satisfied of such who, through malle, or ignorance, either have or
hereafter may call the lawfulness of the proceeding hereof in question:” Strachey, History of Travaile, 2.

\textsuperscript{26} Roundtree, Pocahontas's People, 148.
One Jamestown official, John Pory, did not accept Strachey’s contention that the colonists had been slaughtered. 27 Strachey’s contention might have been part of a scheme to eliminate Ralegh’s remaining claim to ‘Virginia’. If Pory found that the colony still existed, Ralegh’s patent would have been reinstated, undermining the claim of the Virginia Company. Pory was Sir Walter Ralegh’s friend, and Pory was probably related to a man named Ellis and his son who were among the abandoned colonists. 28 Ignoring Strachey’s claim, Pory renewed his search for the colonists in 1622 after the devastating attack of the Powhatan on Jamestown in 1620. Pory may have visited the Chawanook and was closer to the colonists than he realized. 29

Jamestown was too weak to carry out King James’s order to attack the Powhatan in 1609, but the orders were renewed after Powhatan attacks in 1620. Reverend Purchas then provided written justification for subduing the Powhatan, using copious references to scripture. It was in this context that Purchas wrote of the slaughter at Roanoke and the need to revenge the dead. There is reason to question Purchas’ 1625 statement that "Powhatan confessed to Captain Smith that he had been at their slaughter and had divers utensils to show" 30 Captain John Smith was a captive of Wahunsonacock, the Powhatan King, and his brother Opechancanough for part of 1607 and communicated with them using his limited knowledge of their language. Smith wrote that he had been told that some colonists were still alive, but he never wrote that Wahunsonacock had told him about the slaughter of the 1587

27 Lee Miller, Roanoke, 224.
29 Miller, Roanoke,225-26.
30 Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, 1813.
colonists. Therefore, it appears unlikely that Purchas’ statement came directly from John Smith. Smith sent a sketch map (later called the Zuniga map) to the Virginia Company in 1608 that suggesting that some of the abandoned colonists were in two locations west of Roanoke Island. After receiving Smith’s report, the Virginia Company ordered the next Jamestown ship under Captain Newport to bring back one of the colonists.

The Royal Council of Virginia wrote to Jamestown in 1609: “you will find four of the English alive, left by Sir Walter Rawley, which escaped from the slaughter of Powhatan of Roanoke upon the first arrival of our colony.” What do they mean by ‘first arrival’ and by the ‘Powhatan of Roanoke’? Strachey said that the early Jamestown settlers assumed the King of the Powhatan Confederation was named Powhatan, but the king said the name by which he was called by his subjects was ‘Wahunsonacock’. Powhatan was the name of a village near the falls of the James River where Wahunsonacock first lived. ‘Powhatan of Roanoke’ must have been a different person than the King of the Powhatan Confederation. Lee Miller interprets the meaning of Powhatan to be from ‘otani’ or town, and ‘pauwau’, a wise speaker. In other words, Powhatan may have referred to ‘the town of one who speaks

32 This map became know as the Zuniga map for the Spanish ambassador who brought it to King Philip III of Spain. Horn, A Land as God Made It, 101. See my analysis of the map in Appendix A.
33 From an order given by the Royal Council for Virginia in May 1609 to Sir Thomas Gates to have a further settlement made farther south in modern North Carolina. Quinn, Set Fair, 372.
34 “Powhatan: his owne people sometimes call him Ottaniack, sometime Mamanatowick, which last signifies “great king”; but his proper right name, which they salute him with (himself in peresence) is WA-HUN-SE-NA-CA-WH.” Strachey, History of Travaile, 48.
35 “Powhatan of Roanoke’ may not have been Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas.” Frances S. Nichols, Essays in historical anthropology of North America, (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, n.d.) 130.
36 Lee Miller, Roanoke, 234.
wisely’ (or possibly a priest.) From this reasoning she concludes that ‘Powhatan of Roanoke’ refers to a king of Roanoke where the slaughter occurred.

The evidence that Wahunsonacock arranged for the slaughter of the colonists on Chesapeake Bay or anywhere else is remarkably weak. However, something must have happened to some Englishmen at a place called Roanoke. Could it be that Wanchese, the ‘Powhatan of Roanoke,’ was responsible for the Roanoke slaughter that Strachey and Purchas wrote about? Wanchese was involved in a ‘slaughter at Roanoke’ found in the narratives of the Roanoke voyages. He led the assault on the 15 men left on Roanoke Island by Grenville who had led the ‘first arrival of our colony.’ With the death of at least two of the men and the disorganized retreat of the survivors, the Secotan could have boasted that their complete defeat of the Englishmen was a slaughter.\(^{37}\) The news of this ‘slaughter’ would have reached Wahunsonacock in present day Virginia. It is possible that the “four of the English alive, left by Sir Walter Rawley, which escaped from the slaughter of Powhatan of Roanoke” were survivors of the attack by Wanchese, the Powhatan of Roanoke.\(^{38}\)

Even those historians who accept Strachey’s claim that the abandoned colonists were slaughtered believe that some colonists escaped. Some prefer the Chowan River shoreline as the colonists destination because of the Zuniga map in figure 37, which suggests that some of

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\(^{37}\) Scott Dawson’s *Croatoan* reached the same conclusion on page 165. Also, during the 1603 voyage of Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, all who went ashore were killed by the Indians. Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890) 27.

\(^{38}\) However, there are many other candidates. The large number of abandoned people includes 30 men abandoned on Croatoan Island in 1585, 4 men left behind when Lane left with Drake in 1586, 13 survivors of Wanchese’ attack, and the men of White’s abandoned 1587 colony. Some Jamestown colonists were also known to have slipped away from their colony to live with the Indians, and may have gone to the Chowan River.
the escaped colonists were there.\textsuperscript{39} As I discuss in Appendix A, the map leaves much to the geographic imagination of the reader; but it states specifically that some white men were in John Smith’s ‘Ould Virginia.’ In both \textit{A Kingdom Strange} and \textit{A Land as God Made It}, James Horn joins Lee Miller and Thomas Paramore in developing hypotheses that lean heavily on the Zuniga map and other Jamestown-related reports of surviving colonists.

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{zuniga_map.png}
\end{center}

\textit{Figure 37 - The Zuniga Map as Interpreted by Ashe.}\textsuperscript{40}

The first relevant report from Jamestown about the colonists was that given to John Smith by Opechancanough, his Powhatan captor. Smith wrote that he was told of, “\textit{certain

\textsuperscript{39} Zuniga Map 1609. The original is in the Archivo General de Simancas, M.P.D., IV-66, XIX-153; reproduced in Barbour, \textit{Jamestown}, I, facing p. 238. It was first published in the United States with commentary by Alexander Brown, \textit{Genesis of the United States}.

\textsuperscript{40} This map is the portion of the Zuniga map showing ‘Ould Virginia.’ The writing on the map above has been inverted and the print enlarger for easier reading. Samuel A’ Court Ashe, \textit{History of North Carolina, Vol. I} (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908) 42.
men clothed at a place called Ocanahonan, clothed like me.”

Smith was then taken to King Wahunsonacock who also said there were men like Smith at Ocanahonan and houses at “Anone” like those of the English. Smith then persuaded Wowinchpunck, chief of the Papaheggs tribe of the Powhatan confederation, to lead an expedition to the south. Smith complained that the expedition returned after only three or four days and could not have reached the place where the colonists were reported. Horn suggests they had gone to the Chowan River where they received some new information from the Chawanook that placed colonists at three places on the Zuniga map. Horn’s interpretation of the Zuniga map would place colonists at Panawicke on Salmon Creek, Pakerakanick on the Tar River, and Ocanahonan along the Roanoke River.

Smith sent two other expeditions to the Chowan River region. Michael Sicklemore went to ‘Chowanoke’ and his report led Smith to write that there was “little hope and less certainty of them were left by Sir Walter Rawley.”

Machumps, a Powhatan, claimed to Strachey that there were English houses at Ocanahonan and Pakerakanick built by those who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak. To Horn, “The slaughter explained why the two expeditions dispatched by Smith from Jamestown had been unable to make contact with the settlers.”

In 1609, after Smith sent out Powell and Todkill, Smith wrote, “Nothing we could learn but they were all dead.”

However, the Virginia Company would soon report that two men had discovered signs that survivors were living within 50 miles of Jamestown.

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41 Horn, Kingdom Strange, 206.
42 Horn, Kingdom Strange, 215-16.
43 Horn, Kingdom Strange, 218.
44 Horn, Kingdom Strange, 222.
Horn bases his hypothesis primarily on the above evidence collected by Smith and Strachey. He proposed that: “When White sailed for England in August 1587, the settlers had already decided that they should leave Roanoke Island and journey inland to the land of the Chowanocs.” 45 Their reasons for moving were to avoid another attack by the Secotan and to be out of reach of the Spaniards. Horn’s chosen location was Metackwem on the Salmon Creek, a location near the one that Paramore had selected. My disagreement with Horn is that he gives too little attention to the Croatan and the limit of 50 miles into the maine. However, it is not out of the question that some of the colonists tried their luck with the Chowanook after first moving to the Alligator River with the Croatan.

Helen Roundtree believe that the colonists’ destination ‘50 miles into the maine’ was to the Weapemeoc who slaughtered them. In Paramore’s Weapemeoc hypothesis, the colonists travel ‘50 miles into the maine’ where they are assisted by the Weapemeoc King, Okisco. At Menatonon’s insistence, Okisco had sworn allegiance to Queen Elizabeth in 1586. 46 For this reason, Paramore said incorrectly that they were: “... the only friendly mainland Indians within fifty miles of Roanoke Island.” 47 Philip Amadas visited the Weapemeoc territory in 1585, and his report caused Lane to call their land “the goodies soile under the cope of heaven.” 48 After nearly starving on the Roanoke River, Lane went to an abandoned Weapemeoc village and took fish from their weirs. Therefore, Paramore believes that the Weapemeoc were much more likely than the Croatan to have food for the colonists in

45 Horn, Kingdom Strange, 224.
46 Lane still held Menatonon’s son Skyco hostage at that time. Quinn, First Colonists, 37.
47 In this he may have been mistaken for the Croatan were on the Dare mainland. Paramore, “Lost Colony found,” 70.
48 Paramore, “Lost Colony found,” 70.
the year of drought. Paramore then proposes that the colonists were massacred by unfriendly Weapemeoc. He acknowledges that not all were friendly because some had agreed to accept Wingina’s copper for joining in the attack against Lane’s colony. He suggests that this split among the Weapemeoc was exacerbated by the arrival of the colonists, and this had led to the slaughter. Paramore wrote: “There is sound evidence that White's colony was wiped out, or virtually so, on Weapemeoc soil during internal or external fighting that broke up the tribe.”

He presented nothing but Strachey’s account of a slaughter as his ‘sound evidence.’

Paramore then examined the reports in Jamestown that some colonists were in the land of the Mangoac. He proposed that the survivors of the Weapemeoc battles moved further west to the Weapemeoc village of Metocuuem on Salmon Creek in Bertie County—somewhat beyond the 50 mile limit. There the Tuscarora capturing them when they attacked the Weapemeoc. Through this chain of suppositions, Paramore accounts for the movement ‘50 miles into the maine,’ the slaughter, and the white men among the Tuscarora. He concludes that the colonists left ‘Cro’ and ‘Croatoan’ on Roanoke Island rather than ‘Weapemeoc’ so that White would not stumble into the war that was occurring in Weapemeoc.

The abandoned colonists might have gone to the Chowan River to settle with the Chawanook, as Lee Miller postulates. She ignored Ralph Lane’s statement that the Chawanook were 130 miles from Roanoke Island and that the colonists were with the

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49 Paramore, “Lost Colony found,” 75.

Croatan. Miller believed the Chawanook would receive the colonists in friendship because Ralph Lane and Chawanook King Menatonon were friends even as Lane held him and his son captive. There is a suggestion in Lane’s narrative that Menatonon would ally with the English. Lane wrote that: “The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go over land into that kings countrey whensoever I would.” Lane also reported that Menatonon’s son Skyco informed him of Wingina’s planned attack. From these reports, the Chawanook appear to have been friendly to the English.

By examining all of the evidence reported to the Jamestown colony, Miller concludes that the colonists and the Chawanook were either killed or made prisoner. Some were captured by a strong tribe from the west that she called the Mandoag, which she believes to have been the Eno. According to Miller, the Mandoag took their captives to the Occaneechic Island “slave trade mart,” and from there they were taken to the villages of those who traded for them. She believes this explains the numerous locations of white men on the so-called “Zuniga Map.” Miller proposes that the Croatoan signs were left to direct White to Croatoan Island where he would learn where the rest of the colonists were located. Miller provides little evidence that white settlers were at Chawanook or any other of the named Indian sites. Indeed, archaeologist David Phelps has done considerable research at these sites without finding any such evidence.

51 Miller, Roanoke, 227-237.
52 Quinn, First Colonists, 26.
53 The map, probably drawn by John Smith, was obtained from an Englishman by Spanish Ambassador Zuniga.
54 David Phelps, "Archaeology of the Native Americans: The Carolina Algonkians: Final Report" (Greenville: East Carolina University, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Economics, 1984.)
Another major theory of the colonists’ destination is that they joined the Lumbee. This hypothesis was first published in 1891 by North Carolina historian Stephen B. Weeks:

“It is now believed that the colonists of 1587 removed to Croatan soon after the return of Governor White to England; that they intermarried with the Croatan or Hatteras Indians; that their wanderings westward can be definitely traced; and that their descendants can be identified today.”

The ‘Croatan’ Weeks refers to is the Dasamonquepeue or Dare Mainland peninsula. The Lumbee hypothesis assumes that the abandoned colonists and the Croatan Indians made their way first to Croatan Peninsula and then southwest to settle on ‘Drowning Creek,’ later known as the Lumber River. When immigrants from Scotland arrived on the Upper Cape Fear River about 1740, they found Indians who spoke English and farmed in the English manner. Those Indians were the ancestors of present day Lumbee, who at different times were known as Croatan, Cheraw, and Cherokee.

Recognizing state and federal governments’ mistreatment of the Lumbee, state legislator Hamilton McMillan took up their cause in 1888. McMillan was instrumental in obtaining North Carolina recognition for the Lumbee by identifying them as descendants of the abandoned colonists and the Croatan. His evidence was largely based on their use of old English language and the similarity of Lumbee names to the colonists. McMillan’s assertions were expanded upon by Stephen B. Weeks and Lew Barton.

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55 Weeks believed that the Croatan had moved to the Dasamonquepeue peninsula, which I examine in Appendix B. Stephen B. Weeks, The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and Survival (Reprinted from Papers American Historical Association, 1891) V 460.


57 Stephen B. Weeks "Raleigh's Settlement on Roanoke Island: An Historical Survival," Magazine of American History 25, no. 2 (February 1891): 127-139; and "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and
more recent history of the Lumbee was written by Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades in 1975. In each of the several hypotheses in which the Lumbee are descended from the Croatan and Lost Colony, there is always an interim destination—usually but not always ‘50 miles into the maine.’

When the Lumbee took their case for recognition to the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1915, the Special Indian Agent O. M. McPherson was assigned to prepare a comprehensive report on the Lumbee. After a thorough review of all documents related to the Lost Colony, he wrote: “From the foregoing I have no hesitancy in expressing the belief that the Indians originally settled in Robeson and adjoining counties in North Carolina were an amalgamation of the Hatteras Indians with Gov. White's lost colony. Unfortunately, his conclusions worked against the desire of the Lumbee for aid from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He said, “I do not find that the Hatteras Indians or the so-called Croatan Indians ever had any treaty relations with the United States, or that they have any tribal rights with any tribe or band of Indians; neither do I find that they have received any lands or that there are any moneys due them.” They would have been better off if McPherson had concluded they had no connection to the 1587 colony.

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59 A Senate resolution of June 30, 1914 called upon the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a report on the condition and tribal rights of the Indians of Robeson County: “recently declared by the legislature of North Carolina to be Cherokees, and formerly known as Croatans . . .” Congress wished to determine whether the Government would be warranted in making suitable provision for their support and education.

As McPherson was drawing his conclusions, he received a communication from A. W. McLean who represented the Robeson County Indians. McLean reported that the Indians wished to be considered Cherokee in origin, and that the ancestors who came from “Roanoke and Virginia” arrived later to join the tribe. As the Lumbee continue to seek Federal recognition, the Lumbee web site claims “the ancestors of the Lumbee were mainly Cheraw and related Siouan-speaking Indians who have lived in the area of what is now Robeson County since the 1700s.”61 Today, the Lost Colonists are not listed as ancestors in the historical timeline.

Since I first heard of the Lumbee hypothesis, I have wondered if there were a documented connection between the coastal Croatan and the Lumbee of Robeson County. McPherson’s report describes a possible connection. During the 1711-1714 war against the southern Tuscarora, Matchapungo, and Coree: “Some of the tribe (on the Lumber river) fought under “Bonnul,” as some termed Col. BARNWELL, and we have reliable evidence that they brought home a few Mattamuskeet Indians as prisoners and slaves.”62 At the time of the Tuscarora War, the Mattamuskeet were a conglomeration that included Croatan, Matchapungo, Coree, Yeopim, Meherrin, Wococon, Moratuc, Poteskeet, Bear River, and others. At the time of Lawson’s visit, the Indians of Hatteras Island and the mainland were well known to each other and some were of the same family.63 This could explain how Lumbee ancestors from ‘Roanoke and Virginia’ arrived late to join the Lumbee.

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63 Fred Willard has found early 1700s deeds of the Elks family on both Hatteras Island and the lower Alligator River.
The Lumbee hypothesis has an advantage over the Chesapioc, Weapemeoc and Chawanook hypotheses in that a population exists with Indian ancestry and a legend of descent from the colonists. It is thus possible for DNA to prove or disprove their descent from the Croatan; and, the colonists as well, if their relatives can be found in England.

The hypothesis by Author Scott Dawson is offered last because it follows the available evidence better than others. Dawson claims that all of the colonists went with the Croatan to Croatoan Island. This hypothesis meets the major criteria of Croatan involvement, and it has the advantage of archaeological and historical evidence.64 Archaeological sites at Buxton on Croatoan Island (now the southern half of Hatteras Island) may be the only place where English and Indian artifacts that could be of the Roanoke voyages period have been found together.65 Dawson reminds us that Englishmen visited Croatoan Island frequently between 1584 and 1587, but no one came back to the island to ask about the colonists until 1701. John Lawson visited Croatan villages around 1701 and spoke to the Hatteras natives who claimed they had white people among their ancestors who had been with the English colony on Roanoke Island. As Lawson stated:

These tell us that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book [read], as we do. The Truth of which is confirmed by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices. It is probable, that this Settlement miscarry’d for want of timely Supplies from England; or thro’ the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English

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65 In 1993, Buxton residents Fred Willard and Barbara Midgette encourage Dr. David Phelps to reexamine the Croatoan site where the artifacts were found. The search for artifacts is described in Dawson, Croatoan, 154-159. For a description of all of the artifacts, see: David Phelps, Guide to the Croatan Archaeological Site Collection (Manuscript Collection #1061, Joyner Library, East Carolina University); Mary Helen Goodlow-Murphy, “Buxton Find Opens New Look at Croatan,” The Coastland Times, July 31, 1994.
were forced to cohabit with them, for Relief and Conversation. . . I cannot forbear inserting here, a pleasant story that passes for an uncontested truth amongst the inhabitants of this place; which is, that the ship which brought the first colonies, does often appear amongst them, under sail, in gallant posture, which they call Sir Walter Ralegh's ship; and the truth of this has been affirmed to me, by the men of the best credit in the country. 66

From Lawson’s report it appears that some colonists lived with the Croatan and left descendants that were still present on Hatteras Island more than 100 years after 1587. Dawson also quotes James Sprunt’s 1896 statement that: “The Cape Fear Coree Indians told the English settlers of the Yeamans colony in 1669 that their lost kindred of the Roanoke colony, including Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America, had been adopted by the once powerful Hatteras tribe and had become amalgamated with the children of the wilderness.” 67 Sprunt did not cite the primary source of this intriguing statements or his claim that there were 3,000 Croatan warriors.

Dawson disagrees with those who claim that Croatoan Island could not have supported 117 additional persons. Dawson claims that the island soil was excellent. Archaeological research has show that the Croatan had been on the island for nearly 2,000 years and they had seafood, water fowl, and deer to supplement their supply of grain. Dawson wrote: “In the 1600s and 1700s, well over a thousand Europeans lived on Hatteras Island completely off the land and sea. How did Croatan support over 1,000 immigrants a hundred years after the Lost Colony and not be able to support a mere 117 in 1587?” 68

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67 James Sprunt, Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896 (Wilmington: Legwin Brothers Printers, 1896) 54-5.

68 Dawson, Croatoan, 163.
Dawson offers convincing evidence that the colonists were on Croatoan Island, but it is unlikely that all of the 117 colonists relocated to Croatoan Island. Croatoan Island is a sandy barrier island with limited potential for crop production. The production of row crops in all of Dare County today is so small that the NC Agricultural Extension Service does not publish Dare County figures.\textsuperscript{69} Home gardens on Roanoke Island need considerable additions of organic soil and nutrients to achieve a respectable crop of vegetables and flowers.\textsuperscript{70} Even if 117 colonists could have been fed on Croatoan Island in a normal year, 1587 was not a good year. Thomas Harriot reported that in 1586: “… their corne began to wither by reason of a drouth which happened extraordinair.”\textsuperscript{71} When John White sent Master Stafford and Manteo to Croatoan Island after George Howe was killed, the Croatan begged Stafford not to take the little corn they had left. “. . . embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little”\textsuperscript{72} If the Croatan could distribute the colonists into several villages to reduce their impact, I believe they would have done so.

Fear of a Spanish attack was another reason that not all the colonists would want to stay on Croatoan Island. Spain was convinced that England had a large privateer fleet operating out of Virginia and had begun to make plans to attack its harbor. Those plans were

\textsuperscript{69} Counties with less than 500 acres planted in a crop are not published. NCDA&CS, Agricultural Statistics Division, Feb. 2009.
\textsuperscript{70} Personal communications with gardener Robert Perry, Manteo, 2008.
\textsuperscript{71} Harriot, \textit{True Report}, 30.
\textsuperscript{72} We have further evidence of these severe drought conditions from scientific studies of tree rings that show severe drought conditions in the early years of both the 1587 colony and Jamestown. Quinn, \textit{First Colonists}, 99; Cleveland Stahl et al., “The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts,” \textit{Science} (24 April 1998: Vol. 280. no. 5363) 564 – 567.
cancelled, but the colonists could not have known this. Spain had twice before attacked settlements north of Havana. They wiped out a French Huguenot colony on the St James River and revenged the massacre of a missionary colony on Chesapeake Bay.  

73 With Drake rampaging in the Caribbean and an active war with Spain in Europe, the colonists had reason to fear an attack. Had the Spanish anchored near Cape Hatteras, a small company on Croatoan Island could have escaped quickly in the pinnace, but the entire colony could not have evacuated with their belongings in their single pinnace before the Spanish came ashore. Even after James I arranged a treaty with Spain to end the war; James Horn reminds us that the English remained wary of exposing themselves to a Spanish attack. “The Jamestown colonists were told to locate their settlement 100 miles inland to avoid being taken by surprise by the Spanish.”  

74 My other reason for believing that only a small group went to Croatoan Island is that John White twice made statement that the colonists planned to remove to a place 50 miles into the mainland. White and Lane clearly would not have referred to Croatoan Island as ‘the maine.’ John Lawson stated that the Croatan ranged beyond Croatoan Island: “A farther Confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians, who either then lived on Roanoak-Island, or much frequented it.”  

75 As we learned in John White’s and Ralph Lane’s narratives, the Croatan traveled to the mainland to hunt, gather, and trade for food—

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especially during times of drought.76 John White was confident that some of the colonists were with the Croatan and equally confident that they planned to go 50 miles into the mainland. Therefore, any mainland Croatoan territory 50 miles from Roanoke Island by water is the logical place to look for the colonists. As I explained in the previous chapter, there was such a place.

76 For example, the Croatan were at Dasamonquepeuc to gather the crops left behind by the Secotan when White’s company made their mistaken attack on them (Chapter 3.)
Chapter 6

COLONIAL RECORDS

The area that now comprises Alligator River National Wildlife Refuge was considered by most people to be a vast wasteland. Visitors to the Outer Banks from the west made special effort to complete their journeys before dark, lest they risk a vehicle breakdown in “no man’s land.” Frightening stories of bears, snakes, and other creatures coupled with the mile after uninhabited mile on both Highways 64 and 264 made the casual traveler cautious, if not suspicious, of being stranded there.1

It may be difficult today to imagine how a community as large as Beechland could remain essentially hidden from official notice for over 250 years. But because the residents had only limited contact with the outside world, there is very little evidence of their existence in the scanty colonial North Carolina records. As Elizabeth McPherson noted; “Because of the scarcity of surviving documents relating to the early history of North Carolina, it is difficult to write about the settlement of the Albemarle region with any degree of certainty.”2 This chapter is a review of the few historical records of the period to determine how Beechland remained undiscovered for so long after 1587.

Beechland, which is now inside the Alligator River National Wildlife Refuge, was intentionally remote and difficult to reach when it was first settled. The available historical record suggests that Beechland remained remote for as long as the Beechland community existed. The objective at first was protection from the Spaniards and unfriendly Indians. The later objective was to be left unbothered by colonial authorities and land hungry settlers. Fortunately, no one was interested in their land before the timber boom of the 1880s.

Available historical records show that before 1663 there were few settlers anywhere in what became Carolina. The Lords Proprietors then began to grant land in Carolina, but settlement remained on the north side of the Albemarle Sound until 1700. When settlers finally arrived on the south side of the sound, conflict with the Indians led to the Tuscarora War. Settlement accelerated after the war, but it occurred primarily west and south of the Croatan peninsula.

There were a few settlements on the edges of the Croatan peninsula in the early 1700s, but patents for the interior were granted only after the American Revolution. The interior patent holders soon came into conflict with long time residents who held no deeds to their property but claimed centuries of occupancy. Most Beechland residents left after the Black Tongue plague hit the community around 1840. When, in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, northern timber barons claimed title to most of the Croatan peninsula, conflicts arose with the few remaining residents around Beechland. From 1880 to 1920, these timber companies used railroad lines to cut over the entire peninsula, and Buffalo City became a thriving town on Milltail Creek. When the timber boom ended and an attempt to develop its land for farming failed, the peninsula returned to its former remoteness.

By the time colonists from Jamestown in Virginia began making their way down into the Carolinas to explore, the Algonquian no longer maintained the upper hand along the coast. Whether this shift happened due to battle with the Tuscarora and their allies to the west, or whether it was due to disease taking a toll on the Algonquian villages is not known.3

Colonial records do not record what occurring in southern ‘Virginia’ immediately after the last Roanoke voyage in 1602, but there can be little doubt there were major changes. Until settlers arrived in Bath before the Tuscarora War and John Lawson wrote his *New Voyage to Carolina*, the colonial records have little to report. We may infer the fate of the coastal Indians in the Seventeenth Century from the better documented fate of the Piedmont Indians a century later:

Lawson entered an Indian world inhabited by nations—Keyauwees, Waxhaws, Waterees, and others—that would not survive the century. Epidemics claimed thousands of victims. Slave raids further depleted Indian populations. Warfare escalated in the eighteenth century as native peoples fought each other and Europeans. Nations began to relocate in order to escape Europeans or to come under their protection; many Indians united in order to present a stronger defense and maintain a viable society. Smaller nations were absorbed by stronger ones. . . Dependence on European trade sorely compromised the sovereignty of nascent nations. If a nation did not have guns and ammunition, they were at the mercy of those that did.  

It is likely that the abandoned colonists and their Croatan allies consolidated their control of the Alligator River region after 1587. The closing of Chacandepeco inlet merged Croatoan Island into Hatteras Island, and the Croatan who remained there became know as the Hatteras Indians. Descendants of the colonists who had remained on Croatoan Island became indistinguishable from the Hatteras Indians by the time John Lawson arrived on the island in 1709. Much the same assimilation must have occurred on the mainland, except it may have occurred more slowly in the English culture of the Beechland community. It is reasonable to speculate that the Secotan had been greatly reduced by disease, Ralph Lane’s

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1586 attack, and battles with the Indians to the west. Wanchese and his close supporters might have continued to seek revenge, but most of the depleted Secotan are likely to have allied with the Croatan and continued to trade with the colonists—as long as the colonists had anything to trade.

The first recorded interactions between Indian of the Roanoke area and the English after 1600 occurred between the settlers from the James River and the northern Tuscarora. The Tuscarora were not a united nations under a single leader but more closely resembled city-states, some of which came together as a confederation when it was profitable to do so. The northern Tuscarora, who were allied under Chief Tom Blunt at the time of the Tuscarora War, were in contact with the colonial settlers as soon as they began to arrive from the James River settlements. These northern Tuscarora profited from trade with the Albemarle settlers and generally dominated their interactions with them. The southern Tuscarora, under Chief Hancock during the Tuscarora War, were in contact with colonial settlers much later and their contact soon became hostile.

In “The Tuscarora Ascendancy” Thomas Parramore’s argued that the Tuscarora exerted a strong influence over the fate of English settlers from the beginning of exploration in 1584 until the end of the Tuscarora War in 1713. Before the English arrived, the Tuscarora had coveted Algonquin hunting grounds and coastal seafood resources; but their path was blocked by the Algonquin (Secotan, Weapemeoc, and especially Chawanook.) The

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6 Barlowe learned that battles occurred frequently between the tribes of the region, and “the people are marvelously wasted.” *First Colonists*, 14.


Algonquin were large-boat people who could move swiftly to counter a threat from the Tuscarora’s less mobile force.\textsuperscript{9} However, they could not match the Tuscarora in numbers of warriors and could not defeat the Tuscarora.

On a number of occasions, the Algonquin tried to get English assistance to attack their enemies. The first recorded incidence in ‘Virginia’ was in 1584 when Grangameo, a Secotan, asked Amadas and Barlowe several times to help him surprise Piemacum at his town.\textsuperscript{10} Chief Menatonon enticed Ralph Lane to enter Tuscarora territory to search for copper, thereby inviting him to become an ally against the Tuscarora. Had Lane remained in ‘Virginia’ it is quite likely he would have made the alliance.\textsuperscript{11} There were also occasions when the Chawanook allied with the Powhatan against the Tuscarora.\textsuperscript{12} In The Discovery of New Brittaigne, (1650) Edward Bland was told by his Arapahoe guide that 400 Powhatan and Chawanook, led by Powhatan King Opechancanough, had killed 240 Tuscarora at the falls of the Roanoke River.\textsuperscript{13}

The Chawanook and Powhatan were able to trade with the Jamestown colonists for powder and shot, but there are several reports that the Tuscarora also had access to weapons

\textsuperscript{9} Fred Willard, “Cultural Anthropology of Indian Villages” (2007) Lost Colony Center for Science and Research, Web 06/02/10

\textsuperscript{10} “these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprise Piemacum his Towne,” Barlowe, First Colonists, 14.

\textsuperscript{11} Paramore, “Tuscarora Ascendancy,” 309.

\textsuperscript{12} “When John Pory visited the Chowan River area in 1622, he was entertained by a great King, evidently a Chowanoke, who proposed a league with the English and, like his predecessor Chief Menatonon in1586 tried to interest them in a joint expedition to some western copper mines, within or beyond Tuscarora territory.” Powell, John Pory, 101.

\textsuperscript{13} “we demanded why those bones were piled up so curiously? Oyeocker told us, that at this place Appachanchano one morning with four hundred men treacherously slew two hundred forty of the Blandina River Indians in revenge of three great men slaine by them” Edward Bland, “The Discovery of New Brittaigne, in Alexander S. Sally, Jr., ed., Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911) 13-14.
from Spanish traders.\textsuperscript{14} “John Lederer, who traveled through Tuscarora country in 1670, remarked on ‘\textit{the great trade and commerce}’ conducted there and the ‘\textit{proud, imperious spirit of a Tuscarora chief}.’”\textsuperscript{15} The Tuscarora occupied an exalted place in the trade regime in Lawson's day,\textsuperscript{16}

When Powhatan Chief Opechancanough attempted to massacre James River settlers in 1644, the unsuccessful Powhatan were so weakened that they could no longer assist the Chawanook against the Tuscarora. Then in 1646, Governor Berkeley attacked the Chawanook and further reduced their ability to withstand the Tuscarora. The Chawanook were then forced to abandon their hunting grounds west of the Chowan River and accept the hegemony of the Tuscarora. Because the Weapemeoc were a smaller confederation and obeyed the Chawanook leaders, they also became tributary to the Tuscarora. Thereafter, the Tuscarora had access to the hunting and fishing grounds of these coastal Algonquin and replaced the Powhatan as the primary traders with the English in Jamestown. When the Tuscarora allowed the English to settle north of the Albemarle after 1651, the Weapemeoc and Chawanook accepted the customs and governance of the English and there was “\textit{a gradual accommodation to the folkways of the whites.”}\textsuperscript{17}

We have little information about the fate of the diminished coastal Algonquin, Siouan, and Iroquois Indians around the Pamlico Sound because there was very little contact

\textsuperscript{14} Reports of Spanish traders were received by Edward Bland and by Frances Yeardly, who will be introduced later in this chapter. Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendancy,” 310.

\textsuperscript{15} Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendancy,” 312.

\textsuperscript{16} “\textit{hating that any of these Westward Indians should have any Commerce with the English, which would prove a Hindrance to their Gains}.” John Lawson, \textit{A new Voyage to Carolina}, 64.

between the southern Tuscarora and the English before the Tuscarora War. When the English finally arrived, they found that smallpox had nearly wiped out the Indians on the Pamlico-Neuse peninsula.\(^\text{18}\) The Tuscarora had been dominant throughout the Seventeenth Century, but had their own problems with disease when a smallpox epidemic hit in 1707.\(^\text{19}\) John Lawson estimated that the 1,200 Tuscarora warriors in 1709 were but one sixth of the number 50 years earlier.\(^\text{20}\) Possibly because of this reduction in population, the Tuscarora “made little effort to reduce the small coastal tribes to allegiance to themselves.”\(^\text{21}\)

While the Tuscarora were consolidating their power between 1607 and 1620, Jamestown was too occupied with surviving famine and Powhatan attacks to consider establishing settlements in southern Virginia. After recovering from the Powhatan attack of 1620, the Virginia Company began exploring to the south but achieved very little. Virginia Governor George Yeardley sent Marmaduke Rayner ‘to the Southward to Roanoke.’\(^\text{22}\) Rayner’s report caused settlers on land-limited Bermuda to request Virginia Company grants for ‘Ronoque southerly,’ but there is no record of a ‘Ronoque’ colony being settled from Bermuda. Two years after Rayner’s visit, John Pory’s report of his expedition to the Chowan

\(^{18}\) Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendency,” 313.

\(^{19}\) Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendency,” 324.


\(^{21}\) Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendency,” 316.

\(^{22}\) Powell, “Carolana,” 2.
River region attracted the attention of potential colonists in England, but it did not lead to settlement.23

Between 1607 and 1624, all of ‘Virginia’ was owned by the Virginia Company, but in 1624 King James I revoked the company’s charter after disagreements over the royal tobacco monopoly.24 James I soon died and King Charles I gave a patent for southern Virginia to attorney general Sir Robert Heath and named the territory ‘Carolana’ for himself.25 Heath’s negotiations with French Protestant refugees to establish a colony fell through when King Charles insisted that only members of the Church of England could settle Carolana.26 Heath’s other attempt at colonization in 1633 also failed.27 In 1638, Heath conveyed his Carolana interest to Lord Maltravers.28 King Charles ordered Virginia Governor Sir John Harvey; “forthwith to assign to Lord Maltravers such a competent tract of land in the southern part of Virginia, as may bear the name of a county, and be called the county of Norfolk. . . .” Captain Henry Hartwell was to have attempted the first settlement on 10,000 acres somewhere in the northern part of the grant, but there is no record that he succeeded.29

Conditions in England began to deteriorating soon after King Charles’ coronation, and further settlement attempts under Maltravers soon ended. King Charles’ marriage to a

23 In a published sermon, Rev. Copland described Pory’s trip and his findings. Patrick Copland, Virginia’s God be Thanked (London: Printed by I. D. for William Sheffard and John Bellamie, 1622) 13.
29 If there were ever records of his settling there, they were lost when Richmond burned in 1865. Powell, “Carolana,” 7.
French Catholic angered the Puritans in Parliament. When the Parliament refused to fund his wars, Charles disbanded Parliament and a six year Civil War began (1640-1648.) In America, the Puritans of New England supported Parliament and its leader, Oliver Cromwell, while Virginia Governor Berkeley remained loyal to the crown. When the English Civil War was won by Parliament in 1648, Virginia adapted. They accepted a treaty that removed Governor Berkeley but allowed Virginia to be an almost independent republic.  

While still governor, Sir William Berkeley anticipated that loyalist refugees would escape to Virginia and would need land. Perhaps with this in mind, Berkeley sent a military expedition to the Chowan River to clear the way for new settlements. Major General Richard Bennett came overland and Colonel Thomas Dew sailed by the Currituck Inlet. They subdued the Chowan Indians and concluded a peace treaty in 1648. Some Virginians purchased land in ‘Carolana’ on the west side of the Chowan River, but few settled there.

Promotions of southern Virginia did not end while England was under Cromwell. Among the promotional pamphlets in 1649 were *A Perfect Description of Virginia* and *Virginia Impartially examined.* In 1650 Edward Williams authored *Virgo Triumphans*, an earnest plea for support in the settlement of “*Carolana, which comprehends Roanoak, and the Southern parts of Virginia.*” William’s preface states that John Ferrar supplied “the whole

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31 “About 1648 Henry Plumpton, Thomas Tuke, and several others bought from the Indians all the land on the Chowan between the mouth of the Roanoke River and the mouth of Weyanoke Creek. In 1653, the general assembly of Virginia granted between ten and eleven thousand acres...” to Roger Green, a clergyman. “Apparently no settlement was made at that time.” W. P. Cumming, “The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, (Oct., 1939) 82-89.

substance of it,” and Ferrar may have had Harriot’s unpublished journal in his possession. Ferrar would have learned from the journal about the ‘hidden commodities’ mentioned in Harriot’s published Brief and True Report. 33

A Virginia merchant, Edward Bland, led a 1650 expedition into southern Virginia to make contact with the Tuscarora and other Indians with the intent of establishing trade with them. 34 When he returned, Bland attempted to organize a colony for Carolina but died before he succeeded. 35 By 1653, Virginians residing along the Nansemond River had joined the Reverend Roger Green in petitioning the General Assembly for some land in ‘Carolana.’ Col. Thomas Dew and Col. Francis Yeardley were members of the assembly that granted 10,000 acres for 100 persons under Roger Green to settle in Carolina. 36 The grant document indicated that they were to have land “next to those persons who have had a former grant,” which does not mean that they had settled there. Green apparently never moved from his home in Virginia; but some of his followers may have done so. 37

33 Edward Williams, Virgo Triumphants Virginia: more especially the south part thereof, richly and truly valued (London: Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Stephenson, 1650.)

34 A second war with the Powhatan had ended and Fort Henry at the head of Appomattox River had been established as an entry point to Virginia for the Indians and an exit point for Virginia traders.

35 Bland traveled north to Fort Henry at present day Petersburg, Va. before turning south into Carolina. His expedition crossed the Nottaway and Meherrin tributaries of the Chowan River before reaching the Roanoke River near Roanoke Rapids. He was unsuccessful in reaching the Tuscarora because the Meherrin and Waynoka deceived Bland in order to continuing their control of English trade with the Tuscarora. Edward Bland, The Discovery of New Brittaine (Printed by Thomas Harper for John Stephenson, at the Sun below Ludgate. MDCL.) (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc, 1966.)

36 William W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia (New York: Printed for the editor, 13 volumes, 1819-1823) I, 380-381.

There is little doubt that some Virginians went to south Virginia between 1620 and 1650 to trade for furs. However, I found no evidence that anyone explored the Alligator River in this period, much less down the Milltail Creek to Beechland. The first known English visit near Croatan peninsula occurred more or less by accident in 1651. In a letter to John Ferrar, Francis Yeardley wrote that a beaver trader had lost his sloop in Currituck Inlet and requested Yeardley’s help. With three men provided by Yeardley, beaver trader Nathaniel Batts followed his sloop to ‘the southern part of Virginia.”

Batts group encountered a ‘great commander’ with a hunting party on Roanoke Island “or near thereabouts.” They were shown the ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh’s fort “from whence I received a sure token of their being there.” Yeardley referred to the ‘great commander’ who met Yeardley’s expedition on Roanoke Island as ‘a Rowanoke,’ but the Secotan of the Roanoac village had long been displaced by the Croatan. The Albemarle Sound region was often referred to as ‘Roanoke’ before the Lords Proprietors era, and that may have been what Yeardley had in mind. The ‘great commander’ returned with Batts to visit Yardley in Virginia. Seeing Yardley’s children read and write, the ‘great commander’ asked that his son be taught.

The ‘great commander,’ who was most likely a satrap of the Tuscarora, agreed to sell land to Yeardley. Yeardley sent men back to Carolina with £200 in silver with which they

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38 Yeardley’s narrative was in a letter to Mr. John Ferrar, Esq. in England. Francis Yeardley was the son of Sir George Yeardley, three times governor of Virginia. Salley, ed., “Francis Yeardley’s Narrative,” 25-29.


40 Yeardley’s use of ‘being there’ rather than ‘had been there” is intriguing. He probably meant only that the colonists had been at the fort. Salley, ed., “Yeardley’s Narratives,” 26.
purchased ‘three great rivers’ from the Indians represented by the ‘great commander’\textsuperscript{41} The Tuscarora soon welcomed Francis Yeardley’s men as trading partners, and it is likely that the sale of Weapemeoc land to the early settlers was approved by the Tuscarora. Based on later purchases from the Yeopim King, the rivers may have been the Pasquotank, Little, and Perquimans (figure 37); but the rivers were not specifically identified by Yeardley.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Misc/figure_037.png}
\caption{The Albemarle Sound Region}
\end{figure}

The sale was consummated by a turf of earth with the arrow stuck in it “\textit{and so the Indians totally left the lands and rivers to us, retiring to a new habitation, where our people built the great commander a fair house, the which I am to furnish with English utensils and chattels.}\textsuperscript{42} While the house was being built, the commander took Yeardley’s men to meet”

\textsuperscript{41} Ashe places this land north of the Albemarle Sound. Based on later Tuscarora resistance to English settlement below the Albemarle Sound, it is most likely that these were the Pasquotank, Perquimans and Little Rivers where settlers first purchased land from a Yeopim king. Ashe, \textit{History of North Carolina}, 58.

the emperor of the Tuskarorawes.”\textsuperscript{43} Afterwards, the commander and a representative of the Tuscarora Emperor went to Virginia to see the commander’s child baptized.

Yeardley had another house built on Salmon Creek for Nathaniel Batts to use while trading with the Tuscarora (figure 38.)\textsuperscript{44} Batts and Yeardley thus began a friendship with the upper Tuscarora that would be highly beneficial to the men of Albemarle when they arrived—and they were not long in coming. Yeardley’s letter stated that he planned a further discovery by sea and land in July of 1653. It is likely that Yeardley carried out this plan because there were settlers in the Albemarle before the Lords Proprietors grant in 1663. The upper Tuscarora became the primary trading partner with the Albemarle settlers, and they continued trade relations long after the 1711 Tuscarora War.\textsuperscript{45} George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, visited Nathaniel Batts’ home and noted how the colonists had maintained close relation with the Tuscarora.\textsuperscript{46}

Soon after the explorations sent by Yeardley, a number of Virginia settlers purchased land from the Indians. By 1662, George Durant, Nathaniel Batts, and others had purchased land on Perquimans and Pasquotank rivers from the king of the “Yawpim” Indians.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{43} Some have looked for the commander’s house on Roanoque Island, but this visit to the emperor of the Tuscarora suggests it was closer to the Roanoque River and possibly close to where Batts trading house was built. Salley, ed., “Yeardley’s Narratives,” 27.

\textsuperscript{44} We know this because the carpenter sued Yeardley’s estate for the cost of the building. Cumming, “Earliest Permanent Settlement,” 88.


\textsuperscript{46} “If you go over again to Carolina, you may inquire of Capt. Batts, the Old Governor, with whom I left a Paper to be read to the Emperor, and his Thirty Kings under him of the Tusrowres, who were come to Treat for Peace with the People of Carolina.” George Fox, \textit{A Collection of Many Select and Chriftian Epistles, Letters, and Testimonies} (London, 1698 Vol. 11 Pt. 1) 336.

\textsuperscript{47} Privilege granted Nathaniel Batte for interest taken in the discovery of an inlet to the southward.” Powell, “Carolina,” 14.
Recognizing this growth in population, Governor Berkeley commissioned Captain Samuel Stephens as ‘commander of the southern plantation.’ Under Stephens, the settlers secured patents from the Virginia government for the land purchased from the Yeopim.

After John White, the first map of Carolina to be based of a survey of the region was drawn by Nicholas Comberford in 1657—soon after Yeardley’s purchase from the Indians. The Comberford map (figure 38) was drawn after Col. Thomas Dew and Capt. Thomas Francis received permission from the Virginia assembly in 1656, “to make a discoverie of the navigable rivers to the southward between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear with such gentlemen and planters as would voluntarily and att their owne charge accompanie him.” Nathaniell Batts was very likely one of those who participated in this expedition because his name appears twice on the map, and his discovery of an inlet was acknowledged in a Virginia court. ‘Batts House’ was on Salmon Creek between the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers, and Batts Point appears on the entrance to the Pamlico River. The original title of the Comberford map was ‘South Part of Virginia,’ but after the Lords Proprietors grant in 1663, someone added “‘The North Part of Carolina.’ The map includes two important water entry

49 Nicholas Comberford, The South Part of Virginia, 1657 in Cumming. The Southeast, Map 50.
50 McPherson, “Nathaniell Batts,” 78.
51 The Quarter Court of Virginia in June, 1657, extended protection to Batts from his creditor for a year and a day; “taking into Consideration y‘ great pains & trouble, w’th M’ Nathaniell Batts hath taken in the discovery of an Inlett to the Southward, which is likely to be much advantageous to the Inhabitants of this Collony.” McPherson, “Nathaniell Batts,” 79.
points from Virginia to Carolina. The first is an entry from the Atlantic Ocean at Currituck Inlet by Knotts Island. This entrance was used by the Yeardley expedition in 1651.

![Map of the South Part of Virginia](image)

*Fig. 38 - The Comberford 1657 Map of the South Part of Virginia*

The second important entry point into south Virginia was at South Keys (Quay) on the Blackwater Branch, an entry point much closer to Virginia settlements along the James River. The explorers would have come down the Nansemond River by boat and then walked

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52 The scribbled legends on the Comberford map were difficult to read and I typed them in figure 52.
twenty miles over land to South Quay. There they may have boarded schooners that had come around through Currituck Inlet to meet them. Sloops would later be built at South Quay, which became an important inland port serving the tobacco farmers and lumbermen of southeastern Virginia. 53

South Quay is on the Blackwater River, which was part of the dividing line between the ‘Virginia’ colony and Indians’ territory. In the treaty of 1646, the Blackwater and James rivers were set as the boundary line between the defeated Powhatan confederation and ‘Virginia’ by Governor William Berkeley. Under the terms of this treaty, the Powhatan and all other Indians were to remove to the west of the treaty line. 54 Because the settlers were required to remain east of the treaty line, the value of unclaimed land to the east of the boundary increased. Most of this land was below the James River in Carolina.

In the Comberford map, Ocracoke Inlet is shown on the map as Wococock Inlet. Col. Dew’s expedition found the depth and shoals of the inlet and then mapped channels into the Neus (Neuse) and Pamxtico (Pamlico) Rivers. Passages past Roanoke Island and into the Albemarle Sound are also shown on the map. The Albemarle Sound is identified as Roanoke Sound. Its tributaries to the north are identified as the Pasquotank, Yeopim, and Perquimans Rivers. These rivers and Edenton Bay would become the first places, after the Chowan River, to be purchased by Virginia settlers.

The river labeled ‘Yeopim’ on the map is now the Little River, and present day Yeopim River can be found on the map next to ‘Hariot’s Isl’ –later known as Batts Grave.


54 Fort Henry (Petersburg) was built on the Appomattox River to be the only place that Indians could obtain permission to safely enter Virginia territory. Edward Bland’s 1650 expedition into southern Virginia was required to pass through Fort Henry when departing and returning, thus considerably lengthening their trip.
The tributaries of the Chowan River include Bennett’s Creek and the Meherrin, Blackwater, Waratan, and Weyanoke (Nottoway) Rivers.

The Tuscarora are listed twice on the Moritico (Roanoke) River, which suggests their importance to the explorers. The waterway beside the mouth of the Moritico River may be Welsh Creek where a Morituc village was located. Some of the Mattamuskeet from Hyde County would later settle there with the Morituc and rename it Free Union. The Machapungo and Mattamuskeet are recognized in waterways on the Pamlico Sound north shore. The Alligator River is called the Waratuck on the Comberford map, and its branch may represent the Little Alligator. The explorers thus came closer to Beechland than any previous expedition but were still far from it. They designated the area around Beechland as “a swampy wilderness.”

The Carolina situation changed radically in 1663. Charles II granted ‘Carolina’ to the Lords Proprietors. The Roanoke Sound became the Albemarle Sound and the land around it became Albemarle County. Agents of the Proprietors then issued grants for Albemarle County land. Soon after 1663, the Albemarle Sound became an important avenue of commerce. By 1676, the governor and assembly had established three port towns in the County of Albemarle. Salmon Creek where Batts's house was located, George Durant's plantation on the Perquiman River, and Roanoke Island were "To bee the onely places where the Shipps shall lade and unlaid."  Tariff collectors were stationed at each port.

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56 Colonial Records I, 229; Cumming, Early Map, 88.
The period between 1663 and 1695 was the beginning of settlement in Albemarle County, but all of it occurred north of the Albemarle Sound. Tuscarora warriors, who vastly outnumbered the Albemarle settlers, insisted on this. Parramore reports that there was some intermarriage between the colonists and the northern Tuscarora who partially adopted a European life-style. They welcomed the English as a trading partner, but the colonists were expected to remain within their “reservation for white people” north of the Albemarle Sound.\(^\text{57}\) The Albemarle colonists and the Tuscarora signed a 1653 treaty in which the settlers agreed to remain within the confines of the Chowan River and Albemarle Sound.\(^\text{58}\) The treaty committed “the inhabitants and people of North Carolina and all the nation and people of the Tuscarora Indians [to] a firm perpetuall and inviolable peace to continue So long as Sun and moon Endure.” When a group of Quakers attempted a settlement south of the Albemarle in the early 1660s, the Tuscarora drove them off.\(^\text{59}\) Later, the Carolina assembly negotiated a treaty with the Tuscarora that sealed the fate of the Chawanook:

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\begin{align*}
\text{itt is agreed that iff the Tuscararoes have any wars wth any other nation of Indians the English of this Government (on notice being given) shall not assist that other natione wth men, powder or Shott or any other wise and also it is agreed that iff the English of this Governmt shall have wars, with any other natione of the Indians. The Greatt men of the Tuscaroroes (on notice given them) shall call home all their Indians (iff any be with that natione) and give no manner of assistance to the sd nationes. But iff required by the Government here shall assist the English against the Indians the Government here giving them reasonable Satisfaction for ther tyme.}\end{align*}
\]

\(^\text{57}\) Parramore, “Tuscarora Ascendancy,” 313.

\(^\text{58}\) Copy of original undated treaty held by the Edenton Historical Commission. Parramore, Tuscarora Ascendancy, 314.


“For North Carolina, the Tuscarora nemesis was perhaps an indirect source of the furious internal struggles that rent the colony in its early decades (e.g., Culpeper and Cary rebellions.)”61 The territorial agreements with the Tuscarora were not welcomed by land-hungry colonists or by the Lords Proprietors, who wanted more quit rents. However, those who were already settled north of the Albemarle wanted to maintain friendly relations with the Tuscarora by keeping settlements north of the Sound. There were numerous conflicts between colonial assemblies and the governors appointed by the Lords Proprietors. North Carolina remained stagnant while South Carolina grew, and the Lords Proprietors constantly pressed the Albemarle assembly leaders to drop their anti-expansion policy.

The diseases that had devastated the coastal Indians who first came into contact with the Englishmen did not immediately touch the Tuscarora. However, as contact with the colonists increased, the Tuscarora also began to experienced losses to diseases. As they weakened, their ability to hold back a growing population of Englishmen diminished. By the 1690s, pressure from London and land-hungry settlers led to the beginning of English settlement south of Albemarle Sound—one hundred years after John White had last visited Roanoke Island.

Colonial records show that the first settlements south of the Albemarle Sound occurred around Kendrick’s Creek where Mackey’s Ferry is now located. Soon there were a few settlers in Bath on the Pamlico River—closer to the deeper inlet at Ocracoke. In 1695, Cuthbert Phelps, Sr. took up rights to 1,050 acres in the southern part of Albemarle precinct

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between the Scuppernong River and the Alligator River (figure 37). Little Alligator River land was granted to Cornelius and Bryan Fitzpatrick in 1704. Anthony Alexander Sr. received 640 acres in 1712 at a stumpy point near Little Alligator. 62 The Alligator area was apparently well settled by September 1752. 63 There may have been incidental contact on the Alligator River between these settlers and the Beechland settlers, but none has been found in colonial records.

Several grants after 1700 involved the eastern edge of the Croatan Peninsula where Dasamonquepeuc village was located. Colonel Thomas Boyd, Esq., a Lords Proprietors deputy, obtained a 1705 patent for 640 acres on “Croitun joining the Sound.” 64 This was the only deed recorded on the Croatan peninsula before the 1711 Tuscarora War. In 1723, John Lovick received “225 acres in Currituck precinct joining the lower end of Croaton, the Sound and Spencers Creek.” 65 In 1727, John Mann received “616 acres in Currituck precinct at Croatan, joining the sound and the woods.” 66 These deeds were on the shore opposite Roanoke Island near present day Manns Harbor. Although these settlements were much closer to Beechland than any previous settlements had been, they were planted on the

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62 General Court 26 Feb 1695, NC Headrights: A list of Names 1663-1744 (Albemarle precinct.)

63 In 1752 the court ordered “that a road be laid out from the Red Banks at Roger Snell's on the East side of Scuppernong River to the fort landing at Alligator Creek.” Margaret M. Hofmann, "Province of North Carolina 1663-1729 - Abstracts of Land Patents" copyright 1979 Patent Bk. 1; pg. 194.


66 I am indebted to genealogist Kay Midgett Shepherd for each of these Hofmann references. Hofmann, “Abstracts of Land Patents," Patent Bk. 1pg. 236.
edges of the Albemarle and Croatan Sounds. Only a few hunters bothered with the ‘swampy’ interior, which remained unclaimed through the rest of the colonial period.

There may have been some contact with Beechland residents after these settlers arrived on the Alligator River and Croatan Peninsula eastern shore, but there is no evidence that Beechland came to the attention of the colonial officials in this period. These coastal settlements may have violated the treaty, but there is no evidence that the Tuscarora opposed them. Perhaps they were far enough from the center of Tuscarora territory that they were ignored. However, during the gorilla action at the end of the Tuscarora War, Mattamuskeet guerilla warriors attacked Croatan, Roanoke Island, and Little Alligator settlers.

The Tuscarora War of 1711 to 1715 was a disaster for the coastal tribes and for the lower Tuscarora, but they had good reasons for going to war. When settlers of Bath and New Bern began arriving in large numbers, the coastal tribes began to turn to the Tuscarora for help. The villages of the southern Tuscarora confederation under King Hancock were on the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers and their association with the colonists was very limited before 1711. When smallpox nearly wiped out the Indians on the Pamlico-Neuse peninsula, colonists pushed quickly southward into their vacated lands.67 This initial incursion of colonists brought trade opportunities to the southern Tuscarora, and their settlement was not resisted. However, the few traders were soon joined on the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers by land-hungry settlers. Bath County was created on Pamlico Sound by the Lords Proprietors in 1696 to take advantage of Ocracoke Inlet. Thomas Cary of Bath replaced the anti-expansion

deputy governor by force and became de facto governor of Carolina in 1706. The expansions that occurred under Cary heightened the threat to southern Tuscarora land.

Livestock then invaded Indian hunting ground, and the coastal tribes looked to Hancock’s southern Tuscarora for protection against the encroaching settlers. An even worse offense occurred when some colonials began to capture Indians and sell them as slaves. “Gov James Moore of South Carolina pursued the Indian slave trade in Bath County North Carolina to such a degree that residents signed a list of grievances in 1705 claiming that Moore was ruining the local deerskin and fur trade.”

The Indians from Core Sound were the first to resist and be defeated by the colonists, and they retreated to Tuscarora territory for protection. The Matchapungo, who had been the Coree Indian’s traditional enemies, also sought the help of the Tuscarora. Christopher Von Graffenried’s plan to settle the Neuse-Trent river area threatened the Nuseiok, Woccon, and the Wetock (White Oak) who also appealed to the lower Tuscarora. In 1711, King Hancock’s Tuscarora met in war council with Bay River, Machapunga, Neusiok, Core, Woccon, Wetock, and Pampticough Indians. The Tuscarora and their allies saw John Cary’s feud with the deputy governor as a sign of weakness of the Colonial Government, and they to

68 “yet the indyans plays the Roge with mee they have alhnost Kild all my hogggs;” “they Expected ye Indians Every day to Come & Cut their throates.” Colonial Court Records CCR – 192.


70 The first to resist the encroaching settlers were the Core and Nynee Indians, south of the Neuse River. In 1703 they have moved into the interior where the Tuscarora have granted them land only six miles from one of their chief towns The next year some of the Tuscarora towns near the Pamlico settlement were becoming unusually friendly with the Bear River Indians, with the apparent intention of inciting them to attack the whites. About this same time the Machapunga Indians began to harass the settlers. Herbert R. Paschal Jr., A History of Colonial Bath (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1955.)
decide to wage war against the colonists.\textsuperscript{71} John Lawson and Von Graffenried had the misfortune to walk into a Tuscarora village just as a war council was meeting. Lawson, who had considered himself a good friend of the Tuscarora, argued with chief Core Tom and was the first English casualty of the war. Von Graffenried ransomed his freedom but was released too late to warn his colony.\textsuperscript{72}

The Tuscarora War began on September 22, 1711 with the intent to massacre all settlers and destroy every plantation in Bath County. At dawn, five hundred fighting men simultaneously attacked settlements on the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent Rivers and Core Sound. Between 130 and 140 men, women, and children were killed, livestock was slaughtered, and homes were burned. A small contingent of colonists from Albemarle County responded but was easily defeated. Virginia offered no help. Finally, South Carolina sent Captain Barnwell, 33 white men on horseback, and 495 mostly Yamasee Indians to North Carolina. They had only partial success, but a second expedition under Col. James Moore finally defeated the southern Tuscarora and their allies. The southern Tuscarora who were not killed or taken as slaves escaped to become the sixth Iroquois Nation in Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{73}

When the Tuscarora War began, most of the northern villages were allied under King Tom Blunt. They remained neutral initially, but they entered on the side of the colonials when the southern Tuscarora and their allies began losing. For their help they were promised

\textsuperscript{71} “The Tuscarora War, 1711-1715” (n.d.) \textit{Bath State Historic Site}, Web July 5, 2010. Adapted from Paschal, \textit{History of Colonial Bath} (1955.)

\textsuperscript{72} Vincent H. Todd, \textit{Christoph Von Graffenried’s Account of the Founding of New Bern} ( Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1920.)

\textsuperscript{73} “The Tuscarora War, 1711-1715” \textit{Bath State Historic Site}, Web July 5, 2010
a resumption of trade and a reservation on the Roanoke River.74 At the end of the Tuscarora war and the guerilla war that followed it, many of the participant Indians joined the southern Tuscarora and followed them to Pennsylvania. Others joined the northern Tuscarora at their Roanoke River reservation.75

This final episode of the Tuscarora War occurred in the vicinity of Beechland. After King Hancock’s Tuscarora were defeated, 50 surviving Matchapungo, Pamlico, Coree, Tuscarora, and other Indians (thereafter known collectively as the Mattamuskeet Indians) began a guerilla war around the Beechland Community.76 They attacked English settlement on the Alligator River, Roanoke Island, and Croatan. Enoch Lee explained that the guerilla band—

... hid out in the Great Alligator Swamp ... between the Matchapunga River and Roanoke Island. From this hiding place, they raided the outlying settlements. In the spring of 1713, twenty settlers on the Alligator River were killed. A short while later, twenty-five more met the same fate on Roanoke Island. ... After their attacks, the Indians retreated back into their swamp world where it was almost impossible to follow them. Colonel Moore, [made a] futile effort to seize them. Blount and his Tuscarora ... were more successful. ... However, other warriors joined the enemy from time to time. ... The government finally turned from a policy of extermination of the hostiles to one of peaceful agreement. On February 11, 1715, a treaty of peace was made with the surviving hostiles and they were assigned a reservation on Lake Mattamuskeet in Hyde County. This was the final act of the Tuscarora War.77

The North Carolina Colonial records show that some of the victims of the

74 Parramore, Tuscarora Ascendancy, 323-4.


76 In April, 1713, about 50 of those Indians fell on colonists along the Alligator River and killed or captured nearly twenty of them.” William S. Price, Ed., Colonial Records of NC. Vol. V. 1709-1723 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1974) xxix.

77 Enoch Lawrence Lee, Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763 (Raleigh, NC: Carolina Charter Tercentenary 1963.)
Mattamuskeet guerilla attack on Croatan were Hatteras Indians who either lived on Colonel Boyd’s Croatan property or near it. The following quote from the colonial records state that Mattamuskeet guerillas attacked Boyd’s house:

*Ye Enemy [Mattamuskeet] Indyans are now at Coll boyds house. It is ordered By this Board that the afsd Coll Boyd Doe supply the Said [Hatteras] Indyans Wth Corne for their Subsistance until they can returne to their owne habitations againe and lay his Accot thereof before ye next Assbly.*

The Mattamuskeet had driven off the Hatteras Indians who were there or nearby. After the attack, the Hatteras Indians requested and received food from the colonial government. The quote below suggests that the Hatteras had served the colonial cause and deserved to receive food supplies from the Colonial Assembly.

*Upon Petition of the Hatterass Indyans praying Some Small relief from ye Country for their service being reduced to great poverty. Ordered that they have 16 bushels Corne for their present supply out of the Public Store.*

John Lawson had met with the Indians on Hatteras Island a few years before the Tuscarora War and found them to be friends of the English. We have no way of knowing if the people living in Beechland were involved in this war, but the Hatteras (formerly the Croatan) were still on the side of the colonial authorities in 1720, as the following quotes from the colonial records show:

*To Mr. Anthony Hatch March 1 . . . In Little River, you are hereby directed and Required for the use of the Hatteras Indyans that they may not be unprovided to serve the publick if occasion requires to delivr unto Captn John Oneale Commands on the banks and of the Indyans aforesd twenty pound of powdr & forty pounds of shott with one hundred flints if so much be in store if not delivr as much of Eatch Kinde as you*

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have . . . Given under My hand in Chowan this 5th day of Septembr 1720 [Governor] Charles Eden sepb: 7th 1720. And also, “Received by Order of ye Governor twenty pounds: of powder and twenty Six pounds of Shott and one hundred gun flints by me John [?] Oneale.”\(^{80}\)

These Hatteras Indians were almost certainly the descendants of those Croatan who had occupied Croatoan Island and Croatan (Dasamonquepeuc) peninsula in Manteo’s time. If my thesis is correct that Manteo’s Croatoan delivered the abandoned colonists to the Alligator River, their Hatteras descendents would have been aware of the Beechland community. However, unlike the Indians of Hatteras Island, the descendent of the Croatan at Beechland were not known by the colonials. It is more likely that the Mattamuskeet guerillas used Beechland as a protected place to retreat after a raid. Therefore, I believe that some in the Beechland Community aided and may have fought with the Mattamuskeet—but I have no historical records to support this belief.

The Colonial government finally decided that the Mattamuskeet guerillas could not be defeated, and it would be better to make peace with them. Their reward for accepting a peace treaty was a large reservation in Hyde County. For the first time they owned deeded property that could be sold—which they did almost immediately. The remnants of the coastal Algonquin and the Coree joined forces around the Mattamuskeet reservation. These Mattamuskeet Indians have been variously identified as including the Attamuskeet, Matchapungo, Roanoke, Hatteras, Croatan, and Whapoppin Indians.

Anthropologist Patrick H. Garrow’s determined from the 1715 Colonial deed that the Mattamuskeet reservation in figure 39 was “approximately five by nine miles, well over

twice the 10,240 acres mentioned in the original grant.”

Garrow identified the Mattamuskeet leaders’ names as Squires, Long Tom, and Mackey. He was able to trace descendent through census, tax, and court records but lost their identity when official records no longer called them Indian. The deed below is one of many examples Garrow uncovered involving John Squires, Long Tom, and John Mackey in the disposition of the reservation.

This Indenture made this 27 day of Sept. In ye year of our Lord god one Thousand even Hundred and thirty one and In ye third year of ye Reign of our Sovering Lord George ye Second ... between John Squirs King of ye Arromuskeet Indians with the advice & consent of John Makey & Long Tom ... In the Precinct of Currituck & The County Arelbermerle & In ye Province of North Carolina ... and Henry Gibbs of ye precinct and County & province above said ... for and in consideration of the Sum of Tenn pounds good Lawfull money of the province Province of North Carolina... a tract of Land situated Lying and being In ye province of North Carolina on ye South West Side of New Arromuskeet Creek ... Containing by Estimation Six hundred & forty acres be ye Same more or Less begining__ at ye head of ye Said Creek a Southerly Course to ye head of (___gap___) Creek between ye said Henr Gibbs and John Squirs King... every of Rights and members and appurtenantnes what soever to geather with all houses orchards gardens fences woods waters high ground Sivaners ye marshes and others lawfull money of North Carolina to be paid on demand on ye nonperformance of this present Righting of Endutre...Signed Sealed and delivered in presents of us: John Selby, William (his mark) Spencer: John (his mark) Squires {Seal}, John (his mark) Mackey {Seal}, Long (his mark) Tom {Seal}  

Because parts of the reservations were being sold even before the deed had been recorded in the court house, it appears that many of the Mattamuskeet groups took their share of the sale and left Hyde County. Garrow did not try to trace the Mattamuskeet who left Hyde, and that research was left for Fred Willard. In a follow-up to Garrow’s research, Willard learned that ‘King’ John Squires and Long Tom, two of the principle men of the Mattamuskeet tribe, were not from of any of the coastal Carolina tribes. Thirty years before

81 Garrow, Patrick H., The Mattamuskeet Documents: A Study in Social History (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1979.)

the reservation deed, both men were found living in Maryland and were “used extensively as interpreters in negotiations between the governments of Maryland and various Indian groups in peace negotiations.”\(^{83}\) It appears that the Mattamuskeet had engaged the two ‘consultants’ to negotiate the treaty for them and to manage the sales of the property.

Fred Willard noticed from the deeds that only a few Mattamuskeet Indians were living on reservation land. Although this land is now prosperous Hyde County blacklands farms, most of it could not be farmed without a major drainage effort. Such a drainage effort was beyond the capabilities of the 18th century Mattamuskeet. Willard decided to broaden the search for the remnant of the coastal Indians on the sandy ridges beyond the reservation. He found deeds that traced the Hatteras Elk family from Hatteras Island, to Buck Ridge at the bend of the Alligator River, to the community of Chocowinity far up the Pamlico River near Washington NC. As he continued his research of ancient deeds at known Native American sites, Willard found 169 surnames clearly identified as Indian. A DNA Conference at Williamston, NC, organized by the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research and aided by DNA expert Roberta Estes, gathered DNA of descendants of many of these named individuals. These surname findings provided important additions to Willard’s concept of “The Migration Trail of the Croatan Indians.” Figure 39 show the presumed migration trail of the Croatan. Willard believes that “[I]f you follow the migration trail of the Croatan Indians from 1584 to present, you will find the ‘Lost Colony.’” As Willard explains:

The starting location of this route or trail is the confirmed site of Croatan Indian village located in the present town of Buxton North Carolina and then moves inland to the Dare county mainland. From this location the Croatan Indians migrated and joined with the Mattamuskeet Indians at Lake Mattamuskeet, and lastly moved inland, to the

\(^{83}\) Willard, *Disappearing Indians*, np
west about eighty miles (where they reside today in the tirade of Pine Town, Free Union and Chocowinity.)

Fig 39 - Migration Trail of the Croatan Indians

Willard first became involved in the search for the abandoned colony in 1994 when he invited Dr. David Phelps to the Croatoan site where hundreds of very early English artifacts were found in strata datable to the seventeenth century. The most impressive of these artifacts was a gold signet ring with the lion crest of the Kendall family. There were two Kendall’s associated with the Roanoke voyages.

Willard found six deeds for the Croatoan site listing the Elks family as Hatteras Indians, Native American Indians, or Indian. He then discovered a 1777 deed signed by Samuel Elks selling Buck Ridge near Gum Neck. Buck Ridge is located where the Indian

village of Tramasquocook is depicted on the John White map of 1590. Willard states that many surface artifacts and a reported Indian graveyard have been found in this targeted Indian village. Buck Ridge has been registered as an archaeological site by Willard, but the site has not been confirmed with archaeology at this time. Willard also plans to search for Tramasquocook across the Alligator River where White placed the village in 1585.

Willard tracked down the descendants of the Elk in Chocowinity, NC, which is the approximate site of the Panawauioc village on the White de Bry 1590 map. The Elks family did not know of their Indians ancestry when Willard first encountered them, but their own research through family records and deeds has since convinced them of their connections to the Elks of Hatteras and Buck Ridge of the 1700s. Willard wrote:

There are presently 250-300 people living seventeen miles due east of Greenville, North Carolina in a small town with the Indian name of Chocowinity. This group of people, living in Chocowinity, has recently been informed that they and their ancestors may be a finite part in the famous mystery of the Lost Colony of 1587.

At the other branch of the migration trail, Willard contacted and interrogated the Indians at Free Union near Jamesville, North Carolina. Their historians had long claimed they were descendants of the Mattamuskeet who had migrated to a former Moratuc village on Welch Creek near Williamston, NC. Mr. Charles "Sweet Medicine" Shepard, a Mattamuskeet Indian of Free Union, collaborating with Willard on the early Indian history of the Coastal Plains of North Carolina. “The Lost Colony Center's research supports Mr. Shepard's

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85 Willard credit David, Darlene, Brandon, Charles and Emily Elks of Chocowinity for their research efforts in tracing the Elks family back to the Mattamuskeet Indians.

86 Willard, “Possible Croatoan Descendants,” np.
findings that most, if not all, of the people living in his community of Free Union, have their roots in the Indian cultures of North Carolina.”

I accompanied Mr. Willard and Ms. Sara Whitford on a search for the Squires graveyard in Pine town where the migration trail divides. We were successful in locating the graves of John Squires, born 1840; his wife Althea Squires, born 1847; and his son Lewis Squires, born 1885. Other markers listed Cahoon, Allen, Davis, and some too old or weathered to be read.

87 Willard, Descendants, np.
The first identification of Beechland in colonial records is found on the *Price-Strother Map of North Carolina*, commissioned when the State of North Carolina took possession of the properties of the British Crown and its loyalists after the American Revolution. Although all except loyalist colonial land grants were honored by the State, thousands of square miles of land lay unclaimed – including most of the Croatan peninsula. An accurate map was needed so that the State could begin the sale of its land and pay its massive debts. As part of its taking, the State acquired the Granville Tract, which included Beechland. The 1808 *Price-Strother Map* in figure 40 identifies Beechland as “Beech L.” at the center of the map. The Price-Strother Map suggests land had been cleared at Croatan, Stumpy Point, East Lake, and Poplar Ridge on the peninsula shoreline and Beech L on the interior. A Jackson Patent and John Gray Blount patent are also identified on the interior. This map was prepared soon after speculators, such as John Gray Blount of Washington, NC, laid claim in 1796 to thousands of acres between the Croatan, Albemarle, and Pamlico Sounds. Blount had claimed the entire Croatan peninsula. John Allen, Blount’s surveyor, “wrote to Blount that he had heard of a great forest of cypress in the wilderness, he himself had not seen it; from this it may be inferred that he had not surveyed in detail the interior of the tract.”

The map shows a Blount tract labeled “I.G.B. 5000” at the headwaters of Long Shoal River, where a bombing range is now located. The choice of this site was probably made to take advantage of water access to Long Shoal River. Evidence still exists of a canal between

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88 This map, dedicated to Governor David Stone and Lawyer Peter Brown, was the first actual survey of the State of North Carolina after the American Revolution. It was completed in 1808 by Jonathan Price and John Strother.

89 Lord Granville was the last of the Lords Proprietors to hold property in the Carolina’s after the others had sold their rights to the King.

90 Long, *Five Lost Colonies*, 38.
Long Shoal River and Whipping Creek, connecting the Alligator River and Pamlico Sound. The soils of the Blount tract are mostly deep organic (peat) soils that are unsuitable for row crops but may have contained cypress and juniper. There is no evidence that this site was ever cleared and farmed. By 1830, there was so much cheap land available in Tennessee and Kentucky that John Gray Blount and his associates did “not think any unrecovered swamp land worth reclaiming.”

Genealogist Roberta Estes, who leads a Lost Colony DNA effort, has researched the Beechland names listed in Mary Wood Long’s ‘Five Lost Colonies’ and in my online paper, ‘The Search for the Lost Colony in Beechland.’ Estes searched for the following Beechland names and found some in official records of the region before Beechland was abandoned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutton</th>
<th>Sutton*</th>
<th>Payne/Paine*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White*</td>
<td>Sanderlin/Sandlin</td>
<td>Sawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>Crain/Crane</td>
<td>Owens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basnight</td>
<td>Ambrose*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A Colonist Name

When the Crown purchased Carolina from the Lords Proprietors in 1729, John Carteret, 2nd Earl of Granville refused to sell. He retained the rights to the northern two thirds of North Carolina, thereafter called the Granville Tract, which contained the Croatan

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91 “When I bought Ben Watson’s tract of land adjoining my lake front plantation and it is not inferior to any land in Hyde as to Soil & timber for 3$ per acre that I had made a bad bargain and that I would never see that money paid back from the land. I see now he was correct in his judgement, there are so many of our best citizens moving from this county to the New Country where land is so low that we may give up all idea ever selling any more land in Hyde.” Eli Smallwood letter to John Gray Blount, New Bern, Jan. 23, 1831. David T. Morgan, Ed., John Gray Blount Papers, Vol IV (Raleigh: NC Division of Archives and History, 1982) 557.

peninsula and Beechland. Estes examined Lord Granville’s 1729-1732 Quit Rent rolls for Albemarle County and no Beechland names were found. We may assume they held no Granville Tract grants. Beechland names in Currituck Precinct tax records from 1696 until 1739 were apparently of settlers on the north side of the Albemarle Sound.

After Tyrrell became a county in 1739, the name Owens appeared on the Tyrrell County 1755 tax list. When Tyrrell residents petitioned to form a new county in 1779, the list included a number of Beechland names. This period immediately after the American Revolution, may have been when some of the Beechland residents came out of seclusion. However, it is also possible that north Albemarle families with the same names began to take up newly available Tyrrell County grants from the State of North Carolina. In 1786 and 1790, Beechland names appear in Currituck and Tyrrell County census records, including several in the ‘Miltail the Lake’ district. The census listed Payne, Smith, Owens, Twyford, and Basnight along with twenty other family names.

Continuing through the U.S. Census records of 1820, 1830 and 1840, Estes concluded that there was no sudden Diaspora because of the ‘black tongue disease.’ There was a loss of population, but it was more gradual than a drastic interpretation of the legend would suggest. Estes and her associates continue to collect and analyze DNA data from descendants of Beechland and the surrounding region. With these, she may be able to spread much more light on the ‘Legend of Beechland.’

Between 1880 and 1920, lumber companies laid rail lines over the entire mainland and harvested the large stands of juniper, cypress, and pine. They founded the town of

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93 Ashe, History of North Carolina 267.
Buffalo City (figures 41 and 42) that became a port from which timber was barged or floated to mills in towns around the Albemarle. The Duval’s operated the Dare Lumber Company in Buffalo City until about 1920 when the mill closed. Many of its workers resorted to making illegal East Lake Liquor, which became a famous brand up and down the east coast. With the end of Prohibition, the few remaining residents became even more isolated. The only practical way to enter Beechland at that time was the same as it had been in the 16th Century—by boat down the Milltail Creek

![Image of Buffalo City Logging Train](Fig. 41 - Buffalo City Logging Train)  ![Image of Buffalo City](Fig. 42 - Buffalo City, NC)

. The West Virginian Pulp and Paper Company (Westvaco) purchased the Croatan Peninsula after World War II and found it necessary to significantly improve the drainage for better tree production. First Colony Farms purchased the Westvaco property in the 1970s to complete its holding of about 250,000 acres in Dare, Tyrrell, Hyde, Beaufort, and Washington counties. In 1982, First Colony Farms and the Prudential Insurance Company organized the Prulean Farms joint venture to farm 22,000 acres of the Croatan Peninsula.

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94 The Roanoke Island Historic Center most graciously provided these photographs.
First Colony President Hobart Truesdell applied for a 404 dredge and fill permit from the Corps of Engineers and volunteered to provide an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS).

After years of trying, the Prulean Farms consultants were not able to complete an acceptable EIS because of well organized opposition from numerous environmental organizations and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. When it was no longer economical to continue, Prudential purchase the land from First Colony Farms and donated it to the Nature Conservancy. The Nature Conservancy determined that it was too large for them to manage and donated the property to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The Service has since managed the Croatan Peninsula land as part of the Alligator River Wildlife Refuge, into which they introduced a rare breed of red wolves at Sandy Ridge. Although it is no longer beyond the reach of a casual explorer, Beechland remains almost as unoccupied today as it was when the first settlers arrived. It should not be surprising that a group of settlers could have remain undisturbed in the center of the Croatan Peninsula for hundreds of years when no one was looking for them.
Chapter 7

THE LEGEND OF BEECHLAND

“Beechland is a colony with only a verbal history. It has remained for generations an important part of the heritage of several families of Dare County. The story of Beechland has been told from father to son as a “fireside tale,” as Chauncey Meekins calls it. But this is not a tale of men and women of courage and fortitude that is without foundation. Lumbermen, hunters and forest technologists have walked over Beechland and have read in the earth, the trees, and the planted shrubs the story of these settlers. Proof of their settlement has been found by the employees of the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, former owners of the woodland. . . . How they arrived in the center of the wilderness is a fascinating problem, equaled by the question: When did Beechland begin?”

The hypothesis that I proposed in Chapter 4 is consistent with the legend of Beechland as well as with the stated intentions of the colonists. In my hypothesis, Beechland was the destination primarily of married couples, single women, and young children who removed from the nearby Croatan village of Sandy Ridge in order to maintain their English culture. The persistent legend of Beechland holds that its residents were descendants of the colonists who came from Roanoke Island and of the Croatan.

Some physical evidence of Beechland remains, but a rising sea level and encroaching forests have hidden all but a few signs of the former farms and pastures. (Appendix B, The Croatan Peninsula, describes the effects of rising sea level.) Cursory archaeological surveys by Dr. David Phelps in the 1970s and Carolina Archaeological Associates in the 1980s found Beechland to be archaeologically and historically extremely sensitive. However, the complete study they recommended has never been done. In field trips with the Lost Colony

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2 Carolina Archaeological Services (CAS) A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance for Prulean Farms Joint Venture Proposed Farmlands Project (Research Triangle Park NC: The Research Triangle Institute, October 1982.)
Center for Science and Research between 2004 and 2008, I observed a shingle ditch, a homestead well, an ancient graveyard, and the likely location of riven coffins. Until there is a thorough archaeological study, oral history remains the best indication we have that the colonists were at Beechland.

Fortunately, many of the descendants of Beechland have remained in Tyrrell and Dare counties. They insist that the early residents of Beechland were descendants of the abandoned colonists and of the Croatan. These story tellers claim that the colonists of Roanoke came to Beechland, merged with the Croatan, and remained there for 250 years with minimal contact with the outside world. Men who hunted below Milltail Creek 60 years ago tell of homestead features that were still visible in the mid 20th Century. That Beechland sheltered the abandoned colonists is mostly based on such stories, but they are numerous and consistent.

Although oral histories are far from proof that the colonists were at Beechland, most other lost colony hypotheses lack even this type of evidence. Only Dawson’s Croatoan hypotheses offers better evidence and it complements the Beechland hypothesis. Historians are rightly skeptical of oral histories, but they should not be ignored when the written record is so very limited. Archaeologist can use them to narrow their search efforts, and historian can use them to explain written records that are otherwise unintelligible. I have compiled much of Beechland’s oral history and present it in this chapter.

The legend of Beechland has been quietly alive in Dare County for decades, but only a few writers of books and newspaper articles have called public attention to it. Authors Bill
Sharp, Victor Meekins, Judge Charles Whedbee, and Nell Wise Wechter have all reported the legend in print. I was introduced to Beechland in 1982 when I read Mrs. Long then-unpublished manuscript, *The Five Lost Colonies of Dare*. In her spare time, Mrs. Long researched the history of Dare County for her book about the abandoned 1587 colony and four other lost colonies of Dare. In *The Five Lost Colonies of Dare* she stated:

In the center of this wilderness, seemingly impassable if one left the roads carefully cut through the forest, there lies a high sandy ridge known as Beechland. Here once lived a large village of people, numbering at one time seventy families, or roughly seven hundred. Here were their homes, farms, and sources of livelihood. Precisely who they were is unknown, but knowledge of how they lived has passed down through generations.

Mrs. Long learned of the Beechland legend from interviews with Dare County Sheriff Frank Cahoon, businessman Roland D. Sawyer, Mr. and Mrs. Chester Holmes, John T. Ambrose, Wilson Ambrose, Henry Smith, and Claude C. Duval. These citizens of Dare County were among many who believed that Beechland was the destination of the abandoned colonists. “This belief is part of their family heritage as well their conviction formed by observation at the Beechland site.”

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3 I discovered Mrs. Long’s manuscript in the Fort Raleigh National Park Service library while researching the history of the Dare mainland for the Prulean Farms Environmental Impact Study. Because it contained a collection of oral histories about Beechland, I requested and received Mrs. Long’s permission to copy the manuscript and later requested her permission for Family Research Society, a genealogy program in Elizabeth City, N.C. to publish it. Mrs. Long was a South Carolina high school drama teacher who took part in the Lost Colony drama for many years as costumer designer and actress. Mrs. Long, who passed away in 1988, played the role of Queen Elizabeth for ten years, longer than any other actress. Her son William Ivy Long continues to costume the Lost Colony actors. “Lost Colony’s Education Pages” (2009) *The Lost Colony Organization*, Web June 8, 2010

4 The five Lost Colonies of Dare were the abandoned 1587 colony, the vanishing Indians, the freed slave colony on Roanoke Island, Buffalo City, and Beechland.


Those who visited in the first half of the 20th Century found many more traces of Beechland than exist today. Claude Duval told Mary Wood Long that when he went to Beechland around 1900 he saw old cart roads, some fence rails, and home sites not completely covered by tree growth. He observed a row of wild rose bushes, carefully planted and trained to grow as a hedge. Another home site had native small shrubs planted as a hedgerow, as in England. There were pear and apple trees where they are not native.  

Victor Meekins, former editor of the Outer Banks Coastal Times, wrote in 1960 that the abandoned colonists merged with later North Carolina settlers through the years, after having lived and flourished for two centuries within 20 miles of the original settlement on Roanoke Island. According to Meekins, “The Beechland legend is nothing new. It has been told by many people, and a dozen old citizens of East Lake who would now be close to 100 years old have repeatedly told the story. The trouble is few people have wanted to believe it.” Meekins told Long that there was a footpath from Beechland to Long Shoal River, and it had been walked on for so many years that its location was easily found. In several places, pegged wooden bridges crossed streams or marshes too wide for the traveler to jump across. This path was taken by settlers who went to Long Shoal Bay for their oysters, clams and shrimp.  

Meekins interviewed Marshall Twiford for a 1960 article that appeared in the Virginian Pilot and the Raleigh News and Observer. Twiford claimed to have descended

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7 Long, Five Lost Colonies, 54.
8 Victor Meekins, “Colony Was Never Lost, Merged with Settlers, Dare Native Says,” News and Observer, Raleigh: July 03, 1960: The story was picked up by the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot whose journalist also interviewed Twiford.
9 Long, Five Lost Colonies, 54.
from Beechland residents and boasted of Indian blood in his veins. He was born in East Lake (10 miles north of Beechland) in 1876 and was 83 when he told his story to Meekins. According to Twiford, the Beechland story is thoroughly known in local tradition. “When I was a boy, there never seemed to be any mystery about this settlement, for the old folks took it for granted that everyone knew it. . . Old people always told me that older people before them said that the Beechland settlement was founded by the English who ran away from Roanoke Island.”

Judge Charles Whedbee told the Beechland story in his 1966 book, Legends of the Outer Banks. Whedbee wrote:

Within the memory of men still living, there was at Beechlands [sic] a tribe of fair-skinned, blue-eyed Indians. Some of these people still bear the names of colonists who were carried on Governor White’s rolls as having been left on Roanoke. . . . it may be just coincidence that these names are exactly the names of some of the missing colonists.

Sheriff Frank Cahoon told Whedbee that he is proud of the possibility that he is a descendent of the Lost Colony. Cahoon believed that the Indians who frequented the Alligator River area had become known as the Matchapungo rather than the Croatan. He said, “I consider the Matchapungo Indians to be the real original settlers of this territory, and I am extremely proud of the part they took in helping Sir Walter Raleigh’s Lost Colony.”

10 Meekins, “Colony Was Never Lost . . .”
11 Charles Whedbee, “Beechland,” Legends of the Outer Banks and Tar Heel Tidewater, (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher 1966.) 30: Whedbee listed such Beechland names as John White, Culbert White, Thomas Coleman, Richard Taverner, John Gibbs, James Hynde, Michael Bishop, Thomas Phevens, and Henry Paine. The names of all the colonists are listed in Chapter 3.
12 I was also able to interview Sheriff Cahoon in 1982 and received confirmation of what he had told Charles Whedbee.
The Mann family had settled on the Croatan peninsula at least by 1733, as shown on the Moseley map in figure 33. Descendent Thomas Mann of Mann’s Harbor held staunchly to the idea that the colony was not lost. Mann told Whedbee that the colony “still lives in the descendants of those English and Indian allies who fled Roanoke Island in 1587.”

Author and teacher Nell Wise Wechter considered Beechland, lying to the west of Roanoke Island about fifty miles off by water, to be the logical place for the settlers to have gone. According to Wechter, historians have said the Matchapungo built a settlement on the mainland that they called Croatan.13 Wechter’s conversations with older Dare mainland residents such as H.A. Creef, Jr., a history buff in Manteo, and Alvin Ambrose of East Lake helped solidify her belief. One of Ambrose’s ancestors, who timbered and trapped in Beechland, told Ambrose that they were the abandoned colonists. So did Mrs. Ruby Gray of Stumpy Point who told Wechter that her grandfather Charles L. Mann used to talk a great deal about “Beechlands.” He firmly believed it was the place where the lost colonists went from Roanoke Island. Based on such comments by Mann and others, Wechter puzzled: “It is

13 It is likely that she was referring to Stephen B. Weeks.
a matter of curiosity to this writer why, in three hundred eighty-seven years, English or American historians, antiquarians or archaeologists have not investigated Beechlands [sic] to a greater extent, studied its artifacts and inscriptions and published their findings.”

Bill Sharp did not mention the Lost Colony Legend in his *New Geography of North Carolina*, but the local knowledge he collected helps explain Beechland. Sharp was a writer for the Artist and Writer’s Program of the WPA in the 1930s that traveled to seldom-visited corners of the state to gather material for a *New Geography* travel guide. When Sharp visited, the Dare mainland was a forgotten byway that could only be reached by boat or ferry. Beechland and Buffalo City had been all but abandoned; but a few fishermen, boat builders, and dairy farmers remained scattered throughout the East Lake community and some were descendents of Beechland. They told Sharp of a once thriving community on Milltail Creek where planters cultivated 5,000 acres and cattle roamed 25,000 acres of reed lands. They told him of a community that had existed for hundreds of years, well hidden from the Albemarle colonies around them. They cut shingles and sailed their periaugers to the West Indies where such products were in great demand. In the mid 19th Century, the community was severely attacked by an unidentified disease that they called the ‘Black Tongue.’ Almost all of the surviving community moved away from Beechland to escape the disease.

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Marshall Twiford provided details about the Beechland families. He had visited Beechland before 1900 by traveling beside a shingle ditch. “I use to go up there when I was a boy, and there were still several houses standing in Beechland. Most of the houses were log houses, and some had only dirt floors. You reached it by paddling up Milltail Creek about ten miles from Alligator River.”\textsuperscript{16} Twiford remembers that everyone had plenty by the standards of the time. There was smoked and salt meat and fish in their smoke house, their barns were well filled with grain. Their hogs and cattle roamed the woods to be used when needed to supplement their venison, bear meat, wild geese and ducks, etc. The hollow trees abounded with honey.\textsuperscript{17} They tanned their own leather, and made shoes and saddles. The citizens spun their own thread at home and wove all their own fabrics. They bought only salt and sugar, and a few such other items. When kerosene came, they began rubbing their arms and faces with it for protection against the summer hordes of flies and mosquitoes. They built smokes or smudges in the evening to drive mosquitoes away, for they had no screens.

Twiford said that residents around Beechland had names similar to the colonists, such as Dutton, Sutton, Payne, Paine, and White. He also remembered families of Sanderlins, Sawyers, Edwards, Owens, Basnights, and Ambroses. Mary Wood Long also listed the Sanderlins, Paines, Basnights, Twiford (or Twyford), Duttons and Caines whose descendent still live in the region. They were joined later by the Sawyers, Pinters, and Cahoons; and all these names are repeated in many family plots. Long said the settlers of Beechland were English, unquestionably, and the Indians were living with them.

\textsuperscript{16} Meekins interview in Coastal Times.

\textsuperscript{17} A 2004 interview with Bill Biggs, a Manteo resident and 1950s backwoods hunter disclosed that the best bear hunting was at the honey bee trees on Beechland.
Long said that the number of families who lived on Beechland varied with the story teller from thirty-five to seventy-five families and possibly the Black Tongue plague could account for some of the differences. The size of the families was large, from nine to fourteen persons in each family. “If an estimate of ten persons per family can be made, basing this on the number of persons in pioneer families in other sections of the colonies, . . . then one may estimate that between three hundred and eight hundred people lived at Beechland, with the population varying at different periods.”18

On a field trip to Beechland, I met Bill Biggs, who hunted around Beechland as a child and an adult. Biggs’ grandfather, Otho Cartwright Ward, told Biggs the legend of Beechland—which to Ward included all of the places on and below the Milltail Creek. Grandfather Ward told Bill that, even thought they left because of a disease, many gradually drifted back to their old home places at Sandy Ridge, Beechland ‘Old Field’, and Popular Ridge. Most thought that the Black Tongue disease that devastated the community was from the islands. In earlier times, their ancestors had sailed to the islands themselves.

Ms. Lethia Sawyer, who was born in Buffalo City, was Biggs oldest relative. She remembered people coming to church from Beechland on Sunday morning in dugout canoes—much like the Secotan canoes drawn by John White. She thought they were very clannish and not very social. She also passed on the story of Indian blood in the Beechland settlers. Other sources of the legend were the Ambroses and ‘old man Sam Pinner,’ who was older than Ms. Lethia. When Biggs was an eleven year old boy, Sam Pinner was 90 and moved around in an ox cart. Ms. Lethia and Mr. Pinner told Biggs the legend of the lost

colony; but as a boy Biggs always thought that was “somebody wanting to make a tale—be somebody.” “People lived at East Lake liked to claim it. I don’t know if it was their bragging rights or what.” “You are looking at people—a lot of them probably—never went to school a day in their life.” Biggs knew Sheriff Frank Cahoon, who was younger than his grandfather but told the same stories about Beechland.

West Virginia Paper Company employees of the 1950s and 1960s were often in Beechland. They could identify Beechland Old Field, a portion of the settlement, and the homestead of one of the families. Aerial photographs showed the Old Field to be a cleared spot of about five acres that had not been encroached upon by nature. In one corner of the aerial photographs a clump of trees can be seen, evidentially marking the site of the house and its dependencies. James Mann, Maintenance Director for Westvaco, said that within the Old Field one could see the ridges where corn had grown and the hills that once produced potatoes, still formed as clearly as if the farmer of long ago had just departed.19

What remains of Beechland, of ‘those people who lived on a high knoll somewhere over there in the swamp,’ as a Roanoke Islander called them? Physical remains of their occupancy of the sandy ridge have been discovered, although none of these remains have as yet been archaeologically excavated and defined. . . A ditch, some coffins, some ballast stones, old shingles, and the memory of roses and fruit trees, this is the remaining echo from Beechland.20

Accidental discoveries of ancient coffins have helped to confirm the existence of Beechland. The first reported was by Marshall Twiford who recalled that he saw an old

coffin unearthed when he was young (late nineteenth century.) It was found in one of the two graveyards of Beechland, and nothing remained inside but dust. The coffin was made of two parts scooped out like a dugout canoe. The deeper part was the coffin, the shallow part was inverted for a lid, and the whole put together with pegs. At each end of the coffin, ballast rocks had been used to mark the graves.

In the 1950s, West Virginia Pulp and Paper Co. (Westvaco) dredged canals and constructed roads throughout the Croatan peninsula (figure 44) to improve timber production. While dredging a canal south of Milltail Creek, a dredge operator dug up a child sized coffin cut out of a cypress log. Although child sized, the coffin more closely resembled a dugout canoe (figure 45) than a traditional wooden coffin. The operator also saw parts of several other coffins at the edge of the canal. The centuries old cypress canoes found in Lake Phelps demonstrate that such coffins can survived in water or wet ground for hundred of years.
The dredge supervisor inquired of older residents and, although several ancient graveyards had been identified in the neighborhood, this one was previously unknown. The operator placed the coffin on the side of the canal and reburied it, and the supervisor shifted the canal path slightly to avoid the remaining coffins. M. F. Kemp, who was the drag-line operator who uncovered the riven coffins, told the following to Long:

His scoop brought up board-like tree sections, and had moved forward into the site before Mr. Kemp realized what had happened. He stopped the machine as it held a long object which he identified as a coffin. This coffin was almost complete, although the top had been broken by the drag-line. It was about four feet long, and was hand carved from two sections of a log, one serving as the bottom of the coffin and one as the top, these were pegged together. The bottom section was carved so that a wooden “pillow” was provided for the headrest. The coffin was wider at the shoulder section, narrower toward the foot. Upon examination of the other boards or coffin sections, Mr. Kemp decided that five other coffins had been damaged and torn apart by his machine. There were no descriptive marks on the coffins other than the tool marks struck into the wood as the coffins were built. If anything had remained within the coffin it was washed out into the swamp water when the scoop cut through the top section. Mr. Kemp stopped work, and returned to the West Virginia office, where he reported what he had found.²¹

Supervisor James Mann returned with Kemp to the site, and together they investigated the area. Mann gave the following report to Mrs. Long.

The cemetery was a high knoll approximately thirty feet in diameter; it was surrounded by swamp water and marsh at a depth of five feet. The men decided it was a family burial plot, dating from the time of the earliest settlers of Beechland. Mr. Mann selected a site on high ground near the canal and the portions of the old coffins were reburied. Mr. Mann inquired about the burial site, and none of the older residents of the Manns Harbor or East Lake area could remember ever hearing of a cemetery at that spot. If the site had been known, said Mr. Mann, the road and canal would have been routed around it rather than desecrate a burial site. All the residents he talked with felt that the type of coffin and its construction could have come only from the early settlers of the eighteenth century.²²

²¹ Long, Five Lost Colonies, 55.
²² Long, Five Lost Colonies, 55.
The most elaborate version of the 1950s riven coffin story was written by Judge Whedbee in *Legends of the Outer Banks*:

A few years ago when the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company was doing some excavating for timbering purposes, they had to dig into a rather large mound near Beechlands [sic]. In this mound, in the heart of the wilderness, they found numerous Indian artifacts, arrowheads, works of pottery, and potsherds. They also found several riven coffins that were made from solid cypress wood. They were made in a form that can he best described as two canoes—one canoe being the top half of the coffin, and the other the bottom half. On the top of each of these coffins was plainly and deeply chiseled a Roman or Latin cross, the type that has come to be universally and traditionally accepted as the cross of Christianity. Beneath each cross were the unmistakable letters, I N R I. These are thought to represent the traditional ‘Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judaeorum’ or, translated, ‘Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews,’ the inscription which adorned the cross of Christ at the time of the crucifixion. It was common practice in Elizabethan times to write the letter ‘I’ for the letter ‘J.’ It was simpler and was accepted by the literate people of that day. A riven coffin with English carvings buried in the midst of a wilderness in an Indian burial ground—is that coincidence?  

Was this a Croatan or an English burial ground or both? John White and Thomas Harriot describe an Indian practice of burial on stilts for the leading men. Harriot also referred to the burial below ground of Indian bodies, but he does not mentioning coffins. John Smith wrote that the Powhatan bury their dead in the ground without coffins: “... their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes; and the corpes being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the

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24 Chapter 3, figure 15.

ground, and so cover them with earth.” 26 Although it does not appear to have been a practice in ‘Virginia,’ Indian elsewhere sometimes used canoes as coffins:

... at Santa Barbara, California, canoes containing corpses have been found buried though they may have been intended for the dead warrior's use in the next world. Canoes mounted on a scaffold near a river were used as coffins by some tribes, while others placed the corpse in a canoe or wicker basket and floated them out into the stream or lake. 27 Europeans might have used canoe-like split tree trunks for coffins at the time the abandoned colonists left England.

The most primitive wooden coffin was formed of a tree-trunk split down the centre, and hollowed out. This type of coffin ... was used in medieval Britain by those of the better classes who could not afford stone, but the poor were buried without coffins. Towards the end of the 17th century, coffins became usual for all classes. 28

The small amount of archaeological research that has been completed at Beechland was summarized in a previous chapter. 29 During the first of these archaeologists scans in 1972, Dr. David Phelps and students from East Carolina University attempted unsuccessfully to locate the coffins. Dr. Phelps made the following statements about the attempt:

Mr. James Mann, who was the Westvaco supervisor when the coffins were exposed, showed us a location approximately 150 feet south of Milltail Creek, and immediately south of the intersection of Beechland Road with the road to the bombing range. Here, on the east side of Beechland Road, the coffins were exposed during excavation of the canal, and the remnants were reburied immediately east of the present canal. High water in the canal prevented observation of coffin remnants reported to be protruding from the canal bank. Mr. Mann suggested we talk with Mr. Iris Ralph, whom he said was the drag-line operator responsible for exposing the coffins. Mr. Ralph indicated an area on the north side of Milltail Creek as the point of exposure. This location was tested and found to be low, wet clay soil with typical swamp


29 Chapter 4, pages 104.
vegetation and no evidence of intrusive graves. The discrepancy between the two reported locations was not understood, and in retrospect, the location pointed out by Mr. Mann appears to be the most likely.

The information from Dr. Phelps proved to be somewhat misleading. When Dr. Phelps referred to Beechland Road in the quote above, he was actually referring to present day Milltail Road. I prepared figures 46 and 47 to explain this. Figure 46 is drawn from a ‘USGS 1953 Buffalo City’ map used by Dr. Phelps, and figure 47 in a 2010 Google map of the same area. Beechland Road on the USGS map became Milltail Road on the Google map. The new Beechland Road at the intersection C in the Google map is consistent with the road signs now found on the property.

Phelps’ statement that the coffin location was “approximately 150 feet south of Milltail Creek and immediately south of the intersection of Beechland Road with the road to the bombing range” cannot be accurate. The road to the bombing range is Possum Road in figures 46 and 47, and its intersection with Milltail Road is at legend ‘B’. Milltail Creek Bridge ‘A’ and Possum Road ‘B’ are approximately one mile apart. I believe that Dr. Phelps intended to write ‘150 feet south of Possum Road.” The coffin location shown on figure 47 is approximately 150 feet south of Possum Road.32

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30 In 1982 I made my first attempt to find the coffins with the help of Steve Barnes and Mr. Iris Ralph who was reported to have been the drag-line operator. Mr. Ralph misled us as he had Dr. Phelps by taking us to a location north instead of south of the Milltail Creek. I have since learned that M.L. Kemp was the drag-line operator and not Iris Ralph.


32 CAS also called attention to the intersection of Possum and Milltail roads where canal dredging exposed historic period coffins. “A synopsis of data gathered by Phelps, together with information recorded during the present investigations and on-site observation of local environmental conditions, suggests that this intersection area holds extremely high potential for the location of a very early historic period cemetery.”
In the winter of 2006 - 2007, I made six field trips into Beechland with volunteers from the Lost Colony Center for Science and Research. Our initial search was for the riven coffin and the shingle ditch described by Mary Wood Long’s sources. We were successful in locating the shingle ditch. However, without permits from numerous authorities, we could not make the shovel test that might have disclosed the coffin cemetery. I have since contacted the State Archaeologist and the Archaeologists for the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service whose permission we must have to initiate the below ground search. When the necessary funds are in hand and a qualified archaeologist is recruited, these authorities expressed willingness to support our efforts. Meanwhile, I believe that our field trips have confirmed that the most likely location of the coffins is marked in figure 47.
One reason the settlers went to Beechland was to harvest the pine, cypress, and juniper trees found on or near their ridge. At some point, the settlers learned of the profit to be made in the West Indies from the sale of shingles. The initial settlers may not have known this, but settlers from Barbados who arrived in the Albemarle before 1700 may have told them of the opportunity. Some went down the Alligator River to cut shingles, and Beechland residents may have learned of the opportunity from them.\(^3\) They needed a way to move the shingles down to the Milltail Creek where they could be shipped to the West Indies. Mary Wood Long told of a two mile long hand-dug ditch from a juniper stand near Beechland Old Field to upper Milltail Creek.

It is thought that the ditch was dug to provide a waterway for small shallow craft used to carry the shingles from the woods to the larger boats anchored in the deeper waters of the Creek. Bundles of hand-cut shingles have been found in the peat and in the swamp waters. James Mann has said that today [1960s], in spite of fires and hurricane damaged trees, there is evidence of juniper and cypress cutting done by the men of Beechland. In Mill Tail Creek many ballast stones have been found . . . too far from large river mouths where they might have been carried by water force. Obviously the ballast stones had been brought in to Mill Tail by the early handmade boats.\(^4\)

Our search for the shingle ditch on the Lost Colony Center field trips was more successful than our search for the reburied coffin. ‘Beech Land Landing’ was identified on the 1953 USGS 1953. A section of that USGS map in figure 48 shows the path of the shingle ditch from Possum Road to Beech Land Landing on Milltail Creek. After walking along the

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\(^3\) James Sprunt recorded that 17th Century Barbados settlers on the Cape Fear River abandoned their settlement because of trouble with the Local Indians. Fred Willard has proposed that some of those settlers came in contact with those in the Beechland area and told of the opportunity to sell shingles and timber in Barbados. A genealogy study of the family of Albert Eure has some members of the Eure family moving from Barbados to the Alligator River to cut shingles. James Sprunt, *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896* (Wilmington: Legwin Brothers Printers, 1896.)

\(^4\) Long, *Five Lost Colonies*, 50.
ditch half way back to the creek, we were able to faintly identify the slightly curved path of the shingle ditch on the Google satellite view shown in figure 49.

![Ditch from Beech Land Landing](image1)

![Shingle Ditch Satellite View](image2)

**Figure 48 – Ditch from Beech Land Landing**  **Figure 49 - Shingle Ditch Satellite View**

On other field trips we walked along the shingle ditch from Milltail Road to John Earl Road. Figure 50 shows the path that we followed from just south of the intersection of Milltail Road and Possum Road, using GPS to record the course. Along the way we found wooden gravestones, evidence of a long abandoned homestead, and the possible location of the reburied coffin. It was necessary to use a boat to cross the Milltail Road canal. Almost immediately, we came upon a mound beside the shingle ditch that appeared to fit the description of the place where the coffins were found. It is near the intersection and beside the shingle ditch.

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35 Roberta Estes first located the ditch on the satellite view and place the labels on the figure.
Fig. 50- Path of Shingle Ditch South of Possum Road

. Figure 51 is a photograph of the mound. Several other graveyards exist in Beechland and its vicinity. Carolina Archaeological Service observed a graveyard at Sandy Ridge where
descendants had replaced the old wooden markers with granite marker after roads were constructed.\footnote{The road to the graveyard is now gated by the Fish and Wildlife Service to discourage visits to the Red Wolves pens at Sandy Ridge.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig51.png}
\caption{Suspected Coffin Mound}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig52.png}
\caption{Wooden Grave Marker}
\end{figure}

As we continued along the shingle ditch, we slogged through parallel ditches that had been dug by Westvaco. Just south on the first parallel ditch, we found one of the Beechland graveyards that had been reported in the oral histories. About ten feet from the shingle ditch we noticed a wooden plank in the ground. Investigating further, we found a number of such aged wooden markers in poor condition in what appeared to be an ancient graveyard. Figure 52 shows one of the better surviving markers. Although these grave markers are not old enough to be the graves of the original settlers, these Juniper or cypress markers have lasted for quite a long time.

Judge Whedbee reported that there was an extensive field in Beechland known as the ‘Malocki Old Indian Field,’ owned at one time by an Indian named Malocki Paine, son of
Henry Paine. Paine was the names of one of the abandoned colonists, and the sister of Malocki Paine was an ancestor of Frank Cahoon, former Sheriff of Dare County. 37 We entered the shingle ditch at John Earl Road and followed it north. A little way along the ditch we saw another hand dug ditch and followed it west to a clearing. The clearing appears to have been the site of a homestead because we found a rectangular hole in the ground where a well had been dug (figure 53.) Oak trees with an unusual acorn that almost fully enclosed by the husk had been planted there in a straight line (figure 54.) We may have found the Malachi Payne homestead.

![Fig. 53 - Malachi Paine Well & Tree Shadow](image1) ![Fig. 54 Full Cup Acorn](image2)

The old folks told Bill Biggs of a people who lived ‘back here’ and axed out hand-cut juniper shingles. The shingles were floated down the shingle ditch where they were loaded on sailboats “from down in the islands.” Mary Wood Long’s sources told her that, before the islands ships came here, the men of Beechland sailed the products of the forest to the island in their own large dugout canoes:

37 Whedbee, Legends, 30.
For untold generation these men of English descent made their trips to the Caribbean. Cypress and juniper shingles and barrel staves brought them products of the outside world, livestock, including cattle, pigs, sheep, and chickens. They saw the world of the tropics and told their womenfolk about it. . . They cut cypress and juniper shingles and barrel staves. They loaded them on their hand-made boats, sailed down Mill Tail Creek, the Alligator River, across Albemarle and Roanoke Sounds to Roanoke Inlet into the Atlantic Ocean. They sailed on to the Barbados, the West Indies, and Jamaica. They bartered in these ports their shingles and barrel staves, loaded their ships, and sailed the same route homeward to Beechland. To the settlers of Beechland, there was nothing unusual in this. It was their way of life. To them, they were homesteaders, lumbermen and mariners. 38

This type of canoe has been identified as a periauger. It was first made by adopting the Native American dugout method and then enhanced by using metal tools.

Figure 55 shows a smaller 30-barrel periauger built recently out of cypress to simulate a boat from a single log. 39 Expanded periaugers might carry eighty or a hundred barrels and would sail out into the ocean as far as the West Indies— a claim that some present day yachtsmen are skeptical of. 40

The process of building a periauger is described in the following quote from the North Carolina Maritime Museum:

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38 Long, Five Lost Colonies, 50.

39 ‘Miss P’ is the periauger constructed by the NC Maritime Museum for the Perquimans County Restoration Association which manages the Newbold-White House, the oldest brick house in North Carolina. A periauger was owned by the family who first lived in the house.

40 “[They] sometimes made trading voyages to the West Indies. This was a surprising accomplishment for a flat-bottomed vessel.” Michael B. Alford, Traditional Work Boats of North Carolina (Beaufort NC: NC Maritime Museum 1990) 7.
The first settlers found it convenient and economical to build their boats by the dugout log method. Large cypress trees were readily available throughout the coastal region and boats were more easily made by converting the logs directly in this manner, than by having the logs sawn into lumber for conventional plank construction. John Lawson, during his exploration of North Carolina, described these boats as early as 1700 and reported that they would outlast a conventional boat by three or four times. Boats built by this method can be seen in photographs dating to the first decade of the twentieth century, lending some credibility to his observation. Some log boats were made by splitting the hollowed log down the center and adding timbers much like a keel and deadwood in a plank-built boat. This technique was adaptable to the use of more than one log, which meant that larger boats of even greater capacity could be built. 41

In 1709, John Lawson provided an interesting story about a colonial owner of a pereaugers.

Of these great trees (the cypress) the pereaugers or canoes are scooped and made, which sort of vessels are made chiefly to pass over the rivers, creeks and bays, and to transport goods and lumber from one river to another. Some are so large as to carry thirty barrels, though one piece of timber. Others that are split down the bottom and a piece added thereto, will carry eighty or a hundred. Several have gone out of our inlets on to the Ocean and Virginia laden with pork and other produce of the country. Of these trees curious boats for pleasure may be made, and other necessary craft. 42

John Lawson observed that colonial authorities were also skeptical of any attempt to sail to the Caribbean in a periauger:

Some years ago a foolish man in Albemarle and his son had got one of these deck’d. She held, as I take it, sixteen barrels. He brought her to the Collectors to be cleared for Barbados, but the officer took him for a man who had lost his senses, and argued the danger and the impossibility of performing such a voyage in a hollow tree, but the fellow would hearken to no advise of that kind, till the gentleman told him if he did not value his own life, he valued his reputation and honesty, and so flatly refused clearing him, upon which the canoe was sold, and, I think remains in being still. 43


43 Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina, 104.
Long said that with such a pioneering independence and the seclusion offered by Beechland, one need not ask if they bothered to clear with the customs inspectors at the Port of Roanoke for permits to make the journey, as did the foolish man of Albemarle and his son. “Of course they didn’t.”

In following their route by water, with a modern map before him, Lt. Commander Roger Bell was asked, ‘Now was this possible? As a Navy man who can comprehend the problems involved, can you answer this, whatever possessed them to attempt such a voyage in the first place, then continue it for centuries as a livelihood?’ Commander Bell looked at the map carefully, then gave the answer that is the summation of the Beechland Colony, ‘No one told them they couldn’t do it.’

It is widely acknowledged that the Beechland community was all but abandoned in the mid 19th Century because of a plague called ‘the black tongue.’ By 1840, Beechland was all but deserted. The black tongue plague has become a part of the Beechland legend in the following anecdote from Mrs. Long’s book:

Into Beechland went a preacher, Charles Mann. He saw the life of the people, their prosperity, and their worldly possessions. He noticed the absence of the Bible, and heard no one speak of the love of God or the salvation of the soul. The preacher warned the people that if they did not turn to the ways of God, learn to read His word and follow it, and accept the principles of Christianity, God would forget them, the Devil would own them, and God would turn His face from them. Also, since the people had no preacher among them, they had undoubtedly not performed their marriage vows in a generally accepted fashion. Then, the Devil struck. A terrible plague appeared, called in the legend ‘the Black Tongue.’ Rapidly the people were stricken, and many of the people died. Not a family was spared the death of a loved one. Those who had the physical strength left, as they fought the plague, buried the dead. When the Black Tongue was over, the settlement was decimated. Beechland was paradise no longer.

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44 Long, *Five Lost Colonies*, 50.
The nature of ‘the black tongue’ malady has not been determined, but there have been many opinions about it. Bill Sharp said his local sources thought that it was cholera brought back from the West Indies.\textsuperscript{47} Dr. W. W. Harvey, Jr. told Mary Wood Long that is could have been a form of bubonic plague brought from the Indies, as the swelling and blackening of the tongue is a symptom of this disease.\textsuperscript{48} Buxton researcher Barbara Midgette found that anthrax was once called ‘black tongue’ in a historic medical dictionary. Pellagra is another possibility, because it is characterized by a black tongue.\textsuperscript{49} South American natives treated maize with lime, which caused niacin to be made available; and in 1937 Europeans learned that niacin cured pellagra.\textsuperscript{50} Diets heavily dependent on untreated corn, which may have been the case in Beechland, were eventually found to be the cause of pellagra.

Long reports that one family, that of Trimmergin Sanderlin, wouldn’t leave Beechland despite the plague.

He reared his family there, farmed his land, let his cattle and pigs roam free in the wilderness. He cut his shingles and barrel staves, loaded them on his boats, and sailed for the Indies in the old way. It was the life that Beechland had always lived, but for Trimmergin and his family it must have been a lonely one. He was the last permanent resident of Beechland.\textsuperscript{51}

Several of the families moved northward to present day East Lake and Twiford communities where they cleared fields and built homes. Some moved only as far as Sandy


\textsuperscript{48} Long, \textit{Five Lost Colonies}, 50.


\textsuperscript{51} Long, \textit{Five Lost Colonies}, 54.
Ridge. Gradually families moved back into Poplar Ridge, and the Richmond Cedar Works opened logging operations in the lower section of Milltail Creek where several homes and a commissary were built. Other homesteads were built in solitary spots where the land was good. In later years all homes near the early site were said to be at Beechland. “Never again was it the thriving happy village it had been, never again was it the forest center of a sea-faring community.”

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CONCLUSIONS

My conclusions in this thesis contradict traditional historiography concerning the lost colony. I believe that Sir Walter Ralegh’s 1587 colony was sent to ‘Virginia’ to harvest sassafras near Beechland and was never destined for Chesapeake Bay. The colonists’ destination was kept secret in part to hide their location from the Spaniard.1 It also kept ‘other than wellwishers” from learning the location of the sassafras for as long as possible—thereby maximizing the profit potential of Ralegh’s monopoly.2 These secrets were kept by placing disinformation in the Roanoke voyage narratives and by providing false information to Spain. As David Quinn explained in Roanoke Voyages, the need for secrecy grew as the war with Spain intensified – and this coincided with the voyage of the abandoned colonists.3 Ralegh was so successful in these deceptions that Spain continued to believe there was an English colony on Chesapeake Bay even after evidence of the English colonists was found near Roanoke Island.

We have learned that Ralegh sent ships to ‘Virginia’ after John White’s 1590 voyage, and I believe they went to collect sassafras and to re-supply the colonists. Ralegh sent six small ships to ‘Virginia’ between 1597 and 1602, and possibly others went earlier and later.4

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1 “There was certainly some suppression and some consequent distortion in the picture which these narratives presented of the two expeditions and the first settlement.” David B. Quinn and Allison M. Quinn, eds., The First Colonists: Document on the Planning of the First English Settlements in North America 1584-1590 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982) xvi.


4 John M. Brereton, A Briefe and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia, (London: Imperis Geor. Bishop, 1602: Reprint (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1903) 14. There were rumors that
The Spanish Armada and the continuing war with Spain restricted Ralegh’s ability to send ships earlier. ¹ Although Ralegh continued to claim his abandoned colonists remained safe in ‘Virginia,’ he complained that his ships were never able to reach them. I don’t believe that all of these ships failed to find the very accessible Cape Hatteras. At Cape Hatteras they would have been met by colonists and Croatan Indians. I believe the Ralegh’s ships went to receive sassafras waiting for them on Croatoan Island.

Several events in the narratives support my belief that the 1587 colony meant to disembark on Roanoke Island: (1) John White brought forty of the colonists with him from the ship even though his stated intent was that he intended only to visit the men left by Grenville before going on to Chesapeake.² (2) Captain Spicer’s ship that pilot Simon Fernando had left behind off Portugal sailed straight to Roanoke Island rather than to Chesapeake Bay. (3) Fernando did not leave immediately for the West Indies as he said he must when he supposedly ordered the colonists to disembark. (4) The colonists removed from Roanoke Island 50 miles into the mainland and took their houses with them, thus indicating they had no intention of proceeding to Chesapeake Bay.³ When I learned that sassafras had been found about 50 miles into the mainland on the lower Alligator River near Beechland, I was convinced that was the destination of the colonists. When I learned that the

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¹ “The ’restraint and staye’ of all shipping was the result of instructions from the Privy Council on 1 February 1590.” Quinn, ed., The First Colonists, 115.

² “the Governour went aboard the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanoake foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Greenvill had left there the yeere before, with whome he meant to have conference, concerning the state of the Countrie, and Savages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the flete, and passe along the coast, to the Baye of Chesepiok.” White, First Colonists, 97.

³ “we found the houses taken downe.” White, The First Colonists. 126
land around Beechland was under the control of the Croatan, the ‘Cro’ and ‘Croatoan’ messages left for John White became quite clear.

Ralegh controlled the market for sassafras in England until 1602 when a ship he had not authorized brought back sassafras from New England. Because of this, the widespread existence of sassafras in America was learned, and his secret source of sassafras lost its unique value.¹ I believe the colonists survived and thrived among the Croatan after Ralegh’s last resupply voyage.² Ralph Lane’s 100 men had survived in ‘Virginia’ for a year with the loss of but four sickly soldiers. Unlike Jamestown where so many died, the 1587 colonists were not living in unsanitary conditions surrounded by hostile natives. The colonists were on high sandy ridges with friendly Croatan who helped them find food and shelter until they could care for themselves. Like the Pilgrims in New England, they had come to stay on their own land; and they would make the best of the hand fate had dealt them. They depended upon each other rather than any external government, and they maintained that attitude for as long as the community remained.

This thesis has examined the mystery of the Lost Colony and told how it may be related to the legend of Beechland. I would like to see scientific tests made of my hypothesis.

¹ “And whereas Sassaphraze was worth 10s., 12s. and 20s. per pound before Gilbert returned, his cloying of the market, will overthrow all myne and his own also.” Ralegh placed its market value in 1602 between £1,000 and £2,000 per ton, the equivalent of more than £100,000 to £200,000 per ton in today’s currency. Letter of Sir Walter Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, Aug. 21 1602 in Karle Schlieff, “Gosnold” (n.d.) Ancient Greece-Early America , Web Apr. 15, 2006.

² There were many English voyages to America after Ralegh’s imprisonment in 1603, and Ralegh himself made one last trip to Guiana before he was beheaded in October, 1618. The best primary sources for these voyages are in the Spanish archives. The source of a possible 1587 visit to Roanoke Island by George Carey’s fleet is a report by captured pilot Alonzo Diaz: “Pedro de Arana to Juan de Ybarra, Havana, July 22, 1588. (A. de I., 54-1-34, Santo Domingo 118.) A translations can be found in Irene A. Wright, Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1949.)
I have been with Lost Colony Center volunteers on field trips in search of evidence of the abandoned colonist. Wildlife Refuge regulations limited us to surface observations, and we need a professional archaeologist if we are to search for buried artifacts of the abandoned colonists. The Beechland community covers a large area, but there are several specific places where the search can begin. The first priority is to uncover and date the riven coffins on Milltail Road. If the results are promising, the search should continue at the Payne homestead, the graveyard of wooden markers, the shingle ditch, and Beechland landing. The State Archaeologist was informed of the probable location of the riven coffins and has been asked to find archaeologists who are willing to lead the search.

There are ongoing DNA studies involving hundreds of individuals who believe they may be descendents of the abandoned colonist and the Croatan. Croatan bones are believed to have been found on Croatoan Island, and they may provide DNA with which analysts can test these relationships. There is also an attempt to match living descendents in America to known descendents of the 1587 colonist in England, but such descendents have not yet been located. These studies may not be completed for a few years, but they may be our best hope of solving the mystery of the Lost Colony. This has been an exciting and rewarding search for Sir Walter Ralegh’s abandoned colonists, but this journey will not end until my solution to the mystery of the Lost Colony had been finally validated.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A

MAPS OF ‘VIRGINIA’

The purpose of this appendix is to present and discuss the maps of 16th Century ‘Virginia.’ Much of the map discussion is derived from the works of William P. Cumming, the recognized authority on early cartography of ‘Virginia’ and North Carolina.¹ The appendix also addresses issues raised by these maps, such as:

➢ What changes occurred in the landscape between 1578 and the present because of rising sea level?
➢ Did John White remain in ‘Virginia’ for the entire stay of Ralph Lane’s 1585-1586 expedition, or did he return to England in 1585?
➢ How did John White disguise the location of the 1585 colony in his maps?
➢ Did Amadas and Barlowe enter the Pamlico near Croatoan Island or near Roanoke Island?
➢ Where does the Zuniga map purport to locate the abandoned colonists?

John White’s first published map was La Virgencia Pars in figure 56.² This map shows North America from Chesapeake Bay to the Florida Keys. In it, White combines a map of Florida drawn by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgue with his own map of ‘Virginia.’ The two maps that were combined are shown in figures 57 and 58. Le Moyne joined John White in the employ of Sir Walter Raleigh after surviving the Spanish massacre of the 1564 French Huguenot settlement in Florida.³

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² John White, La Virgencia Pars: North America from Chesapeake Bay to the Florida Keys, 1585, Cumming Map 7: This color version was found in Kim Sloan, A New World: England’s First View of America, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 96-97.
Maps drawn by both Le Moyne and White were published by Theodore De Bry in 1590-1591. *La Virgenia Pars* is most accurate in North Carolina where White and Thomas Harriot carefully surveyed ‘Virginia.’ Le Moyne’s Florida is also fairly accurate; but, according to Cumming, the map between Florida and North Carolina “gave rise to numerous cartographical misconceptions.” Cumming also said the two maps of Le Moyne and White “influenced the cartography of the region for a century.”

**Figure 56 – La Virgenia Pars: John White 1585A**

**Figure 57 – Florida by Le Moyne**

**Figure 58 - White 1585B**

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Another John White map, the White-DeBry 1590 map of ‘Virginia,’ published in Thomas Harriet’s “A Briefe and True Report,” was presented and discussed in Chapter 3.¹

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Figure 59 – Villages Identified on Expedition to Chesepiooc

Did John White remain with Lane’s colony through 1586? The Chesapeake Bay towns in White’s 1585 and 1590 maps, shown in figure 59, may support the claim that John White was with Harriot at the Chesapioc village in the winter of 1585-6. If White remained until 1586, he would have been fully aware of the antagonism between Lane and the Secotan. However, I am inclined to agree with Kin Sloan that White probably returned from Virginia

in September 1585. In *A New World* in which she presents John White’s works, Sloan notes: “There are no surviving water colours that could not have been made during the activities of July, August, and early September.”¹ Also, too many of the towns on the White-Debry 1590 map of ‘Virginia’ were not included in White 1585A or 1585B. Quinn believed that John White remained, but he acknowledges that John does not appear in the list of Lane colonists collated by Hakluyt.²

When John White prepared the maps in figures 56 and 58, he apparently had with him a rough sketch of the parts of ‘Virginia’ that were explored before Grenville’s ships left Roanoke Island in September, 1585. The sketch map in figure 60 was probably included in Ralph Lane’s September 1585 letter to Sir Francis Walsingham and may have been copied by Lane from a White sketch. I have printed out the legends scribbled on the map and added a few of the major geographic features. Its orientation is similar to that of the White de Bry Map of 1590, in which west is generally at the top of the map and north to the right. The sketch map includes information from Grenville’s tour of the Pamlico Sound, the move to Roanoke Island, and the visit of Philip Amadas to the Weapemeoc on the Albemarle Sound. The Grenville expedition first arrived in ‘Virginia’ at Wococon where the *Tiger* ran aground. The next island to the right (north) of Wococon is Croatoan on which White wrote of a dye: “here groith ye roots that dieth rede.”

Figure 60 – Sketch Map Drawn after Early 1585 Explorations

The Grenville tour identified the towns of “pomiaoke,” “Secotan,” “nesioke,” and “warrea”. The southeastern placement of “this to warrea” (left side of the sketch) suggests it pointed to Core Sound where Core Renape villages were later identified on White’s 1585 and 1590 maps. Roanoke Island is called “ye kinges ill” and “the gallis (oak galls used in tanning) are found here.” In Croatan Sound above Roanoke Island is written “the grasse that growth the silke groithe here plentifully.” Amadas explored the Albemarle Sound and reported “freshe water with great store of fish,” and “here were great store of red grapes veri

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1 Anonymous, A Description of the Land of Virginia, Cumming, Map 6.
pleasant.” The commercial products of wine, silk grass, fish, and dye suggested by the legends are described in Thomas Harriet’s “A Briefe and True Report.”\(^1\)

The notation on the sketch map of “the port of saynt maris wher we arivid first” at Wococon Inlet suggests that White and Lane believed they had reached the bay called Bahia de Santa Maria. The Spanish map (figure 61) shows the Chesapeake Bay as Santa Maria.\(^2\) It shows Spain had not mapped the distinguishing features of the coast below Chesapeake Bay and above Florida, and they were searching for better information.

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\(^1\) Harriot, *A Briege and True Report*, 50

White’s 1585 map in figures 62 shows ‘Virginia’ from Cape Lookout to Chesapeake Bay. A comparison of this 1585 map of ‘Virginia’ with the satellite photograph in figure 63 demonstrates White’s impressive accuracy for the period. The major differences between John White 1585B and the satellite photograph were the results of rising sea level and the westward movement of the Outer Banks over 400 years. Some of the changes that have occurred since 1587 are labeled A through E on the John White 1585B Map of Virginia map in figure 64.
“A” identifies ‘Chacandepeco,’ an inlet that separated Hatteras and Croatoan Islands. It closed in the 17th century, creating present day Hatteras Island and Cape Hatteras.

“B” identifies Kendrick’s Mount, a 1585 land form protruding into the Atlantic that has often been mistaken by casual map readers for Cape Hatteras. The rise in sea level has smoothed out this land form as the Outer Banks have receded to the West.

“C” points to the Barrier Island inlets north of Roanoke Island, all of which have closed. Others to the south opened during major hurricanes and other severe weather events.

“D” points to small islands in Croatan Sound between Roanoke Island and the mainland, now submerged, that were so close together one could almost walk from Island to mainland.

“E” identifies the Dare County mainland where Geologists have placed the sea level rise between Amadas and Barlowe’s arrival in 1584 and the present day at approximate 40 inches or just over 3 feet.¹

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The mean elevation on the mainland of Dare is now less than 5 feet compared to 8 feet in 1587. When White’s abandoned colony relocated and when the Beechland community was first inhabited there was much more habitable land on the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula. Carolina Archaeological Associates have reported that a 3 foot sea rise “has caused the mainland to become essentially a vast swamp punctuated by isolated ridges of slightly higher land.”¹²

![Figure 65 - John White Map coordinates compared to more accurate coordinates.](image)

Figure 65 is a segment of John White’s 1585A map with latitude shown on its edge. A map with more accurate coordinates is shown beside it. The two maps are close matches at

Cape Hatteras and Cape Henry, as shown by the two lines with arrows. White’s map shows latitude just over 35° at Cape Hatteras and the comparison map shows approximately the same latitude. However, White’s map shows latitude 40° at Cape Henry, which is not even close to latitude 37° on the comparison map. Measurements in the period were not always accurate, but White and Hariot were capable of much greater accuracy. In fact, on his return to Roanoke Island in 1590, White placed Hatteras (Fernando) Inlet more accurately at “36 degr. and one third.”¹³ The figure 65 coordinates may have represented an attempt to mislead the Spaniards who were searching for the colony.

¹³ David B. and Allison M. Quinn, Ed., The First Colonist (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982) 126.
In presented Barlowe’s narrative in Chapter 2, I assumed that Amadas and Barlowe passed into the Pamlico Sound through Chacandepeco Inlet, which closed some time in the 17th Century. 14 This is important only in that their arrival by way of Chacandepeco inlet (figure 66) would place them by Croatoan Island where Manteo would have greeted them and establish their lasting friendship.

The inlet by which Amadas and Barlowe entered the Pamlico Sound is in some dispute. David Quinn states that the 1584 voyage entered at the northern end of Hatteras Island, which would be just north of present day Oregon Inlet in figure 67. However, the land there does not have the characteristics that Barlowe stated. The island does not “stretched it selfe to the West,” as do Croatan and Ocracoke islands. (See the islands between Cape Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlet in figure 67.) Barlowe said they: “behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both waies.” 15 Ocracoke Island and Croatoan Island are both oriented east to west and no land is visible to the north or to the south. That would not apply to the north end of Hatteras Island (Oregon Inlet in figure 67.)

Barlowe said eight members of the expedition traveled seven leagues (21 miles) to Roanoke Island. Croatoan Island comes closest, but 21 miles is too short a distance for either islands, However, Barlowe said they traveled 20 miles one day and then continued on the Roanoke Island the next day, so Barlowe’s ‘league’ must have represented more that 3

14 This former inlet is located between Avon and Buxton above present day Cape Hatteras. It is so often washed over in stormy weather that no structures are located there. The area behind it on the sound is called Canadian Hole.

15 Quinn, First Colonists, 2-3
statute miles. Neither Chacandepeco nor the inlet north of Hatteras Island ideally fit Barlowe’s description, but Chacandepeco is a far better fit.

![Satellite view of North Carolina](image)

*Figure 67 - Satellite view of North Carolina
East of Suffolk Escarpment (red)*

Quinn also had trouble reconciling the reported seven leagues that Barlowe said they traveled with the distance from the inlet north of Hatteras Island. Quinn decided that they must have circled around the Island as in figure 68.

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16 Barlowe wrote: “After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seven more, went twentie mile into the River, that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoake, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, we came to an Island, which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues [38.89 kilometers]” Quinn, *First Colonists*, 7.
“twenty mile into the River: if the identification of the landing-place, [I] made on p. 132, is sound, the party apparently sailed from Port Ferdinando south-westwards into Pamlico Sound, then northwards through Croatan Sound, and changed course eastwards to round the northern end of Roanoke Island, making a journey of some 20 to 25 miles according to the precise course followed.”

But Quinn weakened his own argument when he wrote: "What is now Croatan Sound was blocked by a large number of small islets ... Whether the Indians could find a passage through them in canoes we do not know, but it is unlikely that an English boat could do so."

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17 John White 1590B: Cumming, Early Maps, Map 13
18 Quinn, First Colonists, 7, footnote 7
19 Quinn, Set Fair, 102
I have reviewed The Zuniga map in this appendix because it is a primary source for many of the lost colony hypotheses examined in Chapter 5. John Smith sent a copy of the sketch map in figure 69 to the Virginia Company in 1608, and it was found many years later in Spanish archives. It was called the Zuniga map because Spanish Ambassador Zuniga had secretly obtained it while spying in England for King Philip III of Spain. The Zuniga map, presented in its original orientation, includes all the parts of ‘Virginia’ that had been explored by 1608. The James River is just to the left of the centerfold, and ‘Ould Virginia’ (now Carolina) to the left of the James River.

Figure 69 – The Original Zuniga Map


Stephen B. Weeks credits Alexander Brown with publishing the full map and the Zuniga correspondence related to it.\textsuperscript{22} Weeks traced the ‘Ould Virginia’ segment from the full map, reoriented it, and transcribed the legends into the more readable form in figure 70. Legends on the map indicated that Englishmen, who may have been with the abandoned colony, were at two locations west of Roanoke Island.

\textbf{Figure 70 – Brown/Ashe Interpretation of the of Zuniga Map}

\textsuperscript{22} “... a rude map of the coast of Virginia and North Carolina, which had probably been sent to England by Capt. Francis Nelson in June, 1608. It was intended to illustrate Smith's "True Relation," was not drawn from surveys, nor is it based on any accurate knowledge of the coast, nor had the maker seen the map of the coast made by John White. It was drawn presumably to illustrate a story told by the Indians, and based on the information derived from them. It was sent in September, 1608, by Zuñiga, the Spanish minister in London, to his master, Philip III, and is now first published in Mr. Alexander Brown's ‘Genesis of the United States.’ ” Stephen B. Weeks "Raleigh's Settlement on Roanoke Island: An Historical Survival," \textit{Magazine of American History}, 25, no. 2 (February 1891): 127-139
While John Smith's was a captive in 1607 of Powhatan King Wahunsonacock and his brother Opechancanough, he was told "of **certaine men cloathed at a place called Oceanahowan, cloathed like me.**"\(^{23}\) The Zuniga map may have been drawn by cartographer Nathaniel Powell who went on one of the expeditions sent by Smith to find the colonists. Although they were not successful, Powell and other must have obtained information on which the ‘**Ould Virginia**’ part of the Zuniga map is based.\(^{24}\)

In figure 70, the top of the map shows the James River and Jamestown. The legend “**here Paspaehegh and two of our men landed to go to Pananiock,**” is written below what appears to be the Pagan River west of the ‘Nansamone’ River – a logical departure point to cross over land to the Blackwater and Chowan rivers for a search into ‘**Ould Virginia**.’ The James River is clearly labeled, but the waterways south of the James are not so easily recognized. It appears that the cartographer did not have John White’s map to assist him.

Ever since Alexander Brown first published the Zuniga map in 1890, historians have attempted to identify the waterways as clues to the colonists’ locations. The map includes Roanoke Island with the legend ‘**Roonock,**’ but without its barrier islands. The waterway immediately west of Roanoke Island divides into four branches.\(^{25}\) Some writers have concluded that this waterway is the Albemarle Sound and that the Chowan and Roanoke


\(^{25}\) On the first branch to the left, Weeks interprets the legend as ‘Hawnupawono,’ Lee Miller as ‘Nottawmusawone,’ and Cumming as ‘Wttawmusawone.’ These examples illustrates how difficult it is to read the scribbled legends on the original map and why the legends are so often different. Lee Miller, **Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony** (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2000) 245.
rivers are represented by the two wider branches. Others point out that ‘Morratic’ on a lower waterway identifies that waterway as the Roanoke River; therefore, the first waterway must be the Chowan River and its tributaries. In this second interpretation, ‘Chawwan’ becomes the Chawanook village on Bennett’s Creek rather than the Chowan River itself. These major differences in interpretation of the rivers play a major role in the development of the hypotheses in Chapter 5.

The short waterway with the legend ‘Panawiock,’ and the message ‘Here the King of the Pasahegh reported out men to be and wants to go’ is also in dispute. Stephen Weeks takes this waterway to be the Alligator River, which would place ‘Panawiock’ on the Croatan Peninsula. This interpretation supports Weeks’ hypothesis that the abandoned colony first went to Dasamonquepeuc. The other interpretation identifies this short waterway between the Chowan and Roanoke rivers as either Salmon Creek or the Cashie River. This explanation has influenced hypotheses in which the abandoned colonists traveled 50 mile from Roanoke Island to settle with either the Weapemoeoc or the Chawanook between the Chowan and Roanoke rivers. Samuel Ashe, James Horn, and Lee Miller were among those who would place Panawiock between the Moratoc and the Chowan rivers.26 Horn wrote that “Panawicke was south and west of Cashie Creek, the historic border between the Chawanocs and Tuscaroras.”27 This decision required Horn to place Ocanahonan on the Roanoke River instead of on a tributary of the Chowan River where John Smith had placed it.


27 Horn, A Kingdom Strange, 114.
In his 1908 history of North Carolina, Samuel Ashe presented his interpretation of the Zuniga map, as shown in figure 71. Ashe placed the village of Ocanahonan on the Chowan or Nottoway River, Pakerakanick on the Tar or upper Pamlico River, and Panawicke between the Chowan and Moratoc (Roanoke) rivers. He placed the chief town of the Chowan Indians, ‘Chawwan,’ on the northeast side of the Chowan River, and Ochanahonan on the south side. He blamed the Renapoak who had provided much of the information for some of the place confusion:

“This map was drawn on the relation of some Indian. The Indians of the James River had no connection with those farther south. Powhatan's jurisdiction did not extend over the Chowanists or the Mongoaks. The Indian who gave the information on which the drawing was based probably had but little familiarity with the localities, knowing about the rivers but nothing of the coast. He knew that the first river was the Chowan and its tributaries; that the next was the Moratoc, and that farther on there was a third--the Tar. He probably knew nothing of the sounds. . . . The Indian account places Pananiock, where White's colony settled, between the Moratoc and the Chowan rivers . . . It is there we would expect to find the place of permanent settlement. And it is there that the Indian relation places it.”

Fred Willard has centered his study of the Zuniga map on the village of *Pananwiock*. Strachey wrote that there were Englishmen living in Panawicky in 1608. Willard believes that *Pananwiock* is the Indian Village that Barlowe called *Ponouike*. He then locates the village of *Pakranwiek* from the Zuniga map near the Neuse River and Sea Level, as confirmed by research that placed the Zuniga map village of *Careohoch* or *Carawack* on the Neuse.

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30 Quinn, *First Colonists*, 10
In this map, the northernmost waterway has been rotated to the north in order to become the Chowan River and its tributaries.

The next shorter waterway would then be the Cashie River or Salmon Creek.

The next in line would be the Morrituc or Roanoak River.

The lowest then becomes the Pamlico- Tar River.

The Neuse is not shown.

Figure 71 – The Ashe/Horn/Miller Interpretation of the Zuniga Map
Willard places *Ocanahonan* on the upper Roanoke River and associated it with the Mongoacks who took control of the Coastal Secotan around 1602 after centuries of warfare.\(^{31}\) I conclude from this that Willard agrees with Weeks about the location in Zuniga map of the Roanoke and Neuse rivers but differs on the location of the Pamlico-Tar River. Willard’s research located the descendants of the Croatan in the village of Chocowinity, which is across the Pamlico River from Washington, N.C. This is very likely to have been the village Barlowe described as *Ponouike*. I would be quicker to agree with Willard’s understanding of the Zuniga map if he said that *Pakranwick* was the village of Ponouike and the lowest waterway was the Pamlico-Tar on the Zuniga map. However, *Pananwiock* appears more likely than *Pakranwick* to have been Barlowe’s *Ponouike*.

I have am not yet convinced of any interpretation of the Zuniga map, but I can appreciate that any writer will try to find the interpretation that fits his own hypothesis. Perhaps the key to understanding the Zuniga map it will be found one day, but it is sufficiently confusing today that almost any hypothesis can be made to fit it.

Appendix B

THE CROATAN PENINSULA

An important element of support for my Beechland hypothesis is the presence of ‘Croatan’ on colonial maps of the Dasamonquepeuc (Dare Mainland) peninsula. The Croatan designation on these maps supports my contention that Manteo and the Croatan gained and maintained control of all of Dasamonquepeuc. It is also important to show that there were excellent row crop soils along the streams of the peninsula where the Croatan and colonists settle. This appendix addresses these two important issues.

Croatan first appeared on maps of the region in 1672 after the Lords Proprietors had initiated a survey of the region. Previous to that, almost all maps of America followed the cartographic work of White and Le Moyne. As Cumming explains:

For the first fifty years of the 17th Century and longer, the Carolina coast was but little troubled by the activities of European colonizing powers. While geographers and makers of sea charts of the Atlantic coast multiplied their conceptions of the shoreline and drew upon Le Moyne’s and White’s maps with varying degrees of inaccuracy, little new information was available even to the most assiduous seeker of increased knowledge.¹

But in 1672, the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula became ‘Croatan’ on a map entitled *A New Description of Carolina by Order of the Lords Proprietors.*² It was drawn by James Moxton Scul and printed in John Ogilby’s *America*. John Speed made an almost identical copy of the Ogilby map in 1676. The Speed’s map, with a blowup showing where Croatan

was added, is in figure 72. The Lords Proprietors apparently had obtained details about the land they had been granted, and Ogilby had a map prepared for them. Cumming offered no explanation about why the Dasamonqueueuc peninsula became the Croatan peninsula; but, like many other features of the Albemarle, it must have been named after the Indians who were living there. Some features on the map were also named after the Lords Proprietors themselves.

![Figure 72 - John Speed. A New Description of Carolina. 1676](image)

The anonymous 1684 map in figure 73 was the next to include Croatan on the Dare mainland. Its purpose appears to have been to record the location and depths of the inlets and channels. Croatan appears on it where Dasamonqueueuc village was previously located. The interior of the peninsula is simply labeled ‘waste land.’

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Figure 73 – North Carolina. c1684

The next four figures contain segments of 1687, 1709, 1733, and 1775 maps on which the Dasamonquepeuc peninsula is labeled ‘Croatan.’ Figure 74 is from a French version of Robert Morden's "A New Map of Carolina..."  

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5 Robert Morton, Nouvelle Carte de la CAROLINE par R. Morden, published in Amsterdam 1688.
On the Morden map the Croatan label covers the entire area between the Albemarle Sound and the Pamlico Sound. The original English version of this map was published in 1687 in Blome's "The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America" and does not have the Croatan label.

John Lawson was the Surveyor General of North Carolina when he prepared the map in figure 75. Lawson’s map has the word Croatan across the entire Dare peninsula. Edward Moseley was surveyor general as early as 1710, succeeding John Lawson. On his map in figure 76, Moseley placed Croatan beside the peninsula rather than on it. Croatan would eventually become the name of the sound between Roanoke Island and the Dare mainland, but Moseley wrote the name, The Narrows, on that sound. The name J. Mann also appears on the mainland and one may assume that the village of Manns Harbor was named for him.

The map segment in figure 77 is from James Womble who in 1738 identified the entire peninsula as “Croatan Land.” The map emphasized navigation in the sounds and rivers of the region, and there are sailing instructions for inlets and descriptions of tidal flows in the lower right hand corner. The map adds significant details to the Alligator River. It shows a connection between the river and a lake, which is most likely Stumpy Point Lake that became Stumpy Point Bay with rising sea level. It is less likely that it was Swan Lake,

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7 Edward Moseley, Map of North Carolina, 1733. The East Carolina University copy of the Moseley Map is the only known original print of this historic map in the United States. Their copy was donated by Mrs. John W. Graham of Edenton and is on permanent display in the reading room of the East Carolina Manuscript Collection in J.Y. Joyner Library.

8 “Done by Order of the Lords Proprietors Anno 1729," it was engraved and published "according to Act of Parliament Anno 1738." James Wimble, Chart of his majestie’s province of North Carolina will a full...description of the coast, 1738. (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C., n.d.).
which does not appear on maps until much later in history. The name Mann is the only one that appears on this and the Moseley map.

![Figure 76 Moseley 1733 Map](image1) ![Figure 77 Wimble 1738 Map](image2)

After the American Revolution ended, wealthy planters began to show interest in the ‘Great Alligator Dismal Swamp.’ Josiah Collins and his associates brought slaves from Africa to dig a canal from the Scuppernong River to Lake Phelps and developed Somerset Plantation in Washington County. Merchant John Gray Blount and his brothers also began to acquire large tracts of land in North Carolina and Tennessee. Blount obtained a tract on the Croatan peninsula that appeared on the 1808 Price-Strother map in figure 77 as ‘IGB 3000’. The Price-Strother map also identifies Beechland, and once again Croatan appears on the eastern edge of the peninsula. Whipping Creek appears again, as in the Wimble map, but Swan Lake is not shown.
Johnathan Price lived in Pasquotank County just across the Albemarle Sound from the Alligator River, and he had made navigational and land surveys of the eastern part of the state. John Strother had surveyed land for John Gray Blount and the State of North Carolina in the west. Their 1808 map was the first to acknowledge that the interior of the Croatan peninsula had been farmed before North Carolina became a state. According to Long:

The mainland was not mapped until 1796 when John Allen was sent to survey the boundaries of the entire area; a patent for the mainland was received by John Grey Blount, in Washington, North Carolina, in September, 1796. Allen wrote to Blount that he had heard of a great forest of cypress in the wilderness, he himself had not seen it; from this it may be inferred that he had not surveyed in detail the interior of the tract.

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Within the collection of the Blount Papers there is no mention of any village within the boundaries known as the Blount Survey other than the sections called Mashoes and Croatan.\(^8\)

While the maps in this appendix do not conclusively prove that the Indians from Croatoan Island took over the mainland of Dasamondepeuac peninsula, they do provide strong support for that claim. The Croatan peninsula is now most often called the Dare mainland, but the Croatan name survives in at least two forms. The eastern half of the peninsula is now the Croatan Township, and the body of water beside it is the Croatan Sound. With the closing of the inlet between them some time in the 1600s, the Island of Croatoan was merged with Hatteras Island, and the southern half was no longer Croatoan Island.

\[\text{Figure 78 - Mouzon 1775 Map Showing Extended Swamp Land}\]

\(^8\) Mary Wood Long, *Five Lost Colonies of Dare* (Elizabeth City, NC: Family Research Center, 2000) 37.
Other historic maps show that there is a misconception generally about the nature of the land between the Albemarle Sound and Pamlico Sound and specifically about the Croatan (Dare mainland) peninsula. In Henry Mouzon’s map in Figure 78, all of the land between the Albemarle Sound and the Pamlico Sound is ‘Great Alligator Dismal Swamp.’ This misrepresents much of the highly productive mineral and shallow organic land in the region.

The coastal region east of the Suffolk escarpment, shown in figure 80 was under the Atlantic Ocean 30,000 years ago. Then the Wisconsin Ice Age caused the ocean to move east well beyond the current shore line. As the earth warmed over the past 8,000 years, the ocean moved west to its present unstable location.

Mineral soils washed in great floods down the rivers, filling in between the escarpment and the moving barrier islands that partially blocked the outflow of the rivers. Shallow layers of organics material (peat) helped the mineral soils hold their moisture. The highly productive blacklands farms of the Albemarle-Pamlico were created through this process.
Josiah Collins was one of the first plantation owners to realize the potential of the land between the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. He and his associates farmed over 3,000 blacklands acres after 1790 by digging a canal from Lake Phelps to the Scuppernong River. Historic Somerset Plantation House now overlooks the land that was cleared. Even before Collins developed Somerset Plantation, many small farms were cleared on the organically enriched sandy ridges near the regions creeks and rivers. With the availability of modern ditching equipment, many more acres were cleared, as the map in figure 81 demonstrates.¹

Figure 81 - Cleared Land on the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula before and after 1940

¹ Philip S McMullan, Jr., Land Clearing Trends on the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula: Including a Development History of the Peninsula and a Discussion of Wetland Inventories in North Carolina and the Nation (Creswell, NC: First Colony Farms, November 1983..)
In figure 81, the land in red was cleared before 1940, and the land in yellow was cleared between 1940 and 1982. The land in green was not cleared or has reverted after having been ditched. The canals on the Croatan Peninsula in figure 81 were dug by the Westvaco timber company to improve timber production. Some of the canals shown on the map below Lake Phelps were dug in mid-1800s for the N.C. Literary Board, which planned to sell them to fund a public school system. Because the State engineers failed to take soil samples before dredging, the canals were dug through deep peat filled with logs. The land was never developed for crop production.

Table II. Corn Yield in Six Selected Counties*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wake</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blacklands Counties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasquotank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* USDA National Agricultural Statistical Services

Table II shows how the rich organic soils of the blacklands region maintain corn yields in the drought conditions of 2007 and 2008. The table shows corn yields in Yadkin, a Western county; Wake, a Piedmont county; Edgecombe, a Coastal Plains county; and the coastal blacklands counties of Camden, Hyde, and Pasquotank. Yadkin and Edgecombe had good yields in 2006, but in the extreme drought years of 2007 and 2008 their yields dropped severely. In contrast, yields in the blacklands counties held up much better, especially in
Camden and Hyde. Wake County and many other Piedmont counties that have red clay soils are not very productive for corn and other vegetable crops in any year.

Only 7,000 acres on the Dare County mainland are cleared now, its soils are much the same as those of its neighbors in Hyde and Tyrrell counties. This was determined by a Dare mainland soil surveys performed by Prulean Farms and published in its 1982 Environmental Impact Statement.²

Figure 82 shows an interpretation of the soil types for the land owned by Prulean Farms, a joint venture of First Colony Farms and the Prudential Insurance Company. Although the unsuitable deep organic soils (swamps) along the Milltail Creek ‘valley’ comprise a large percentage of the acreage, there are still 22,000 acres of soil suitable for row crop development. Four hundred years earlier, when sea level was much lower, more of the land would have been suitable for row crops. The southern half of the peninsula, which has the majority of the deep organic soils, was purchased by the U. S. Department of Defense and is used for bombing ranges. The northern half was Prulean Farms property until donated to the Nature Conservancy and, later to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

It is no surprise that historians such as Quinn, Paramore, and Miller have overlooked this potential colonists’ destination. In all of their hypotheses, the mainland immediately to the west of Roanoke Island was ignored as a destination for the colonists. The Mouzon map is fairly typical of the ‘swamp’ view held by most cartographers from 17th century until First Colony Farms conducted soil surveys in the 1980s. However, sandy ridges within these ‘swamps’ have been developed into highly productive row crop land, comparable to the best soils of the Midwestern corn belt.

The information above should demonstrate that Quinn and the other authors were wrong about the mainland. Quinn favored the Chesapeake Bay as the colonists destination because he assumed it to be “more fertile and at the same time much more accessible to game than the coastal fringe of North Carolina.” Quinn also claimed that “The greater part

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of the mainland accessible from the sounds was swamp or swamp-forest," We now know his assumptions were less accurate than Harriot’s report that “farther into the maine and countrey; we found the soyle to bee fatter; the trees greater; the grounde more firme and deeper mould; finer grasse and as good as ever we saw in England.”

The north end of the Croatan peninsula contains excellent farmland, as the Prulean soil surveys summarized in figure 82 have determined. The abandoned communities of Beechland and Sandy Ridge are on ridges with have excellent row crop soils. In the 1980s, 7000 acres south of Highway #64 were cleared, and they are still farmed.

I first learned of the excellent agricultural potential of the Croatan peninsula while a consultant to Prulean Farms in 1982. This was a 22,000 acre agricultural project at the north end of the Dare peninsula above the military bombing ranges. The project was abandoned after a lengthy Environmental Impact Statement and a drop in the price of grains after President Carter embargoed sales of grain to Russia. However, the productivity of the land is clearly demonstrated by the 7,000 acres cleared and still farmed within the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Reservation. Prulean Farms completed a soil survey to find those soils on the peninsula best suited for row crop production. The Prulean soil scientist prepared a simplified the soil classification to assist the layman in understanding his results. In the classification soil were mineral (excellent), shallow organic (good or fair), or deep organic

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6 Prulean Farms was a joint 1980s venture of First Colony Farms and the Prudential Insurance Company.
and marsh (unsuitable.) The mineral soils were found on sandy ridges that were once barrier islands several millennia before 1982. 7

Extensive drainage was required for excellent row crops and forests in 1982, but sea level was three feet higher than in 1587. When the abandoned colonists arrived in 1587, the ridges were higher, there was less swampland, and drainage was not a major problem. Pine trees were growing to enormous size in the upland forests, and equally large juniper and cypress grew in the wetter soils. When cleared for row crops, the land was as productive as the well drained blacklands soils of the Albemarle-Pamlico region are today.8

8 Philip McMullan, Land Clearing Trends on the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula.: Including a Development History of the Peninsula and a Discussion of Wetland Inventories in North Carolina and the Nation (Creswell, NC: First Colony Farms, November 1983.)
Appendix C

THE HISTORY OF SASSAFRAS

A small tree, Sassafras officinale (N.O. Laurine?), also called Sassafras Laurel and Ague-tree, with green apetalous flowers and dimorphous leaves, native in North America, where it is said to have been discovered by the Spaniards in 1528. (Oxford English Dictionary)

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Sassafras was a major export from the Americas to Europe. Found from Canada to Mexico and Brazil, sassafras trees were believed to have near-miraculous healing powers. Although no longer approved for medicinal use, sassafras was once a cure for almost everything. The following shows that a surprising number and variety of uses of sassafras were recorded in Rafinesque's 1830 Medical Flora:

[Sassafras is used] in ophalmia, dysentery, gravel, catarrh...as stimulant, antispasmodic, sudorific, and depurative...in rheumatism, cutaneous diseases, secondary syphilis, typhus fevers... to purge...the body in the spring...for purification of the blood... leaves to make glutinous gombos...buds to flavor beers and spirits...useful in scurvy, cachexy, flatulence. bark...smoked like tobacco. Bowls made of the wood drives bugs and moths.\(^1\)

Sassafras became a highly valued export commodity from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Chapter 6 shows how Sir Walter Ralegh and the English settlers became involved with sassafras and explains why someone with knowledge of a large stand of sassafras trees might try to keep the knowledge secret. The following paragraphs trace the history of sassafras and how it became involved with the Roanoke voyages.

Alfred Cosby believes Christopher Columbus carried smallpox to America in 1492 and brought back syphilis, the ‘French pox.’\(^2\) The disease was named syphilis by Doctor Girolamo Fracastoro in his poem of 1531.\(^3\) Syphilis spread through Europe in the sixteenth century much as AIDS has spread in the twentieth century. Because the disease was associated with sexual activity, syphilis undoubtedly played a major role in the increased sexual regulation of the sixteenth century. Kings and Princes closed brothels and public bathhouses. The afflicted would beg for any cure that physicians, quacks, and mystic healers might provide. “The story goes that the physician Thierry de Hery once knelt before a statute of Charles VIII, explaining that ‘Charles is a good enough saint for me. He put 30,000 francs in my pocket when he brought the pox to France.’”\(^4\)

Mercury in ointment and oral form was the most popular syphilis remedy in the sixteenth century. Despite severe side effects, it was considered the most effective treatment for 400 years until penicillin arrived. “Mercury was overused, and in many cases the cure was successful but the patient died.”\(^5\) The next most popular treatment for syphilis was an elixir from guaiacum, a wood product from the West Indies imported in the 1520s. Guaiacum elixir was reputed to cure gout, stones, palsy, dropsy, and many other diseases; but only the wealthy could afford the full price. Counterfeit guaiacum soon reached the market. Guaiacum’s reputation fell precipitously in the


\(^4\) Crosby, *Columbian Exchange*, 156.

1530s, leaving toxic mercury as the only alternative. Euope was ripe for a new cure.

In 1535, French explorer Jacques Cartier may have brought from Canada the first report that sassafras could cure diseases. The Canadian Indians told him that a brew from the bark of the annedda tree, later thought to be a sassafras tree, would cure his crewmen of scurvy. Cartier gave the brew to his sick crew and they felt immediate relief, recovering fully after three or four drinks of the brew. "They showed us that the bark and the leaves must be pounded and then boiled in water; that water must then be drunk one day in two, and the residue placed on the sick and swollen legs; and they told us that this tree cured all disease." No samples were brought back to Europe. Since there were no sassafras trees in Europe, the report was of little use at the time.

![Monardes](image1.png) ![Ferrar](image2.png)

*Figure C-1 - Drawings of a Sassafras Tree*

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A 1574 treatise by Dr. Nicolas Monardes is the best known surviving description of the early history and medical uses of sassafras.\textsuperscript{8} Monardes, a distinguished Spanish physician, wrote that sassafras possessed almost magical properties. He extolled its curative virtue and gave detailed accounts of its wonderful healing powers. In his treatise, Monardes has the drawing of a sassafras tree in figure C-1.\textsuperscript{9} Its resemblance to the sassafras tree in John Farrer’s 1650 map suggests that Farrer may have read the English translation of Mondarces treatise. Monardes explained how sassafras first reached Europe. In 1564, French Huguenots settled Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River in Florida. Spanish King Philip II sent Pedro Menendez de Aviles to destroy the ”heretical” Frenchmen. Before Menendez’ attacked and killed most of the Frenchmen, Indians had introduced the Huguenots to sassafras roots as a remedy for many diseases. When Spanish soldiers became ill, a French survivor told them of the Indian cure. “\textit{They digged up the roote of this tree, and tooks a piece thereof... cutte it small into very thin and little peeces, and cast [as much as needed] into water.}”\textsuperscript{10} The pieces were left in the water until they took on a good color. The patient then drank the liquid at breakfast, dinner, and supper with little concern for the quantity consumed. The Frenchman said the treatment healed many diseases.

The cured Spanish soldiers returned from Florida in good health, bringing pieces of sassafras with them. They swore to Monardes that sassafras had kept them healthy. He was

\textsuperscript{8} Nicolas Monardes, \textit{Joyfull newes out of the new-found worlde} (London: E. Allde, 1596): A translation of the 1574 treatise from Spanish into English by John Frampton, a merchant who spent most of his life in Spain.

\textsuperscript{9} “The illustration given by Monardes of the sassafras tree has been widely copied in the herbals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among which we name Dalechamps (1586), Joh. Bauhinus Bauhin (1650), and Piso (1658), the latter giving it the Brazilian synonym \textit{anhuila}.” Lloyd, “History of the Vegetable Drugs” (1991.)

\textsuperscript{10} Monardes, \textit{Joyfull newes}, (n.p.)
impressed by the health of these men, because so many who had returned from America were sickly. Monardes experimented with the wood samples that the soldiers gave him and found them effective and safe, if not abused by excessive use. It was not long before sassafras elixirs had been tried on many diseases. Its apparent effectiveness for syphilis made it a desirable commodity. It was only available in the New World, and a shipload of the commodity brought wealth to the importers.

Richard Hakluyt collected narratives of every voyage he could find in *The Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt’s narratives were a primary resource for the English explorers as they made plans to colonize the New World. In reporting on Cartier’s voyage to Canada, Hakluyt wrote that Cartier’s ‘annedda’ was sassafras. Even if he were mistaken, Ralegh and his associates believed he was right. Sassafras was noted in narratives of the voyage of Armadas and Barlowe, of Ralph Lane (“…great woods of Sassafras…”) and of Thomas Harriot. In his *Briefe and True Report* of his experiences in the New World, Harriot reported that the Indians used sassafras as an herbal medicine, and he referred to Monardes as the best source for information about sassafras:

*Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, [is] a kinde of wood of most pleasand and sweete smel; and of most rare vertues in phisick for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to bee farre better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignu vitae. For the description of using and the manifolde*

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vertues thereof, I referre you to the book of Monardus, translated and entituled in English, *The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.*

Harriot said no more about sassafras because he may have wished not to draw the reader’s attention to it. Elsewhere in his report, he said that ‘Virginia’ held two secret commodities of great commercial value, one of certain availability and the other that he hoped to find in quantity.

*I might have said more; as of the particular places where they are founde and best to be planted and prepared...but because others then welwillers might be therewithal acquainted, not to the good of action, I have wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose for this part sufficient.*

Ralegh held a Royal monopoly on all commodities shipped from ‘Virginia,’ and Harriot wished to protect the monopoly. He did not care to draw the attention of unscrupulous fortune-hunters to the two secret commodities, but the name of these commodities would surely be written somewhere. In the introduction to the Dover edition of Harriot’s Report, Editor Paul Hulton states: ‘Of Harriot’s ‘Chronicle,’ which we know he compiled during his time with the colony, nothing remains but an abstract—the *Brief and True Report.* Harriot states his intention in the *Report* to publish this natural history material but, for reasons which are not clear, none of it was included in the De Bry folio.” Quinn also commented; “It would appear that Harriot’s report on the resources of Virginia was ready in February 1587 but was held back.”

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15 Quinn, *First Colonists*, xiii.
The full chronicle may have contained the answer to the secret commodities, but we can only speculate what they may be. Harriot’s emphasis in his *Brief Report* on “*Silke of grass*” suggests this is the commodity he hoped they would find in quantity. The known commercial importance of sassafras suggests it was the commodity of great value. If he had found a major stand of sassafras trees at Tramasquecoock during his explorations with John White and Ralph Lane, that secret would be worth keeping until Raleigh could successfully plant a new colony in ‘Virginia” to harvest such a valuable commodity.

Sir Walter Raleigh owned the English Royal patent for North America (‘Virginia’). ‘Virginia’ then included the eastern seaboard from the Carolinas to Newfoundland, and then westward to the Pacific Ocean. Captain Bartholomew Gosnold also sailed to ‘Virginia’ (New England) in 1602, but without Raleigh’s knowledge. He brought back a cargo of sassafras and cedar wood. From the following report by Karle Schlieff we learn of the value of sassafras in early seventeenth century England and we learn how Raleigh reacted to this news:

> “Raleigh becomes aware of the Gosnold voyage when he is in Weymouth to meet a returning ship...Gosnold has his share sent to Dartmouth and London...Gilbert’s share of the cargo is seized. Raleigh’s letter asks that the Judge issue a warrant for seizure of Gosnold’s cargo. Raleigh complains that the sassafras market (sarsephraze) is about to plummet from 10 to 20 shillings to 8 to 10 shillings ($56 to $70) per pound. Other sources claim that sassafras was only 3 to 8 shillings per pound on the market. This raises the question of whether or not the sassafras market was indeed in trouble or just Raleigh’s self promotion. Raleigh continues in the letter that his enterprise in America will be overthrown if unauthorized people poach on his patent. His monopoly patent issued in 1584, is only good for seven years if he does not plant a sustaining colony. By 1602 his lost colony has been missing for almost fifteen years. The Queen seems to look the other way about the time limit and others take their cue from her.”

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Gosnold later settled in Jamestown, and a skeleton that is believed to be his was recently uncovered there by archaeologists. Gosnold and his officers escaped greater punishment when John M. Brereton, an officer on his ship agreed to write an upbeat narrative of the voyage to encourage other explorers to sail under a charter from Ralegh. Captain Martin Pring was inspired by John Brereton’s narrative. “Pring’s backers focused primarily on the valuable sassafras Gosnold had discovered but unlike Gosnold, they first secured Sir Walter Raleigh’s permission prior to undertaking their venture.” Pring’s expedition left England on April 10, 1603 in the Speedwell and Discoverer, which sailed home first with a boatload of sassafras.

By 1610 the Jamestown colony had begun to send sassafras root to England, and it remained second in export value only to tobacco. The Calendars of State Papers of the Public Record Office in London has instruction for things to be sent from ‘Virginia’, which included: “Small Sassafras Rootes to be drawn in the winter and dried and none to be medled with in the somer and yt is worthe 50£ and better, p. Tonne,” The price of 50£ per ton or ½ shilling per pound of sassafras may have been the price in ‘Virginia’ before

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shipping costs. Otherwise the price in London had fallen drastically since Ralegh’s estimate in 1602 of 10 to 20 shillings per pound.

In 1910, the Virginia Council in Jamestown was concerned with the theft of sassafras and its effect on prices. On June 22, 1610, the Jamestown Council wrote to the Virginia Company in London:

_Our easiest and richest commodity being sassafras rootes were gathered upp by the sailors...we earnestlie entreat you (and doe trusts) that you take order as we be not thus defrauded...that they be reasonablie dealt withall so as all losse, neither fall on us nor them. I believe they have thereof two townes (tons?) ...will pull down our price for a long time, this we leave to your wisdomes._

Sassafras continued to be a major commodity of trade in the New World as other settlements added their shipment to those of Jamestown. For example, the Blessing was sent from England to Africa with instructions to trade for “elephant teeth” and return them to England. If such tusks were not available, they were to trade for slaves and take them to America. There they were to sail up the Chesapeake to Maryland and “dispose of so many Negros for Tobacco and about ten tunns of saxafras as will make up your freight…”

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21 James J. McDonald, _Life in Old Virginia_ (Norfolk, Va.: Old Virginia Publishing Company, Inc. 1907.)

22 Elizabeth Donnan, _Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade in America_ (New York: Octagon Books, 1969) IV: 82. This was originally sited from Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Suffolk Court Files, no. 414.