

*A Reassessment of the Zuniga map*

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Problems in North Carolina History

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## 1-Abstract

The interpretations of locations on the 1608 Zuniga map have confounded historians for over one hundred years. In this paper it will be questioned if a clear interpretation with map studies can confirm the locations depicted on this map, which are first-person accounts of where the “Lost Colony” of 1587 were last reported to be located. This is only eighteen years after the Governor of the colony, John White, made his last trip to Roanoke Island and found the City of Raleigh abandoned. Furthermore can other corroborating evidence be found that the colony stayed in North Carolina and did not expire, as many past scholars have proclaimed, near Chesapeake Bay by the hand of the Indian king Powhatan [1]?

The eminent historian David Beers Quinn has led the quest to find the “Lost Colony” of Roanoke in the Chesapeake Bay for the last sixty years [2]. Quinn’s research has championed the Chesapeake Bay Paradigm as the terminal location of the colony, and with his huge production of documented research, the paradigm has successfully prevailed for over a half a century. Most scholars have tended to follow his lead. However, new technologies, new evidence and new researchers are now attempting to overthrow his paradigm with a new research revolution, and this author is one of them [3].

In attempting to accomplish this revolution, the position forwarded in this paper is that the Zuniga map is the most important evidence yet found concerning the eventual fate of the 1587 “Lost Colony”. Notwithstanding this, the confusion over the map has hindered the consensus thinking for a North

Carolina paradigm shift. There never has been a clear consensus relating to the information scribed on the map and, more importantly, the locations of the Indian villages depicted on it. In response to the above problem, a very projected and in-depth map study has found three important locations that are repeated on many other contemporary maps, allowing a more "accurate indexing" of the important information and Indian Villages on the Zuniga Map of 1608.

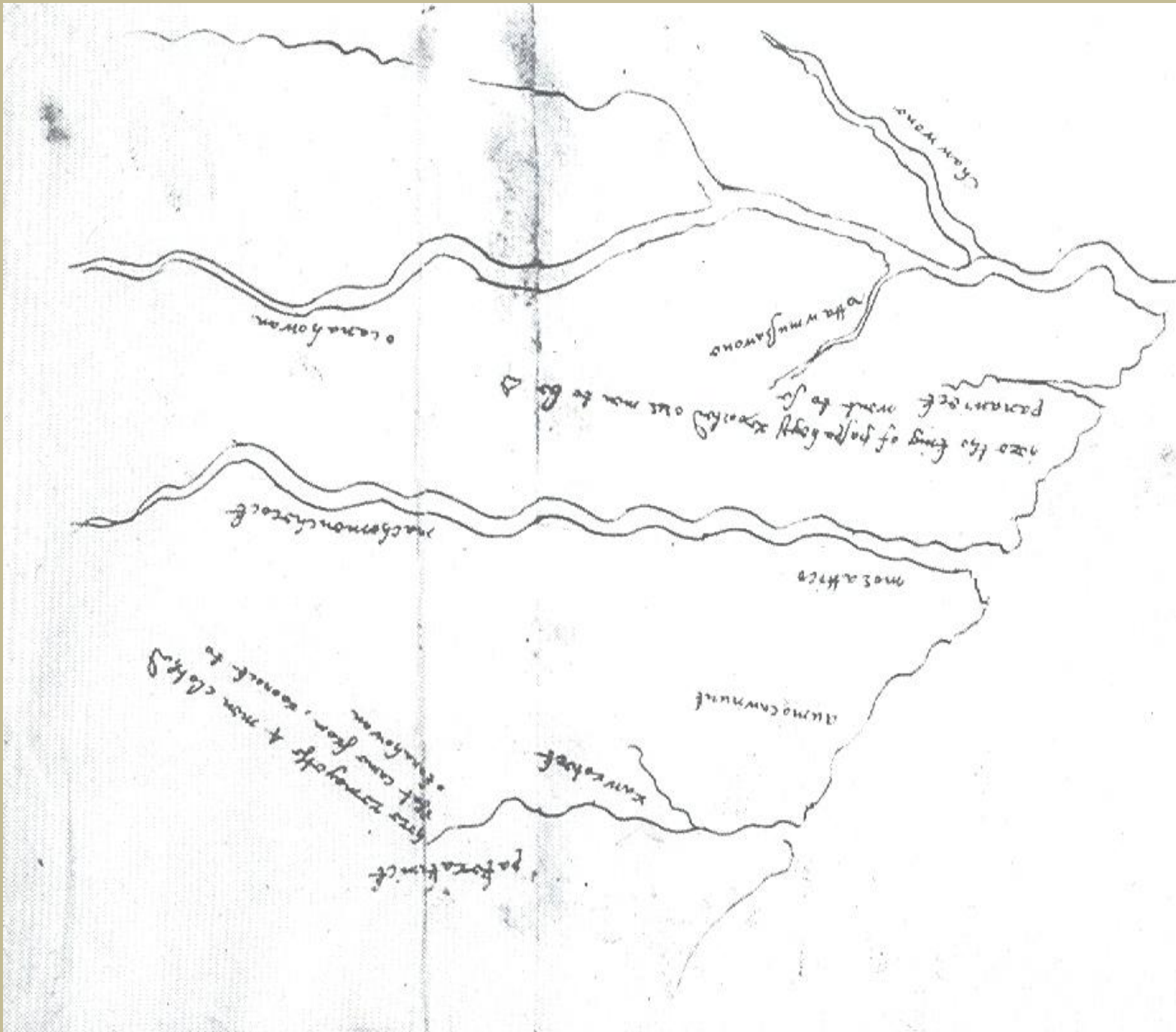
## **2-Introduction**

The Zuniga map is thought to have a common map relation to John Smith's "Ould Virginia" [4], which was published in 1624. There was, in all likelihood, a common map before both that has not survived.

Smith was instructed to look for the Raleigh Colony and sent expeditions to areas of interest. Nathan Powell was sent on at least one of these missions, and it is proffered by William B. Cummings that he is the cartographer of the Zuniga map.

Henry Hudson had a copy in his possession as also did a Captain Nelson, who was sent to England in 1608 with a copy. The Zuniga map has numerous legends and information not found on any other maps concerning Raleigh's Colony, making this one of the most important documents concerning the Roanoke Studies. A more in-depth study and a consensus of the locations of the colonists may be ascertained if the confusion about the map is resolved.

It is not known how Zuniga obtained the map, but his spy network was deeply-embedded inside the investors and principals of the Roanoke Voyages [5]. Most likely one of them managed to smuggle a copy out to him through this network.



William P Cummings. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1998 [Plate 21, Map 28]: A crude map of Virginia with many legends and instruction relating to survivors of Sir Walter Raleigh's 1587 "Lost Colony"

### **3-Spanish spies in Jamestown**

Spanish spies were placed in the mix of the Roanoke ventures, in retaliation of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's publicly-proclaiming intent to annoy the King of Spain on purpose. Gilbert produced and delivered a paper in person to Queen Elizabeth, at her court, with the first written document that proposed to permanently place English Shipping in a position to intercept the Spanish Plate ships on their voyages back each year, from the Caribbean gold and silver mines. When Gilbert met an unexpected death, his half-brother Walter Raleigh was granted the chance to colonize North America by Elizabeth [6].

The Spanish king was able to intercept some of the messages and stories concerning the English intentions for North America, and alerted his envoys in England to find out everything they could about Raleigh's adventure. The Spanish dignitaries placed in England attempted to infiltrate and disrupt Raleigh's mission and angered the English Queen. The Spanish ambassador, Bernadino de Mendoza, was removed from England by Elizabeth. He was expelled, but not before he had infiltrated Sir Walter Raleigh's inner core of investors and explorers and attempted to disrupt the venture [7].

Don Pedro Zuniga Marquise de Villa Flores was placed as the Spanish ambassador to England, with instructions to report directly to the Spanish King about the English intentions regarding the matter of settlements in Virginia. Zuniga set in motion a network to keep tabs on Raleigh's ventures. The Roanoke Island location was chosen, as it was close enough to allow easy access to the Spanish plate ships as they came north to go back to Spain, but far

enough away from Spanish ports to stay hidden [8].

Spies were also later placed at Jamestown. A Captain Kendall was arrested, tried, found guilty of spying and executed [9]. A George Kendall was listed on the first roster and was appointed to the first council. Many reports circulated about the Spanish attempting to locate the English Colony on the Outer Banks of what later became the Carolinas during the Roanoke Voyages (1584-1603).

#### **4-Reconsidering the locations of Indian sites on the map**

It has been presented by many past scholars that the colony did undergo an Indian attack, and the consensus is that it was from the Indians that resided just to the west of the Secotan Confederation, as shown on the John White map of 1585 [10]. Many think these are the Tuscarora, but definitive proof has not been ascertained at this time. Phillip Barlow, from the 1584 Roanoke voyage mentions that the Roanoke King Wingina was at war with these Indians for many years. Barlow also explained that, just to the west of the Secotan Indian village, on the Pamlico River, is an Indian Village called Pomooik, and that the king of that village is in league with the king further to the west. This can only be the village of Panawicky [11].

There are three locations on the Zuniga map that are large and can be compared with many other contemporary maps: the Roanoke River of the Albemarle Sound, the Chowanock (sic---Chowan) River, and the Neuse River. The identification of these three gives some certainty as to the most important location on the map. Panawicky is held by many accounts as being a location

where many survivors of Raleigh's Colony are living in 1608 [12]. The spelling used here relates to the important citation from William Strachey and John Smith, who were told that many survivors of the colony were at Panawicky, and that a large store of Salt stones was there [13].

### **5-The locations of survivors of the Lost Colony on Zuniga map is tested**

The village of Panawicky has several ways of documenting its location. It is shown on about twenty maps as being near the western end of the Pamlico River, where it turns into the Tar River and becomes very narrow. In addition, on all the maps featuring Panawicky, Blount's Bay is depicted as being just to the east of it [14]. William Strachey from Jamestown states that at Panawicky there is a large store of Salt stones [15].

The Indians from this area are well documented as living near Chicod Creek, within a mile or two of a town called Chocowinity today. The translation of the Indian word, chicod, is salt. The leading Indian families from the coast, starting in about 1750 to 1790, all relocated to Chicod Creek when the last of the Mattamuskeet Reservation lands were sold [16]. They relocated to another Indian village for safety reasons.

The village of Pakranwick (sic), from the Zuniga map, can be located near the Neuse River and Sea Level, as confirmed by the above research of the village of Careohoch. Careohoch or Carawack on most maps helps locate the area of Pakranick (Kinck on a few maps) as being near Cedar Island and sea level. The last important Indian Village on the Zuniga map is Ocanahonan, and there is not any doubt that its location is on the upper Roanoke River and is associa-

ted with the Mongoacks [17], who are the Indians who took control of the Coastal Secotans around 1602 after centuries of warfare [18].

### **6-Conclusion: The old paradigm of the Lost Colony is tested**

The information related herein has been documented in a way to make the case for the locations of the Indian Villages as simple as possible, which has not been realized by the scores of past scholars who have attempted to do it. Lee Miller's book on Roanoke was a huge step forward concerning detailed research, but she placed Panawicky at Salmon Creek on the Chowan River. David Beers Quinn placed it at Wysocking Bay, in Hyde county just due west of the Ocracoke Inlet. Every scholar for the last one hundred years has picked a different location.

It is forwarded in this study that the location of Panawicky is at the head waters of the Pamlico River at the town of Chocowinity, and the evidence for this is concise, strong and compelling (see p. 26 Re Map Study and the location of Panawicky in addenda). In addition, in the addendum, you will find a list of citations that all place the colonists' relocation of their town here in North Carolina, not in Chesapeake Bay. The migration towards Panawicky has been determined by maps, deeds, and genealogy research (see maps on p. 31-34, & 37 in addenda).

The citations will show a westward movement of activity of the Croatan/Hatteras/Mattamuskeet Indians that expanded their home territory from forty acres of village land on the Outer Banks to an area that encompassed the entire Pamlico and Albemarle land peninsula and that they were able to accom-

plish this because of their partnership with Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587 colony. This is confirmed with Raleigh's giving orders that a ceremony is to take place making Manteo "The Great Lord of Dasmansekpuse", which means the extended lands west of Roanoke Island [19]. John White himself relates two times the colony is going to move fifty miles into the main [20]. A later Croatan migration, after 1588 and before 1600, places the descendents of the Colony and the Croatan Indians ten to fifteen miles from Panawicky.

History and archaeology are not hard sciences like biology and geology. When a hypothesis is proffered, about the best evidence that can be forwarded in support of the proffered theory, is that you cannot disprove the hypothesis. It is presented here that the colony did not go to Chesapeake Bay, that they moved into the mainland to the west, and merged with the Croatan Indians at another Indian village fifty miles from Roanoke Island, and at some undetermined time came under control of the Indians to the west.

The location of all of this activity is in the North Carolina coastal region, centered from the Indian village, on the Zuniga map, called Panawicky [21]. Until the application of a more precise science can be applied to this problem, the best that can be stated is that the Quinn paradigm has been assaulted, challenged and attacked. The only remaining question is, when will scientific proof be forthcoming that makes this hypothesis the new correct Lost Colony paradigm? In the meantime, for now, "the Lost Colony is still lost".

The importance of the Zuniga map can only be assessed with the information gained from other sources that all coincide with a terminal location of the colony in North Carolina. Citations from the Jamestown period all fit one scenario, and that is that the Chesapeake Bay paradigm cannot be supported

now. The sheer volume of information that now exists is overwhelming (see the addenda, pg. 26-30) [22].

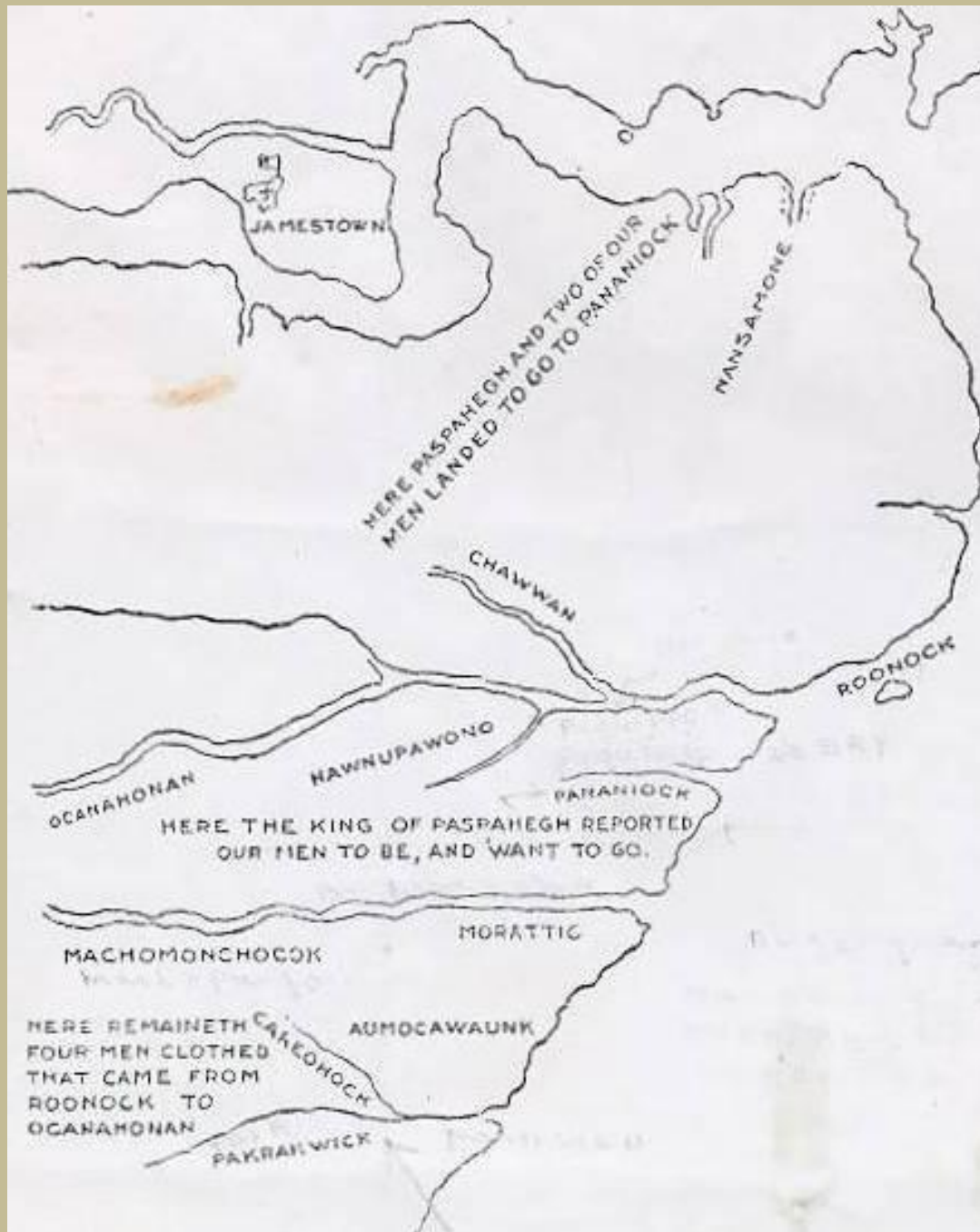
<http://www.lost-colony.com/Zuniga.ppt>

### **7---Future Studies**

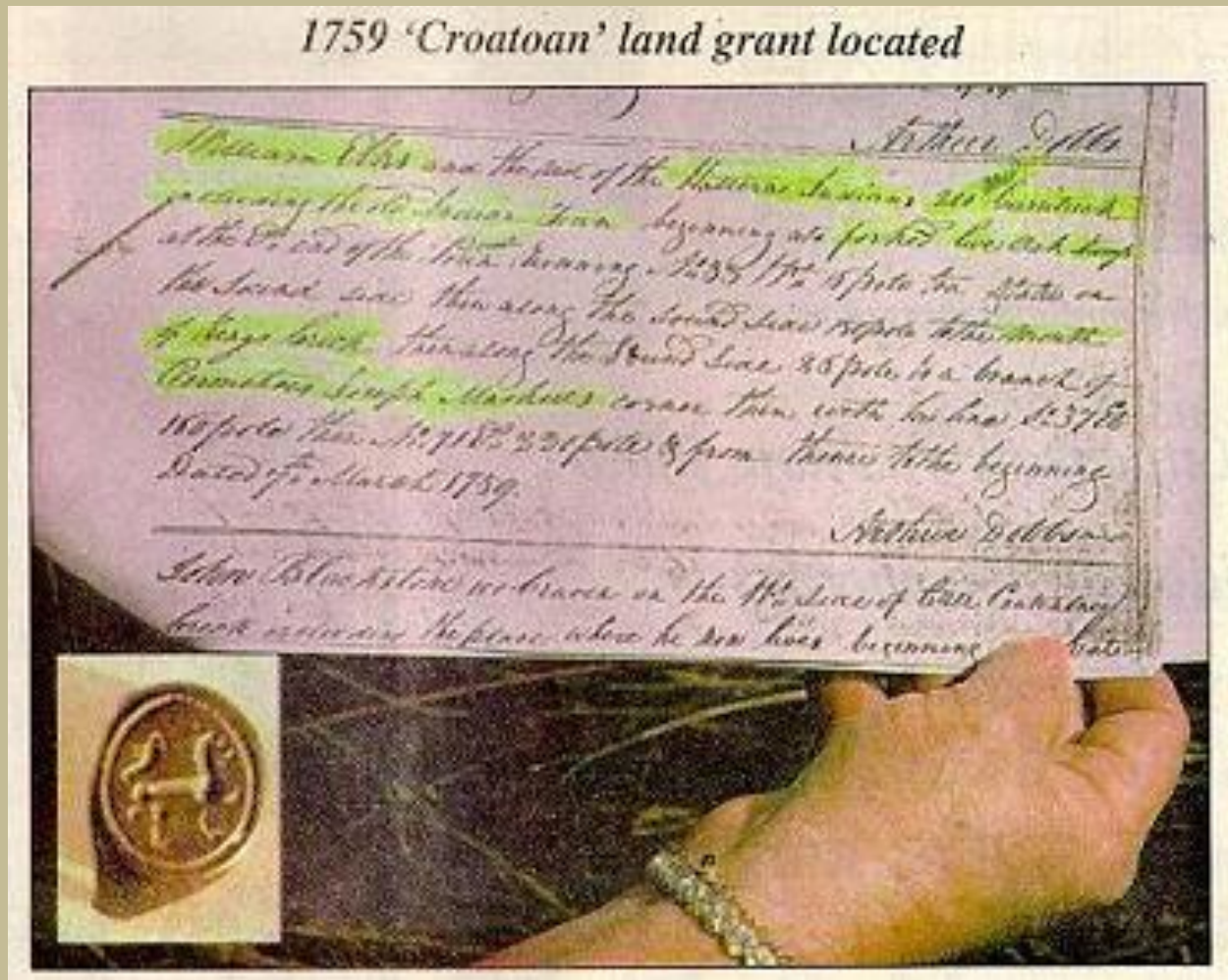
The problems presented in the above research has been addressed in a manner that coherently applies all that is known about the Zuniga map. In addition, many disciplines relating to other research that support the new paradigm of a North Carolina resettlement have been presented here. First is the location of proffered Indian sites where the colony may have gone (see pg. 17-19), second is deed research on these Indian sites (see pg. 14-16), and determining the surnames of the assimilated colony and the Native American progeny that resulted from these Native and European unions. Third, finally, is tracking the surnames westward and eventually to the Indian site of Panawicky (Chicod Creek or Chocowinity today) shown on the Zuniga map and other contact period Indian villages (see addenda, pg. 31-34 & 37).

Three areas that have not been explored yet could confirm the newly-proffered North Carolina paradigm. Concerning the fate of the "Lost Colony", the first would be on a study attempting to match the newly-discovered surnames with descendents of the colonists back in England, who have never been in North America and also match with human remains from the Croatan site in Buxton (see DNA Study @ (www.Lost-Colony.com)). The second would be with archaeology at Buxton or the Alligator River sites recently discovered. Third and lastly would be to track down a sister map of the Zuniga map and deter-

mine if any more information can be deciphered. This map was sold in 1969 by Mr. H.P. Kraus of New York (H.P. Kraus, *Monumenta Cartographica*, cat), and could have more legends, notes, clues and information about the colony. And so could Spain, and many other, yet-to-be-discovered, locations.







This land grant to Williams Elks (and the rest of the Hatteras Indians) in 1759, from the state of North Carolina, is from the Croatan Indian site in Buxton, listed here as "Indian Town". It is from these documents that the movement of the Native Americans from Croatan to the west has been ascertained.

Published by The Roanoke Beacon, and can be visited @ ([www.Lost-Colony.com](http://www.Lost-Colony.com)). Sixty-six people today with the last name of Elks live on Chicod creek (the location of our proffered Panawicky-Chocowinity today). They are all descended from the Hatteras Indian Chief Samuel and William Elks which was

ascertained with an in-depth genealogy research project. The main proffered hypothesis is the colony assimilated with the Croatan.

of land was found in open Court by the oath of John Linneman & ordered to be Registered  
The Hatteras Elk.

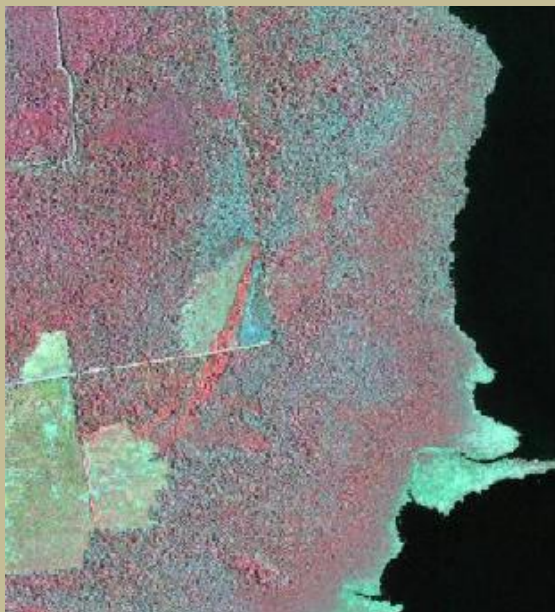
This indenture made this fourth day of March  
One thousand seven hundred and seventy  
~~seven~~ between ~~Samuel Elk~~ of Tyrrell County  
in the province of North Carolina ~~plante~~ of  
the one part and Isaac Mathis of the other part  
witnesseth that the said Samuel Elk for  
and in consideration of the sum of ~~five~~  
~~pounds~~ to him or to be paid by the said  
Isaac Mathis the receipt whereof the said  
Samuel Elk doth hereby acknowledge the said  
Samuel Elk hath granted bargained and  
sold and confirmed and by these presents  
doth hereunto bargain and sell and confirm  
to the said Isaac Mathis his heirs or assigns  
unto all that piece or parcel of land known  
by the name of ~~Beck Ridge~~ ~~containing one~~  
~~hundred acres~~ more or less ~~whereon~~ the  
said Samuel Elk now lives beginning at  
a pine in the swamp running between  
Coursers to the first station the said pine  
is an ancient part thereof and all the  
estate right title interest claim and  
demand whatsoever of him the said Sam-  
uel Elk unto the said Isaac Mathis his  
heirs and assigns to the only proper use  
& behoof of the said Isaac Mathis his heirs  
and assigns forever and the said Samuel  
Elk for himself his heirs the said Isaac  
Mathis or to whomsoever and priviledges and  
every part thereof against him and  
his heirs to the said Isaac Mathis his heirs  
and assigns shall and well warrant and  
forever defend by these presents, in wit-  
ness whereof the said Samuel Elk hath

Samuel Elks deed for Croatan Indian site on the Alligator River

The Henry Gibbs deed is for the sale of property called "Old Indian Town", which is Frisco, NC, and where the Lost Colony Center has exclusive permission rights to excavate. William, Mary, Thomas and Elizabeth Elks (Hatteras Indians) own 1/2 of the Indian site. It is believed that Henry Gibb's descendants are intermarried into the descendants of the Croatan/Hatteras/Mattamuskeet Indians numerous times. The Elks moved to Chicod creek in 1778 and still live there today. Panawicky was the only Indian site not occu-



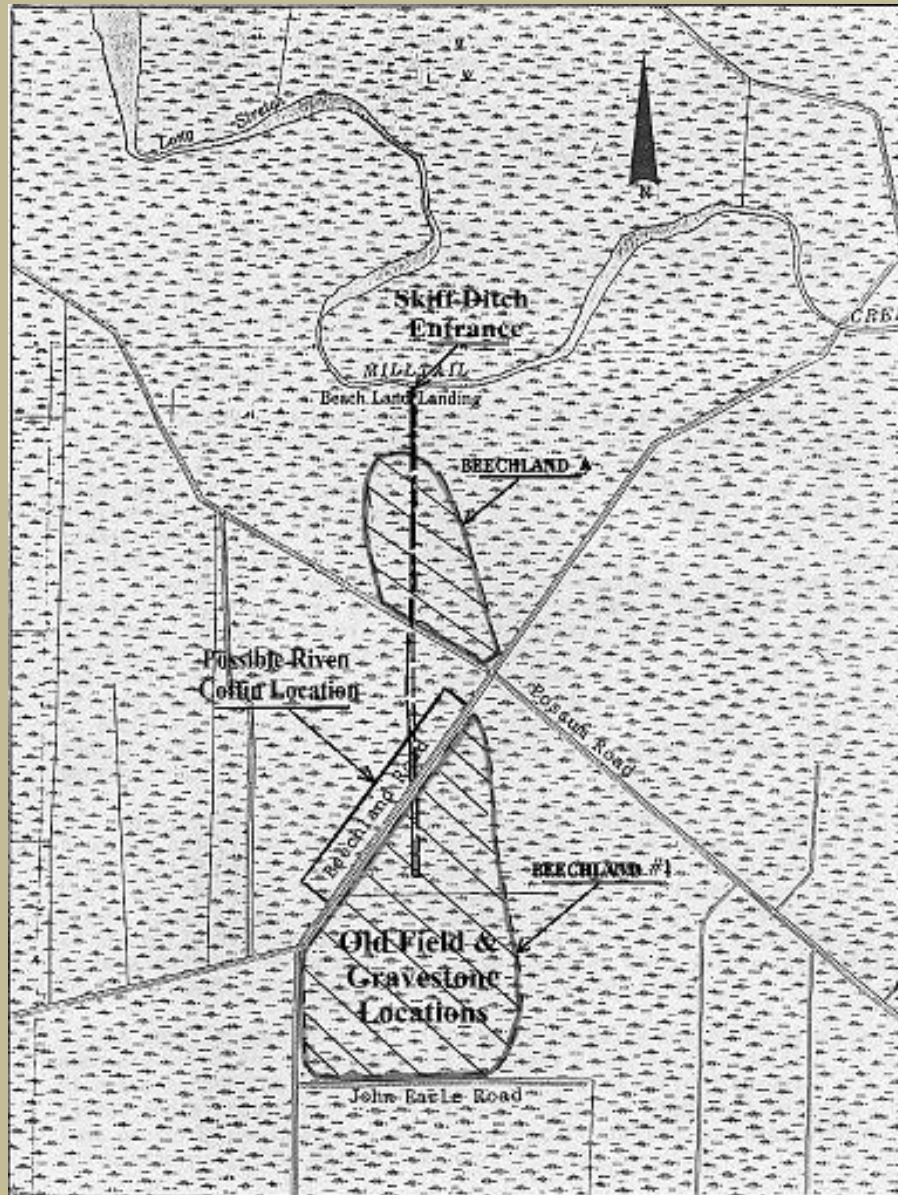
## Buck Ridge IKONOS Images



Both of the above are IKONOS images. The images are manipulated with software to enhance the areas of high ground with mineral soils suitable for growing corn. Those areas are shown in pink. The resolution of the images is one meter. Many Indian and early English artifacts have been found at this site. The most important discovery from this site is the deed of sale from Samuel Elks to Mr. Meekins for "Buck Ridge". Samuel next purchased property on Chicod Creek, which is "Salt Creek" or Panawicky. Hundreds of people in Chocowinity (Chicod Creek) have been identified as Hatteras Indians.

The Alligator River depicted below is the area where the Croatan/Hatteras/Mattamuskeet Indians moved to after 1690. The large landmass to the right is Beech-Land, called East Lake today. On the upper right of the photo is Roanoke Island. The Buck Ridge site is on the west side of the river, at the bottom, where it cuts to the west. This is the location where the deed for Samuel Elks was found.





Site of the recovered coffins which had Sixteenth Century markings on them ([www.Lost-Colony.com](http://www.Lost-Colony.com)) is depicted above. The coffins had Moline crosses carved in them; what's significant about this is that their representation went out of use shortly after the death of Queen Elizabeth. It is at this location, "Beech-Land" that it is proffered the Lost Colony relocated in 1588/1600.

## Footnotes

- [1] The sheer number of citations for a North Carolina relocation vis a vis Chesapeake Bay has never been compared (See addendum for the comparison)
- [2] Quinn passed away a few years back after being the most important researcher regarding the Sir Walter Raleigh experiment in the last one hundred years
- [3] The new wave of researchers: Thomas Parramore, Helen Roundtree, Lee Miller and Fred Willard
- [4] Cumming, William P. *The Southeast in Early Maps*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press) 1995/1998. [Plate 23, Map 32]
- [5] The principals were the political and financial power that supported the Raleigh exploits during the 1580s, and were all a part of Queen Elizabeth's inner circle.
- [6] Milton Giles, *Big Chief Elizabeth* [New York: Farrar, Straus, and Girow), 2001, 17-29. Gilbert received the license from the Queen after convincing her that he had come up with a plan to annoy the King
- [7] Milton Giles, 2001: 85
- [8] David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America: 1481-1620* (New York: Alfred A Knopf), 1974: 460-461
- [9] James Horn, *James Town: A land as God made it*. ([http://books.google.com/books?id=oeslsL5gcf8C&pg=PA40&lpg=PA40&dq=Spanish+spy+at+james+town&source=web&ots=a9LNKIV9CM&sig=9fRID7FidfjY\\_jaGXGh\\_NqTMUOU&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&resnum=8&ct=result#PPP1\\_M1](http://books.google.com/books?id=oeslsL5gcf8C&pg=PA40&lpg=PA40&dq=Spanish+spy+at+james+town&source=web&ots=a9LNKIV9CM&sig=9fRID7FidfjY_jaGXGh_NqTMUOU&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=8&ct=result#PPP1_M1)): 40
- [10] The Secotan Confederation were Algonquin and it is assumed that the Indians to the west are the Mangoacks listed also on the White map
- [11] The translation of the word Panawicky is a place of foreigners. To the Secotan this is what the Lost Colony's new home would be
- [12] The name is spelled differently on about twenty documents.

- [13] Lee Miller. 2000, *Roanoke: Solving The Mystery of The Lost Colony* (New York: Arcade Publishing Company, 2000), 259
- [14] Cumming lists five maps that clearly show the location of Panawicky. Blounts Bay is discernable on some of them which allow for a rough estimate that the Indian village is from 4/8 miles west.
- [15] Lee Miller: 259
- [16] Thomas Garrow. *The Mattamuskeet Documents*, and map in book about Tuscarora Indians living near there
- [17] This is the location of the Indians that have control of the cooper mines near the fall line of the Roanoke River
- [18] The consensus of opinion is that these are the Tuscarora who totally controlled the coastal region as reported by the Jamestown Colonists when they came south in 1608
- [19] Re: ceremony; Raleigh had this ritual performed to solidify the lands where the colony intended to relocate. The hostile elements of the Secotan confederation were occupying this territory at the time of the ceremony. No surviving evidence of any of these villages are ever heard from again after this event in September 1587 (Quinn: 1955, pages 504-5 & 531)
- [20] Confirmation of this move and partnership is documented by the Croatan/Hatteras Indians ending up controlling approximately four million acres of land area. See Maps in addenda
- [21] In Chocowinity today the deeds of Elks, Carrow and Hodges are all confirmed as being of Indian heritage, moving to Chicod Creek at the same time the Indian lands at Mattamuskeet were sold
- [22] See addendum for the citation listings

## **Annotated Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

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Harriot, Thomas. 1588: *A Brief and True Report Of The New Found Land Of Virginia.* Introduction and edits by Paul Hulton. New York, NY: Dover Publications Inc. 1972. [Harriot implies in this document that there is a compact relating to secret locations and secret commodities fifty miles west of Roanoke Island giving strong evidence the colony intended to stay in North Carolina all along].

Lawson, John. *A New Voyage To North Carolina.* Edited by Hugh Talmage Lefler Raleigh, North Carolina: Published by The University of North Carolina Press, Raleigh 1997. [Lawson claims the Croatan/Hatteras Indians are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" and are still alive and living on the coast as late as 1709. This is two hundred years after the Virginia Indian king supposedly murdered them all in Virginia].

*North Carolina Colonial Records 1761 and 1763*---Raleigh, North Carolina: Published by the department of Cultural Resources. [These documents place the coastal Indians living in the great swamplands of the Alligator-Pungo floodplains in 1711. The surnames are all of European origin and forty nine are found on the roster of the "Lost Colony".]

### **Secondary Sources**

Cummings, William P. *The Southeast in Early Maps.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press 1995/1998. [Twenty primary maps, found in Cummings, were utilized to reference Indian Villages on the Zuniga map to ascertain known locations today]

Elks, William, Mary, Elizabeth and Samuel. *Deeds of the Hatteras Indian from the Croatan Indian sites.* (found by this Author and copies in his possession and copies included in the appendix), and also found @ ([ww.Lost-Colony.com](http://ww.Lost-Colony.com)). [These surnames are of European origin but represent the leaders of the Hatteras and Machapungo (later Mattamuskeet) Indians and are identified as living on or near the coast and their ancestors were present when visited by Lawson]. Last reviewed: Spring of 2008

Fuss, David J. *The Restoration and Management plan for the Emily and Richardson Preyer Buck Ridge Coastal Reserve, Tyrell County North Carolina.* Prepared for the North Carolina Coastal Reserve Program division of The Coastal Management, Department of Environment and Natural resources, Raleigh North Carolina. 2001. [This study represents background material for an Indian site called Buck Ridge and may be

represented on the original John White map of 1585. Many artifacts have been recovered by the locale inhabitants who claim to have Indian origins]

- Garrow, Thomas. *The Mattamuskeet Documents: A Study in Social History*. A copy of this manuscript is in the Hyde County Library, and on the web-page ([www.rootsweb.com/~nchye/MAT-TA7.htm](http://www.rootsweb.com/~nchye/MAT-TA7.htm)). Last reviewed: Spring of 2008
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- Hume, Ivor Noel. *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoke to Jamestown: An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey*. New York: Knopf, 1994. [Hume supports they were possibly assimilated by the Croatan/ Hatteras Indians but does not rule out that they may have gone to Virginia]
- Hulton, Paul. *America, 1585*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press. 1984 [Hulton indicates that there are documents from Harriot's work that have not been found and could help the research if ever discovered].
- Miller, Lee. *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of The Lost Colony*. Arcade Publishing Company. New York 2000. [Miller gives a very good account of the

related documents concerning that the colony stayed in North Carolina and were attacked by hostile Indians to the west. Unfortunately she misplaced the main village of Pananioc (sic) from the Zuniga map, which she locates sixty miles to the northwest of its location].

- McMullan, Philip. *Land Clearing Trends on the Albemarle-Pamlico Peninsula* 1984- McMullan Consulting, Durham North Carolina [A copy of this paper is in the possession of this author and excerpts can be found can be found @ ([www.Lost-Colony.com](http://www.Lost-Colony.com)), in McMullan's paper, entitled *Beech-Land*, which is very detailed in research about the Indians that migrated from the coast and eventually became the Mattamuskeet. McMullan hired Dr. David Phelps to oversee the archaeological investigations relating to this area and was included in the eventual writing of Mc-Mullan's paper which was co-researched by this author (See Beech-Land listed below)]. Last reviewed: Spring of 2008.
- McMullen, Philip. "[Draft] *Prulean Farm Report*" 1982- (A copy in the possession of this author). [Background studies of the Indian lands in the great swamplands of the Pungo/Alligator].
- McMullen, Philip. 2004, *Beech-land*. Found @ ([www.Lost-Colony.com](http://www.Lost-Colony.com)) [This paper helps documents the migration of the Croatan/Hatteras to Beechland just west of Roanoke. This paper was co-researched by this author]. Extensive research relating to coffins found at Beechland indicate the presents of sixteenth century settlements. Last reviewed: Spring of 2008. Last reviewed: Spring of 2008.
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- Parramore, Thomas C. *The Tuscarora Ascendancy*. The North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. LIX, No. 4, October 4, 1982. [Parramore's work on the Indians is excellent. He is the only scholar that places the important village of Pannawicky (sic) near Washington North Carolina. He also documents a total displacement of the Algonquian Indians by the Tuscarora before the arrival of the Jamestown settlement that is very important relating to the location of Panawicky (sic) village].
- Parramore, Thomas. *Carolina Quest*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1978. [Parramore locates the village of Panawicky (sic) (Pananioc on the Zuniga map) within five miles of our proffered location of Chowinity today in this book, Carolina Quest]

- Quinn, David Beers. *The Roanoke Voyages: 2 vols.* The Hakluyt Society Second Series 104-05. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955. [Background research: many of Quinn's theories are now being disproved]
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- Russell, Magnaghi. "*Sassafrass and its Role in Early America 1562- 1662*" *Terra Incognita*, American Council for Drugs, 29, No. 04, 1997 [Background research on valuable commodities found at Roanoke]
- Sams, Conway. *The Conquest of Virginia: the First Attempt.* Spartanburg, South Carolina: Reprint Co., 1924 [has reference to information on the Zuniga map with explanations of locations which are all wrong]
- Smith, John. *Travel and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England.* 1580-1631. Ed. Arber. 2 vols. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910. [Background information relating to many other citations relating to Zuniga]
- Spect, Frank J. *Remnants of The Machapungo Indians of North Carolina.* American Anthropologist 1916. [One of the most important documents relating to the location of the Croatan/Machapungo(sic) Indians and remnants of possible colonists]
- Squires, John, George and Tim. *Deeds of the Mattamuskeet Indians from the Mattamuskeet Reservation,* Linked from ([www.Lost-Colony.com](http://www.Lost-Colony.com)). Last reviewed: Spring of 2008.
- Willard, Fred. *The Lost Colony of Roanoke* (<http://www.lost-colony.com/galleryside.html>). Last reviewed: Spring of 2008.
- Williams, Edward, Gent. *Virgo Triumphans: Virginia in General, but the South part thereof in particular including the fertile Carolinana, and the no less excellent Island of Roanoke* (printed by Thomas Harper, for John Stephenson) 1650. University Microfilms international, Ann Arbor Michigan- Early English books, 1640-1700; 951: 61 [This is one of the most important documents relating to reasons for the colony to stay in North Carolina and did not move to Virginia].

Wood, Mary. The Five Lost Colonies. Published by the Family Research Center, Elizabeth City, NC, 2000. This book gives very detailed account via oral history of the Indian activities related to the great swamplands near East Lake today and their perception that they are related to the Indians from the coast and “The Lost Colony”].

## ADDENDA

Maps studied documenting the locations of Panawicky, Pakrakwick (sic), Careohoch, and Ocanahonan. (The following maps are taken from William P. Cumming, “The southeast Early Maps” third edition revised and enlarged by Lewis De Vorsey, Jr. Chapel Hill, North Carolina; the University of North Carolina Press, 1998.)

- 1---John Speed. *A New Description of Carolina*, 1676. [Plate 4, Map 77] Kinack (on Beard’s Creek) First map to list Machapungo Indians
- 2---Robert Mordon, John Thorron and Phillip Lea. *A New Map of Carolina* (A) Ca 1685. [Color Plate 6, Map 140] 1---Pantrooc (sic)
- 3---Nicolas Sason D’Abbeville, *Carte General de La Caroline*, Ca 1696 (A) [Plate 9, Map 120] 1---Ma(e)rpung (sic)
- 4---Jacques Nicolas Bellin. *La Caroline dans l’Amerique Septentrional*, 1764 [A, Plate 21, Map 342] At Cape Hatteras “A Village of Indians”
- 5---White-De Bry. *Americae Pars, Nunc Virginia dicta*, 1590 (A) [Plate 14, Map 12] 1---Panauuaioc (sic), 2---Cwarrutoc (sic), 3---Tramansquecooc (sic)
- 6---John White. *Virginea Pars*. 1585 (MS B.) [Plate 12, Map 8] 1---Tramansquecooc, 2---Croatan
- 7---Wright. *A Chart of the World on Mercator & Projection*, 1599 [Plate 18, Map 21 A] Croatan and Road to Croatan
- 8---Mercator-Hondius. *Virginiae Itemet Floridae*, 1606 [Plate 20, Map 26] 1---Kinikowoc (sic), 2---Carrwooc (sic), 3---Paneuuock, 4---Mon-goack (sic), 5---Croatan, 3 villages, 6---Tramansquecooc (sic)

- 9---John Smith. *Ould Virginia*, 1624 [Plate 23, Map 32] 1---Pananaioc (sic), 2---Cawruuock (sea level) (sic), 3---Tramansquecooc (sic)
- 10---Zuniga. *Chart of Virginia (southern part)*, 1608 (ms) [Plate 21, Map 28]
- 11---Jan Jansson. *Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova*, 1647 [Plate 25, Map 43] 1---Cunaruuoc (sea level) (sic), 2---Panauioc (sic), 3---Croatan, 4---Tramansquecooc (sic)
- 12---Willem Jan Zoon Blaeu. *Virginia partis australis, et Florida*, 1640 [Plate 26, Map 41] 1---Pannequk (sic), 2---Caurawack (sea level) (sic), 3---Croatan [Look at Beechland and Alligator], 4---Tramansquecooc (sic)
- 13---Robert Dudley. *Virginia Vecchia e' Nuoua*, 1647 [Plate 27, Map 44] 1---Cuwaruuoc (sea level) (sic), 2---Croatan, 3---Tramansquecooc (sic) [see Dudley Map 45 for next map]
- 14---Nicholas Comberfard. *The South Part of Virginia*, 1657 (MS O) [Plate 32, Map 50] 1---Machepaunga (sic), 2---Maramasskeet (sic)
- 15---Richard Blome. *A General Map of Virginia*, 1672 [Plate 34, Map 69] 1---Machapungo [moved way to the west and covered the whole landmass between Albemarle and Pamlico/Pungo Rivers]
- 16---John Ogilby-James Moxon. *A New Discription of Carolina*, Ca 1672 [Plate 37, Map 70] 1---Machapung (sic), 2---Croatan, 3---Kinack (sic) on one of the few maps shown. Research would place this village on Green Creek on the Neuse River [Croatan Indians shown on mainland moved west]
- 17---Joel Gascoyne. *A New Map of the Country of Carolina*, 1682 [Plate 39, Map 92] 1---Panugne (sic), 2---Carrawack (sic), 3---Masepungo (sic)

On many of the maps the location of Panawicky (sic) on the Pamlico River is irrefutable, because the location is always depicted where the river narrows and becomes the Tar, and a bend in the river four to eight miles to the east can only be Blount's Bay.

**Items to be considered as supplement evidence relating to Zuniga Map supporting the North Carolina paradigm Re the Lost Colony**

- 1). John White in 1587: “Also he (John White) alleaged, that seing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he (John White) being then absent, his stuff and goods, might be both spoiled, and most of it pilfered away...” (Quinn 1955:533-534).
- 2). John White in 1590: “...for at my coming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoke 50 miles into the maine” (Quinn 1955: 613)
- 3). One of the weroances of Quiyoughcohannock (It was probably “Pepiscunimah [also called Pipsco] sent guides with an expedition to the Chowanoke Indian Village to find Lost Colonist that they knew where living there (Rountree1989:51, 295).
- 4). Opechancanouh (Powhatans brother) while holding John Smith captive at Rasawrack told John Smith that there were people at the Indian Village of “Ocanahohan” (Most likely on the Roanoke river in North Carolina) who were wearing European clothing (Rountree 1990: 37)
- 5). “Machumps, a werrowance of the village of Pespehay told William Strachey that at the towns of “Peccarecamek” (near the Coree Indian Village which is a few miles west of Cedar Island North Carolina) and “Ochanahoe” the people have built houses with stone walls (on story above another), so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at “Roanok”. (Miller 2002: 250 [citing Strackey-History-1884:26]. There is much brass at “Pakerakanick” (Possibly in Pamlico County North Carolina) and “Ocanahowan” (Roanoke River North Carolina) the people breed up tame turkeys about their houses. At “Pakerakanick” they take aps from the moun tans (copper).
- 6). Wowinchopunk, the Paspahogh king gives a relation that the lost colonists are well known at an Indian Village called Panawicke (possibly on the upper Pamlico River near Chocowinity North Carolina), beyond Roonoke many clothed men who are appareled can be found. Wowinchopunk agrees “to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicki (sic) (Miller 2000: 214, citing Smith True Relation CR4).
- 7). “Tackonekin a werraskoyack leader agrees to give John Smith two guides and directions” of where to (---“search for the Lost company of Sir Walter Rawly, (and where to find) silk grass” Michale Sickle-

more spent three months looking on the Chowan River where he gave presents to the King of the Chowan Indians (John Smith "Proceedings : 87)

- 8). Powhatan's servant named Weinock told William Strachey "That houses are built like ours, which is a ten days' march from Powhatan (Miller 2002:255).
- 9). The Zuniga Map: On September 10 1608 Phillip III (of Spain) received Intelligence from the London spy network of Pedro de Zuniga (The person is described by Zuniga as an Englishman-(probably Captain Francis Nelson). Contained in a packet from Zuniga is a tracing of a map sent home to England from John Smith in Virginia. This document gives intelligence that Panawicke (Possibly now located on the upper Pamlico River near Chocowinity North Carolina). Pakercanick (Possibly in Pamlico County North Carolina) and Ohanhowan (Possibly on the Roanoke River) are all locations where colonists from Roanoke Island are now residing with Indians probably as captive slaves. [The original Zuniga map is in the Archivo General.
- 10). James Sprunt reports, in 1664, that the Coree Indians from the Cape Fear River report that the Lost Colony is living with the Hatteras Indians not far away.
- 11). Thomas Batts and Robert Fallen In 1671 on an expedition into Tutelo Indian territory (Possibly the contact period Indian Village of Ocamahowan on or near the Roanoke River and) "they find letters burned into the trees [Marked into the past]. The letters are M A and N I. Five days later still walking to the west they find (M A) and several other scratchments on the trees. Men by the name of Morris Allen (M A) and Nicholas Johnson (N I) are listed on the roster of the 1587 Lost Colony. (Miller 2000: 260, citing Clayton, A Journal 1912: 186,187).
- 12). In 1650 Edward Bland met a Tuscarora Indian who agreed to conduct him to a town where possible survivors of the Lost Colony were living. The town was named Hocomawanank (Possibly the same as Ocamahan, Ocamahowan and Ocanahohan as above). (A possible translations of this village name is "The place where people Gather" and "The Place where two Streams Meet". Both fit the location of the Occaneechi trading village located on the Roanoke River (miller 2000:259)
- 13). John Lawson reports Hatteras Indians to be descendents of the Lost Colony
- 14). Sixteenth-century coffins were found at Beechland in 1958 (see pg. 37-38

below)

- 15). The one lone solid clue that the colony went to Chesapeake Bay has major problems. Strachey reports about the 1587 Colony: [The Powhatton of Roanocke slaughtered the colony (Miller 200:250, 255, 258, at Ritino (The king Eyanoco, where all but seven were killed. Four men two boys and a young maid who were sent to the Chowan to beat the said Kings copper)]. Strachey thought this meant Pocahontas's father. Powhatan can be translated as priest. This possibly should be reconsidered as saying: "The priest of Roanoke -----", placing the attack in or near the settlement of Roanoke Island or River [This is the main source for the Chesapeake Bay Paradigm]. Strachy reported fifteen years after it happened and claimed John Smith was the one that said it. Smith, however, never wrote about it and the sentence about Powhatan was obviously not understood correctly.



This is a Theodor DeBry version of John White's map of 1585. It was published in 1588 and is turned with North orientation to the right. The three important villages relating to the Roanoke mystery are depicted with arrows. The colony merged with the Indians and many citations as developed in this paper show a westward movement from Roanoke Island towards the upper left arrow which is the Panawicky village located today in Chocowinity. The Croatan movement to the west is depicted below on maps on pgs 32 & 33. Carrowack is located on the above map, to the left and under the seal. Tramansquecooc is the upper – right arrow and correlates with the discovery of Buck Ridge and the deed from the Indian land of Samuel Elks.



Croatan on 1688 Morden Map

Robert Morden, John Thorron and Phillip Lea. *A New Map of Carolina* (A) Ca 1685. [Color Plate 6, Map 140] 1---Pantrooc (sic)



Croatan on 1733 Moseley Map

An original copy of this map hangs in the North Carolina Special Collections of the East Carolina University Joyner Library, Greenville, North Carolina.



Mercator-Hondins Map (Cumming: [Plate 20, Map 26])







The migration before 1600 is shown in red, and the more gradual migration over 200 years is shown in blue. The Center's web site, [www.lost-colony.com](http://www.lost-colony.com), contains supporting genealogical and historical data for the latter migration. The early migration began at three villages on Croatan Island, where some Croatan Indians continued to live after the migration began. The Croatan first occupied Dasemunkepeuc (Manns Harbor) after the Roanoke Indians abandoned it.