

McMillan Revisited

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This original document was written by Hamilton McMillan in 1888. I have transcribed the original and added research notes where the data was adequate to either verify what Mr. McMillan wrote or to add more information.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, an Historical Sketch of the Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to Establish a Colony in Virginia with the Traditions of an Indian Tribe in North Carolina indicating the Fate of the Colony of Englishmen Left on Roanoke Island in 1587 by Hamilton McMillan (1888)

P 1 - In 1583, "Elizabeth by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith" granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns forever, letters patent "to discover, search, find and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people as to him, his heirs and assigns, to every or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have hold and occupy and enjoy, to him his heirs and assigns forever."

It was provided further that a settlement should be made in the territory granted within 6 years next succeeding the date of the letters patent.

This grant was made during one of the most critical periods of British history. The Protestant Elizabeth has espoused the cause of the Netherlands and had given high offense to Spain by rejecting the proposed matrimonial alliance with Philip, the reigning monarch of that country. The Armada, consisting of 140 ships of war and carrying fully 30,000 men threatened at attack upon England. Powerful allies stood ready to assist King Philip. The length of time necessary to complete this powerful armament had afforded to Elizabeth opportunity to prepare for the impending danger. Sir Walter Raleigh then enjoyed high favor at court. The Queen early discovered his soldierly qualities and intellectual ability and in addition to high rank which she bestowed upon him, readily granted him and his heirs extensive territory in North America. Raleigh was one of the most skillful generals of his time and while actively engaged in preparation for the threatened invasion of England found opportunity to fit out an expedition to the coast of America to make discoveries and to locate a colony in compliance with the terms of his grant. The commanders of the expedition were Philip Armadas and Arthur Barlowe who sailed with 2 barques from the coast of England on the 15th day of April 1584 (old style) and reached the coast of America in July of the same year. They sailed along the coast for 120 miles before they found any river or entrance issuing into the sea. These navigators probably entered Hatteras Inlet on the coast of what is now NC and having anchored "within the haven's mouth of the left hand of the same", they went in boats "to view the land adjoining and to take possession of the same in right of the Queen's most excellent majesty as rightful Queen and Princess of the same." The land thus taken into possession was Roanoke Island about 7 leagues distant from the anchorage.

After a stay of nearly 2 months, the expedition returned to England, carrying two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese. The disposition of the natives towards the Englishmen was friendly and though no reason is given for carrying two Indians to England, it was probably understood that a second expedition would soon follow and that they could return to their own country at an early day. There was good policy in impressing them, as prominent men of their own land, with the greatness of England. Manteo and Wanchese returned in another expedition to Roanoke, the former to become Lord of Roanoke, the later to become the determined enemy of the English.

A second expedition under Sir Richard Grenville, the cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed from England on the 9th of April 1585. This expedition consisted of 7 vessels, and arrived at Roanoke during the following July. In August following, Sir Richard Grenville returned to England after leaving a colony on Roanoke Island under Master Ralf Lane.

Lane explored the surrounding country making many valuable discoveries, and finally despairing of aid expected, embarked with his entire colony on the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, which stopped at Roanoke and sailed for England.

This departure of Lane's colony left no Englishman on the shores of North America.

Page 3 - Chapter 2 - In less than one month from the departure of Lane, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Roanoke with supplies an after a fruitless search for the colonists, he left 15 men on the island to hold possession of the country. After the departure by Grenville, these men were seen no more by Englishmen.

Not discouraged by repeated failures, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out another expedition under John White as Governor, who with others of the colonists, were incorporated as "the Governor and Assistants of the Cittie of Raleigh in Virginia". The city of Raleigh was designated to be built on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay.

Governor White was instructed to call at Roanoke to ascertain the fate of the 15 men left there by Sir Richard Grenville. The commanders of the ships seemed to have been independent of the authority of Governor White, and fully aware that a voyage to the Chesapeake Bay would delay their expected cruise in the West Indies, refused to transport the colony to its destination, thus compelling White to stop at Roanoke Island. The vessels soon departed in search of Spanish prizes.

After reciting many incidents, Governor White relates that "on the 13th of August, our savage, Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoke and called Lord thereof, and of Dasmonquepeuk, in reward of this faithful service." "the 18th, Eleanor, daughter of Governor White and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the colonists, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia."

Governor White relates that a violent tempest arose on the 21st of August which lasted for 6 days and threatened the destruction of one of the vessels then ready to sail for England. Governor White was sent back to England by the planters to act there as factor for the colony.

The Croatan Indians who visited Roanoke Island invited the colonists to reside with them, and the latter, prior to the departure of the Governor, expressed to him their intention to accept the invitation and to remove 50 miles "up into the main". It was understood that if they went to Croatoan, they were to carve the word Croatoan on the bark of a tree in some conspicuous place, that the Governor might know where to find them on his return. It was further understood that if they left the Island in distress they were to carve the Christian cross above the word Croatoan.

On the 27th of August, White sailed for England and the colonists were seen no more by white men.

Page 4 - chapter 3 - On his arrival in England, Governor White found all things in commotion. The long threatened storm of war had burst upon England and the services of Sir Walter Raleigh and others who were interested in the distant colony, were enlisted in the national defense. It was a critical period of British history. Queen Elizabeth relied upon the skill of Raleigh, under whose guidance the Armada was defeated, and "liberty of person and liberty of conscience were once more free".

On the 22nd of August 1588, Governor White by aid of Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from England with 2 barques to visit the colony at Roanoke. These vessels, disabled in fighting ships encountered during the voyage, were compelled to return to England. No further attempt to reach the colony was made till the 20th of March 1590, when White again sailed for Virginia with three vessels. Nearly 6 months passed before the vessel reached Roanoke in the following August.

In his account of this voyage as published by Hakluyt, Governor White said that "on the 15th of August, towards evening, we came to anchor at Hattorask in 36 1/3 degrees, in 5 fathoms of water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore, we saw a great smoke rise in the isle Roanoke, near the place where I had left our colony in the year 1587 which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting our return out of England. The 16th and next morning, our two boats went ashore and Captain Cooke and Captain Spicer and their company with me with intent to pass to the place at Roanoke where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship, we commanded our master-gunner to make ready 2 minnions and a falcon, well loaded, and to shoot them off with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people."

Omitting some unimportant details we extract from White's narrative the following: "Our boats and all things filled again, we put off from Hattorask, being the number of 19

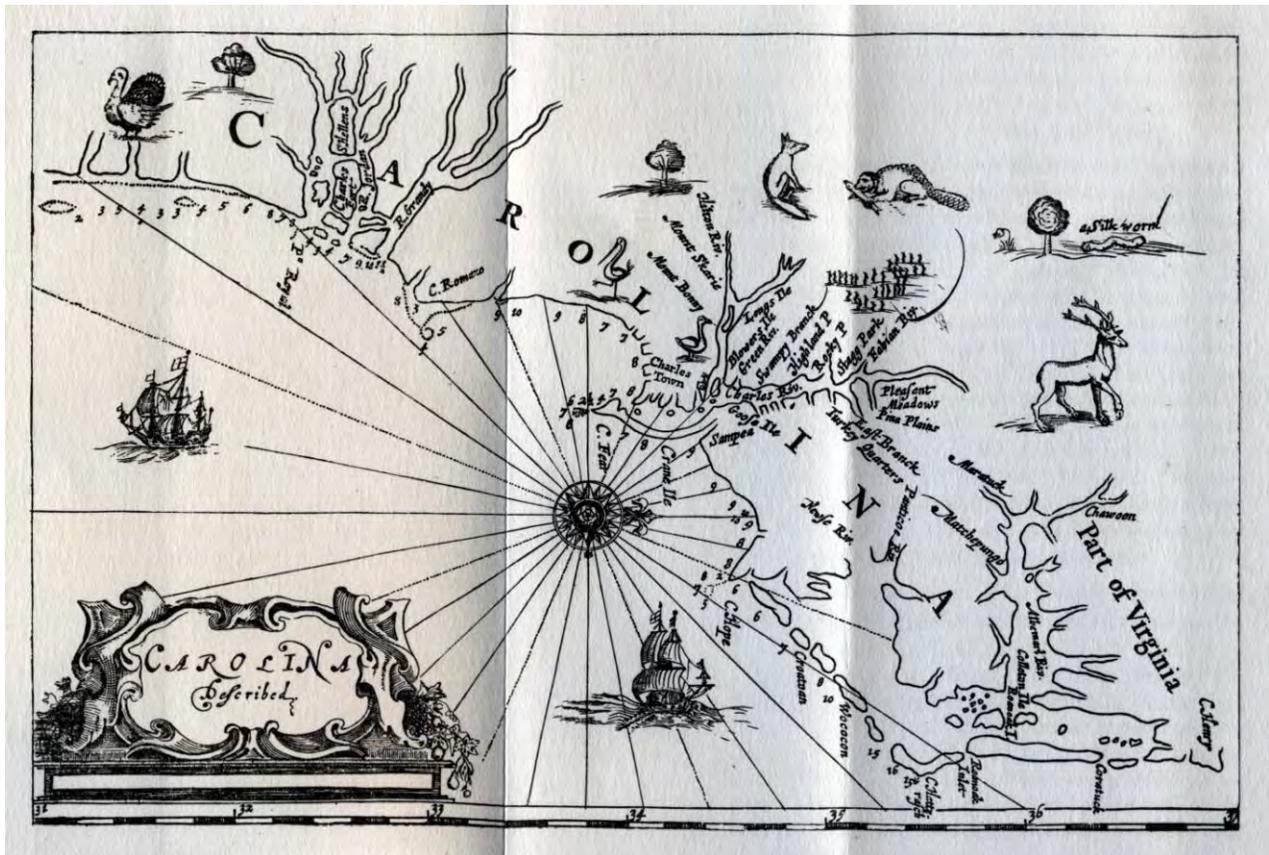
persons in both boats, but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceedingly dark that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile, when we espied towards the north end of the island (Roanoke) the light of a great fire through the woods to which we presently rowed: When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar tunes and songs and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day break and coming to the fire we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side round about the north point of the island until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1587. In all the way we saw in the sand the print of the savage's feet of two or three sorts trodden in the night, and as well entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C.R.O., which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters, seated, according to a secret token agreed up on between them and me at my last departure from them, which was that in any way they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the door the name of the place where they should be seated, for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke 50 miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them in August 1587, I willed them that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places that they should carve over the letters of a name a cross (cross shape) in this form, but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this we passed through the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisade of great trees with curtains and flankers, very fortlike, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and 5 feet from the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven "Croatoan", without any cross or sign of distress. This done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron and two pigs of lead, 4 iron fowlers, iron locker, shot and such like heavy things thrown here and there almost over grown with grass and weeds." "But although it grieved me much to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side, I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends."

Foul weather compelled Governor White to return to the fleet, and on the following day, with a favorable wind they prepared to sail to Croatan, but owing to the loss of all their anchors, save one, and the approaching foul weather, it was determined to sail to St. John or some other island southward for fresh water and after obtaining victuals and necessaries in the West Indies and spending the winter there, to return in the spring to seek the colonist at Croatoan. One of the vessels being in a leaky condition was compelled to sail for England. The other vessel after cruising for awhile in search of Spanish prizes, finally sailed for England and arrived at Plymouth on the 14th of October, 1590.

P 7 - From the story of Governor White, it is evident that Croatoan was situated southward from Roanoke Island, and up on the coast, for the voyages attempted to sail to it upon the open sea. It is probably that the island mentioned was one of the long

islands curtaining the coast and embracing within the present county of Carteret. It is so located on one of the olde maps, bearing date of 1666¹. On a map published by order of the Lords Proprietors in 1671, the peninsula embracing the present county of Dare is called Croatan.² Lawson's map of the year 1709 also locates Croatan in the

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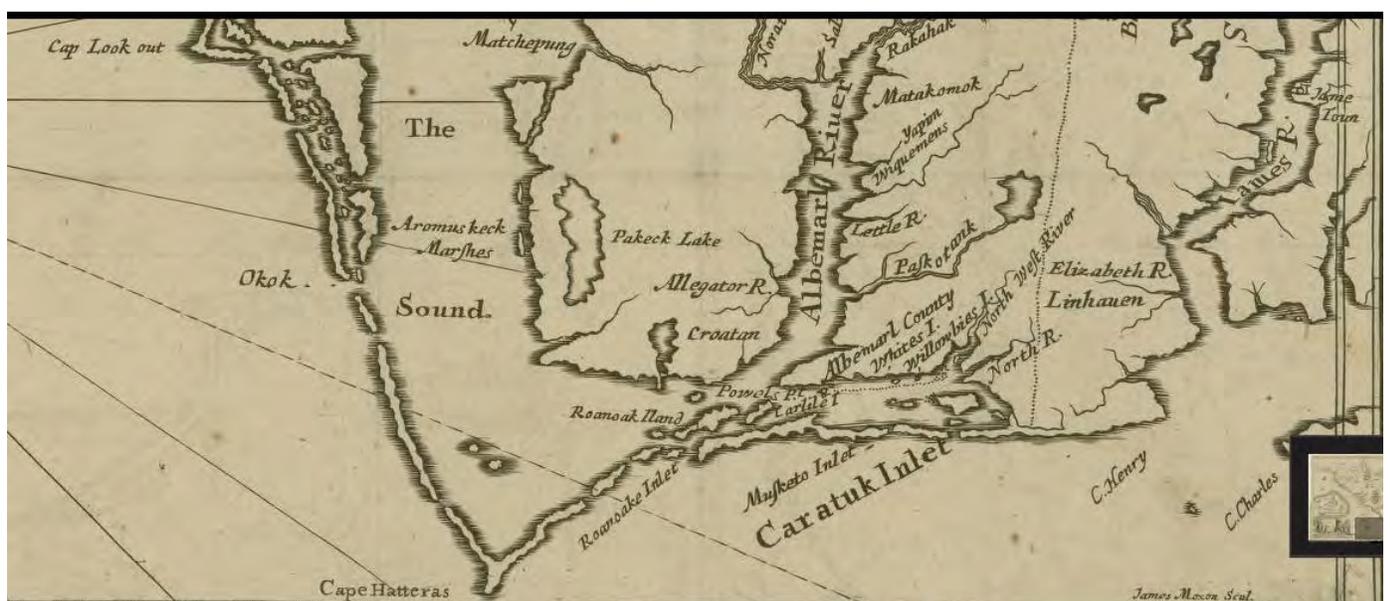


Carolina Described 1666 by Robert Horne

The image above is from a 1944 reprint [© University of Virginia] of the original map which was published in A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Floreda... Together with a most accurate Map of the whole Province, a pamphlet printed for Robert Horne in 1666. "It is now very rare and the map itself still rarer, as it is usually not found in the extant copies" (Cumming 60). The map shows Charles Town, "... a colony from Charlestowne, Massachusetts, est. in 1662 under the leadership of William Hilton, on Town Creek... Abandoned in 1663. In 1664 a colony from Barbados under the leadership of Sir John Yeamans occupied the site, but they abandoned it in 1665." (from The North Carolina Gazetteer by William S. Powell © 1968 UNC Press). The map shows the "Hilton Riv." (now Cape Fear R.) and the "Charles Riv." (now N.E. Cape Fear R.) as well as many place names that appear on a printed map for the first time.

² Found at <http://www.lunacommons.org/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~1618~2340001:A-New-Discription-of-Carolina-By-Or#> the map shows the peninsula west of Roanoke Island as Croatoan.

same region³. The sound immediately west of Roanoke Island still bears the name of Croatan. The name of the island belonging to the tribe was Croatoan, while the name



³ Lawson map of 1709 - relevant portion extracted

of the tribe inhabiting it, may have been Croatan. The name Croatan was given to the tribe by the English from the name of a locality within their territory. That part of their territory lying west of Roanoke Island was called Dasamonguepeuk by some of the natives. Manteo, by order of Sir Walter Raleigh, was made of "Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk", the first instance of a title of nobility being conferred on an American. There can be little doubt that the territory now embraced within the counties of Hyde, Tyrrell and Dare was claimed and occupied by the friendly tribe of Manteo at one time, and was designated as Croatan, and at another time occupied by a different tribe of hostile Indians who called it Dasamonquepeuk. Croatoan, the principal seat of Manteo and his tribe lay to the southward. The name carved upon the tree according to a secret understanding between Governor White and the planters prior to the departure



of the former, was Croatoan, and was understood by him to mean an island southward from Roanoke, "for there" he related, "Manteo was born and the savages of the island, our friends."

P 8 - For nearly three hundred years after the departure of White no trace of the lost colony had been discovered, with the exception of the following related by Lawson, an early historian, who wrote in 1714: "the Hatteras Indians who lived on Roanoke Island, or much frequented it, tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book, as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being frequently found 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."

Purchas tells us that several subsequent voyages were made at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh, to discover his lost countrymen, but without success. Commanders of ships in those days were more anxious to capture Spanish vessels than to find lost Englishmen and it is doubtful if a single ship touched at Croatan or Roanoke to make enquiries, after the departure of White in 1590.

Chapter 4 - Who were the Croatons? The term Croatan or Croatoan was applied by the English to the friendly tribe of Manteo whose chief abode was on an island on the coast southward from Roanoke. The name Croatan seems to indicate a locality in the territory claimed by Manteo and his tribe as Hatteras Indians, and from an incident to be related hereafter, this title seems to have been recognized by these Indians. From the first appearance of Amadas and Barlowe to the departure of Governor White in 1587 relations of the most friendly character are known to have existed between this tribe and the English colonists. Their chief, Manteo, in reward of his faithful services to the English, was, by command of Sir Walter Raleigh, baptized as a member of the Church of England and was made Lord of Roanoke and of Dasamonguepeuk.

For reasons given in the succeeding pages, we believe the term Roanoke, then applied to the island, was afterwards given to a large extent of territory contiguous to Pamlico Sound, in fact to all the territory claimed by Manteo. The tribes at that early day, seemed to have had no settled boundaries to the territories claimed by them and occupied the land adjacent to their principal seats, alternately with other tribes, as hunting grounds.

The history of this tribe, as connected with the early attempts to colonize our eastern coast, is of peculiar interest and is worthy of extended notice.

Harriott, who accompanied Lane's expedition to Virginia, in describing the Indians on our coast, says "they are a people clothes with loose mantles made of deer skins and aprons of the same around their middles, else naked, of such a difference of stature as we of England, having no edge tools or weapons or iron or steel to offend us withal, neither know they how to make any." "The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference." "They believe that they are many gods, which they call Mantoac but of different sorts and

degrees, one only chief and great God which has been from all eternity." "They also believe the immortality of the soul, that after this life as soon as the soul is departed from the body according to the works it has done, it is either carried to heaven, the habitable of the gods, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the furthest part of the world towards the sunset, there to burn continuously⁴, the place they call Popogusso."

In reading this account of the religion of the natives, we conclude that at some period they had communication with more civilized races from the East who impressed upon them some idea of faith more exalted than the common among savages. Some may be ready to accept the absurdities of monkish fancy and readily believe them to be descendants of the "lost tribes" who had retained something of ancient Jewish faith. The difference in color, language and other characteristics renders it difficult to accept such a theory. The knowledge of this western land is as old as the time of Plato and Solon, who mention an island in the west called Atlantis "and a great continent which lay beyond it". The Persians established a colony in the West Indies a thousand years ago, which, by "abstaining by all admixture with the black aborigines, differs but little from their progenitors in the parent country." The Welsh colonized the Carolina coast in the 12th century. In 1660 Rev. Morgan Jones in travelling in the Tuscarora country was captured by the Doegs, a branch of that tribe who spoke Welsh. He describes them as settled upon Pontigo river near Cape Atross. This statement seems to confirm the Welsh chronicle which describes Madoc's colony. Long before the discovery of Columbus the Basques sent fishing vessels to the northern part of America. The Norse records describe voyages to the American coast, reciting facts and dates which are confirmed by Irish and Arabic chronicles, and also by the inscription on Woman's Islands on our northern coast bearing date of April 25, 1135⁵. If we discredit the accounts of these early voyages we may discredit anything of ancient date recorded in history. The Sanscrit root syllable ap and the Latin root ak, both meaning water, are detected in the names of scores of rivers and bays on our Atlantic coast facing Europe, where vessels driven by the northeast trade winds, would probably reach our shores.

⁴ RJE - This is very reminiscent of the Christian ideology of Heaven and Hell.

⁵ In the document "In the Heart of the Arctics" by Nicholas Senn, MD, PhD, in 1907

http://www.archive.org/stream/inheartofarctics00sennuoft/inheartofarctics00sennuoft_djvu.txt we find the following text relating to this date: The final fate of the second discoverer of Greenland is wrapped in obscurity. In 999 A. D., Leif, his son, visited the court of Norway, where, under the influence of the then reigning king, he was Christianized and returned to Greenland with monks and established a number of colonies near Cape Farewell. These colonies prospered for a long time, but were extinguished by the hostile natives and "black death," an epidemic which raged in Europe from 1402 to 1404, and at last reached Greenland. The colonies became extinct about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Except the scanty ruins of a church, the only vestiges of these early settlements now remaining consist of low, naked walls, which must have served as pens for sheltering cattle, and an inscription, in the Runic language, on a stone slab, found in 1824, planted erect in the ground, on the island of Kingitorsoak, latitude 73 north, bearing the date April 25, 1135. The inscription has never been completely deciphered. Dr. T. Stewart Traill, of Liverpool, has interpreted this much of it: "Oelligr Sigwathson, and Baaos Tortarson and Oenrithi Osson, on the Saturday before Gagndag erected Thorward's monument, and wrote this." (And then what remained is unintelligible.) [Gagndag was a holiday of the Catholic church in Iceland.]

We cite these facts in support of the theory that colonies were in past times, located on our coast, and in course of time were neglected and forgotten by the parent countries and became absorbed by native tribes. If this theory is accepted it will account for traditions of wrecked vessels prevalent among the Indians described by Harriot, as well as for their religious notions so far above those commonly found among savages. Prescott, as quoted by Dr. Hawks in speaking of Indians found on the Atlantic coast of North America, says, "they had attained to the sublime conception of one Great Spirit, the creator of the universe, who immaterial in his own nature, was not to be dishonored by an attempt at visible representation and who pervaded all space was not to be circumscribed within the walls of a temple."

What may have been the origin of the tribe, known to us through the English colonists as Croatan, can only be a matter of conjecture. They had traditions of vessels wrecked in past times, and they affirmed that iron implements found among them were obtained from such wrecks. Children with auburn hair and blue eyes were noticed among them, which impressed the belief that they had had communication with the white people. From the appearance of Amidas and Barlowe in 1584 to the departure of Governor White in 1587, their demeanor towards the whites was friendly. The treatment received by Manteo during his visit to England may have enhanced the good feeling towards the English. What became of them?

Page 11 - Chapter 5 - After the departure of Governor White from the coast of Virginia in 1590, 5 expeditions were fitted out at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh for the relief of his distressed countrymen at Roanoke.

After the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, Captain John Smith sent a hardy woodsman to the Chowanoke Indians, who lived near the head of Albemarle Sound, under the pretense of sending presents to their king, but his object was to make inquiries concerning the Roanoke colony. Captain Smith sent two other men to the Mangoaks, on the river Nottoway, but they returned as the other had done, without any information except that the white people were all dead. (Vide Williamson's His. Of NC Vol 1 p73)

It is evident from the story of Governor White, as given on a preceding page, that the colonists went southward along the coast to Croatoan Island, now a part of Carteret county, in North Carolina, and distant about one hundred miles in a direct line from Albemarle Sound. The Mangoacks were seated northwest from Albemarle and it is not surprising that the messenger returned without definite information. The statement of Lawson, as to the tradition of the Hatteras Indians, may throw some light on the fate of the English colonists, but it is a matter of surprise to us at this time that a historian would not pursue the investigation of that tradition far enough to ascertain who those ancestors were who could "talk in a book". Europeans had been upon the coast even before the arrival of Amidas and Barlowe in 1584. Persons were noticed among the native with auburn and chestnut colored hair and traditions existed concerning wrecked vessels. Iron implements were found among the Croatoan Indians made of spikes and nails obtained from a wreck on their coast, which occurred about 20 years before the arrival of the English colony. A previous wreck in 1558 was mentioned, some of the

crew were saved and were supposed to have been lost in their attempt to leave in the frail boats of the natives. Lawson wrote in 1714, 127 years after the colonists were last seen on Roanoke Island. Sixty nine years after the settlement on that island and 60 years before the event related by Lawson, Roanoke was visited by an Englishman, Francis Yeardly, who, in a letter to John Farrar, Esquire, dated May 8, 1654, relates a visit made to Roanoke Island by himself and others, "where or thereabouts they found the great commander of these parts with his Indians ahunting, who received them civilly, and showed the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort, from which I received a sure token of their being there. After some days spent to and fro, in the country, the young man, the interpreter, prevailed with the great man and his war captains to come in and make peace with the English, which they willingly condescended unto." - (Vide Hawks His NV Vol 2 p 17)⁶. So that at that early day the island was occupied by Indians who knew

⁶ Colonial and State Records of NC
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0006>
Letter from Francis Yardley to John Farrar [Extract]
Yardley, Francis
May 08, 1654
Volume 01, Pages 18-19
[Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II, P. 273. Reprinted from Hawks's History of N. C.]
LETTER FROM MR. FRANCIS YARDLEY TO JOHN FARRAR, ESQ.

Virginia, Linnehaven, 8th May, 1654.

Sir:—

In September last, a young man, a trader for beavers, being bound out to the adjacent parts to trade, by accident his sloop left him; and he, supposing she had been gone to Roanoke, hired a small boat, and, with one of his company left with him, came to crave my license to go to look after his sloop, and sought some relief of provisions of me; the which granting, he set forth with three more in company, one being of my family, the others were my neighbors. They entered in at Caratoke, ten leagues to the southward of Cape Henry, and so went to Rhoanoke Island; where, or near thereabouts they found the great Commander of those parts with his Indians a-hunting, who received them civilly, and showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort, from whence I received a sure token of their being there.

Immediately I dispatched away a boat with six hands, one being a carpenter, to build the King an English house, my promise, at his coming first, being to comply in that matter. I sent £200 sterling in trust to purchase and pay for what land they should like, the which in little time they effected and purchased, and paid for three great rivers, and also all such others as they should like of, southerly; and in solemn manner took possession of the country, in the name, and on the behalf of the Commonwealth of England; and actual possession was solemnly given to them by the great Commander, and all the great men of the rest of the provinces, in delivering them a turf of the earth with an arrow shot into it; 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.

Sir, if you think good to acquaint the States with what is done by two Virginians born, you will honor our country. I have at this instant no present worthy your acceptance, but an arrow that came from the Indians

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inhabiting on the South Sea, the which we purpose, God willing, to see this summer, non obstante periculo.

I humbly take leave, and ever remain, Sir,

Your true honorer and affectionate

Servant to be commanded,

FRANCIS YARDLEY.

nothing of the lost Englishmen⁷, and who pointed out Raleigh's fort as an object of curiosity, without any tradition as to the fate of those who built it.

Reverend Mr. Blair, who as a missionary to the settlement on Pamlico Sound, after describing the difficulties of his situation, writes to his patrol Lord Weymouth, as follows: "I think it likewise reasonable to give you an account of a great nation of Indians who live in that government, computed to be no less than 100,000 many of which live among the English, and all as far as I can understand, a very civilized people." This letter was written in 1703. Mr. Blair speak of a desert of 50 miles in extent to be crossed in reaching the place. At the time in which he writes, the descendants of the missing colonists must have held only a tradition respecting the events attending the attempt at colonization on Roanoke Island. The number mentioned by Mr. Blair is evidently an exaggeration and the location of the tribe is indefinite. There is reason to believe that descendants of the colonists were living in a region of the country southwest of Pamlico at the time in which he writes and that they emigrated Westward towards the interior where a large body of Croatan Indians and descendants of the lost colonists had previously located. It is probably that the civilized Indians mentioned were a portion of the Croatan tribe, as there was no other tribe in which the reference could apply. At that early day very little was known of the region to the Southwest of Pamlico Sound and the missionary may have traveled 100 miles in reaching the place of his labor which seemed to be at a great distance from other precincts visited by him.

At the time he writes, 1703, there were no settlements of white men known to exist beyond the region around Pamlico Sound. Subsequent to that date white emigrants penetrated the wilderness and in 1729 there was a settlement made on Heart's Creek⁸, a tributary of the Cape Fear, and near the site of the present town of Fayetteville. Scotchmen arrived in what is now Richmond County in North Carolina as early as 1730. French Huguenots in large numbers emigrated to South Carolina after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and some of them had penetrated as far North as the present Northern boundary of that State, in the early part of the 18th century.

At the coming of white settlers there as found located on the waters of Lumber River, a large tribe of Indians, speaking English, tilling the soil, owning slaves and practicing many of the arts of civilized life. They occupied the country as far west as the Pee Dee but their principal seat was on the Lumber, extending along that river for 20 miles. They held their lands in common and land titles only became known on the approach of white men. The first land grant of land to any of this tribe, of which there is written evidence in existence, was made by King George the 2nd in 1732 to Henry Berry and James Lowrie, two leaders of this tribe, and was located on the Lowrie Swamp east of Lumber River in present county of Robeson in NC. A subsequent grant was made to James

For the worshipful John Farrar, Esq.,
at his Manor of Little Gidding, in
Huntingdonshire

⁷ This document doesn't say they ever asked them. Also, this is Roanoke Island, the mainland Indians might not have known what happened to people on Hatteras Island.

⁸ Now known as Cross Creek <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/104/entry>

Lowrie in 1738. According to tradition there were deeds of land of older date, described as "White" deeds and "Smith" deeds, but no trace of their existence can be found at this date⁹.

Many of these people at a later period purchased their lands from persons who obtained large patents from the King.

Occasional bands of immigrants arrived on the Lumber River from ancient settlements towards the east, while other moved west towards the Pee Dee, Catawba, and French Broad rivers. These people were hospitable, and friendly relations were established between them and their white neighbors. Subsequent to the coming of white settlers a portion of the tribe went north towards the Great lakes and some of their descendants can be found at this time in Canada, West of Lake Ontario. Another emigration occurred at a later date and the emigrants became incorporated with a tribe then located near Lake Michigan. Many families, described as white people, emigrated towards the Allegheny mountains and there are many families in Western NC at this time who are claimed by the tribe in Robeson County, as descendants of the lost English colonists, who had preserved their purity of blood to that degree that they could not be distinguished from the white people. These Indians build great roads connecting distant settlement with their principal seat on the Lumbee, as the Lumber river was then called. One of the great roads constructed by them can be traced from a point on Lumber River for 20 miles to an old settlement near the mouth of Heart's Creek, now Cross Creek¹⁰. Another great highway still bearing the name of the "Lowrie Road" and used at this day as a public road extends from the town of Fayetteville through Cumberland and Robeson Counties, in a SW direction towards an ancient Croatan settlement on the Pee Dee.

James Lowrie, previously mentioned as one of the grantees in the deeds made by George the 2nd, and recognized as a chief man of his tribe, is described as an Indian who married Priscilla Berry, a sister of Henry Berry, the other grantee mentioned. James Lowrie was a descendant of James Lowrie of Chesapeake, who married a Croatan woman in Virginia, as Eastern NC is still designated by the tribe, and became the progenitor of all the Lowries belonging to this tribe. According to the prevalent tradition respecting this family, the men were intellectual and ambitious and as a chronicler of the tribe described them, became "leaders among men". Many persons distinguished in the annals of NC are claimed as descended from the original James Lowrie of Chesapeake. "You will find the name of James Lowrie", remarked the chronicler, "wherever you find a Lowrie family."

Henry Berry, the grantee previously mentioned, was a lineal descendant of the English colonist, Henry Berry, who was left on Roanoke Island in 1587.

Many of this tribe served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War and enjoyed pensions within the memory of persons yet living. A considerable number

⁹ Have not been found as of 2010.

¹⁰ In downtown Fayetteville, NC.

served during the War of 1812, some of whom received pensions within the recollection of the writer. From the close of the Revolution to the year of 1835, they exercised the elective franchise equally with white men, performed militia duties, encouraged schools and built churches, owned slaves and lived in comfortable circumstances. By an ordinance of the NC State convention of 1835, the elective franchise was denied to all "free persons of color". To effect a political purpose, it was contended that these citizens were "free persons of color" and afterwards they were debarred from voting till the year 1868, when a new constitution was adopted. After the adoption of the new State constitution, they were allowed the benefit of public schools, but having been classed for a long period as "free persons of color", they were compelled to patronize schools provided for the negro race. Owing to a bitter prejudice against negroes, but few availed themselves of the privilege, the greater part preferring that their children should grow up in ignorance rather than they should be forced to associate with a race which they hold in utter contempt. Separate schools have since been provide for their race, by the legislature of NC which, by special act, recognized them as Croatan Indians.

P 16 - Chapter VI - During the late way between the states, an incident occurred which caused the writer to investigate the traditions of this tribe. Three young men of the Lowrie family were drafted, according to military law, to work on the fortifications at Fort Fisher in Eastern NC, and while on the road to the nearest depot in Robeson County, they were killed, it is supposed, by a white man who had them in custody. An inquest was held, and at its conclusion, an old Indian named George Lowrie¹¹, addressed the people assembled, in substance as follows: "we have always been friends of white men. We were a free people long before the white men came to our land. Our tribe as always free. They lived in Roanoke, Virginia. When the English came to Roanoke, our tribe treated them kindly. One of our tribe went to England in an English ship and saw that great country. When English people landed in Roanoke we were friendly, for our tribe was always friendly to white men. We took the English to live with us. There is the white man's blood in these veins as well as that of the Indian. In order to be great like the English, we took the white man's language and religion for our people were told they would prosper if they would take white man's laws. In the wars between white men and Indians, we always found on the side of the white men. We moved to this land and

¹¹ Interestingly enough, in the 1860 census, this George Lowrie, age 62, born in 1798 is also married to a Prissette (Priscilla), age 58. They have 3 children remaining at home, all of whom are only listed by initials. George Lowrie and his family are listed as mulatto and are living among other Lumbee, next door to a Blunt and about 3 houses away from a Locklear family (who is also listed as mulatto) in the North District of Robeson Co. He and his wife were both born in NC. He owns \$150 in personal effects and \$300 in land and is a farmer. There are 3 George Lowrie's listed, age 62, 40 and 22. In 1850, we find George Lowry, age 52 and his wife Priscilla, age 50, listed as mulatto in Marlboro County, SC, a laborer, owning no land. This area is also known as a settlement area for Lumbee. Their children are Andrew, 20, Wesley, 15, Allen, 14, German 12, Allison 6, Haly Griffin age 45 and Purline Griffin age 1. The Cope family next door is white, but living with them is found Shepherd Locklear, also a mulatto. Locklear is not found outside of the Lumbee tribe. Neither George nor Priscilla can read and write in 1850, but their children can. In 1860 this column is blank. In 1880, George died of Cholera, listed as a black married male farmer, age 82, died on cholera on the 1880 census mortality schedule. According to the NC Marriage Collection 1741-2004 on Ancestry, George married Presscella Swett on May 8, 1818 in Cumberland County, NC. George's parents are shown (unconfirmed) to be William Lowry and Elizabeth Locklear. His father is shown to be James Lowry born in 1738 in Virginia, d 1811 in Robeson County, NC.

fought for liberty for white men, yet white men has treated us as negroes. Here are our young men shot down by a white man and we get no justice, and that in a land where our people were always free."

The incident above occurred in the latter part of 1864 and owing to the troubled state of the country at that time, and for several years afterwards, no investigation could be made till the year 1875, when the writer became a citizen and had opportunity of interviewing the leading persons of the tribe.

After the year 1835 these Indians who murmured greatly at the injustice done them in being classed as "mulattoes" or "free persons of color" became suspicious of white men and at first we found difficulty in eliciting any facts relating to their past history. After years of patient investigations, gathering here and there, we present the following summary of traditions prevalent among them.

The tribe once lived in Roanoke in Virginia, as they persist in calling Eastern NC. The name Roanoke is applied to the country around Pamlico Sound, embracing Hyde, Tyrrell and Dare counties on the North, with the series of island as far South as Carteret county and embracing that county with Craven and Jones. Croatoan or Croatan was a locality far to the south, off the coast of Carteret, and was the principal seat of the tribe. Their leading man was made Lord of Roanoke. The name Manteo they do not recognize, but are familiar with a Mayno, a name very common among them and representing a very quite law abiding people.

At an early date after the colony became incorporated with the tribe, they began to emigrate westward. The first settlement made was probably in what is now Sampson county on several small rivers tributary to Black River. A portion located on the Cape Fear, near a place now bearing the name of "Indian Wells" and at Heart's Creek in Cumberland county, now Fayetteville. It is impossible to ascertain at what date the tribe located in Robeson, but it is probable that they have resided there for 200 years. According to their universal tradition, they were located there long before the troubles with the Tuscaroras began in 1711. Some of the tribe fought under "bonnul" as they term Colonel Barnwell, and we have reliable evidence that they brought home a few Mattamuskeet Indians as prisoners and slaves. The descendants of these Mattamuskeet had their traditions also. The name Dare was not recognized by them in our first investigations, but we afterwards discovered that they pronounce the name variously as Darr, Durr and Dorr. This discovery was made when we related to an old chronicler of the tribe the story of Virginia Dare, the first white child born on American soil This name Dorr or Durr has disappeared on the Lumber river since the War of 1812¹². The name Dorr appears on the muster roll of a company composed in part of Indians from Robeson county which served in the war, in the US Army.

¹² Checking the 1810 census at Ancestry.com, we find no similar names except a William Dara indexed to Sampson County. However, reading the entire census, we find no Dare (or anything similar in that county). Checking the 1790 and 1800 census, there are also no individuals with a similar surname.

Several chroniclers or old persons who keep the tradition of the tribe have informed us that there are families bearing the name of Dorr or Durr to be found in western NC who are claimed by the tribe as descended from the English colonists of Roanoke. These chroniclers affirm that the Dares, Coopers, Harvie and others retained their purity of blood and were generally pioneers in emigration. Many names are corrupted so that it is difficult to trace their history. The name Goins was originally O'guin, as appears from ancient court records. The name Lumber as applies to the river was originally Lumbee or Lombee. The name Manteo is nor familiar to them. While they have a tradition of their leader or chief who went to England, yet they have preserved no name for him. The nearest approach to the name of Manteo is Maino or Mainor. An old women whom we interviewed spoke of their great man as Wonoke. This name may be a corruption of Roanoke for we must remember Manteo was made Lord of Roanoke. Mattamuskeet Lake, according to the tradition preserved by these Indians was a burnt lake or lake caused by water filling a hole burnt in the ground. We are indebted for this tradition to an aged gentleman of Roberson county who was familiar with the traditions of the tribe from about 1820-1824. He mentioned several persons who represented that they were descended from Mattamusket Indians who were taken prisoners, in the war between the whites and the Tuscaroras, by the tribe n the Lumber River. These Mattamuskeets could locate the dwelling places of their ancestor who lived in what is now Hyde county in the vicinity of Mattamuskeet Lake. In our investigations we could find no traditions respecting these persons. The names given by our informants have all disappeared. Large numbers have immigrated since the beginning of the present century. Within half a century about 40 families have left the county of Roberson from about Plainview and went into the northwest. "Traditions are fading fast", our informant remarked "as far back as 1820 their traditions were more vivid than now and were familiar to old and young. Now you will find their ancient traditions confined to comparatively a few old persons."

Pungo Lake is known among them as Mattapungo. They have no tradition as to any river named Roanoke. This name is invariably applied by them to the territory previously described as occupied by their tribe on the Eastern coast. Hawks, as previously mentioned, speak of the tribe in 1587 as Hatteras Indians,

When the Act of the North Carolina General Assembly was read to them, recognizing them as Croatans, an intelligent Indian remarked that he had always heard that they were called Hatteras Indians. The line of emigration extended westward from what is now Carteret County and can be traced according to tradition as far west as the French Broad in Buncombe county. Tradition respecting localities occupied by the tribe at the time of the absorption of the English colony is vague, but definite enough to establish the belief that their territory once embraced portions, at least, of the present counties of Carteret, Jones and Craven. It is not at all probably that any of the English colonists left by Governor White ever lived west of the county of Jones. The settlement on the Lumber river in Robeson county was made during the 17th century, possibly as early as 1650. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes occurred in 1685 and thousands of French Huguenots, driven to exile, found refuge in South Carolina. As early as 1709, a colony of these exiles located in the Eastern part of NC. Some of these Huguenots penetrated

the interior as far as the Lumber river in the early part of the last century, and found the country north and east of them thickly populated by Indians who had farms and road and other evidences of civilized life, and had evidently resided there for a considerable time before the approach of white men.

Settlements were made towards the Pee Dee and at points beyond that river after their location on the Lumber.

The language spoken is almost pure Anglo Saxon, a fact which we think affords corroborative evidence of their relation to the lost colony of White. Mon (Saxon) is used for man, father is pronounced fayther, and a tradition is usually begun as follows: "Man, my fayther told me that his fayther told him" &c. Mension is used for measurement, ask for ask, hit for it, hosen for hose, lovend for loving, housen for houses. They seem to have but two sounds for the letter a, one like short o. Many of the words in common use among them have long been obsolete in English speaking countries.

They are a proud race, boasting alike of their English and Indian blood, hospitable to strangers and ever ready to do friendly offices for white people. They are peaceable in disposition, but when aroused by repeated injury, they will fight desperately. The great mass shun notoriety and carefully avoid places where crowds of other races assemble. They generally live retired from public highways, and seem to show Indian characteristics more strongly than in former times. There are 16 churches owned by them in Robeson county, divided among Baptist and Methodist denominations¹³. Their schoolhouses, built entirely by private means, are all framed buildings and provided far better than those of the colored race.

They are great roadmakers, like their ancestors. The best public roads in NC are found among this tribe.

There has been no census taken separately from the other races, but the number in Robeson county is fully 2500 and considering the settlements in other counties, the total is not less than 5000. The enrollment of Croatan children in Robeson county between the ages of 6 and 21 years, in accordance with an act of General Assembly passed in 1885 shows about 1100 entitled to the benefit of public instruction, provided separately for the race.

By an act of General Assembly passed in 1887, a Normal School for teachers of the Croatan race was established and the sum of \$500 is annually appropriated for 2 years by the State for its support.

According to the law of NC, all marriages between a white person and a negro or Indian, or between a white person and a person of negro or Indian decent to the third generation inclusive, are null and void, but there was no inhibition of marriage between an Indian and a negro till the General Assembly of 887 amended the law, by declaring

¹³ Both the Methodist and Baptist religions were introduced in the mid 1700s. I would have expected them to be Anglican if they carried the religion of the colonists.

all marriages between Croatan Indians and negroes or persons of negro descent to the third generation inclusive, null and void.

P 22 - Chapter 7 - In investigating the traditions prevalent among this singular people, we found many family names identical with those of the lost colony of 1587. For the information of the reader, we give a list of the names of all the men, women and children of Raleigh's colony, which arrived in Virginia and remained to inhabit there. This list is found in the first volume of Hawk's History of NC and copied from Hakluyt, Volume III, page 280.

Annoe regni reginae Elizabethae 29.

John White	Humphrey Newton	Richard Arthur
Roger Baily	Thomas Colman	John Chapman
Ananias Dare	Thomas Gramme or	James Lasie
Christopher Cooper	Graham, Graeme	John Cheven
Thomas Stevens	Mark Bennet	Thomas Hewett
John Sampson	John Gibbes	William Berde
Dionys Harvie	John Stilman	Richard Wildye
Roger Prat	John Earnest	Lewes Wotton
George Howe	Henry Johnson	Michael Bishop
Simon Fernando	John Starte	Henry Browne
Nicholas Johnson	Richard Darige	Henry Rufotte
Thomas Warner	William Lucas	Richard Tomkins
Anthony Cage	Arnold Archard	Henry Dorrell
William Willes	William Nichols	Charles Florrie
William Brown	Thomas Phevens	Henry Mylton
Michael Myllet	John Borden	Henry Paine
Thomas Smith	Robert Wilkinson	Thomas Harris
Richard Kemme	John Tydway	Thomas Scot
Thomas Harris	Ambrose Viccars	Peter Little
Richard Taverner	Edmund English	John Wyles
William Clement ¹⁴	Thomas Topan	Bryan Wyles
Robert Little	Henry Berry	George Martin
Hugh Taylor	Richard Berry	Hugh Pattenson
John Jones	John Spendlove	Martin Sutton
John Brooks	John Hemmington	John Farre
Cutbert White	Thomas Butler	John Bridger
John Bright	Edward Powell	Griffin Jones
Clement Taylor	John Burdon	Richrd Shabedge
William Sole	James Junde	
John Cotsmuir	Thomas Ellis	Women
	John Wright	
	William Dutton	Eleanor Dare
	Maurice Allen	Margery Harvie
	William Waters	Agnes Wood

¹⁴William Clement is omitted on other colonist lists. This needs to be researched in the original document.

Winnifred Powell	Jane Mannering	Thomas Smart
Joyce Archard	Rose Payne	George Howe
Jane Jones	Elizabeth Viccars	John Prat
Elizabeth Glane		William Wythers
Jane Pierce	Boys and Children	
Andry Tappen		Children born in Virginia
Alice Charman	John Sampson	
Emma Merimoth	Robert Ellis	Virginia Dare
? Colman	Ambrose Viccars (sic)	? Harvie
Margaret Lawrence	Thomas Archard	
Joan Warren	Thomas Humphrey	

Manteo and Towaye, or Wanchese, that were in England returned to Virginia with the colony.

Governor John White, at the solicitation of the colonists, returned to England. Simon Fernando, the Spanish pilot of the expedition, also returned. George Howe, one of the "assistants" of Governor White was killed by the Indians on Roanoke Island soon after the arrival. Omitting the name of the perfidious Fernando, we have 120 persons in all, including men, women and children, and about 90 family names, represented in the colony. The names in the foregoing list in italics [RJE - and bold] are those which are found at this time among the Indians residing in Robeson county and in other counties of NC. The traditions of every family bearing the name of one of the lost colonists point to Roanoke as the country of their ancestors.

If we accept their traditions they held communication with the Eastern coast long after their exodus, and it is not improbable that it was a party of this tribe which Lawson describes in 1714, as visiting their old hunting grounds and who described in their ancestors as people who "could talk in a book".

As to the intellectual character of this singular people but little can be written as public schools were unknown prior to 1835 and such education as they obtained up to that date was limited to a knowledge of reading and writing and the fundamental rules of arithmetic. Hundreds have grown up to manhood and womanhood in perfect ignorance of books. By nature they are quick-witted, and judging by the few examples of educated ones, they are equal to the whites in mental capacity. Ex United States Senator Revels of Mississippi belongs to this tribe. He was born in Robeson county and emigrated to the northwest where he was educated and subsequently resided in Mississippi.

The action of the NC legislature in establishing separate schools for this race and in recognizing them as the descendants of the friendly Croatans known to the early colonists, is one great step towards their moral and intellectual elevation. They are almost universally land holders and occupy a territory in the county of Robeson of about 60 thousand acres, adapted to the growth of corn, cotton and tobacco.

P 24, chapter 8 - It has long been a settled conviction that the lost colonists perished from starvation or savage cruelty. This conviction has arisen from the fact that they were seen no more by white men.

The particulars given by Governor White of the understanding which existed between him and the colonists prior to his departure for England in 1587 and his finding the word Croatan on a tree, in a conspicuous place, on his return in 1590, seem to prove conclusively that the English had accepted the invitation of Manteo's tribe, and had gone to Croatan Island. The fact that they were seen no more by white men does not prove that they perished. The same fact exists in regard to the Croatans and the same arguments would prove their destruction also.

We must remember that the region embracing Croatan Island and the adjacent mainland was unexplored for a long period after the attempt at settlement on Roanoke Island. The history of those times shows that in 1609 the northeast corner of North Carolina was settled by a colony from Virginia.

In 1654, 67 years after the English colonists were last seen on Roanoke, Virginia adventurers had explored as far south as the Pamlico and Neuse rivers. In 1656 a settlement was made on Albemarle Sound. A colony from Massachusetts was located on the Cape Fear in 1660 and was soon abandoned. Sir John Yeaman's colony landed on the same river in 1664. In 1690, a French colony from Virginia settled on Pamlico Sound and in 1698 emigrants from Albemarle also located in that region.

We have cited the facts to show how little was known, from 1587 to 1690, of the region where tradition says the Croatans were settled.

In 1690, the date of the settlement of the French on Pamlico, all the English colonists must have been dead, and the sad story was held only in tradition, and it may be that the Croatans who were then remaining in that region, on the approach of the new colony, removed farther into the interior, where portions of that tribe had previously located.

As previously intimated, the traditions of the Indians now living in Robeson are sufficiently clear to prove that at an early period they located south of Pamlico Sound on the mainland. Tradition in regard to their ancient dwelling places on the tributaries of Black river in the present county of Sampson are more definite. The fact that the French, English, Irish and perhaps German names are found among them is accounted for by the tradition that marriages frequently occurred between them and the early immigrants. The name Chavis which is common among this people is probably a corruption of the French name Cheves. Goins was O'Guin, as court records prove. Leary was O'Leary, Blanc or Blonx is French. Braboy is of recent origin and was originally "Brave Boy" and dates back to the war with the Tuscaroras in 1711 and was conferred on an Indian by the commander of the English for some meritorious act.

From the earliest settlement of the country along the Lumber river these Indians have been an English speaking people. Their language has many peculiarities and reminds

one of the English spoken in the days of Chaucer. The number of old English words in common use among them which have long been obsolete in English speaking countries is corroborative of the truth of their tradition that they are the descendants of the lost Englishmen of Roanoke.

In traveling on foot they march in "Indian file" and exhibit a fondness for bright red colors. They unconsciously betray many other traits characteristic of Indians. The custom of raising patches of tobacco for their own use has been handed down from time immemorial.

In building they exhibit no little architectural skill. In road making they excel. Some of the best roads in North Carolina can be found within their territory. They are universally hospitable and polite to strangers. They are proud of their race and boast of their English ancestry. Like their ancestors, they are friendly to white men.

Their traditions are generally preserved by the old members of the tribe, but the tradition is universal among them from infancy to old age, that their ancestors came from "Roanoke in Virginia". By Virginia, they mean territory occupied by the tribe in the vicinity of Pamlico Sound. In religious matters they are Baptists and Methodists. The latter belong to what is called the Indian Mission, which is of recent origin.

"They never forget a kindness, an injury, nor a debt", said an old citizen. "They may not pay you when the debt is due, but they seldom forget an obligation and are sure to pay you after a time." In common with all Indians they have great respect for the Quakers and look upon them as all true friends of the Indian. In the olden times, they had houses of entertainment for travelers.

The number of family names to be found among them, identical with those of the colonists of Roanoke Island is further corroborative of their traditional descent.

The line of emigration from their original seat on the coast was westward and can be traced as far west as the French Broad in Buncombe county. Though many families of this tribe emigrated from the Lumber river a long while ago, yet the locations of many of them have been found in western NC with unerring certainty.

The writer has been much interested in investigating the traditions prevalent among the Croatans and expresses his firm conviction that they are descended from the friendly tribe found on our eastern coast in 1587 and also descended from the lost colonists of Roanoke who were amalgamated with this tribe.

Through many centuries of time there comes down to us the sad story of the lost legions of Varus. Their mystery that so long hung over the fate of those legions was solved by Drusus who found the bleaching bones of his countrymen in a German forest near the Baltic sea.

The fate of the lost colonists of Roanoke, we submit, is revealed in the forgoing pages.

To the charitable who are interested in the moral elevation of humanity we heartily
commend the Croats.

The End.