

## *The North End of Roanoke Island in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*

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Roanoke Island at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century had probably changed relatively little from how John White saw it on 18 August 1590. Surely the palisado he saw had further deteriorated and the weeds had grown higher with shrubby undergrowth becoming established, but otherwise the island was once again in the quiet possession of the Indians. Under instructions from Sir Walter Raleigh, White had left the island in 1587 under at least the nominal dominion of a Croatoan Indian, Manteo, as “Lord of Roanoke and Dasamunkepeuc.”<sup>1</sup> (Croatoan was that part of the barrier islands or outer banks off what is now North Carolina extending from the area around Cape Hatteras to about the middle of Ocracoke Island. Dasamunkepeuc was the Indian town at present day Manns Harbor, and John White crossed the island in 1590 to take a look across the sound toward it.) White encountered no one on the island in 1590, but reported seeing the fresh footprints of two or three Indians along the sound shore.<sup>2</sup>

Whether the Indians inhabited Roanoke or Dasamunkepeuc in 1600 is not known with certainty, but they appear to at least have visited the island to hunt for deer. White in 1587 stated that they hunted deer in the marshy, reedy areas of the island and that it was likely a party of these hunters who had killed colonist George Howe, one of John White’s Assistants for the Cittie of Raleigh, in 1587. White identified them as remnants of the Roanokes revenging the 1586 killing of the leader Wingina and then associates of Wanchese. The De Bry engraving of 1590 that shows a small English vessel approaching Roanoke Island also shows an Indian, who has left his canoe at Broad Creek near the southern end of the island, stalking and about to shoot a deer with his bow and arrow.<sup>3</sup>

As the new century dawned Sir Walter Raleigh was still mindful of Roanoke Island and the settlers left there in 1587, but not seen in 1590. Queen Elizabeth I was still on the throne and Raleigh was captain of her personal guard. He likely also hoped that some of his colonists survived and that his charter of 1584 to Virginia enjoyed legal survival with them. In 1602 Raleigh sent out Samuel Mace to both look for the colonists and bring home any valuable commodities that could be found on the Virginia coast. It does not appear that Mace got any closer to Roanoke Island than modern Cape Hatteras, if that close. Raleigh followed on this by arranging with Mace and Bartholomew Gilbert to take two ships to Virginia. Gilbert was unable to bring his 50 ton “Elizabeth” of London into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Even more unfortunately Gilbert went ashore near Delaware Bay and was killed by Indians. The ship’s master, Henry Shute, returned with the remaining crew in late September 1603 only to find that Raleigh had been imprisoned on treason charges since July. There is even less information on Mace’s 1603

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<sup>1</sup>David B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584*, Series II, 2 vols. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), II, p. 531.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, at pp.611-616

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, at pp. 525-526. Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press and British Museum Publications, 1984), figure 6, p. 108.

voyage. Records indicating that Virginia Indians were in London demonstrating canoe handling in early September may be some result of Mace's contact with the American coast. There is no known record of how close Mace came to Roanoke Island.<sup>4</sup>

In May of 1604 a joint English and French effort was formulated to reach Croatoan to contact the colonists and obtain plants referred to as "oyssan" and "bissanque." These were likely names for yucca or another plant Thomas Hariot called "wisakon" in his 1588 report and John White showed on one of his watercolors of 1585 as "wisanck." This plant was the milkweed herbalist John Gerard publicized in 1597 as a silk grass and thought to be abundantly found at Pomeioc, which would have been on the mainland west of Croatoan. The Anglo-French party was aboard the "Castor and Pollux" and an unnamed second vessel, both English ships under Captain John Jerome. The expedition sailed under a French license with a cape merchant named Bertrand Rocque, who commanded after the death of Jerome. They did not reach their intended destination because of their capture by the Spanish on the coast of modern South Carolina in March 1605. When the Spanish interrogated Rocque, he reported that English brought by Raleigh were living at Croatoan and that it was at 36 ½ degrees north latitude. This is exactly the latitude of the North Carolina/Virginia line and well to the north of both Croatoan and Roanoke Islands. Although the Spanish appear to have obtained very garbled testimony, it appeared that Raleigh or others had suggested to the Frenchman Rocque that the colonists could be found between Croatoan and the Chesapeake. The continued emphasis on Croatoan may have been due to John White's report of his 1590 as well as Raleigh's establishment of Manteo as his feudal subtenant in the region.<sup>5</sup>

The capture of the Anglo-French trade mission of 1605 motivated the Spanish in Florida to send out a reconnaissance under Fernando de Ecija. Ecija was under orders find out whether the English inhabited the coast of what the Spanish called Ajacan. It does not appear he ventured as far north as Cape Fear. Nonetheless Ecija reported on 21 November 1605 that by collating information from the 1588 reconnaissance of Vicente Gonzales and Gines Pincon with testimony of Pero Dias Pimienta, Juan de Garachico and David Glavia, he could identify the area of English settlement as being at 35 degrees north latitude and that the landmarks were three large dunes with two inlets. Ecija further stated that inside the inlets was a large bay (the Carolina sounds) and "toward the west s. westnorthwest it shows a sign of hilly land and a great forest." This was a fairly accurate, albeit thumbnail, description of Roanoke Island.<sup>6</sup> When the Spanish learned of further settlement activity relating to the establishment of Jamestown, they sent out a second Ecija reconnaissance expedition intended to reach at least "the latitude of 37 and one half degrees, where, it is suspected, the first Englishmen are settled on the site that they call

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<sup>4</sup> David B. Quinn, *Set Faire for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1590* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985) pp. 355-357.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, at pp. 358-360.

<sup>6</sup> John H. Hann, *Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the Gonzalez Derrotero of 1609* (Tallahassee: Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, 1986) pp. 14-15. The Ecija accounts and the derrotero of Gonzalez provide a fascinating "seaman's eye view" of the North Carolina coast four centuries ago.

Virginia or Cortuan (Croatoan) and in our tongue is called the bay of Jacan.” This time Ecija went all the way to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.<sup>7</sup>

When Ecija and his party came along the modern outer banks of North Carolina, they had a number of interesting observations to report. On 20 May 1609 Ecija came to the part of the Outer Banks where the Spanish believed the English had settled “in times past.” Late that same day Ecija and his men saw seven Indians come out on the beach and began to shout to them. When the Spanish called back, the Indians appeared fearful. They retreated off the beach to a hill, where they began playing what Ecija described as flutes. Ecija anchored until the next morning, when he resumed his coasting northward. He was soon caught in a fierce squall and had to remain at anchor until May 22. When they reached the area of the coast near what the English had called Trinity Harbor they could not enter the sound because of heavy surf on the bar. Ecija recorded that “because this was the day of the Magdalen, we gave it the name of the Magdalen.” This name for the northern Outer Banks appears on other 17<sup>th</sup> century maps derived from Spanish sources.

On 23 May 1609 Ecija was in the Atlantic east of Roanoke Island and continued to observe smoke signals made by the Indians on hills and in the interior on Roanoke Island and adjacent mainland. Two Indians came out on the beach and made “another great smoke signal.” Six more Indians then came out drumming and shouting to the Spanish. The Indians again retreated into the dunes when the Spanish attempted to speak with them. Ecija recorded that then a great number of Indians with bows and arrows came into sight, which he feared signaled an ambush. As the Spanish turned away, six of the Indians ran down the beach after them. These Indians “were continually blowing on some pipes and shouting to us.” wrote Ecija. He believed that “in accord with what we heard, that they played the aforesaid pipes made by foreigners.” Historian Philip Barbour translates this last sentence as the Indians played the pipes or flutes in harmony and in a European manner. These Indians would have had considerable contact with Roanoke Island. Their ability to play what may have been European pipes or flutes in a European manner suggests strongly that they were either descended from the Roanoke colonists of the 1580s or taught by someone who had learned much from them. The survival of this piece of European culture on the Outer Banks some twenty years is quite remarkable. It is tempting to speculate that these Indians, some of whom might also have been survivors or children of survivors of the Lost Colony, were attempting to signal Ecija’s vessel in hopes that it was English and some beneficial contact could follow. It appears that when the Indians on the beach heard their shouts answered in languages they did not understand (Spanish? Indian languages from Guale or present day Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina?), these coastal inhabitants retreated from contact with the unidentified Europeans off shore. It is possible that Ecija went on north to search for the Jamestown without ever even considering that he had seen what may have remained of Sir Walter Raleigh’s colonists.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, at pp. 22-24.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, at pp. 32-37. Philip L. Barbour gives a slightly different translation and leaves out an important page in his *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, Second Series,

The history of the efforts by those English at Jamestown to find survivors of the Roanoke colony is complex and only half understood. It does not appear that the Jamestown settlers focused their search on Roanoke Island or even came any nearer to it than the Chowan River in the first two decades of their colonization. The 1608 Zuniga map of the area extending from the Chesapeake to the Carolina sounds shows Roanoke Island as small and inconsequential to the interests of the map's maker and to the searchers for the lost colonists.<sup>9</sup>

No European contact with Roanoke Island and very little interest in it was recorded for the 1620s and 30s. The English colony around Jamestown was busy with survival and expansion. The Virginia Company had its charter vacated and Virginia became a royal colony in 1624. The Anglo-Powhatan wars of 1622 and 1644 drew the attention of the leadership at Jamestown, while affairs in Europe may have complicated efforts to settle areas south of Virginia under the name "Carolana" in the 1630s.<sup>10</sup>

The conclusion of the second Anglo-Powhatan war of 1644 was followed closely by the Anglo-Chowan war of 1646 and the reawakening of English colonial interest in the Chowan and Roanoke River basins in the late 1640s. Additionally this period was one of conflict between King Charles I and the Puritan dominated Parliament of England, the execution of the King and the continental exile of his sons, and the establishment of a commonwealth government under Oliver Cromwell. These events in England had their impact on the government of Virginia. Royalist governor William Berkeley was eventually removed from office and replaced by someone more agreeable to the Cromwellian regime. Berkeley's successor was Major General Richard Bennett of Nansemond.<sup>11</sup> Bennett had been instructed by Berkeley in 1646 to lead an English colonial force against Indians in the Chowan region. Bennett marched overland while Lt. Col. Thomas Dew approached by boat through the sounds and up the Chowan River. The English defeated the Indians in a battle on the upper Chowan with the loss of only one man.<sup>12</sup>

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no. CXXXVI). Barbour suggests more strongly than Hann that the Indians were playing their music in a European harmonic manner.

<sup>9</sup> William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), Map no. 28 "Zuniga 1608 MS," pp.136-137. Reproduced in Cumming as plate 21.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), pp. 29-31. Powell has suggested elsewhere that John Pory's 1622 expedition into the Chowan may in part have been an effort to find more about the fate of the Roanoke colonists. Paul E. Kopperman, "Profile of Failure: The Carolana Project, 1629-1640" *North Carolina Historical Review*, Volume LIX (January, 1982),1-23.

<sup>11</sup> Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*. (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> Henning's Statutes at Large

In 1648 with “peace being concluded with the Indians”, Henry Plumpton, a veteran of the 1646 Bennett-Dew military expedition, joined with Thomas Tuke of Isle of Wight County and others from south of the James River to procure land in the Roanoke and Chowan river basins. Promotional tracts were published in England touting the region, including the “ No Lesse Excellent Isle of Roanoke.” Both Roger Green, a Nansemond “clarke,” and Edward Bland, a merchant explorer, proposed settlement “to the Southward.”<sup>13</sup>

A letter dated 8 May 1654 from Francis Yeardley, son of former Virginia governor Sir George Yeardley, to John Farrar (Farrer, Ferrar) in England gives an account of an expedition to Roanoke Island and environs the previous September of 1653. Yeardley wrote Farrar because of the “fervent affections to this my native country” that Farrar had demonstrated. Farrar apparently had a strong interest in silkworms and the French-Walloon silk industry and had printed a map of the American coast from Cape Fear to the Hudson River in 1651. A version of this map, printed under the name of Farrar’s daughter Virginia and likely dating to 1652, added the name “Rawliana” to the later Carolina part of the coast and “Rolli passa” for the present day Albemarle Sound. Whether the Farrars, both father and daughter, were interested in the southern part of Virginia because of 16<sup>th</sup> century reports of silk grass in the area of Pamlico Sound is possible. The 1654 letter stated that Argall Yeardley, the older brother of the writer, had received letters from Farrar encouraging “better designs than that of tobacco,” which may have been a suggestion to produce silk.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> William S. Powell, *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1958) pp. xv-xxii . Also his “Carolana and the Incomparable Roanoke: Explorations and Attempted Settlements, 1620-1663,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. LI, (January, 1974), 10-16. Henry Tuke’s deposition regarding the Bennett-Dew expedition and his land purchases from the Indians is quoted in John Bennett Boddie, *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia* (Chicago: Chicago Law Print Co., 1973), pp.130-131. Boddie also mentions a late 17<sup>th</sup> century will made in the Albemarle by Samuel Davis, who used three arrows and a tomahawk as his seal. Compare with similar symbols for Algonquin weroances shown in Theodore De Bry’s engraving “The Markes of sundrye of the Cheif mene of Virginia” Hulton, *America 1585*, figure 27, p. 129.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander S. Salley, Jr., (ed.), *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*. (New York: Charles Scribners’s Sons, 1911), pp. 23-29. Salley’s version of the account is taken from Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols.; London: Printed for the Executor of the late Fletcher Gyles , 1742) II, 273-274. William P. Cumming had the original manuscripts (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson A 14) in Oxford, England examined and some small errors were found to have crept into both the printed collection of Thurloe’s papers and Salley’s modern reprint from it. See William P. Cumming, “Naming Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 22 (1945), pp. 34-42. The Farrar maps are discussed in Cummings, *Southeast in Early Maps*. One version which shows two symbols on “Rolli passa” similar to those used to indicate forts is reproduced in H.G. Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983) p. 24, illustration 2-8. The symbols appear on

Yeardley, a new member of the Virginia House of Burgesses for Lower Norfolk County in 1653, gave “Linne-haven” as the place where the letter was written. The letter was printed in 1742 in the “State Papers of John Thurloe,” who was secretary of state for the Cromwellian Protectorate. It is apparent from the letter that Yeardley was both interested in currying favor with the Protectorate government and hoping to benefit financially for securing the lands for England.

Yeardley related that five men, one from his family and the others his neighbors, set out to discover “South Virginia or Carolana” after their leader, “a trader for beavers commonly identified as Nathaniel Batts, was left behind by his sloop. This young man believed the sloop had sailed for “Rhoanoke” and went to search for it there. After entering Currituck Inlet, the little party 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 shewed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh’s fort, from whence I (Yeardley) received a sure token of their being there.” (Salley 1911, pp. 25-26).

Yeardley neither said what he received as a “sure token” nor exactly what the “great commander” was named. He is later identified as a “Rowanoke,” and he appeared to have had a clear idea exactly where the Raleigh colony fort was located. It is unclear whether the English explorers asked about the site or the Indian “commander” simply offered to show it to them. We do not know the age of the Indian, but if we estimate that he may have been over the age of thirty years, it is likely he was removed from the Roanoke of the Raleigh colony days by two or three generations. Thus he likely learned of the site from his parents or grandparents. Whether they were part of the Indians who greeted Fernando Ecija in 1609, we can only guess, but they likely knew about that too.

Yeardley’s letter made no mention whether any Indians are living on Roanoke Island in 1653, but gives considerable information of the interest of the Indian leader (later called the “great emperor of Rhoanoke”) in education, religion, and material goods of the English when invited to visit the colonial settlements at Lynnhaven or modern Virginia Beach, Virginia. Yeardley and his brother Argall not only agreed to educate the Indian’s son, but build him an English house and pay 200 pounds sterling for “three rivers” that were unidentified in the letter. On Mayday before Yeardley wrote his letter, the Roanoke arrived at Yeardley’s home with a Tuscarora prince and other “kings of the provinces.” The Roanoke brought his wife and son with him. On 3 May 1654, the son of the Roanoke commander became perhaps the first North Carolina Indians to be baptized since Manteo in 1587. The Yeardleys planned not only to raise the boy as a Christian, but they planned to send another exploration party to the southward in July of 1654.<sup>15</sup>

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the map near the confluence of the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and on the south shore of what is now Albemarle Sound near modern Columbia, NC.

<sup>15</sup> Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p.28.

When Charles II returned to England in 1660, he looked to favor those who had supported him in exile and enabled his restoration to the throne. In 1663 he granted the province of Carolina to eight men titled “Lords Proprietors.” Perhaps in anticipation of the proprietary grant, the Council of Virginia on October 9, 1662 appointed Samuel Stephens “commander of the southern plantation,” the growing English settlement along what would become Albemarle Sound.<sup>16</sup> They gave Stephens authority to appoint a sheriff for the plantation, but no record of Stephen’s service as commander survives.<sup>17</sup> One of the proprietors, Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley, was en route to America to resume his office when the appointment of Stephens was made, but Berkeley did not alter the arrangements for the southern plantation. In 1664 the Proprietors created three large counties to subdivide the Carolina colony, naming the northernmost one closest to Virginia the County of Albemarle in honor of proprietor George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. William Drummond, another Virginian, was named governor of Albemarle in October 1664. He held the post until replaced by Samuel Stephens in October 1667. Stephens served as either governor of Albemarle or deputy to Sir William Berkeley until his death sometime between January 20 and March 7, 1669/70. At some earlier time the proprietors and the crown realized that the original proprietary grant had not put the English settlements on the north shore of what quickly became known as Albemarle River actually in the Carolina colony. In 1665 the Carolina grant was extended from 36 degrees to 36 ½ degrees north latitude, the present Virginia/Carolina line. Roanoke Island would have been included in Carolina under the first grant, but the extension brought the already settled areas along Albemarle Sound and the rivers flowing into it from the north into Carolina.<sup>18</sup>

At some point prior to his death Samuel Stephens obtained ownership of the whole of Roanoke Island. Exactly when and under what circumstances this occurred is unknown. Historian David Stick has stated that Samuel Stephens had livestock on the

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<sup>16</sup> George Catchmaid, George Durant, Samuel Pricklove and others had already obtained Virginia colony land grants, privately purchased land from the king of the Yeopim Indians, and begun to settle the area around the Chowan, Perquimans, and Pasquotank Rivers. As an example, one deed from Kiscocanen to Durant is dated March 1, 1662 (Deed book A, No.374, Perquimans County). Durant soon learned that part of the land bought from the Indians had earlier been granted by Virginia to his neighbor George Catchmaid. On March 13, 1663 Catchmaid agreed to release to Durant that portion of the tract Durant had already settled. See Powell, *Ye Countie of Albemarle*, xxiv. Lefler and Powell have estimated from Virginia records that the population exceeded five hundred by 1663. Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1973), pp. 31-32. It is this group of pre-charter settlers who form one faction in political disorder in th 1607s known as Culpeper’s Rebellion. Ibid. at pp.47-52.

<sup>17</sup> Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, contributor, “Samuel Stephens”, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, (William S. Powell, editor), Vol. V. P-S (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp .440-441.

<sup>18</sup> William S. Powell, (ed.), *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina*, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1958), pp. xxiii-xxv and footnote 3 on page 14.

island at the time of his death.<sup>19</sup> His ownership of Roanoke Island passed to his heir and widow, Francis Culpeper Stephens. By 21 June 1670 she had married Virginia Governor William Berkeley. Not long after the gubernatorial nuptials, Anthony Slockam sued “for a hatt at Roanok yt was brought into yd country by Mr. Withro Stephens.” The Court found for Slockam on 27 September 1670 and ordered that the hat was to be given him by Withro Stephens, who is identified as a “fisherman at Roanok.” Slockam was to pay the court costs. Although “Roanok” can mean just about any place between Roanoke Inlet and Roanoke River in this period, the connection of the place name with Withro Stephens’s livelihood would tend to suggest that he fished and perhaps even resided somewhere on Roanoke Island.<sup>20</sup> It is important to remember that the names of some early residents may not be found in the land records for the island.

In 1672 Sir William Berkeley was unwilling to sign an agreement with the other seven Lords Proprietors to jointly fund certain colonization efforts. There followed an apparent informal agreement on March 29 that Berkeley would receive control of lands stretching sixty mile south of Currituck Inlet and one hundred miles west of the western shore of Roanoke Island as his separate part of Carolina, while surrendering his interest in the rest of Carolina. As this would have put almost all of Albemarle County under the control of the Proprietor who was also Virginia’s governor, it would also help the other Proprietors quiet claims the Old Dominion might assert to the area under the Convention of 12 March 1651/1652.<sup>21</sup>

Berkeley sold his bride’s island of Roanoke for 100 pounds sterling to merchant Joshua Lamb of Roxbury, Massachusetts on April 17, 1676.<sup>22</sup> Berkeley’s deed to Lamb recited the conveyance of “cattle, hoggs, and other stock with Marishes, houses, and buildings thereon.” The deed did not state whether this recitation denoted actual assets or this was legal verbiage used to satisfy the purchaser. The deed also mentions nothing about whether they were to be found on the northern or southern end of Roanoke Island.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina: 1584-1958*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958) p. 9. Also his *Dare County: A History*, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970) p. 10-11. The primary source for Stick’s statement that Stephens had stock on the island is not clearly indicated. This may have been an inference from documents relating to Berkeley’s sale of the island to Joshua Lamb and reprinted in Hathaway’s *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*.

<sup>20</sup> Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, (ed.), *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1670-1697*, (Raleigh: State Archives and History, 1968), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* at pp. xxxix-xl.

<sup>22</sup> William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965) pp. 16-19.

<sup>23</sup> J.R.B. Hathaway (ed.), *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, (Edenton, NC, 1901) Vol.2, no. 1, pp.101-108. Similar language appeared in the deed from Lamb to Nicholas Paige for the southern half of the island, where it was simply stated that Paige received half of everything on the island, without any distinction between chattels and fixtures. Historian Bruce Cheeseman wrote that even though it

The Lords Proprietors of Carolina were understandably interested in gathering information on their new grant, so a number of maps were generated of it in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They even sent out instructions in October of 1672 to begin laying out three towns in Carolina, the “chiefe towne” on Roanoke Island to be where the council and General Assembly were to meet. The fact that this act was essentially repeated in 1715 and 1723 is a pretty good indicator that no town had been created. The act of 1723 for establishing the town of Carteret refers to “three hundred Acres of Land lying on the No. E’t Side of the Said Island, commonly called Roanoak old plantation.”<sup>24</sup>

A number of the maps made give as much or more information on the English settlement of the region as the documents from the period. Somewhat confusingly, information on the maps was sometimes gathered much earlier than the production date of the map.

The first ones of interest are the 1657 maps of Nicholas Comberford of the “South Part of Virginia,” likely produced as a direct result of the Yearley expeditions of 1653 and 1654. The Comberford maps show the house Yearley had carpenter Robert Bodnam build for Nathaniel Batts at the confluence of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. Yearley died before Bodnam was paid, so court records of Bodnam’s suit for payment survive to give details about the house. The Comberford maps shows Roanoke Island, but give no details as to anything on the island. There is no indication given that anyone, English or Indian, lived there.<sup>25</sup>

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appeared Stephens did not occupy Roanoke Island, he established a livestock plantation there with caretakers who could have been the island’s first permanent European residents. Cheeseman believed that the Berkeleys and Lamb continued the Stephens operation. There was no primary source given in Cheeseman’s report for anything other than the Berkeley deed to Lamb. He may have been repeating secondary sources for other statements. Thanks to lebame houston for checking the Cheeseman report at the Outer Bank History Center in Manteo, NC. For those wishing to do so as well, see Bruce S. Cheeseman, “Historical Research Report: Four Centuries and Roanoke Island- A Legacy of Geographical Change” (Unpublished report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, National Park Service, 1982), pp. 37-38.

<sup>24</sup> William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965) p. 22, Walter Clark, (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, (Goldsboro, NC, 1906), Vol. 25, p. 201.

<sup>25</sup> These are discussed in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 3d edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), maps numbered 50 (“Comberford 1657 MS A”) and 51 (“Comberford 1657 MS B”), pp.152-154. Cumming reproduces map numbered 50 as his Plate 32. It is also found in Jones’s *North Carolina Illustrated* as illustration 2-10 on p. 25. The map discussed in Cumming as map numbered 51 is reproduced in Powell’s *Ye Countie of Albemarle* opposite page xiv. The court record of the judgment in Bodnam’s suit against the estate of Yearley is reproduced in Jones *North Carolina Illustrated*, p. 24 , illustration 2-9.

The first map to show the region in detail after the granting of the Carolina Charter is the James Lancaster map of the Albemarle. Although the map is dated 1679, it appears to be based on information gathered prior to 1670. On the map the house of “Captn Whitty” is shown on the west bank of Pasquotank River. Captain John Whitty was mentioned in a 1665 letter to Peter Carteret regarding Sir John Colleton’s plantation on Colington Island. Whitty was dead prior to April 22, 1670 as his widow had remarried by that date. The Lancaster map is a beautiful, full color map showing the homes or “plantations” of individual settlers along the Albemarle Sound as little white houses with chimneys and red roofs. Most of the houses appear at the western end of the sound, but the Carteret/Colleton plantations at Powell’s Point and Colington Island are shown. Roanoke Island is only shown as a very elongated oval, again with no indication of habitation by the English or the Indians.<sup>26</sup>

Somewhat more difficult to date is a manuscript sketch map made after the establishment of Albemarle County in 1664. Although this map is tentatively assigned a date of circa 1670, it shows the location of the plantations of the governor in the western Albemarle Sound region and the plantation of one “Biggs” along Perquimans River. This is likely a reference to Timothy Biggs, who was collector of customs for proprietary governor Thomas Miller. Biggs and Miller became embroiled in what is known in North Carolina history as Culpeper’s Rebellion in the latter 1670’s, and it is likely that the Lords Proprietors desired a map that would show them the scenes of civil unrest in their province. If so, this sketch map likely dates closer to 1677-79. Roanoke Island is once again shown and this time there is a small circle drawn on the island just north of what appears to be Shallowbag Bay. Whether this small circle indicates the habitation of Indians (as they do on earlier maps by John White and others) or an English household, perhaps that of the caretaker of Joshua Lamb’s livestock, is unknown.<sup>27</sup>

A fairly detailed map of Roanoke Island that is part of a detailed navigational chart for Roanoke Sound appears sometime around 1684 from an anonymous Thames side mapmaker. This map shows landmarks on importance to a mariner entering Roanoke Sound and proceeding to the English settlements on the Perquimans. Although it shows no habitations on Roanoke Island, it gives specific information on marshes, forested areas, and the dune ridge between modern Mother Vineyard and the north end of the island. A careful look at the map reveals what appears to be a house frame at the site of what was once Dasamunkepeuc and is now Manns Harbor, but the cartographer used

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<sup>26</sup> Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, p. 170. This is Cumming’s map no. 81, “Lancaster 1679 MS D.” The Lancaster map is part of the Blathwayt Atlas at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. It can be viewed online in color through the website for the JCBL. It also appears as the frontispiece of Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, (ed.), *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1670-1697*, (Raleigh: State Archives and History, 1968), but it is not in color there.

<sup>27</sup> Reproduced in Gary C. Grassl, *The Search for the First English Settlement in America: America’s First Science Center* (Bloomington, Indiana: Author House, 2006) as illustration 3 on p. xxii. Also see Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, map no. 52, “Anon. ca. 1672 MS,” p. 158.

Mashoes Creek as the navigational landmark instead.<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that a 1672 map of Carolina, the Ogilby-Moxon or 1<sup>st</sup> Lords Proprietor's map, showed the word "Croatan" at this site for the first time.<sup>29</sup>

Lamb appears to have turned a neat profit by half of the island to Nicholas Paige for more than the amount he had paid Berkeley for the whole. On September 19, 1677 Lamb sold the southern half of Roanoke Island to Paige for 150 pounds sterling. Before Joshua Lamb's death in 1690, George Pordage of Boston had obtained half of Lamb's remaining half or a one quarter of the island. Pordage appears occasionally in the record of the North Carolina General Court in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but there is nothing in those references to indicate that he resided on Roanoke Island. Pordage's quarter was the northern quarter. Pordage was having trouble with the caretaker of his livestock there by 1701. In the record of the General Court for the July/August 1701 term, the Court heard the suit of George Pordage against John Lewen for breach of contract. Pordage alleged that Lewen neglected to fulfill his part of the contract to manage and improve Pordage's one quarter of the island and the cattle placed there. Pordage further alleged that Lewen refused to allow anyone to come on the property and take over its management. It is not clear whether Lewen resided on Roanoke Island, but this additional allegation would seem to allow that inference.<sup>30</sup>

In 1701 explorer, naturalist, and surveyor John Lawson landed along the Santee River in South Carolina and began a trek through the Carolina piedmont and back out to the coast of North Carolina. At some time subsequent to his travels in the Carolina backcountry and before he sailed to England to publish reports both on his travels and the colony, Lawson visited the site of the Raleigh colonies on Roanoke Island. His report of what could be seen there at that date is well known, but just as with the 1653 visit by the Yeadley party, no details are given about where on the island either remains of the fortifications or scattered artifacts were to seen.<sup>31</sup>

By 1718 the northern quarter of the island appears to have been in the hands of "John Man, James Tuke & others" as shown on a map made by William Maule.<sup>32</sup> This map was copied by Edward Moseley, who gave the same landowner names for the north end of the island in 1729. On the 1718 map the northeastern point of the island near the site of the Dough Cemetery is named "Mans Point" and the northwest point at present

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, Map no. 99. "Thames School ca. 1684 MS B," p. 178. Reproduced as Plate 41.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, Map. No. 70. "Ogilby-Moxon ca 1672," p.163. Reproduced as Plate 37.

<sup>30</sup> Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, (ed.) *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1697-1701*, (Raleigh: State Archives and History, 1971), p. 453.

<sup>31</sup> John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh T. Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967). 68-69.

<sup>32</sup> This is an unpublished map at North Carolina Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina. See Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, map number 167 "Maule-Roanoke 1718 MS", p. 211. Color reproduction in possession of author.

day Heritage Point is name “Back Bay Point.” By 1820 “Mans Point” was shown as “Etheridges Point” and “Back Bay Point” had become “Manns Point.”<sup>33</sup>

How long the Indians either resided on Roanoke Island or a frequented it is not known. There are 18<sup>th</sup> century references to Roanoke Indians and in each reference they are said to be either friendly to the English or often seeking Christian baptism. Whether their continued affinity to the English was in part a product of the experiences of Manteo or the “Emperor” of the 1650s likely cannot be known. John Lawson believed that the Hatteras Indians maintained affection for the English because many of them had descended from Sir Walter Raleigh’s explorers and colonists.

When did the first English resident of the north end of Roanoke Island after the era of the colonists of Sir Walter Raleigh arrive there? Perhaps he was a fisherman like Anthony Slockam, who saw no need to purchase land for a fish camp. If Samuel Stephens had livestock and a resident caretaker, that person could have arrived in the late 1660s, but there is no house shown anywhere on Roanoke Island on the carefully drawn Lancaster map. The same applies to Joshua Lamb and the anonymous 1684 Thames School map. Only the rough 1670s manuscript map indicates someone living on the island in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and this map suggests a location nearer Shallowbag Bay than the north end.

By 1701 Pordage had a caretaker for the north end of the island and the allegations of Pordage’s suit against suggest that John Lewen was at least a part-time resident. Capt. Joshua Lamb, Jr., wrote Governor Robert Daniel on 5 December 1704 to remind the provincial government of his claim of ownership to one quarter of Roanoke Island from his father’s 1676 purchase from Berkeley. Lamb noted that he intended “to dispose to one of the inhabitants of Carolina” his part of Roanoke Island. Lamb also noted that Pordage maintained his claim to his quarter as well.<sup>34</sup> But by 1718 the north end had been parceled out to various owners, some of whom were almost certainly residents. It would appear that someone was on the island in the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to serve as tour guide to John Lawson. The 1718 map by Maule shows a plantation in the hands of Orlando Jones on the south end at present day Wanchese. This was apparently a tenancy that passed by 1729 to the Daniels, whose family is still locally prominent. The Manns of the north end also have remained to become locally numerous and prominent. By the time John Collet assembled his manuscript map of North Carolina from surveys collected by William Churton, a number of residents are shown both by

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<sup>33</sup>Jean Carl Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 7. Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, map number 203, “Maule-Moseley 1729 MS,” p. 225.

<sup>34</sup>J.R.B. Hathaway (ed.), *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, (Edenton, NC, 1900), Vol. I, no. 1, p. 306. The Carolinian was probably Capt. Richard Sanderson, who was shown as the owner of this quarter of the island on the 1718 Maule map. There is also on this same page of Hathaway’s *Register* a letter from Nicholas Paige, the owner of the south end of the island, to Gov. Daniel dated 20 September 1704. Paige mentioned that originally “the Island was ye Gov. Stephens, he dying left it to his wife.”

name and place of dwelling. These names include the Daniels and a Pain. There also appears a fort symbol at the location of the reconstructed earthwork and the notations “Sr. Walter” and “Raleigh” appear along the eastern side of the island.<sup>35</sup> Only seven years (1761) before the Rev. Alexander Stewart, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had found that remnants of the Roanoke Indians had joined with the remnants of the Hatteras at Mattamuskeet, where he baptized seven Indians. Two years later he baptized twenty one more. Stewart noted “the remains of the Attamuskeet, Roanoke, and Hatteras Indians live mostly along the coast, mixed with white inhabitants, many of these attended places of public worship, while I was there with decency seemed desirous of instruction, and offered themselves and their children to me for baptism.”<sup>36</sup> This may be the last distinct reference to the peoples who greeted Amadas and Barlowe in 1584, guided the Yeardley party to the site of the old fort in 1653, and conversed in the first years of the 1700s with John Lawson about their ancestors who could “talk in a book.”

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<sup>35</sup> Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, map number 362, “Collet 1768 MS,” pp. 300-301. Reproduced in Grassl’s *Search for the First English Settlement* as illustration 27 on page 59.

<sup>36</sup> William L. Saunders, (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P.M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), IV, 653 and VI 995-996