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Indians and Englishmen at the First Roanoke Colony: A Note on Pemisapan's Conspiracy, 1585–86

MICHAEL L. OBERG

In July 1585, a collection of English soldiers and settlers supported by Sir Walter Raleigh settled on the northern end of Roanoke Island in the Outer Banks of coastal North Carolina. Raleigh placed the fledgling colony under the command of Ralph Lane, a veteran of Elizabeth I's brutal wars against the Irish. The settlement would last for only one year—abandoned, most historians agree, when Lane recognized that he faced a massive Algonquian conspiracy led by the Roanoke *weroance* Wingina. Historians have been forced to rely on Lane's account in their efforts to reconstruct the history of Raleigh's first Roanoke Colony. In so doing, many have been careless in their acceptance of Lane's story, specifically his contention that Wingina organized a plot to attack the English settlement with the assistance of neighboring Algonquian bands. An alternate reading of Lane's narrative suggests that his indictment of Wingina may well have been groundless.¹

Lane and the 107 men in his charge were to use the island as a base from which to seek a northwest passage to the Orient, as well as a harbor suitable for privateering operations. Things began badly for the colonists, however. The expedition's flagship, the *Tyger*, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, struck ground on the treacherous shoals of the Outer Banks. According to one chronicler, the ship "beat so manie strokes upon the sands, that if

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God had not miraculously delivered [Grenville], there had been no way to avoid present death."² Saltwater poured into the hold of the ship so "that the most part of his corn, salt, meale, rice, bisket, & other provisions that [Grenville] should have left with them that remained behind him in the country was spoiled."³ According to Thomas Hariot, who traveled to Roanoke as the expedition's scientist and geographer, the accident left the colonists with food for only twenty days. The entire question of survival in this colonial outpost, then, was given new meaning. Unless the colonists could obtain food from the Indians—for they had arrived too late in the year to plant their own—the colony would face the prospect of starvation. Raleigh's Roanoke Colony was born in crisis.⁴

The Algonquian-speaking peoples among whom Lane and his men settled on the Outer Banks would, in fact, quickly tire of their English guests. A large number of Algonquian groups inhabited the coastal Carolina region. The Roanoke, under their principal *werowance* Wingina, lived on the island that bore their name, as well as in the mainland villages of Dasemunkepeuc and Pomeiooc. Farther south, along the strip of coastal territory lying to the north and south of the Pamlico River, the Secotan inhabited a number of villages. Acquascogoc, a town burned by the English during the first month of the colony's existence for the alleged theft of a silver cup, most likely was a Secotan village. The Weapemeoc inhabited the northern coast of Albemarle Sound, between the Chowan River and Currituck Sound. Further west, between the Chowan and Roanoke rivers, lived the powerful Chowanoac. The Moratuc lived to their south, along both banks of the Roanoke River. The Mangoak, an Iroquoian group (perhaps either Nottoway or Tuscarora), occupied the territory to the west of the Chowanoac and Moratuc.⁵

Carolina Algonquians lived a settled life centered in small agricultural villages. Each village consisted of between ten and thirty houses, located either on the perimeter of a central open space or scattered among the surrounding cornfields. The houses were rectangular, of one room, usually between thirty-six and forty-eight feet long. Palisades often enclosed the villages.⁶

Hariot recorded the natural abundance of the coastal plain. A wide variety of mammals, including deer, squirrels, rabbits, and opossum could be found, as well as a great variety of waterfowl. The coastal waters teemed with fresh and saltwater fish, shellfish, and crustacea.⁷ The Indians, accordingly, built fish weirs and fish

traps in the rivers and marshes and harvested much of their food from the surrounding waters.

Agriculture, however, formed the basis of Carolina Algonquian subsistence. A variety of crops were grown in the fields surrounding, and in small plots within, the villages. Corn, complemented with squash and beans, were by far the most important products of Carolina Algonquian agriculture. Overall, the coastal Algonquians were able to meet their subsistence needs, even in months of scarcity.⁸ The arrival of the English, however, who were either unable or unwilling to plant their own crops, placed great strains on this ecosystem.

Lane never recognized the threat posed to Indian subsistence patterns by the English settlement and, despite the shortage of his own provisions, was confident that he could keep the colonists alive until supply ships could arrive from England. Although he complained that he was in the "myddest of infynytt busynesses, as having, emongst sauvages, ye chardge of wylde menne of myne owene nacione,"⁹ he thought the territory "the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven."¹⁰ Within a year, however, the English would abandon Raleigh's first Roanoke Colony.¹¹ Lane quickly felt himself opposed by a Native American enemy both powerful and numerous. Late in May 1586, fearful of a conspiracy aimed at eliminating the English presence on the Outer Banks, he attacked the Roanoke village at Dasemunkepeuc, killing Wingina. Less than three weeks later, he and his men departed for England.

In accounting for the failure of the Roanoke Colony, most historians have accepted Lane's own argument that the Roanoke leader Wingina was plotting to destroy the English settlement.¹² For example, David Beers Quinn, the leading Roanoke scholar, thought that Wingina's conspiratorial activities "can be said to have justified Lane's action as aggressive self-defense."¹³ Angered by continuing English demands for food, the story goes, the Roanoke chief began to conspire with neighboring tribes to eliminate the English. Most of these historians recognize that Lane's aggressiveness was responsible for provoking the conspiracy.¹⁴ Few of them, however, have examined in detail the sequence of events that actually led Lane to believe that Wingina was plotting against him.

To a great extent, this is the product of a dearth of sources; we know very little about what happened at Roanoke Island on a day-to-day basis. An anonymous diarist aboard Grenville's ship kept a record of the colony's early months, but since the *Tyger* departed

Roanoke in August 1585, more interested in plundering Spanish shipping than watching its crew starve at a colonial outpost, this source is of little value for understanding Wingina's alleged conspiracy. John White, an artist traveling with the expedition, left an immensely important visual record of the flora, fauna, and people of the coastal Carolina region, but, again, this source sheds little light on the actual relations between natives and newcomers.¹⁵ Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and True Report*, the work of a man closely identified with the intellectual and scientific developments of the English Renaissance, suggests that relations with the Indians were initially friendly and contains a thinly veiled criticism of Lane's management of the colony. Hariot, however, provides little information regarding Wingina's relations with the colonists during the early spring of 1585–86 and none on Lane's critical expedition into Albemarle Sound.¹⁶ Historians, then, have been forced to rely on Lane's own heavily biased account of events in the Roanoke region.¹⁷ A close examination of this document, however, reveals that there is, in fact, little evidence to support Lane's belief in the existence of a pan-Indian conspiracy, led by Wingina, directed towards eliminating the English settlement. Wingina cared little for the English settlers and, after a time, determined to stop feeding them. There is, however, no reason to believe that he was in league with neighboring tribes against the English. Such an argument overlooks divisions among and between the Carolina Algonquians and underestimates the devastating impact of the English invasion on the Roanoke villagers.

With the departure of the *Tyger* on 25 August, Lane and his men were left alone at Roanoke. Now the sole governor of the fledgling colony, Lane initiated an energetic program of exploration. He obviously was unhappy with the harbors so far discovered and thought it possible that one more suitable might be found further to the North.¹⁸ Little is known of the northern voyage he sent towards the Chesapeake, for Lane mentioned it only in passing. The expedition reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay and apparently encamped in the region of present-day Norfolk through the winter.¹⁹ Hariot or White, probably both, accompanied the Chesapeake voyage.²⁰ Lane awaited the return of this expedition before he commenced his own exploration of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers sometime late in February or early March 1585–86.

Prior to Lane's departure, relations began to deteriorate between the English settlers and Wingina's people. Although it is

impossible to locate the origins of this breach with any certainty, Wingina's subsequent actions suggest that the colonists' demands for maize had surpassed what he could safely provide them without risking injury to his own people and that the violence characteristic of English actions in the region had alienated the Roanoke leader.²¹ The colonists were probably able to hunt to meet some of their dietary needs, although this, as Hariot implied, was inadequate to provide for the entire settler population. The colonists then had to resort to begging, borrowing, stealing, and trading to keep the colony alive. The Roanoke settlers, moreover, demonstrated both an inability and an unwillingness to learn from the Indians how to obtain food during the lean months of winter and early spring.²² Word of the burning of the Secotan village of Aquascogoc, moreover, certainly traveled quickly throughout the region.

Wingina changed his name to Pemisapan during the winter of 1585–86, an indication, some historians argue, that he was beginning to turn against the English. The death of Wingina's brother, Granganimeo, who had been on friendly terms with the English, provided the occasion for his name change. Granganimeo's death robbed the English of a supportive voice within Roanoke councils and apparently freed Pemisapan to act as he desired.²³ The name *Pemisapan*, then, may have symbolized Wingina's grief at the death of a brother or may have constituted a war name assumed prior to an attempt to starve the English on Roanoke Island. The latter is possible, Karen Ordahl Kupperman suggests, because in the Algonquian language, *Pemisapan* implied a watchful and wary attitude.²⁴

The devastating impact of European disease on the Carolina Algonquians, however, offers perhaps a better explanation for Wingina's choice of names. Thomas Hariot's *Brief and True Report* testifies with frightening clarity that large numbers of natives were killed by European diseases in the initial months of contact. In the Indian villages visited by the English, Hariot wrote, "within a few dayes of our departure from everie such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in small townes about twentie, in some fourtie, in some sixtie, & in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers." Hariot ominously concluded that this "happened in no place that wee coulde learne but where we had bene, where they used some practice against us, and after such time."²⁵ Witnessing the ruin of disease, Hariot continued, many Algonquians "were perswaded

that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kil and slai whom wee would without weapons and not come neere them."²⁶ Aware of the demographic catastrophe unfolding about him, as well as the denigrating effect that disease had on the Indians' attachment to their own culture (the remedies proposed by tribal shamans proved powerless to halt the spread of disease), Pemisapan may well have adopted a watchful and wary attitude as he prepared to evacuate Roanoke.

Pemisapan knew that Lane intended to sail into Albemarle Sound. According to Lane, Pemisapan sent word ahead to the Chowanoac and Mangoak that Lane and his expedition intended to attack and kill any Indians they encountered. The natives, then, should abandon their villages and remove their corn, thus starving the English expedition.²⁷ Lane, however, could not have been aware of the details of this plot when he departed Roanoke, for he took seriously Pemisapan's admonition that a "confederacie against us of the Chaonists and Mangoaks" was assembling upriver with the intention of destroying the English settlement.²⁸

Lane and his men sailed in a pinnac to the head of Albemarle Sound. There, some time early in March, the expedition climbed aboard smaller vessels for the ascent of the Chowan River. This was the territory of Menatonon, the leader of the Chowanoac tribe. What Lane saw there impressed him. He wrote, "Choanoke it selfe is the greatest Province and Seignorie lying upon that River." The town, he believed, was able to field seven hundred fighting men, not to mention the forces gathered from the outlying villages. The accuracy of Lane's observation is corroborated by archaeological evidence.²⁹

When Lane arrived at Chowanoac, he chanced upon a meeting of representatives from the Weapemeoc, Moratuc, and Iroquoian Mangoak. His actions reveal that, at the time, he believed he had encountered the Chowanoac-Mangoak confederacy of which Pemisapan had earlier spoken.³⁰ Lane stormed the gathering, seized the invalid Menatonon, and held him hostage. For the next two days, Lane interrogated the leader, who provided Lane with "more understanding and light of that Countrey then I had received by all the searches and salvages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with."³¹

Menatonon provided Lane with information on the geography of the region that whetted the soldier's appetite for glory and gold. Three days farther up the Chowan River, Lane was told, and then four days' travel overland, "a certaine Kings countrey, whose

Province lyeth upon the Sea" would be found. This, to Lane, sounded like a route to the Chesapeake Bay. He devised a plan to follow Menatonon's course once fresh supplies arrived from England.³² Menatonon's reports of what lay farther up the Roanoke River, however, were of more immediate interest to Lane.³³ Forty days upstream at the head of the river, a "huge rocke" could be found, which stood so close "unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde coming outwardly from ye Sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish."³⁴ Lane also heard from Menatonon that the natives in this region panned for "a marveilous and most strange Minerall" that sounded curiously like gold.³⁵

Lane resolved to follow the Roanoke River course outlined by Menatonon. He released the chief but took his son Skiko hostage, to secure Menatonon's good behavior. Lane also concluded what he believed to have been a "league" with the representatives of the Moratuc and Mangoak. He then returned to the head of Albemarle Sound, sent Skiko, in the pinnace, back to Roanoke Island, and prepared to ascend the Roanoke River "with two double wherries" and forty men.³⁶

Lane was short of food and hoped to obtain supply from the Moratuc and Mangoak as he moved westward. This, he believed, had been the substance of his agreement with them. Three days into his journey, however, Lane was convinced "that we were betrayed by our owne Savages, and of purpose drawn foorth by them, upon vaine hope to be in the ende starved."³⁷ Lane found "all the Countrey fledde before us." Both the Moratuc and Mangoak had "retyred themselves with their [women], and their corne within the mayne; insomuch . . . we could not meete a man, nor finde a grain of corne in any of their Townes."³⁸

Lane would attribute this betrayal to the influence of Pemisapan, who, he believed, had circulated vicious rumors among the neighboring tribes regarding Lane's hostile intent.³⁹ One need not, however, attribute the withdrawal of the Moratuc and Mangoak tribes from their villages to the scheming of Pemisapan. Menatonon, while Lane's hostage, admitted that Pemisapan had sent messengers onto the mainland to organize opposition to the English. Yet Menatonon had ample reason to tell Lane precisely what he thought the English governor wanted to hear, for Lane already suspected that Menatonon was conspiring against the English. Lane, who entered the village believing that he had

uncovered the "confederacie against us of the Chaonists and Mangoaks" mentioned by Pemisapan, likely confronted Menatonon with this information. The Chowanoac chief might easily turn the charge around to implicate Pemisapan. Indeed, Lane at one point described his expedition up Albemarle Sound as "my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks."⁴⁰ That Lane took Skiko as hostage indicates that he was not entirely convinced of the veracity of Menatonon's story, and he sought a hostage to secure the future good behavior of the Chowanoac.

The Moratuc and Mangoak, for their part, having observed the precipitancy with which Lane had seized a neighboring chieftain, interrogated him, and made off with his son, had ample reason to stay clear of Lane. When confronted by Lane at Choanoac, they too might have agreed to whatever Lane demanded in order to be free of him as quickly as possible. The Chowanoac, Moratuc, and Mangoak, moreover, may even have found the idea of aligning themselves with Pemisapan unappealing. Pemisapan maintained a stranglehold on Indian trade with the English and, according to Lane, had acquired enough wealth through this trade to purchase the allegiance of the neighboring tribes. Cross-cultural trade is clearly evident in White's artwork, and it is not unlikely that other tribes wanted to break into this trade in order to obtain a share of English trade goods.⁴¹

No conspiracy is needed to explain the reaction of the Carolina Algonquians to Lane. He began his ascent of the Roanoke River early in the spring, normally months of dearth in native corn cultures. During this time of the year, Algonquian villagers were forced to forage, and at times split up, in search of food to tide them over until the first corn harvest. That this was a year of drought, as Hariot suggested, would only have exacerbated food shortages among the coastal Carolina natives. Disease, moreover, had already ravaged the Roanoke, and the Indians whom Lane encountered most likely had heard of, or even experienced, Europeans previously and acted accordingly when approached by an angry, and hungry, European force.⁴² Menatonon nonetheless convinced Lane that Pemisapan was at the center of a conspiracy to eliminate the English presence in the New World by starving them and that the Roanoke chieftain was organizing an Indian confederacy to help him achieve this end.

Lane attempted to continue up the Roanoke River, despite the shortage of food. After consuming both their watchdogs and

being left with nothing but an emergency diet of boiled sassafras leaves, however, Lane and his men decided to return to Roanoke. The voyage home was difficult, and the threat of starvation real, but Lane and his men found enough fish in the weirs of the deserted Weapemeoc villages to see them home. They arrived back at Roanoke on 4 April 1586.⁴³

During Lane's absence, Pemisapan apparently began a game of nerves with the sixty or so colonists left at Roanoke. During the early spring months, the native corn supply was at its lowest ebb; the fact that the colonists had little corn and even less aptitude in hunting and fishing could not have impressed a tribal leader grown weary of an intolerant, violent, contagious, and dependent people. Pemisapan and his followers, then—again according to Lane—"raised a bruite among themselves, that I and my company were part slayne, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks."⁴⁴ They also denied the authority of the English god, whom they believed "was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name, all the inhabitants of the whole mayne, of what province soever."⁴⁵

Pemisapan, according to Lane, planned to destroy the colonists at Roanoke in the spring of 1586 by abandoning the island, leaving it unsowed. Enough corn could be found for Pemisapan and his people in the vicinity of Dasemunkepeuc, a safe distance from the English settlement. Lane believed that this strategy would almost certainly have destroyed the colony, "for at that time wee had no weares, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one grayne of corne for seede to put into the ground."⁴⁶ That the Roanoke could have destroyed the colony merely by abandoning the island calls into question Lane's belief that Pemisapan had channeled his hostility to the English into the form of an organized conspiracy against the settlers.⁴⁷

The Pemisapan that emerges from the pages of Lane's narrative is a dark and brooding figure, duplicitous, vengeful, and irrational. He is, in fact, not at all like the figure Hariot described. "The *Wiroans* with whom we dealt called *Wingina*," wrote Hariot,

would be glad many times to be with us at our praiers, and many times call upon us both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalmes; hoping thereby to bee partaker of the same effectes which wee by that meanes also expected.⁴⁸

The colonists, at least at one point, enjoyed the respect and friendship of Pemisapan. He apparently was more than merely an occasional visitor to the English settlement and accompanied Hariot during some of his attempts to proselytize the neighboring tribes. Aware that disease devastated his people while the English remained seemingly free from harm, Pemisapan began to experiment with English religion.⁴⁹ By the end of the first winter, however, the nature of the relationship between Pemisapan and the English had changed dramatically, a product of English aggression, disease, and violence.

Pemisapan's plan to abandon the island was thwarted by Lane's unexpected return to Roanoke. Among the Roanoke leaders, an Indian named Ensenore, Pemisapan's father, consistently had argued against any action tending toward the destruction of the English. The colonists, he believed, were too strong and "were the servants of God, and . . . were not subject to be destroyed by them." Upon Lane's return, Ensenore's opinions were accorded great respect. Lane had proven himself a powerful opponent. Pemisapan, whose authority over his own tribe was certainly not unlimited, was persuaded "to cause his men to set up weares forthwith for us" and to sow a "good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to have fed our whole company" through either the harvest in July or the arrival of supply ships from London.⁵⁰

A few days later, on 20 April, Ensenore died. His death, according to Lane, was a blow to the English, for Ensenore was "the only frend to our nation that we had amongst them."⁵¹ According to Lane, Pemisapan then renewed his plans to evacuate Roanoke.⁵²

Sometime in late April or early May, Pemisapan crossed over to Dasemunkepeuc after destroying the weirs he earlier had provided the colonists. There, according to Lane, Pemisapan saw to the planting on the mainland of another corn crop. With the copper he obtained through English trade, he also paid for military assistance from the Weapemeoc, Moratuc, and Mangoak. All told, Lane believed that some fifteen hundred warriors from different tribes would be assembling at Dasemunkepeuc on 10 June for an assault on the Roanoke Colony.⁵³ Lane obtained this information from Skiko, Menatonon's son, who had reason to implicate Pemisapan in a conspiracy against the English. It is significant that, of the tribes supposedly gathering at the rendezvous, Skiko's and Menatonon's Chowanoac were not mentioned.

Skiko persuaded Lane that he could count on the Chowanoac for support.⁵⁴

Lane believed that, by breaking up the weirs, Pemisapan was trying to force Lane "to disband my company into sundry places to live," there foraging for shellfish and crabs and whatever else could be obtained.⁵⁵ Lane recognized the vulnerability of his position. Although he knew his men would be easy targets for hostile Indians, he was forced to scatter them in small contingents across the Outer Banks. Without the prospect of any food for the next two months, Lane's condition was critical indeed. By the middle of May, he resolved to act before Pemisapan could gather his forces. He sent word to Pemisapan that he intended to travel south to Croatoan because he had received word of the arrival of the supply ship, although, in truth, Lane "had neither heard nor hopes for so good adventure." Lane asked Pemisapan if his men would fish for him and sell him four days' provisions for the voyage.

Pemisapan was not interested in helping Lane. All his actions indicate a desire to effect a total separation between his people and the colonists. He had abandoned Roanoke, leaving the English to their own devices, and apparently had no desire to return to the island. His base was now at Dasemunkepeuc. Lane, who clearly had grown deeply suspicious of Pemisapan's actions, resolved upon a night raid to steal all the canoes on Roanoke and thus cut off Pemisapan's communication with his allies still on the island, as well as to provide Lane with a means of transportation. The attack did not go well. Lane sent a number of men

to gather up all the Canoas, in the setting of the sunne, & to take as many as were going from us to Adesmcopeio [Dasemunkepeuc], but to suffer any that came from thence to land; he met with a Canoa going from the shoare, and overthrew the Canoa, and cut off 2 savages heads: this was not done so secretly but hee was discovered from the shore, whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth, privie to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.⁵⁶

Lane's men, approaching by water, killed three or four of the natives in the ensuing skirmish. A return volley of Indian arrows had little effect.

The next morning, Lane continued the offensive. With twenty-seven others, he crossed to Dasemunkepeuc on the pretext that he

needed to complain to Pemisapan of the attempt of one Osocan, a lesser Roanoke *weroance*, to kidnap his hostage, Skiko.⁵⁷ Lane entered the village and found himself in the midst of seven or eight of Pemisapan's principal men. After quickly noting his surroundings and chances for success, Lane gave the watchword, "Christ our victory." A withering volley of gunfire assured that the Roanoke "had by the mercie of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us." Pemisapan fell quickly and was mistaken for dead. While Lane's men "were busie that none of the rest should escape," Pemisapan, despite his wound, managed to spring to his feet and run for the woods. Another bullet fired by Lane's "Irish boy" struck Pemisapan "thwart the buttocks," but failed to stop the fleeing chieftain.⁵⁸ Edward Nugent, an Irishman in Lane's service, pursued Pemisapan into the woods. Lane feared that he had lost his man, for he heard nothing. A short while later, Nugent emerged from the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand.⁵⁹

Pemisapan died on the first day of June 1586. The gathering of warriors at Dasemunkepeuc never occurred. Perhaps Lane's surgical attack intimidated the native bands in the area, as Quinn has suggested. There is, however, no evidence, aside from Lane's own account, to support an assertion that Pemisapan was conspiring with other Indian tribes to destroy the English settlement. At most, he had abandoned the English and Roanoke Island, leaving the hapless colonists to their own devices. If this constituted a death sentence for the English settlers, it cannot be attributed to anything more than the Roanoke chieftain's desire to separate himself from a foreign people whose incapacity to feed themselves threatened the livelihood of his own people and whose microbes were killing large numbers of Algonquians. Pemisapan certainly was guilty of refusing to feed the English after the winter of 1585-86. No charge beyond this can be substantiated.

Lane could not understand Pemisapan's position. Perhaps frightened, and certainly hungry and outnumbered, Lane sought to justify the failure of the colony that he was charged with governing. To rationalize his failures, Lane was only too ready to believe that Menatonon, and later Pemisapan, were conspiring against the English encampment on Roanoke Island. It is likely that both chieftains were using the military might of the English colonists to pursue their own political, economic, and diplomatic agendas. Lane, a product of England's imperial frontier, was their willing, if uninformed, ally.

NOTES

1. Recent works that accept Lane's view that Wingina organized a conspiracy against the English include David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); David N. Durant, *Raleigh's Last Colony* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), 71–72; J. Frederick Fausz, "Patterns of Anglo-Indian Aggression and Accommodation along the Mid-Atlantic Coast, 1584–1634," in *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, Anthropological Society of Washington Series, 1985), 233; Christian F. Feest, "North Carolina Algonquians," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 271–81. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, in *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984), notes that "the Roanoke colonists were not immediately aware that Pemisapan/Wingina had decided on war against them" but then says that "we will never know how much of Lane's policy was a self-fulfilling prophecy that caused to happen those things he expected or feared" (pp. 77, 87). Because she is more interested in how English notions of treachery informed their attitudes toward the Indians, whether Pemisapan was plotting against the English is, for her, a moot point, a question that she does not answer unambiguously. For views that question the existence of a conspiracy, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975), 40; and David Stick, *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 131–40.

2. David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590*, 2 vols., *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, series 2, vols. 104–105 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 176–77.

3. *Ibid.*, 177.

4. Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, ed. Paul Hulton (1590; New York: Dover Books, 1972), 31

5. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, appendices 1 and 2, pp. 841–72. On the identity of the Mangoak, see Maurice A. Mook, "Algonkian Ethnohistory on the Carolina Sound," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 34 (1944), 185, 195; and Herbert R. Paschal, "The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, 1956), 16–21.

6. John White's paintings are the best source. See Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), plates 32 and 36. See also Christian F. Feest, "North Carolina Algonquians," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 276. For Native American culture in the coastal Carolina region, see Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Lewis R. Binford, *Cultural Diversity among Algonquian Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina* (New York: Garland, 1991).

7. Feest, "North Carolina Algonquians," 271.

8. *Ibid.*, 271–72.

9. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 204–205.

10. Ibid., 207–210.
11. Ibid., 294
12. See note 1 above.
13. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, 128.
14. Kupperman argues that Lane's fears of Indian "treachery" caused him to see threats to the English where none existed. See Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery, 1583–1640: The Case of the American Savages," *Historical Journal* 20 (June 1977): 263–87.
15. See Hulton, *America 1585*.
16. On Hariot, see Michael Leroy Oberg, "Dominion and Civility: Indians, Englishmen, and the Challenges of the First American Frontiers, 1585–1685" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1994), 17–55.
17. Lane's account is published in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 243–95.
18. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 273–75.
19. Ibid., 257–58, 245–46.
20. White's map of the Chesapeake is printed in Hulton, *America 1585*, plate 60; and in an enlarged black-and-white version in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 460–61.
21. Fausz, "Patterns of Anglo-Indian Aggression and Accommodation," 233.
22. Hariot, *Brief and True Report*, 6.
23. From this point onward, I will refer to Wingina by his new name of Pemisapan, as Lane himself did.
24. Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 76; see also Durant, *Raleigh's Last Colony*, 71–72.
25. Hariot, *Brief and True Report*, 28.
26. Ibid.
27. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 265–66. The Weapemeoc tribe abandoned their villages as well.
28. Ibid.
29. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 259.
30. Ibid., 265–66.
31. Ibid. Lane must have had with him Hariot or one of two Indians, Manteo or Wanchese, who had been picked up in 1584 during a reconnaissance voyage. Given Hariot's remarks at the conclusion of the *Briefe and True Report*, 30, it is possible that he was a witness to Lane's treatment of the invalid Menatonon and was disturbed by this display. Lane, it should be noted, did not commence his exploration of Albemarle Sound until the return of the expedition to the Chesapeake, of which Hariot was undoubtedly a part. Given Hariot's knowledge of astronomy and navigation, he would have been a helpful addition to an exploring party.
32. Ibid., 259, 261–63.
33. In his account, Lane referred to the Roanoke River as "the River Moratico." Ibid., 263.
34. Ibid., 264.
35. Ibid., 268.
36. Ibid., 266, 264n, 264.
37. Ibid., 267n, 266.
38. Ibid., 267–66.
39. Ibid., 265.
40. Ibid., 215.

41. Feest ("North Carolina Algonquians," 273) argues that evidence exists of precontact hostilities between the different coastal Algonquian villages, but his interpretation of this evidence is colored by his own belief that Pemisapan was at the center of a pan-Indian conspiracy.

42. For evidence of drought, see Hariot, *Briefe and True Report*, 27–28. On early European encounters with Indians in the coastal Carolina region, see J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians of the Old South* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), 27–52.

43. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 272.

44. *Ibid.*, 276–77.

45. *Ibid.*, 277.

46. *Ibid.*, 276.

47. Edmund S. Morgan noted this in *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 40.

48. Hariot, *Brief and True Report*, 27.

49. On Hariot's missionary work, and his attitudes regarding the ease with which the Indians would be converted to Christianity, see *ibid.*, 25.

50. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 279–80.

51. *Ibid.*, 275.

52. At this point, Wanchese, who had been in England in 1584, abandoned the English. Wanchese was a Croatoan. For an account of his turn against the English, see Frederick Turner, *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 190–91.

53. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 281–82, 284–85.

54. *Ibid.*, 284.

55. *Ibid.*, 283.

56. *Ibid.*, 286.

57. *Ibid.*, 287.

58. *Ibid.*, 287.

59. *Ibid.*, 287–88.