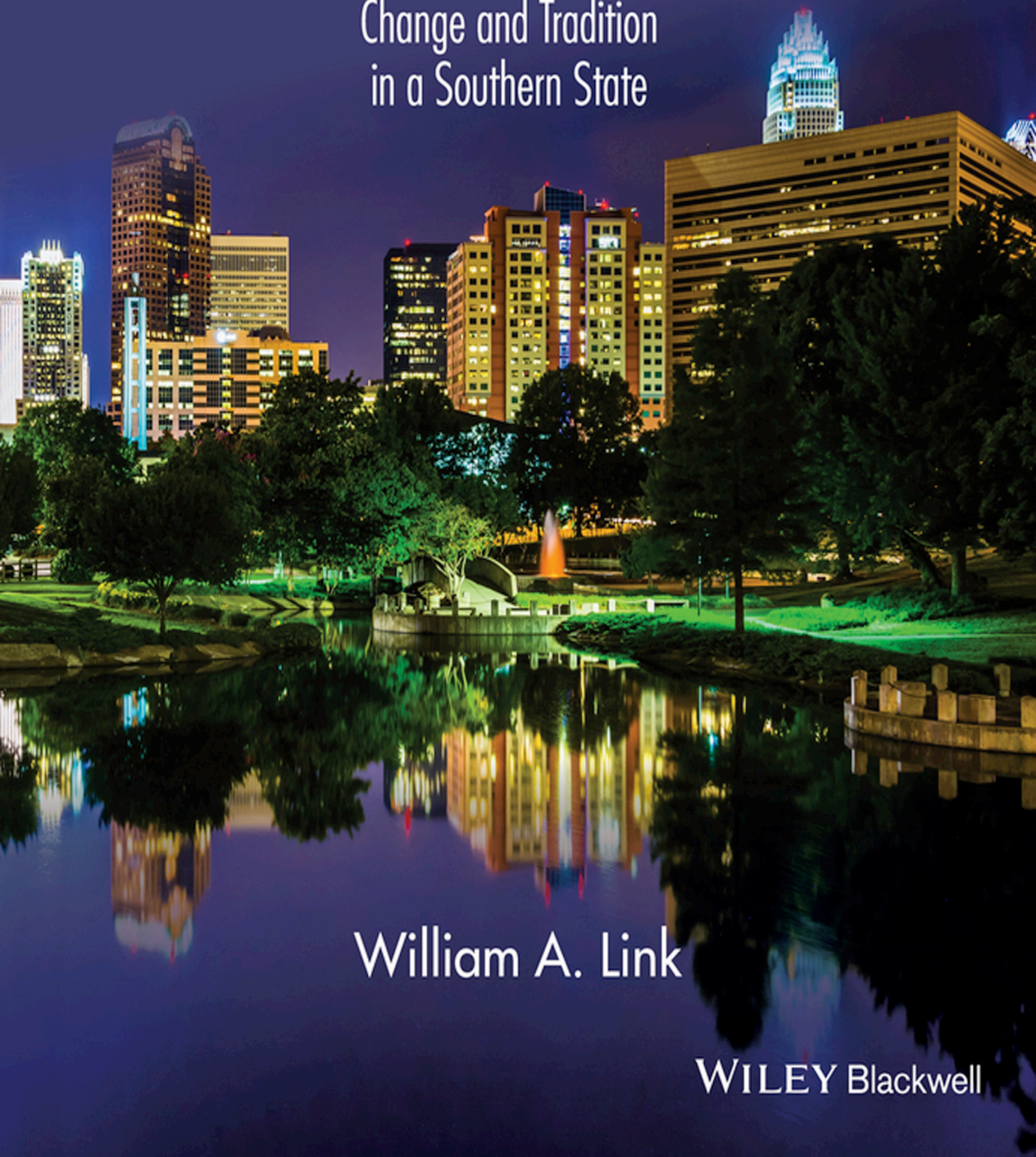
SECOND EDITION

NORTH CAROLINA

Change and Tradition in a Southern State



William A. Link

WILEY Blackwell

North Carolina

William Link examines the fascinating history of North Carolina through the lens of strong, yet seemingly contradictory, historical patterns: powerful forces of traditionalism punctuated by hierarchies of class, race relations, and gender that have seemingly clashed, especially during the last century, with potent forces of modernization and a "progressive" element that welcomed and even embraced change. *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* answers meaningful questions about the history and future of this rapidly growing state.

This second edition includes new coverage while retaining the strengths of the first edition, including its accessible and inclusive coverage of North Carolina's regional diversity. Extending the historical narrative into the twenty-first century, each of the six parts of this new edition conclude with set of primary-source documents selected to encourage students to develop a first-person appreciation for accounts of the past. Considering the North Carolina story from first contact all the way to 2015, this book provides a great resource for all college-level instructors and students of North Carolina history.

William A. Link is Richard J. Milbauer Professor of History at the University of Florida. He is the author of seven books on the history of the South, including *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (2003), *Righteous Warrior: Jesse Helms and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* (2008), *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* (2009), and *Links: My Family in American History* (2012). His most recent book is *Atlanta, Cradle of the New South: Race and Remembering in the Civil War's Aftermath* (2013).

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Second Edition

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This second edition of *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* incorporates a number of significant changes. In this revision, I have attempted to preserve, and even enhance, what I think are the main strengths of this book—its accessibility for students and general readers; its inclusiveness in coverage in terms of social, cultural, economic, and political history; its regional diversity; and its attempt to consider fully North Carolina in the twenty-first century. The historical literature about North Carolina history always was and continues to be extremely rich and productive, and I included the very latest work in my synthesis. Finally, this new edition sees the inclusion of primary-source documents at the end of each of its six sections, added in order to encourage students to explore and understand first-person accounts of the past.

As always, I have relied on the help of others in order to complete this book. The person responsible for its welfare continues to be Andrew Davidson, a good friend and a superb editor. He insured that the edition would have a new home with Wiley-Blackwell. Others at Wiley-Blackwell have been very helpful, including Lindsay Bourgeois, Peter Coveney, Georgina Hickey, Julia Kirk, and Linda Gaio. At the University of Florida, Allison Fredette provided essential help in assembling the documents sections. Ronnie Faulkner volunteered suggestions that I have attempted to incorporate in this version, while John Godwin sent a thorough and very useful critique. I must thank the Center for the Study of the American South for an affiliate that enabled access to the rich resources of the University of North Carolina libraries. I appreciate the assistance of Steven Lawson in helping to understand the nature of voting in early twentieth-century North Carolina. I am also, once again, indebted to my wife, Susannah Link, for her help in clarifying language, thoughts, and organization.

William A. Link

Gainesville, FL

Part 1

Colonial North Carolina

1

European Invasion

One might say that North Carolina history began with a bang, in a clash of cultures spurred by the powerful process of European expansion into the wider world after about 1500. Although scholars used to refer to this process as the "discovery" of the Americas, diverse peoples had inhabited North America's Eastern Seaboard for many thousands of years, with thriving and far-flung cultures. Some Indians were nomadic; others lived in permanent villages. Some engaged in sophisticated forms of agriculture; others fished and trapped shellfish along the coast, and still others subsisted as hunter-gatherers. No matter their economic base, most indigenous peoples engaged in trade with other groups, some over exchange networks extending across thousands of miles.

The Indian groups in North Carolina at the time of first European contact lived in separate, sometimes antagonistic, societies, though all of them would come to share a common historical trauma. What scholars have called an "encounter" of European and Indian cultures is rife with stereotypes and misconceptions. For many years historians commonly portrayed Europeans as civilizing colonists, Indians as savages. More recent scholars have corrected this view and demonstrated the integrity of Indian societies. Older scholars also had a tendency to collapse the "encounter" into a few decades. Rather than a single contact, the cultural, political, and economic exchange between Europeans and indigenous peoples occurred in waves, over many decades, even centuries.

From the outset, European social organization and culture remained hostile to Indian society. At the time of first contact, Europeans were aggressively moving into and seeking to dominate the farthest reaches of the world, where they tried to subdue, or simply remove, the diverse cultures they met. With an expansionist drive, Western Europeans wanted to enrich themselves at the expense of native peoples around the globe, all of whom they tended to view as inferior and barbaric. Most critically, contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere invariably brought devastating diseases to the latter. The first arrival of English in North Carolina was no exception. Following English visits to Indian villages, wrote English writer Thomas

North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State, Second Edition. William A. Link.

Hariot, Indians began to "die very fast, and many in short space."[1] Although this demographic crisis weakened their ability to resist European invasion, Indians combatted these onslaughts, both physical and cultural, through different means; they were not simply victims. Indeed, they traded and interacted with the English explorers and settlers, often on terms dictated by the Indians, and their presence defined the character of European colonization.

Physical Geography and Environment

A long series of changes over the millennia combined to create North Carolina's remarkably distinctive geography. Some thirty million years ago, during the Mesozoic Era, much of the eastern third of North Carolina remained under water, but with the onset of the last ice age, some 10,000 years ago, the coastline extended 50 miles east of its present location. With the end of this ice age, the Atlantic Ocean pushed back to the west, filling the river valleys and forming the sounds of eastern North Carolina. Millions of years ago, the present Piedmont region featured immense mountains, the Ocoee Range, which were as high as today's western Rockies. Eon upon eon of erosion wore down these Piedmont ranges to the present elevation of between 350 and 1,800 feet. Composed of mostly rolling countryside, the region still contains small ranges such as the South Mountains in Burke and Rutherford Counties, the Uwharries of Montgomery and Randolph Counties, the Kings Mountain Range of Cleveland and Gaston Counties, and the Sauratown Mountains of Stokes and Surry Counties. West of the Ocoee Range lay a sea whose waters lapped the base of high mountains. About 270 million years ago, during the conclusion of the Paleozoic Era, tectonic pressures caused new mountains to emerge from the sea, the Appalachians, that, in our own time, dominate western North Carolina.

Prior to the Europeans' arrival, North Carolina's coastal areas contained abundant sea life, and its rivers were filled with fish and wildlife. Herds of white-tailed deer foraged river bottoms for food. Across the Carolinas roamed larger grazing animals such as bison and elk; omnivores such as black bears; small mammals such as squirrels and opossum; fowl such as pigeons, doves, and wild turkeys; and various species of reptiles and amphibians. Predators included wolves, panthers, and bobcats, and they helped to keep the population of the grazing animals in check. Creeks, rivers, sounds, and estuaries spawned rich and diverse aquatic life.

North Carolina was also a land of dense forests, which stretched the entire length of the state. In the Coastal Plain, forests of long-leaf pine dominated the landscape, while in northeastern North Carolina, cypress forests prevailed. To the west, pine forests gave way to large stands of uninterrupted hardwood—oak, hickory, and chestnut—deciduous forests that extended from the Coastal Plain to the high ranges of the Appalachians. So thick were the forests of North

Figure 1.1 Bynums Bluff, Mt. Mitchell Reservation. *Source: Library of Congress, National Photo Company Collection, LC-USZ62-100927.*

Carolina that it was said that a squirrel could travel from one end of the state to the other without ever setting foot on the ground.

Possessing these varied characteristics, North Carolina's physical geography had much to do with shaping its distinctive history. Spanning 500 miles in length from the coast to the mountains, and at its widest point nearly 200 miles from north to south, the state is defined by dramatic changes in elevation. In the far West, the Appalachian Mountains cradle a plateau that extends from the Blue Ridge westward to the Great Smokies, which straddle the border with Tennessee. The highest peak of the western mountains, Mt. Mitchell, is the tallest point on the Eastern Seaboard, with an elevation of 6,683 feet above sea level. From the mountains the terrain descends into the Piedmont, at several hundred feet of elevation, and then to the Coastal Plain, lying approximately at sea level.

Water resources also figured prominently in how the history of the state unfolded. In general, North Carolinians suffered from a lack of deep harbors and navigable river systems, hindering transportation of goods and people. The North Carolina coastline is composed of barrier islands to the east and sounds to the west, and most of its intracoastal waterways are not easily navigable. The lack of a good Atlantic harbor—as good, at least, as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston—was significant. North Carolina also

lacks any large rivers that might have provided a backbone for water-borne transport. In the West, the Little Tennessee, French Broad, and Hiawassee Rivers flow into the Tennessee River system, which drains toward the Gulf of Mexico. Piedmont rivers, such as the Catawba, Yadkin, and Broad, flow from north to south, and eventually into South Carolina. Coastal Plain Rivers such as the Roanoke, Chowan, Tar-Pamlico, Trent, Cape Fear, and Neuse, drain into sounds, but frequently clog with sediment, making them too shallow and tricky for large boats or barge traffic.

North Carolina's geography thus appeared uninviting to prospective colonists, particularly those Europeans who depended on water-borne travel for communication and commerce. At the same time, its propensity for fast-approaching and violent Atlantic storms and its numerous sandbars made—and still make—the North Carolina coast dangerous for shipping. The Outer Banks, a series of barrier islands, vary in width from two miles to only a few hundred feet, and often shift according to the whims of the tides, winds, and waves. Numerous inlets mark places where Atlantic storms have broken through barrier islands and created channels between the ocean and the sounds. At Cape Hatteras, the Gulf Stream, an Atlantic current flowing from the south, mixes with the colder waters of the North Atlantic, forming the notorious Diamond Shoals, where shallow sandbars for centuries awaited ships and their crews. South from Cape Hatteras, the Outer Banks coast extends its treacherous waters to Cape Lookout. Having caused as many as 5,000 reported shipwrecks between the sixteenth century and the present, sailors justly dubbed these waters "the Graveyard of the Atlantic."

Present-day North Carolina is understood to contain three principal geographical regions: the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, and the Mountains. The Coastal Plain, extending some 150 miles from the coast westward, is defined by the occasions in which the Atlantic Ocean, over many years, spread its waters across the land, leaving terraces of sediment and sand each time it receded. Each of the major rivers of the Coastal Plain includes a "Fall Line," the point at which the Piedmont and Coastal Plain meet and the onset of rapids makes navigation difficult. With the Fall Line constituting its western border, the Coastal Plain, the largest of North Carolina's three major regions, contains sandy soil well suited for agriculture. Immediately adjacent to the coast and extending 30–80 miles inland lies a subregion known as the Tidewater, a low-lying and marshy area in between the sand dunes and the sounds, the place where many of the state's rivers form estuaries. The Tidewater supports a variety of habitats, and includes, in northeastern North Carolina, the Great Dismal Swamp extending between the James River in Virginia and the Albemarle Sound. The Great Dismal Swamp is home to an astounding diversity of plant life such as white cedar, bald cypress, and other wetland trees. The western edge of the Coastal Plain, with a slightly higher elevation and a layer of humus topsoil, became a center for the colony's and later the state's plantation crops.

West of the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont contains a different type of soil (generally red clay) and shallow, rapidly flowing streams and rivers. With traffic and commerce historically following the flow of the rivers, Piedmont Carolinians long remained isolated from those in the Coastal Plain. In the northern Piedmont, migration and commerce originated from Virginia; in the southern Piedmont, the natural geography of rivers tied the region to South Carolina. Western North Carolina, geographically isolated from the rest of the state, is characterized by mountains, numerous cross-ranges, peaks, coves, and valleys. The mountains in North Carolina include some of the highest peaks of the entire Appalachian range.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of North Carolina's distinctive geography. Unlike other parts of America, the absence of deep-water ports, the presence of treacherous shoals, inlets, and sounds on the coast, and rivers that one could only precariously navigate combined to make water-borne transportation a slow and expensive undertaking. In short, the lack of a good means of transportation stalled economic development. While colonies to the north and to the south developed plantation agriculture and generated significant wealth, North Carolina during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remained underdeveloped and relatively poor. Geography also resulted in North Carolinians remaining largely isolated. By the colonial era, residents possessed an acute sense of localism that, perhaps, exceeded that of any other colony in early America.

First Peoples, First Contact

Shortly before the arrival of the first Europeans, North Carolina's Indian peoples were diverse, including about thirty different tribes that fell into one of three linguistic groups. On the coast and sounds north of the Neuse River, Indians speaking Algonquian-related languages prevailed; linguistically they were related to similar groups populating the Eastern Seaboard between present-day North Carolina and Canada. Algonquian-speaking Indians tended to inhabit small coastal villages, with as many as thirty houses enclosed by fortified palisades. More than ten different tribes of Algonquian-speaking Indians inhabited the area at the time of first contact, including Poteskeets, Pasquotaniks, Chowanokes, Roanocs, Secotans, Hatteras, and Pamlicos. In the Piedmont, various Indians belonging to a Sioux linguistic group lived in small, dispersed villages, building terraces for farming that overlooked the region's creeks and rivers. Residing in the land between the Fall Line in the East and the Appalachians in the West, Sioux-speaking peoples also inhabited the Cape Fear River valley to the mouth of the river.

The third major group spoke Iroquois-related languages. Their more populous communities gave rise to more elaborate political and military

Figure 1.2 "Their Manner of Fishynge in Virginia," 1590. Theodor de Bry based his engravings for Thomas Hariot's 1588 book *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* on the watercolors of colonist John White. These depictions of the North Carolina landscape and residents provided Europeans with some of their earliest impressions of the North American continent. *Source: Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division, LC-USZ62-54016.*

organization. In the eastern Coastal Plain, Tuscarora, who lived south and west of the Neuse River, were active, aggressive traders who took full advantage of the arrival of the Europeans by profiting from the lucrative fur trade in the first century after first contact. Tuscarora inhabited towns comprised of bark-thatched houses, often as many as 100 feet long, built on the perimeter of a rectangular court and fortified with palisades. By the early 1700s, the Tuscarora in North Carolina numbered as many as 5,000 persons. In the West, Cherokees, the largest Iroquois-language group, organized themselves into fortified towns, maintaining large-scale economic, military, religious, and political systems. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Cherokees maintained somewhere around 64 villages and a fighting force of 6,000 warriors.

Cultural differences among North Carolina Indians were profound. Even within the three general linguistic groups great diversity existed: so different were the several languages and various dialects thereof that one group of Indians could not easily understand many others. Iroquoian-speaking Cherokees, for example, could not understand Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora; even among Cherokees, people spoke at least three very different dialects.

Figure 1.3 A Roanoke chief. Theodor de Bry. *Source: Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division, LC-USZ62-89909.*

The diversity of language notwithstanding, Indians shared far more cultural characteristics with each other than they did with the invading Europeans, and these differences shaped first contact. Western Europeans were aggressive and expansionist: in their eyes, they had "discovered" the "New World" as part of a historical process in which they would come to dominate most of the planet. During the early 1500s, the Spanish *conquistadors*' victory over the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru brought untold millions in gold and silver to Spain, transforming a small nation on the southwestern tip of Western Europe into a leading world power. Spanish expansion into the Americas followed on the heels of the spread of the Portuguese into West Africa and Brazil, but in both cases the solidification of a strong, centralized monarchy presaged efforts at

overseas colonization. The growth of the modern nation-state also was instrumental in the colonial successes of the Netherlands and France, both of which had managed to create empires by the end of the sixteenth century. English expansion began later, in the last decades of the 1500s, but it, too, depended on a consolidation of national power—under Queen Elizabeth, especially after the English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588. As a result, the British colonial empire did not coalesce until the 1600s.

Each of these European powers arrived in the New World possessing militant societies and cultures. In addition, they believed that their Christian religious systems justified, even demanded, cultural domination over subject peoples. Europeans' religious zeal was fueled by the Protestant Reformation, which, in the course of disagreements about the structure, theology, and organization of the western Christian church, brought a continuing breach in the Roman Catholic Church. The Spanish became the leading opponents of the Reformation: their Counter-Reformation proposed a revitalized but expansionist Roman Catholic Church, and the Spanish sought to expand aggressively the reach of the Catholic Church into the Americas. In contrast, the Reformation shaped national development and ideology differently in England. Under Henry VIII, the Church of England split from Rome, and over the next century the Anglican Church became a battleground between reformers and traditionalists. Still, English Christianity, like Spanish Christianity, provided a principal ideological justification for colonization and the conversion to Christianity of native peoples. For the Spanish and the English, their legal systems and cultural values did not easily tolerate cultural differences, and their respective brands of Christianity condemned anything outside the pale of European civilization.

A growing European population, meanwhile, encouraged a class of adventurers to seek their fortunes in colonial endeavors abroad with the hope of exploiting resources and subduing native populations into coerced laborers. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the population of England grew rapidly, placing terrific pressure on limited land resources. Now those who relied on farming, both rich and poor, were forced to look for a livelihood outside of agriculture. For the poorer English, the line between subsistence and disaster had grown thin indeed. These lower-class English composed the bulk of the servant classes. But even among the aristocracy and landed gentry, social pressures forced change. In order to protect large family estates from division into increasingly smaller portions, upper-class families adopted the practice of bequeathing their entire estates to the eldest son, leaving younger sons without an inheritance. Therefore, many young but landless men began to look to other opportunities, including colonial adventure, as avenues for advancement and fortune.

Thus the two types of societies that were about to meet in North Carolina were quite different. The English were aggressively monotheistic, that is, they believed in only one God; many Indians were pantheistic, meaning, they

believed in many gods and spirits that corresponded to animal and plant life, as well as to the forces of nature. The English exalted the individual and one's personal achievement; Indians emphasized a communal identity that put the group first. The English constructed a legal system designed to define and protect private property because they encouraged the acquisition of possessions and wealth. Indians held land in common; rather than individual ownership, all lands belonged to the tribe. The English provided for the inheritance of land through male heirs; according to some scholarly estimates, about half of Indian peoples were matrilineal, and in these instances individual identity and tribal membership followed the mother's family. "It often happens," wrote English colonist John Lawson, that "two Indians that have liv'd together, as Man and Wife, in which Time they have had several Children; if they part, and another Man possesses her, all the Children go along with the Mother, and none with the Father." Lawson noted that in relationships between white traders and Indians, their children always remained with their mother.[2]

Among those Indians with a matrilineal society, their social system ensured that women, especially by comparison with Englishwomen, enjoyed an elevated social status—family identity was linked to the mother. In some Indian societies, women even possessed special economic rights as the managers of agriculture: women were the mainstays of the agricultural system. Tuscarora oral traditions included a creation story in which the Great Chief expelled a pregnant woman who gave birth to twins, the Good Spirit and the Evil Spirit. Good and evil thus arose from women. Algonquians believed that humankind was the fruit of a sexual relationship between a woman and a god, while Sioux speakers believed that all humans originated from four women, Pash, Sepoy, Maraskin, and Askarin, who created four tribes. Many indigenous legends depicted women as originators of life, as connected to nature and its processes, as possessing special powers that made them as important as men, and as communicators between the natural and spirit worlds.

Some Indian women possessed power in their control of the gathering of food and, by the time the Europeans arrived, with their management of agriculture. Women probably led the way in the domestication of key food crops such as corn, squash, and beans, and they remained responsible for the gathering of nuts, berries, and wild vegetables, as well as of clams and oysters. Women supported the hunting activities of men by maintaining camps far away from their villages. The development of ceramic pottery, another area of female activity, was critical to the storage and preparation of food. Ceramics became a critical component of trade—and a way in which women participated in the intertribal economy. Native American women were thus part of a culture that valued communal sharing, that had little concept of the accumulation of private property, and in which women exerted, because of their roles in the economy and their status in a matrilineal society, significant power and agency. One indicator of their autonomy was Indian women's sexual freedom: premarital sex was

acceptable, and they were free to take as many partners as they wanted prior to marriage; after marriage, women could freely leave their spouses. Although Europeans like Lawson might "reckon them [Indian women] the greatest Libertines and most extravagant in their Embraces," he admitted that, "they retain[ed] and possess[ed] a Modesty that requires those Passions never to be divulged."[3]

In contrast, the English maintained a patrilineal society, with social identity following the identity of the father. Not only were children named according to their fathers, their wealth and status followed that of their father. Among English upper classes, the prevalence of primogeniture—the legal requirement that an entire estate would go to the eldest male heir—is one such example of the strongly patrilineal and patriarchal qualities of English society. To the English, Indians were simultaneously fascinating and confounding. English visitors often noted Indian women's power and independence in sexuality, courtship, and marriage, practices that they considered far outside the prescribed gender norm, even barbaric. Visitors cited nudity, scant clothing, and what they considered sexual promiscuity as examples of the Indians' savagery. This simultaneous attraction and repulsion toward Native American culture reflected the English belief that they had "discovered" and should rightfully possess—in order to "improve"—Indian lands. In time, these beliefs would also serve to justify, in Europeans' minds, the destruction of Native American civilization.

Diversity and Change among Native Americans

Evidence about pre-contact Indian life is scattered, limited to only a few descriptions penned by European visitors, archaeological fragments, and remnants of the Indians' oral tradition. The picture now emerging is one of conflict and competition among Indians and a variety of responses to the invading Europeans. Indians showed resiliency in adapting to the traumatic changes wrought by first contact and its aftermath. That those changes were traumatic is indisputable, the most important of which was the impact of disease: Native Americans possessed little or no immunity to common European diseases such as the common cold or measles, or more severe viruses such as typhus, influenza, and smallpox. These European diseases swept through Indian villages with epidemic force. Soon after first contact with Europeans, everywhere in the Americas, Indian groups typically experienced an extraordinarily high mortality rate. Indeed, so severe was the loss of life that scholars, without exaggeration, have described this as a holocaust for Indians. Smallpox was probably the deadliest killer: among populations with no previous exposure, the rate of mortality falls somewhere between 50 and 90 percent.

As elsewhere in the New World, North Carolina Indians suffered terrible losses as a result of epidemic disease. In the Carolinas, these diseases probably had their earliest effect after the arrival of the Spanish explorer Hernando

de Soto. After the arrival of the Spanish in Florida in 1513, de Soto was leading an expedition throughout the Southeast in search of gold and treasure. During the spring of 1540, he crossed into southwestern North Carolina, visiting the Indian town of Xuala, or Joara (near present-day Hickory); several decades later, in 1566–67 and 1567–68, another Spanish explorer, Juan Pardo, covered much of the same ground. Pardo explored the Catawba Valley and constructed Fort San Juan, near present-day Morganton, along with other forts in western North Carolina. Within a few years, these forts fell victim to Spanish negligence and Indian hostility. During the late 1500s and early 1600s, Spanish traders established contacts with Native Americans in North Carolina and elsewhere in the Southeast, selling horses, weapons, and other goods. They also influenced Indian agriculture, introducing peaches, sweet potatoes, and Irish potatoes, which became important parts of the Native American diet. Without question, Spanish explorers and traders also brought disease to the Native Americans. A chronicler of de Soto's expedition noted that Indians in the Carolina mountains were "very weak," and further contact with the Spanish led to outbreaks of epidemic disease. One missionary commented in the late 1600s that "the Indians die so easily that the bare look and smell of a Spaniard causes them to give up their ghost."[4]

Figure 1.4 Virginia, the Carolinas, and Florida, 1610. *Source: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill.*

The arrival of the English in North Carolina after the mid-1580s occurred *after* the widespread decimation of Indian society was well underway. Data are very scattered and unreliable, but according to one estimate, in 1600, North Carolina contained perhaps 50,000 Native American inhabitants. The Algonquian and Tuscarora numbered perhaps 30,000 in 1660, but within fifteen years these populations had declined by about a third. The advent of settlers into the Albemarle region occurred after about 1660. With Europeans came periodic epidemic outbreaks that further reduced Indian populations. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the total number of Indians living between the Virginia border and the Neuse River was only about 5,000. Although Sioux-speaking Indians and Cherokees remained geographically isolated from Europeans until the mid-1700s, both groups experienced sharp population losses because of disease. During the late 1600s, smallpox reduced the Cherokee population from roughly 30,000 to 15,000 people. Entire villages disappeared because of population losses. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catawbas, a Sioux-speaking group, survived by amalgamating other Indian groups on the verge of extinction. According to John Lawson, there was "not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlement, as there were fifty Years ago. … These poor Creatures have so many Enemies to destroy them, that it's a wonder one of them is left alive near us."[5]

The main form of contact between Indians and whites was trading. Indians exchanged furs, some food, and war captives sold as slaves; whites offered manufactured items, including tools, metal implements, clothes, and especially guns and ammunition. Over time, Indians came to depend on English goods, but by the 1680s, their exports were chiefly deerskins and beaver pelts, and slaves. Trade undermined the traditional economic bases of Indian society. Increased pressure to provide more and more skins and pelts to trade resulted in the decimation of North Carolina's populations of white-tail deer and beavers, animals upon which the Indians had long relied for food and clothing. The advent of muskets, much desired among Indians, greatly transformed the nature of warfare among Indians. Native Americans had long practiced warfare, with any captives won in battle considered a prize of war and often adopted in the captors' tribe. Continued trade with settlers, however, greatly encouraged warfare for the primary purpose of acquiring captives. European traders urged Indians to "make War amongst themselves," wrote one contemporary, "to get Slaves which they give for our European goods."[6] It is estimated that tens of thousands of captives were sold as slaves to whites, who either kept them in the colony or sold them to Caribbean planters. Native Americans competed furiously to dominate North Carolina's lucrative trade with the English, and the Indian slave trade encouraged wars among Indians who needed greater and greater numbers of captives in order to trade them for the European goods they wanted. Without war, wrote a Cherokee in the early 1700s, they would have "no way in get[t]ing of Slaves to buy am[m]unition and Clothing."[7]

The introduction of alcohol into Indian societies also wreaked havoc. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the abuse of alcohol among some Indian peoples became epidemic, with profound consequences. But even in the colonial period, the prevalence of rum accounted for widespread social disintegration among Indians, though scholars are uncertain precisely why this was so. To a certain extent, alcohol was incorporated into Native American ceremonies and became an expected part of cultural life. Still, the extent of alcohol consumption clearly went well beyond ritualistic use, as inebriated Indians hurt themselves and others. According to one observer, Indians engaged in "drunken Frolicks" in which they "murder one another, fall into the Fire, fall down Precipices, and break their Necks, with several other Misfortunes which this drinking of Rum brings upon them."[8]

The struggle between Euro-Americans and Indians continued for centuries. As colonists established the Carolina colony, Indians fought to preserve their cultural and political integrity, and they remained an important presence. Indian culture did not disappear with the arrival and settlement of Europeans, and native peoples adapted to the cataclysmic changes wrought by the newcomers. Over the ensuing centuries—and to this day—Indians continued to express a persistent presence in North Carolina life.

Early Attempts at English Colonization

As early as the 1570s, the Elizabethan English became fascinated with the prospect of building an overseas empire that would provide the basis of a new, "mercantilist" economic system that, ideally, would concentrate national wealth through the establishment of colonies. Promoters of this idea, such as two cousins, both named Richard Hakluyt (the "Elder" and the "Younger"), described the link between national greatness and colonial empire. The new empire would seek to convert heathen Indians to Protestant Christianity. At the same time, new colonies could become a safety valve for England's poor and for social distress at home. In developing an economic empire, England would achieve the national independence and military prowess necessary for world greatness. There would be other economic benefits of empire, mercantilists believed. In his *Discourse of Western Planting*, Richard Hakluyt the Younger claimed that North American colonies would send agricultural products such as lemons, rice, silk, sugar, and olive oil to England, products then only available from the Mediterranean. Although incorrect in their understanding of the North American climate—which could not sustain all of these crops—the Hakluyts articulated a mercantilist vision. They believed that by establishing colonies, a mercantilist empire would create a market for exported finished goods abroad and a source of cheap imported raw materials at home. Mercantilism seemed a formula for national greatness.

All of these factors figured into England's first foray into a permanent colonial settlement in North Carolina during the 1580s. Queen Elizabeth awarded Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent in 1578 to colonize North America, but his efforts failed, and in an attempt to cross the North Atlantic in 1583, he was lost at sea. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh (who was knighted in 1584), an adventurer and a court favorite, organized another attempt at an English settlement. Raleigh was keenly interested in privateering—a form of "legal" pirating in which the Crown empowered entrepreneur sea captains to attack enemy shipping—chiefly against Spain. The English wanted a forward base in the New World that could strike the shipping lanes from Central and South America and the Caribbean on which Spanish treasure ships, laden with silver and gold extracted from their American colonies, routinely traveled. Raleigh looked to Chesapeake Bay, part of a largely uncharted Eastern Seaboard, to establish his colony. Earlier, in 1526, the Spanish had settled at the mouth of the Cape Fear River; in the 1560s, the French established colonies in Florida and South Carolina; and, in 1570–71, Spanish Jesuits landed in the Chesapeake. But by the late 1570s, all of these attempts at settlement had failed: the Spanish drove away the French, while the Indians did the same to the Spanish.

Leaving England on April 21, 1584, Raleigh's first expedition followed the trade winds to the Caribbean and arrived at the Outer Banks on July 13, 1584. Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe commanded the expedition. Only 19 years old, Amadas was from Plymouth and was a member of Raleigh's household, as was Barlowe. They did not seek to create a permanent colony. Rather, their chief mission was to examine the area and to determine the best location for a new settlement. Remaining only a few weeks in the area, the Amadas-Barlowe mission brought back enthusiastic but exaggerated descriptions of conditions that became, not surprisingly, part of Raleigh's efforts in England at salesmanship. The area that they had "discovered" was "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world," wrote Barlowe, where the "earth bringeth forth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toil or labor."[9]

The Amadas-Barlowe mission became especially optimistic about the Native Americans whom they encountered when they visited coastal Carolina. The indigenous people never made "any shewe of feare or doubt," and they were "as mannerly and civil as any of Europe." The people were, Barlowe reported, "most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason."[10] Mostly likely, the coastal Algonquians considered the English invited guests who might become allies against Indian enemies and potential trading partners who might supply them with their impressive technology, advanced weaponry, and metal tools. In order to induce further support for their plans in England, Amadas and Barlowe returned with two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, who were paraded across England. Manteo, belonging to the ruling family of the Croatoans, likely taught expedition chronicler Thomas Hariot to speak Algonquian on the return voyage; Hariot likely taught him English, and Manteo spoke to audiences in

Figure 1.5 Sir Walter Raleigh, c. 1585. *Source: Portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh by Nicholas Hilliard, National Portrait Gallery, London.*

England about his homeland. Wanchese had a different experience. During his visit to England, he became convinced that the English threatened to undermine Indian society, and when he returned he abandoned contact with the colony.

The Amadas-Barlowe expedition recommended a site at Roanoke Island, apparently at the invitation of the Roanoke Indian leader Granganimeo, the

brother of a local chief. The expedition, and the publicity it generated, paid off, as Raleigh's efforts to establish a permanent colony attracted support. Queen Elizabeth herself expanded Raleigh's patent by providing him the right to appropriate ships and men, by supplying him a ship of the royal fleet, the *Tiger*, and by releasing one of her military men, Ralph Lane, to serve as military commander of the expedition. Perhaps fearing for his safety, however, Elizabeth prohibited Raleigh from traveling with the colonizing expedition.

On the heels of the Amadas-Barlowe reconnaissance, a full-fledged expedition departed from Plymouth on April 9, 1585, with five ships and two pinnaces (or small ships). Composed of some six hundred men, the expedition contained adventurers, military men, and some male relatives thereof, as well as political cronies of Raleigh. The expedition also included Manteo, who returned with this and a subsequent expedition as guide and interpreter. Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, an aristocratic landowner, officeholder from Cornwall, and former Member of Parliament, commanded the expedition. From the outset, however, the colony was ill-fated. A fundamental division became apparent from the beginning between Grenville and Ralph Lane. Part of the expedition's mission included privateering, which its backers saw as a likely source of profit. At Grenville's insistence the expedition sailed first to the West Indies, partly to rebuild a pinnace destroyed en route and partly to privateer. Delayed by Grenville's privateering, the expedition did not arrive at the Outer Banks until June 26, 1585, at Roanoke Island. They soon realized that this was an unfortunate location for a colony. Lacking access to a deep-water port, with shallow sounds immediately surrounding Roanoke with depths of only 5–9 feet, the larger vessels of Grenville's fleet, such as the fleet's flagship *Tiger*, could only anchor offshore in the dangerous Atlantic. Soon, rough waters forced the *Tiger* toward the dangerous coastline. In order to save the ship, the crew jettisoned food stores meant to sustain the colony. Concluding that the Roanoke site was unsuitable, Grenville then returned to England to attempt a relief expedition that would return sometime during the spring of 1586. Meanwhile, Ralph Lane and about one hundred men remained to construct a fort and an adjoining settlement on the northern end of Roanoke Island.

The remaining men at Roanoke became known as the Lane colony, and it was left to its own resources between the summer of 1585 and the spring of 1586. In order to explore the region, the Lane colony included scientific and artistic participation. John White, an artist who had traveled with the Amadas-Barlowe expedition, and Thomas Hariot, a scientist, were dispatched as part of the Lane colony with instructions to document the New World's natural life. Little is known about White, though his paintings of Indians at Roanoke Island have survived as one of the best records of early Native Americans. Hariot was a well-known mathematician who was a prominent member of Raleigh's household. On his return to England, Hariot published his *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), one of the earliest accounts of North America.