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# Turks, Moors, & Moriscos in Early America

*Sir Francis Drake's Liberated Galley Slaves & the Lost Colony of Roanoke*

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



This article is the first installment of a new Nawawi series on **Roots of Islam in America**. The series will attempt to bring to light the rich and still largely unexplored history of Muslims in the New World during the pre-modern period. The presence of Muslim peoples throughout the history of America attests to the fact that they have played a noteworthy role in the American experience. Our knowledge of this background helps transform the dominant historical account from an ideological “meta-historical narrative” to a more balanced record of our richly shared past. It fosters dynamic paradigms and cognitive frames of how we perceive our past, opens up new fields of research, and helps Muslims and non-Muslims in America today discover common elements that impart a richer definition of our communal identity based on a more honest and comprehensive vision of our shared past.

**F**act is sometimes stranger than fiction. One very unusual and little-known event took place at the dawn of American colonial history in 1586. That year, Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596), the famous English seaman, discoverer, and privateer,<sup>1</sup> brought at least two hundred Muslims (identified as Turks and Moors,<sup>2</sup> which likely included Moriscos<sup>3</sup>) to the newly established English colony of Roanoke on the coast of present-day North Carolina. The Roanoke settlement was England’s first American colony and constitutes the first chapter of English colonial history in the New World and what ultimately became the history of the United States. Only a short time before reaching Roanoke, Drake’s fleet of some thirty ships

had liberated these Muslims from Spanish colonial forces in the Caribbean. They had been condemned to hard labor as galley slaves<sup>4</sup>.

It is not clear what Drake intended to do with the liberated slaves. The Spanish feared he would conscript them as reinforcements in the Roanoke colony, which the Spanish knew of vaguely through intelligence reports but had not been able to locate and destroy. Historical records indicate that Drake had promised to return the liberated galley slaves to the Muslim world, and the English government did ultimately repatriate about one hundred of them to Ottoman realms.<sup>5</sup> Given that the original number of liberated galley slaves was reported to be over twice that count, it is reasonable to ask what happened to the others. Did they simply perish? Did they choose to remain behind on the shores of present-day North Carolina? Did Drake maroon them there against their will? Did he take them all back to England? Were they, in fact, all repatriated to the Muslim world? Since the Roanoke narrative is not complete without the unusual story of Drake's liberated Muslim galley slaves, the colony's history also marks the first known chapter of Muslim presence in British America and, later, the United States.

It so happened that the Roanoke colony failed after a few years, its brief existence lasting from 1585 to 1590. The colony was initially founded as a privateering base to attack Spanish shipping in the Caribbean and was part of a mounting sea war waged between England and the Spanish Empire, one that culminated in the Spanish Armada's unsuccessful attack on England in 1588. As a colony, Roanoke failed mainly because it was cut off from vital supplies from England between 1587 and 1590 (its crucial last three years), given the Armada's impending attack on England and the continued threat of a second Spanish naval attack on England for years afterwards. When the English finally did return to Roanoke in 1590, they found none of its former settlers. They saw no evidence of violence, but they did infer from signs the settlers had intentionally left behind that they had peacefully relocated and probably settled among the various Native American tribes in the region.<sup>6</sup> Because the fate of Roanoke's last settlers remains unknown, it is often referred to in American history as the "lost colony."<sup>7</sup>

Taken in isolation, the episode of Drake's liberated Muslim galley slaves at Roanoke seems to be just another one of history's many remarkable curiosities. To be properly understood, however, the entire event must be placed within the global context of the era, in which

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English-Muslim relations were generally favorable. This broader global reality explains why Drake took such interest in his liberated Muslim captives, commanded his crew to treat them hospitably, and apparently looked upon them as potential allies in England's struggle with Spain.

In general, the early presence of Muslims in the New World must be understood from a global perspective, as Hernán Taboada rightly notes in his study of Spanish preoccupations with Islam and Muslims in the Americas during the formative sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Taboada laments the inability of Western historians to grasp the central importance of global Islamic civilization in the early history of the American colonies, which he attributes to the fact that few scholars of American history have adequate exposure to Islamic history. In addition, he notes the lack of documentation, the deficiency of adequate historiographical methods, and the persistence of a myopic Eurocentric focus in Western historical writing, which have all contributed to the inability of historians to articulate their studies in a broader global context.<sup>9</sup>

The Spanish of the sixteenth century were not oblivious to the global link between Drake's liberation of the Muslim galley slaves in the Caribbean and England's ties with the Muslim world abroad. Interestingly, Spanish observers of the time appear more aware of the broader context of Drake's raids than many contemporary Western historians. An escaped Spanish seaman that Drake had held as prisoner was quick to observe in an official report to the Spanish crown on Drake's Caribbean raids that Queen Elizabeth I "had her ambassador with the Turk [the Ottoman sultan], to whom she had sent great gifts."<sup>10</sup> The same Spanish seaman contended that Drake himself had personal plans to take refuge among the Muslims of North Africa in the event that the anticipated attack of the Spanish Armada would be victorious.

It is not a coincidence that Spanish reports about Drake consistently refer to him and other European privateers who attacked Spanish shipping as "Corsairs" (the term for Muslim privateers).<sup>11</sup> At the time, the Corsairs of North Africa and Morocco were at the peak of their power. Drake, his close friend Sir Walter Raleigh, who was the moving force behind the Roanoke colony, and many other English privateers knew the Corsairs well; they had amicable relations with them and sometimes even joined their fleets.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary Spanish reports were not completely mistaken in their view that there was a certain affinity between English and European privateers and the formidable Corsairs, whom the Spanish continually battled on the high seas or encountered in privateering raids. In fact, the Corsairs were most probably one of the sources of the Turkish and Moorish prisoners that the Spanish had condemned to hard labor in their Caribbean war galleys.

Recent historical studies have brought to light the fact that there were significant numbers of Muslims in the New World during the colonial period, who lived a generally clandestine existence as slaves and occasionally free laborers. Most persons

of Muslim background in the American colonies belonged to one of two groups: enslaved Africans, generally from West Africa (about ten to twenty percent of which had Islamic roots), and the Moriscos of Spain and Portugal, who had been forcibly converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The two groups existed side-by-side in Spanish and Portuguese colonies; in the English colonies, however, persons of Moorish or Moriscan background were rare, and Africans constituted by far the larger and more visible of the two populations.

Drake's liberation of the Muslim galley slaves shows that these other Muslim peoples of diverse backgrounds were also present in the Spanish colonies and constituted an unexpected element of Muslim presence in colonial America. There were undoubtedly other war galleys in the Spanish colonial fleet like those that Drake encountered in Cartagena. Such ships were essential to Spanish naval power because they could maneuver more effectively in battle than sail-powered ships and made lethal use of the heavy artillery mounted upon them. Turks and North African Moors taken captive in war were likely to end up as galley slaves so it is not surprising that Drake chanced upon hundreds of them in the Caribbean, nor is it unlikely that there were many similar Muslim galley slaves in the Spanish colonies. But slavery in the galleys was also the common fate of thousands of Spanish and Portuguese Moriscos who were convicted of "heresy" (usually clandestine Islamic practices) before the tribunals of the Inquisition, and some of the "Moors" that Drake liberated were probably Moriscos (Iberian Moors) who had run afoul of the Inquisition.<sup>14</sup>

We have no *conclusive* evidence that any of Drake's liberated Turks, Moors, and possibly Moriscos remained behind at Roanoke and established roots in America. But the mysterious Melungeons of Appalachia and their cousins, the Lumbees of North Carolina, trace their roots to Roanoke and probably have the greatest claim to Drake's legacy. Both Melungeons and Lumbees antedate British settlement in America and make up unique populations that are distinctive from Whites, Blacks, and Native Americans. For centuries, Melungeons and Lumbees have proudly identified themselves as "Portuguese" and have been widely regarded to have Moorish roots.<sup>15</sup>

Our questions about what ultimately became of Drake's unusual assemblage of rescued "Turks," "Moors," and other liberated slaves remain largely unanswered and may likely persist as one of the unsolved mysteries surrounding the "lost colony" of Roanoke.<sup>16</sup> What is especially important about Drake's story is its global context, which not only accurately reflects the hospitable relations that existed between England and the Muslim world but also the ubiquitous presence of Islam as a world civilization. In addition, the episode draws our attention to the importance

of looking for unexpected Muslim roots in America, such as those of the liberated galley slaves, whose ethnic and cultural backgrounds were extremely diverse and wide ranging, reflecting the cosmopolitan reality of the time. We need to see the history of the Americas as an important piece of a larger global puzzle that involved not just Western Europeans but influxes of various peoples from diverse and sometimes unexpected backgrounds. Muslims have always been part of that puzzle. They have had a presence in the Americas as long as Western Europeans, even if their numbers were smaller and their roles less conspicuous.

### **Turks, Moors, and Moriscos**

Knowledge begins with correct usage of terminology. It is impossible to evaluate accurately the historical references to “Turks” and “Moors” in the records of Drake’s liberated galley slaves without clarifying what these terms meant in the sixteenth century. Both words had broad and narrow usages, so it is necessary to keep all possible meanings in mind. Most contemporary historians who have written on Drake’s liberated galley slaves have treated the word “Moor” too narrowly as exclusively referring to North African “Moors” without including “Moriscos,” the former Moors of Spain and Portugal. Failure to understand the broader implications of the word “Moors” has often rendered the historical narrative confusing and not truly reflective of the potentially very diverse origins of the groups involved.

In the sixteenth century, the terms “Turk” and “Moor” in their broadest sense were used as generic references to Muslims, regardless of national, cultural, or ethnic backgrounds. In the Iberian context, “Moor” was still the common generic word for Muslim, and that broad usage still applies to the Spanish records of Drake’s liberated galley slaves. Since the Middle Ages, Spanish legal codes had defined Muslims as “Moors.” In the legal code of King Alfonso X of Castile (1221-1284), “Moor” referred to “a sort of people who believe that Muḥammad was the prophet or messenger of God.”<sup>17</sup> For centuries during the European crusading movement, the conquered Muslim populations of formerly Moorish Spain and Portugal, who continued to live under Christian rule, were still regarded as Moors and lived in “Moorish quarters” (*morerias*).<sup>18</sup> When the Spanish colonized the Philippines in the sixteenth century, they referred to the large indigenous Muslim populations they encountered there as “Moors;” their protracted wars to subdue them were called the “Moro [Moor] wars.”<sup>19</sup>

The words “Turks” and “Moors” could also be used more narrowly to refer to various national and political affiliations or cultural and ethnic identities. When used in this more specific sense, the word “Turk” had an essentially national

connotation referring to the political subjects of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, whose boundaries at the time took in the entire Balkans, extending as far north as Austria, and embraced most of the Middle East. Even then, however, “Turk” did not exclusively refer to cultural or ethnic Turks but applied to other Muslim populations in the vast empire, including Arabs and Kurds, who were neither culturally nor ethnically Turkish.

As we will see, one of the curious aspects of the English records of Drake’s liberated galley slaves is that they also refer to “Greeks” among the “Turks.” These Greeks would also have come from the Ottoman Empire, which, at the time, comprised all the Greek islands and landed territories of mainland Greece and the large Greek-speaking populations of Anatolia; it is not possible to determine from the reference to “Greeks” if they were Orthodox Christians, Muslim converts, or Turkic populations that had settled among the ethnic Greeks. The reference to “Greeks” in conjunction with “Turks,” however, makes it clear that the “Turks” referred to in the records were Ottoman subjects and not merely a generic reference to Muslims, since the two populations were extensively intermixed in the Ottoman Empire.

Although there was no single sixteenth-century “Moorish” empire, there were a number of “Moorish” political entities; “Moor” in its narrower sense, unlike “Turk,” did not signify any given state affiliation. “Moor” might refer to the Muslims of the Kingdom of Morocco or any of the North African regencies of Algeria, Tunisia, or Libya. The word was equally applicable in the Iberian context to the Moriscos, the former Moors of Spain and Portugal.<sup>20</sup>

The Inquisition forced all conquered “Moorish” populations to convert to Catholicism during the first half of the sixteenth century; these populations gradually became known as “Moriscos” (literally, “little Moors”). Outwardly, Moriscos were Christian. They were given Spanish and Portuguese baptismal names, spoke the Romance languages of their respective regions, and were culturally and ethnically Iberian. Moriscos were kept under the Inquisition’s constant surveillance to ensure that they kept up Christian appearances and did not practice Islam openly or secretly. The “converted” Moors of Spain and Portugal, however, were rarely content with their forced conversion. Toward the close of the century in 1582, only a few years before the Roanoke project began, Philip II—then king of the united realms of Spain and Portugal—concluded that all efforts to disperse and assimilate the converted Muslims of Iberia had been a failure.<sup>21</sup>

The word “Moriscos” does not occur in any of the original historical records related to Drake’s liberation of the Caribbean galley slaves. At the time, “Morisco” was still a new word in Spanish and Portuguese usage and was only beginning to



be popularized. The neologism “Morisco” was originally pejorative. It gradually became common usage in Spanish and Portuguese and replaced earlier expressions such as “converts,” “new Christians,” and “converted Moors.”<sup>22</sup> “Morisco” became popular in northern Spain around 1550, but for many years after that date, Spanish Inquisitors in the same northern regions tended to refer to their formerly Iberian Muslim defendants as “convert Moors” and not as “Moriscos.”<sup>23</sup>

“Little Moors” (Moriscos) could also be referred to as “Moors.” Portuguese Moriscos preferred to be called “Moors” (*Mouros*),<sup>24</sup> and this was presumably the case with many Spanish Moriscos as well. The word “Moor” seems to have been especially applicable to Moriscos who were found guilty of the “heresy” of reversion to Islam, no doubt because the word “Moor” never lost its generic meaning as “Muslim.” In 1560, the Inquisition of Peru executed Lope de la Pena and his cohort Luis Solano for practicing and spreading Islam. Official records refer to the former as “the Moor” Lope de la Pena, although he was almost certainly a forcibly “converted” Moor (i.e., a Morisco), as his Christian name indicates, since Moriscos were given baptismal names.<sup>25</sup>

Although the word “Morisco” does not occur in the Spanish or English records of Drake’s liberation of the galley slaves, the word’s absence is no indication that at least some of the “Moors” he liberated were, in fact, “converted” Iberian Moors. It would be mistaken to expect the word “Morisco” to occur in these sixteenth-century records, since the word was not an official technical term and was still in the process of being popularized in the Spanish vernacular. The term “Moor” in these records could equally apply to “converted” Iberian Moors, especially since “heretical” Moriscos were frequently condemned to the galleys. In seeking to determine if any of Drake’s liberated “Moors” were actually “converted” Spanish or Portuguese “Moors,” it is necessary to focus on the descriptions given them in the historical records and the circumstances associated with them. Only then can the ambiguous label applied to them be more accurately understood.

Moriscos were frequently accused of “heresy” on suspicion of open or clandestine adherence to Islamic faith and practice. A mere slip of the tongue or neglect of Christian worship could lead to a Morisco being summoned before the tribunals. Inquisitors paid close attention to “signs” of heresy, such as facing Mecca in prayer or performing ritual ablution or washings.<sup>26</sup>

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“Heretical” Moriscos were generally condemned to death by burning at the stake; the Church euphemistically called these executions “acts of faith” (*autos de fé*). Among themselves, the Moriscos referred to the Inquisitors as “the Burners” (*al-Harrāqūn*); they warned their children not to reveal that they were Muslims because “there is an Inquisition, and they will burn you” (*porque había Inquisición y [te] quemarían*). Moriscos often looked upon the Church as an enemy armed with arsenals of torture, galleys, and fire. They knew well that the Inquisition would readily seize their property and take away their children at the slightest suspicion of heresy.<sup>27</sup> In rare cases, the Inquisition allowed Moriscos convicted of capital acts of “heresy” to exchange their death sentences for life in the galleys. Moriscos found guilty of lesser acts of “heresy,” which did not warrant death in their Inquisitors’ eyes, were also usually condemned to perpetual service as galley slaves.<sup>28</sup> The practice of circumcision, for example, was generally regarded as an act of lesser “heresy.” King Philip II ordered the Inquisition to sentence to the galleys without question anyone found guilty of performing circumcisions.<sup>29</sup>

Labor as a Spanish galley slave was difficult to survive; few probably lasted more than five years. A galley slave’s only hope of survival was to escape. When Spanish galleys were attacked at sea by the Turks or the Corsairs, the galley slaves often sought to free themselves from their chains and repeatedly rose up against their Spanish masters—as they did during Drake’s Caribbean raids—and sought their salvation among their rescuers.<sup>30</sup>

Moriscos were known for their deep and lasting emotional attachment to Islam and their inclination to express personal and cultural attachment to the faith whenever it was safe for them to do so.<sup>31</sup> Many African Muslims who were enslaved in America shared a similar outlook, as indicated by their biographies.<sup>32</sup> From the beginning of the colonial period, both Spain and the Catholic Church perceived Islam as a threat to the monolithic religious and cultural hegemony they intended to foist upon the New World. A Spanish royal decree pertaining to settlement of the New World declared in 1543: “In a new land like this, one where faith is only recently being sowed, it is necessary not to allow to spread there the sect of Muḥammad or any other.”<sup>33</sup>

Spanish imperial authorities sought to restrict emigration to the New World to “old” Catholics, excluding “new” converts of Morisco and Marrano (i.e., Jewish) backgrounds. To have ready access to the New World, one was technically required to prove oneself the child or grandchild of Christians who had never been in trouble with the Inquisition.<sup>34</sup> This policy was difficult to enforce upon Moriscos because they constituted the primary work force of Spain and were essential for much of the manufacturing, production, and building that the New World demanded.<sup>35</sup> The art



and architecture of the Spanish American colonies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is extensively Morisco in style and constitutes standing proof that Morisco builders were present in significant numbers and active in the New World, despite the official policies that were meant to exclude them.<sup>36</sup>

In the sixteenth century, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, who gave the Spanish Inquisition its definitive form and was called the “missionary to the Moors,”<sup>37</sup> complained that Islam was being openly practiced in the Americas, especially by Moriscos.<sup>38</sup> Official measures to eliminate the Moriscos from the Americas never seem to have been fully effective. With its vast expanses, mobility, opportunities, inexhaustible demand for labor, and greater social freedom, the New World was attractive to the oppressed populations of Spain and Portugal. Américo Castro, the noted cultural historian of Spain, contends that many Moriscos and Marranos sought out the New World as a place to find the freedom and peace they could no longer find at home.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Global Context: English-Muslim Relations in the Renaissance**

At the time of Roanoke’s founding, the attitudes of the English toward the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, Morocco, and North Africa contrasted sharply with those of the Spanish. In general, the English had become open to the Muslim world and had relatively frequent contact with it. Moreover, in the wake of the newly begun Protestant Reformation, English and other European Protestants looked upon the Ottoman Turks and the Muslims of Morocco and North Africa along Spain’s southern flank as valuable potential allies against the encroachments of the Spanish Empire, the Counter Reformation Papacy, and the Inquisition.

The English maintained extensive commercial, diplomatic, and social connections to the Ottoman Turks and the Moroccans of North Africa. Nabil Matar states in his pioneering work on this subject:

No other non-Christian people interacted more widely with Britons than the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the North African regencies of Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya, along with Morocco (which was not under Ottoman domination). These Muslims . . . represented the most widely visible non-Christian people on English soil in this period—more so than the Jews and the American Indians, the chief Others in British Renaissance history.<sup>40</sup>

Matar notes that during this period Turks and Moroccans, by the thousands, visited and traded in English and Welsh ports. Muslim ambassadors and emissaries dazzled London society with their charm, exotic foods, and Arabian horses.

Muslims and Englishmen ate at the same tables in London inns and together admired processions of elegant horse-drawn Ottoman carriages. British ships transported Muslims to the pilgrimage in Mecca and protected them from the depredations of pirates. Britons even fought in Muslim armies and joined the Corsairs.<sup>41</sup>

British settlement in the New World got off to a slow and difficult start. On the other hand, there had already been significant British settlement in the Muslim world during the same period. An English observer noted in 1577 that “the wise and better-minded” of English men and women were leaving England to live in other lands such as France, Germany, and North Africa.<sup>42</sup> Muslim societies were open to immigration from Christian lands. In the eyes of underprivileged Europeans, such Muslim societies were meritocracies when compared with the severe restrictions based on birth that confronted them in European societies, where it was difficult to advance beyond the class into which one was born.<sup>43</sup> Attraction to the Muslim world was not unique to the British; Western European émigrés living in Algiers during the early seventeenth century were numerous and influential. Even when heavier English migration to North America began in the late 1620s, Britons living in Moorish North Africa and elsewhere in the Muslim Mediterranean continued to outnumber their cousins in the American colonies for years.<sup>44</sup>

As noted earlier, an official Spanish deposition—taken in Havana after Drake’s Caribbean raids—notes that Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) “had her ambassador with the Turk, to whom she had sent great gifts.”<sup>45</sup> This report reflects the state of English-Muslim relations at the time of the founding of the Roanoke colony. Queen Elizabeth carefully cultivated diplomatic ties with both the Turkish and Moroccan rulers of the period and was the first English monarch “to cooperate openly with Muslims, and allow her subjects to trade and interact with them without being liable to prosecution for dealing with ‘infidels.’”<sup>46</sup>

Queen Elizabeth understood well the strategic and commercial advantages that good diplomatic relations with Muslim powers could bring, and she received their emissaries in London graciously. At times, the Queen even dressed in a Turkish wardrobe, which she had directed her ambassador in Istanbul to procure for her. Her father, King Henry VIII, had also, on occasion, worn “Oriental” attire to receive Muslim guests.<sup>47</sup>

Queen Elizabeth’s seemingly liberal attitude toward

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Muslims met with the approval of the Ottoman court, and England's initiative to repatriate the "Turks" whom Drake liberated in the Caribbean was consciously part of England's overall politics of rapprochement. The queen's Privy Council<sup>48</sup> was anxious to repatriate the Muslims in hopes that the act would benefit the English Levant Company, which was trading in Turkey. The council expected that its agents would gain "greater favor and liberties" with the Ottomans, possibly securing the release of certain Turkish-held English captives.<sup>49</sup> The English provided new clothing for Drake's liberated "Turks" so that they could be given a proper presentation to the Ottomans<sup>50</sup> and were confident that the rewards they were likely to reap from the Ottomans would more than repay all costs, including the transportation of Drake's "Turks" to Istanbul.<sup>51</sup> En route to Turkey, the English encountered a Muslim judge (*qāḍī*) from Palestine—then an Ottoman realm—who was amazed to hear the story of the freed Muslim prisoners and marveled greatly at both Queen Elizabeth's goodness in doing such an act and in her power as a woman to see it implemented.<sup>52</sup>

Some years later in 1594, Safiyya Baffo, an Ottoman princess and Venetian convert to Islam who had some influence over Turkish foreign policy, wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, whom she addressed as "chosen among those which triumph under the standard of Jesus Christ." Baffo told Elizabeth of the great hopes her wise policies and Protestant faith had aroused in Muslim hearts.<sup>53</sup>

Morocco was equally important in Queen Elizabeth's eyes; she fostered good ties with the Moroccans as assiduously as she did with the Turks. The Queen maintained an especially close relationship with Morocco's king, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī ("the Golden"),<sup>54</sup> who was an astute diplomat himself and had intimate knowledge of the Christian European world. The relationship appears to have approached sincere friendship.

Al-Manṣūr and Queen Elizabeth conducted an extensive correspondence, which lasted from at least 1580—two years after he mounted the throne—until their deaths, which both occurred in the year 1603.<sup>55</sup> He was in correspondence with the Queen at the time of the founding of the Roanoke colony and shared her desire to check Spanish power in the Caribbean. In 1603, al-Manṣūr made the extraordinary proposal that Morocco and England combine forces, expel the Spaniards from the Caribbean, take joint possession of the Spanish dominions in the New World, and "by the help of God...join it to our estate and yours." Al-Manṣūr's proposal was never implemented.<sup>56</sup> It does reflect, however, the frankness and sense of political potential that marked English-Moroccan relations at the time. This dynamic vision of cooperation is reflected in Drake's attitude toward the Muslim galley slaves he liberated en route to Roanoke.

Good relations with Morocco were critical for English shipping to the Americas during the early colonial period. A “Renaissance triangle” ran between England, Morocco, and the Americas. Preservation of the so-called triangle was crucial to English-Muslim relations in the days of Queen Elizabeth, because the success of British navigation of the western Atlantic depended upon it. Under other circumstances, the British would have used the Canary and Cape Verde Islands to cross the Atlantic, but those islands were inhospitable because they were under Spanish and Portuguese control respectively. In place of these islands, the British forged the Renaissance triangle with Morocco, which remained in use during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and subsequent English monarchs. During the time of Roanoke’s founding and for years afterward, the triangle continued to be the most attractive and lucrative sea-lane available for British traders, travelers, emigrants, adventurers, privateers, and pirates. Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh knew the Renaissance triangle well and made use of it.<sup>57</sup>

### **The Roanoke Colony**

The Roanoke colony belongs, of course, to the time of the Renaissance triangle, the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), and the age of the great English poet and playwright William Shakespeare (1564-1616). Shakespeare’s masterpiece *The Tempest*, although written several years after Roanoke’s failure, reflected the contemporary English fascination with the New World across the Atlantic, which had made the idea of the Roanoke colony appealing to the English and continued to lure them to new explorations and discoveries.

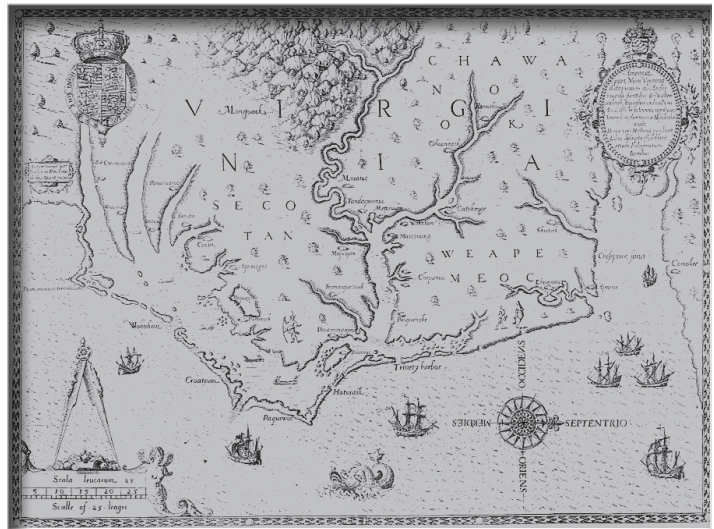
Queen Elizabeth commissioned Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), the English courtier, soldier, and explorer, to found the colony, giving the project her full support. For the Queen, Roanoke constituted a bold and carefully determined political move. By establishing an English foothold on America’s Atlantic coast, she intended to assert England’s growing power as an emerging nation and its will to directly challenge Spain’s claim to exclusive rights to colonize the New World.<sup>58</sup>

In 1580, five years before the first settlement in Roanoke, Philip II, emperor of Spain, took power over the Portuguese throne, uniting Spain and Portugal as a single kingdom. Spain would continue to rule Portugal for the next sixty years. Thus, during the period of the Roanoke colony and for a long time afterward, Portugal belonged to the kingdom of Spain, giving Spain the claim to unique and exclusive rights to colonize all parts of the Americas, including Portuguese Brazil. Spain employed its extensive naval and military might to ensure that no European rivals established competing colonies in the New World. The “Invincible” Spanish

Armada of 1588 was an expression of the awesome power of the united Spanish Empire, and the Spanish outpost at St. Augustine in Florida was established with the express purpose of policing the North American coastline and preventing the establishment there of “illegal” non-Spanish colonies.<sup>59</sup>

After its union with Portugal, Spain had come to appear in European eyes as the new Rome. It was now at the height of its wealth and power as one of the greatest global powers in history, stretching from the Philippine Islands in the western Pacific to the American continents in the distant Atlantic. It was an empire so vast that the sun never set upon it. Spain was the champion of Roman Catholicism and the Counter Reformation. It was also the primary upholder and political beneficiary of the Inquisition, which served the Spanish state as a powerful organization of central and domestic intelligence, fostered ideological and cultural hegemony, and buttressed Spain’s political unity and foreign policy. Spain’s power on land and sea did not constitute a political threat to England and Western Europe alone but stood in direct ideological opposition to the Protestant Reformation, which had begun in the early sixteenth century and provided nations like England with the religious and ideological underpinnings of their newly emergent states.<sup>60</sup>

Around the time of the foundation of the Roanoke colony, united Spain and Portugal constituted the most powerful nation of Western Europe. Even before their union in 1580, Spain and Portugal had prevailed as masters of the Western Atlantic Ocean and had claimed and enforced their exclusive right to colonize the Americas, which the Pope had officially endorsed in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. In the treaty, the Pope granted Portugal the unique right to colonize Brazil, while all other lands falling west of Brazil (namely, the remainder of what is now North, South, and Central America and the Caribbean) were to be a permanent monopoly of the crown of Spain. When the Roanoke colony was founded, the Spanish regarded the new English colony as a direct legal and political encroachment on their exclusive colonial domain.



*Early Colonial Virginia including Roanoke and present-day North Carolina.*

By enforcing its unique right to colonize the Americas, the Spanish Empire was determined to extend its political power and keep the New World an exclusive domain for itself and the Roman Catholic Church. In addition to this ideological agenda, however, Spain was fundamentally concerned with protecting its wealthy fleets of treasure ships, laden with silver, gold, and other riches, which regularly made their way out of the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea through the treacherous narrows of the Bahaman Channel on their way back to Spain. The treasures of these ships lured pirates and privateers from near and far and were constantly in danger of attack.

Spain rightfully feared that any non-Spanish colony established on North America's Atlantic coastline would serve as a privateering base to attack Spanish shipping. This was, in fact, the basic purpose of the Roanoke colony.<sup>61</sup> When Spain learned of the Roanoke project, its primary motive for seeking to locate and destroy the colony was to prevent it from becoming a privateering base for the English. Due to the unusual turn of historical circumstances, however, the Roanoke colony disbanded on its own accord before the Spanish could discover its location.<sup>62</sup>

Around the time of Roanoke's founding, Queen Elizabeth was constantly sending forth swarms of English privateers to attack the Spanish treasure fleets.<sup>63</sup> This epoch was the great period of the English privateers, who were involved in an undeclared naval war with Spain. On the average, England would send over a hundred privateering ships a year to attack the Spanish Caribbean trade. Their activity was a major reason for the formation of the Spanish Armada. Yet, despite Spanish attempts to stop them, the English privateers remained highly successful; Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Drake were key figures in these successful privateering ventures and among their greatest financial beneficiaries.<sup>64</sup>

Despite their success in attacking Spanish shipping, English privateers were greatly impeded by their lack of ports on the American side of the Atlantic. They clearly understood that their privateering operations would be much more effective if based in America. Having a base at Roanoke, not too distant from the Spanish fleets, would mean that English privateers could spend a full year or longer in the Caribbean, coming to Roanoke when necessary for supplies and repairs and then returning to sea to attack Spanish ships whenever the opportunity arose.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the Plymouth Rock colony, which the *Mayflower* Pilgrims settled in 1620, Roanoke was predatory from the outset; attacking the Spanish treasure ships of the Caribbean was its lifeline and reason for being.

Sir Walter Raleigh was the driving force behind the Roanoke project, which began in 1584 with a reconnaissance mission and continued until 1590, when the English made their last contact with the colony and found no trace of its settlers.<sup>66</sup>



Like Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh was driven by the dream of asserting English power and forging an empire, which they hoped would ultimately surpass Spain. For Raleigh, establishing the colony of Roanoke was the first step toward the creation of that empire.

Founding the Roanoke colony was an expensive proposition. Raleigh justified the expenditure to his investors by the immediate returns they would gain from Roanoke as a privateering base in addition to whatever mineral wealth they might chance upon in the area. Though some English contemporaries disapproved of privateering, it was widely regarded as legitimate in Raleigh's time; English investors were quick to see the lucrative potential of the Roanoke colony as a base for attacking the Spanish treasure fleets of the Caribbean.<sup>67</sup>

The first stage of colonization at Roanoke began in 1585 but lasted only a year. The initial process was temporarily disrupted in 1586, when most of the original colonists returned to England with Drake's privateering fleet, the same fleet that had brought the liberated Muslim galley slaves. As indicated earlier, many of the slaves proceeded with Drake to England and did not stay behind at Roanoke. It is not clear, however, what happened to the remainder.

Prior to Drake's visit in 1586, there had been about one hundred and seven colonists in Roanoke from its first settlement of 1585. They had been brought to Roanoke in a fleet of seven ships designed for privateering. The fleet had included about six hundred men, about half of whom were sailors and whose numbers were so large because privateering was their primary mission.<sup>68</sup> The first colonists were largely veterans of England's Irish and European wars; they were well trained for privateering missions and for defending the settlement against possible Spanish attacks, but they were poorly suited for building a permanent society or maintaining good relations with the local Native Americans, both of which were crucial for their long-term survival and success.<sup>69</sup>

When Sir Francis Drake arrived at the Roanoke Colony with his liberated galley slaves and a number of Black domestic slaves in the summer of 1586, he offered the original settlers two choices: he would either leave them with a month of supplies, a smaller ship, and some boats with a sufficient number of pilots and seamen, or he would take them home with him to England. At first, the colonists chose to stay, but they were suddenly hit by a violent three-day storm, which wrecked the ship Drake had promised the colonists and wreaked havoc on Drake's fleet. After the storm, the original colonists reconsidered their options and decided in favor of returning to England. Drake made them a new offer of provisions and a different ship, if they chose to stay behind; he emphasized that the wreckage his fleet had suffered in the storm left only limited space to accommodate the Roanoke

settlers for their return to England. Nevertheless, the first colonists chose to abandon Roanoke and return with Drake to England.<sup>70</sup>

Ironically, on the same day Drake set sail from Roanoke to return the colonists, a supply ship, which Sir Walter Raleigh had sent, arrived at Roanoke with relief. The supply ship had failed to sight Drake's fleet, so when it arrived at Roanoke, its crew found the colony deserted and returned to England. In mid-August of the same year, another English ship arrived with further supplies for the colony but learned from a local Native American that Drake had taken the original settlers and returned with them to England; this last ship left a small group of fifteen to eighteen men on Roanoke with two years provisions and sailed away.

In 1587, a second attempt was made to colonize Roanoke, but its success was hampered by the imminent attack of the Spanish Armada upon England, unsuccessfully launched in 1588. This second and final attempt at settlement in 1587 consisted of about one hundred and fifteen men and a number of families, unmarried women, and children, who sought to establish a plantation colony on a self-supporting basis.<sup>71</sup> Historically, the settlers of this second group are known as the "lost colonists" of Roanoke, not the original settlers who came during the period of 1585 through 1586. It was during this second period of settlement that the birth of Virginia Dare took place, the first English child born in America.<sup>72</sup> Other Roanoke colonists remain unaccounted for, including many of Drake's liberated slaves, as well as the small garrison the second supply ship had left behind in the late summer of 1586.



*Portrait of Sir Francis Drake by Jodocus Hondius.*

For some time prior to the Armada's attack, England placed an embargo on ships going to the New World to ensure that the English forces at home had maximum strength to withstand the expected Spanish attack. Because of this embargo, Roanoke's connection with England was cut off from 1587 until 1590.<sup>73</sup>

Although the second settlement of Roanoke in 1587 was intended to transform the colony into a self-supporting agricultural community, that goal remained secondary and was kept in the background, while the privateering agenda remained the colony's primary goal. As such, the implementation of the agrarian plan was frustrated at every turn. The second group of settlers preferred overwhelmingly to relocate

further north to the Chesapeake Bay, which was more suitable for an agrarian colony. But the ship captains and seamen, who made up the majority at Roanoke, were, again, preoccupied with privateering and overruled the possibility of moving to the Chesapeake Bay, which was less suitable for privateering. They also noted that with the hurricane season soon approaching, the best weather for attacking Spanish ships had almost come to an end, and there was no longer adequate time to establish a new colony further north.<sup>74</sup>

Roanoke's governor, John White, who was also Virginia Dare's grandfather, was sent to England in 1587 on a desperate mission to secure supplies. He finally obtained special permission in 1588 to return to Roanoke with supplies in two smaller ships. White loathed privateering and regarded it as a type of "thieving." Much to his distress, the two captains commissioned to bring him back to Roanoke were privateers and could not be swayed from attempts to engage in privateering en route to Roanoke. Their raids proved disastrous: all supplies were lost, and the two ships were forced to return to England empty handed, which made it impossible for White to reach Roanoke and bring the needed supplies.<sup>75</sup>

Two years later in 1590, White was finally able to make the voyage to Roanoke, only to learn after arrival that the colony had disappeared. None of the original colonists, including his granddaughter, Virginia Dare, were ever found. But the colonists had left the word "CROATAN" carved on a post near the entrance to the fort, which was understood by previous agreement to mean that they had peacefully joined the Croatan (Hatteras) tribe of Native Americans on North Carolina's Outer Banks.<sup>76</sup> Rumors of a large English presence in North America continued to circulate in Europe after the loss of the Roanoke colony.<sup>77</sup> But after the initial failure at Roanoke, England lost active interest in American settlements for another twenty years.<sup>78</sup>

### **Looking Back at Drake's Raids en Route to Roanoke**

Queen Elizabeth I had commissioned Sir Francis Drake, who was closely associated with Sir Walter Raleigh and the Roanoke project, to strike the Spanish Empire and its American settlements as part of a general strategy toward opening a sea war with Spain and challenging its hegemony. Drake set out on his raiding expedition in 1585, which constituted a major challenge to Spanish power, while providing Spain with a rationale for sending the Armada to attack England three years later.<sup>79</sup>

Drake set out from England with a fleet of about thirty ships and a combined

force of nearly one thousand men. His intention was to raid a number of Spanish ports and colonies prior to making his rendezvous at Roanoke.<sup>80</sup> Through their agents in London, Spanish authorities knew in advance that Drake was preparing a large fleet in England, which would be used against them. Official Spanish reports estimated the size of Drake's fleet at twenty-four large ships in addition to a number of smaller crafts and as many as two thousand seamen.<sup>81</sup> Although the number of Drake's men was actually half that estimate, his forces were still approximately ten times the size of a typically large privateering party of the time. The fleet also outnumbered by as much as two to five times the Spanish militias that were posted in the major Spanish ports of the Caribbean. Drake's supremacy in numbers explains in part how he was able to defeat the Spanish with relative ease and spend several weeks in residence at the ports of Santo Domingo and Cartagena (Colombia) after taking them.<sup>82</sup>

Drake began his expedition by attacking the northwestern coast of Spain. He then proceeded southward along the African coast to raid the Cape Verde Islands. The islands had long been under Portuguese control but were now united under Spanish rule. The Cape Verde Islands gave Drake direct access to the powerful equatorial current, which facilitated the fleet's crossing of the Atlantic to the Americas. Drake arrived at Santo Domingo in the present-day Dominican Republic. After sacking Santo Domingo and spending several weeks there, he proceeded to the port of Cartagena on the "Spanish Main" in present-day Colombia. He destroyed the city and encamped there for several weeks before sailing on.<sup>83</sup>

Drake intended to attack Havana, which was the vital link in the Spanish colonial system in the Caribbean. Conquest of Havana would have redounded greatly to Drake's credit and been a major blow to Spain. But he was advised against the attack and decided to avoid the city. One of Drake's Spanish captives reported that he had learned that Havana was too well protected (the city had advanced knowledge of Drake's fleet and his previous attacks on Santo Domingo and Cartagena); Drake feared that attacking Havana would lead to unacceptable losses. He was also apprehensive that he could not hold the port for any significant time even if he were initially victorious.<sup>84</sup>

Drake bypassed Havana and made his way northward along the Florida coast to St. Augustine, Spain's principal Atlantic outpost for patrolling America's northern coasts against technically illegal (non-Spanish) settlements. He razed St. Augustine and then proceeded northward along the Atlantic coast to Roanoke, which he reached in July 1586.<sup>85</sup> After his return to England, Drake claimed that he had destroyed St. Augustine to protect Roanoke, since the Spanish would have used the base in St. Augustine to disrupt the English colony.<sup>86</sup>

### Drake and the Liberated Slaves

Drake began collecting liberated Black slaves in his raid on the Cape Verde Islands before crossing the Atlantic. He continued to take more liberated slaves on board once he arrived in the Caribbean.<sup>87</sup> Spanish colonial authorities took careful note of Drake's raids and his interest in taking on board large numbers of captives and surmised that there must be an illegal English settlement somewhere along the North American Atlantic coast, which they believed Drake hoped to reinforce with the captives.

The Muslim galley slaves were acquired in Drake's raid on Cartagena, although one Spanish report states that he also carried off "Moors" from Santo Domingo.<sup>88</sup> English records make reference to two or three "Moors" who assisted Drake as guides in his surprise attack on Santo Domingo. In any case, whatever "Moors" Drake may have taken on board his fleet at Santo Domingo, they should not be confused with the much more numerous galley slaves of Cartagena.

Both Spanish and English records give similar accounts of how the galley slaves of Cartagena made their escape from Spanish captivity. A barrel of gunpowder caught fire in one of the war galleys; in the chaos that ensued after its explosion, the slaves were released or escaped from the irons that were holding them in their rowing positions, and they escaped by swimming to the English ships.<sup>89</sup> In describing the pandemonium that broke out in the galleys, the journal of one of Drake's ships states that fighting broke out between the Spaniards and the galley slaves; the Spanish killed many of them, took others with them ashore, while still others broke free and swam to the English boats.<sup>90</sup> All accounts indicate that the galley slaves willingly joined Drake's fleet and served him in various unspecified capacities.<sup>91</sup>

Spanish records consistently speak generically of the galley slaves as "Moors" and give no more specific indication of their national affiliations or cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The English records are less generic and speak of the galley slaves as an assemblage of "Turks, Moors, Greeks, Frenchmen,<sup>92</sup> and Negroes."<sup>93</sup>

The number of the galley slaves was great, although reports vary widely. A Spanish report from Cartagena estimates the numbers of Drake's liberated "Moors" to have been around two hundred. It notes that Drake welcomed them, treated them well, and promised to return them to their lands, claiming that he planned ultimately to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar.<sup>94</sup> An English ship journal from Drake's fleet speaks of only one "very fair galley," from which the slaves escaped, and estimates their number at four hundred. Yet another entry from the same journal states that when Drake left Cartagena he took with him "some two hundred Turks and Moors" in addition to a large number of "Negroes."<sup>95</sup> Another entry from the same ship journal gives a considerably smaller number, stating that eighty

slaves were taken, whom it designates as Turks, Frenchmen, Greeks, and Negroes.<sup>96</sup> This particular reference to “80” slaves (written out as such in Arabic numerals) may well be a mistake—as one historian suggests—for “800,” since the same journal clearly states elsewhere that the numbers were in the hundreds.<sup>97</sup> A private merchant’s report that reached England a short time after Drake’s raids appears to exaggerate the numbers of persons Drake liberated; it states that Drake took away with him from Cartagena one thousand two hundred Englishmen, Frenchmen, Flemings, and “Provincials,” whom he had liberated from prison, in addition to eight hundred “country people.”<sup>98</sup>

The “Turks” referred to in the English records of Drake’s raid on Cartagena were subjects of the Ottoman Empire. After Drake’s return to England, as noted earlier, the Queen’s Privy Council wrote in August 1586 to the Levant Company, which was trading in Turkey; the communication directed them to take charge of the one hundred Turks and make plans for sending them back to Turkey, possibly in exchange for favors to be granted by the sultan.<sup>99</sup> The reference to “Greeks” also affirms that the “Turks” in the English records were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, since the two ethnic groups were closely interlinked in Ottoman realms. Greeks—Muslim and Christian alike—played a prominent role in the Ottoman Empire, and one would expect in any significant assemblage of Ottomans to find Greeks. The famous sixteenth-century Corsairs, Khidr Khayr al-Din Barbarosa (1483-1546) and his older brother, Baba Aruj (1473-1518), were from the Greek island of Lesbos. One of Drake’s “Turks,” who is identified as Chinano, also came from the Greek islands.<sup>100</sup>

As indicated earlier, the descriptions of the “Moors” in these records appear at times to refer to “converted” Iberian Moors (Moriscos) and not to North African Moors. It would be natural to expect to find Moriscos among Drake’s liberated galley slaves, because they made up a substantial portion of Spanish galley slaves in general. The Spanish governor at Cartagena speaks, for example, in an official deposition to the Spanish crown of certain soldiers in Cartagena, “especially Moors,” who deserted the Spanish and joined Drake’s forces.<sup>101</sup> This report has perplexed Western historians; one historian comments, for example, that it was “unlikely that the Spaniards had soldiers who were Moors.”<sup>102</sup> It seems even more unlikely that the governor at Cartagena would so carelessly misspeak on this matter in an official legal deposition to the king of Spain. The governor’s reference to “Moors” is less problematic, if the word “Moor” is taken to refer to “converted” Iberian “Moors” (Moriscos), who might have been among the regular ranks of the governor’s troops.

Another Spanish deposition on Drake’s raid at Cartagena states that “most



of the [galley] slaves and *many of the convicts* from the galleys went off with the English.”<sup>103</sup> Although all galley slaves were technically “convicts” in that they had been condemned to the galleys, this reference to “convicts” among the slaves raises the question again of whether at least some of these “convicts” were not Moriscos. As indicated earlier, Moriscos were customarily sent to the galleys as convicts of “heresy” at the hands of the Inquisition and made up a sizeable proportion of Spanish galley slaves.

Although some Muslims who came or were brought to the Americas had strong personal ties to Islam and attempted to practice it and preach it whenever the opportunity arose, many others were “sociological” Muslims or persons with only some historical connection to Islam but lacking any significant knowledge of the faith or personal commitment to its practice.<sup>104</sup> According to one Spanish account of the galley slave Moors, they appear as “sociological” Muslims of this vein. The deposition in question, which was written by a private citizen wishing to volunteer beneficial information to the crown, describes Drake’s successful raid on Cartagena as “Heaven’s punishment on our sins.” It explains that the sins of the city’s people had increased greatly with the arrival of the galleys, their officers, and crews. The deposition accuses them of murders, robberies, and other insolences. It specifically mentions “unrighteous” associations between the Moors of the galleys and women of Cartagena, slaves, Native Americans, and “even other women of other sort, moved by desire which overmasters every other consideration.” He complains that the governor of Cartagena failed to punish the “Moors” for this insolence “because of the great friendship between the governor and the general who was commanding the galleys.”<sup>105</sup>

It is difficult to determine the meaning and veracity of this reference to “unrighteous” mixing between the Moors and local Colombian women. It hardly establishes the identity of the “Moors” as Moriscos. At the same time, Moriscos were outwardly identical to the Spanish, and this fact would have facilitated their mixing with local women, since they shared the Spanish language and similar cultural backgrounds.

As noted before, an English ship journal reports on Drake’s raid on Santo Domingo that “two or three Moors” served him as guides when most of his captains and seven hundred of his men went ashore in an attempted surprise attack on the city.<sup>106</sup> These “Moors” had first-hand knowledge of the Spanish colony and its people. Conceivably, North African or Moroccan Moors might have acquired such knowledge under liberal conditions of treatment, but “converted” Iberian Moors, who, for all intents and purposes, were identical to their Spanish countrymen would have had ready access to such knowledge.<sup>107</sup>

The assemblage of liberated slaves whom Drake took on board his fleet in the Caribbean also consisted of a large number of Black slaves, whose numbers appear comparable in size to those of the Turks and Moors. As indicated earlier, Drake began collecting “liberated” Black slaves in his raid on the Cape Verde Islands and he continued to increase their numbers in all subsequent raids. According to the report of an escaped Spanish prisoner, Drake had one hundred and fifty Black slaves, both men and women, on board his fleet after leaving Santo Domingo and prior to his attack on Cartagena;<sup>108</sup> many additional Black slaves joined Drake after his attack on that port.<sup>109</sup> Several slave masters from Cartagena came to Drake, attempting to ransom their Black slaves, but he refused to return them to their masters for ransom unless the slaves themselves were willing to go back.<sup>110</sup> Drake took on an additional number of Black slaves at St. Augustine. Three other Black slaves at St. Augustine hid from Drake and subsequently reported to the town governor that Drake had taken the Black slaves because: “He meant to leave all the negroes he had in a fort and settlement established at Jacan [Roanoke] by the English who went there a year ago. He intended to leave the 250 blacks and all his small craft there and cross to England with only the larger vessels.”<sup>111</sup>

A solitary Spanish report of a private citizen from Cartagena contends that three hundred Native Americans, mostly women, joined Drake’s fleet in that city in addition to the “Turks,” “Moors,” and Black slaves.<sup>112</sup> This report is not confirmed by any other Spanish or English account. Since there is no further reference to liberated Native American captives at Roanoke, it may have been only hearsay with no historical substance. One historian suggests, however, that if Drake did in fact take the Native American women on board, it was only temporary, and he probably put them ashore further up the coast.<sup>113</sup>

We are unlikely to ever know for certain the full story of all the hundreds of liberated Muslim galley slaves and Black domestic slaves Sir Francis Drake brought in his fleet when he came to Roanoke in 1586. Because Roanoke was established as a privateering colony under constant danger of Spanish attack, early records about it were kept intentionally vague to preserve secrecy. When Drake sailed for the colony in 1586, he was not sure exactly where to find it because the reports he had been given were kept intentionally vague unless they fell into Spanish hands.<sup>114</sup>

Secrecy surrounding Roanoke partially explains the gaps in our historical records about it. Beyond considerations of secrecy, however, the Roanoke reports that we do have are characteristic examples of the inherent limitations of historical records. The exasperating nature of these reports must always be kept in mind in assessing the ultimate fate of Drake’s liberated captives.

As opposed to the careful narratives of professional historians, the historical

records they are forced to rely on are generally haphazard, fortuitous, and written by unobservant, often poorly educated people, who take much for granted and fail to note vital facts. Record keepers do not make records for the sake of posterity but for personal, public, and often very mundane reasons. The sole French account of Drake's liberated galley slaves, for example, was strictly concerned with French interests. It recorded the number of French prisoners Drake liberated but made only a most passing reference to the hundreds of other liberated slaves. It gave no indication of their numbers or identity, which were apparently of little concern to the French recorder.<sup>115</sup> When historical records do note unusual facts, however, such as the presence of large numbers of Turks and Moors among the liberated galley slaves, those facts carry special weight. On the other hand, when the same records fail to keep track of these Muslims and do not fully inform us of their final destinies, we should not regard that gap as surprising or contradictory. It merely reflects the fact that their plight was neither a fundamental concern of the record keepers nor something that they necessarily had any knowledge of.<sup>116</sup>

### **What Became of Drake's Liberated "Turks," "Moors," and Black Slaves?**

English and Spanish records concur that Drake welcomed all the liberated slaves on his fleet and commanded his crew to treat them well.<sup>117</sup> An escaped Spanish captive complained that Drake treated all nationalities well except for Spaniards.<sup>118</sup> Like his colleague Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake intended to use Roanoke as a privateering base to raid the Caribbean.<sup>119</sup> Historians generally agree that Drake's purpose in collecting his large assemblage of liberated slaves was to use them as reinforcements at Roanoke with the exception of those Muslims whom he intended to repatriate.<sup>120</sup> English records speak only of the repatriation of one hundred "Turks." Although the English records consistently distinguish between "Turkish" and "Moorish" galley slaves, no mention is made of repatriating any of the "Moors." Likewise, there are no reports of what became of the hundreds of Black slaves whom Drake had taken on board or of the reported contingent of Native American women.<sup>121</sup> Only a relatively small number of the entire group is actually known to have come with his fleet to England.<sup>122</sup>

As mentioned, a Spanish report taken from St. Augustine on the authority of Black slaves who had hidden and remained behind indicated that Drake had intended to take his liberated captives to Roanoke after his attack on St. Augustine to reinforce the English colony.<sup>123</sup> Another important Spanish report to the crown expressed concern over Drake's collection of the liberated slaves, believing that

he had taken them on board to help establish a presumed English colony on the Atlantic seaboard, which the Spanish had still failed to locate but suspected to be in Santa Maria Bay (the Chesapeake Bay).<sup>124</sup> Spanish reports indicate that the liberated slaves performed valuable services for Drake. It should also be noted that, according to one of the English ship journals, Drake lost as many as one hundred of his own crew to disease in Cartagena.<sup>125</sup> Thus, the liberated slaves may have also compensated for Drake's loss of crew, assuming that they did not themselves fall victim to the same diseases.

With the exception of ten liberated French captives who were turned over to a French ship in the Caribbean, the liberated galley slaves, the Black slaves, and anyone else who might have been in Drake's assemblage were still with his fleet when it left St. Augustine in ruins in May 1586 and made its way to Roanoke.<sup>126</sup> If Drake did leave any of his remarkable assemblage behind, they left no trace at Roanoke itself. As noted, two separate English supply ships came to Roanoke shortly after Drake's departure in 1586;<sup>127</sup> none of these ships reported finding anyone alive at the settlement. One uncorroborated Spanish intelligence report alleged that the first English relief ship found the hanged bodies of an Englishman and a Native American. The fate of all the others is one of the many remaining mysteries surrounding the entire Roanoke enterprise.

As indicated earlier, the first supply ship landed only hours after Drake's fleet had left; the second came later that summer and left behind a small garrison of fifteen to eighteen men whose fate also remains unknown.<sup>128</sup> None of these ships reported finding remnants of Drake's fleet at Roanoke.

It seems unlikely that any persons Drake might have left behind at Roanoke could have disappeared so quickly without leaving a trace or could have been able to assimilate so rapidly with local Native Americans. It is possible, however, that any persons Drake left behind might have hidden from the ships, possibly because they did not know their country of origin and judged it wise to keep out of sight during the short time the relief vessels were there, as it was often the custom of Native Americans to do when foreign ships arrived at their shores. It is also possible that Drake did not leave his liberated captives at Roanoke but somewhere else along the coast in the colony's vicinity.<sup>129</sup>

Some of the first settlers and liberated captives,

English records speak clearly of official negotiations to send one hundred former galley slaves back to Turkish dominions, and this repatriation was almost certainly completed.

including members of Drake's fleet, may have drowned or been left stranded in the violent three day storm that suddenly struck shortly after the fleet anchored at Roanoke.<sup>130</sup> The records make no mention of those who perished in the storm, but they do indicate that a number of ships were sunk, which compelled Drake to complain that he lacked adequate space in his fleet to accommodate Roanoke's English settlers, who had decided to return with him to England.<sup>131</sup> This lack of space in the fleet would have also made it more likely that Drake left as many of the liberated galley slaves and Black domestic slaves on the coast as possible, since he would have presumably granted priority to accommodating the English settlers.

Drake was not morally averse to leaving people behind. He clearly abandoned three of his own men at Roanoke, having sent them on a mission to the interior but setting out with his fleet before they returned. They too were never heard of again. The noted Roanoke historian Karen Kupperman suggests that the several hundred galley slaves, the Blacks, and the Native Americans (if they were in fact with Drake) were probably put ashore, possibly with some of the supplies that Drake had taken from his raid on St. Augustine to use at Roanoke. Kupperman notes that they may well have been adopted into Native American tribes of the region, which, unlike the Europeans, lacked a sense of racial exclusivity and generally accepted on equal terms anyone who was willing to unite with them culturally.<sup>132</sup>

When the Roanoke colony was resettled in 1587, there were still no reports of the liberated slaves or other remnants of the first colony.<sup>133</sup> Twenty years after the failure of the second Roanoke settlement, however, there was evidence of White settlers identified as having come from Roanoke who were living in modern Virginia. Powhatan, a local Native American chieftain, also reportedly killed some of the original Roanoke settlers shortly before the founding of the Jamestown colony of Virginia in 1607, which indicates that those unfortunate settlers had survived for at least two decades.<sup>134</sup>

English records speak clearly of official negotiations to send one hundred former galley slaves back to Turkish dominions, and this repatriation was almost certainly completed.<sup>135</sup> It is very strange that no reference is made to any repatriation of Drake's liberated "Moors" to Morocco or North Africa, especially if they were "genuine" (North African) Moors, as one historian calls them.<sup>136</sup> As we have seen, the Renaissance triangle between England, Morocco, and the Americas was crucial to English interests and directly involved the Moroccans, not the Turks. Its critical importance for the English would have made repatriation of the "Moors" even more strategically valuable than the repatriation of the Turks. If, however, Drake's "Moors" were "converted" Iberian Moors, who were ethnically, culturally, and

linguistically identical to the Spanish and not necessarily welcome in Morocco or North Africa, Drake and the English might not have seen their repatriation to lands that were not originally their own as a potential benefit.

### **Conclusion: The Melungeon-Lumbee Link**

North Carolina legends maintain that the lost colonists of Roanoke survived, intermarried with Native Americans, and left descendants who continue to live in the region until the present day.<sup>137</sup> The Melungeons and Lumbees—two unique, enigmatic, and closely related peoples of the South—have oral traditions linking them with Roanoke; many American writers and historians have long believed that the origins of both peoples are rooted in the remnants of the lost colony.<sup>138</sup>

For centuries, the Melungeons have been concentrated in the Appalachian Mountains of Butler County, Tennessee, although significant groups of them settled in other regions of Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky.<sup>139</sup> For a similarly long period, the Lumbees have been concentrated in the marsh country along the Lumber River of Robeson County, North Carolina.<sup>140</sup> Melungeons and Lumbees are ethnically and culturally similar and have long traced their ancestry back to a common stock; they share many family names (such as Bennett, Dare, Graham, Martin, Taylor, and White),<sup>141</sup> which are often similar to the surnames of the original Roanoke settlers.<sup>142</sup> Many long-established American families have some genealogical connection with these peoples. Among the most famous Americans with possible Melungeon roots are Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Elvis Presley.<sup>143</sup>

The most puzzling and frequently discussed aspect of the Melungeon and Lumbee stories has always been their perplexing origins, which have fascinated writers for generations.<sup>144</sup> Melungeons and Lumbees are typically tannish colored and Mediterranean looking, usually having dark hair and eyes.<sup>145</sup> They are a distinctive people and have never fit neatly into any of the three principal ethnic classifications of British colonial America: White, Black, and “Indian” (Native American). Since at least the mid-1800s, it has been suggested that they had Portuguese, Spanish, and Moorish roots and were mixed with escaped Black slaves and Native Americans,<sup>146</sup> making up all the racial elements represented in and around the Roanoke colony region.

Neither “Melungeon” nor “Lumbee” was a name that either of the peoples originally used for themselves. Rather they were epithets given them by the Whites who lived near them.<sup>147</sup> In the nineteenth century, Melungeons deeply resented being identified by that name, although it has gradually become acceptable to them over



the generations.<sup>148</sup> The only designation by which both Melungeons and Lumbees have proudly and consistently defined themselves over the centuries was that they were “Portuguese,” which they pronounced as “Porterghée” or “Portyghée.”<sup>149</sup> We should note that the Roanoke colony also had a distinctly Portuguese connection. Captain Simon Fernandes, who was a Portuguese Protestant from the Azores, was very influential in the Roanoke project and was directly involved in all its voyages.<sup>150</sup> According to the report of a Spanish seaman who spent considerable time in Drake’s captivity, in addition to Fernandes, Drake also had a large number of other Portuguese and Genoese pilots and shipmasters serving him throughout his fleet.<sup>151</sup>

The name “Melungeon” is much older than “Lumbee” and probably derives from the French word *mélangé* (mixed) for “mixed race,” which French settlers apparently gave the Melungeons when they first encountered them in America in the seventeenth century.<sup>152</sup> The Lumbees take their name from the Lumber River, which runs through their lands. They were living there when the first Scottish colonists entered the area. They came to be officially known as Lumbees only in the 1930s.<sup>153</sup>

The Melungeons and Lumbees antedate the coming of the first White settlers to the regions of Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky where they are found. When the first White settlers arrived in those areas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they found the Melungeons and Lumbees speaking an archaic form of English and leading lifestyles similar to Europeans, such as living in cabins, tilling the soil, and practicing European arts and crafts, especially the mining and smelting of silver.<sup>154</sup> In the memory of their White neighbors, the Melungeons and Lumbees have always been Protestant Christians.<sup>155</sup>

For centuries, Melungeons and Lumbees lived as isolated populations surrounded by generally unfriendly White neighbors, who—despite religious, cultural, and linguistic similarities—looked down upon them as “almost White” and sought to usurp their lands and legal rights. According to Melungeon oral tradition, they had once owned the “good land” before the “white folks” came and took it away.<sup>156</sup>

Historically, Whites regarded Melungeons as a mixed, tri-racial people, not being able to assign them to a distinctive category of their own.<sup>157</sup> Given the evidence, however, it should be understood that race and ethnicity in America are more complex than generally assumed; both Melungeons and Lumbees should be classified as a distinctive fourth group, which, although mixed, does not fall neatly into the traditional American categories of White, Black, or Native American.<sup>158</sup>

For purposes of civil and legal rights in earlier times of racial segregation, Melungeons and Lumbees sometimes defined themselves as “Indians” to avoid the total disenfranchisement that came with being classified as “Black.” They did

not, however, practice a Native American religion.<sup>159</sup> Neither of them is known to have ever spoken a Native American language of their own or possessed an indigenous tribal culture, including, for example, Native legends, literature, folk tales, dance, music, or similar traditions. Unlike indigenous Native peoples, they have no treaties with the United States and never lived on reservations.<sup>160</sup> They remained neutral in the wars between Whites and Native Americans.<sup>161</sup> Although both Melungeons and Lumbees have intermarried with Blacks, they do not have clear African origins, were never enslaved, and have always been “free” in the sense of being non-slaves.<sup>162</sup>

Melungeons enjoyed rights of American citizenship until 1834 when they were designated as “free persons of color” and consequently disenfranchised.<sup>163</sup> In the wake of the Civil War, Lumbees had no specific legal designation until 1885, when the North Carolina legislature officially designated them as Native Americans yet without full recognition, consequently depriving them of certain rights such as access to reservations.<sup>164</sup> In 1885, North Carolina gave them the name “Croatan” after the name of the Hatteras tribe associated with Roanoke, and Lumbees used that name until 1911, when it was abandoned after falling into disfavor because Whites shortened it pejoratively to “Cro.”<sup>165</sup>

A common legend surrounding the Melungeon-Lumbee claim to be Portuguese was that they were descendants of shipwrecked sailors who were marooned on the Carolina coast and gradually made their way westward over the hills of East Tennessee, where they intermarried with Native American women.<sup>166</sup> They maintained that they were part European and that some of their forebears had “come across the sea” and knew how to “talk in books,” that is, to read.<sup>167</sup>

From as early as the eighteenth century, it has been speculated that the Melungeons were of Moorish descent.<sup>168</sup> Judge Lewis Shepherd, who had defended a Melungeon girl in a famous Tennessee case in 1872 regarding interracial marriage, contended that her people were Portuguese Moors.<sup>169</sup> According to other accounts, the Melungeons were “Christianized Portuguese Moors who fled to the New World to escape the horrors of the Inquisition’s torture chambers.”<sup>170</sup>

In recent times, studies of gene frequency distributions and DNA among the Melungeons have indicated that their genetic makeup is consistent with their claim to be Portuguese or generally Mediterranean. The same studies showed marked contrasts between their gene pools and those typically associated with Blacks and Native Americans. Melungeons also closely match certain Turkish (Anatolian) and South Asian (northern Indian) gene pools.<sup>171</sup>

We must keep the nature of the Roanoke records in mind and understand that their silence regarding the fate of the unaccounted Muslim galley slaves and Black

domestic slaves is not surprising. Although historical speculation is naturally held within the limits of the documentation that records provide, we must not draw the mistaken conclusion that the records we have tell the full story. In reflecting on the “lost colony” and Drake’s liberated galley slaves, we must take into consideration that a number of other unreported scenarios are equally possible and must not be ruled out. Among these untold scenarios is that, somehow, the remnants of the Roanoke colony, including a significant number of Drake’s liberated Muslim captives, did survive, established roots in America, and became the forbears of the Melungeons, Lumbees, and possibly other Americans related to them.

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## Notes

1. A privateer was essentially a state-sponsored pirate. The distinction between a pirate and a privateer may seem semantic, but, unlike pirates, privateers were not at liberty to attack at will any ship on the open seas. The states that sponsored privateers determined which nation's ships were legitimate prey for its privateers and which were not. Privateers were generally bound to observe that distinction.
2. The term "Moor" in the sixteenth century was used to refer to Muslims in general or to those of Spanish, Portuguese, Moroccan, and North African cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The term is discussed below in greater detail. It is an ambiguous term and carries no specific ethnic connotation; in the context of this paper, it is important to keep in mind that "Moor" can also refer to the former Moors of Spain and Portugal, who were forcibly converted to Catholicism in the sixteenth century and are also called "converted Moors" or "Moriscos."
3. "Morisco" literally means "little Moor" and refers to former Spanish and Portuguese Muslims (Moors) who had been forced to convert to Catholicism during the sixteenth century at the hands of the Inquisition. The term will be discussed in greater detail in what follows.
4. In the pre-modern world, galleys were ships propelled by oarsmen. They were used in war and trade. The galleys referred to in this article were war galleys, which were generally equipped with artillery and could also be used to ram other ships. Galley slaves were used to row the galleys and were chained to their rowing positions. The Turkish



galley slaves referred to in this article would have been prisoners of war who had been captured in the various naval battles between Spain and the Ottomans. The Moorish galley slaves may have been prisoners of war from the Corsairs (North African and Moroccan Muslim privateers), but, as this article shows, it is also likely that at least some of them were Moriscos who, as was often the case in the sixteenth century, had been condemned to the galleys by the tribunals of the Inquisition on the grounds of being guilty of Islamic practices, which the Inquisition deemed as damnable “heresy.”

5. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 100-01.
6. See Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 62; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 21-23; David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, xvii.
7. John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 25.
8. See Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 114.
9. Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 32.
10. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 213-14; compare Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 31.
11. See Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 20-21.
12. See Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 13-14, 5-6, 59, 84.
13. See Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 115; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 325; Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 1, 18-20, 45-46, 49, 179; Allen Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America*, 22-23. Most Africans brought to the Americas as slaves came from animist non-Muslim backgrounds, but a significant percentage of them (conservatively, ten to twenty percent) came from the extensive Muslim culture zones of West Africa and were Muslims.
14. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 31; Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d’Allah*, 75.
15. John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:791; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 95-96, 85-86; Louis Davis, “The Mystery of the Melungeons,” *Nashville Tennessean*, September 22, 1963: 16 (Cited in Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5).
16. See David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 97, 100.
17. From L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 66.

18. From L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 66.
19. See Cesar Adib Majul, *The Contemporary Muslim Movement in the Philippines*, (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1985), 17-18. Interestingly, according to Hernán Taboada, Muslims from the Philippine Islands were also brought to the Spanish Caribbean as slaves in the sixteenth century and made up another unexpected element of the Muslim population of the American colonies (Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 115). At the time, Spain was in the process of conquering and colonizing the Philippines; Muslims predominated on the southern islands but also had a significant presence in the north, where they sometimes constituted a ruling elite.
20. See L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 1.
21. Jan Read, *Moors in Spain and Portugal*, 225.
22. See L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 2-3; Tomás Irving, *Artesania mudejar*, 13; Ahmed Boucharb, “Spécificité du problème morisque au Portugal,” 224.
23. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 20.
24. Ahmed Boucharb, “Spécificité du problème morisque au Portugal,” 224.
25. Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 147; she cites Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 251.
26. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 33-35.
27. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 37.
28. See Bartolomé and Lucile Barrassar, *Les chrétiens d’Allah*, 75; Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 31.
29. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 87-89.
30. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 34.
31. Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 115.
32. See Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 49-70; Allan Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America*, 51-186.
33. Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 18, 179.
34. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 10.
35. Américo Castro, “The Spanish Sense of Nobility,” 194-98; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic*

- Spain*, 60; Jan Read, *Moors in Spain and Portugal*, 229-31; Harold Johnson, *From Reconquest to Empire*, 8-11.
36. Tomás Irving, *Artesania mudejar*, 1; Jan Read, *Moors in Spain and Portugal*, 189.
  37. Peter Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, 25.
  38. See Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 115; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 325; compare Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 1, 18-20, 45, 49, 179.
  39. Americo Castro, “The Spanish Sense of Nobility,” 189.
  40. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 3.
  41. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 5-6.
  42. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 84-85.
  43. See Bartolomé Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d’Allah*, 19.
  44. Nabil Matar, “Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704,” in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, Introduced by Nabil Matar, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2.
  45. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 213-14; compare Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 31.
  46. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 19.
  47. See Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 34.
  48. The Privy Council was an executive committee that advised the Queen.
  49. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 100-01.
  50. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 62, note 4.
  51. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 101.
  52. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 101.
  53. Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685*, pp. 124-125.

54. Al-Manṣūr was called “the Golden” because of his access to vast treasures of West African gold.
55. See J. F. P. Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary 1576-1774: Arabic Documents in the Public Record Office*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 2-9.
56. See Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 9.
57. Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 83-84.
58. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 10-12; Gerhard Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 12-13; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, ix; David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:718.
59. See David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 97.
60. See Gerhard Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 10; Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, xvii.
61. See David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:718, 725; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 6.
62. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:718; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 6.
63. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:721; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 29, 44;
64. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 6, 142.
65. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 13, 18; David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:246.
66. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, ix; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 25; Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, xxii-xxiii.
67. John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 98-99.
68. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 18-20; David Quinn, ed. *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:244; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, ix; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 20.
69. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 13, 15; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 99.

70. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 272-74; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 100; Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 89-90.
71. See David Quinn, "Reflections" in Cecil Clough and P. E. H. Hair, eds., *The European Outthrust and Encounter*, 23; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 25.
72. John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 25.
73. See John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 21; David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, xviii;
74. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 13, 15, 18, 22; David Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:719; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 99.
75. John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 26-27, 90.
76. See Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 62; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 21-23; David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, xvii.
77. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 62.
78. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 142.
79. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:249; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 28.
80. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 88.
81. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 22.
82. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 28.
83. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 5-6, 88.
84. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 213; cf. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 204 note 4.
85. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 97.
86. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 5-6, 88; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 99.
87. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.

88. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 195, 197, 212; compare David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 98; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 202 note 3.
89. See Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 54, 57-59.
90. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 200.
91. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 197; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 200-02.
92. Regarding the Frenchmen whom Drake liberated, a French report from the period mentions Drake’s attack on a Spanish galley and states that he liberated eighteen or nineteen Frenchmen who were among the galley slaves. It gives no indication of the numbers or identities of the other galley slaves. The report is valuable, however, because it gives an idea of how large the number of Frenchmen among the galley slaves was. Drake took two additional Frenchmen on board at St. Augustine. He reportedly encountered a French ship in the Caribbean and handed over ten of his rescued Frenchmen to be returned to France by it. This presumably happened before Drake left Caribbean waters on his way to Roanoke, which would mean that he discharged a number of his French passengers before reaching that colony. What became of the remainder of the Frenchmen is not clear. See David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 98, note 5: “Il y avoit au port une galère qui fut bruslée, et les esclaves qui estoient dedans, desquelz y avoit dix-huit ou dix-neuf François, mis en liberté” (Louis La Cour e la Pijardièrre, ed., *Mémoire du voyage en Russie fait en 1586 par Jehan Sauvage, suivi de l’expédition de Fr. Drake en Amérique à la meme époque* [Paris: Aubry, 1855], p. 23. Ten of the Frenchmen were brought back to Morlaix in a Norman vessel which accompanied Drake in the Caribbean (Julian Strafford Corbett, ed., *Papers Relating to the Navy During the Spanish War, 1585-1586* [London: Navy Records Society, 1898], 95, 98; Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 54, 52.
93. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 195.
94. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 195, 197, 212; compare David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 98; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 202 note 3.
95. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 200-02.
96. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 197.
97. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,” 98; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, 197, 202.
98. David Quinn, “Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage,”



- 98; Quinn's source is Public Record Office, SP 12/189, 42, letter of Nicholas Clever to Nicholas Turner, merchant, 26 May 1586.
99. See David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 100; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 202 note 3; the Privy Council document is cited as P.R.O., P.C. 2/14: 169. Keeler puts the number of the Turks at two hundred. Apparently, she bases that number on the number given in the ship's journal above and not on a figure cited by the Privy Council itself.
100. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 102-03.
101. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 54, 52; compare David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.
102. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 54; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.
103. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98; Wright 159.
104. Compare Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, 115.
105. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 195, 197; compare David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.
106. See Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 148.
107. The journal of a second ship in Drake's fleet gives a parallel account of the surprise attack on Santo Domingo but mentions only a single Black who assisted Drake and his men and makes no mention of the two or three Moors. Although the reports appear contradictory, it may also be the case that the Black referred to in the second journal was a "Moor" who was black, a "Blackamoor." Othello, the Moor in the service of the Venetian Republic in Shakespeare's *Othello*, was a blackamoor, although he is also referred to as a Moor. A black Moor, however, would be more likely to be a North African rather than an Iberian Moor, since the latter were by and large ethnically Iberian. See Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 189 and note 3; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 8.
108. In Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 195, 197, 212; compare David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98; Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 202 note 3.
109. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98; Wright 159.

110. Enclosures (anonymous) in Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America* 1583-1592, 150-53; 157-59.
111. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 99; Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America* 1583-1592, 204, 230.
112. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America* 1583-1592, 195, 197; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.
113. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98-99 and note 10.
114. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 13, 18; David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:246.
115. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98, note 5.
116. See Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986), 24.
117. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 169; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 98.
118. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America* 1583-1592, 212.
119. Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 29.
120. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:251-52.
121. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 100.
122. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 97.
123. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:723.
124. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 2:722, 725.
125. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 202.
126. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 97.
127. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:254.
128. David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, 7; Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 54-55; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 20.

129. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 93.
130. Mary Keeler, ed. *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 272-74; David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 100; Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 89-90.
131. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 100.
132. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 92.
133. David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, xvii.
134. David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, xvii.
135. David Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, 1:254-55.
136. David Quinn, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," 102.
137. Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 141.
138. See Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 3-4, 25, 29; Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 141; Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 3; Lew Barton, *The Most Ironic Story in American History*, xi; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 88; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 42.
139. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25.
140. Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1, 43.
141. See N. Brent Kennedy, *The Melungeons*, 172-73.
142. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25, 41; Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 40, 43.
143. N. Brent Kennedy, *The Melungeons*, 28-30; Elizabeth Hirschman, *Melungeons*, 1.
144. Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 36.
145. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 90-91.
146. Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 39.

147. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25, 41; Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 42, 135; Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, xvi, 3.
148. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; cites Swan M. Burnett in "Notes on the Melungeons" in *American Anthropologist*, vol. II, October 1889: 1; Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 4, 83, 86-87.
149. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Swan M. Burnett, "Notes on the Melungeons" in *American Anthropologist*, vol. II, October 1889 (cited in Hale and Merritt, 1:180); John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:791; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5, 95-96, 85-86; Louis Davis, "The Mystery of the Melungeons," *Nashville Tennessean*, September 22, 1963: 16 (cited in Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5); Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 83, 86-87.
150. The controversial Simon Fernandes (Simão Fernandes), who was a Protestant, "gentleman," and an expert Portuguese captain, navigator, and privateer, was among the most important and influential of the Roanoke pilots and was involved in all the Roanoke voyages. See Paul Hoffman, *Spain and the Roanoke Voyages*, 20; Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 20-21; Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, xxii-xxiii; David Quinn, *The Lost Colonists*, 6; John Humber, *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages*, 24. For the most exhaustive account of Fernandes, see David Quinn, "A Portuguese Pilot in the English Service," in his *England and the Discovery of America 1481-1620*, 246-63.
151. Irene Wright, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1592*, 212.
152. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25, 41; Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180.
153. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 42, 135.
154. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 3, 25, 35; Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5, 38-39, 88, 90; Louis Davis, "The Mystery of the Melungeons," *Nashville Tennessean*, September 22, 1963: 16 (cited in Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5); Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 37, 40, 44, 135; Brewton Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1963), 17-18.
155. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 4; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 7-8, 90-91; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1.
156. John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:791; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 38-39; she cites Brewton Berry's *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1963), 17-18.

157. Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 4.
158. Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 3, 25; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 38-39; she cites Brewton Berry's *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1963), 17-18; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 40, 135.
159. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 4; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 7-8, 90-91; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1.
160. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 7-8, 90-91; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1.
161. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 4; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 7-8, 90-91; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1.
162. Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, xvi.
163. John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:791; Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 25; Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 1.
164. Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, xvi.
165. Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 3.
166. Will Hale and Dixon Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 1:180, 184; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 96-97.
167. Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 88, 90; Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 37, 44.
168. John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:791; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 95-96, 85-86; Louis Davis, "The Mystery of the Melungeons," *Nashville Tennessean*, September 22, 1963: 16 (Cited in Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 5).
169. John Moore and Austin Foster, *Tennessee*, 1:790-91; Elizabeth Hirschman, *Melungeons*, 18-19; Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 11. Her marriage to a White Tennessean was contested on grounds that it violated state laws against miscegenation, since it was believed that Melungeons were part Black.
170. Jean Bible, *Melungeons*, 96.
171. James Guthrie, "Melungeons: Comparison of Gene Frequency Distributions," 13, 15, 17; Wayne Winkler, *Walking toward the Sunset*, 239-41.