

ADVENTURERS TO A NEW WORLD



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The Roanoke Colony, 1585-87

by

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Raleigh

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It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world (for the soil is of an huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely) and the climate so wholesome that we have not had not one sick since we touched the land here . . . if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.

Ralph Lane, Governor
of the first colony, 1585

1

The Atlantic Adventure

Nearly 500 years ago, in the royal courts of Europe, in the baronial castles, in the marketplaces of country towns, and at wayside taverns, people were listening to strange and wonderful stories.

More exciting than the legends that Marco Polo had brought from the distant East, these stories told of a New World to the West, on the other side of their planet Earth, which they learned was wondrously round.

The discovery of this New World was a thunderous crescendo at the height of that symphony of art, intellect, and spirit that was the High Renaissance. When energized by this powerful movement, the human spirit knew no bounds nor recognized any limits to intellectual or physical endeavor. The New World had been discovered, therefore it must be explored and conquered by settlement for the glory of Christ and the favored Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, for between them the Pope in Rome had divided the whole of the New World in 1502.

No discovery like this had ever occurred. All other "new lands" had been attached to the vast Euro-Asian-African landmass then known to exist.

Were our astronauts to go to Mars and discover a people and a civilization as rich and varied as our own, the excitement would not be half so much. For how many of us could go there? But a great many Europeans could get to the Americas. And they did. They sailed the turbulent Atlantic in ships as light as 50 tons and some 40 feet long. Their sea voyages were full of peril and fears of the unknown and lasted from 8 to 10 weeks without sight of land or communication with the Old World they had left. Such voyages to the New World required a courage bred in faith and sustained by the thrill of adventure and the hope of making a new start in life. Such faith and courage inspired both men and women.



Sir Walter Raleigh, from a portrait painted in 1588.

The English were almost foolhardy in their courage and their adventure onto the shores of North America. They knew the lands were inhabited by strange humans whom they thought of as dangerous savages. The land was 3,500 miles from the protecting power of England, and they feared their settlement would be discovered by Spaniards and perhaps wiped out by them. They knew that the Spanish had ruthlessly destroyed, in 1565, the

attempted French settlement on the Atlantic coast of Florida (Fort Caroline), and that they had massacred that same year the shipwrecked French Protestants under Jean Ribault at Matanzas Inlet. This crushing of French colonial efforts was known to Raleigh, the well-informed of Elizabeth's court, the London merchants, and the adventurous ship captains.

But it was amidst the mind-awakening Renaissance in England during the reign of Elizabeth Tudor, 1558–1603, that these first adventures occurred. The attempts to establish a settlement on Roanoke Island directly connect the American people with the Court of this great queen, and with the golden age of English art, literature, and adventure. The figures who play the chief roles in this story of exploration, settlement, relations with the Indians, and eventual failure are epic figures of English history: Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen after whom the new land was named "Virginia"; Sir Walter Raleigh, poet, soldier, courtier, and financial mainstay of the colonization; and Sir Francis Drake, the first Englishman to sail around the world.

The Roanoke Island colonial venture was truly heroic. Despite the hostility of Spain—the greatest naval and colonial power of that day—and of Spanish Florida, these men and women suffered or died in the first serious English effort to start the conquest of a large part of the North American continent by the slow process of agriculture, industry, and trade. The hardships of the first colony in 1585 and 1586 under Gov. Ralph Lane and the disappearance of the "Lost Colony" of 1587 helped teach the English the practical difficulties of settling this new land and enabled them to grow in colonial wisdom. The birth of Virginia Dare on August 18, 1587—the first child of English parentage to be born in the New World—symbolized the hope of establishing a new English-speaking nation beyond the seas.

Jamestown, in Virginia, commemorates the successful settlement of English America which grew out of the dreams of Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his elder half-brother. Fort Raleigh, because of the "Lost Colony" mystery, memorializes the cost of early English colonial effort. It also commemorates a forgotten part of the price that England paid for English liberty: the colonists on Roanoke Island, in a sense, were sacrificed that England might employ all her fighting strength against the seemingly invincible Spanish Armada. To carry the much-needed supplies to Roanoke colony in 1588, in the place of Sir Richard Grenville's warships, England could spare only two small pinnaces, and they did not reach Roanoke. For the glorious victory over the Armada and for the gradual emergence of British seapower after 1588, England risked the survival of her infant colony in America.



Queen Elizabeth, in a painting attributed to the period from 1575-80.

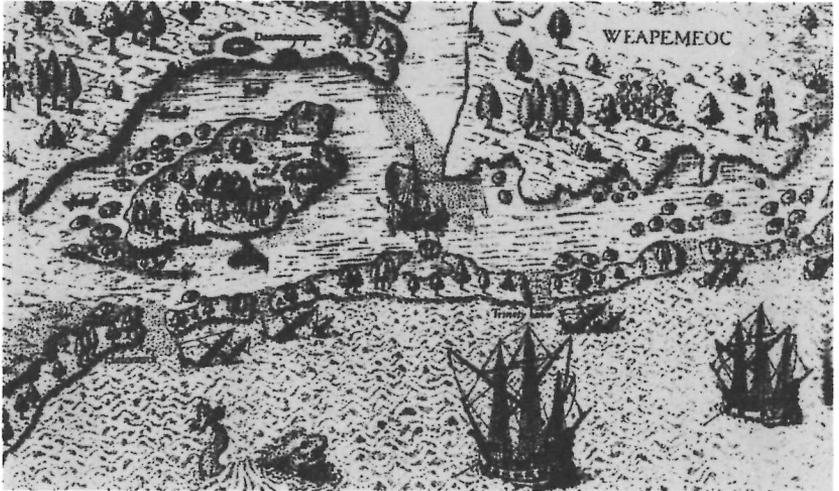
2

Exploration of Roanoke Island, 1584

The statesmen, merchants, and ship captains of Elizabethan England shared the adventurous and speculative spirit of the Spaniards and Portuguese who had established empires in the New World after 1492. Religious zeal and both personal and national interests sparked the competition. Englishmen tried to find a northwest passage through the American continent to capture the wealth of the East Indies for England and to turn the mineral and agricultural wealth of North America into English fortunes as Spaniards had done with the gold of Mexico and Peru.

On June 11, 1578, Gilbert obtained from Elizabeth a charter to discover and colonize "remote heathen and barbarous lands" not actually possessed by any Christian prince. In 1583, he ventured almost his entire fortune and that of his wife in an attempt to explore the northern part of North America and found a colony. The Queen herself displayed interest in the enterprise by giving Raleigh a good-luck token to send to Gilbert just before the expedition sailed. Gilbert landed at St. John's, Newfoundland, and claimed it for England. But on coasting southward, he met with repeated misfortunes, turned away, and was drowned on the return voyage to England. He had insisted on sailing in one of his smaller ships: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." Among his last recorded words was the famous cry to his men in the larger boat, "We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land." His last will and testament, dated July 8, 1582, makes clear that his ultimate purpose had been to found an English empire beyond the seas to be colonized by English people.

Gilbert's heroic death must have deeply moved his half-brother. Raleigh had sailed with him in an expedition of 1578 and had outfitted a ship intended to participate in the great voyage of 1583 to Newfoundland. In 1584, when the Gilbert patent was to expire, Raleigh stood high in the favor



"The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia," from one of John White's drawings. Dasmunkepeuc is on the mainland west of the north end of Roanoke Island.

of the Queen and received a charter which confirmed to him the powers formerly enjoyed by Gilbert.

Raleigh seems to have moved quickly to implement his patent, for in 1584 he sent a single ship on a voyage of reconnaissance. Presumably the purpose was to explore the coast of North America from Spanish Florida to Newfoundland for a good harbor, but one that was so concealed that it could not be easily found by the Spaniards.

On April 27, 1584, Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe left the west of England in two barks "well furnished with men and victuals." Among the company of explorers was Simon Ferdinando, a Portuguese from the Azores, who had been master of the *Falcon* under the captaincy of Raleigh and who was known as the "man" of the Queen's secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham. Ferdinando had sailed to the coast of America and back in 3 months in 1579. His knowledge of navigation was to make him a key figure in many Roanoke Island enterprises.

The explorers landed July 13, 1584, on the North Carolina coast, about 24 miles above Roanoke Island, and took possession of the country for Elizabeth with the proviso that the land be for the use of Raleigh, according to the Queen's charter. Despite the passing of more than 350 years, Barlowe's



Sir Humphrey Gilbert.



Sir Francis Walsingham.

description of the country is still basically true, if pardonably exuberant. They found it

very sandie, and lowe towards the water side, but so full of grapes [scuppernongs], as the very beating and surge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we founde such plentie, as well there, as in all places else, both on the sande, and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climing towards the toppes of the high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde.

From their landing place they proceeded along the seashore toward the "toppes of those hilles next adjoining" (perhaps the big Nags Head dunes or hills in the Nags Head woods), from the summit of which they beheld the sea on both sides and came to realize that they were on a barrier island. After admiring the scene, they discharged an arquebus shot, whereupon *a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose . . . with such a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had shouted all together.*

On the fourth day they were visited by Granganimeo, brother of Wingina, chief of the Roanoke Island Indians. After a short period of trading, Barlowe and seven others went by boat to Roanoke Island at the north end of which they found a palisaded Indian village. Here they were entertained with primitive but hospitable Indian ceremony. The Indians appeared



Shoreline of Roanoke Island about as it looked to the English colonists.

“gentle, loving, and faithful.” The explorers described Roanoke Island as “a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants [grapes], flaxe, and many other notable commodities.” Game and fish were abundant.

The picture Amadas and Barlowe took back to Raleigh in September 1585 was a rosy one, for they had seen Roanoke Island in midsummer. The Indians were generous, because at this season of the year they had plenty in contrast to the scarcity of their winter fare; and the white man was new to them, though they had heard of others wrecked on the coast years before. Amadas and Barlowe took two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, back to England with them so Raleigh might learn, firsthand, the character of the coastal Indians. Elizabeth apparently was pleased by the western exploit, for she called the new possession “Virginia,” perhaps at the suggestion of the poetic and courtly Raleigh.

3

Raleigh's First Colony, 1585-86

The next spring, Raleigh sent a group of 108 persons to Roanoke Island. Commanded by Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, the expedition sailed from Plymouth, England, on April 9, 1585, in seven ships, the largest being 140 tons. Included in the group of ship captains and colonists were Amadas and Ferdinando of the expedition of the previous year; Thomas Cavendish, then on his first great voyage but destined to be the third circumnavigator of the globe; Grenville's half-brother, John Arundell, and brother-in-law, John Stukeley; and other Raleigh cousins and connections, among them a Courtenay, a Prideaux, Richard Gilbert, Ralph Lane, and Anthony Rowse, a friend of Drake's. Also on board were John White, an artist; Thomas Hariot, a scientist; and, among the humbler folk, an Irishman, Darby Glande (or Glaven). The Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, returned to America on this voyage.

The route chosen lay via the Canaries and the Spanish West Indies. They anchored at the "Baye of Muskito" (Guayanilla Bay) at the Island of "St. Johns" (Puerto Rico), May 12, where they constructed a fort, set up a forge to make nails, and built a small, fast pinnace to replace one lost in a storm. They left Puerto Rico toward the end of May after burning the fort and surrounding woods and seizing two Spanish frigates. Just before departing, Ralph Lane raided "Roxo bay" (Cabo Rojo) in one of the captured frigates, "intrenched him selfe vpon the sandes," and seized a supply of salt from the Spanish.

These bellicose activities of the English in Puerto Rico illustrate the fact that England and Spain were virtually at war at that time. Indeed, the war became an actuality within 3 years. In the meantime, the English were engaged in what today would be called a "cold war"—attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies and preparing to settle on the American mainland at a spot sufficiently close to Spanish Florida to constitute both

an economic and a military threat to Spain.

Growth of the English colony would circumscribe Spain's own colonial effort; at the same time, the location chosen for the English colony was close enough to serve as a base of operations against Spanish New World shipping. That both possibilities were uppermost in the minds of Raleigh and Grenville and their supporters at court is obvious. One of the weaknesses of their colonial program was their persistent thought that privateering operations against Spanish shipping should, or could, be made to pay the cost of English colonial efforts.

The first part of June found the English banqueting the uneasy Spanish governor at Isabella on the Island of Hispaniola. To impress him, Grenville treated him to a sumptuous meal served "all in plate" to the "sound of trumpets and consort of musicke." The governor entertained in turn, and the English subsequently traded with the Spaniards for commodities that would be needed in their colonial settlement: "horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger." From Spanish accounts of Grenville's actions in Puerto Rico and Haiti are gained some interesting personal glimpses:

The members of the expedition include men skilled in all trades, and among them were about twenty who appeared to be persons of some importance, whose food was served on plate of silver and gold. They were accompanied by two tall Indians [Manteo and Wanchese], whom they treated well, and who spoke English. . . . They took away with them many banana plants and other fruit trees which they found along the shore, and made drawings of fruits and trees.

The English "said that their intention was to establish a colony, but did not say where."

The English left Puerto Rico and reached an island south of Cape Hatteras now known as Ocracoke on June 26. They spent the rest of the month and most of July exploring the coastal island and adjacent mainland. During one of these expeditions, in retaliation for the theft of a silver cup by an Indian, Grenville sought to strike terror into the hearts of the Indians by burning the Indian village of Aquascogoc. Not until July 27 did Grenville anchor in Pamlico Sound off Hatarask barrier island, a short distance southeast of Roanoke Island. Almost due east of the southern tip of Roanoke Island, Ferdinando had discovered a break in the barrier reef which gave the ships entry from the open sea into the relative shelter of Roanoke Sound. They named it Port Ferdinando in his honor.

A colony was established on the north end of Roanoke Island, and Ralph Lane was made governor. From Port Ferdinando, and later from Roanoke Island, Lane wrote letters to Secretary Walsingham informing him of the successful founding of the colony. He also wrote a letter to Sir Philip Sidney, a son-in-law of Walsingham who was interested in western discovery. In a letter to geographer and historian Richard Hakluyt from the Roanoke settlement Lane said that he was impressed by the "huge and unknowen greatness" of the American continent and that if Virginia had horses and cows in some reasonable proportion and were inhabited by Englishmen, no realm in Christendom would be comparable to it. The Indians, he said naively, were "courteous, and very desirous to have clothes," but valued red copper above everything else. Virginia, had received the white men hospitably and had cooperated with them in the initial phases of the founding of the settlement, according to accounts by both Grenville and Lane.

Grenville lingered a short while after the founding of the settlement, then returned to England for supplies. On the way home he captured a richly laden Spanish ship, which must have repaid him handsomely for his western trip. On his arrival in England, he reported to Walsingham, thus acknowledging the interest of the Queen and emphasizing the seminational—not just personal—character of the Virginia enterprise.

Lane built a small earthen fort which he called "The new Fort in Virginia." The light sandy soil allowed the men to complete the fort in a short time. It was near the shore on the east side of Roanoke Island between the "North Point" of the north end of the island and a "creek." The mouth of the creek was big enough to serve as the anchorage for small boats. (It now is called Shallow Bag Bay, but was known as late as 1716 as Town Creek.)

Lane's fort on Roanoke Island resembled in some noteworthy respects the one he had built on St. Johns Island, Puerto Rico, in May 1585, when he seized the salt supply. Both forts seem to have been roughly shaped like a star built on a square with the bastions constructed on the sides of the square instead of at the corners, as was common in later fortifications.

The houses of the early colonists were probably near the fort, which was too small to enclose them. They were described by the colonists as "decent dwelling houses" or "cottages" and must have been at least a story and a half or two stories high, because of a reference to the "neather [lower] roomes of them." The roofs were thatched, as we learn from Ralph Lane's statement that the Indians by night "would have beset my house, and put



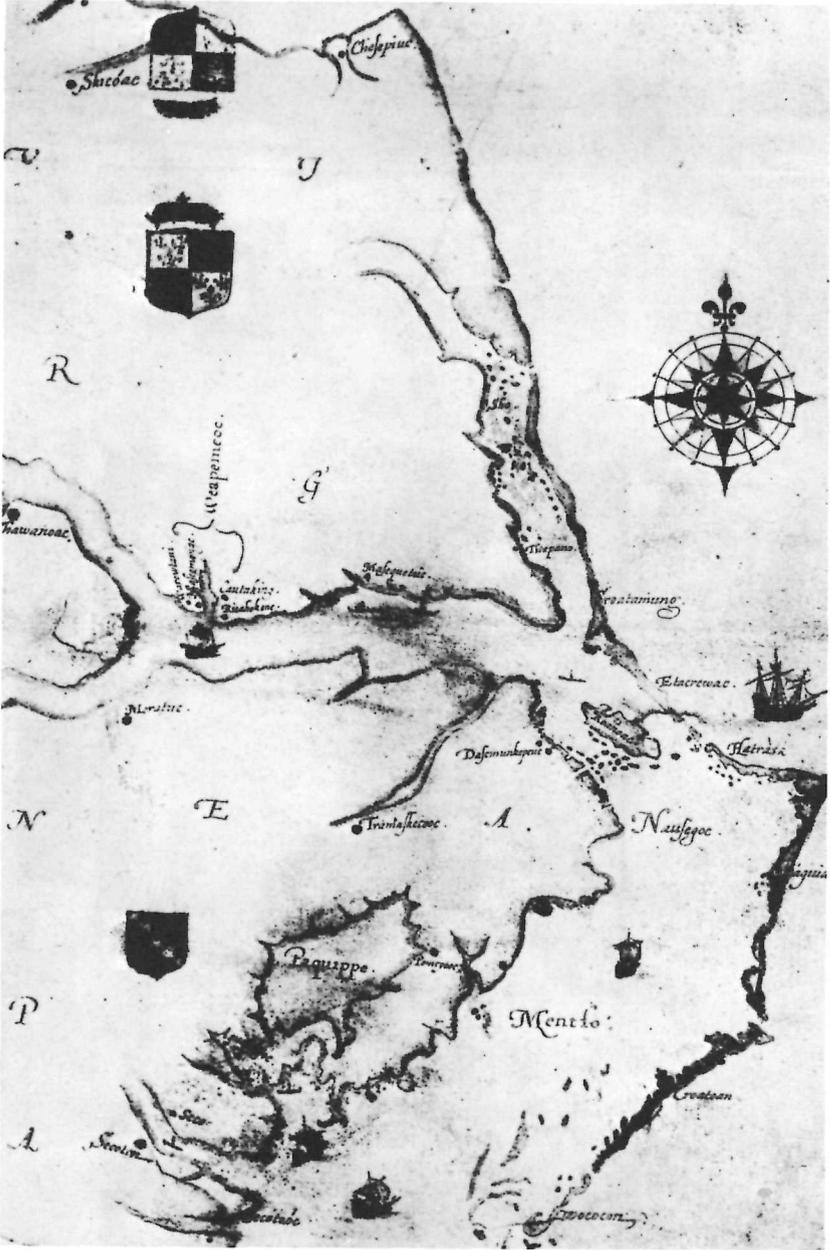
Sir Richard Grenville, from a portrait in 1571.



Sir Philip Sidney, from a portrait painted about 1577.

fire in the reedes that the same was covered with." The chimneys and the foundations may have been of brick, because Darby Glanville later testified to the Spanish that "as soon as they had disembarked they began to make brick and fabrick for a fort and houses."

However, because no evidence of extensive use of brick has been found, it probably is safe to assume that the chief building material was rough boards. They had a forge which they could set up to make nails. Richard Hakluyt had recommended in his *Discourse of Western Planting*—written in 1584 at Raleigh's request, that any colonial expedition should include: men expert in the art of fortification, makers of spades and shovels, shipwrights, millwrights of various trades, sawyers, carpenters, brickmakers and bricklayers, tilemakers and tilayers, lymemakers, masons, lathmakers, and thatchers. It is presumed, therefore, that English thatched cottages typical of rural Elizabethan England were built at Roanoke. The cottages probably were well built, as skilled laborers in the expedition had been able to construct a seaworthy pinnace at Puerto Rico in less than 1 month.



A map drawn by John White, 1585-86. The dot opposite the R in Roanoke may represent the site of the colonial settlement.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,
From the original in
The Trinity House, London.



Sir Francis Drake

made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright and close one by another.

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Notwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we haue, they seeme very ingenious; For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those things they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by howe much they vpon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledges and craftes to exceede theirs in perfection, and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they shoulde desire our friendships & loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped if meanes of good government bee used, that they may in short time be brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true religion.

John White made watercolor paintings of the Indians, the animal and plant life of Roanoke Island, and maps of the coast. The colonists learned to smoke tobacco, using Indian pipes or ones they modeled on the Indian pipes.

How closely the personnel of the first colony conformed to the standards suggested by Hakluyt in 1584 is not known but contemporary accounts indicate that Raleigh followed his advice for the colony to include men expert in fortification, brickmakers, carpenters, and thatchers. The names of the colonists are known, if not their trades. Some were gentlemen, cousins of Raleigh and Grenville. Hariot wrote that some were city dwellers "of a nice bringing up" who soon became miserable without their soft beds and good food. Others were excellent soldiers, as Lane testified of Capt. Edward Stafford; and there were the humbler folk, of whom Glande was perhaps representative, though he was Irish and apparently was forced to accompany the expedition.

On the whole, they gave the appearance more of a military expedition than a colony. Because they would not grow and gather their own food, they continued to be dependent upon the Indians for food and upon England for both food and supplies. Many of their basic commodities, such as salt, horses, and cattle, had been obtained in the first instance by trade, or by force, from the Spaniards in the West Indies. There were no women among them to give permanence to the settlement.

At first, relations with the Indians were friendly, though the Englishmen had their detractors in the council of the Indian chief. The aborigines planted crops and made fishtraps for the Englishmen. With rare foresight,

the colonists also induced the chief—who had changed his name from Wingina to Pemisapan—to put into simultaneous cultivation his lands both on Roanoke Island and on the mainland at Dasemunkepeuc so the Indians would have no excuse for not being able to supply the colony if need arose.

In the lean period between the planting of the crops in the spring and the expected summer harvest, English relations with the Indians grew strained and finally reached the point at which no further supplies of food could be scrounged from them. Infected by the vengeful and high-handed spirit of their times, the settlers would not really try to live on friendly terms with the natives. This led to Grenville's foolish action in burning the village of Aquascogoc on July 16, 1585. As he told it:

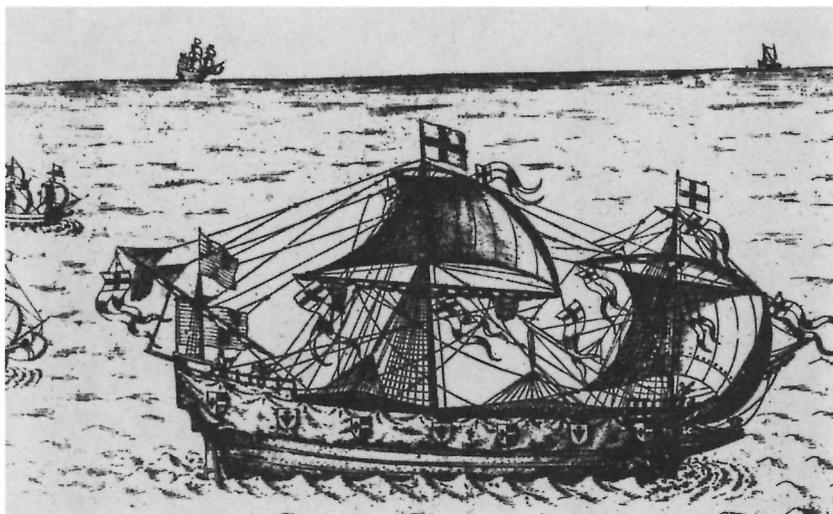
One of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascococke to demaund a siluer cup which one of the Sauages had stolen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, we burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people beeing fledde.

The colonists began to rob or destroy the fishtraps of the Indians, rather than go to the trouble of making and setting their own traps. Food became more and more scarce. Lane was forced to send groups of settlers to the barrier islands along the coast to feed upon oysters and other shellfish, and to keep watch for any ship that might come their way. Master Richard Prideaux and 10 men were sent to Hatarask Island and Captain Stafford and 20 men to Croatoan Island (Ocracoke) south of Cape Hatteras. At intervals, 16 or 20 others were sent to the mainland, also to feed upon oysters and wild plant foods.

Somehow they got through their first winter, without serious danger from the Indians. But by the summer of 1586, the Indians were at open war with the colonists and many of the former were slain in the struggles on Roanoke Island and on the mainland at Dasemunkepeuc. A skirmish that occurred at the end of May caused Lane to prepare a surprise raid for the night of May 31. For this purpose he

sent the Master of the light horsemen with a few with him, to gather vp all the Canoas . . . he met with a Canoa, going from the shoare, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off 2. sauages heads

This raid was not carried out in the secrecy planned for it, and a short battle ensued between the English and the Indians. The next morning, June 1, Lane took his troops to Dasemunkepeuc to face Chief Pemisapan.

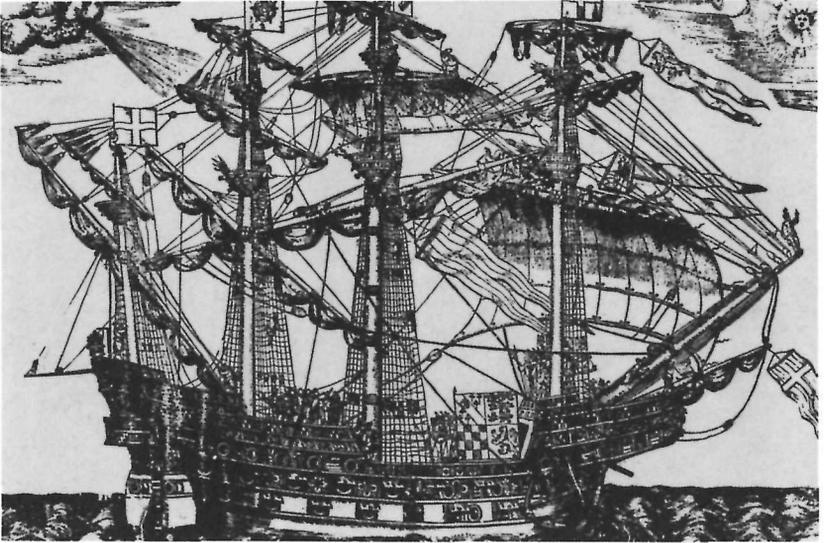


A pinnace, the kind of small boat the colonists used to transport men and supplies from the harbor at Hatorask through the inland waters to Roanoke Island.

Finding all the chiefs gathered together, Lane gave the watchword "Christ Our Victory" and the attack was on. Pemisapan was "shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll [and was] lying on the ground for dead. . . ." Suddenly the chief got up and raced into the woods, followed by an Irish soldier. Lane feared that both the Indian and his man had been lost but "we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand."

Meanwhile, Grenville had been delayed in leaving England because of accidents to his ships upon leaving the port of Bideford and because he had seized several foreign ships and was distributing their cargoes and sending them as prizes to England. Raleigh's relief ship also was delayed by damage. It did not sail for his colony until April 3 and did not reach Port Ferdinando until the latter part of June.

Therefore the colonists were in a desperate state of affairs when Captain Stafford brought them news on June 9, 1586, that Sir Francis Drake was off the coast. His mighty fleet of 23 ships, richly laden with booty from his attacks on the Spanish West Indies and Florida, anchored the next day. Being so many, only part of the fleet sailed into the port near Roanoke Island, the rest remained in the "wilde roade" of the open sea, 2 miles from the barrier island. Lane and some of his company went aboard the flag-



The Ark Royal, or Ark Raleigh. The ship that brought the colonists to Roanoke Island was similar to this one, though much smaller.

ship, and after describing their plight to Drake, received from him a most generous offer.

He would give them a pinnace and certain boats with enough shipmasters, sailors, and supplies to afford another month's stay at Roanoke and a return voyage to England; or he would take all of them, 103 persons, on board for immediate passage to England with his fleet. Lane was loath to give up the Roanoke Island colony and therefore accepted the first offer. The pinnace was turned over to him, anchored in the open sea, but before supplies could be made ready, a great storm blew up and the ship lost all her anchors. She was forced to sail out to sea to avoid the coast, and continued on to England.

Though his fleet suffered other losses in this storm, Drake remained open-handed. He again offered Lane supplies and another ship, but because this vessel was much too large to be harbored at Port Ferdinando, its acceptance and dependence upon it would involve a great risk. It would have to be anchored outside the barrier island, in the "wilde roade," and could also be driven away or lost in a storm. This left the colonists in the grave situation described in 1615 by William Camden, an English historian:

Hereupon Lane and those who were planted there, being in great Penury

and want, and out of all Hope of Provisions out of England, their Number also much diminished, with one voice besought Drake that he would carry them back again into their own Countrey, which he readily and willingly did.

When Drake sailed, on June 18, 1586, he carried the entire colony home to England with him. More patience and more faith in Raleigh might have saved the colony, for within a week the *Tiger* arrived at Roanoke bearing the supplies sent out from England by Sir Walter. After searching the island and Hatarask in vain for the colonists, the *Tiger* set sail for England. On the way from England the *Tiger* had not encountered Drake's large fleet because the supply ships followed the westerly trade winds to the south and, upon reaching the continent, sailed north up the coast from Florida. Meanwhile Drake was sailing directly east to England.

The disappointment and irony was heightened by the arrival of Grenville's three ships about a fortnight after Raleigh's ship left. Grenville also found the settlement places desolate, but being "unwilling to loose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held," he left 15 men on Roanoke Island, fully provisioned for 2 years, to hold the country for the Queen until more colonists could be sent to support them. Grenville then returned to England.

JOHN WHITE'S WATERCOLORS
Portrait of a New World

No picture of him exists and little is known of his personal life; yet, he remains vividly alive because of his activities during five voyages to America—1584, 1585–86, 1587, and 1590. Painter, surveyor, map-maker, colonial governor, shrewd observer of the natural scene, John White brought the New World to life through his journals and, most importantly, his remarkable set of watercolors.

White was probably born in London sometime between 1540 and 1550 and died about 1606. He wrote in the style of an educated man, but no evidence exists as to his schooling or training. He may have learned his craft of draftsman and artist as a member of the Painters and Stainers Company of London. A John White appears as a member of that guild in 1580. Of his family, almost nothing is known. He married between 1565 and 1570 and was the father of at least one daughter, Eleanor, the mother of Virginia Dare. Both his daughter and granddaughter disappeared with the "Lost Colony."

Despite this very dim picture of John White, his personality emerges through his written and pictorial memories of "Virginia." It is apparent from his writings that White was a sensitive and accurate reporter. A deep personal involvement with the American colonial ventures shows through clearly in all his manuscripts—first as a colonist and then as governor. His paintings, however, are White's most perceptive mode of expression. With a vitality and freshness unique in the 16th century, White presented a new land and its people to a waiting Europe.

It was unusual for an artist to go on a voyage of discovery, but not uncommon for a member of the expedition to make notes and crude drawings. The importance of carrying a trained observer on an exploratory voyage became increasingly evident to all nations. Not only were scientists eager for new data, but future colonists wanted to know what they might be facing in a strange land. Sir Walter Raleigh did not give him specific instructions on what to record, but there is little doubt that White followed the advice given to all English explorers in 1582:

Also drawe to liefie all strange birdes beastes fishes plantes hearbes Trees and fruictes and bring home of each sorte as nere as you may. Also drawe the figures and shapes of men and woemen in their apparell as also of their manner of wepons in every place as you shall finde them differing.

The skill with which White followed these instructions made him much

more than an "artist assistant"—it made him a prime authority in his own right.

White and Thomas Hariot found a new continent "sitting for its portrait" and proceeded to record all that they saw. Of course the Indians did more than sit, they sang, danced, fished, hunted, and fought with their enemies. White's manner of drawing the native people was as spontaneous as their actions—applying his colors directly to the paper without any surface preparation after outlining the subject in black lead. He probably sat off to the side quietly observing the Indians with his sensitive and understanding eye, then swiftly conveying his impressions to paper. Most 16th-century artists tended to Europeanize their subjects and pose them in unnatural situations. One of John White's greatest contributions to our knowledge of the Indian was his delicate naturalism in portraying his subjects. The bulk of White's drawings—plants, animals, and people—were made during the 1585–86 voyages. These were an eloquent record of America, painted with imaginative insight and freshness.

The John White watercolors, engraved by Theodore de Bry, first appeared in 1590 as part of a volume entitled *America*. The publication went through 17 printings and was translated into four languages between 1590 and 1630. For three centuries it stood as the main source of pictorial presentation of the American Indian and life in the New World. The drawings were then lost until 1866 when the British Museum secured at least a partial collection of the originals from the Earl of Charlemont. It was almost another century before the paintings were reproduced again. The issuing of the John White prints offered to the 20th century what De Bry's engravings presented to the 16th century—proof of an eloquent and lucid achievement in a strange land.

Perhaps it does not matter that we know so little of John White the man—his art is his memorial.

Michael Strock

Native life before the coming of the Europeans. This view shows the village of Secoton.





The tribal leader dressed in a manner befitting his rank. He wore an apron with pearls set in the fringe and a copper square around his neck.

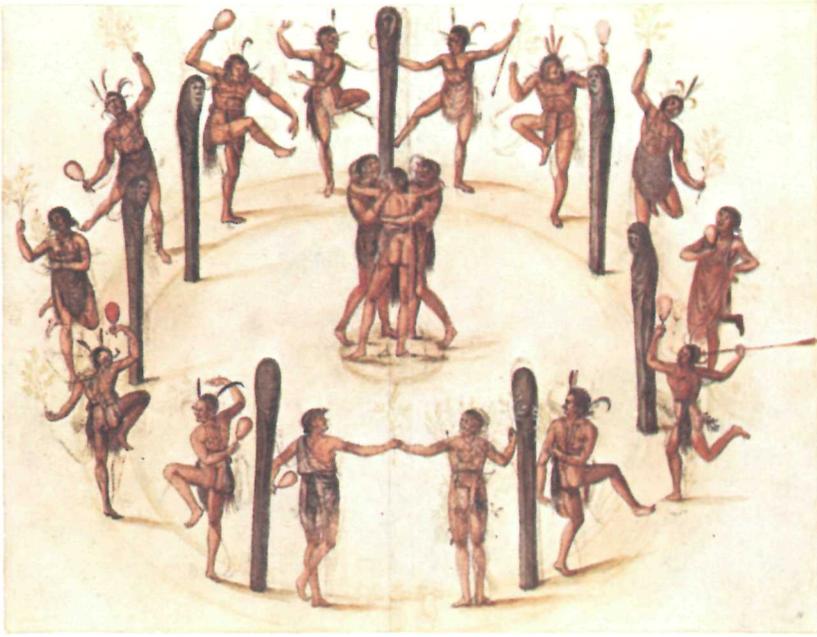


The manner of their attire and
painting them selves when
they go to their generall
huntinges or at their
Solemne feasts.

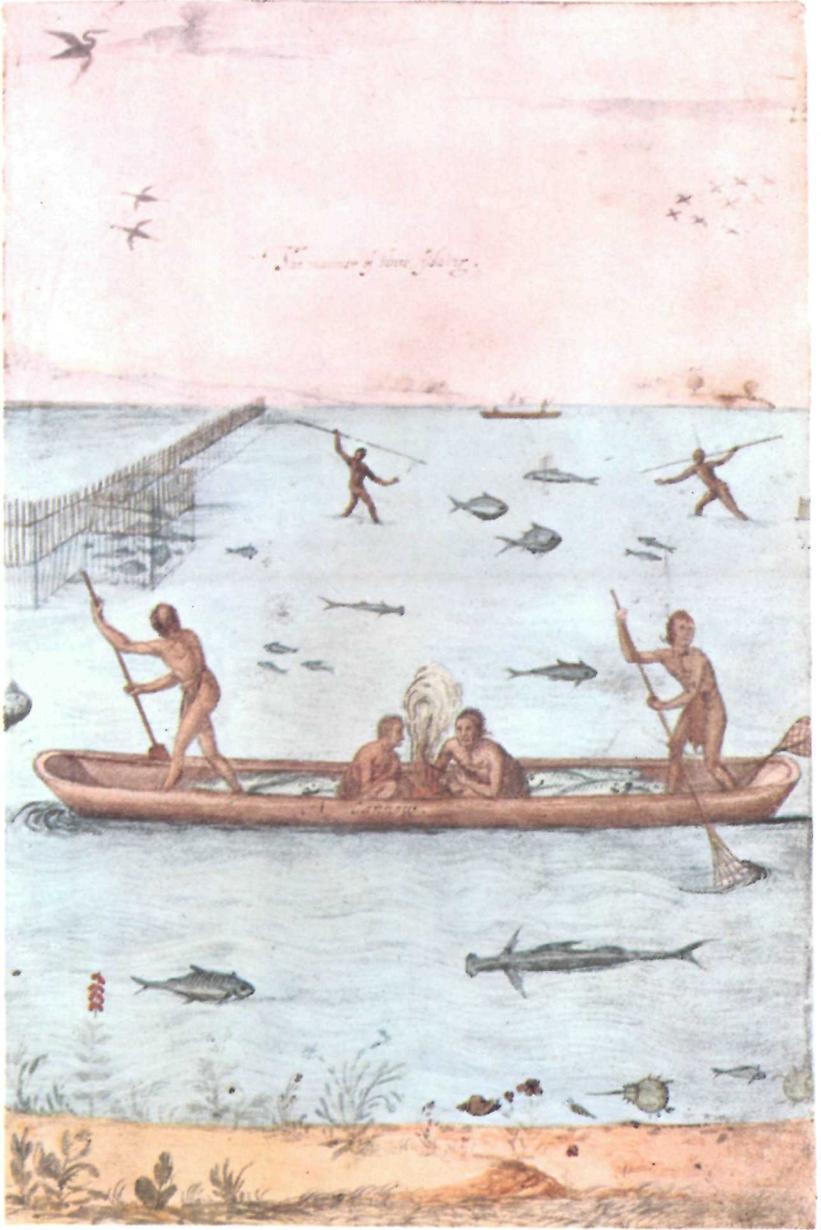
Preparing for the hunt, the warrior donned the tail of a cougar to give him the skill of that large cat and decorated his body with paint.



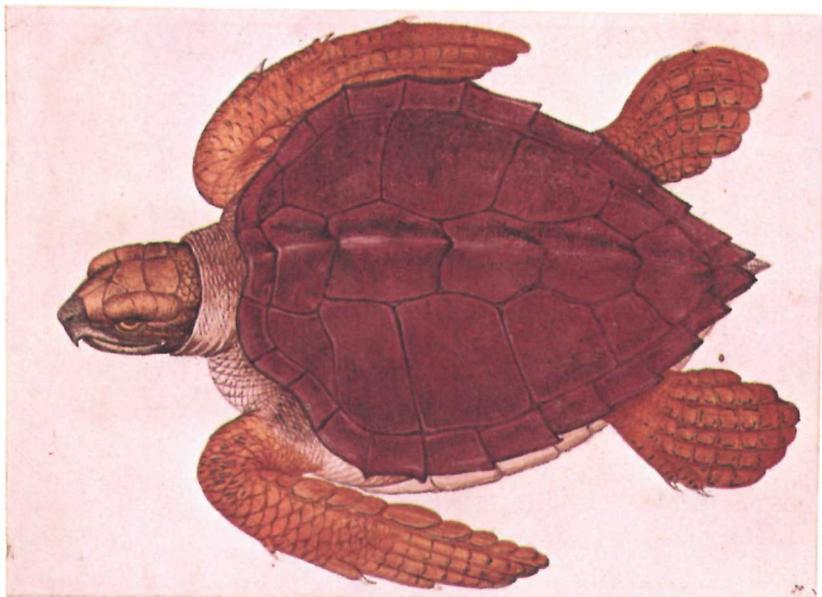
After escaping "any great danger by sea or land," wrote Hariot, the Indians gave thanks in a ceremony around a fire.



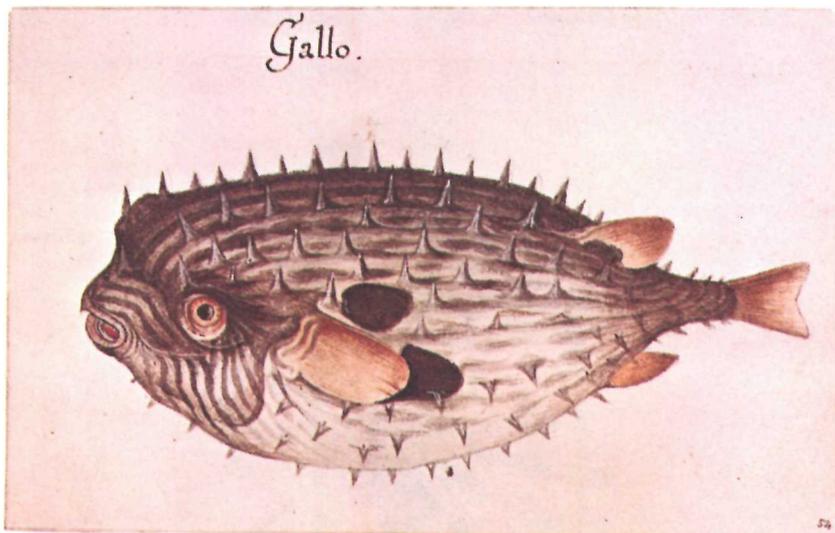
After a successful adventure, the Indians joyously celebrated with dancing and feasting. According to Hariot, the dancers in the center were "three of the fayrest Virgins."



Pamlico Sound yielded a bountiful harvest of fish and shellfish.



This large Atlantic turtle made a tasty stew for the natives and colonists.



Sometimes called the spiny boxfish, this sea creature aroused the curiosity of White and the colonists.



Hariot described their cooking: "They or their women fill the vessel with water, and then putt they in fruite, flesh, and fish, and left all boyle together. . . ."



Theire sitting at meate .



A man and woman eat boiled maize while sitting on reed mats. Wrote Hariot: "They are verye sober in their eatinge, and drinkinge, and consequentlye verye longe lived because they do not oppress nature."

Both colonists and Indians cooked their fish over open fires.

*A cheife Herovians wyfe of Lemec .
and her daughter of the age of . 8 . yr .
. 10 . yeares .*



Indian women wore fringed deerskin aprons decorated with ornaments of copper, pearls, or smooth bone. Their daughters usually wore girdles of skin and moss until the age of 10, when they were considered women.

4

The Lost Colony

Undiscouraged by the failure of this first colony, Sir Walter Raleigh was able to organize another expedition, this one consisting of 150 persons. This group had more of a colonizing character than the previous one, for it included women and children; and this time, the men were called "planters." Its government was also less military, since the direction of the enterprise in Virginia was to be in the hands of a syndicate of subpatentees. Raleigh incorporated these as the "Gouvernour and Assistants [12] of the Cittie of Raleigh in Virginea."

Colonization was becoming less of a one-man venture and more of a corporate or business enterprise, anticipating in a certain degree the later English companies that were to found successful colonies in Virginia and New England. Exactly what inducements Raleigh offered to the planters are not known. His terms were probably liberal, because Hariot wrote in February 1587 that the least Raleigh had granted was 500 acres of land to each man willing to go to America. Those who also contributed money or supplies probably stood to receive more. From the list of names that has come down to us, it appears that at least 10 of the planters took their wives with them. Ambrose Viccars and Arnold Archard brought not only their wives but one child each. At least 17 women and nine children were in the group that arrived safely in Virginia.

In still another respect, this second colonial expedition seemed to anticipate the later Jamestown settlement. Raleigh had directed, in writing, that the fort and colony be established in the Chesapeake Bay area where a better port could be had and where conditions for settlement were considered more favorable than Pamlico Sound, south of Roanoke.

A small fleet of three ships sailed from Plymouth for Virginia on May 8, 1587. The expedition had some direct continuity with the previous ones,

for Raleigh had appointed John White as governor of the colony. White had been on the previous voyages; he was to make five trips to Virginia. Also on the new voyage were the navigator Simon Ferdinando, Captain Stafford, and Darby Glande.

Their route, as in 1585, lay via the "Baye of Muskito" in Puerto Rico. Here Glande was left behind (in Lane's version), and being an Irish Catholic, he lived to testify before Spanish authorities at St. Augustine some years later regarding the first Roanoke Island colony.

The expedition sailed along the coast of Haiti, passing by the town of Isabella where Grenville had traded with the Spaniards for cattle and other necessities in 1585. But this time there was no trading, possibly because England and Spain were on the eve of open war. Also, the expedition was in a hurry to reach the settlement country so that plantings for crops could be made before the growing season was too far gone. Whatever the reason, this failure to take on supplies at Haiti proved to be a serious handicap for the colony of 1587.

The two leading ships of the expedition reached Hatarask on July 22, 1587, and the third ship on July 25. Meanwhile, on the 22d, Governor White and a small group of planters went to Roanoke with the intention of conferring with the 15 men left there by Grenville the preceding year. At the place where the men had been left White reported:

We found none of them, nor any signe, that they had bene there, sauving onely we found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

The 23. of July, the Governour, with diuers of his companie, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessarie and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, wee found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauving the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrownen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Mellons; so we returned to our companie, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

For reasons which are obscure, but perhaps because the growing season was already late, it was decided to settle again at Roanoke Island rather than to go on to the Chesapeake Bay country. The houses found standing were

repaired and new cottages were built. The Indians were even more hostile than formerly. Soon after landing, some Indians who were hunting deer in the "high reedes" saw George Howe, one of the assistants, *wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue onely a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his companie, shotte at him in the water, where they gaue him sixeteene wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their wooden swordes, beat his head in peeces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.*

Through the intercession of the Indian Manteo, who had relatives on the barrier island of Croatoan, friendly relations with the Croatoan Indians were reestablished, but the other tribes kept aloof.

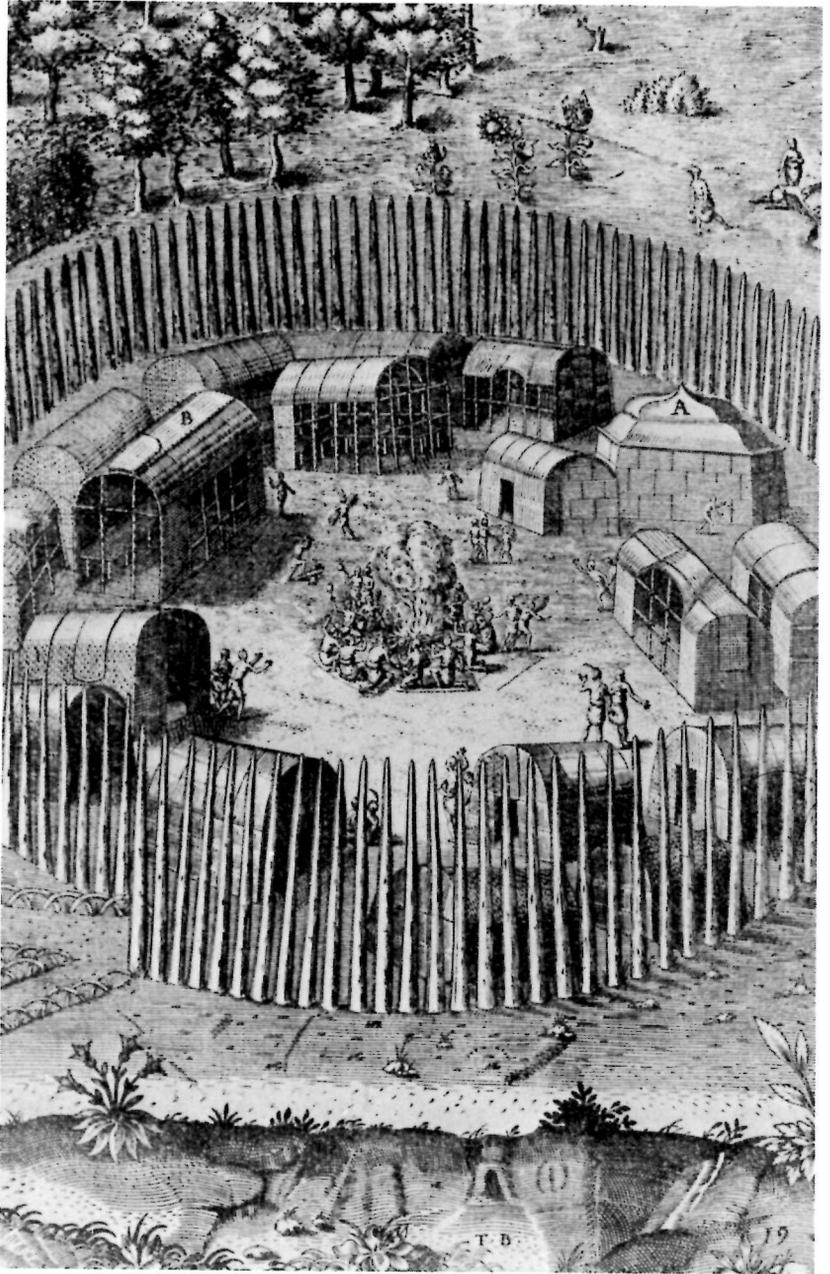
The remaining Roanoke Island Indians at Dasemunkepeuc were accused by the Croatoan Indians of killing not only Howe but also Grenville's 15 men. Governor White, Captain Stafford, and 24 men determined to revenge these deaths without delay. White describes their attack.

The next day, being the ninth of August, in the morning so earely, that it was yet darke, wee landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods . . . and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently sette on them: the miserable soules herewith amased, fledde into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceauing them, shotte one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith wee entred the reedes, among which wee hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs

The attack was a blunder. The Roanoke Indians had already fled. In their place were the friendly Croatoans who had gone to the village to take whatever corn and fruit might have been left behind. Thanks to Manteo, the Croatoan Indians forgave the Englishmen, or pretended to do so.

On August 13, complying with Raleigh's instructions, Manteo was christened and declared Lord of Roanoke and Dasemunkepeuc as a reward for his many services. Five days later, White's daughter Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, gave birth to a girl. The first child of English parentage to be born in the New World, she was named Virginia. A child was born to Dyonis and Margery Harvie shortly afterward.

It was late August, the planting season was over, and the colonists were short of food and lacked livestock and even salt. Someone would have to return



The Indian village of Pomeiooc, engraved by De Bry from John White's watercolor.

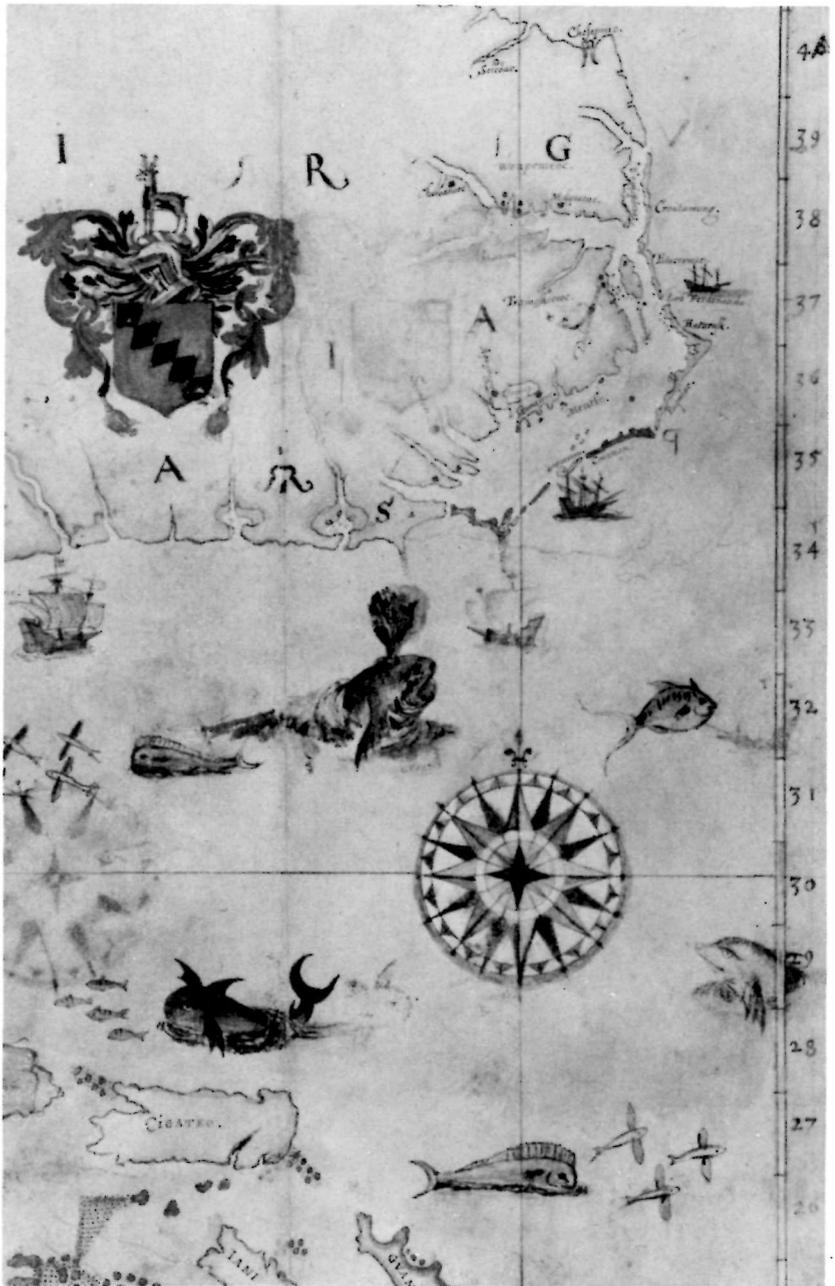
to England for help if the colonists were to survive. They felt they could make a permanent settlement, if food and other supplies could arrive in a matter of months. They selected John White as their representative. We can presume they reasoned that White, as Governor, friend of Raleigh, and a financial backer of the settlement, would exert greater influence than anyone else on those in London who would have to provide funds for the supplies.

However, White did not wish to return alone, and he was only persuaded to do so after *the whole companie, both of the Assistants, and planters, came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England. . . .* A formal document was drawn up guaranteeing protection of White's goods. On August 27, he sailed homeward with all three vessels to obtain the needed supplies.

After White's departure, the history of events in the colony is a tragic mystery which one can only attempt to explain. There had been talk of moving the colony 50 miles inland, and White had arranged for appropriate indications of the colonists' whereabouts if they moved from Roanoke Island before he returned. However, White could not return as soon as expected because of the outbreak of war with Spain. This was 1588, the Armada year. Sir Richard Grenville, who was preparing a new fleet to go to Virginia, was ordered to make his ships available to the English Navy for service against the Spanish. Both Raleigh and Grenville were assigned tasks connected with the national defense and could give little thought to Virginia enterprises. At length, the Queen's Privy Council gave Grenville permission to use, on the intended Virginia voyage for the relief of the settlers, only two small ships not required for service against Spain.

These were the *Brave* and the *Roe*. They were not only small but poorly equipped and provisioned. White sailed on the *Brave*, under Capt. Arthur Facy, with the Spaniard, Pedro Diaz as pilot. Facy was wholly set on prize-taking and started to privateer while still in European waters. Both vessels suffered revenge. Two large French ships out of La Rochelle caught up with the *Brave*, and after a broadside, one boarded them. Savage fighting followed. Many of the crew were lost and the French captain set his men to looting the vessel. Her pilot, Pedro Diaz, escaped onto the attacking ship. In her half-crippled state, the *Brave* could do nothing but head back to England. There she arrived a day or two after the *Roe*, from which she had been separated.

Thus, while Grenville's large warships contributed to the defeat of the Armada, the Roanoke Island colony was doomed for the lack of them.



This second map by John White locates a number of nearby Indian villages.

Although the Armada was defeated in the summer of 1588, the Anglo-Spanish battle of the Atlantic continued for several years. Spain had planned to carry on the war not only against England by means of the Armada but also to seek out the English colony in the New World and destroy it. In the latter part of June 1588, the Spanish governor at St. Augustine sent a fast ship northward to locate the English colony preparatory to an attack on it. After reconnoitering Chesapeake Bay, the Spanish ship—with the pilot Vincente Gonzalez in command and with Juan Menendez Marques, nephew of the governor, on board—came somewhat by chance to Port Ferdinando. They took note of the harbor and the evidence of the English colony, and departed, hurriedly to St. Augustine to report their findings. They clearly thought the harbor still in use, but the projected attack was first postponed and later thought to be unnecessary because of the weakness of the fort and settlement—at least that is the conclusion to be drawn from available Spanish documents.

On March 7, 1589, Raleigh deeded his interest in the Virginia enterprise, except a fifth part of all gold and silver ore, to a group of London merchants and adventurers and to White and nine other gentlemen. At least seven of them were planters whom White had left in Virginia, such as Ananias Dare, his son-in-law and father of Virginia Dare. Others included in the group were Richard Hakluyt and Thomas Smythe.

The months slipped by, but White and the London merchants were unable to get a fleet organized for the relief and strengthening of the colony. Master John Watts, one of the greatest of the London merchant-privateers but not of the group, had three ships in the Thames loaded to sail for the West Indies, but a Privy Council order held all ships in port because of a threat of another Spanish attack. Then, in January 1590, White sought to use Watts' fleet to supply the colony with food, equipment, and colonists. He appealed to Raleigh to use his influence with the Queen on Watts' behalf.

Watts received clearance to sail but seems to have reneged on his part of the agreement. Though White was aboard, Watts' ships did not carry new colonists or supplies for the Virginia settlement. Privateering was such a profitable venture at that time that a voyage solely for the relief of a half-forgotten outpost was almost unthinkable. Writing to Richard Hakluyt in 1593, White said that on the Watts' expedition

I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpon me, although I made

great sute, & earnest entreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships.

White no doubt felt that he should return, even alone. If he at least went, the ships would stop at Ronaoke Island. His deciding to go at all was a desperate measure to see for himself what may have happened to the colonists. His own family was on the island. Perhaps he also meant to try to help the colonists to return to England if he found them in desperate straits. The ships sailed on March 20, 1590—about 2½ years after he had left Virginia.

After privateering for months in the West Indies, the Watts expedition anchored on the night of August 12 at the northeast end of the island of Croatoan. If White had known then the clue to the colonists' whereabouts that he was to learn 6 days later, he would have asked for a search of that island! After taking soundings, the fleet weighed anchor on August 13 and arrived at Hatarask toward the evening of the 15th.

As the ships anchored at Hatarask, smoke was seen rising on Roanoke Island, giving hope that the colonists were still alive. On the morning of the 16th, White, Capt. Abraham Cocke, Capt. Edward Spicer, and a small company set forth in two boats for Roanoke Island. En route they saw another column of smoke rising southwest of "Kindrikers mountes" (probably the great sand dunes at Nags Head). They decided to investigate this latter smoke column first. Trudging along the sandy shore was a wearisome task that consumed the whole day and led only to a woods fire. No humans were found.

The next day, August 17, they prepared to go to Roanoke Island. Captain Spicer and six men were drowned in the treacherous inlet when their boat capsized. Despite this misfortune White and the others proceeded with the search. They put off again in two boats, but before they could reach the place of settlement it became so dark they overshot their mark by one-quarter mile. On the north end of the island they saw a light and rowed toward it. Anchoring opposite it in the darkness, they blew a trumpet and sang familiar English tunes and songs, but received no answer.

In the morning they landed on the north end of the island and found only grass and rotten trees burning. They went west through the woods to that part of the island directly opposite Dasemunkepeuc on the mainland and returned by the water's edge around the north point of the island until they came to the place where the colony had been left by Governor White in 1587. In the course of the long walk along the shore, nothing of interest was seen except footprints which two or three Indians had made in the sand during the night.

As they climbed the sandy bank toward the settlement area, they found CRO carved on a tree at the brow of the hill. At the dwelling site, they found that all of the houses had been taken down and the area strongly enclosed with a palisade of tree trunks, with curtains and flankers "very Fort-like." The bark had been peeled off one of the trees, or posts, and carved on it in capital letters was the word CROATOAN, but without the maltese cross or sign of distress that White had asked the settlers to use in such messages if they were forced to leave Roanoke. Inside the palisade, they found iron and other heavy objects thrown about and almost overgrown with grass, signifying that the place had been abandoned for some time.

From the fort and settlement area, they proceeded again along the shore southward to Town Creek, which had been fortified with "Falkons and small Ordinance" and where the small boats of the colony were kept, but they could find no sign of these things. After returning to the fort and settlement area, White searched for chests and personal effects he had secretly buried in 1587. Indians had discovered the hiding place, rifled the chests, torn the covers off the books, and left the pictures and maps to be spoiled by rain. Considering that Governor White was the artist and illustrator of the expedition of 1585-86, one can imagine his feelings on seeing his maps and pictures irretrievably ruined.

However, according to his own words he was cheered at the thought that the carved word CROATOAN meant his daughter, his granddaughter Virginia Dare, and the rest of the colonists would be found at Croatoan Island, where Chief Manteo was born and where the Indians had been friendly to the English.

As stormy weather was brewing, White and his little group returned in haste to the harbor where their ships were at anchor.

For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning.

Though they wanted to go to Croatoan Island the next day, the weather continued to worsen:

we had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our caske of fresh water lost.

They planned to go to the West Indies to take on fresh water and then

return to Croatoan. However, they were blown toward the Azores, and from Flores in that group of islands, they sailed on to England.

White could not finance another expedition to America, and Raleigh, although enjoying a large income at times, spent lavishly. Some of the money and energy that might have gone into the Virginia enterprise, Raleigh expended during 1587-1602 in colonizing estates in Ireland.

The Virginia enterprise would have required a prince's purse, but Raleigh was not a prince. The death of Walsingham, the Queen's secretary, in 1590 was a blow to Raleigh. In July 1592, Raleigh married Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Court ladies, without the Queen's knowledge or consent. Raleigh lost the Queen's favor, and he and his wife were imprisoned in the Tower of London. In September 1592 Raleigh was allowed to go to Plymouth to untangle the shares in the richest prize ever taken at sea—the Portuguese galleon *Madre de Deas*. Raleigh bought his freedom and his wife's by making over the bulk of his profits to the Queen. Though out of prison, he remained out of favor until after the capture of Cadiz, in 1596, in which he participated.

White, therefore, accepted the facts with resignation. In his letter of February 4, 1593, to Richard Hakluyt, he said: "And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will."

But as late as 1602, Raleigh was still seeking in vain for his lost colony. In that year he sent out an expedition under Samuel Mace, who reached land some "40 leagues to the so-westward of Hatarask," presumably at or near Croatoan Island. They engaged in trading with the Indians along the coast but did not look very diligently for the lost colonists. They maintained that the weather made their intended thorough search unsafe. On August 21, 1602, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh expressed his undying faith in the overseas English Empire which he had attempted to establish, saying, "I shall yet live to see it an English Nation." The story of the Lost Roanoke Colony by that time had become well known.

5

Links With Jamestown and New England

After the establishment of the Jamestown settlement in 1607, the Virginia colonists constantly tried to learn from the Indians the whereabouts of the Roanoke settlers. However, the hearsay evidence they collected was never sufficiently concrete to be of any real assistance in locating Raleigh's people, and the answer to what happened to them remains a mystery to this day.

Upon the accession of King James I in 1603, Raleigh again lost favor at Court and in July of that year was imprisoned in the Tower of London on the charge of having conspired to place Arabella Stuart on the throne instead of James. At the trial in November, Raleigh, along with Lords Cobham and Grey, was convicted and condemned to death. The lives of all three were dramatically spared at the last minute, but the conviction and sentence of death against Raleigh were allowed to stand and he remained in prison in the Tower until 1616.

One consequence of the conviction of Raleigh was the loss of the sole right under the patent of 1584 to colonize the vast territory called Virginia. The patent had obligated him to settle Virginia within 6 years and as long as the mystery of the Lost Colony remained unsolved, Raleigh could maintain that his colonists might be living somewhere in Virginia and that his rights under the charter of Queen Elizabeth were still in force. He made such assertions as late as 1603.

The abolition of his claims and his imprisonment prevented Raleigh from participating in the movement among the merchants of London and the more adventurous gentry that culminated in the settlement of Virginia in 1607. The Virginia Corporation and the movement to establish a settlement in North Virginia (New England) had close ties with him. Among the leading spirits behind the successful Jamestown enterprise were Richard

Hakluyt and Sir Thomas Smythe, two of those to whom Raleigh had deeded his interest in the Roanoke Colony undertaking on March 7, 1589. Among the early leaders of the North Virginia, or Plymouth, group were Raleigh Gilbert and Sir John Gilbert, sons of Raleigh's half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Raleigh Gilbert participated in the effort to plant a settlement on the Kennebec River in Maine in 1607 and was a member of the Plymouth Company as late as 1620.

According to a letter dated May 8, 1654, from Francis Yeardley to John Farrar in Jamestown, a young trader and three companions went to Roanoke Island in September 1653. An Indian chieftain "received them civilly and showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort. . . ."

John Lawson wrote that the ruins of the fort could be seen in 1701 and that old English coins, a brass gun, a powder horn, and a small quarter-deck gun made of iron staves and hooped with iron had been found on the site.

An act of 1723 regarding a proposed town on Roanoke Island speaks of "300 Acres of Land lying on the No. E't side of the said Island, commonly called Roanoke old plantation," thus suggesting that at that date the northeastern part of the island was regarded as the scene of Raleigh's settlement.

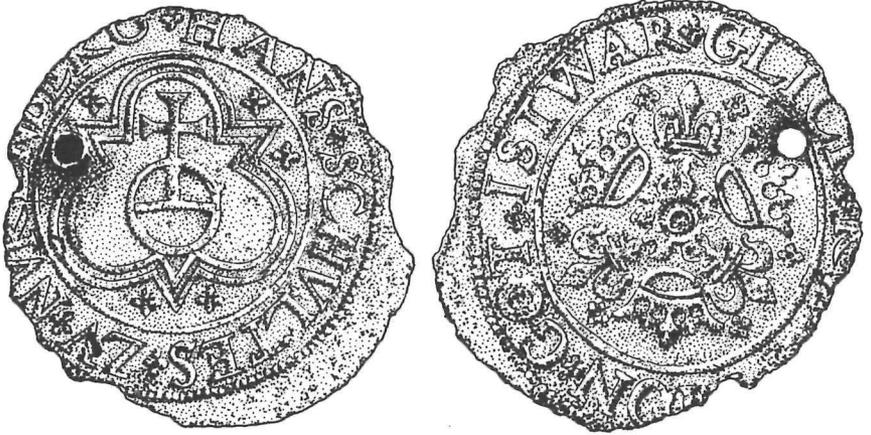
6

Search for the "Cittie of Raleigh"

The homesites of the colonists have never been found. Although some of the structures were a story and a half, and all were "substantial," no evidence such as nails, broken glass, or utensils have been found. These were prized by the Indians and probably were all carried away. The houses and outbuildings constructed by Ralph Lane's men in 1585 were used again, after rebuilding, by the 1587 settlement. Some 300 people lived in these semi-permanent structures over a 3-year period.

Where is some evidence of these structures today? Were their dwellings near the fort as would seem natural, or did the colonists move to a more favorable location only using the fort in time of danger? Could the Indians have erased all signs of colonist habitation between the disappearance of the "Lost Colony" and the rediscovery of the fort? Archeological investigations have so far left these questions unanswered. Today, we know little more than is outlined in the records left by the men and women who chose to leave England for a new life. They came to Roanoke Island, built homes and a fort, started a new life, kept journals, and painted pictures. But, the only evidence found at the site so far, are the outline of the earthen "New Fort in Virginia" (now reconstructed) and a few related artifacts.

The earliest known map to show Fort Raleigh, the Collet map of 1770, places it on the northeast side of the island near the shoreline at what appears to be the present fort site. It is marked simply "Fort." A later copyist calls it "Pain Fort," probably because he confused the notation of Paine's residence on the Collet map (in different type from "Fort") as part of the fort name. Benson J. Lossing, the historian, wrote in 1850 that "slight traces of Lane's fort" could then be seen "near the north end" of Roanoke Island. Edward C. Bruce reported in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in May 1860 that the trench of the fort was clearly traceable as a square of about



This casting counter, made in Germany in the late 16th century, was found during the excavation of the fort site. The drawings show the two sides of the counter.

40 yards each way, with one corner thrown out in the form of a small bastion. He also mentions fragments of stone and brick. Partial archeological excavation of the fort was undertaken by Talcott Williams in 1895.

From 1935 through 1946, National Park Service historians made intensive studies of all available documentary and map data relating to the fort. They concluded that the fort surveyed for the Roanoke Colony Historical Association in 1896 was Lane's fort and surmised that its shape was similar to that of Lane's fort in Puerto Rico. They could not be sure of this because—unlike the fort in Puerto Rico which is shown in a drawing by John White now in the British Museum—no picture or plan of the Roanoke fort has been found. National Park Service archeological work carried on under the direction of J. C. Harrington during the summers of 1947, 1948, and 1950 established the truth of the historians' conjectures. Enough of the fort moat, or ditch, was found intact to justify the restoration of the fort, and valuable artifact materials were recovered at the fort site and west of its entrance.

The restoration work began in 1950. Earthen fill which had accumulated since 1586 was removed from the fort's moat and placed where the parapet had been, thus restoring the parapet and the moat. Except that the archeologists worked slowly with painstaking care to follow the lines of the original ditch and Lane's soldiers must have worked rapidly with shovels, the new and the old processes of building the parapet were much the same. The amount of earth in the ditch, as disclosed through archeological methods,

determined the height of the parapet—which was shaped in accordance with data in such 16th-century manuals as Paul Ive's, *The Practise of Fortification*.

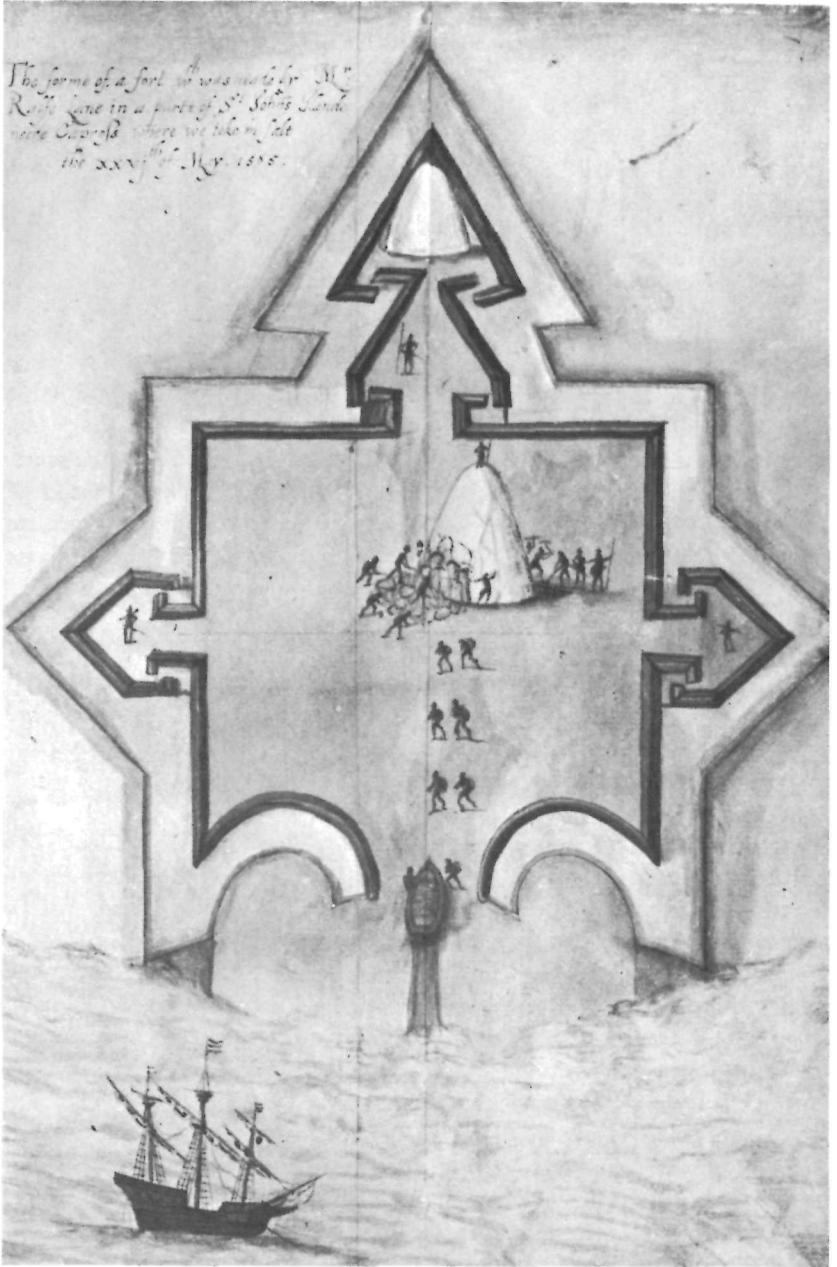
Lane's fort, as revealed and restored by the archeologists, is basically a square, with pointed bastions built on two sides of the square and an octagonal bastion built on a third side. The octagonal bastion is suggestive of the arrowhead bastion of Lane's Puerto Rico fort and of the octagonal bastion shown on the plan of St. George's fort built in Maine by Popham in 1607.

The parapet of the fort encloses an area approximately 50 feet square. The interior had been dug into so many times and in so many places by Indians, later settlers, soldiers of the Civil War period, and by Talcott Williams that Harrington was unable to say for sure what structures had been inside the fort. Traces of what may have been one long structure or two short ones were found near the center of the fort at right angles to the main entrance. Presumably, there were a well and a powder magazine. The few pieces of brick found may relate to the footings or chimneys of the structure, or structures, in the fort or to the magazine. The one measurable side of one of the brick fragments was of the proper gage to have been of the Elizabethan period, when the sizes of bricks were regulated by law.

Today, large dunes lie between the fort and Roanoke Sound and obstruct the view of the water. Archeological tests have determined that the dunes were formed later than the settlement. Thus, the fort originally commanded a view of Roanoke Sound—a good defensive position.

Though the site of the fort has been located, the "Cittie" has not. The search is continuing, for until the actual dwelling places of the colonists are found, the story of English colonizing efforts on Roanoke Island will be incomplete. From written records, we know how they found food, dealt with the Indians, and searched for gold and pearls. We could learn much more about the people and their daily lives if their habitation sites could be found. Small bits of evidence merely heighten the mystery and serve to accentuate the fact that the fort was not the center of the settlement, but rather a defensive structure used in time of emergency.

Among the many objects brought to light by archeological excavation was a wrought-iron sickle. It was found at the bottom of the moat. Undoubtedly, it was one of the tools used when the fort was built, because archeological evidence shows that the loose dirt of the fort's parapet began to wash back into the ditch almost as soon as the fort was completed. Even more interest-



The fort Ralph Lane built in Puerto Rico in 1585.

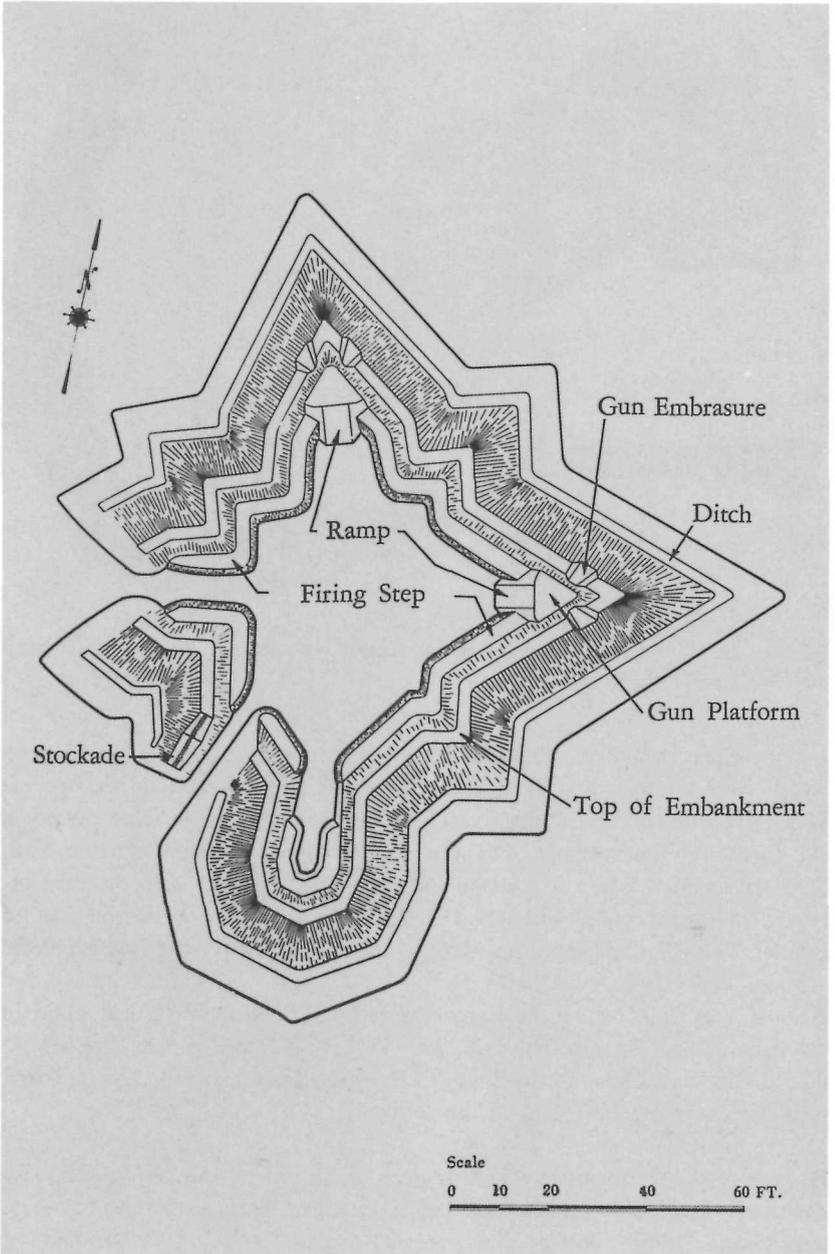


The top of a Spanish olive jar, an Indian pipe of red clay, and an iron sickle found during the excavations.

ing, perhaps, are three latten (an alloy of copper, zinc, and lead) counters which were found inside the fort. Such devices were popular in Europe for keeping arithmetical accounts during the 16th century. The three found at the fort carry the symbols of Tudor England and on one the name *Hans Schultes Zu Nuremberg* is readable. Schultes manufactured such counters between 1550 and 1574, when Nuremberg was a center for the making of counters. The Tudor symbol indicates he made this one for the English trade.

Also of great interest are the fragments of large Spanish olive jars found in the excavations. Because the colonists of 1585-86 traded for supplies in Puerto Rico and Haiti on their way to Roanoke Island, it was expected that such objects would be found in the ruins.

Fragments of the majolica which appear to be either Spanish or Hispano-American, large iron spikes, buckles, a casement bar, and other materials were found. Indian pottery and traces of Indian campfires at various soil levels show that the Indians returned to Roanoke Island and inhabited the fort area after the last colonists left.



The Fort at the "Cittie of Ralegh," a reconstruction based on archeological and historical studies.

The National Historic Site

On April 30, 1894, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association purchased the fort and 10 acres of surrounding land for memorial purposes. In 1896 the memorial area was extended to 16.45 acres and the Virginia Dare Monument was erected. To promote a more active program of interpretation at Fort Raleigh, the Roanoke Island Historical Association was organized in 1932. Fort Raleigh was transferred in 1940 to the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior. On April 5, 1941, it was designated Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, under provision of the Historic Sites Act, to commemorate Raleigh's colonies and the birthplace of Virginia Dare.

The area of the site in Federal ownership is 150 acres, embracing the fort site of 1585 and part or perhaps all of the settlement sites of 1585 and 1587. By a cooperative agreement between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States, the symphonic drama "The Lost Colony" continues to be given each season in the Waterside Theater at Fort Raleigh.

Suggested Readings

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- WALLACE, WILLARD. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Princeton. 1959.
- WILLIAMS, TALCOTT. "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*. Wash., D.C. 1896.

Administration

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site is administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Communications and inquiries should be addressed to the Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, P.O. Box 457, Manteo, NC 27954.

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities for water, fish, wildlife, mineral, land, park, and recreational resources. Indian and Territorial affairs are other major concern of America's "Department of Natural Resources." The Department works to assure the wisest choice in managing all our resources so each will make its full contribution to a better United States—now and in the future.



United States Department of the Interior
Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary

National Park Service
George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director

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