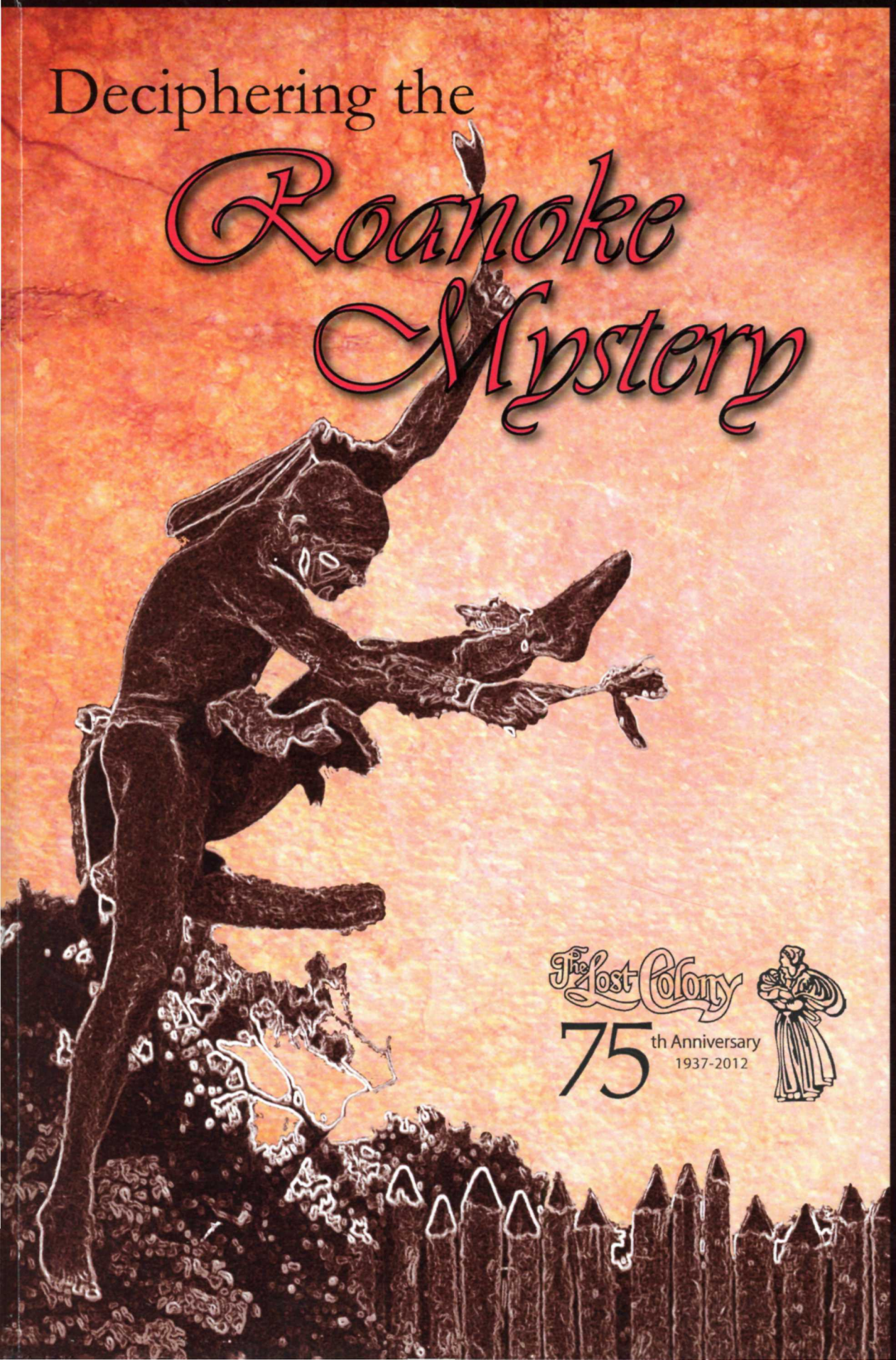
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
North Carolina

Deciphering the Roanoke Mystery



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Deciphering the Roanoke Mystery

Archaeology & Document Research
&
On-Stage in Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*

Reports & Opinions from Leaders in the Field

edited by
lebame houston & Douglas Stover

Published in 2015 by the National Park Service, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1401 National Park Drive, Manteo, NC 27954 in partnership with the Roanoke Island Historical Association, producers of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* at 1409 National Park Drive, Manteo, NC.

About the cover: designed by Jamie McCargo, featuring a 1937 photograph of Fred Howard as *Uppowoc* in performance during the premiere season of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* outdoor symphonic drama.

Title page image: detail of Theodor de Bry's engraving "The Arrival of The Englishmen in Virginia," in Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia The complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), 45, pl. 2.

This publication is available for study at the Museum Resource Center, National Park Service, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1419 Pear Pad Road, Manteo, NC 27954.

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Foreword

The partnership between the Roanoke Island Historical Association [RIHA] and the National Park Service [NPS] has been a collaborative effort to interpret Roanoke Island's unique Elizabethan heritage since the establishment of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site in 1941when it became the new home of *The Lost Colony* outdoor symphonic drama. Over three million people have seen the fictionalized history play and visited the park to learn more about the settlers and Indians whose footsteps they follow, certainly proving that the partnership is effective in its purpose.

Until David Quinn's publication of *The Roanoke Voyages* in 1954, little scholarly attention was paid to the Roanoke Island colonies. Thereafter, the subject began to pique the interest and research efforts of an increasing number of historians and archaeologists, but the results of their efforts tended to be insular to the world of academe. By 1993, new discoveries in records repositories and in the ground at Fort Raleigh were surfacing, and new theories abounded.

The NPS-RIHA partnership responded by producing, with principal funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, *Roanoke Decoded*, the first international symposium ever held at Fort Raleigh. True to the nature of the partnership, the four-day public symposium featured the leading historians, archaeologists and researchers, but also featured some of the leading arts professionals whose skills focused on interpreting history through the arts. The mixture of scholarship, interpretation, educational programs for teachers, performances and discussions proved highly successful on all levels—each area of expertise realizing the importance of the others, and all accepting the need for public understanding. The event attracted five thousand enthusiastic people who probably had never experienced so much history, theatre, music, art, dance and site-touring in any four-day period of their lives.

Almost immediately a new organization, Elizabeth R & Company [ER&CO], was formed to continue the production of an original history-play created for the symposium, and to develop others in the same vein. Currently the organization, which has partnered with both RIHA and the NPS on occasion, has four such productions, three of which tour regionally or internationally.

Since 1993, more evidence to help unravel the mysteries of the Roanoke Island colonies continues to appear, primarily through the efforts of the First Colony Foundation [FCF], a new organization of archaeologists and historians that also partners with the National Park Service, and on occasion with RIHA.

As a consequence, in 2012, in celebration of the 75th Anniversary of *The Lost Colony*, the RIHA-NPS partnership, with FCF and ER&CO, produced the Bill & Ida Friday Symposium—*The Roanoke Conundrum in Fact & Fiction*, again featuring historians, archaeologists, researchers and arts professionals.

The papers included in this book were selected from the two symposia and relevant archaeology reports at Fort Raleigh. The photo essays were created specifically for the publication.

My co-editor, former NPS Historian Douglas Stover, now a Consultant for World Heritage Sites, conceived and championed the idea of printing the papers, and former Outer Banks Group Superintendent Michael B. Murray was a major supporter. I am indebted to them, and to Jami Lanier, NPS Cultural Resource Manager who spent countless hours completing the graphics; to Clay Swindell and Jamie McCargo for the cover design; and to Kim Sloan for facilitating and the British Museum for granting permission to include drawings in the museum's collection in this publication. Barbara Hird, Trish Webb, Christopher Clarens, Phil Evans, Susie White, Cindy McEnery, Ray Reisert, Bill Alexander, Kathy Horne and Sandy Semans have been my constant supporters. Without their assistance, this publication could never have happened. My thanks to each and all.

lebame houston
RIHA Historian
August, 2015

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
Pictorial Essay

by Jami Lanier

On April 5, 1941 the US Congress issued the legislation and order designating Fort Raleigh National Historic Site; because certain lands and historical remains on the north end of Roanoke Island were found to be of national significance as a portion of pre-colonial settlements established in North America under the aegis of Sir Walter Ralegh in 1585-1587; and because those lands were donated to the United States by the state of North Carolina; and because of an agreement between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States for the perpetual annual production of *The Lost Colony* on the property.

THE SAND HILLS ON ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C.

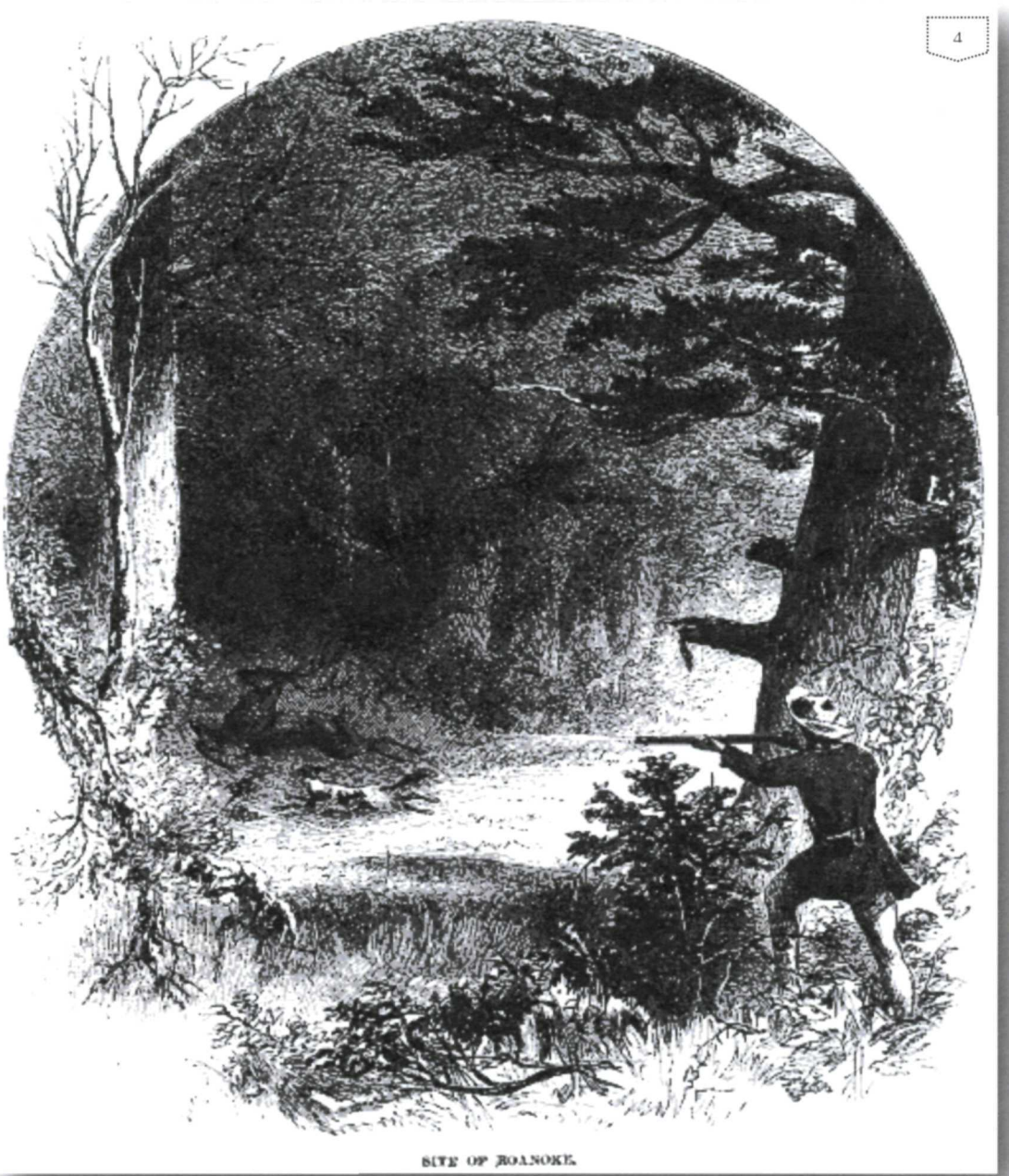
Near this spot, Colonists sent out from England by Sir Walter Raleigh, landed in 1585

Copyright, 1908, By E. N. ANKETELL.

The Lost Colony

The fate of the fabled lost colony of Roanoke Island is one of America's greatest mysteries. Facts are sparse—and confusing. In 1584, Sir Walter Ralegh, nearing the peak of royal favor, sent a reconnaissance voyage to North America to locate a suitable site for English colonization. Roanoke Island appeared to be the best location, even though access was difficult because of constantly changing shoals and inlets. Undeterred, Ralegh and his investors sent a colony of explorers in 1585 to establish a base of operations on Roanoke Island and investigate the surrounding area. After 11 months, however, Governor Ralph Lane and his men abandoned the settlement and returned to England—shortly after having beheaded the Native American King and in effect making further English colonization impossible for the foreseeable future. Dismayed, but not defeated, Ralegh granted a portion of his New-World territory to the artist John White, whom he appointed Governor of the 'Cittie of Ralegh' to be establish near the Chesapeake Bay. Governor White and about 120 settlers sailed from England in 1587, bound for the Chesapeake, with a scheduled stop-over at Roanoke Island. Inexplicably, the expedition's pilot and an unnamed gentleman of authority refused to give the Governor and his colonists further passage, forcing them to remain on Roanoke Island. On 27 August 1587, slightly more than a month after arriving on the Outer Banks, Governor White, aware that his settlers intended to re-locate to their intended destination as soon as possible, departed for England, promising to return with supplies and additional settlers. His return being delayed for three years, White finally arrived on Roanoke in 1590. He found the settlement deserted, the houses taken down and the place where the houses had been, surrounded with a palisade—very fort-like. The only known clues were the indications that some or all of the settlers had gone to *Croatoan*. Neither he, nor any other European ever saw any of them again.

Site of Old Fort Ralegh



The earliest known depiction of the earthwork fortification at Fort Raleigh was published in an 1860 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in an article entitled, "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers." The author described the location of the earthwork on the north-end of Roanoke Island as "judiciously selected.... The trench," he notes, "is clearly traceable in a square of about forty yards each way. Midway of one side [foreground of above sketch] another trench, perhaps flanking the gateway, runs in some fifteen or twenty feet. This is shown. And on the right of the same face of the inclosure [*sic*], the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible." Compare the image above with the photo of the restored earthwork in this essay.

Memorializing the Site

On April 28, 1894, a group of ex-patriot North Carolinians living in Baltimore chartered the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association for the primary purposes of educating the public about the Roanoke Island colonies, and purchasing and preserving the historic site of Old Fort Ralegh. On 30 April, the organization purchased the Dough Homestead of 250 acres on the north-end of the island for $1300; and in a second transaction on the same day, the adjacent Old Fort Ralegh tract of ten acres more or less for $200. [See survey above]. Subsequently, in 1896, the organization fenced the earthwork area to protect it. The Memorial Marker was dedicated on 24 November 1896, [See photo of the newly placed marker above, l-r: W.D. Pruden, Sr. (charter vp; president 1902-06; director 1906-18); Dr. Richard Dillard (president 1916-18; sec-treas 1913-14; director 1913-25, 1928-30); unidentified woman; Judge Francis D. Winston (later Lt. Gov. NC and speaker at a Virginia Dare Day celebration); and Bishop Howard E. Rondthaler (director 1916-17, 1918-1925)].

Memorializing the Site

ABOVE: A rare 1908 print by A.V. Evans of the earthwork at Old Fort Ralegh showing the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association's Memorial Marker for the settlements, and split-rail fence around the earthwork–clearly in disarray. A trace of the original fortification is still visible. The marker bears the inscription:

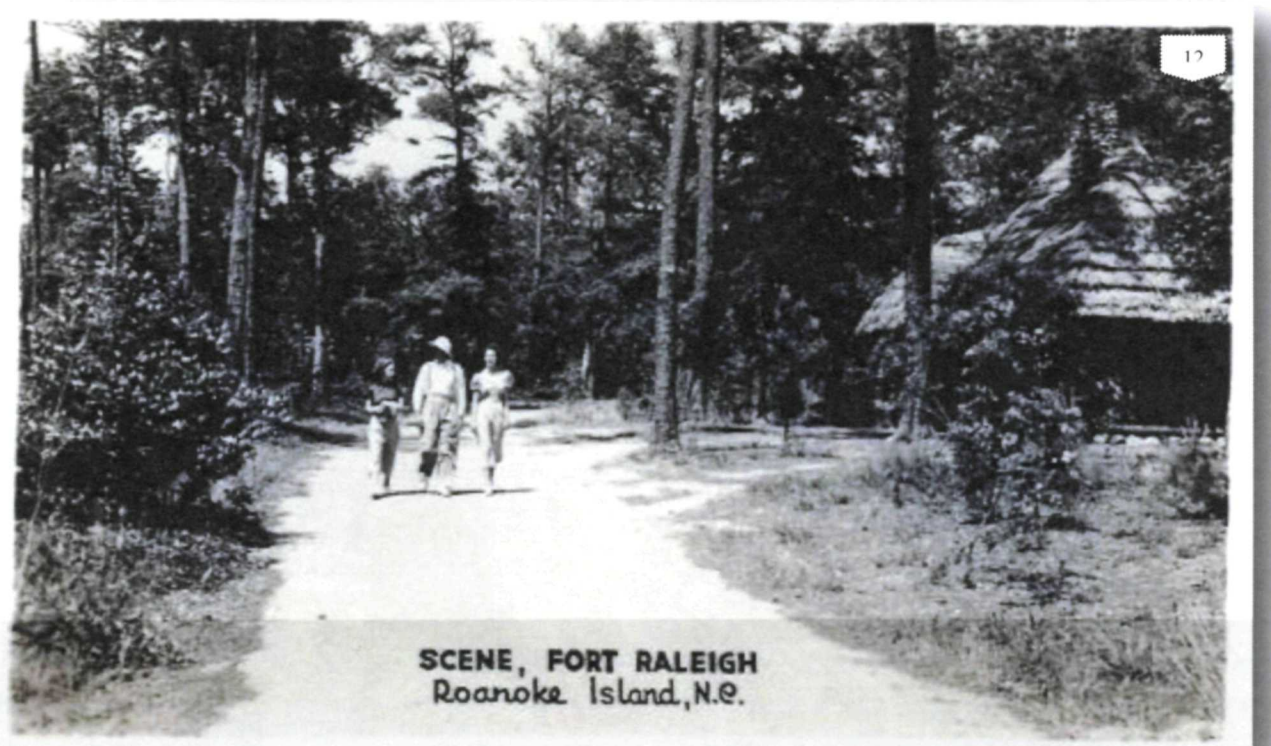
> ON THIS SITE, IN JULY-AUGUST, 1585, (O.S.) COLONISTS, SENT OUT FROM ENGLAND BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH, BUILT A FORT, CALLED BY THEM "THE NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA." THESE COLONISTS WERE THE FIRST SETTLERS OF THE ENGLISH RACE IN AMERICA. THEY RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN JULY, 1586, WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. NEAR THIS PLACE WAS BORN, ON THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1587, VIRGINIA DARE THE FIRST CHILD OF ENGLISH PARENTS BORN IN AMERICA—DAUGHTER OF ANANIAS DARE AND ELEANOR WHITE, HIS WIFE, MEMBERS OF ANOTHER BAND OF COLONISTS SENT OUT BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH IN 1587. ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 20 [*sic*], 1587 VIRGINIA DARE WAS BAPTIZED. MANTEO, THE FRIENDLY CHIEF [*sic*] OF THE HATTERAS INDIANS, HAD BEEN BAPTIZED ON THE SUNDAY PRECEDING. THESE BAPTISMS ARE THE FIRST KNOWN CELEBRATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN SACRAMENT IN THE TERRITORY OF THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL UNITED STATES. 1896.

1921 Silent Film

In 1921, Mabel Evans, working under the aegis of the NC Department of Public Instruction, wrote and produced a five-reel silent movie about the sixteenth-century English settlements on Roanoke Island. Her sets included [left] interior and exterior depictions in an earthwork with palisado, constructed approximately on top of the sixteenth-century original.

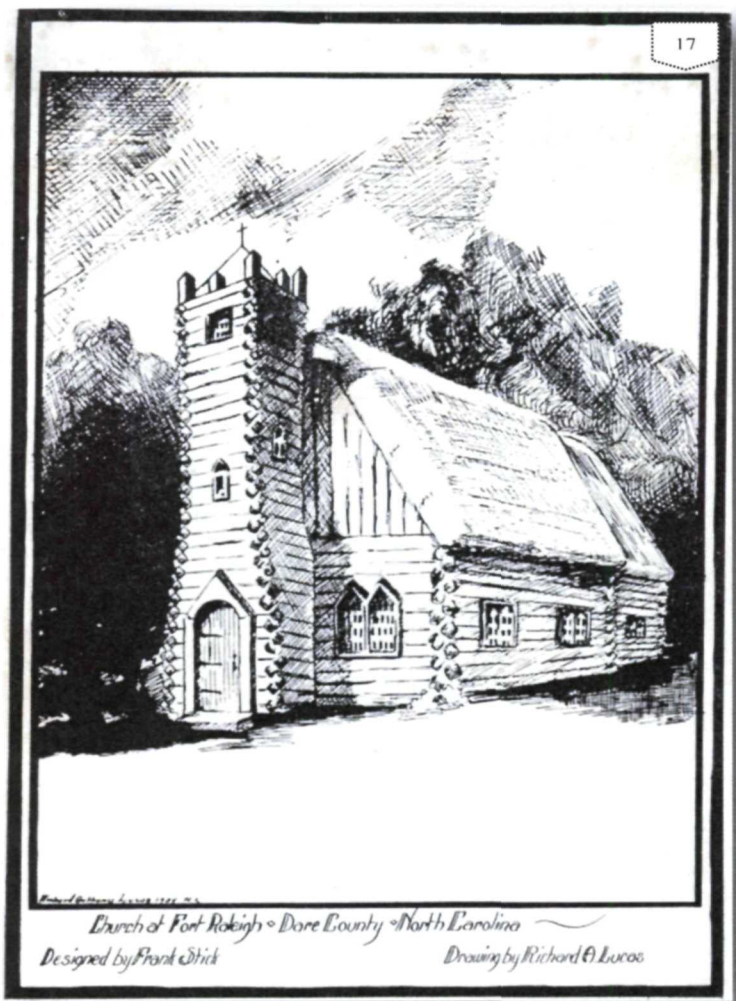
The 1921 movie set constructed on the shore of the Roanoke Sound to represent the Roanoke Indian Village appears to be based on the DeBry engraving of John White's painting of *Pomeiooc*.

1930s Cittie of Ralegh



1930s Cittie of Ralegh

1930s Cittie of Ralegh



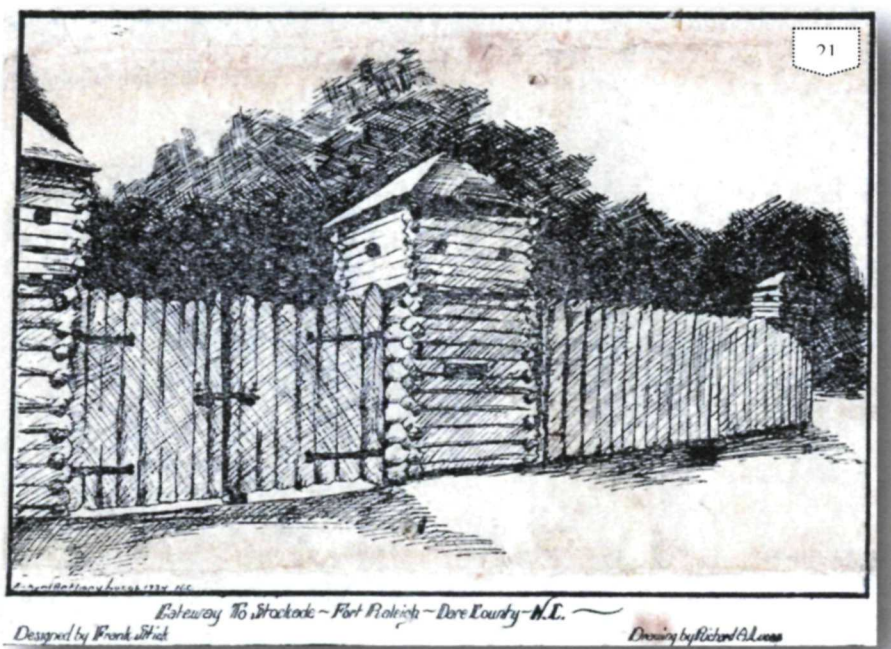
By the early 1930s, the future of Old Fort Ralegh was at a crossroads. The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association members were ageing. Having purchased the historic earthwork and brought the story of the settlements to the attention of North Carolina political leaders and at least a section of the general public, they were ready to pass the baton. On 10 January 1934, they deeded Old Fort Ralegh to the state of North Carolina. In short order, with the urging of Frank Stick, and funding from state and federal relief agencies, the Cittie of Ralegh State Park became a reality, opening in the summer of 1934 in celebration of the 350th anniversary of the 1584 arrival on these shores of Captains Amadas and Barlowe, Sir Walter Ralegh's reconnaissance explorers. The village, with its log structures, was an immediate hit with the general public, and a serious problem to most historians who contested its authenticity.

1930s Cittie of Ralegh

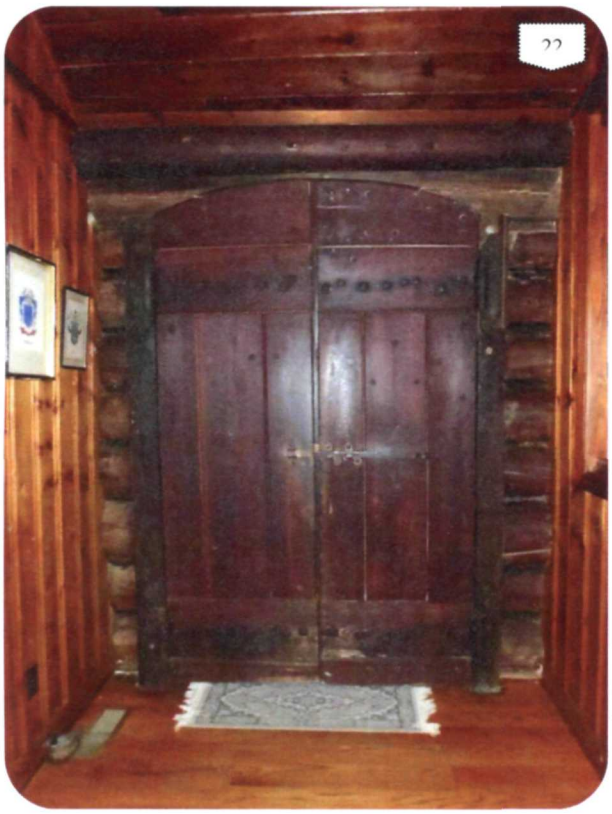
Interior of the original Museum, showing display cases center and left. The log Museum was an open building with an interior space of 40' x 30'. Display cases and panels were arranged in rows for easy viewing.

1930s Cittie of Ralegh

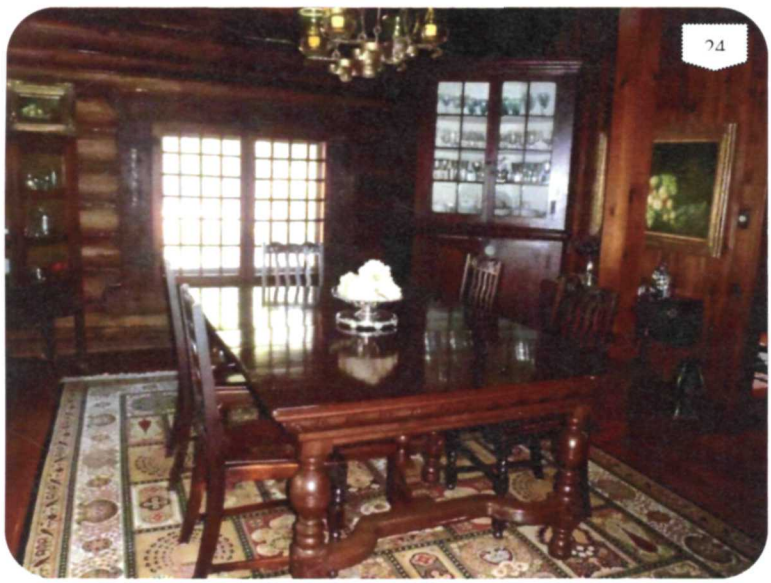
On August 18, 1937, the 350th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressed a crowd of 10,000 in the Cittie of Ralegh State Park, and then attended a performance of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* in the park's Waterside Theatre. As of 2014, FDR remains the only sitting US President to make a public appearance on Roanoke Island. In 1819, President James Monroe visited the still-visible remains of the earthwork privately during his Southern Tour to inspect the coastal and other selected areas of the country for possible improvement projects and to view defense fortifications.



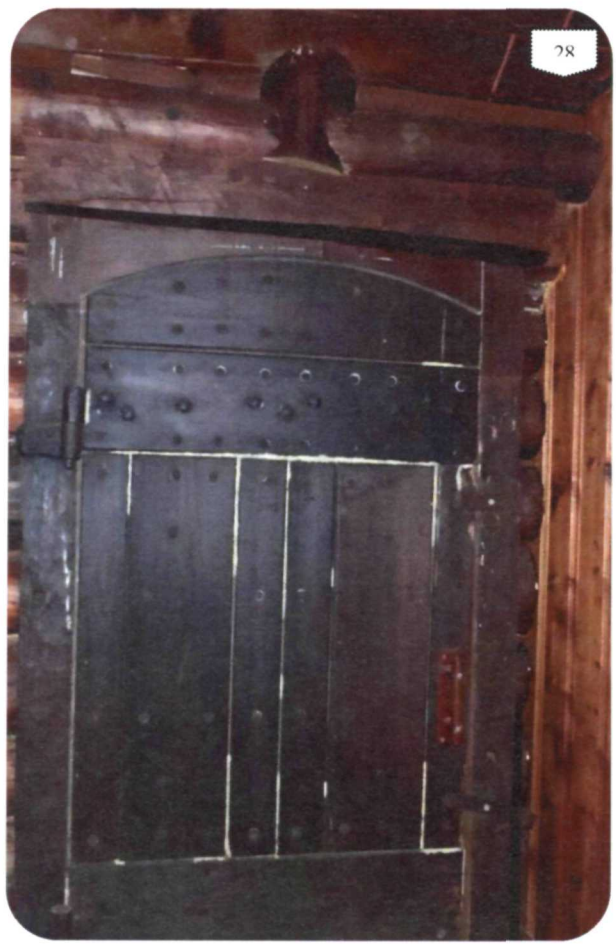
1930s Museum Restored



Interior scenes of the restored original Museum, now part of a private home. Note the doors, windows, fireplace and log walls, all of which are original. See also the exterior view of the ballast rock chimney embellished with a granite cross.



1930s Museum Restored



1940s Earthwork

FDR's appearances on Roanoke Island and his political support reinforced the compatibility of the park and the outdoor drama and focused national attention on Roanoke Island as the cornerstone of English America, but the country's entry in World War II in 1941 soon put Heritage Tourism in hiatus. With U-Boats patrolling off the Carolina coast, *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama went dark after the 1941 season and did not reopen until the summer of 1946. When the play reopened it was under the banner of a totally re-structured producing organization—the Roanoke Island Historical Association, refocused on the summer production as the primary means of fulfilling educational and historical missions.

The Cittie of Ralegh State Park made a transition as well, evolving from state custodianship to becoming Fort Raleigh National Historic Site—a new kind of park in the National Park Service system, one based on America's cultural heritage.

One of the first accomplishments under National Park Service management was establishing the visual outline of the rapidly diminishing earthwork fortification. Granite slabs, formerly used at the nearby Wright Brothers Memorial, were relocated to Fort Raleigh and used to mark the fading shape of the earthwork. [See above]

In 1947 and again in 1948, the National Park Service contracted archaeological investigations in an effort to authenticate the settlement site and earthwork.

1950s Earthwork Reconstruction

In late 1947 and 1948, archaeologist J. C. Harrington, searched for the settlement site of Ralegh's colonies and an authentication of the earthwork. While sufficient evidence to establish the settlement site has not been discovered as of 2014, credible information about the location, shape and size of the earthwork was collected by 1950, at which time Harrington and his team of archaeologists and field workers completed the reconstructed earthwork within the year—but not without difficulty. Establishing the perimeter proved problematic. In 1896, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association had used stone markers to define the then visible but greatly diminished earthwork. In 1921, the 'fort set' for the movie approximated the outline of the barely visible fortification. In 1936, the Cittie of Ralegh included a palisade surrounding the general area of the earthwork with a blockhouse inside. In 1950, Harrington located the center of the original ditch for all sides save small portions, those having been partially destroyed by equipment used in grading the road to the earthwork. The differences are not major, Harrington's outline being larger, with more angles more precisely located, the other outlines appearing slightly rotated, perhaps from following the line of the diminished original. Harrington's first step in the reconstruction was to dig the ditch and pile the dirt to form the rough parapet, then to level and ultimately grass the earthwork for preservation. In the process, he excavated the inside of the earthwork, discovering a number of objects of European origin, including a wrought iron sickle, casting counters, a glass bead, and a brass apothecary weight.

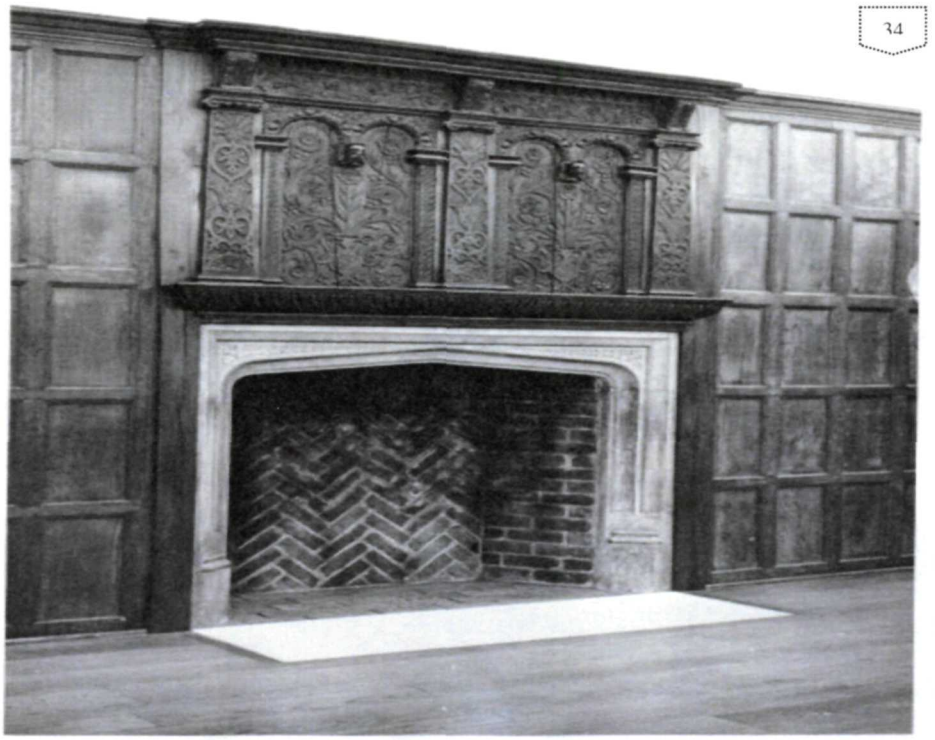
1950s Earthwork Reconstruction

ABOVE: The newly reconstructed earthwork showing the beginning of a grass cover—but is it a fort originally constructed by Ralph Lane and his men during the 1585-1586 colony's tenure on Roanoke Island? Traditionally, the earthwork has been associated with Sir Walter Ralegh's settlements, and referenced variously as 'Old Fort Ralegh' by locals; 'the ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh's fort' by Governor Yeardley in 1654; 'Ruins of a fort' in 1701 by John Lawson who may never have seen the area; 'traces of Lane's fort' by historian B.J. Lossing in 1850; and 'Lane's stronghold and the City of Ralegh' by Edward C. Bruce who recorded the first description of the ruins in 1860. Tradition standing alone, however, is not acceptable as historical evidence. Ralph Lane constructed two earthwork fortifications on Puerto Rico *en route* to Virginia in 1585, one similar in size and plan to the sconce at Fort Raleigh, and described a plan of building sconces at intervals between Roanoke Island and the Chesapeake Bay. A possible clue is a statement made in 1590 by Governor John White in describing the location of his buried trunks—*in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captain Amadas*. Although White's dating is in error— not untypical for him—a 'trench' could mean the ditch of the earthwork, and Captain Philip Amadas was a member of the Lane colony, 1585-1586. Archaeologist Harrington dated the earthwork as late 16th century and the artifacts he discovered in the area as late 16th or 17th century. Dubbing the earthwork Lane's 'New Fort in Virginia,' however, he confused the palisaded fort Lane erected, with the earthwork. According to Spanish records, the New Fort was a wooden structure at water's edge. Archaeologist Noël Hume suggested the earthwork could have a 16th or 17th century date. Many Roanoke Voyages historians accept the 16th century origins of the earthwork and theorize about which group of settlers erected it and for what purpose.

1960s - Mission 66 Development

During the second World War, defense funding was naturally prioritized, other less critical needs being temporarily sacrificed in order to support the war effort—the National Park system a case in point. By the 1950s park visitation nationwide had increased to the point that management could no longer deal with the large crowds or even protect park resources. Mission 66 was the National Park Service's ten-year plan to move the nation's parks from the rustic to the modern, and in so doing improve grounds and facilities for an escalating number of visitors. Old buildings were replaced and new ones added—all in a plain modern architectural style intended to blend into the landscape, "simple contemporary buildings that perform their assigned function and respect their environment." In addition, a new type of park building was created—the Visitor Center—and one such was constructed at Fort Raleigh. By 1966, the Lindsay Warren Visitor Center was open for the public at Fort Ralegh. Soon to follow were a new activities & management center for *The Lost Colony*, a New Box office for the Waterside Theatre, Park Administrative Headquarters for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, and several units of Park Housing—all in the plain modern style of architecture. Parking lots and pathways were added, opening up the grounds for visitation. At the same time, all of the log structures associated with the Cittie of Ralegh State Park were removed from Fort Raleigh or destroyed.

1960s - Mission 66 Development



LEFT: The Elizabethan Room is an authentic 16th century room disassembled from the Manor of Herondon Hall in Kent, England and originally sold to William Randolph Hurst, from whose New York storage it was purchased for reassembly in the Lindsay Warren Visitor Center.

BELOW: *The Lost Colony* Activities Building houses administrative offices for the production and a large, fully equipped area for children's shows.

2014 ※ Fort Raleigh ※ 2014

2014 ※ Fort Raleigh ※ 2014

Jami Lanier

Cultural Resources Manager

NPS Outer Banks Group, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Wright Brothers National Memorial

A World Invaded

by Francis Jennings

The Columbus Quincentennial woke Americans to the existence of predecessors when Columbus "discovered" the world new to Europeans. What still needs to be done is to discover what those earliest Americans were like and how they got here.

The mere fact of their existence shows up the fallacy of one favorite assertion by historians; to wit, Europeans did not settle this world. Rather they invaded and displaced the resident population. Realization of this simple semantic shift requires change of other conceptions. The invaders did not conquer a wilderness; they conquered people who had already adapted a wilderness to their human purposes.

The word human is the key to re-conceiving early history, for human persons create social communities that interact with each other. Such North American communities are easy to identify, but semantic dodges have long been used to deny full human status to the native inhabitants. From earliest times they have been called *savages, denizens of the wilderness*, and *animals with nothing human but the shape*. Sometimes they have been described as *demons*. The invaders absolve themselves of the guilt of conquest by pretending that they carried civilization into this wilderness so void of real people and thus contributed to the advance of progress.

Facts expose the falsity of these semantic devices for justifying conquest. By attending to the sciences of archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics, as well as traditions of the native peoples, we are now able to see how many, how varied, and how active those peoples were before ever a European knew of them. Many younger historians, as well as one or two of us who are not so young, have been busy lately peering behind the conquest propaganda to get a picture of the reality. Much more study is needed, but a synthesis is now in outline. Let us approach it in an orderly way.

Indians arrived in North America thousands of years before Europeans. How many years is uncertain yet. Archaeologists estimate anywhere from 20,000 years ago to 70,000 years ago, but a consensus seems to be forming on about 30,000 years ago. Glaciers then locked up so much water as ice that the seas were 300 feet lower than now. Geologists tell us that England was attached to Europe and the Thames flowed into the Rhine. The Mediterranean Sea was a lake—two lakes, rather—closed at its western end and split by an isthmus from Italy to Africa. Comprehension of such phenomena makes it easier to realize how Asia and North America were united by a subcontinent that we now call Beringia (after the Danish explorer Vitus Bering). This subcontinent was a thousand miles wide from north to south, not a mere ribbon of land, and it was full of wild life—migratory birds, land and water mammals, and huge schools of fish. Curious persons could, and did, walk into this subcontinent or paddled along its southern shore, and generations passed as they migrated leisurely from Siberia to Alaska, thence into the American interior or down the Pacific Coast.

We think they must have come originally from Siberia because evidence of pre-human hominids has been found in Asia, but not in the Americas. Only fully human persons made this passage, and they made it on their own feet because they had no wheels or large domesticated animals. Some may have traveled by canoe. Physiologists have determined that the native peoples of the Americas had the same blood types and the same dental structures as those of Siberia, and different from those of Europeans.

During thousands of years these migrating folks skirted the glaciers to the interior and paddled or walked southward along the Pacific Coast. We now believe that migration occurred repeatedly. It may still be occurring on a small scale. An Alaska native who studied at the Newberry Library told of her people walking across Bering Strait's winter ice to meet their "cousins" from Siberia. On that ice, traffic evidently is two-way.

Much speculation has been given to the possibility of waterborne migration from Japan, and even, on the

opposite side of the continent, from Africa or Brazil. Such possibilities must be acknowledged in the absence of convincing evidence. Fantasies about visitors from outer space may be dismissed out of hand.

The most easily located immigration route lies down the Pacific Coast all the way to *Tierra del Fuego*, and there is evidence that humans had arrived at that extremity by about 12,000 years ago. They created great variety among the peoples who stopped along the way, but we cannot trace the coastal peoples because their communities are now sunk in the mud 300 feet down, that formed when the glaciers melted.

Like most ocean coasts, this one was attractive to humans because of its abundant food resources. In recent times, people of the Northwest Coast scorned the lazybones who ate shellfish instead of stirring themselves for better prey. An excavation has disclosed the entire town, *Ozette*, which was buried in a mudslide among the Makah people, in a manner similar to the burial of Pompeii under volcanic ash. The Makah people settled in sedentary villages and built substantial houses with huge totem poles proclaiming the social status of its inhabitants. We must remember the immigrants' variety.

Farther south, in the vicinity of today's states of Washington and Oregon, many immigrants took advantage of the Columbia River, and followed it inland for its teeming salmon. The Wasco-Wishram people set up a great fishery at the Dalles where the river narrowed before Bonneville Dam sank it under a lake. With a staple of dried and smoked salmon, the people created a great trading center, dealers in almost everything. From the Northwest Coast, traders brought marine products—shells and shellfish, oils, whale and seal bone—to exchange for obsidian and stone tools from the Great Basin, skins and feathers from the Great Plains, baskets and minerals from the Plateau, and wild food plants from California. Hunters came from all directions to trade skins and meat at this central market.

Still farther south, the land of California was so lush with edible wild plants that the peoples lived primarily by gathering without learning to plant and cultivate.

South of the scattered bands of California, immense change appeared as the peoples of Mexico built up great cities—greater than Europe's—and multiplied in numbers. Since about 9,000 years ago, the Mexicans practiced plant breeding, especially with a wild cereal called *teosinte* which they bred into maize, the most productive cereal on earth. Though they lacked large domestic work animals, the Mexican plant cultivation was superior to the agriculture of Europe, and capable of subsisting large populations. The cities that rose in Mexico created immense trading networks. We shall return to them in a different connection.

In South America, we are only recently learning how special Ecuador was. Though everyone knows about the magnificent Incas of Peru, they were latecomers compared to the *Chavín* whose densely settled communities and high culture have been hidden under centuries of accumulated earth. Ecuador was a crossroads. Not only was there seaborne traffic along its coast; a tributary of the Amazon River originated in Ecuador on the east side of the massive Andes Mountains, and from that source skilled canoeists could travel all the way across Brazil to where the Amazon pours into the Atlantic. This is not guesswork. A party of Spaniards did just that in the sixteenth century, under attack from large Indian communities all the way. From the same source, one could make a turn to the Orinoco River and follow it to the Gulf of Mexico. Very likely, Ecuador was the bottleneck through which Indian immigrants had entered the vast northern forest and swamp lands of South America.

We must not ignore the Inca Empire of Peru, if only because of the 25,000 mile road network, so much more extensive than the Roman highway of Europe. The Incas built on cumulative achievements of preceding generations and peoples. Perhaps more wonderful even than their roads, were their garden terraces up the steep Andes slopes. Like the Mexicans, the Andeans were plant breeders whose most special products were potatoes developed for growth at high altitudes. If the world today were suddenly to be deprived of Andean potatoes and Mexican corn, famine would overtake multitudes in even the most advanced societies.

To complete the survey down the Pacific coastal regions, we see open fields south of the Andes, a region like the

North American Midwestern Prairie—a place where the peoples lived in hunting bands without cities, organized by kinship associations. Thus, along only the one vector of the Pacific coast, Indian communities ranged and developed from simple hunting, gathering, and fishing bands to densely populated and complexly organized cities, with governments that spanned from democratic councils and chiefs to elaborate and absolute despotisms.

Still more variety appeared along other vectors. Across the frigid top of North America, Aleuts and Inuits marched in little family groups from Alaska to Greenland, taking with them the skills perfected for coping with deserts of snow and ice.

Hunting peoples traveled down inside the Alaskan glaciers and fanned out through the territories that became Canada and the United States. In due course, it appears that others paddled up from northern South America to settle the West Indian islands where Columbus found societies organized as chiefdoms in sedentary towns growing three crops a year of yams and *manioc* [aka yucca or *cassava*—starchy root vegetable, in appearance similar to the potato, but with a thicker bark-like skin].

Archaeologists dispute the origins of the peoples who settled the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Some seem to have pushed across from Mexico through Texas; others may have canoed from the islands; still more may have pushed southward through the Mississippi Valley. In due course, it seems that colonies came forth from Mexico to travel upstream on the Mississippi.

This rough and incomplete summary should forever put to rest the ancient wheeze about American Indians being all-alike savages. A history that respects factuality and ignores conquest mythology must attend to the great distinctions among Indian communities as well as certain cultural traits widespread among them. We'll come to those further on.

If there were Indians all over the continent, the question naturally arises: how many? For centuries this natural question was suppressed under the assumption of the Vanishing Indian idea which held that Indians could not live in the presence of civilization. This, by the way, was asserted by the same writers who insisted that Europeans had brought the boon of civilization to those Indian savages, and they never thought to examine the contradiction between their two assumptions of civilization as a great benefit for Indians and civilization as a repellent to Indians.

The Vanishing Indian idea persisted well into the nineteenth century, serving as a complete rationalization for taking lands away from Indians. After all, if they were dying off anyway, what use had they for land? The logic was clear, given the assumptions.

As epidemic disease afflicted Indian populations catastrophically, most people were content with the notion that Indians were destined to disappear. Nobody settled down to the hard work of reliable demography until well past the middle of the twentieth century. Now, happily, a number of trained and conscientious scholars have discarded mythology and are seeking facts. Their field of work is still very fuzzy as became clear when some of them from different institutions met in conference at the Newberry Library in 1990. Now, however, they argue over verifiable data rather than the almost mystical dogmas and abstractions that formerly prevailed.

It is hard to believe now how very unscientific—even silly—were the reasons formerly advanced for estimates of Indian population. No censuses were kept before 1492, so the field was wide open to self-important pundits who set themselves up as authorities by appealing to vulgar prejudices. In general, estimates made by such persons rested on the myth of Indians being savage hunters. It was accepted that savages were not competent to create and sustain large populations, so there simply could not be very many of them. When the Spanish conquistadors testified about great cities in Mexico, scholarly pundits decided arbitrarily that the Mexicans must have been different people from North American Indians. In this case, the assumption was overtly racist, without disguise. The process reminds me of the long-held assumption that the universe revolved around the earth. Religious dogmas upheld this Ptolemaic system of astronomy, and much ingenuity was expended on fitting observed phenomena to the required dogma. So, was it also in dealing with the problem of Indian populations, explanations and rationalizations

were propounded in abundance to make known facts fit the desired outcome.

Early explorers often mentioned large numbers of Indians met by them. Our pundits rejected such figures without examination, propounding that the explorers had exaggerated to make themselves more important. Assuming such exaggeration, the pundits divided the recorded figures in half to get what they regarded as a more accurate count. Succeeding generations of pundits halved them again until a historian named Walter Prescott Webb reduced the total of pre-Columbian Indians living within the 48 contiguous states to *probably not more than 500,000, one Indian to about six square miles*. Webb needed that low number to justify his assertion that the American land was *free to be taken*. Obviously, his figures meant that five square miles out of six were empty of human habitation. So powerful is desired myth that few modern persons enjoying use and ownership of the land were willing to arouse consciences by challenging Webb. It was, and is, on record that Europeans entering the continent from all directions were greeted everywhere by preceding Indian peoples. This could not have been possible if Indian numbers had been so low as Webb postulated.

There were always some people who had no interest in facts. A southwestern Congressman dismissed the issue perfunctorily with the comment, *We stole the land fair and square*. Even at Oxford, presumably more concerned about scholarship, Walter Webb made a big impression by being what the dons conceived as a real American. Texan Webb flaunted his sombrero and Texas accent from the wide open spaces, and that made him more authoritative than some sissy from the east coast.

Webb was a twentieth-century historian. From the nineteenth-century statesman and linguistics scholar Albert Gallatin, a man who was not a racist, there came a different sort of bias. He was a man of great erudition, and he recognized that eastern Indians had planted as well as hunted. He knew also that domestication of plants had increased populations all over the world, but he did not think that it had done so among American Indians because their culture had gone about it the wrong way. *It is necessary*, he wrote, *that the annual agricultural labor should produce a quantity of food, at least equal to the annual consumption of the whole existing population*. That made sense, but, *The labor of women alone is not sufficient to produce that result*.[1]

Normally, we think of anthropologists as sympathetic to Indians, but two of them in the twentieth century betrayed odd preconceptions. Highly respected James Mooney undertook to discover how many pre-Columbian Indians had lived north of the Rio Grande. His estimate was about a million—twice as many as Walter Prescott Webb, but still only one Indian per three square miles. Mooney died before he finished his project. Some years later, a physical anthropologist who studied Mooney's papers concluded that *no one has determined the exact sources of the estimates of the methodology employed* by Mooney. His list of sources consulted shows great gaps even to my unspecialized eyes. I think it is germane that Mooney was a genteel racist who used such phrases in print as *half-negro mongrels* and *fairly healthy blood*.

The anthropologist who dominated the profession in the 1930s was Alfred Kroeber. He believed himself to be an authority superior to all others, and he argued that Mooney's population estimates were almost exactly right. His reasons will appear in a moment. Kroeber, like Gallatin earlier, knew that Indians of the American northeast practiced horticulture, but Kroeber wanted those Indians to be inferior savages. He did not use racist terms, but listen to his argument. The Indian, he wrote, *was not a farmer in our sense of the word* because, according to Kroeber's edict, Indians grew food only for their own households. Therefore, *the population remaining stationery, excess planting was not practiced,* but that hardly mattered because it would not *have led to anything in the way of economic or social benefit nor of increase in numbers.*[2]

Kroeber's ego was so monumental that he threw it against not only Indians but also against the findings of scholars working from written records. Repeatedly, such

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[1] Francis Jennings, *The Founders of America, How Indians Discovered the Land, Pioneered in It and Created Great Classical Civilizations; How They Were Plunged into A.D.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993), 84.
[2] Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976), 19.

records show Jamestown, Quebec, New Plymouth, New Sweden, and other European colonies depending on Indian surpluses of farm products, especially of maize, in order to survive their early years. Kroeber professed to be interested in history, but he violated all the rules followed by historians. He brayed that Mooney and he were *a safer authority than Cortés or Las Casas, or registers of baptisms and deaths by priests knowing only some missions in one province*. He decreed, *I am likely to reject most of them outright*. [3]

By such logic, Kroeber reduced even Mooney's estimates of Indian population from a million to 900,000; and, sorry to say, his authority prevailed, with few fine exceptions, until 1966. In that crucial year, another anthropologist, Henry Dobyns, wrathfully denounced the whole scurrilous business and initiated a revision that still continues. There are still differences of opinion. Conservative demographers now seem ready to accept four million Indians as the pre-Columbian norm while Dobyns thinks eighteen million is the right number. I can only guess. I feel fairly confident that four million is still too low an estimate, but I am ready now to wait for the outcome of genuine scholarly study by experts headed in the right direction.

However that turns out, it must take account of two large phenomena. Archaeology suggests that Indian population in 1492 was already somewhat less than a maximum reached earlier at about A.D. 1200, but no reason is given confidently for the decline afterward. And we must note what gave rise to the notion of the Vanishing Indian. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that epidemic disease reduced Indian numbers catastrophically. Smallpox, diphtheria, diabetes, influenzas, plague, and a host of other pestilences for which Indians constituted virgin soil—*i.e.*, populations without acquired immunities—killed off Indians like the picture of the Grim Reaper scything his harvest.

Whatever total numbers are agreed upon ultimately, consensus prevails now on one issue. It is generally accepted that the greatest number of Indians lived in North America about A.D. 1200. That was an era dominated by a mysterious people called Mississippians by the archaeologists. Perhaps they are mysterious only because some scholars refuse to believe what they said about themselves, which contradicted what the scholars had decided must be the case. It will serve us well to remember the bullheadedness of certain scholars in regard to Indian population numbers. A hint of their attitude shows in regard to the Mississippians.

The Indians' tradition was recited to a Louisiana Frenchman early in the eighteenth century. He was Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, one of the founders of New Orleans, a man curious about the native people in whose midst he had established a plantation. Unlike many Europeans, he talked with those Natchez natives. One of them, the keeper of the people's temple, explained their historical tradition to this Frenchman, and the story was confirmed by the Natchez Great Sun who ruled with the powers of a despot.[4]

> *Before we came into this land, began the Natchez priest, we lived yonder under the sun (pointing with his finger nearly south-west, by which I understood that he meant Mexico), we lived in a fine country where the earth is always pleasant; there our Suns* [Mexican rulers were called Suns] *had their abode and our nation maintained itself for a long time against the ancients of the country, who conquered some of our villages in the plains, but never could force us from the mountains. Our nation extended itself along the great water* [Gulf of Mexico] *where this large river* [the Mississippi] *loses itself; but as our enemies were become very numerous and very wicked, our Suns sent some of their subjects who lived near this river, to examine whether we could return into the country through which it flowed. The country on the east side of the river being found extremely pleasant, the Great Sun, upon the return of those who had examined it, ordered all his subjects who lived in the plains, and who still defended themselves against the ancients of the country, to remove into this land, here to*

[3] Ibid.

[4] No source cited in the original paper, but cf. Le Page du Pratz, *Historie de la Louisiane* (Paris: 1758); portions published in English translation in London under the title, *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina* (1763). http://books.google.com/books?id=zEoUAAAAYAAJ

build a temple, and to preserve the eternal fire.

A great part of our nation accordingly settled here, where they lived in peace and abundance for several generations. The Great Sun, and those who had remained with him, never thought of joining us, being tempted to continue where they were by the pleasantness of the country, which was very warm, and by the weakness of their enemies, who had fallen into civil dissensions, in consequence of the ambition of one of their chiefs, who wanted to raise himself from a state of equality with the other chiefs of the villages, and to treat all the people of his nation as slaves. During those discords among our enemies, some of them even entered into an alliance with the Great Sun, who still remained in our old country that he might conveniently assist our other brethren who had settled on the banks of the Great Water to the east of the large river, and extended themselves so far on the coast and among the isles, that the Great Sun did not hear of them sometimes for five or six years together.

It was not till after many generations that the Great Suns came and joined us in this country, where, from the fine climate, and the peace we had enjoyed, we had multiplied like the leaves of the trees. Warriors of fire, who made the earth to tremble, had arrived in our old country, and having entered into an alliance with our brethren, conquered our ancient enemies; but attempting afterwards to make slaves of our Suns, they, rather than submit to them, left our brethren who refused to follow them, and came hither attended only with the slaves.

Other information gives credibility to this tradition. Sources in Mexico date an exodus of population from the great cities of *Teotihuacán* and *Tula* from about A.D. 800 to 900, and this is the era when the Mississippian culture springs to life in the great river valley. We know that some of the Toltec Indians who fled Mexico colonized the Yucatán Peninsula. Why is it so impossible to accept the tradition that others came to the Mississippi Valley?

Whoever or whatever the Mississippians were, they built up great, flat-topped pyramids of earth all along the river, upstream as far as Aztalan in Wisconsin, and throughout the Southeast between the mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. These were something more than piles of dirt. Even to the unprofessional eye, their resemblance to the pyramids in Mexico is plain. On their topmost platforms, the builders put up structures for administration and religious rituals. Archaeologists have determined that much trade was carried on between the communities dominated by those pyramids, and images of *Yacatecuhtli*, the long-nosed god of Aztec merchants, have been found among them.

It is apparent that the staple of trade was maize, Indian corn, which first appears in North America in a new, more productive variety, at just about the same time that the Mississippians arrived. We must allow for regional differences in the great sprawl of territory where Mississippian cultures extended. It seems that original Toltec colonists adapted to preceding peoples, taught them how to grow the new, superior variety of corn, and introduced forms of social organization unknown till then. We have to guess somewhat, but the historical record shows the Natchez of the tradition more elaborately organized than any other Indian people east of the Rocky Mountains.

We must pay some attention to dates. The Natchez may have been so exceptional only because they were latecomers seen after Europeans arrived. According to Natchez tradition, their Suns did not leave Mexico until after Spanish conquistadors— people of fire—had taken over. Thus, those Natchez lords could not have come to the Mississippi earlier than Cortés' conquest in 1520.

We have already seen that the flat-topped pyramids were built, and maize was introduced long before that—at least 600 years earlier—and it was the earlier immigrants who created the great trading network between the pyramid communities. In that network, one city was pre-eminent, the metropolis of the empire of trade.

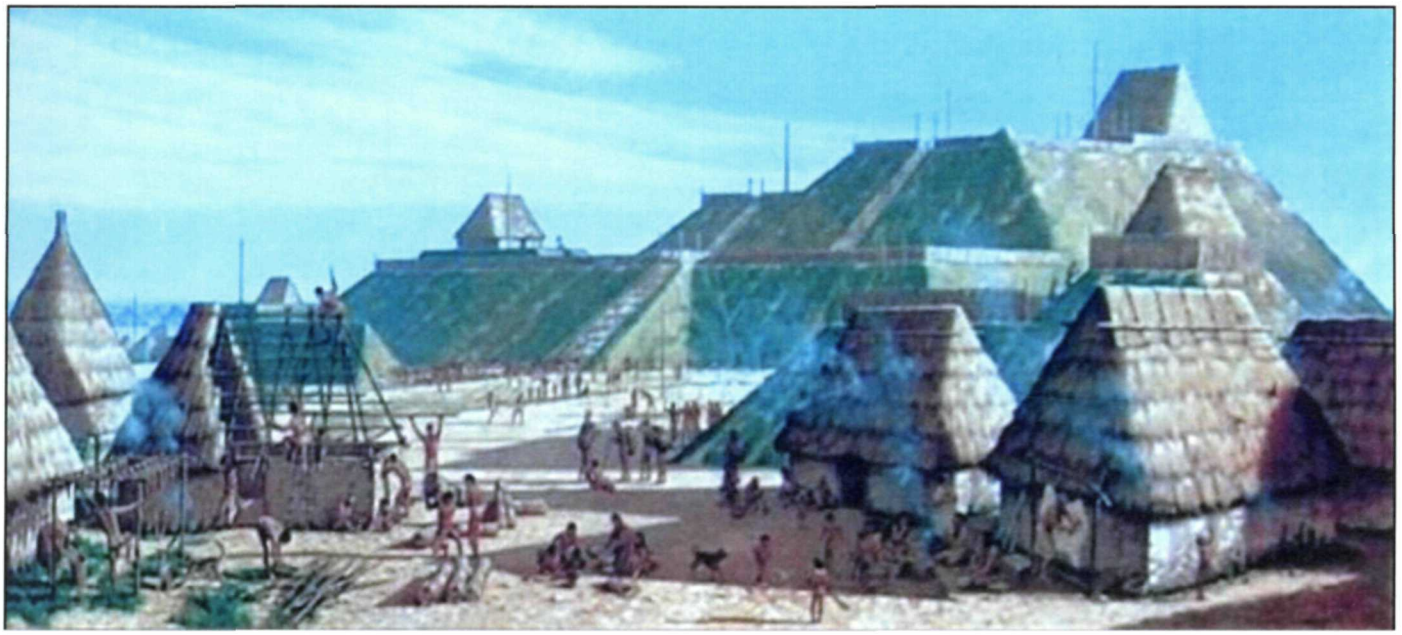

FIGURE 47: Artist's rendition of *Cahokia's* Mounds, photo courtesy of *Cahokia* State Park.

This was *Cahokia*, across the river from present-day St. Louis. It was an elaborately organized true city as its surviving remains make clear. A dominating pyramid rose in four tiers from the community's floor to a height still reaching 90 feet after more than 500 years of erosion. Until the nineteenth century, it was the tallest structure in North America. It stood in the midst of a palisaded community of 10000, 20000, or 40000 persons, depending on which archaeologist makes the estimate. Eighteen more platform mounds, subordinate to the largest, stood within the walls, and more than a hundred smaller pyramids have been identified outside the palisade.

One of *Cahokia's* most interesting features was a woodhenge, a solar observatory like England's Stonehenge. Forty-eight posts set in a circle, sighting on another beyond, enabled *Cahokian* astronomers to observe equinoxes and solstices, and to calculate the best times for planting. *Cahokia's* significance has been recognized by the United Nations' designation of it as a monument of world historical importance, and a splendid interpretive museum now helps tourists to understand what archaeologists have discovered.

The Mississippians rationalized and systematized processes of trade that long preceded their advent. Once more, we must struggle against the myths of savagery. Now that serious study of the Indians' varied cultures has begun, we take notice of different subsistence systems and their producers exchanging surplus products. For instance, in the American Southwest, a people called the *Hohokams* living on the Gila River journeyed regularly to the Gulf of Southern California to collect shells. They crafted these shells with silversmiths' skills, and traded them into the deep interior prairies.

More important, these *Hohokams* practiced large-scale irrigation, digging hundreds of miles of ditches, some of which extended individually as much as ten miles each and were equipped with gates and check dams to control the flow of water.

FIGURE 48: Artists' rendition of ancient *Hohokam* irrigation. [Courtesy of the Arizona Museum of Natural History and artists Ann & Jerry Schutte.]

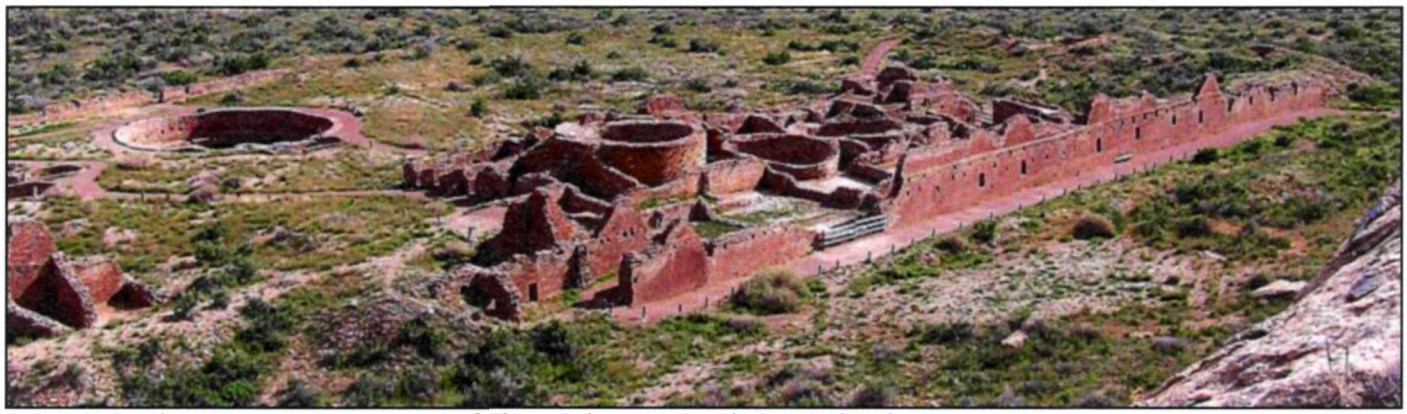

FIGURE 49: *Chaco* Canyon Site, courtesy of *Chaco* Culture National Historical Park.

We must remember that all the textbooks on western civilization stress the use of irrigation in Mesopotamia as a sure indicator of the rise of civilization. Why is it then, that among American Indians, who were a lot more western than the Mesopotamians, irrigation is just another feature of savage people? Is there that much difference between irrigating wheat and irrigating corn?

We have already noticed the great trading center at The Dalles on the Columbia River where surplus salmon was the staple. In the Southwest, the trading surplus was the corn produced by all that irrigation and the farming communities from whom our modern Pueblo Indians are descended. Trade was carried on all over the continent. Even the hunting bands, who came closest to our conceptions of wandering savages, met regularly each summer in an institution now called the rendezvous at which they conducted rituals, recreation and trade; and there were Indian peddlers who brought goods to these rendezvous gatherings from the sedentary markets such as The Dalles and another long-lasting center on the upper Missouri River in North Dakota. The markets on the Missouri were operated by Mandan and Hidatsa peoples who built very substantial villages of earth lodges and planted extensive fields nearby. Their staple was corn, and their business was so efficient that when Europeans showed up at Hudson Bay and on the Mississippi, the Mandan-Hidatsa traders simply added European goods to the others carried in their stocks.

In the Great Lakes country, the Iroquoian Hurons planted corn about as far north as the growing season permitted, and they traded it to the Algonquian Nipissings who hunted and fished north of planting country. So beneficial to both parties was this exchange that when winters became bitterly cold, the Nipissings came south for warm refuge with the Hurons.

That was not the only direction for Huron trade. Large whelk shells have been found in their country that could only have come from Chesapeake Bay because the marine animal that grows such shells does not live anywhere except in the bay.

Along the east coast, a trading jargon based on the Delaware language encouraged commerce between the tribes. A similar jargon, called *Mobilian*, enabled traders on the Gulf coast to work back and forth.

With so much business, there was much traffic everywhere on the continent. Besides what we know about goods being carried on rivers and along coasts, we are aware of footpaths and trails, some of which were simply beaten down by constant use, but there is evidence also of roads being engineered on purpose. Aerial photography has disclosed hundreds of miles of roads centered upon *Chaco* Canyon near our Four Corners in the Southwest. They were buried under drifting dust, but have become visible within the past decade. One has to wonder how many more such systems will literally be unearthed in the future.

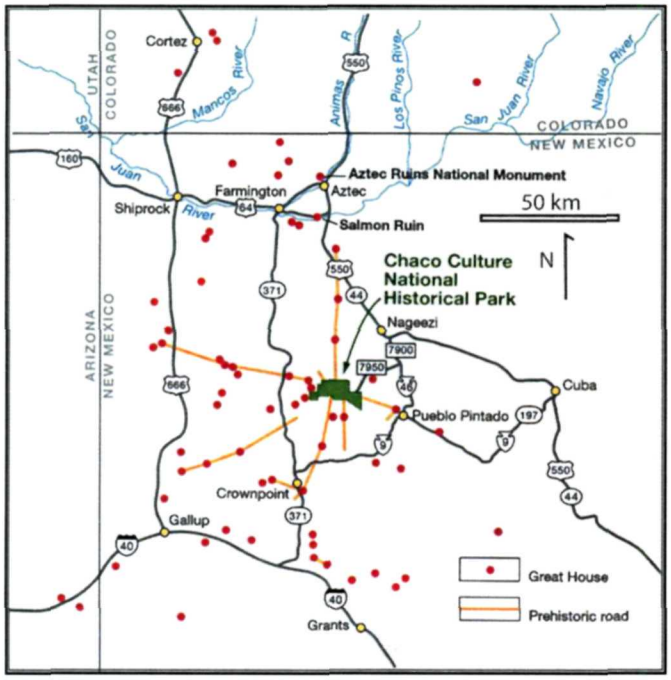

FIGURE 50: Prehistoric roads and Great Houses in the San Juan Basin superimposed on a map showing modern roads. Courtesy of *Chaco* Culture National Historical Park.

All this is by way of background to help us appreciate what the Carolina Algonquians were and what they were not. When we realize that written records did not exist before Europeans showed up, it is discouraging to read Christian Feest's remark in the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians* that *very little is known about the archaeology of coastal North Carolina*.[5] When one reads further into his study, it becomes apparent that very little is known about anything concerned with those people. We must infer and extrapolate from other information.

Language offers a clue. What were other Algonquian speakers like? Prior to English colonization, the Algonquian world covered a great territory sprawled from the Crees of western and northern Canada across the Great Lakes region all the way to the Atlantic coast. Its shape was irregular, extending projections southward in the far west, along the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, and widely north and south on the Atlantic coast. Notably, the Algonquians were essentially a family of more or less northern peoples. At no point did they penetrate to the Gulf coast where they were blocked everywhere by peoples who spoke entirely different languages. As we are told by expert Christian Feest, the North Carolina Algonquians in their coastal territory formed *the southernmost extension of Algonquian groups along the Atlantic seaboard*.[6] Only to the northward did they have kindred Algonquians among the Powhatans of Chesapeake Bay. The implication seems warranted that the Carolinians' ancestors had migrated to their coastal plains and islands of the outer banks from the north.

This is especially significant because the Algonquians had cultural characteristics quite distinct from those of the alien peoples who lived in large chiefdoms along the southern Gulf coast. The latter may have included colonists from Mexico, and fairly certainly had trading relations with traveling merchants from Mexico whose special god was *Yacatecuhtli*, the long-nosed god. His carved images have been found in the Gulf territories. Although it is extremely hazardous to aver that something did not happen, to the best of my knowledge *Yacatecuhtli* did not get up to the Carolinians although evidence of Mexican influence is strong in Florida.

But we must take account of the Carolinians' cultivation of that superior type of cereal, maize, which had to come, by one means or another, from its origins in Mexico. For this, we have very convincing evidence: John White painted fields of ripening maize in the Algonquian town of *Secoton* on the Pamlico River.

Because material culture moves about independently of linguistic connections, we cannot assume that the Carolinians learned about maize from their Algonquian kindred. They may have picked it up from other tribal neighbors who had been in touch with those clever Mississippians who had brought it from Mexico.

This was possible, but let us think about it a moment. Although the Carolinians of the sixteenth century had a mixed subsistence system, exploiting fishing as well as hunting, the chances are that the introduction of maize caused fundamental reshaping of their economy. The respected anthropologist John R. Swanton thought that

[5] Christian F. Feest, "North Carolina Algonquians," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, US Government Printing Office, 1978-2007), 15:271.

[6] Ibid.

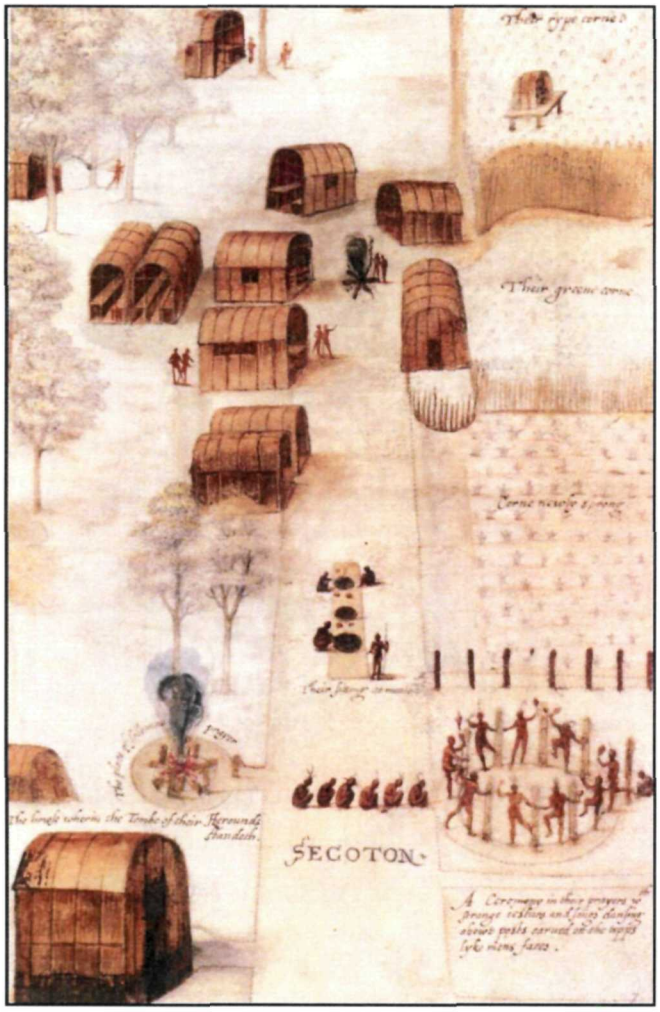

FIGURE 51: *Secoton*, painted by John White c. 1585.

fishing provided most of the subsistence of this coastal people until maize cultivation (along with other crops) became dominant. A people's transformation from predominantly fishing to predominantly planting is not slight.

That picture by John White of the town of *Secoton* is interesting in another aspect. *Secoton* is portrayed as an open town without a defensive palisade. This is startling for *Secoton* was at the outermost limits of Algonquian territory in which the other towns were very carefully stockaded. Christian Feest remarks that the boundary between Algonquians and Iroquoian speakers was poorly defined. *Secoton's* neighboring Iroquoian Tuscaroras were a militant people known for prowess in war. For *Secoton* to leave itself without a palisade bespeaks trust of the Tuscaroras, a trust that must have rested on some sort of diplomatic arrangement, perhaps tributary alliance. They had followed different paths of migration. Although the Algonquians swept down to Carolina from the north, the Tuscacoras apparently marched eastward past the Gulf chiefdoms from a homeland in Arkansas or Texas. It followed that the Tuscaroras had become familiar with Mississippian culture, including the cultivation of maize, and it seems plausible that part of the friendship between Tuscaroras and Carolina Algonquians had included instruction about maize.

We must discard preconceptions about innate, savage love of war. Tuscaroras and Carolinians would not have been the only tribes to come to symbiotic arrangements despite their linguistic differences. There was an example—fully documented in this case—of Iroquoian Hurons in the Great Lakes region who were happily at peace with Algonquian Nipissings farther north beyond the realm of horticulture. Hurons grew corn that they traded to the hunting Nipissings for fish, meat, and furs. Hurons even sheltered the Nipissings in bitter winters. Elsewhere the Five Iroquois Nations of upstate New York long dwelt at peace with the Algonquian Delawares of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Oral traditions of the two peoples agree that this peace was long maintained until a variously explained quarrel broke it off. So there is nothing on record to make it improbable that Tuscaroras and Carolina Algonquians might make a mutually convenient peace. To the contrary, the Tuscaroras' interior mountain situation would naturally make them interested in getting trading partners for coastal products.

Interestingly, both the Carolina Algonquians and the Iroquoian Tuscaroras seem to have been comparative newcomers in their respective territories. Archaeologists draw this conclusion from the shallowness of overburden on buried artifacts. In 1700, colonial North Carolina's Surveyor General John Lawson remarked vaguely that the Tuscaroras had arrived within the span of oral tradition, but the Virginia Company's John Strachey was more specific: writing in 1612,[7] he estimated that the coastal Algonquians had arrived not longer than about 300 years earlier. If we assume that the Algonquians had come south through Virginia, we

[7] Louise B. Wright and Virginia Freund, eds., *The History of Travel in to Virginia Britania* (1612) by William Strachey, Gent. Hakluyt Society 2nd Series (Glasgow: University Press, 1952), 40.

count back to about A.D. 1300, a date marked by great turbulence elsewhere on the continent. Its significance demands much more research than has been given heretofore. A caution is in order: we should not assume that Tuscaroras and Carolinians followed the same path of migration just because of similarity in their arrival times. That, too, requires more attention.

I wish that I knew more anthropology. Those paintings of John White probably contain more clues about their subject peoples than I have been able to interpret, but I had better not get too far in over my depth.

For this paper, my assignment was a discussion of the Algonquian world prior to English colonization. That world was surrounded by other Europeans from Spain, about whose activities the Algonquians probably had some information. It may have been garbled in detail, but itinerant Indian traders could hardly have escaped the main point of Spanish determination to conquer, and the means used.

Perhaps *Juan Ponce de Léon's* landings in Florida in 1513 and 1521 were a bit too distant for the news to circulate as far as North Carolina, but one cannot be sure. It is well established that the important news traveled great distances among Indians. The year 1521 was marked also by a Spanish slaving expedition on the Santee River in South Carolina, much closer than Florida. By far the most sensationally traumatic Spanish invasion was the *entrada* [entrance] of Hernando de Soto from 1539 to 1543. It cut a wide swath of destruction that at one point reached *Cofitachequi* in northern South Carolina. De Soto's massive devastations could not have failed to be reported for hundreds of miles.

There was the demonstration in 1565 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés of how Europeans could massacre each other when Menéndez wiped out the French colony at Fort Caroline in Georgia. Indians certainly talked about it; the only French survivor was a man who had found refuge among Indians.

If that seems too distant, it would have been hard for the North Carolinians to escape knowledge of what happened from 1570 to 1572 in Chesapeake Bay. Don Luis de Velasco, a converted Indian who had been lionized in Spain, led a mission of seven Jesuits to the Chesapeake. It was exceptional from other missions by lacking an armed escort. Don Luis slipped away from the Missionaries, rejoined his old tribe, and helped to massacre the Jesuits. Obviously this was not a pretty event, and its type is usually called reversion of savagery. On the other hand, as Captain John Smith's example was to demonstrate, such behavior by a European is termed faithfulness to one's own people. Semantics did not interest Menéndez. Two years later he took a punishing expedition to the Chesapeake and hanged a number of the Indians there, including the chief. As David Quinn remarks, *this was a clue most probably to the wariness and hostility of Powhatan and* Opechancanough *toward Europeans a generation later.*[8] I think it must also have contributed heavily to the circumspect behavior of the nearby Carolina Algonquians.

They probably did not distinguish Europeans of the English variety from those of Spain. The evidence before them plainly portrayed Europeans as bad news. Added to all the rest were the terrible effects of epidemic diseases that had never been known until those Europeans arrived.

I shall not try to compete with grand master David Quinn for interpretation of what happened at Roanoke, but perhaps he will forgive mention of the strong tradition in North Carolina today that the abandoned people of Roanoke found refuge among Indians and mingled with them to produce the mixed people called Lumbees. If we acknowledge that Indians were capable of humanitarian conduct—more humanitarian, in fact, than the cold-blooded London power brokers who had let their colonists shift for themselves—perhaps we can re-conceive Roanoke as a triumph of the human spirit rather than a tragedy.

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Author

Presented at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

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[8] David Beers Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlement: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York: The American Nation Series, 1977), 285.

Similarities and differences in Eastern American Indians as seen in the paintings of John White and Jacques Le Moyne, and in the engravings of their works by Theodor de Bry

by Helen Wallis

In presenting this paper I must first pay tribute to Paul Hulton, former deputy-keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, who died in January 1990 after a sudden illness. He was the major authority on the work of John White, in collaboration with David Quinn, and on the work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. He was a most valued contributor to the exhibition *Raleigh and Roanoke*, which we staged at the British Library in 1984, and transferred to Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1985.

As late as 1590 Europeans had only the vaguest notions of the peoples of eastern North America, their lives and environment. For many years it had been a common practice to include a painter (*i.e.* artist) in the personnel of European exploring and trading expeditions to overseas lands. We can see the results of their work in the vignettes of Portuguese and French hydrographic charts, especially those made as presentation pieces for royal and noble persons.[9] Printed works with adequate graphic illustrations were not generally available and the curious public had to be content with verbal description. The main exception was the illustrations of the Indians of Brazil encountered on Durand de Villegagnon's expedition to Brazil in 1555-56, and published in the works of Andre Thevet and Jean de Léry.

In the expeditions of Rene de Laudonnière to settle a French Huguenot colony in Florida, 1564-65, and of Richard Grenville sent by Sir Walter Ralegh to Virginia in 1585, each was accompanied by an accomplished artist. The Florida expedition included Jacques Le Moyne who described himself as a citizen of Dieppe. The English artist for the Virginia expedition was John White. Le Moyne recorded the Timucuan Indians of Florida, John White the Algonkian Indians of Virginia (later known as North Carolina). White sailed again to Virginia in 1587, this time as governor of the second colony, but about five weeks later he left for home to bring supplies. He only managed to return to Virginia in 1590. By then the colonists had disappeared, and he found *many of my things spoyled and broken...the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne....*[10]

Le Moyne and White were well acquainted. In the early 1580s Le Moyne settled in England for religion, living at Blackfriars in London in the Huguenot colony. There he came to know White, possibly before White sailed to America in 1584 or 1585. (White may have been on the reconnaissance of Amadas and Barlowe in 1584.) Hulton has pointed to the interchange between the two artists.[11] White may have introduced Le Moyne to Ralegh, who was their common patron.[12] In an epistle addressed to Ralegh, 1587, Richard Hakluyt the Younger makes his first reference to Le Moyne and Le Moyne's intention to publish: ...[Iames Morgues] *hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise* [Hakluyt's translation of Laudonnière]*: which he meaneth to publish together with the portraitures before it be long.*[13] Whether Ralegh had commissioned the publication is not known.

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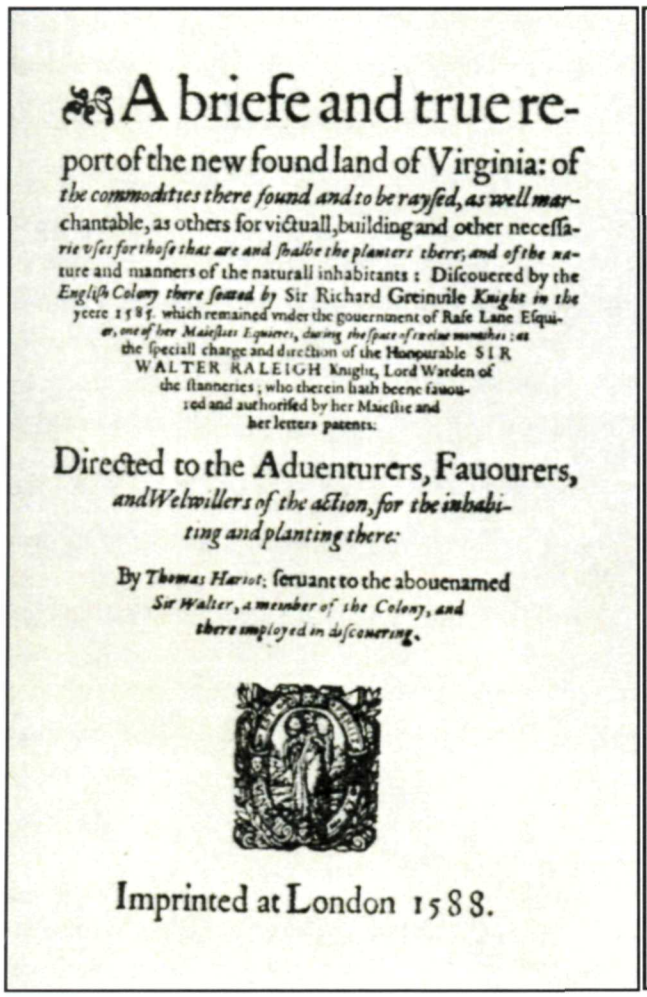
[9] Helen Wallis, "The Role of the Painter in Renaissance Marine Cartography," *Imago et Mensura Mundi: Atta del IX Congresso Internazionale de Storia del Cartografia* (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), 2:515-523.
[10] David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 2:615.
[11] Paul Hulton, "Images of the New World: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and John White," in K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E.H. Hair, eds., *The Westward Enterprise* (Liverpool: University Press, 1978), 212-13.
[12] Paul Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues* (London: 1977), 1:10.
[13] Ibid., 11.

By 1586 when White returned from America both artists had a body of original work recording peoples and scenes of the New World. The arrival of the engraver Theodor de Bry in London in 1587 was a fortunate coincidence. De Bry, a native of Liège, came over with a commission to engrave Thomas Lant's drawings of Sir Philip Sydney's funeral procession of February 1586. De Bry discussed with Thomas Harriot and Le Moyne, and probably also with Richard Hakluyt and Ralegh, the publication of illustrated works on the Americas. On a second visit in 1588, when Le Moyne was dead (He died in May 1588.), De Bry obtained Le Moyne's work from his widow, and he acquired, probably from Hakluyt, White's Virginia drawings.[14] He intended to publish *Florida* as Part I of his *America*, but was persuaded, probably by Hakluyt, to give precedence to Virginia.



A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found and to be rayſed, as well marchantable, as others for victuall, building and other neceſſarie vſes for thoſe that are and ſhalbe the planters there; and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Diſcouered by the Engliſh Colony there ſeated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the yeere 1585. which remained vnder the gouernment of Rafe Lane Eſquier, one of her Maieſties Equiries, during the ſpace of twelue monthes: at the ſpeciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of the ſtanneries; who therein hath beene fauoured and authorized by her Maieſtie and her letters patents:

Directed to the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabiting and planting there:

By Thomas Hariot; ſeruant to the abouenamed Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and there employed in diſcouering.

Imprinted at London 1588.

FIGURES 52 & 53: [Left] Title page for Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*; [Right] Title page for Theodor de Bry's *Virginia*, part I.

De Bry took home with him to his workshop in Frankfurt-am-Main the originals of White and Le Moyne. His volume one comprises an edition of Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, which had been published in 1588 as a promotion tract. Harriot, a mathematician and scientist, was White's companion and the geographer to the expedition. Ralph Lane, governor of the first Roanoke colony, called him *an actor in the Colony, or a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable.*[15] De Bry's publication was intended, as Hulton describes it, to give *the widest possible European circulation of the first accurate images of the American Indian to come out of*

[14] Theodor de Bry, *A Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (Frankfurt: 1590), 117. Known as *America*, vol. 1.
[15] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London: 1588), address to reader.

the New World.[16] To Harriot's *Briefe and true report* De Bry added 23 engravings of White's drawings with explanatory text by Harriot. The work appeared in 1590 in a multilingual edition, in Latin, English, French and German. *Florida* followed in 1591 as Part II and was designed to the same formula, each picture being supplied with explanatory text. De Bry's use of key letters in the pictures dealt with the problem of publication in several languages.

The White drawings depict the Indians at the moment of their first contact with the English, before the shock waves from the meeting of the two cultures had time to spread. *It was for the English a moment of intense curiosity and quiet appraisal, for the Indians of astonishment and awe.*[17] The derivative work of De Bry presents *the true pictures and fashions of the people in that part of America now called Virginia.* White's instructions must have been similar to those of Thomas Bavin, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's artist on one of the expeditions of 1582. Bavin was to *drawe to lief one of each kinde of thing that is strange to us in England.* These included *the figures & shapes of men and woemen in their apparell as also their manner of wepons in every place as you shall finde them differing.*[18]

FIGURE 54: Thomas Harriot in 1620.

The drawings and the engravings provide the first scientific record of the southern or Carolina Algonkian Indians. The images are the result of a remarkable collaboration between White the artist and Harriot the geographer. The accuracy of White's portraits of Indians and Indian life owed much to Harriot's scientific authority.[19] In comparison Le Moyne suffered from the absence of a geographical companion, and his survey of Florida lacks any strong scientific basis.

Hulton comments that Harriot was not only the author of the main text and the notes for the illustrations, but was also to some extent responsible for the kind of Indian portraits which White was able to draw. Quinn has remarked that White would never have been allowed to depict intimate portraits of the wives and children of chiefs unless the Indians had felt complete trust. There must have been a deep sympathetic accord among White and Harriot and the Indians.

The pair had another great advantage—Harriot knew the Algonkian language. He presumably learned it from Manteo and Wanchese, the two Indians brought back from Barlowe's reconnaissance voyage of 1584, who stayed at Durham House with Harriot in the winter of 1584-85, and returned to Virginia in 1585. Harriot was able to question the Indians in Virginia on their *merchantable commodities*. He could speak to the priests, although he admitted to *want of perfect utterance in their language.*[20] He devised a phonetic orthography to record the language.

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[16] Paul Hulton, "The persistence of White-De Bry image of the North American Indian," in *Le Imagen del Indio en la Europa Moderna* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1990), 406.
[17] Ibid.
[18] British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MS 38823. ff. 1-8.
[19] Hulton, "White-De Bry image," 406-407.
[20] Harriot, 1588, sig E4.

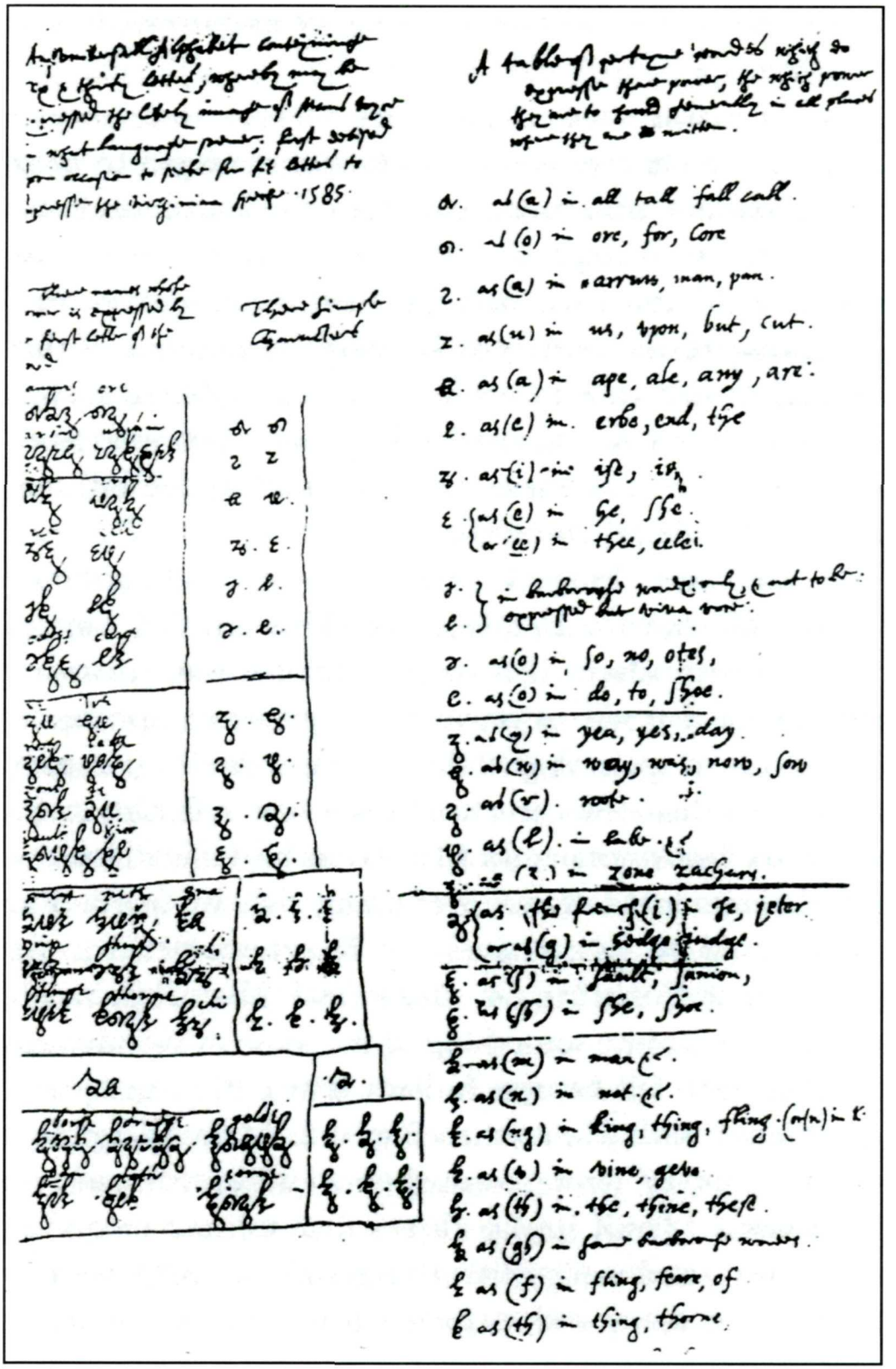

FIGURE 55: A page, in Harriot's hand, which had belonged to Richard Busby (1606-1695), headmaster of Westminster School, has been found in the school's library and has been analyzed by the linguist Vivian Salmon of Oxford.[21] The page is entitled *An vniversall Alphabet conteyninge six & thirty letters, whereby may be expressed the lively image of mens voyce in what language soeuer; first devised upon occasion to seek to fit letters to express the Virginian speche. 1585.*

[21] Vivian Salmon, "Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) and the English origins of Algonkian linguistics," *Historiographia Lunguistica* 1 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1992), 19:25-56.

In comparing White's drawings and De Bry's engravings and assessing them as a scientific record, we must know what groups of drawings survive. Quinn has set out a useful analysis.[22] The archetype set, White's basic collection which included Harriot's set, does not survive. Of the six derivative sets only two survive. The more important is the portfolio of drawings which the British Museum purchased in 1865.

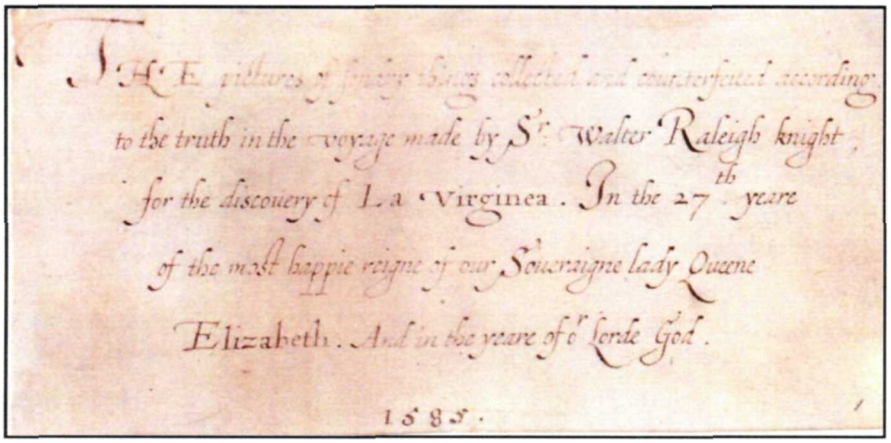
THE pictures of sondry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the voyage made by S^r: Walter Raleigh knight, for the discouery of La Virginea. In the 27th yeare of the most happie reigne of our Soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. And in the yeare of o^r lorde God.
1585.

FIGURE 56: Title of John White's portfolio of drawings; the set purchased by the British Museum in 1865. The title is probably in White's hand, but does not give details of authorship or for whom the set was intended. Transcript of White's autograph title: *THE pictures of sondry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the voyage made by S^r: Walter Raleigh knight for the discouery of La Virginea. In the 27th yeare of the most happie reigne of our Soueraigne [Sovereign] lady Queene Elizabeth. And in the yeare of o^r Lorde God. 1585.*

Those drawings relating to Virginia were made in Virginia before 17 November 1585 if taken literally.[23]

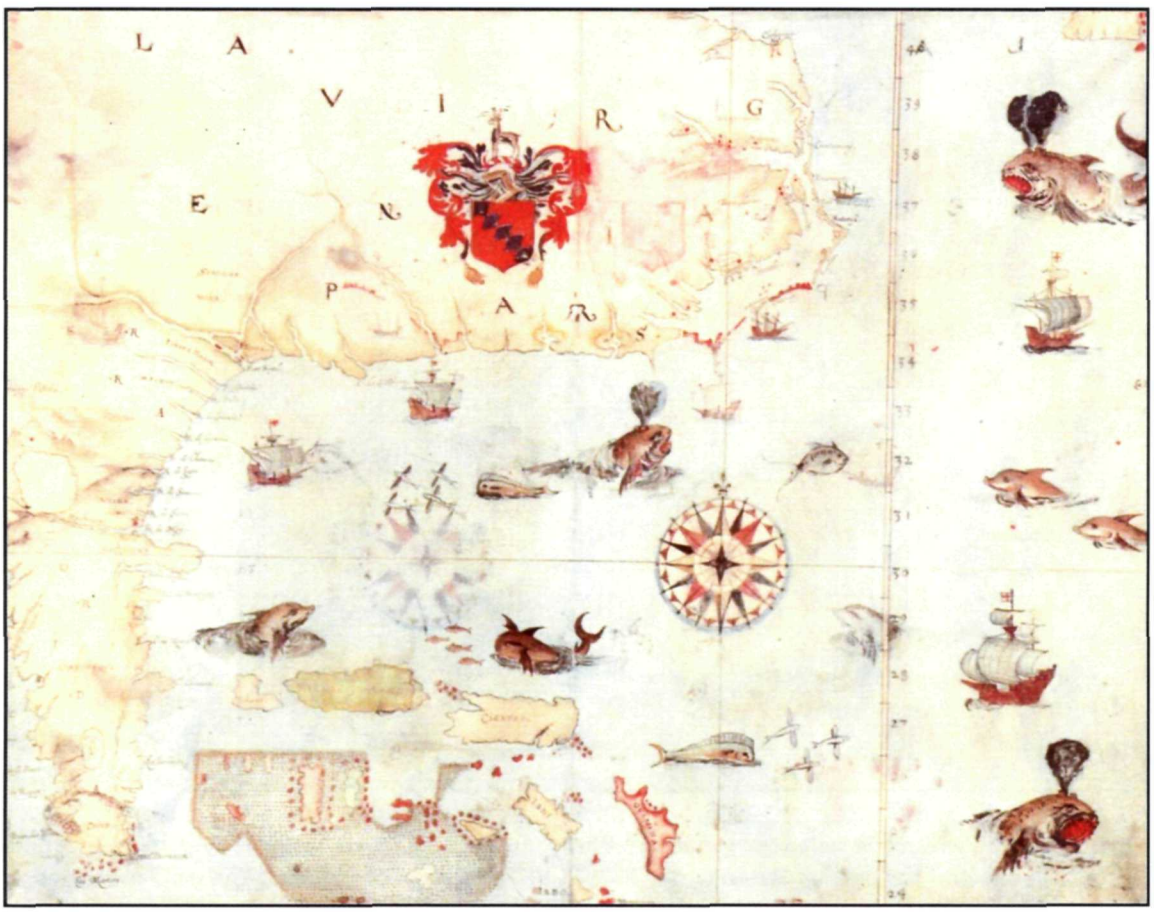

FIGURE 57: John White's map of Eastern North America from Florida to Chesapeake Bay.

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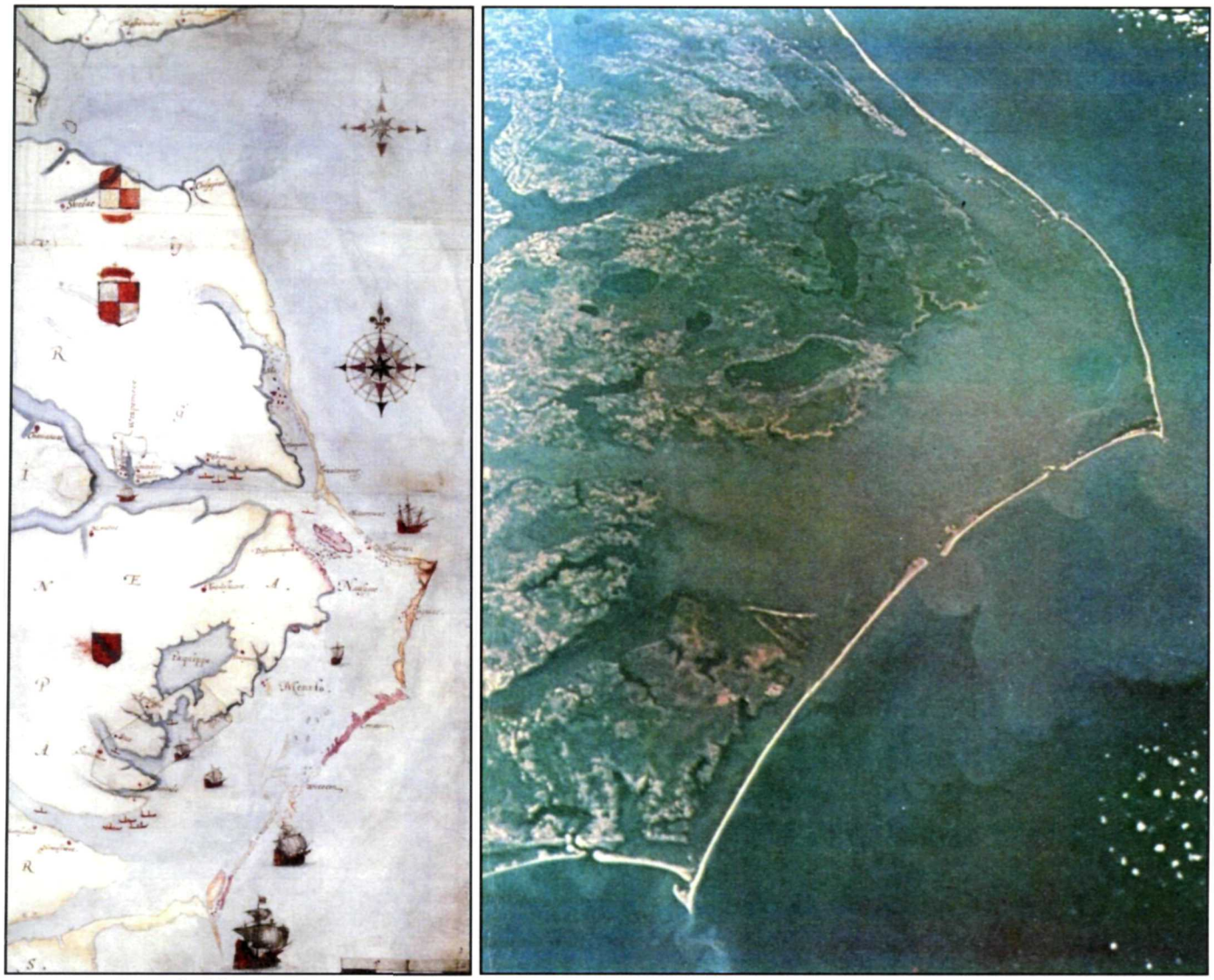
[22] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:392.
[23] Ibid. 393, 398.

It should be noted that the volume suffered water damage before coming to the Museum, which explains some offsets and smudging. The magnificent facsimile with full scholarly text by Hulton and Quinn was published by the British Museum in 1964.[24]



FIGURES 58 & 59: [Left] John White's map of the Carolina coast, *La Virginia Pars*. [Right] Satellite photo.

The set most closely derived from the archetype is identified by Quinn as the drawings in Sloane Ms 5270, now BM Prints & Drawings 199.a.3. In a letter of September 1709 Sir Hans Sloane described his visit to the home of White's descendants in Ireland, where he saw a volume comprising early copies from White's originals. Sloane had copies made, but later acquired the volume itself. The copies are also in the Sloane collection in the British Museum.[25] The set which White made for De Bry in 1588 and 1589 has disappeared and is known only from the engravings.

[24] Paul Hulton and D.B. Quinn, *The Drawings of John White, 1577-1590*, 2 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964).

[25] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:395-6. See also Helen Wallis, *Raleigh & Roanoke* (Raleigh, NC: 1985), 60.

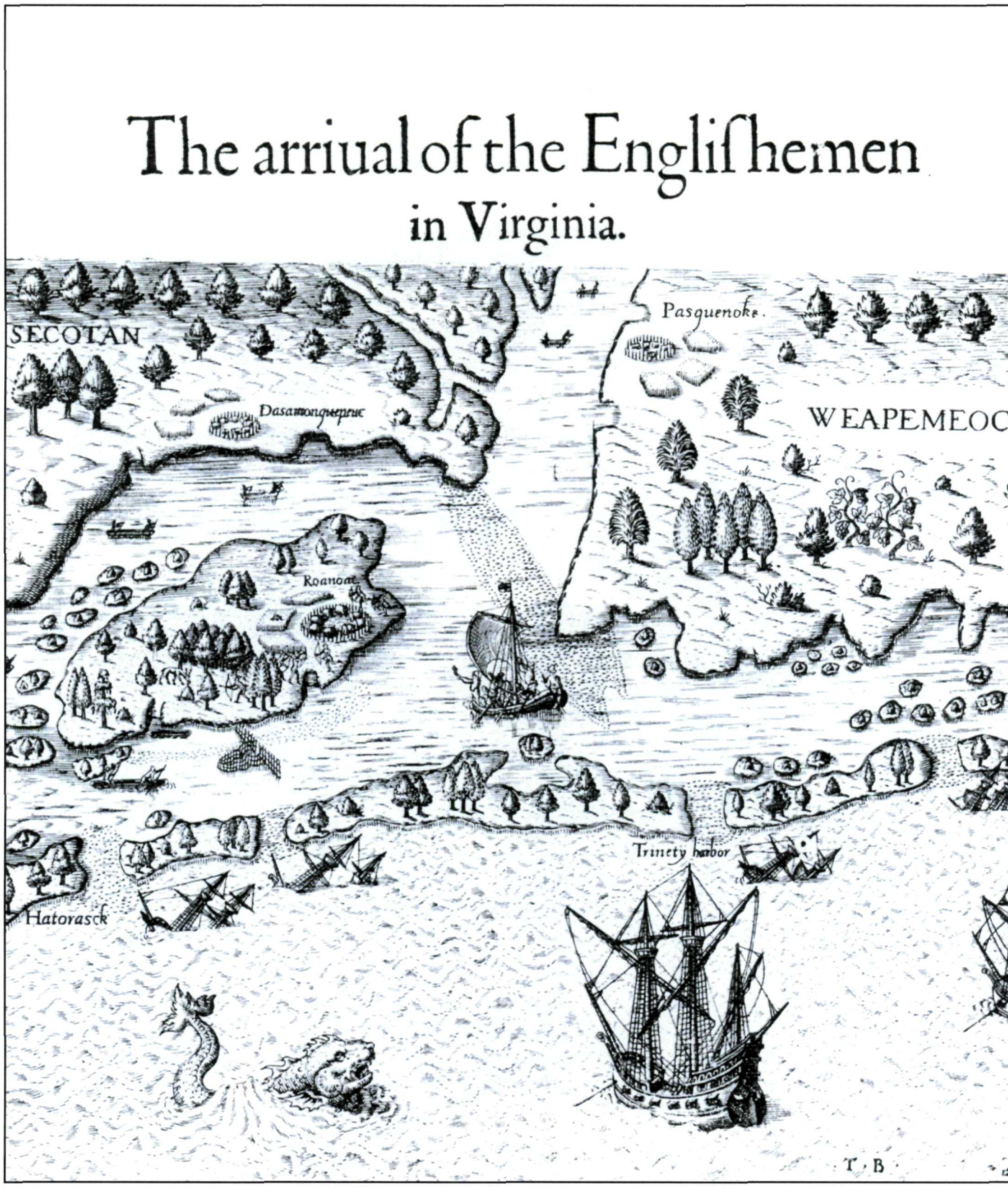


FIGURE 60: Theodor DeBry's engraving of Virginia, from a lost John White original.

Most of White's original drawings were made in mid-July 1585 at the villages of *Pomeiooc* and *Secotan*, which White and Harriot visited with the first English exploring expedition inland. There are two types of Indian village, enclosed and open.

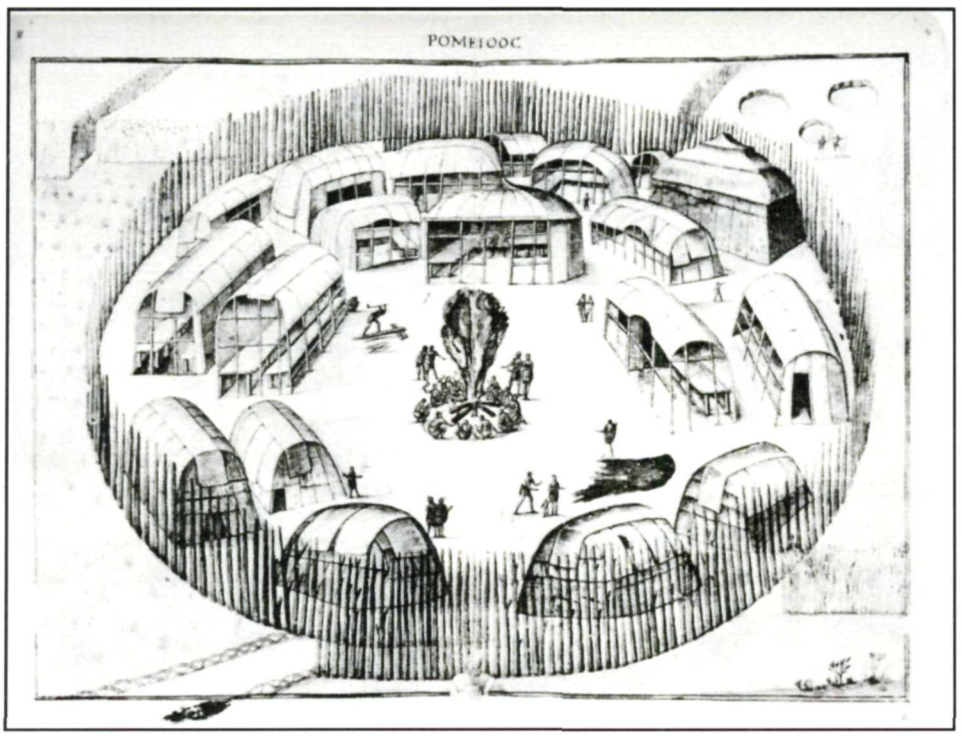


FIGURE 61: John White's drawing of The Town of *Pomeiooc*. Transcription of text on John White's painting of Pomeiock: *The towne of Pomeiock and true forme of their howses, couered and enclosed some wth matts, and some wth barcks of trees. All compassed abowt wth smale poles stock thick together in stedd of a wall.*

Figure 62: [below] Drawing of The Town of *Pomeiooc* in Sloane copies.

There are essentially two different sets of drawings that relate to John White, artist of the 1585 voyage of exploration and Governor of the 1587 colony. The primary set, purchased at auction by the Earl of Charlemont in 1778 has long been held to be White's originals—even though they are not signed by the artist, whose name is not mentioned anywhere in the volume.

A second set, acquired by Sir Hans Sloane in 1717 from a descendent of John White has similarity of content, but is lesser in quality than the primary set. While the second set contains some drawings not found in the primary set, none of the drawings are exact copies of any in the primary set. The difference in details is strongly suggestive of a second artist—one of whom may have been John White, and the other possibly White's assistant or apprentice. The variation in details is too strong to have been created by copyists, more likely by White himself or another painter. It is, of course, also possible that Sloane's volume contains White's originals—as he believed—and that the primary set, heralded as White's originals, may have been painted by a professional artist and are not White's originals after all. To test the theory, compare the *Pomeiooc* from the Sloane set [below] with the same subject traditionally attributed to White [above].

Figure 63: Theodor De Bry's engraving of White's drawing of The Town of *Pomeiooc* hand-colored similar to the engravings included in Princeton MS of William Strachey's *Historie*.

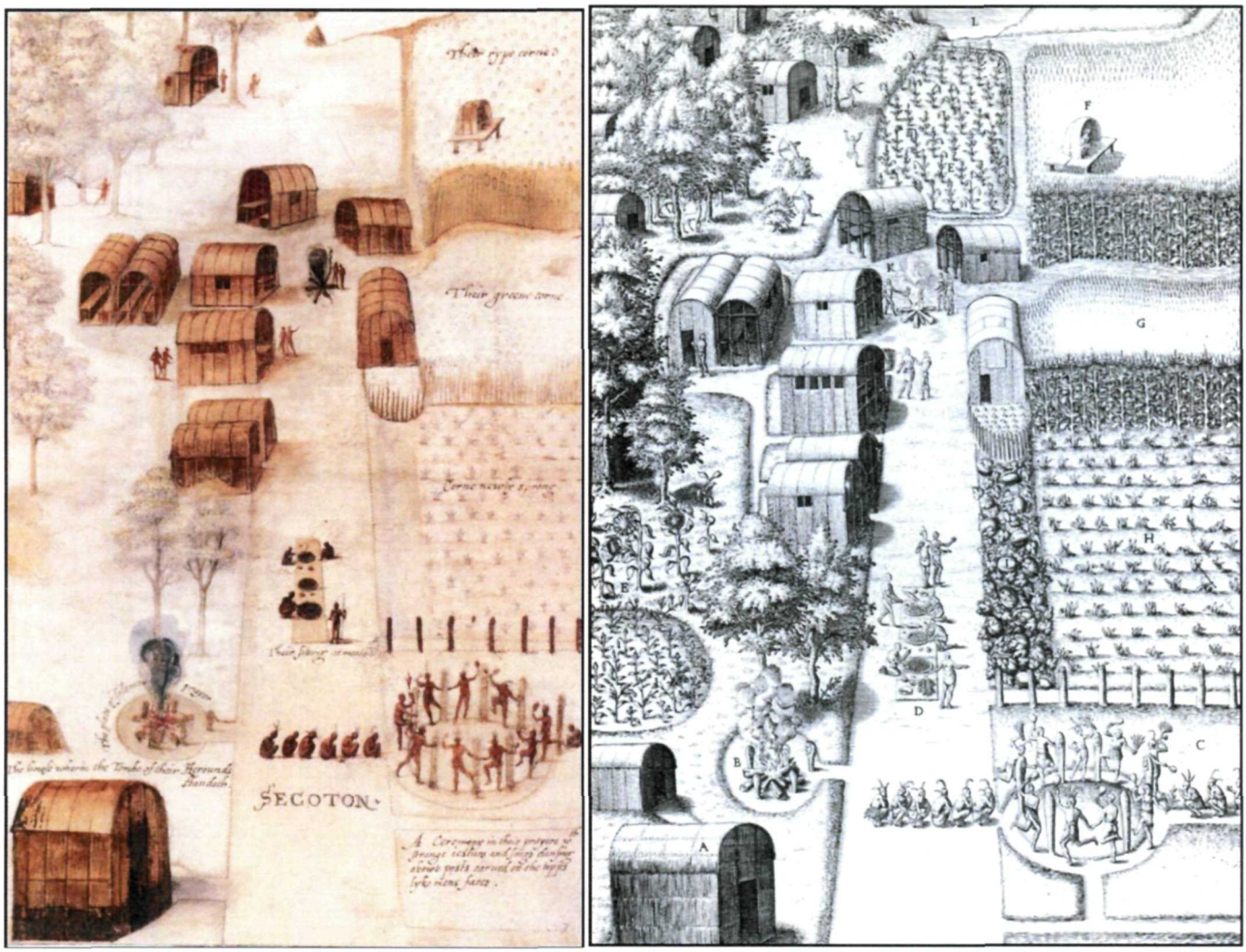
Pomeiooc is an enclosed village with a palisade. It is notable that the enclosed palisaded village of circular form was to become the main symbol of North American Indian settlement.[26] There are differences between White's drawing and De Bry's rendering. De Bry makes the poles of the palisade stronger. The temple in De Bry has a baroque style roof. He omits an interesting detail of White's original, the earliest depiction of a North American dog. The dog is also missing in the Sloane drawing.

[26] Hulton, "White-De Bry image," 409.

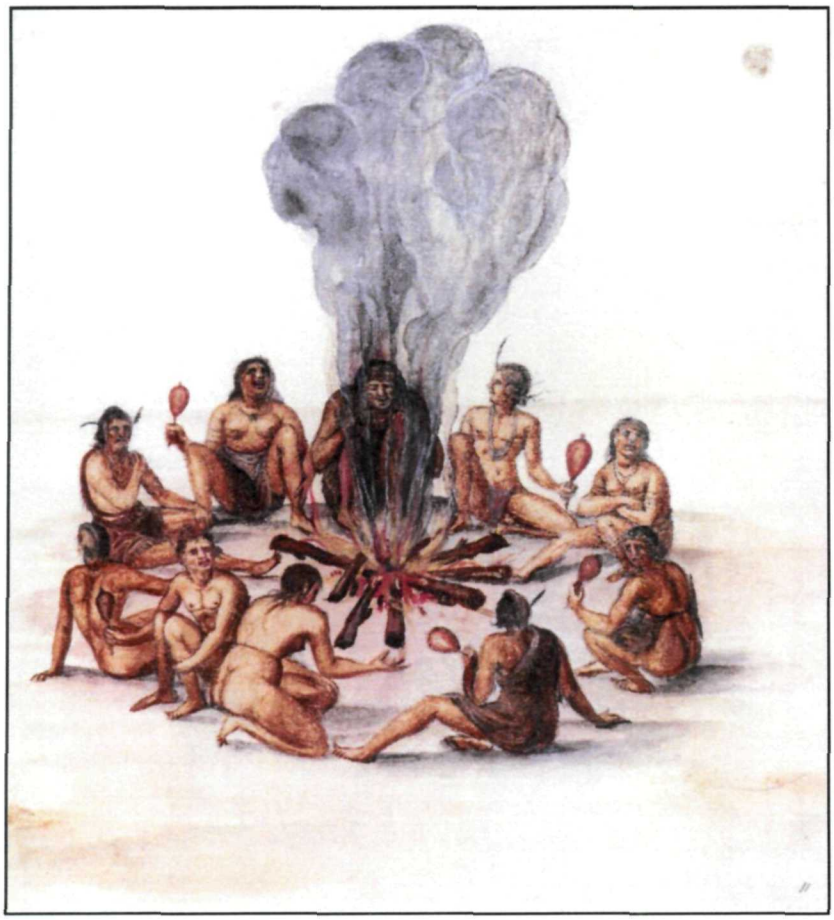
FIGURE 64: Detail of De Bry's engraving of John White's map of Ralegh's Virginia showing *Secoton*.

The village of *Secoton*, an open village visited on July 15-16, 1585, is described in Harriot's text (De Bry XX) as *fayrer. Their townes that are not inclosed with poles aire commonlye fayrer. Then suche as are inclosed.* The houses are scattered, with gardens growing tobacco (letter E). Three stages of maize cultivation are represented, as the Carolina Algonkians planted three crops per year, in May, June and July, harvested in July, August and September.

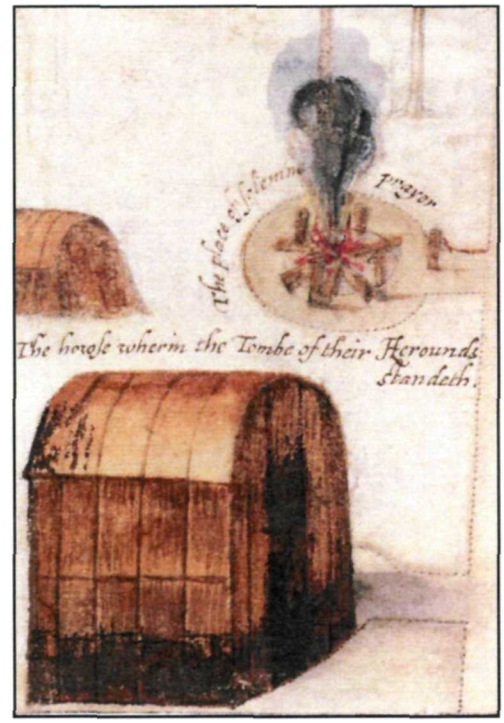
White also made separate drawings of subjects in the picture of *Secoton*, such as the circle of dancers, the Indians eating, and the mortuary temple.

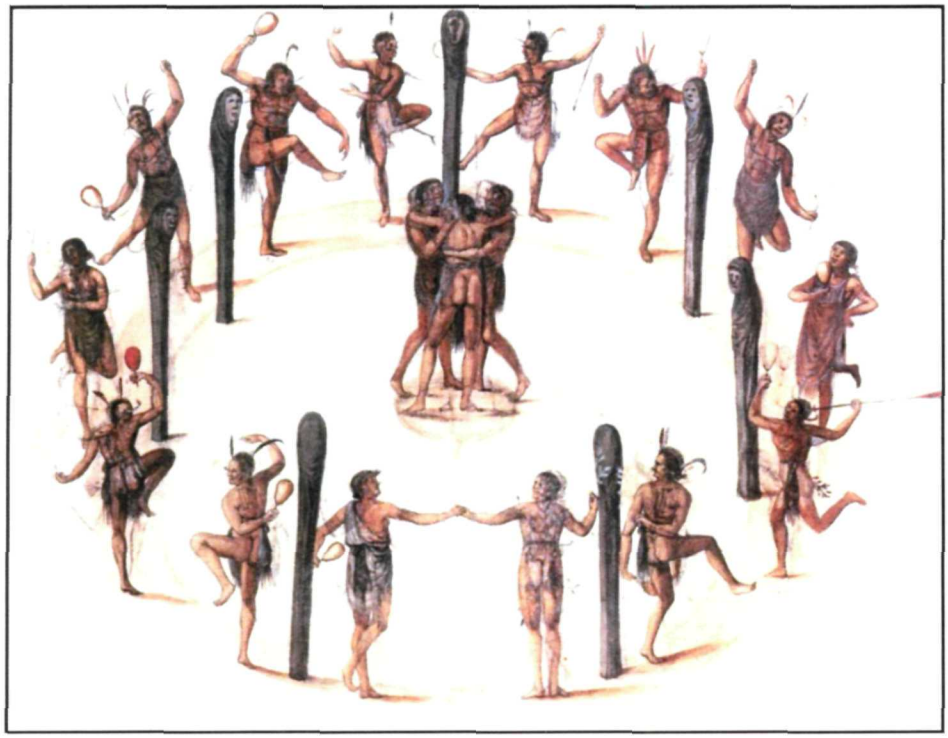


Figures 65 & 66: [left] John White's Drawing of The Town of *Secoton*; [right] De Bry's engraving of same. Transcription of text: WHITE: [left] *The place of solemne prayer. The howse wherin the Tombe of their Herounds standeth.* [center] *Their Sitting at meate. SECOTON.* [right] *Their rype corne. Their greene corne. Corne newly Sprong. A Ceromony in their prayers wth strange iesturs* [gestures] *and songs dancing abowt posts carued on the topps lyke mens faces.* DE BRY: [right] letters refer to text. A: *wherin are the tombes of their kings and princes.* B: *wher they affemble* [assemble] *themfelues* [themselves] *to make their folemne* [solemne] *prayers.* C: *whear* [where] *they meete with their neighbours, to celebrate their cheefe folemne* [solemne] *feaftes* [feasts]. D: *whear* [where] *after they haue* [have] *a rownd plot.* E: *wherin growth Tobacco which the inhavitants call Vppowoc* [Uppowoc]. F: *wherin they place one to watche for there are fuche* [such] *number of fowles, and beafts* [beasts], *that vnlefs* [unless] *they keepe the better watche, they would foone* [soon] *deuoure all their corne. For which caufe* [cause] *the watcheman maketh continual cryes and noyfe* [noise]. G: *For the leaves therof are large, like vnto* [unto] *the leaues of great reedes.* H: *They fowe* [sowe] *their corne with a certaine diftance* [distance] *noted by H. other wife* [otherwise] *one ftalke* [stalk] *would choke the growthe of another and the corne would not come vnto* [unto] *his rypeurs* [ripeness]. I: *wherin they vfe* [use] *to fowe* [sow] *pompions.* K: *wherin the make a fyre* [fire] *att their folemne* [solemne] *feafts* [feasts], *and hard without the towne a riuer.* L: *from whence they fetche their water. This people therefore voyde of all couetoufnes* [covetousness] *lyue* [live] *cherfullye and att their harts eafe* [ease]. *Butt they folemnife* [solemnize] *their feafts in the nigt* [night], *therefore they keepe verye great fyres to auoyde* [avoid] *darkenes, ant to teftifie* [testify] *their loye* [joy].



FIGURES 67: John White's drawing of the group of Indians sitting round a fire [left] is a separate treatment of a detail in his drawing of *The Town of Secoton*, as is the dance [below].





FIGURES 68: John White's *The dancing circle* is probably celebrating a corn or harvest festival. This custom was widespread among Indian tribes in eastern North America. Men and women are participating. The dancers are holding gourds and plant sprigs. Modern dances of the Seminole Indians of Florida also use sprigs. The faces on the posts probably represent minor deities, according to the ethnographer John R. Swanton.[27]

[27] Paul Hulton, *America 1585, The Complete drawings of John White* (Raleigh, NC: UNC Press, 1984), 180.

FIGURE 69: [left] White's drawing *Theire sitting at meate* is particularly interesting for the squatting posture of the Indian couple.[28] FIGURE 70: [right] De Bry altered White's drawing to a sitting posture, perhaps because he thought his readers would find a squatting posture unfamiliar. The dish contains hominy (maize kernels swollen by soaking and boiling). De Bry adds a pouch, a tobacco pipe, a gourd water vessel, walnuts, husked ears of maize and a scallop or clam shell. The facial features are Europeanized.

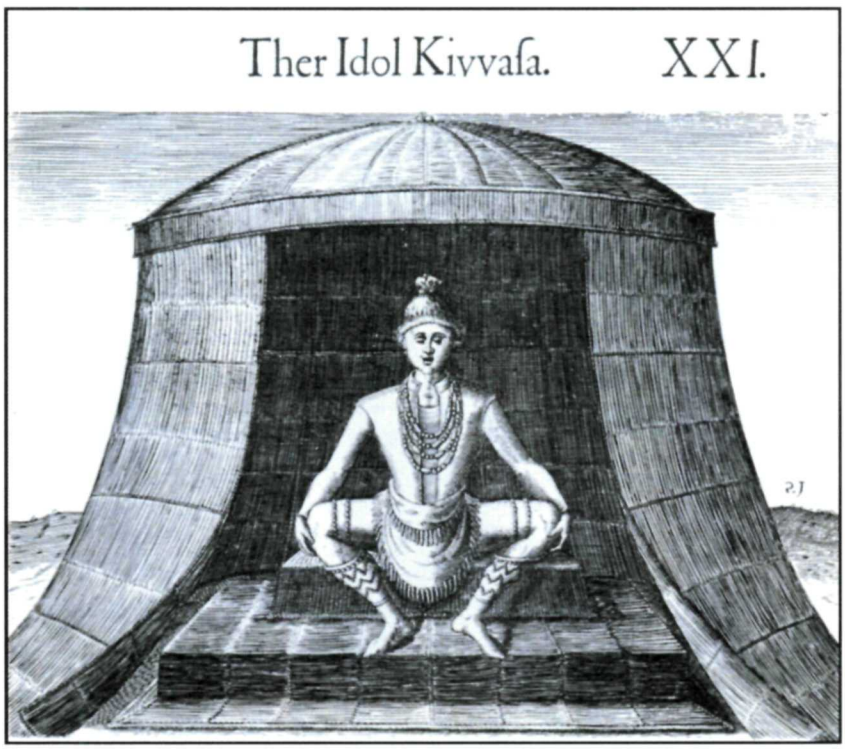


FIGURE 71: [left] White's mortuary temple with the stripped skeletons of the recently dead chiefs is guarded by the idol Kywash (*Kiwasa*). Recent archaeological evidence shows that the matting bundles at the back are disarticulated skeletons of an earlier group of leaders. The bones would later be buried in the common ossuary. The temple appears as the tall building in *Secoton* (bottom left). FIGURE 72: [right] De Bry's engraving of the idol *Kiwasa* is rather different. As Harriot notes, *Kiwasa* has a headdress like that of the people of Florida.

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[28] Ibid.

FIGURE 73: *Kiwasa* and his temple were transformed into chief Powhatan and his house in John Smith's history of the Jamestown colony, 1612.

White's drawings include fine depictions of individual men and women encountered during the visit to *Pomeiooc* and *Secoton*. When engraved by De Bry these were accepted as the stereotypes for the Amerindian people and became well known throughout Europe. Their figures and forms appeared and re-appeared as vignettes on maps and as iconographical features on title pages for many years, even into the 18th century.

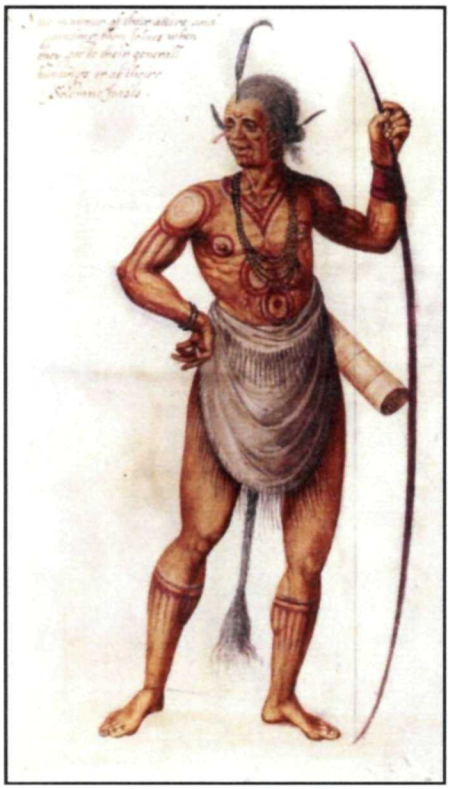


FIGURE 74: [left] The chief in White's drawing entitled, *The manner of their attire...* is the best known of the individuals. He is depicted in ceremonial style. FIGURE 75: [right] De Bry's engraving emphasizes the mannerist pose.[29] De Bry shows the back view as well as the front, as with several other figures and sets him in a landscape, here a hunting scene. The rear views of the figures were supplied by White.

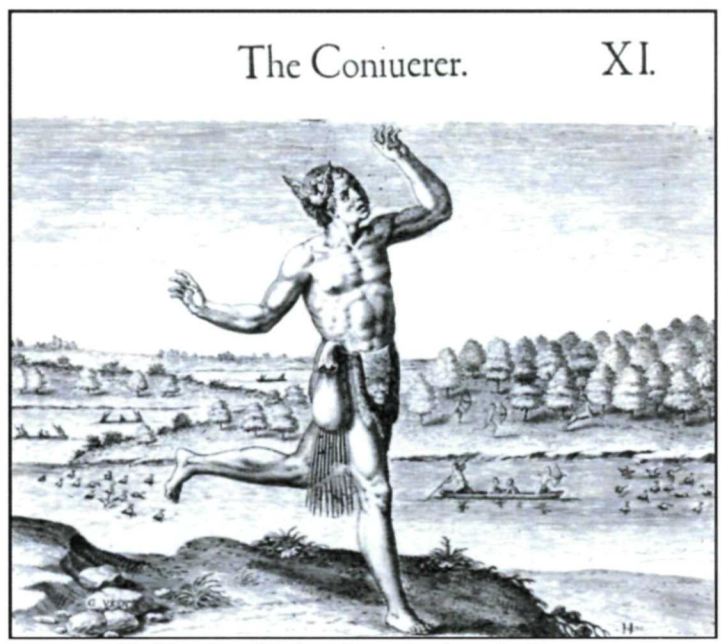


FIGURE 76: [left] White's Indian conjurer or medicine man wears a stuffed bird on his head as a badge of office and carries a pouch. FIGURE 77: [center] For comparison, we included in our exhibition an Indian pouch from the Tradescant Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. FIGURE 78: [right] De Bry's conjurer is a single figure with a river scene in the background. Note pouch detail.

[29] Hulton, "White-De Bry image," 4.

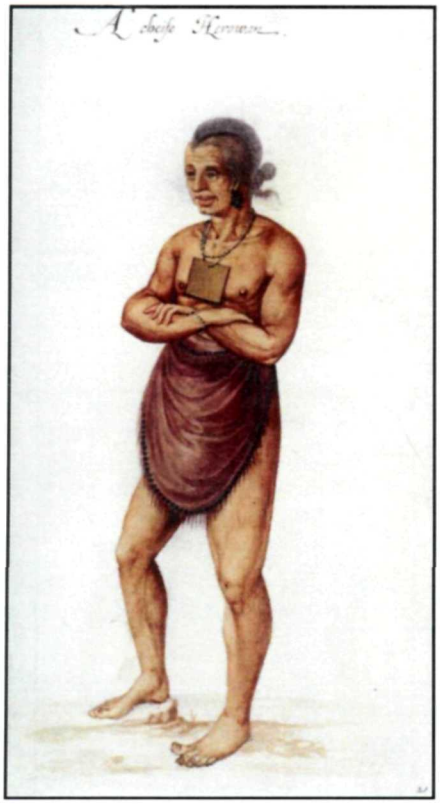


FIGURE 79: [left] John White's other male figures include *A chief Herowan*. FIGURE 80: [right] Harriot in the De Bry engraving calls the *Herowan* a chief of the Roanoke Indians, also noting that the folded arms are a sign of wisdom. The rectangular gorget is probably of native copper.

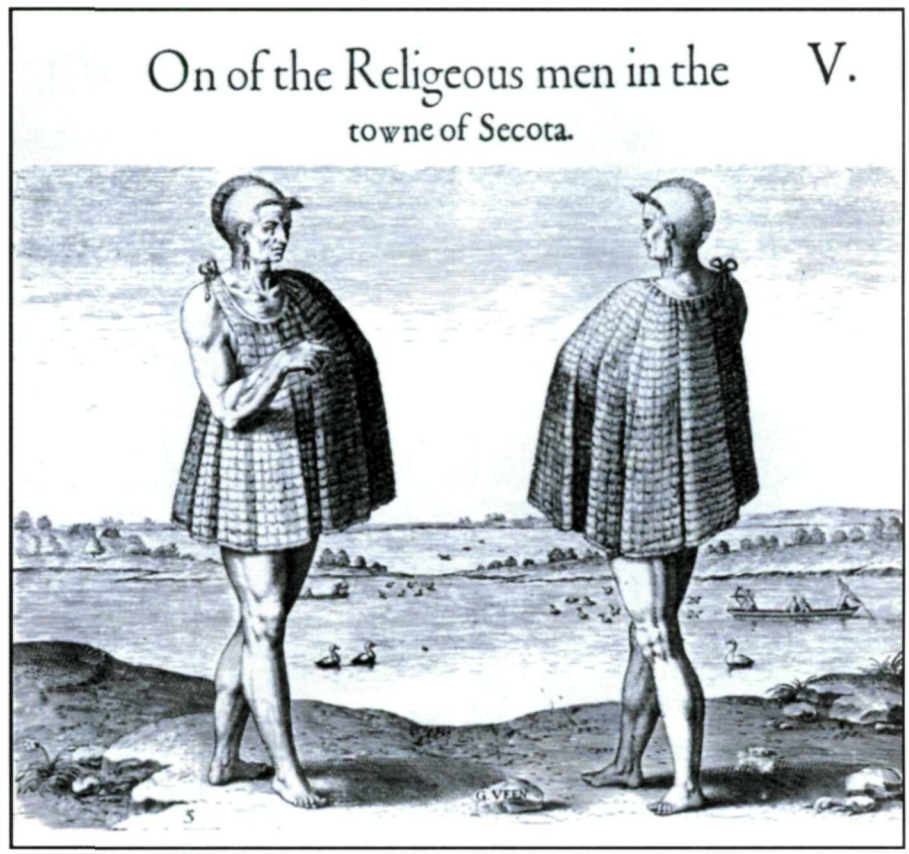
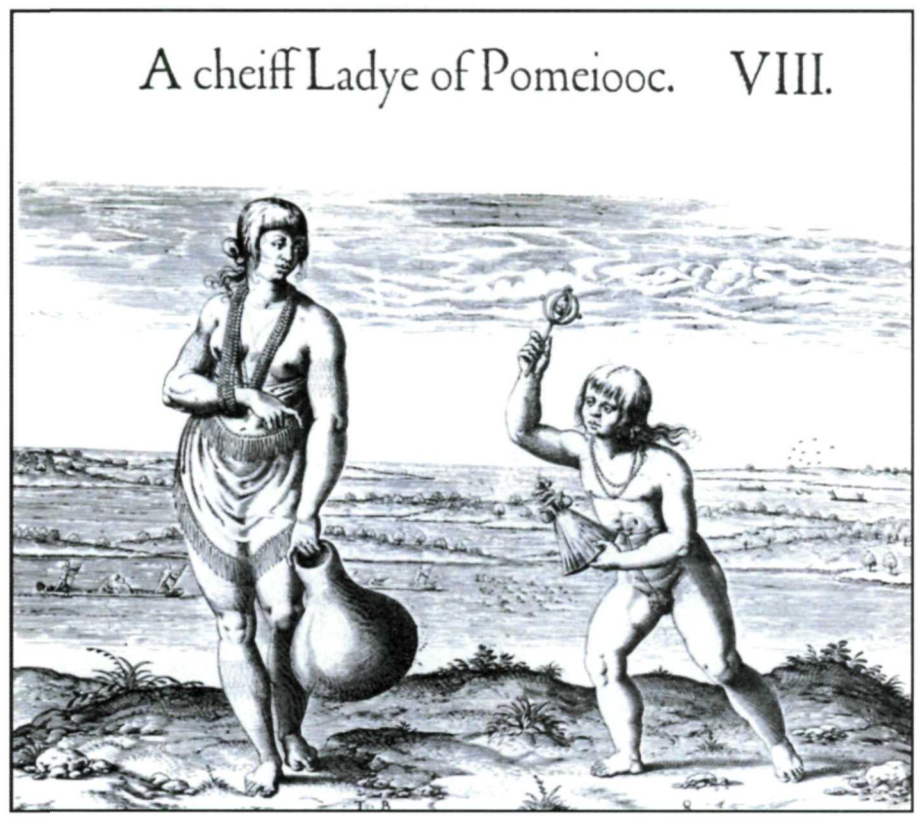


FIGURE 81: [left] White's Priest described by Harriot as of *Secoton*, has a rabbit skin cape as special clothing. FIGURE 82: [right] De Bry's engraving of White's painting on the left.

FIGURES 83 & 84: White's aged man of *Pomeiooc* [left] has a fringed mantle. His knotted hairdo is more clearly depicted in the De Bry engraving [right], which shows the village behind him.

The women are sympathetically drawn.



FIGURES 85 [White] & 86: The chief lady of *Pomeiooc* [left] has a gourd for carrying water, and her young daughter, of 8 to 10 years, holds a clothed Elizabethan doll. In the De Bry engraving [right] she also waves a rattle.

FIGURES 87 [White] & 88: The Indian woman of *Pomeiooc* with her baby is described by Harriot in De Bry [right] as being from *Dasemunkepuec*. White does not depict, and Harriot does not mention, the cradleboard generally used by south-east and north-east Indians for carrying younger babies.[30]

FIGURES 89 & 90 [De Bry]: White's drawing, *One of the wives of Wingina* (who was chief of the Roanoke Indians) is differently titled in De Bry [*A younge gentill Woeman doughter of Secota*] and the Sloane drawing. According to David Quinn, *The discrepancy indicates clearly that while the surviving drawings and the engravings derive from the same originals, White was by no means certain of the identification of his subjects and probably relied on memory for some of his captions when making replicas. There is no evidence to show which village is meant.*[31] Her crossed legs led White to give her two right feet [left].

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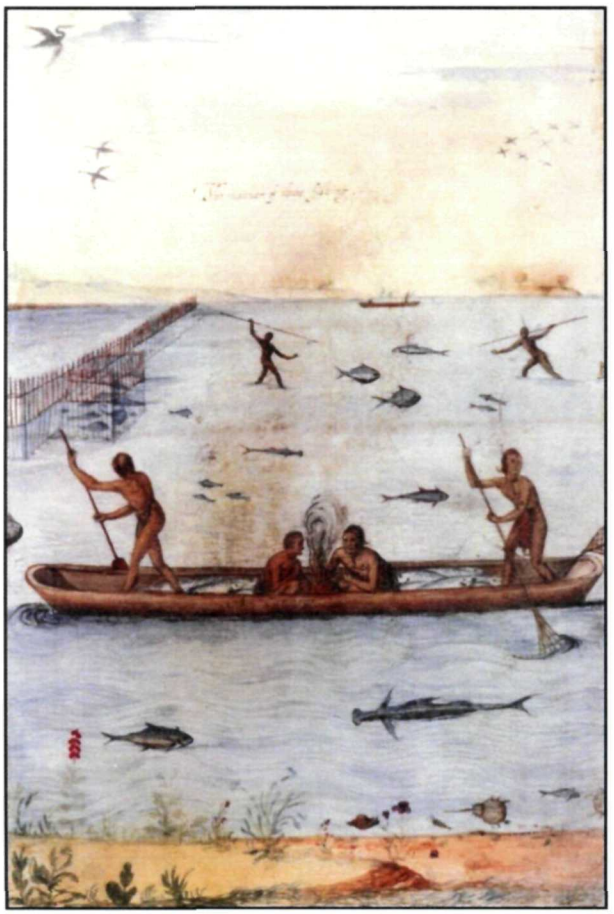
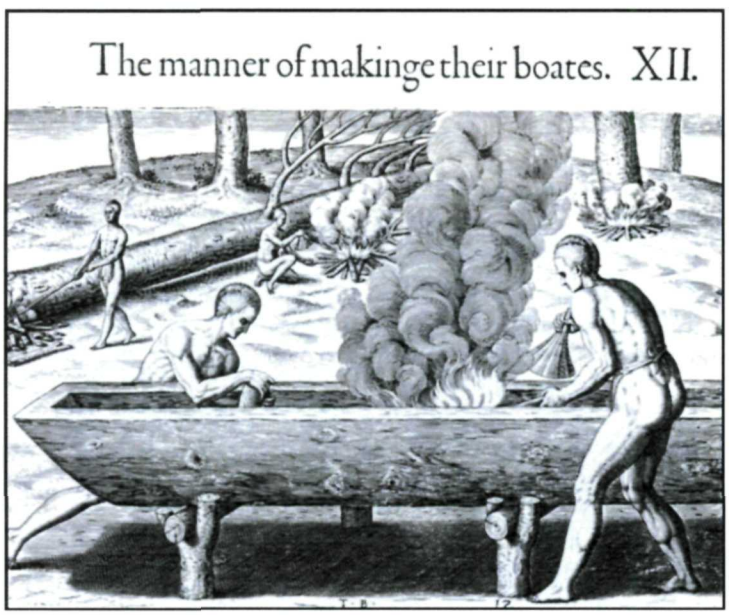
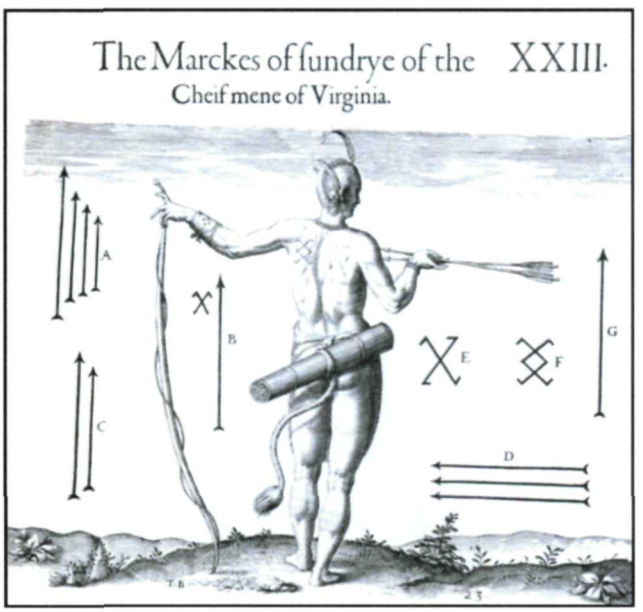
[30] Hulton, *America 1585*, 108-9.
[31] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:419-420.



FIGURES 91 [White] & 92 [De Bry]: The Indian fishing scene is another composite drawing showing fishing methods by day using the dip net and spear, and at night with a fire in the canoe. The fishes and birds of the Outer Banks are depicted. Harriot describes how the Indians constructed the weir.





FIGURES 93 & 94: De Bry's engravings include two subjects for which White's originals do not survive. One shows Indians making canoes. Harriot names the tree as the *rakiock*, perhaps the white or swamp cyprus. The dugout canoes were made only with the help of fire and hatchets of stones and shells. The second engraving shows *Indian markings*. The figure is similar to the rear view of the great Lord of Virginia. The markings on his back are for identification. The arrows seem to identify the nations or tribes, but, as Hulton comments, scholars differ as to whether these are tribal marks, marks of totemic clans or indications of rank.

FIGURE 95: The depiction of Tupinamba villages in Brazil, drawn *ad vivam* by Jean Rotz in *The Boke of Indrography* presented to Henry VIII in 1542, is one of the notable examples of charts illustrated with scenes that may have influenced Le Moyne.[35]

With Harriot's guidance White had been true to the principle of realistic representation as opposed to the stylistic conventions of the time.[32] What distinguished White and Le Moyne from their predecessors was the value of their records and competent reproductions by De Bry.

Le Moyne should be ranked as the first ethnographical artist to make serious studies of the native peoples of North America, and, as John Faupel remarks, deserves greater recognition in the history of American iconography.[33] Le Moyne has been acknowledged as a distinguished artist only recently, when in 1961 a substantial body of his original work came to light, namely 50 watercolor drawings of flowers and fruits. Hulton published facsimiles of the drawings and the derived engravings with a scholarly analysis in *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues*, London, 1977. Le Moyne was revealed as an accomplished artist. He may have been a court painter, as he appears to have enjoyed the King's patronage; he was received by Charles IX on his return from Florida to France. He describes on that occasion his role as recorder and artist: *This assignment I carried out as faithfully as I could, as I showed his majesty.*[34]

As a man of Dieppe Le Moyne may have been influenced by the flourishing school of Dieppe hydrographers, whose charts were illuminated with vignettes of scenes observed overseas.

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[32] Hulton, in Andrews (1978), 196.

[33] Sarah Lawson, with annotations and apps. by W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida The Eye-Witness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation 1562-1568. Based on a new translation of Laudonniere's L'Histoire Notable de la Florida* (Somerset, England: Antique Atlas Publications, 1992), 177. This book puts De Bry's engravings in a more logical order in the text of Laudonniere's *L'Histoire*, presented for the first time in a modern English translation. Faupel also gives a detailed account of De Bry's publishing procedures. This work forms a valuable supplement to Hulton's *Le Moyne*, 1977. Another useful recent publication is Faupel's *A brief and true Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia—A Study of the De Bry Engravings* (Somerset, England: Antique Atlas Publications, 1989).

[34] Hulton, *Work of Jacques Le Moyne*, 119.

[35] British Library, Royal MS 20.E IX.

Le Moyne arrived at Florida on 25 June 1564, and remained there for 15 months, based at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River. His instructions were *to chart the sea coast and observe the situation of the towns and the depth and course of the rivers, and also the harbours, the houses of the people, and anything new there might be.*[36]

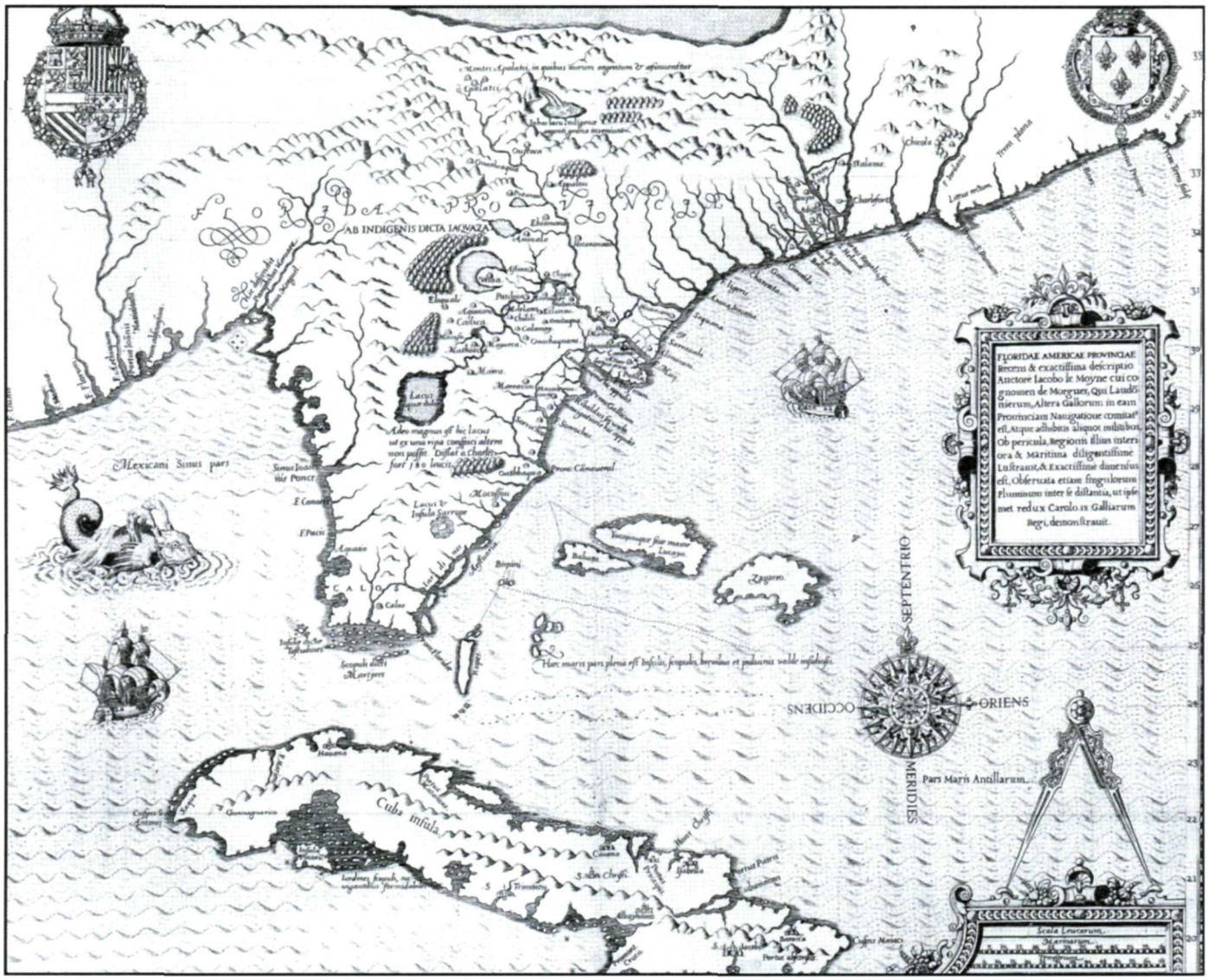

FIGURE 96: Jacques Le Moyne's Map of Florida engraved by Theodor De Bry.

He must have made a documentary record of his survey of the land and peoples, but his account does not mention his drawings. When the Spaniards attacked in September 1565 he made a dramatic escape, and probably lost all his drawings. Just a few seem to have reached Europe, perhaps sent home in the ships which returned before the massacre.

We have the problem in assessing Le Moyne's work in Florida that only one original, itself of dubious attribution, is known, in comparison with White's 60 drawings. Le Moyne's drawing is the miniature of Athore, son of the Timacuan chief of the St. Johns River region of Florida, standing at the column set up by Ribault in 1562.[37] Apart from this, Le Moyne's work has to be assessed through De Bry's forty-two engravings published in 1591 in *America*, vol. 2, and John White's copies of two drawings.

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[36] Theodor de Bry, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt* (Frankfurt: 1591), 6. Known as *America*, vol.2; trans. in Hulton, *Le Moyne*, 1, 119.

[37] Now in the New York Public Library, James Hazen Hyde Bequest.

FIGURES 97 & 98: John White's copies of Le Moyne's originals are of an *Indian Man of Florida* [left], and an *Indian Woman of Florida* [right], both are preserved in the White drawings in the British Museum.[38]

These drawings and some of De Bry's engravings appear to be based on direct observation. Le Moyne may have drawn scenes from memory on board the ship returning to Europe, but for the most part the compositions prepared for De Bry appear to have been made 20 years after the event.

Le Moyne must have shown White his collection of American material, as the Indian man and woman of Florida are only known in White's copies. The originals appear to have been field studies. As such, they are better representations of the Timucuan Indians than those in Le Moyne's presumed own miniature of the Chief Athore. The tattoo patterns on White's copies agree with contemporary accounts. The pendants hanging from the man's belt are similar to archaeological finds of pendants of stone and shell found in north-eastern Indian cultures. The blue garment worn by the woman is a fringe of Spanish moss mentioned in the accounts. The ear ornaments, the woman's bowl and the man's bow and arrow are all valid records.[39]

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[38] British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1906-5-9-1 (22) & (23).
[39] Hulton, in Andrews, 209-10.

FIGURE 99: Although still debatable, a possible original Le Moyne Florida drawing.

The miniature of Athore, found at the Chateau de Courance in 1900 and now in the New York Public Library depicts the scene described in De Bry as *The Indians Worship the Stone Column*. In early July 1564, Athore escorted Laudonnière to the stone column set up by Jean Ribault in 1562 which the Indians were now treating as an idol. Doubt whether the miniature is by Le Moyne arises from the unrealistic color schemes: the white skin colors are wrong for the Frenchmen, and even more so for the Indians. Christian Feest, well known for his work on the impact of the Indians on European culture, suggests that the painting was made by an unknown artist working from the De Bry engraving.[40] The painting and the engraving almost exactly match. Furthermore, ethnographical errors noted by W. S. Sturtevant, which Le Moyne would scarcely have made, also argue against the attribution.[41]

FIGURE 100: DeBry's engraving of the scene as Athore shows the column to Laudonnière.

De Bry's engravings after Le Moyne divide into two main groups, views of the landscape drawn on expeditions, including French forts, and depictions of the Indians, some with Frenchmen. The first seven illustrations, together with plates IX and X, are basically maps of the Florida coast in a bird's-eye-view style such as that used in De Bry's *The arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia.*

[40] Faupel, 168-9; C.F. Feest, "Jacques le Moyne minus four," in *European Review of Native American Studies* no.1 (Austria: 1988), 2:33-8.
[41] Sturtevant, in Hulton, *Le Moyne*, 1, 163.

FIGURES 101 & 102: White's *Arrival in Virginia* [left] and Le Moyne's *The French reach Port Royal* [right]. The similarity between these two may be the result of consultations between Le Moyne and White after he had returned from Roanoke in 1586.

Among the illustrations of Indians in Florida are a number featuring the chief *Satouriwa*, whose territory covered about 30 villages along the lower St. Johns River and the adjoining coast.

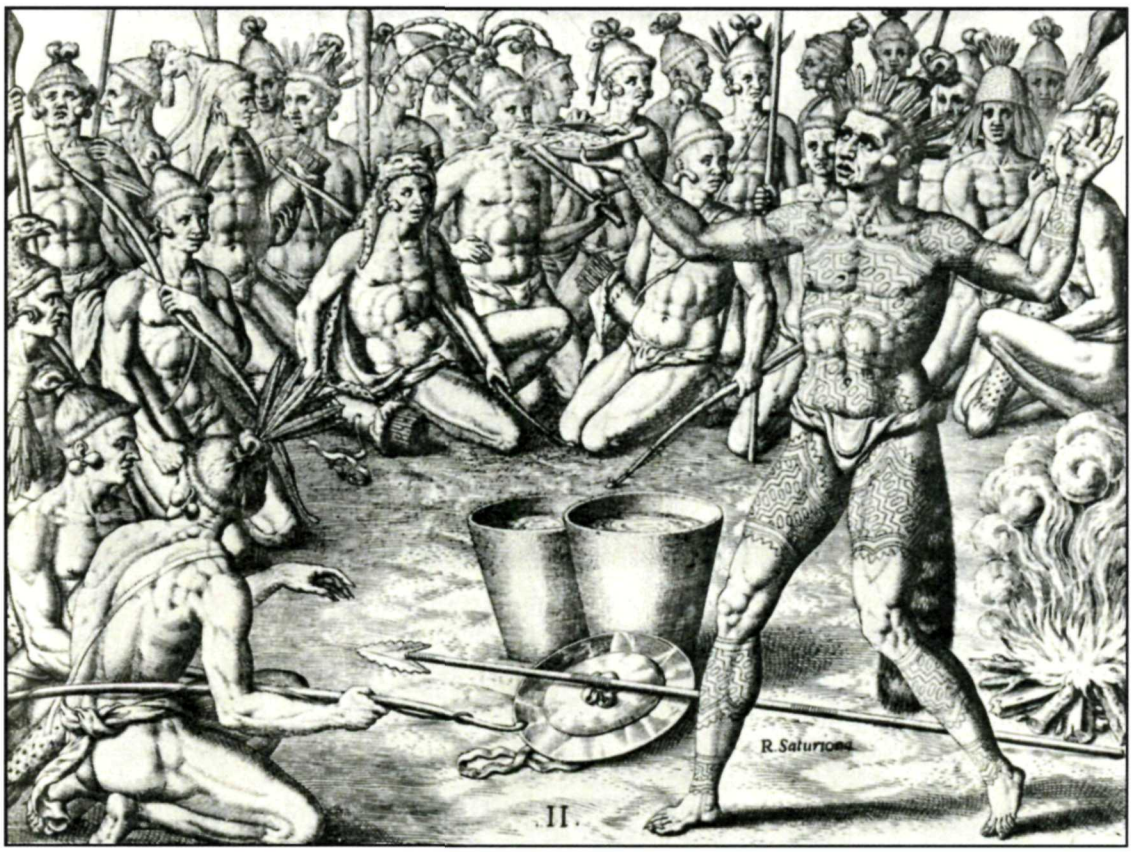


FIGURE 103: De Bry's engraving of Le Moyne's drawing of *Satouriwa's* war ceremony. Plate XI. In the study of a war ceremony Swanton has criticized the breech-clout as untypical and the pails as European, and he points to an *exuberant variety of headdresse.*[42]

The war ceremony is followed by five plates showing chief *Outina*, whose territory lay west of the St Johns.

[42] Hulton, *Le Moyne*, 206-7.

FIGURE 104: Plate XIII, *Outina* and the French in combat with the chief *Potanou,* shows battle formations in European style.[43]

FIGURE 105: A more convincing scene appears in Plate XIV, *The formation and equipment of Outina's forces*. The oval plaques and pendants are known in archaeological examples, which, however, in De Bry are circular rather than oval. *Holata Outina* [King of Many Kings] was a powerful ruler who marched his troops like an organized army—in ranks. Enclosed by the ranks of his warriors, he marched alone in the spacious center of his forces. He placed his younger men on the flanks, the faster ones among them being scouts and advance guards. The actual fighting always took place during daylight. Sunset was the signal for *Outina's* forces to make camp in squads of ten. After eating the evening meal and retiring to bed, the quartermasters selected the bravest men and formed them into ten squads to surround the sleeping King.

[43] Ibid., 207.

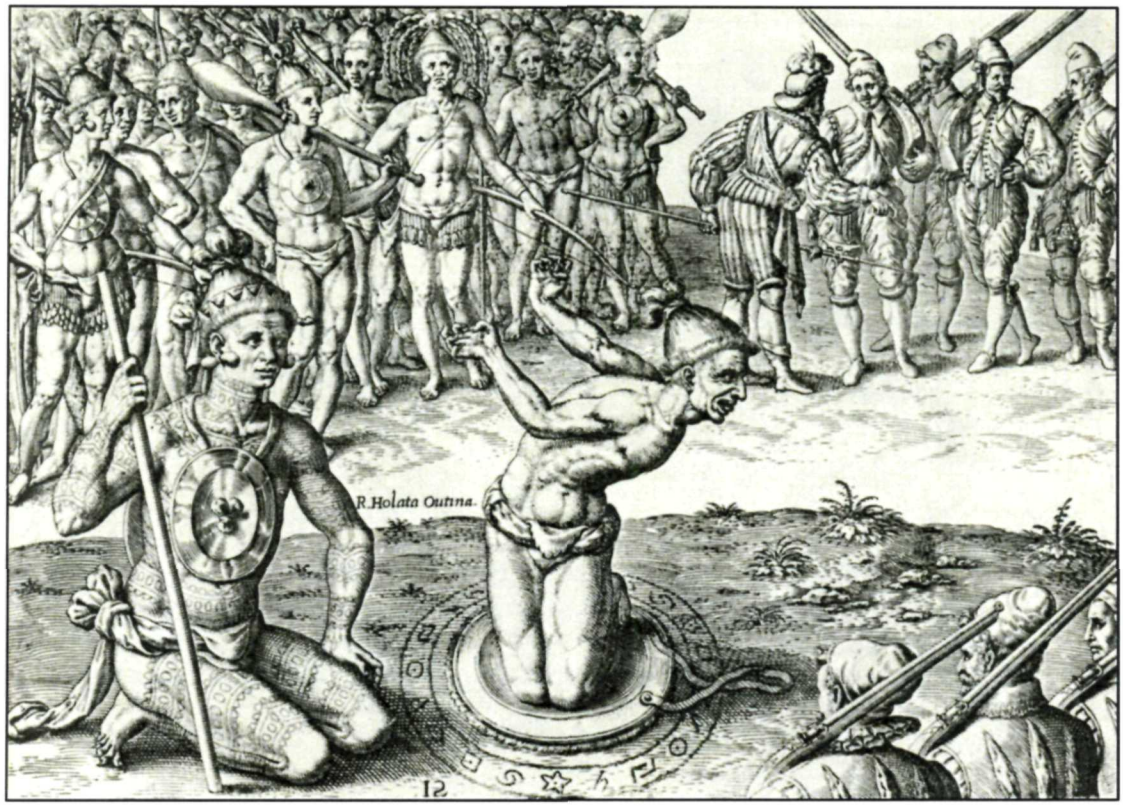
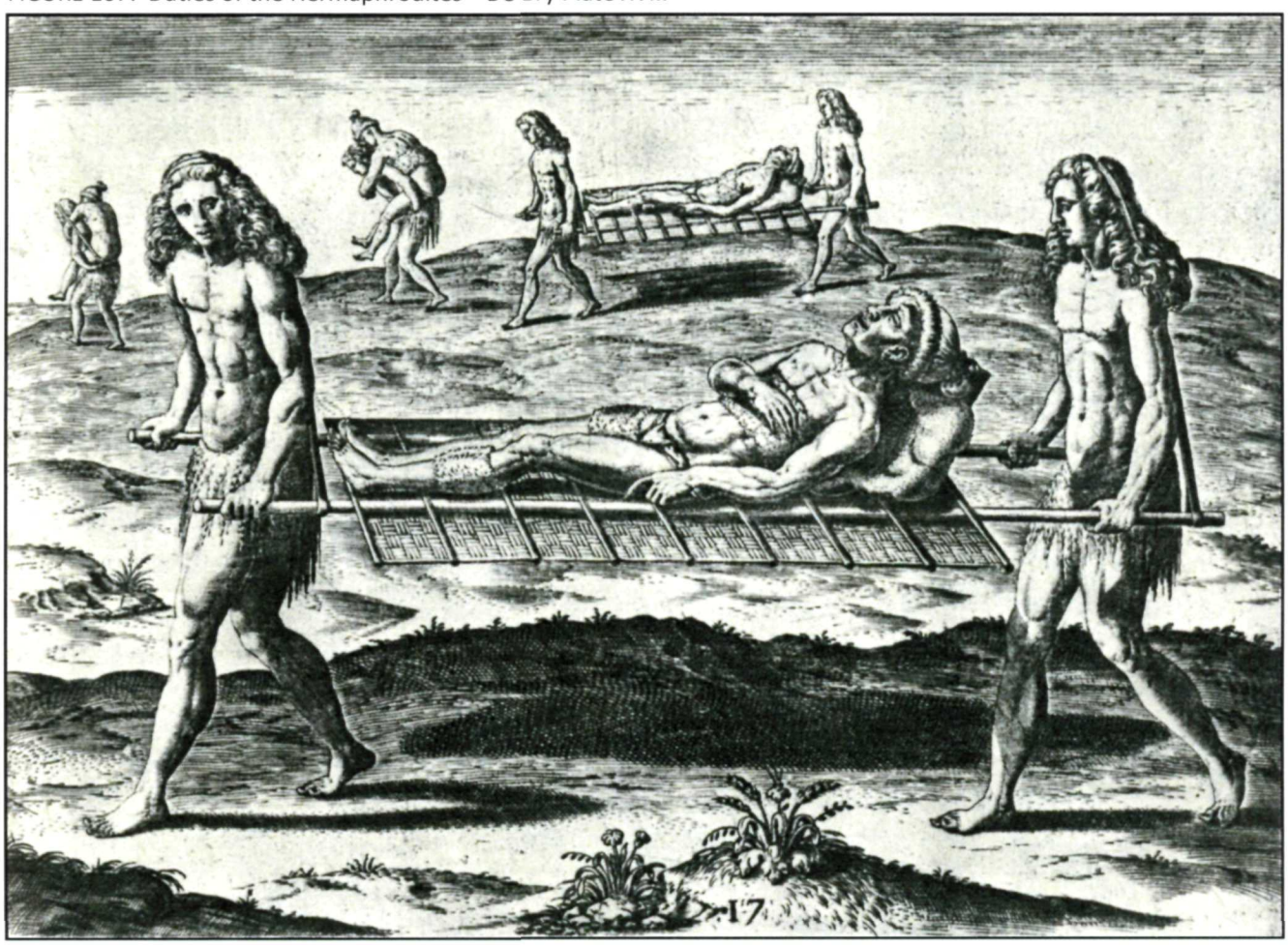


FIGURE 106: Chief *Outina* consults his sorcerer before battle. De Bry Plate XII.

Jacques le Moyne is notable in providing the only illustrations of hermaphrodites, the *berdaches* found among the South-eastern Indians.

The males at puberty took up a changed sex-role, to perform certain functions such as pack carrying, as in Plate XVII, *The duties of Hermaphrodes.*

FIGURE 107: Duties of the Hermaphrodites—De Bry Plate XVII.



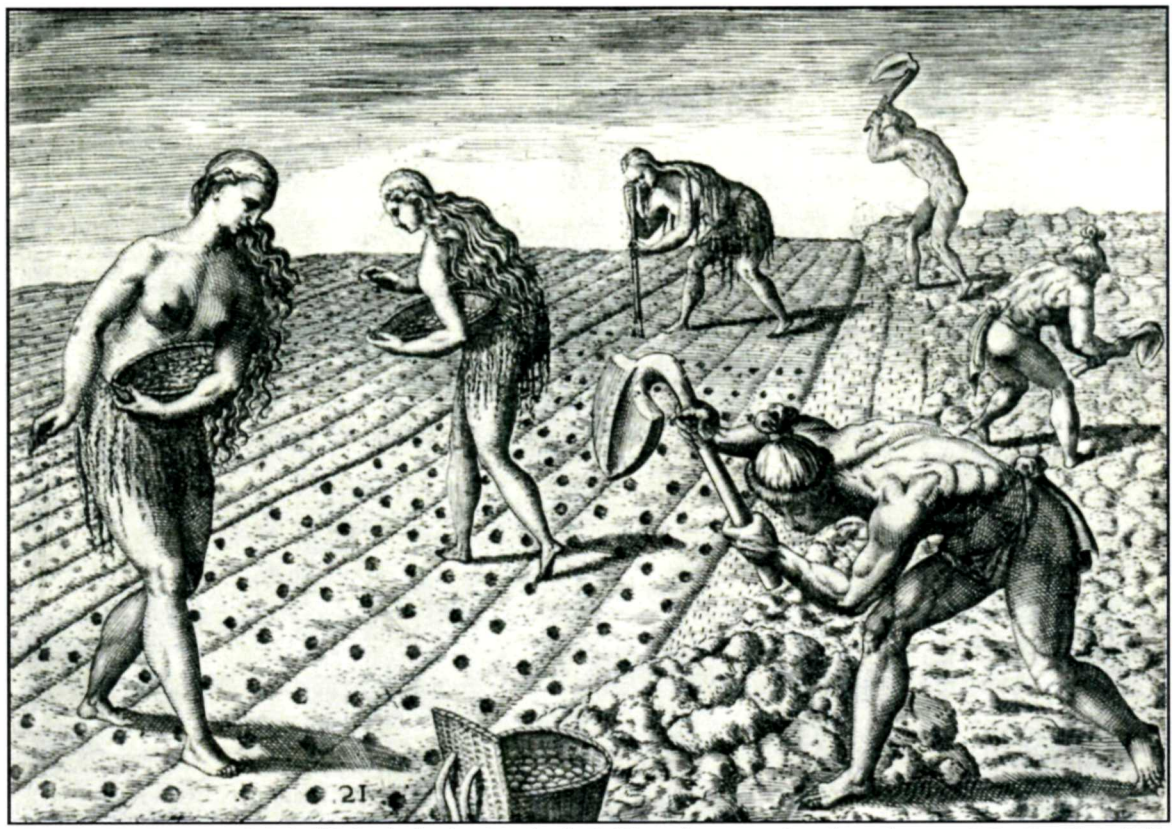


FIGURE 108: Scenes of daily life include the *Method of tilling the ground and sowing seed,* De Bry Plate XXI. The Indians are tilling with fish-bone hoes on wooden hafts, but Sturtevant comments that the scene has various European features.

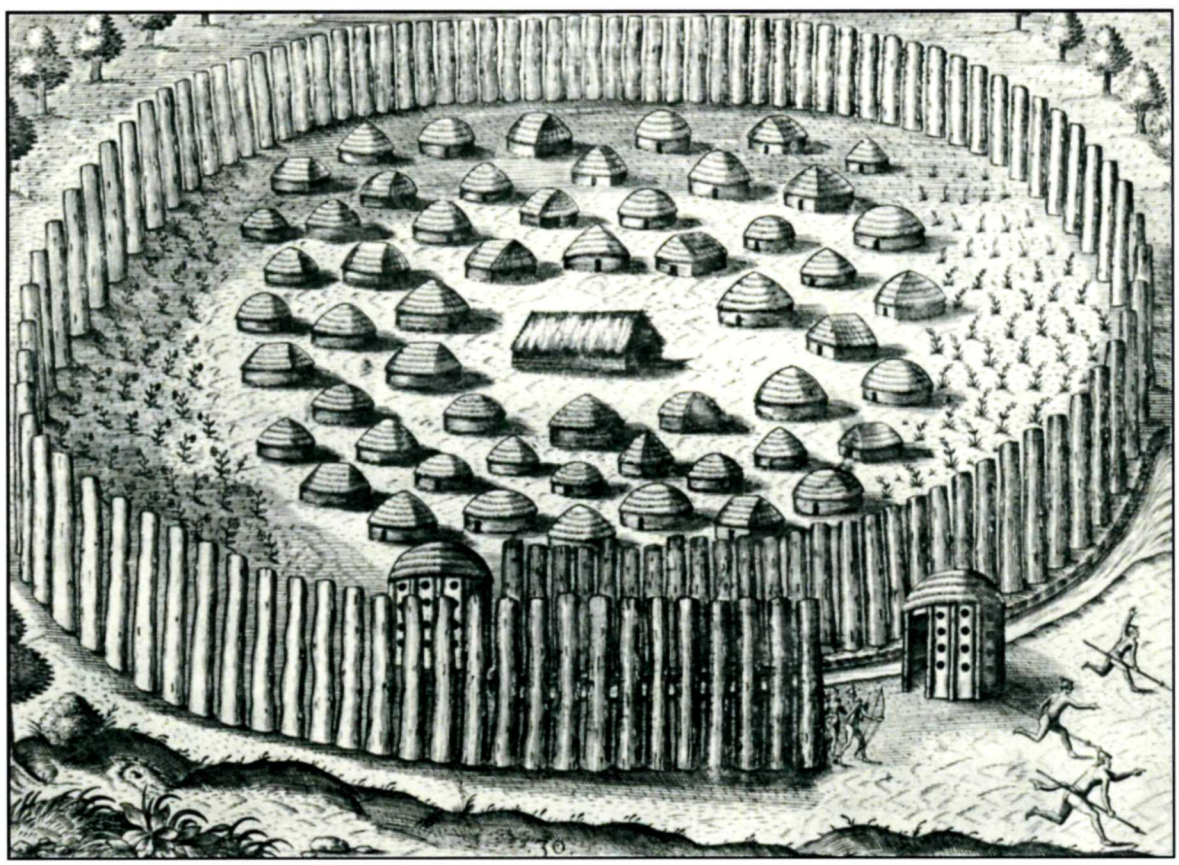


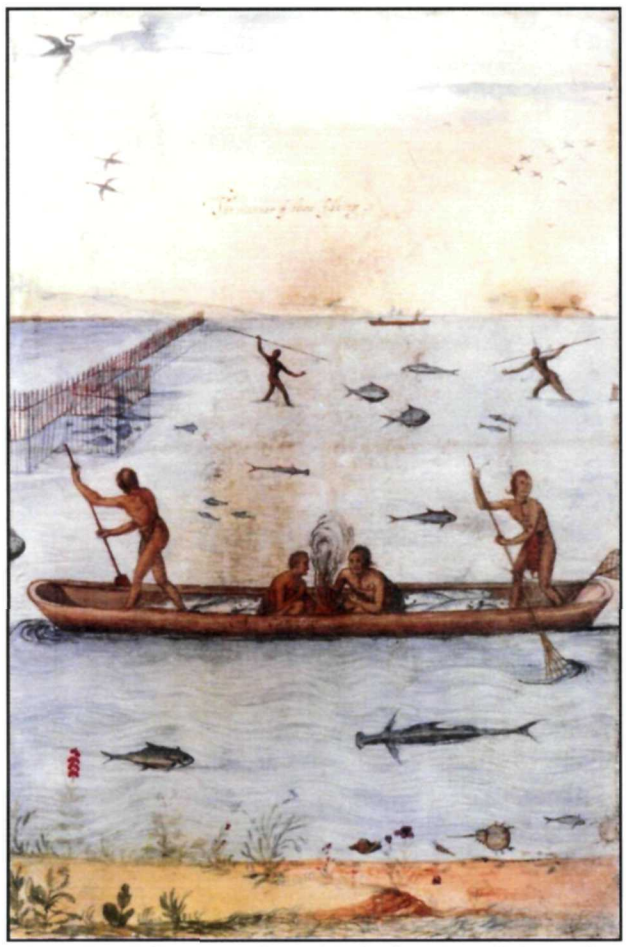
FIGURE 109: *The enclosed village of Florida,* De Bry Plate XXX, was to become a stereotype, as did White's *Pomeiooc*.

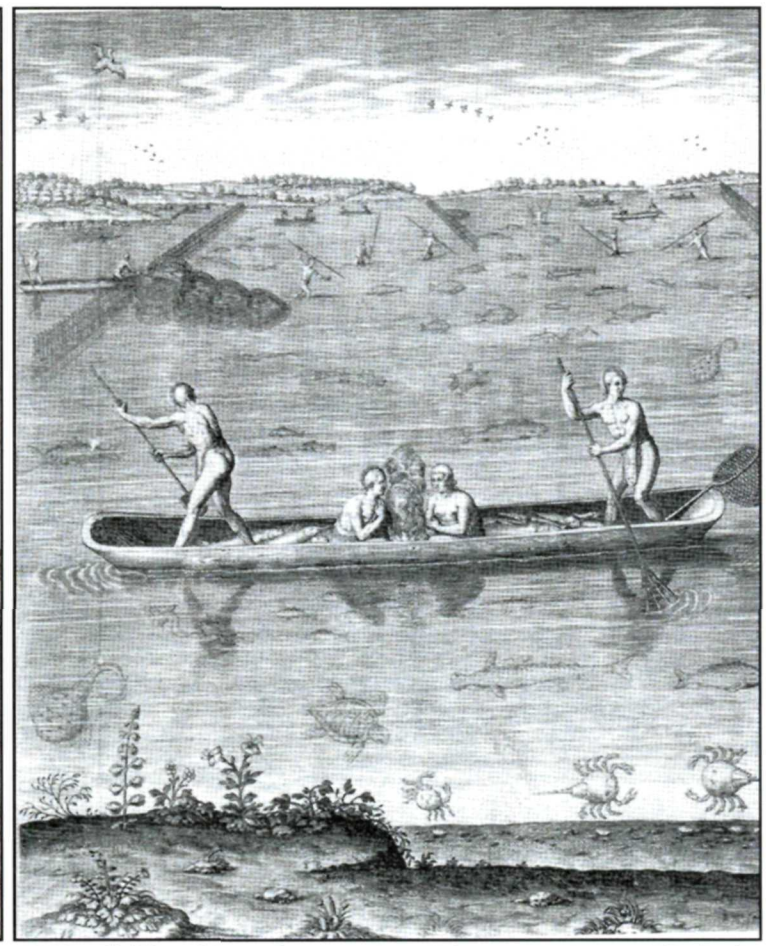
FIGURE 110: Both White's and De Bry's villages appear on the map of Virginia and Florida by Jodocus Hondius, 1606.[44]

FIGURE 111: [right] *Bringing food to the communal storehouse,* De Bry Plate XXII, depicts a dugout canoe with squared off ends. One similar to this was found in the Tombigbee River in Alabama, and is radiocarbon dated about 1345. The granaries were usually located by a partially shaded river bank or mountain in order to be sheltered from direct sunlight. Built of earth and stone, the structures also had a low roof made from palm branches held together with soft soil. Many of the local islands produced fruits in abundance, which the Indians harvested biannually, transporting their produce by canoe to the cool granary for preservation. Since ownership of the fruits was communal, individuals filled their needs at will without reprisal.

[44] Wallis, *Raleigh & Roanoke*, 71.

Sturtevant's evaluation of Le Moyne's Florida material is that the number of authentic artifacts is surprisingly small, and the artist or engraver fell back on elements of his own cultural milieu to fill the gaps.[45] That the ethnographic and culture-historical importance of Le Moyne's record is equivocal was the earlier assessment of Swanton.[46] Greco-Roman bodies, artificial European compositions and European artifacts and activities, and European landscapes are anomalous features. De Bry's engravings appear to have been elaborated by repeating, combining and rearranging a small number of original sketches, most or all of them being costume studies.[47]





FIGURES 112 & 113: John White's drawing of the *Indians Fishing* [left] and DeBry's engraving of the scene. In true Elizabethan style John White depicts a variety of kinds of fish, hammerhead shark, trigger fish, shad, and mudfish, among others. He also depicts hermit crabs, king crabs, ducks, geese, trumpeter swan, and a brown pelican. Fishing techniques include spearing fish, trapping them in a net, and he even demonstrates night fishing by fire in the middle of the canoe. In his engraving, De Bry has been faithful to the purpose of White's drawing, even though he clearly elaborated on the background of the scene.

The Indian plates after White and Le Moyne in *America*, vols. I and II, reveal many similarities in small details. For example, the lagoons in the background of White-De Bry plates showing Indians canoeing, fishing and hunting may have been added by De Bry from material to hand and not supplied by White.[48] The same plants appear in the foreground of various other White and Le Moyne plates. Hulton also points to features which suggest a personal interchange between White and Le Moyne—for example, the paddles in White's canoe of Indians fishing may have been borrowed by Le Moyne for his canoe scene [Figure 111, Plate XXII storehouse & canoe].

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[45] Sturtevant, in Hulton, *Le Moyne*, 71.

[46] J.R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians," in *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, no. 73 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1922); and "The Indians of the Southeastern United States," in *Bureau of American Indian Ethnology Bulletin*, no. 103 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1946).

[47] Sturtevant, in Hulton, *Le Moyne*, 71.

[48] Hulton, in Andrews, 212.

FIGURES 114: The most striking interchange is the headgear of the Idol *Kiwasa,* De Bry's Plate XXI, [Figure 108] which is Timucuan. In this instance, White may have borrowed from Le Moyne. Harriot refers to its head being *like the heades of the people of Florida.*[49] The Idol surmounts De Bry's *America* Vol. I title page which also features four other Indians figures.

FIGURE 115: Chief *Satouriwa*, DeBry Plate XXXIX.

[49] Ibid., 213.

Hulton concludes that Le Moyne's Florida Indians, known from White's copies, are as effective ethnographical representations as White's own drawings of the Algonkians. Furthermore, *Satouriwa* in De Bry's pl. XXXIX, the chief best known to the French, must have been taken from a similar portrait study, whereas his queen is shown in a Mannerist pose. In speculating whether Le Moyne or De Bry adapted to European Mannerism the features on this and other plates, Hulton believes that Le Moyne was responsible, and attributes this Europeanization to the lapse of time between Le Moyne's stay in Florida and his preparation of the compositions. *There is reason to suppose that had his Florida experience been fresher in Le Moyne's memory and had he been able to turn to a whole body of studies made from life he could have provided De Bry with a record as convincing and consistent as White's.*[50]

Faupel takes a different view. He challenges De Bry's claim that the engravings were *faithfully* and *honestly* copied from the originals. De Bry, he suggests, altered and added to Le Moyne's images, composed entirely new ones in his name, and rearranged the chronology. *Although pure conjecture, he may then have destroyed the originals...in order to conceal the only tangible evidence of this deception.*[51] Otherwise, De Bry *would surely have taken steps to preserve the originals for posterity?* The loss of originals, however, was a common occurrence, as illustrated by the fact that De Bry's set of White's drawings has not survived.

The images which gave Europeans their enduring impressions of the American Indians were those of White-De Bry. They became the stereotypes of Indian life. When the new Virginia colony was established in 1607 at Jamestown, the colonists met the Powhatan, a branch of the Algonkians. As they had no good artist to record these Indians, William Strachey, secretary to the colony, used De Bry's engravings of Roanoke, enhanced by color, to illustrate his MS account, *The first Booke of the historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, 1610-1612.*[52] The volume was presented to the famous philosopher, essayist and lawyer, Sir Francis Bacon. Strachey included five pictures of the Picts to illustrate the fact that *The Inhabitantes of this, now so flourishing Island have bene in Tymes past as salvage as those of Virginia.*[53]

On the back of the engraving of the Indian dance he inscribed a poem:

AEcclesiae et Reipublicae
Wild as they ar, accept them, so were wee:
To make them civill, will our honnour be:
And if good worckes, be the effects of Myndes
Which like good Angells be, let our Designes
As wee ar Angli, make us Angells too:
No better worcke, can state, or church-men doe.
W. St.

The images of the Algonkian Indians moved around the map. The westward migration of the stereotypes of *Pomeiooc* and *Secoton* feature as villages of the Apache Indians north of the Rio del Norte on Henri Abraham Chatelain's *Carte*

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[50] Hulton, in Andrews, 211.
[51] Faupel, 177.
[52] British Library, Sloane MS 1622.
[53] Wallis, *Raleigh & Roanoke*, 97. Peter Barber of the Department of Manuscripts, now Deputy Map Librarian of the British Library, drew our attention to the significance of this manuscript.

de la Nouvelle France (1719).[54] Thus the Indians of Ralegh's Roanoke, through De Bry, continued to make their mark.

The works of White and Harriot, the publications of De Bry, and the studies of Hulton and Quinn in turn have provided us with an invaluable record of the Algonkian Indians at the time of the first European contact. Surely no encounter was more enlightened and sympathetic than that between Harriot and White in the one hand and the Algonkians, who responded with equal sensibility.

The leading American exponent of the new historicism, Stephen Greenblatt, offers a different and challenging interpretation. He shows up Harriot and White as exploitative of the Indians. It is true, as Quinn remarks in his recent lecture on Harriot (1992), that Harriot's work did help to give rise to the imperialist ventures of the following century, but it was only marginally involved. [55] I hope that I have convinced you of the impressive integrity of Harriot and White and of the remarkable quality of the Virginian encounter.

Note: David Phelps provided an excellent appendix to this presentation, showing with slides how archaeological findings confirm the accuracy of White's drawings.

Helen Wallis
Map Curator British Library, retired
Author

Presented at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

FIGURE 116: A detail of the John Norden Map of London shows two areas associated with John White and Jacques le Moyne. On the map, locate the words *Black Friers, Ludgate* and number *11*. The area of Blackfriars extended from the Thames to Ludgate Hill. Jacques le Moyne was a resident of Blackfriars in the parish of St. Ann's Blackfriars at the time Ralegh was preparing a reconnaissance voyage to locate a suitable site to establish a colony in the New World. In the 1560s, John White resided in the small parish of St. Martin Ludgate—an area between Ludgate and St. Paul's Cathedral [#11 on the map] and tangent to Blackfriars. That the two painters met is almost inescapable. Two of the surviving paintings by John White are his copies of Le Moyne's originals—*the Indian Woman of Florida*, after Jacques le Moyne; and the *Indian Man of Florida*, after Jacques le Moyne. It is highly likely that White was curious about Le Moyne's on-site experience as a depicter of people and nature in a foreign land.

[54] *Atlas Historique*, tom 6 (Amsterdam: 1719).
[55] David Quinn, "Thomas Harriot and the Problem of America" (Thomas Harriot Lecture, Oriel College, Oxford, UK, 1990), 16.

A Meditation on John White

by Francis Jennings

At the Roanoke conference, I was assigned to fill in background about the natives on the scene before English people showed up. Since very little was known about these Carolina Algonquians, I spoke more generally about the great variety of Indian cultures in pre-Columbian North America, drawing materials from my new book, *The Founders of America*; and I searched almost hypnotically in John White's pictures for whatever bit of inspiration might be gleaned from them.

To my surprise they revealed something that had remained unnoticed for more than 400 years. In White's depictions of the Carolinians' villages, two contrasting types appear: the stockaded places like *Pomeiooc*, and the open village of *Secoton*.

Their difference is very clear, but why? Scholars seem simply to have taken for granted that this was how Indians lived; however, it was two very different ways of living. Paul Hulton noticed the distinction without explaining it.[56] He thought that drawings of individuals were *most instructive of all*.[57]

FIGURE 117: John White's painting of the Indian Village of *Pomeiooc*.

I felt bothered. All the Carolinians must certainly have preferred the freedom of the open village to huddling in the tight enclosure of the stockade, so why did they not all follow the *Secoton* pattern? Obviously *Pomeiooc's* inhabitants needed protection from enemies while *Secoton's* lived casually free from worry about raids. This seemed especially odd because the reverse situation is suggested by the map where *Pomeiooc* is settled in the midst of kindred Algonquian speakers, and *Secoton* is out on the fringe with dangerous neighbors not far away.

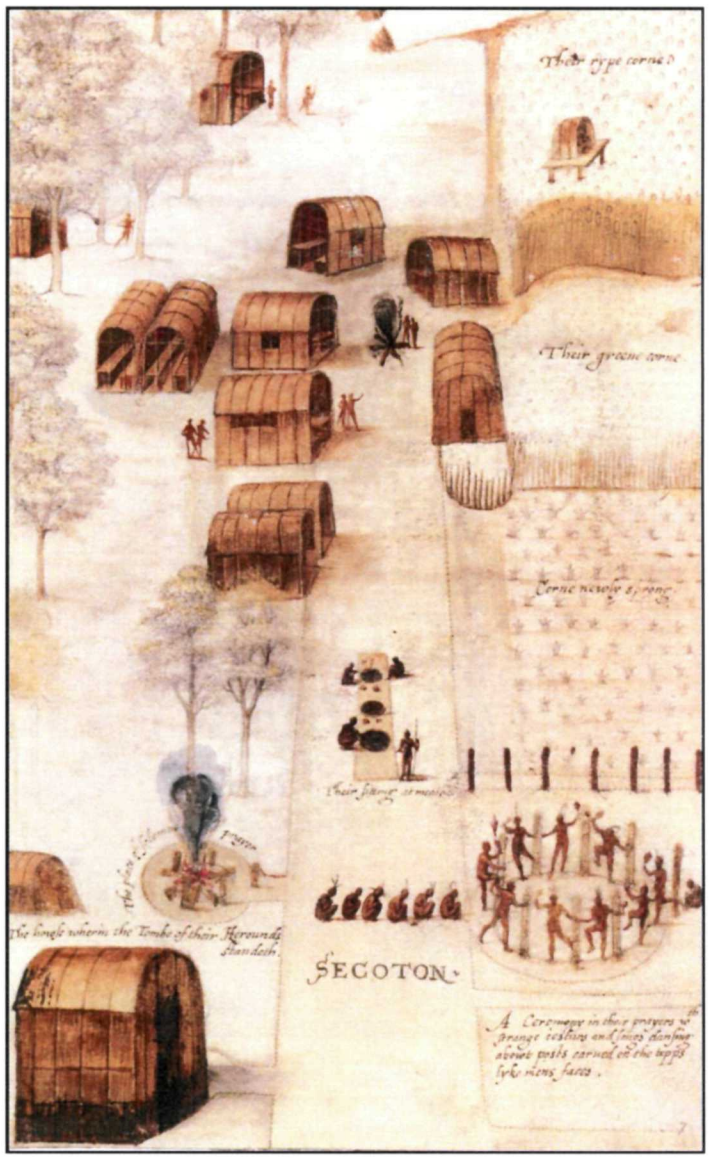

FIGURE 118: John White's painting of the Indian Village of *Secoton*.

[56] Hulton, *America 1585*, 27-28.
[57] Ibid., 28.

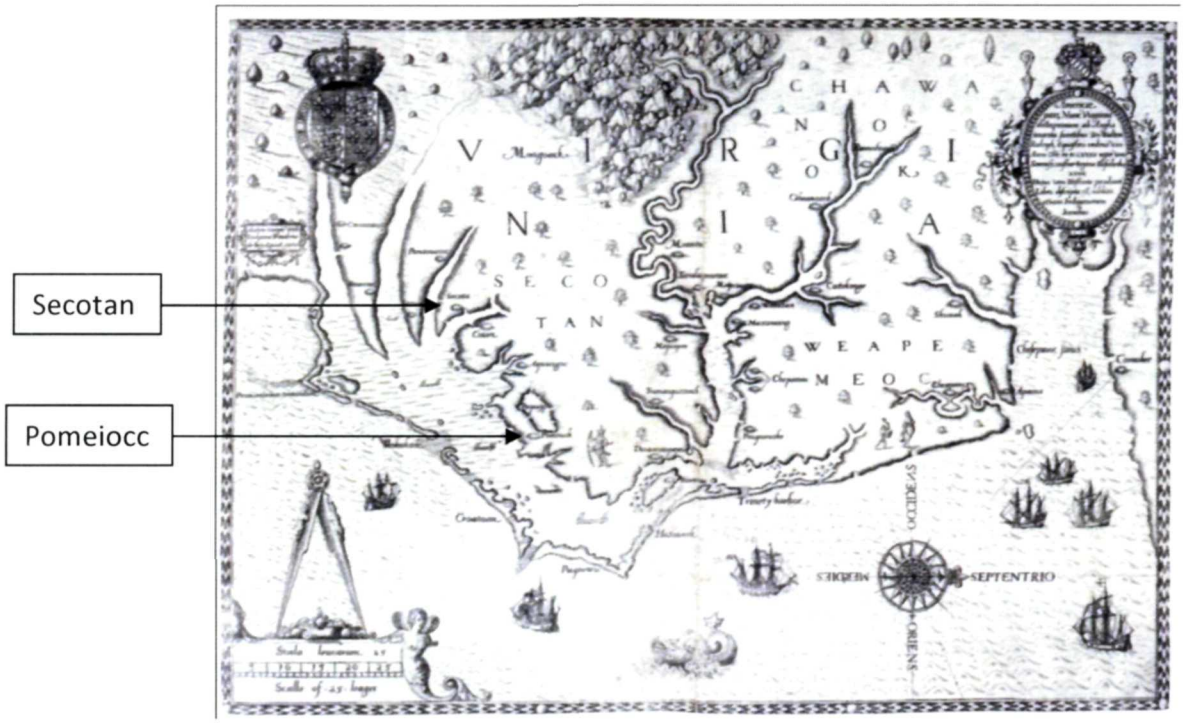

FIGURE 119: Theodor de Bry's engraved *Americæ Pars* map noting locations for Indian Villages.

One might expect those neighbors, the Iroquoian speaking *Mangoaks* (Tuscaroras) to be a constant menace. Why were they not? It must have been because the *Secotons* and the *Mangoaks* had an agreed-upon accommodation.

The *Secotons* were shore people. The *Mangoaks*/Tuscaroras were hill people. The basis for their accommodation plainly was trade. They produced surpluses above need of different kinds of goods, and each wanted some of what the other had, so exchange was natural and simple.

This sort of arrangement between peoples of different cultures has been well documented elsewhere in North America. Farming Pueblos traded with hunting Plains Indians who sometimes came in for shelter and hospitality during the coldest winters. Farming Hurons traded with the northern hunting Nipissings and also sheltered them from winter's blasts. Here the trade was between Iroquoian Hurons and Algonquian Nipissings. Algonquian Delawares had alliance with Iroquoian *Susquehannocks* even to the point of sending warriors to defend against a siege of the *Susquehannock* fort by other Iroquoians. The *Susquehannocks* were wide-ranging traders in furs, and the Delawares had access to European trading posts, so the two peoples were useful to each other. Their example became especially pertinent to the Carolina situation because the Delawares lived fearlessly in open, un-stockaded villages.

With the knowledge of these background examples, John White's pictures reveal one more piece in the puzzle of Carolina Algonquian culture. *Pomeiooc* and its Albemarle Sound peoples needed protection from others sited to the north and west. *Secoton* on Pamlico Sound traded peacefully with its neighbors farther west. (Probably *Secoton's* Algonquian neighbors also participated in that trade, but White's pictures of them, if he made any, have not survived.)

I believe there may be more riches in White's pictures for the trained ethnologist who knows how to track their details. The chief obstacle to reading the information has been our common assumption of "savage" homogeneity in Indian cultures. The scholar who brings discriminating knowledge to them will take more away.

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Author

Presented at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

Between 'Savage Man' and 'Most Faithful Englishman' Manteo and the Early Anglo-Indian Exchange, 1584-1590

by Michael Oberg

I

In August of 1587 Manteo, an Indian from *Croatoan* Island, joined a group of English settlers in an attack on the native village of *Dasemunkepeuc*, located on the coast of present-day North Carolina. These colonists, amongst whom Manteo lived, had landed on Roanoke Island less than a month before, dumped there by a pilot more interested in hunting Spanish prize ships than in carrying colonists to their intended place of settlement along the Chesapeake Bay. The colonists had hoped to re-establish peaceful relations with area natives, and for that reason they relied upon Manteo to act as an interpreter, broker, and intercultural diplomat. The legacy of Anglo-Indian bitterness remaining from Ralph Lane's military settlement, however, which had hastily abandoned the island one year before, was too great for Manteo to overcome. The settlers found themselves that summer in the midst of hostile Indians.

Manteo led English attackers who sought to avenge the death of George Howe, a leader of their settlement who had been *slaine by diuers Sauages* some days before.[58] Manteo played an important role in the English assault. According to the colony's governor John White, *Manteo behaued himselfe toward us as a most faithful English man*.[59]

It is a fascinating statement, and it can serve as a sort of shorthand for a road that might have been followed in Early America. Manteo had lived amongst the English, in England and America, since 1584, and during those years he had dramatically transformed himself. Described in 1584 as one of *two sauage men of that countrie* carried to England, Manteo now was in a state of liminality, a place-in-between, approaching closely, but not yet entirely, the place of a *faithful English man*.[60]

FIGURE 120: The *Croatoan* Indian, Manteo, as envisioned by six-time Tony Award-winning Costume Designer,William Ivey Long, for Paul Green's outdoor symphonic drama, *The Lost Colony*.

[58] David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590* (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 525, 530.
[59] Ibid., 530.
[60] Ibid., 91, 530.

Early America, the anthropologist Greg Dening recently has written, *was a place of thresholds, margins, boundaries*. It was, he continued, *a place of ambivalence and unset definition*. Early America *was in between, always in defining rather than definition mode, always on the edge of being something different*.[61] Bernard Bailyn, the important American colonial historian, as well described this colonial world as a *marchland, a ragged outer margin of a central world* where *the ordinary restraints of civility could be abandoned in pell-mell exploitation, a remote place where recognized enemies and pariahs of society* [...] *could safely be deposited, their contamination sealed off by three thousand miles of ocean*.[62]

But what of Manteo? Where does he, an Indian who seemingly cast his lot with the colonizers rather than the colonized, fit in Bailyn's stark and violent Atlantic world? Dening suggested that in Early America, in these *boundary places* [...] *everybody went a little savage to survive*. Indeed, there is much to commend this interpretation of the early American frontier, and it has informed a great many recent studies.[63] But Manteo appears to have moved in the opposite direction. He became a little civilized in order to survive. His story shows that Indians found, at times and in places, a space for themselves in this emerging world. Manteo became an integral player in the Anglo-American society that Sir Walter Ralegh wished to plant in America, carving for himself a unique niche on the margins of England's expanding Atlantic world. Manteo, tragically, would find this a most treacherous place, owing to the nature of English settlement in America and the indigenous response to European colonization.

II

It was on the fourth of July in 1584 that Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, soldiers and sailors both in the service of Sir Walter Ralegh, arrived off the coast of what is today North Carolina, setting in motion the forces that would transform the life of Manteo.[64] The two explorers traveled with instructions to scout out the location for the colony Ralegh hoped to establish in America in the very near future.

By the 13th of July, the English voyagers had landed on Hatorask Island, taking possession of the land in the name of the Queen *according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises*.[65] They then returned to their two ships, anchored off the western side of the island, and waited. On the third day, according to Barlowe, they *espied one small boate rowing towards vs, hauing in it three persons*. These Roanoke Indians landed at Hatorask. Two of them remained with their boat while *the thirde came along the shoare side towards vs*, where *he walked vp and downe vppon the point of the lande next vnto us*. Several Englishmen, including Barlowe and Amadas, rowed ashore to greet him. After the lone Indian *had spoken of many things not vnderstoode by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the shippes, and gaue him a shirt, a hatte, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meate, which he liked very well*. He then *requited the former benefits receaued* before he departed by providing the explorers with enough fish for an impressive banquet.[66]

The three natives returned to Roanoke Island with word that the newcomers posed no threat, for the next day, Barlowe reported, *there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with*

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[61] Greg Dening, "Introduction," in Ronald Hoffman, Fredrika Teute and Mechal Sobel, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1997), 2. See also Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 127; Richard White, "Although I am Dead, I am not Entirely Dead, I have Left a Second of Myself, Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America," in Hoffman, Teute & Sobel, *Through a Glass Darkly*, 404-405.

[62] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1986), 112-113.

[63] Dening, "Introduction," 1. For a recent, useful review of the rapidly growing literature, see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *American Historical Review*, 104 (Richmond, VA: AHA, June 1999), 814-841.

[64] There were others who underwent similar processes of transformation. See James H. Merrell, "The Cast of His Countenance: Reading Andrew Montour," in *Through a Glass Darkly*, 13-39; and Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & CO., 1999).

[65] See the discussion in Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 16-40.

[66] Dover-Quinn, 98.

fortie or fiftie men, very handsome, and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly, and ciuill, as any of Europe. Granganimeo, brother of Roanoke *weroance Wingina*, met the English on the shore, and made *all signes of ioy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling, and making shewe the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie.*[67]

We were all one, *Granganimeo* tried to tell Barlowe. The Roanokes took great interest in the English voyagers. Trading commenced quickly. Indians offered deerskins for English trade goods. Others brought *with them leather, corrall, diuers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with vs.*[68] Such intercultural exchange provided the foundation for a fragile middle ground on the coast of Hatorask Island, as Indians and Englishmen each took steps to incorporate the other into their own conceptual world, and to make sense of the strangers they then were encountering.

After several days, and after the Indians *had bene diuers times aboord our shippes*, Barlowe and seven others sailed around the southern tip of Roanoke Island, and north along the island's western shore, before stopping for several nights at the Roanokes' *village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies*, on the northern tip of the island. Though far from trusting entirely in his hosts, Barlowe wrote that he and his companions *were entertained with all loue, and kindness, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly deuise.*[69]

What Barlowe saw on Roanoke Island impressed him. The Indians were pure of heart, he wrote, and friendly. *Wee found the people most gentle, louing, and faithful, void of all guile, and treason, and such as liued after the manner of the golden age. The earth*, he wrote, brought forth for the Indians *all things in aboundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour*. Roanoke, or the surrounding islands, Barlowe reported, would provide the ideal location for a future English settlement.[70]

Barlowe and his company remained for only a short time on the Carolina Outer Banks, and by August they had departed for England. They carried with them Manteo and Wanchese, an Indian from Roanoke Island. The English, indeed, recognized that their colonizing ventures would succeed most easily and least expensively with the support and assistance of local Indians, and Ralegh and his circle hoped to learn much from the pair. As the elder Richard Hakluyt wrote, English Christendom should expand peacefully, *without crueltie and tyrannies* and in so doing *best planteth Christian religion, maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firme and stable and least subject to remoove by practise of enemies.*[71] Friendly Indians would willingly engage in trade, allowing the colonial enterprise to profit. Peaceful Indians would make valuable military allies, ensuring the defense of the settlement. And well-treated Indians, wrote the scientist and explorer Thomas Harriot, *may in short time be brought to ciuilitie and the imbracing of true religion*. For all this to happen, Ralegh and his supporters recognized, they would have to learn something about the Indians amongst whom they planned to settle.[72]

The presence of Manteo and Wanchese aboard Barlowe's expedition, then, was emblematic of the desires of early English imperialists. These men wanted to extend English dominion and civility into America while benefiting the commonwealth and dealing destruction to the hated Catholic enemies of the realm. Despite English ethnocentrism, there was a place for Indians in the Anglo-American, Christian, New World Empire that Ralegh and his supporters hoped to establish in America. Native American history should not be divorced from its broader transatlantic context, and Manteo and Wanchese became important members of a short-lived Atlantic community, as they confronted

[67] Ibid., 98-99.

[68] Ibid., 100, 103. Barlowe was not specific about the types of trade goods the English carried with them. Richard Hakluyt the Younger, in his well-known *Discourse on Western Planting*, suggested that Indians might accept 'hats, bonets, knives, fish-hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking-glasses, bugles, & a thousand kinds of other wrought wares'. See E.G.R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), 332.

[69] Dover-Quinn, 106-108.

[70] Ibid., 108, 114-115.

[71] Taylor, *Original Writings of the Hakluyts*, 334.

[72] Dover-Quinn, 372.

Englishmen at home and in England, viewing their developing relationship with Ralegh's settlers through lenses crafted of native material.[73]

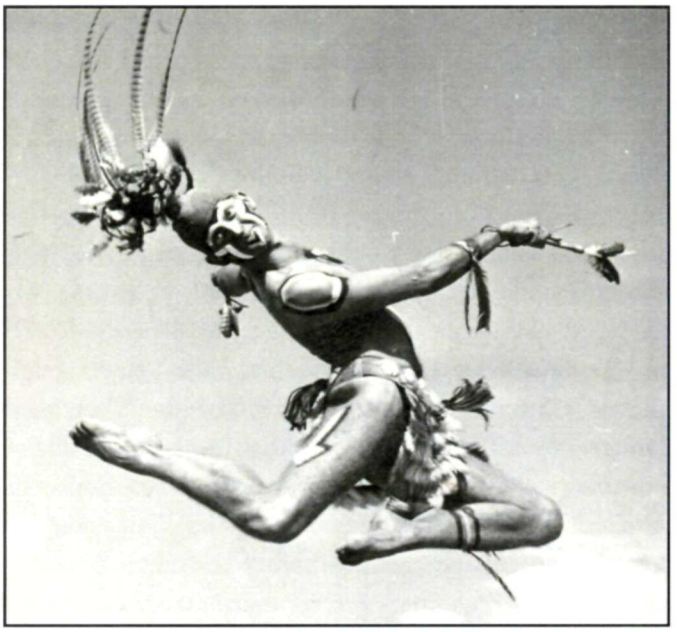

FIGURE 121: *Uppowoc*, the Indian conjuror, in *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama distrusted the English and advised Wanchese not to go to England.

Few historians who have studied Ralegh's attempts to found an American empire, however, have paid the pair much attention. Most tend to view Manteo and Wanchese as curious footnotes to the larger epic of English maritime expansion. This is a shame, for their lives are immensely important for what they reveal to us about the challenges that faced those Indians who confronted Englishmen along the margins of the English Atlantic world.[74]

There is much that we shall never know about Manteo and Wanchese. Much of their world is beyond recovery to historians and anthropologists, and the evidentiary foundation for any examination of Carolina Algonquian ethnohistory is quite thin. Ralph Lane and Thomas Harriot offered colorful but ultimately incomplete descriptions of Indians in the area, as did Barlowe. John White produced some wonderful drawings that reveal much about Algonquian culture. Beyond these sources, we know little. Still, the sparse documentation surviving from Ralegh's Roanoke ventures can allow one, using them with caution, to reconstruct something of what Indians saw when they looked at the English.

The surviving sources suggest that Manteo and Wanchese both held positions of high social status in their communities. Neither appears to have been a commoner. Manteo's mother may have been the *weroansqua*, or leader, of the *Croatoans*. Throughout Wanchese's career he remained close to the Roanoke *weroance Wingina*, and served him in an advisory capacity. As among the culturally analogous Powhatan Indians of Virginia, natives who demonstrated great valor in war could earn positions as consultants to their rulers, and this appears to have been the case with Wanchese. Certainly by 1587, one year after *Wingina's* death, the English identified Wanchese as the principal suspect in the slaying of George Howe, and the leader of the surviving Roanoke Indians.[75] The relationship between the Roanokes and Manteo's *Croatoans* appears to have been close. On several occasions English explorers encountered *Croatoans* at *Wingina's* mainland village of *Dasemunkepeuc*. The *Croatoans* seem to have been a community distinct from, but subject to, *Wingina*. Both Manteo and Wanchese, however, owing to their status and their positions as advisers to powerful individuals, were well suited for their roles as diplomats and voyeurs, travelers to England who would report to

[73] On the goals of European imperialists, and the place of Indians within that empire, see Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585-1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 12-22. For works properly placing Native American history in its transatlantic context, see the following fine studies: Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (Oxford: University Press, 1994); Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997); Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity:Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984); and James H. Merrell, "The Customes of our Countrey," in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the first British Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1991), 117-156.

[74] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1984); David Stick, *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1983).

[75] Dover-Quinn, 527-538; David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair For Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1984), 39; Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 118.

their people upon all that they witnessed and all whom they encountered.[76]

Manteo, along with Wanchese, travelled to England on a mission. They entered the English orbit from an intensely spiritual universe. Carolina Algonquian peoples, like the Roanokes, according to Thomas Harriot believed *that there are many Gods which they call* Montóac, *but of different sortes and degrees; one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie.*[77]

This *chiefe and great God* probably was not the focus of much Carolina Algonquian religious activity. The culturally analogous Powhatans to the north worshipped

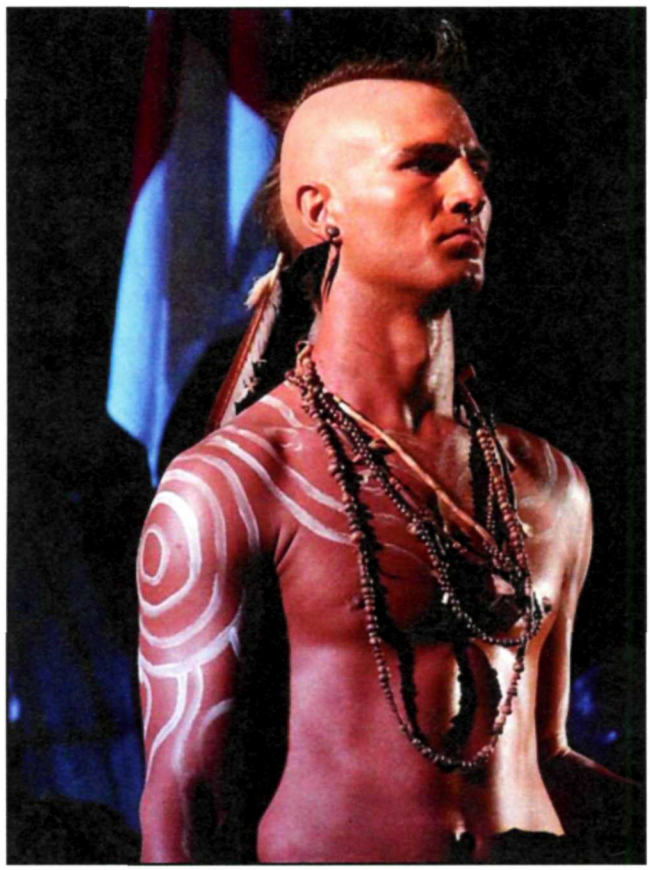

FIGURE 122: The Roanoke Indian, Wanchese, as he appears in *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama on Roanoke Island. Image design by William Ivey Long.

a similar figure that they called *Ahone*, a kind deity so beneficent that he required neither offerings nor ritualized observance. The Powhatans devoted the bulk of their religious activity toward deflecting the wrath of an evil god called *Okee* or *Okeus*, who would deliver misfortune upon communities if not properly appeased. The *Kiwasa* of the Carolina Algonquians, described by Harriot and drawn by the artist (and later) governor John White, was certainly a similar figure.[78]

Like their neighbors throughout the Eastern Woodlands, Roanoke Indians believed that their universe was suffused with power, or *Mantoac*, and that rituals were an important means for acquiring this power.[79] But power existed in many forms and some things and beings possessed more power than others, as Harriot's statement above suggested. Gregory Evans Dowd has pointed out in his excellent study of religious awakenings in eighteenth-century Eastern Woodland communities that *nothing was more important for life than power*. Those who had it would fight well in battle, hunt successfully, and raise an abundant harvest. As throughout the Eastern Woodlands, so along the Carolina coast: native peoples needed power to survive.[80]

No direct evidence exists to identify how Manteo and Wanchese came to join the English, and much of what follows admittedly is conjectural. We can, at heart, venture only informed guesses as to why they crossed the Atlantic. I would suggest, however, that indigenous concepts of power—beliefs about *Mantoac*—are central to understanding their unfolding relationship with the English.

Granganimeo, the brother of the Roanoke *weroance*, wanted to establish friendly relations with the English,

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[76] On the leadership structure of native communities in the region, see Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 14-16; Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 101.

[77] Dover-Quinn, 372.

[78] Michael Leroy Oberg, "Gods and Men: The Meeting of Indian and White Worlds on the Carolina Outer Banks, 1584-1586," *North Carolina Historical Review* 76 (October, 1999), 373-378; Dover-Quinn, 424-425, 888; Hulton, *America 1585*, 68, pl. 38; 127, fig.25. On Powhatan's religious life, see Rountree, *Powhatan*, 126-140 and Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University Press, 1997), 36.

[79] Oberg, "Gods and Men," 376.

[80] Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 3.

and he clearly reflected his people's great interest in trade with the newcomers. Interest in trade may well have made travel with these strangers to their homeland an intriguing option. The technology demonstrated to the Roanoke Indians by the English suggested that they were a powerful people and the Roanokes sought especially to acquire those elements of English material culture that manifested great power, or *mantoac*.[81]

Harriot, later, came to understand the Roanoke concept, *mantoac*, in terms analogous to the English god, perhaps a not unreasonable misunderstanding. But to Carolina Algonquians *mantoac* signified a power higher than that of human beings, a sacred power that could manifest itself immediately and constantly both in things and in beings. For example, the Roanokes, according to Barlowe, held English ships *in maruelous admiration*. When the English fired a musket, the Indians *would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenes of the same*. *Granganimeo* hung *a bright tinne dishe* that he had acquired from the English around his neck, according to Barlowe *making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes*. *Granganimeo* believed that this object contained a significant degree of beneficent power.[82] English items manifested power and this made them both useful and attractive to the Indians. As Harriot wrote after the 1585 expedition:

> *Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea compasses, the vertue of the loadstone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was showed manie strange sightes, burning glasses, wildefire woorkes, gunnes, bookes, writing and reading, spring clocks that seeme to goe of themselues, and manie other thinges that we had, were so straunge vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bin giuen and taught vs of the gods.*[83]

English technology played a vital role in shaping Carolina Algonquian perceptions of the colonists, whom they viewed as powerful people bearing magical and perhaps otherworldly items permeated with *mantoac*, a power that allowed them *to do things that ordinary human beings could not*. Indians on the Outer Banks, then, had good cause for taking interest in the English explorers who began to penetrate their world in the sixteenth century.[84]

In England Manteo and Wanchese, the *two savage men of that countrie* upon whom observant Londoners remarked, provided Ralegh and his supporters at Durham House with a valuable supply of information as they began laying plans for further voyages to Virginia. They learned English from Thomas Harriot and taught him, in turn, the rudiments of Carolina Algonquian. Harriot, *being one that have beene in the discoverie and in dealing with the natural inhabitantes specially imployed*, developed apparently a sound enough understanding of the native language to begin developing an alphabet for it. Manteo and Wanchese learned English well enough so that by the end of 1584 they could serve as interpreters, and they provided important ethnographic testimony on Carolina Algonquian social structure, which allowed Barlowe to complete his report on the 1584 voyage.[85]

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[81] On this point, see George R. Hamell, "Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Man in the Northeast*, 33 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University Press, 1987), 63-87; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," *Journal of American History* (Organization of American Historians, September, 1986), 73:311-328; Dover-Quinn, 100, 103.

[82] Dover-Quinn, 100, 101, 112.

[83] Ibid., 371-372, 375-376.

[84] The discussion in Bruce M. White, "Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and their Merchandise," in *Ethnohistory* 41 (1994), 378.

[85] Dover-Quinn, 103-104, 119, 321; Vivian Salmon, "Thomas Harriot and the English Origins of Algonkian Linguistics," *Historiographia Linguistica*, 19 (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1992), 25-56; W.A.Wallace, *John White, Thomas Harriot, and Walter Ralegh in Ireland*, Durham House: Harriot Seminar, Occasional Paper no. 2 (Durham, UK: 1988), 15. Harriot has been the object of some criticism from specialists in Elizabethan literature and the literature of discovery. See Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion, Henry IV and Henry V," in *Glyth: Textual Studies 8* (1981), 40-60. For an effective critique of this work, see B. J. Sokol, "The Problem of Assessing Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true*

FIGURE 123: In a scene from *The Lost Colony*, Manteo & Wanchese, wear William Ivey Long's interpretation of the English attire both Native Americans wore in London, and Manteo continued to wear after his return to Roanoke Island.

Manteo and Wanchese also served an important promotional function for Ralegh and his circle. When parliament in December confirmed Ralegh's patent to his American holdings, it did so at least in part because, *some of the people borne in those parties brought home into this our Realme of England* visited the Chamber so that the *singular great comodities of that Lande are revealed & made knowen unto us*.[86] Ralegh may as well have sent Manteo or Wanchese to visit and board with potential investors and supporters. The evidence here is at best sketchy, but it is at least possible that *the Blackamore* who resided for a time with Henry Percy, the Duke of Northumberland, was either Manteo or Wanchese.[87]

While the time Manteo and Wanchese spent in England almost certainly informed their views of the English, we can only venture guesses as to how they responded to the myriad sights and sounds, the filth and the squalor, the crowds and the spectacle, of the rapidly growing metropolis. Dressed in clothing unfamiliar to them, paraded before the elite supporters of English maritime expansion, toasted and celebrated at Court, and marveled at in the street, their reactions are lost to us. One amateur historian, Catherine Albertson, many years ago suggested that *in the kindly breast of Manteo, only wonder and admiration were aroused* in England, and *child-like trustfulness in the good will of the Great Weroanza and her Court*. Wanchese, however, an Indian *of sterner and far more savage temperament, viewed with dark forebodings the might and power of these*

report of his Discoveries in North America," in *Annals of Science*, 51 (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 1-16.

[86] Dover-Quinn, 127.

[87] G. R. Batho, *Thomas Hariot and the Northumberland Household*, Durham Thomas Harriot Seminar, Occasional Paper no. 1 (Durham, UK: University of Durham, 1983); Dover-Quinn, 127-128. The Percy family supported a number of efforts to plant English colonies in America.

strange pale faces, and *with prophetic eye* [...] *felt with a cold and fearful sinking of the heart that with the coming of the white man, the Indian was doomed'*.[88] The evidence simply cannot justify such invocations of the good Indian/bad Indian dichotomy, of noble and ignoble savagery. One need not rely on the supposed *child-like trustfulness* of an Indian to explain his attachment to the English. Still, amidst Albertson's condescending interpretation of the Indian response to English society there may lie a kernel of truth, for upon returning to America the two Indians would follow very different courses. Wanchese quickly returned to his people and would oppose over the next three years continued native interaction with the settlers and successive English attempts to plant colonies in the region. Manteo, by English standards, would remain steadfastly loyal to Ralegh's settlers.

III

Manteo and Wanchese returned to America aboard the fleet that departed from Plymouth in April of 1585, anchoring near *Wococon* Island, some distance south of Roanoke, on the 26th of June. Things began badly for the expedition. The flagship, the *Tyger*, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, ran aground near *Wococon*. Though the ship was saved, saltwater poured into the hold, ruining the provisions on board, and leaving the colonists with food for only twenty days. The colonists arrived too late in the year to plant their own crops. Unless they could obtain food from the Indians, they faced the prospect of starvation.[89]

Undeterred, Grenville fitted out smaller ships to explore the Pamlico Sound and the Carolina mainland. Grenville, apparently, did not agree with Barlowe's earlier assessment of the suitability of Roanoke Island as the site for an English settlement, and he hoped to find a better location. On the third of July, Grenville sent word to *Wingina* that the English had arrived. It is likely that Wanchese accompanied the Englishmen who sailed on this short voyage; he would not return to the English.[90]

Three days later, *Master Iohn Arundell was sent to the mayne, and Manteio with him*, perhaps to look for Wanchese. Manteo and Arundell returned to *Wococon* in time to accompany a larger expedition which departed on the eleventh in three boats, and which included Harriot, Amadas, White, the colony's eventual governor Ralph Lane, and some sixty men.[91] On the twelfth this party reached the palisaded village of *Pomeioke*. One day later they reached *Aquascogoc*, and on the fifteenth *Secoton*, where the explorers *were well intertayned there of the Sauages*.[92] White made numerous drawings at *Secoton* and Harriot conversed there with the villagers on matters of religion in some detail. To do so, Harriot would have found an Indian interpreter of great assistance, and he must have had Manteo with him.[93]

By the twenty-first, the expedition had returned to *Wococon*, from whence the English fleet quickly *wayed anker for Hatoraske*, moving northward along the Outer Banks. On the twenty-seventh, the fleet *ankered at Hatoraske*. Manteo, and perhaps others, made the quick trip across to Roanoke. Two days later, *Granganimeo, brother to King Wingino, came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him. Granganimeo* invited the colonists to plant their outpost at Roanoke. Grenville, now convinced that no better site existed, began the

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[88] Catherine Albertson, *Roanoke Island in History and Legend* (Elizabeth City, NC: The Independent Press, 1934), 12.

[89] Dover-Quinn, 176-177, 201.

[90] Ibid., 189. Previous historians of the Roanoke ventures, with little direct evidence to rely upon, have had little to say about Wanchese's abandonment of the English. Kupperman (*Roanoke*, 83) mentions only that Wanchese 'was strongly urging *Pemisapan/Wingina* to move against the settlement by 1586'; Stick (*Roanoke Island,* 132-133), suggests that possible close ties to *Wingina* influenced Wanchese's decision to abandon the English rapidly. Quinn (*Set Fair for Roanoke,* 115) suggests that Wanchese 'became hostile to his former hosts (or captors, as he may have come to regard them) sometime after August 1585'. The voyage to Roanoke Island in July, for which Wanchese would have been the logical choice as interpreter, would have provided him with an opportunity to slip away from Ralegh's party.

[91] Dover-Quinn, 189-190.

[92] Ibid., 191.

[93] Hulton, *America 1585*, pls. 36-42. Quinn suggests that Manteo provided much of the detailed information that appears on a sketch map drawn by one member of the expedition. See Dover-Quinn, *216*. This expedition also engaged in the first English acts of hostility toward the natives. On the sixteenth, Amadas returned to the village of *Aquascogoc* to demand the return of a silver cup, allegedly stolen by the Indians from the English. When the Indians fled from Amadas, he burned their village and crops. It is likely that Manteo remained with the main party, and that he did not directly witness the attack. See Dover-Quinn, 191.

process of establishing a fortified base on the northern tip of the island, not far from *Wingina's* village.[94]

The colonists, with the help of Manteo, quickly reestablished friendly relations with the Roanoke Indians. The surviving records indicate a significant degree of interaction among natives and newcomers, placing consequently a premium on the talents of those capable of bridging the cultural divide. In the colony's early months, Manteo, Harriot, and John White played a crucial role in mediating and brokering a tenuous middle ground on the Carolina Outer Banks.

It would not last. Hungry English settlers, lacking supplies since the *Tyger* ran aground, placed increasingly dangerous pressure on Carolina Algonquian subsistence systems, especially during the lean months of winter and early spring. It is not at all surprising that relations between natives and newcomers began visibly to deteriorate in the early months of 1586, when corn supplies from the previous year would nearly have been consumed. It would be wrong, however, to focus solely on events at Roanoke in terms of an Algonquian subsistence crisis, for such an explanation cannot fully account for the behavior of Manteo, Wanchese, *Wingina*, and other natives in the face of English settlement. Native beliefs about power, or *mantoac*, played a vital role in shaping the Indian response. If technology convinced some Roanoke natives that the English had access to powerful and attractive items that were more *the works of god then of men*, others believed that the power of the English could manifest itself in malevolent forms. Indians on the Outer Banks weighed both considerations as they confronted the colonists.

English diseases, which quickly began to ravage native communities on the Outer Banks, both frightened and impressed Carolina Algonquians. In some villages the English entered, Harriot wrote, *the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some townes about twentie in some fourtie, in some sixtie, & in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers*. Disease, according to Harriot, the Indians considered *the worke of our God through our meanes, and that wee by him might kil and slaie whom wee would without weapons and not come neere them*. In Indian eyes the English controlled an enormously powerful force—*invisible bullets*, they said—that devastated native communities, and so impressed the Indians that *some people could not tel whether to thinke vs gods or men*.[95]

The English settlement was small, barely one hundred men, but it did much damage. Throughout the early contact period, even cursory contact with Europeans could launch horrible epidemics in native communities.[96] This devastation and the widespread belief among Indians on the Outer Banks that the English were more powerful than they, generated divisions within the Roanoke community. English power, it seemed, could both harm and help Indians. Though they could agree that they had declined relative to the English, Roanoke Indians divided over how best to respond.

At the two extremes were Manteo and Wanchese. Manteo had anglicized enough to earn the trust and respect of the English colonists, even those as suspicious of Indian motives, and as wary of treachery, as the colony's governor, Ralph Lane.[97] No evidence exists to suggest that Manteo ever wavered in his cooperation, and ultimate identification with the English. His motives for doing so cannot be reconstructed with absolute certainty. It seems at least plausible that he found opportunity, advantage, status and security through cooperation with what he recognized as the more powerful English. If the *Croatoans* were subject to *Wingina*, a close relationship with the English might grant him additional prestige. Wanchese, on the other hand, quickly abandoned the English and appears to have been deeply hostile toward the colonists. Perhaps he had been poorly-treated by the English who, Professor Quinn has suggested, showered favors in

[94] Dover-Quinn, 192, n.2.

[95] Ibid., 378-380. On the disease, see Peter B. Mires, "Contact and Contagion: the Roanoke Colony and Influenza," *Historical Archaeology*, 28/3 (Germantown, MD: Society for Historical Archaeology & Culture, 1994), 30-38 and, more generally, Alfred Crosby, "Virgin-Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 23 (Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, April 1976), 289-299.

[96] Crosby, "Virgin-Soil Epidemics," 289-299.

[97] On this point see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery, 1583-1640," *The Historical Journal 20* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), 263-287.

England upon Manteo, an individual purportedly of higher status is his native community.[98] Or, perhaps, he had seen enough during his year in England to eliminate any affections he may initially have entertained towards the colonists. Certainly after his return to Roanoke he no longer was impressed by English power, and saw the colonists as the source of his community's problems.

Others, who had not gone to England, wavered between these two poles, trying to secure their people's survival in an arena of rending social change. Roanoke Island became the scene of a debate within the Native American community. For instance, *Granganimeo*, and *Ensenore*, described as a *sauage father* to *Wingina*, accepted that the English were more powerful than they and hoped to secure their survival through careful accommodation to, and cooperation with, the colonists.[99] *Ensenore*, for example, clearly feared the power of the English. According to Harriot, *Ensenore* was among those who *were of opinion that wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie*.[100] According to Ralph Lane, *Ensenore* had *opposed himselfe in their consultations against al matters proposed against vs*, and warned those *amongst them that sought our destruction* that instead they *should finde their owne, and not be able to worke ours*. Fearing what he believed to be extremely powerful, otherworldly beings, *dead men returned into the worlde againe* [...] *that* [...] *doe not remayne dead but for a certaine time, and that then* [...] *returne againe*, *Ensenore* believed it impossible to kill the English.[101]

Ensenore's warnings that the English *were the servants of God,* and that the colonists *were not subject to be destroyed by them*, clearly carried some weight with *Wingina*. He may have been among those Roanokes who, in the spring of 1586, sought the assistance of English prayers to combat the effects of drought. Unlike Manteo and Wanchese, whose experiences with the English had formed for them strong impressions of the English, *Wingina*, *Ensenore*, *Granganimeo* and others felt their way along slowly. They tried to understand the sources of English power and to incorporate that power into their accustomed ways of living. This they did through joining the English in prayer, in the singing of psalms, and other ritualistic activities. They assessed carefully how best to protect the interests of their community when confronted by visitors who appeared to have the power to do things that Indians could not.

In this atmosphere of acute social and cultural dislocation, some Roanokes beseeched the English to send disease amongst their native enemies so that they *might in like sort die*.[102] Others sought the assistance of English prayers—English rituals—to preserve their corn during a period of drought, *fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs*. Harriot noted that *there could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurtes, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes therof for offending or not pleasing vs*.[103] Many, searching for moorings amidst a maelstrom of change, hoped to halt the epidemiological onslaught visited upon their communities through active participation in the public rituals of English Christianity. *When as wee knee[l]ed downe on our knees to make our prayers vnto god*, Harriot wrote, *they went about to imitate vs, and when they saw we moued our lipps, they also dyd the like*. If the English caused the disease by shooting their *invisible bullets* at the Indians, and if the disease did not affect the English, it made sense to seek protection through English means.[104]

Wingina, according to Harriot, joined the English in the rituals of prayer and the singing of psalms, *hoping thereby to bee partaker of the same effectes which wee by that meanes also expected*. When on two occasions he became *so grieuously sicke that he was like to die, and as hee lay languishing, doubting of anie help by his owne priestes*, *Wingina* called upon the English *to praie and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in*

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[98] Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, 232-233.
[99] Dover-Quinn, 275.
[100] Ibid., 379-380.
[101] Ibid., 276, 278.
[102] Ibid., 379.
[103] Ibid., 377-278. Recent dendrochronological research has confirmed Harriot's observation of drought conditions at Roanoke. See David W. Stahle *et al.*, "The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts," in *Science*, 280 (Washington, DC: 1998), 564-567.
[104] Dover-Quinn, 425; and Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), ch. 2.

blisse.[105] Others, believing strongly in a connection between English power and the Bible, desired to *touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their brests and heades, and stroke ouer all their bodie with it*. To Harriot, a man full of sincere philanthropic intentions for the Indians, this behavior demonstrated the natives' *hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of*. Harriot, as acute an observer as he was, missed the point. Those Roanokes who joined the English in prayer desired Christianity less than they did access to the power that enabled the English to remain alive on the Outer Banks while Indians suffered.[106]

For *Wingina* this effort appears to have been nothing less than profoundly disillusioning. Buffeted in a world of rapid change, *Wingina* experimented with English cultural forms in order to secure the power that preserved and bestowed so many benefits upon the settlers. English power, however, provided few answers for beleaguered Algonquians, and it manifested itself in malevolence, death, and suffering. *Wingina* moved rapidly away from the accommodationism of *Granganimeo* and *Ensenore*, and towards Wanchese's more openly hostile position. Deaths from disease continued, and *Granganimeo* was among the casualties. The rains never came, despite, their prayers. Lane's hungry settlers placed increasingly dangerous pressure upon limited Roanoke food supplies. Like Wanchese, *Wingina* arrived at the conclusion that his people's problems stemmed from contact with the English.

Accordingly, *Wingina* began to work toward effecting a complete separation between the Indian and white worlds on the Carolina Outer Banks. After the death of his brother *Granganimeo* sometime during the winter of 1585-1586, *Wingina* changed his name to *Pemisapan* and began making plans to abandon Roanoke Island. The precise significance of the name change is not clear. The anthropologist Helen Rountree has pointed out that Powhatan leaders changed their names on occasion. *Opechancanough*, for instance, took a new name during the winter of 1621-1622, prior to the surprise attack he launched against English colonists in Virginia in March 1622.[107] James A. Geary, a linguist who assembled a glossary of Carolina Algonquian words, suggests that the name might reflect the vigilant attitude of one who watches from a distance, or one who supervises, *as if that were his office*.[108]Although Lane noted that the new name was taken upon *Granganimeo's* death, it is not likely that the name reflected a change in *Pemisapan's* political status. Barlowe, in 1584, indicated that *Wingina* already was king at Roanoke. *Wingina's* adoption of a new name, however, may be related closely to Roanoke spirituality and the *weroance's* perception of the English. *Pemisapan*, one who watches closely, may have recognized that his people's survival was dependent upon separating themselves from the English, whose arrival on the Carolina Outer Banks, more than the powerful items they carried with them, had initiated drastic and devastating changes in his community.

Lane said little about the meaning of the name change and believed that *Pemisapan* began at this time organizing a conspiracy with Indians throughout the coastal region to exterminate the English settlers. *Pemisapan's* proximity to the English, the story went, would have provided him with enough richly valued English trade goods, especially copper, to purchase a large following. *Pemisapan* knew that Lane intended to embark in the spring of 1586 on a voyage of exploration into the Albemarle Sound. According to Lane's own self-serving account, *Pemisapan* sent word ahead to the powerful *Choanokes* and *Mangoaks* of the interior, warning them that Lane and his men intended to attack and kill any Indians they encountered. Indians along the Sound, then, should abandon their villages, remove their corn, and so starve the English expedition.[109] Lane wrote his account of these events after his return to England in 1586; at the time of his expedition, he could not possibly have been aware of the details of this plot, for he still took seriously an ominous warning from *Pemisapan* that a *confederacie against vs of the Chaonists and*

[105] Dover-Quinn, 376-377.
[106] Ibid., 377.

[107] Ibid., 265; Rountree, *Powhatan Indians*, 80. On the significance of the name change, see Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 76; and Durant, *Ralegh*, 71-72.
[108] Dover-Quinn, 893-894.
[109] Ibid., 265-266. Lane's account was written in part to justify his decision to evacuate Roanoke Island in 1586 and, in effect, to abandon the colony Sir Walter Ralegh had charged him with governing.

Mangoaks was assembling upriver with the intent of destroying the English settlement. It was to confront this *confederacie* that Lane began his voyage.[110]

Lane and his men sailed in a pinnace to the head of the Albemarle Sound. Manteo was along, as well as three Roanoke Indians, *Tetepano*, *Erecano*, and *Cossine*. There, sometime early in March, the expedition climbed aboard smaller vessels for the ascent of the Chowan River. This was the territory of *Menatonon*, the leader of the *Chowanoacs*. What Lane saw there impressed him. He wrote, *Choanoke it selfe is the greatest Prouince and Seigniorie lying upon that Riuer.*[111]

When Lane arrived at *Chowanoac*, he chanced upon a meeting of representatives from the *Weapemeocs, Moratucs*,[112] and *Mangoaks*. His actions reveal that, at the time, he believed he had encountered the *Chowanoac-Mangoak* confederacy of which *Pemisapan* earlier had spoken. Lane stormed the gathering, seized *Menatonon*, and held him hostage. For the next two days, almost certainly with the assistance of Manteo, Lane interrogated the leader, who provided him with *more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and saluages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with.*[113]

Menatonon provided Lane with information on the geography of the region that whetted the soldier's appetite for glory and gold. Three days further up the Chowan River, Lane was told, and then four days' travel overland, *a certaine Kings countrey whose Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea* would be found. This, to Lane, sounded like an easily defended route to the Chesapeake Bay. He devised a plan to follow *Menatonon's* course once fresh supplies arrived from England.[114] *Menatonon's* reports of what lay further up the Roanoke River, however, were of more immediate interest to Lane. Forty days upstream at the head of the river, a *huge rocke could be founde,* which stood so close *unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde coming outwardly from ye Sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish.*[115] Lane also heard from *Menatonon* that the natives in this region panned for *a marveilous and most strange Minerall* that sounded curiously like gold.[116]

Lane resolved to follow the Roanoke River course outlined by *Menatonon*. He released the chief but took his son, *Skiko*, hostage. Lane also concluded what he believed to have been a league with representatives of the *Moratucs* and *Mangoaks*. He then returned to the head of Albemarle Sound, sent *Skiko*, in the pinnace, back to Roanoke Island, and prepared to ascend the Roanoke River *with two double wheirries* and forty men.[117]

Lane was short of food, and hoped to obtain supply from the *Moratucs* and *Mangoaks* as he moved westward. This, he believed, had been the substance of his agreement with them. Toward the end of the second day, Lane heard *certaine sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with mee in boate*. The Englishmen, *hoping of some friendly conference with them*, enthusiastically called upon Manteo to respond. He did so, and the Indians, invisible to the English along the wooded banks of the Roanoke River, *presently began a song*. Lane and his men felt welcome, and comforted, but *Manteo presently betooke him to his peece*, his English gun. The Indians, Manteo told Lane, *ment to fight with vs.*[118] A volley of arrows, launched from cover along the shore, *did no hurt God be thanked to any man*. Lane put his men ashore to pursue their hidden attackers, but the Indians escaped.[119]

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[110] Ibid., 265-266; Michael L. Oberg, "Indians and Englishmen at the First Roanoke Colony: A Note on Pemisapan's Conspiracy, 1585-1586," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 18/2 (Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 1994), 80.

[111] Dover-Quinn, 259, 277.

[112] The *Weapemeocs* occupied territory along the northern shore of the Albemarle Sound. The *Moratucs* occupied land along both sides of the Roanoke River. See Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 32.

[113] Dover-Quinn, 259; Oberg, "Indians and Englishmen," 80-81.

[114] Dover-Quinn, 259, 261-264.

[115] In his account Lane refers to the Roanoke River as 'the River *Moratico*'. Dover-Quinn, 261-264.

[116] Ibid., 268.

[117] Ibid., 266, 264.

[118] Ibid., 270-271.

[119] Ibid., 271.

The next morning Lane, convinced *that we were betrayed by our own Sauages and of purpose drawn foorth by them, upon vaine hope to be in the ende starued*, decided to return to Roanoke Island. Whether *Pemisapan* actually hoped to eliminate Lane, and whether he actually was conspiring against the English or not, he certainly did not expect Lane to return from his voyage into the Sound.

During Lane's absence, the Roanokes *raised a bruite among themselves that I and my company were part slayne, and part starved*.... *Pemisapan* and his followers also, according to Lane, *contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the almightie God of heauen, and Jesus Christ* [...] *whome before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God*, began to blaspheme.... According to Lane, Indians on Roanoke began *flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the* Renapoaks, *for so they call by that general name, all the inhabitants of the whole mayne, of what prouince soeuer'*.[120] Believing himself rid of Lane, and disaffected with the English, *Pemisapan* rallied support among the Roanokes and convinced many that the English God lacked spiritual power. As such, *Pemisapan* argued, the Indians ought to turn their backs on the English. Through their acquisition of trade goods from the settlers and experimentation with the rituals of the colonists' religion, the Roanoke Indians actively had pursued English spiritual power. The costs of this pursuit had been unacceptably and devastatingly high. To stop paying that price, they must separate themselves from the English. Abandonment of the island would lead to the destruction of the remaining colonists, for *Pemisapan* knew that the English were desperately short on supplies and, more importantly, that they could not feed themselves.[121]

Lane's return on Easter Sunday, however, forced *Pemisapan* to abandon his plans to leave the island and generated renewed divisions within the Indian community on Roanoke. Lane had returned from an expedition into the territory of *those whose very names were terrible vnto them*. Clearly, Lane had demonstrated his power, and as a consequence *Ensenore* and others warned against any hostile attempt against the English.[122]

Perhaps *Pemisapan* shared in this reassessment of English power. Certainly, at *Ensenore's* urging, he planted a crop of corn for the English, helped them construct fishing weirs and, according to Lane, changed *in disposition towards vs*. But this period of accommodation would not last long. On April 20, 1586, *Ensenore, the only frend to our nation that we had amongst them*, succumbed to disease, discrediting in *Pemisapan's* eyes the accommodationist path he had followed.[123]

After the death of *Ensenore*, according to Lane, *Pemisapan*, along with *certaine of our great enemies*, including Wanchese, *were in hand again to put their old practises in vre* [into effect] *against vs*. Wanchese and *Pemisapan* viewed the English, once feared and respected for the power they demonstrated, as the source of their community's problems, a violent and pestilential people who placed great strains on Roanoke food supplies. Led by *Pemisapan*, the Roanokes abandoned the island and moved to the mainland village of *Dasemunkepeuc*, dooming the English colony. Their intent, Lane believed, was *starving vs by* [...] *forbearing to sowe*.[124]

Lane faced more than starvation, however. He believed that *Pemisapan* would use *Dasemunkepeuc* as the base from which to launch a massive, multi-tribal assault upon the colonists. Lane determined to attack before *Pemisapan* could put his plan into effect. On the first of June, Lane led 27 soldiers to *Dasemunkepeuc*. Manteo, who had friends in the village, accompanied the force. The soldiers approached *Pemisapan* and his men, who appear to have suspected nothing. They opened fire without warning. *Pemisapan* was wounded twice but still managed to escape into the woods. Edward Nugent, an Irishman in Lane's service, pursued the fleeing *weroance* while Lane busied himself *looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends*. He could not afford to alienate his last Indian ally through an indiscriminate slaughter of friend and foe alike. A short

[120] Ibid., 276-277.
[121] Ibid., 277.
[122] Ibid., 277-278.
[123] Ibid., 275.
[124] Ibid., 280-281.

time later, Nugent emerged from the woods with *Pemisapan's* head in his hand.[125] A few weeks after this attack, Lane and his men, along with their lone Indian ally, abandoned Ralegh's first Roanoke Colony.

IV

The English colonists left Roanoke Island in a hurry. Much was lost, including a large portion of John White's original artwork and Thomas Harriot's research material. Three men, journeying in the interior, were left behind. Sir Francis Drake, in fact, who commanded the fleet that offered Lane and his men passage back to England, may have deposited several hundred black slaves and central American Indians on the Outer Banks to make room for the colonists, a first, and forgotten lost colony, ignored by generations of American mythmakers and historians who believed, as one chronicler put it, that only men of *the purest Anglo-Saxon Blood* colonized America.[126]

But something more might have been lost in 1586 at Roanoke Island. The English, at least in part, had launched their invasion of America upon waves of benevolent intent. Sir Walter Ralegh had premised his plans for America on a *dream of liberation*, in Edmund S. Morgan's words, in which bold Englishmen would carry civility and English Christianity to America, bringing benefit to natives and newcomers alike. Ralegh's empire would, had it lived up to expectations, have been an Anglo-*American* empire.[127]

It is with these thoughts in mind that Manteo takes on such great significance. In the rush to abandon the colony, he was not left behind. He chose to climb aboard the boats as they rowed out to join Drake's fleet. He was not expendable. More than anyone, perhaps, he embodied metropolitan hopes for the new world. And more than many, perhaps, he represents the ultimate tragedy of their failure. Men like the elder and younger Richard Hakluyt, those great promoters of English maritime expansion; John White, Thomas Harriot, and their publisher Theodor De Bry; Ralegh, at times, as well; all viewed the Indians of the Roanoke region in progressive terms. The Indians, they believed, would participate if properly guided in a natural historical process whereby all societies moved upwards, becoming more civilized as time passed. This understanding of human development lay at the heart of White's inclusion in his portfolio of drawings of a sampling of Brazilian, Roman, medieval European, Inuit, Turkish, Tartar, Pict and Ancient British figures.[128] The same understanding informed Harriot, Hakluyt the Younger, and De Bry's decision to include in the 1590 edition of Harriot's *Brief and True Report of the Newe Found Land of Virginia* an appendix containing images *of the Pictes which in the olde tyme dyd habite one part of the great Bretainne*. As De Bry wrote in his badly fractured English, White gave him a number of drawings of Ancient British figures, *fownd as hy did assured my in a oolld English cronicle, the which I wold well sett to the ende of thees first Figures, for to showe how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie have bin in times past as sauuage as those of Virginia*.[129] The conviction that the English had at one time been as *sauuage* as the natives of North America clearly undergirded their optimistic belief that, like their forebears, Indians too would progress. Manteo, indeed, seemed living proof.[130]

Yet if these English idealists were attracted to the bright, shining example of Manteo, it is not always easy to discern why he felt attracted to them. Power played a role. Status and security likely were additional benefits accruing from close association with the English. Perhaps with Wanchese an important anti-English voice on Roanoke Island, Manteo had nowhere else to go but England. Speaking English, wearing English clothing,

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[125] Ibid., 287-288; Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 44-45.

[126] The quotation is from an address given by Lindsay C. Warren, in *Virginia Dare Day: Annual Celebration by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association* (Chapel Hill, NC: Wilson Library, Southern Historical Collection, 1926), 6; on these first lost colonists, see Dover-Quinn, 306; and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975), 41-42.

[127] Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, ch. 1; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 3-43.

[128] Hulton, *America 1585*, 72-76, pls. 63-69.

[129] Ibid., 130, fig. 28.

[130] Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 18-22. My understanding of this issue has been informed by J.H. Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," in Kroeber *Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (Berkley, CA: University of California, 1964); Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964); J.H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970).

and carrying an English gun, he appears to have identified himself fully with the colonists by 1586.

Manteo would play a critically important role in Ralegh's second and final attempt to plant a colony on American shores. Indeed, given his centrality, it seems likely that he contributed to the planning for the venture launched with Ralegh's blessing in 1587.[131] White would lead an expedition composed of families to plant an agricultural settlement somewhere near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. A short reconnaissance there in 1585 led White, Harriot, and Ralegh to believe that the Indians occupying these fertile lands would willingly accommodate a self-sufficient white settlement. The expedition would have to pass Roanoke Island on its way north towards the Chesapeake. White would stop briefly to look for the three men left behind the year before as well as for a small party of fifteen men left on the island in 1586 by Grenville, who had arrived too late to resupply Lane's colony.[132] Ralegh instructed White also to baptize Manteo on Roanoke Island and to install him as *Lord therof, and of Dasamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull seruice*. Manteo would serve as a sort of feudal lord under Ralegh on the margins of England's Atlantic world.[133]

White's colonists arrived at Hatorask, where they anchored, on the twenty-second of July 1587. The governor hoped to cross over to Roanoke, find Grenville's party, and gather whatever information they might have *concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages*. He then would return to the fleet, *and passe along the coast, to the Baye of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte*.[134]

The expedition's pilot, Simon Ferdinando, however, refused to take the colonists any farther north, and unloaded them at Roanoke Island. White found the fort constructed by Lane in 1585 *rased downe* by the Indians, and no sign of any of the Englishmen who had been left before on the island. Five days later, Howe was killed. The colonists found his body after the Indians had given to him *sixteene wounds with their arrows: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swordes, beat his head in peeces, and fled ouer the water to the maine*.[135]

White could do nothing more than try to make the best of a bad situation. With Manteo's help he hoped to gather some information that could be used to repair the English colonists' tattered relations with Indians in the area. The colonists looked south, to Manteo's home village on *Croatoan* Island. A small expedition sailed in that direction on the thirtieth, looking for *some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the Countrey towards vs, and to renew our olde friendshippe with them*.[136]

The landing at *Croatoan* could not have inspired much confidence. The Indians, White wrote, at first appeared belligerent. When they saw the Englishmen advance with their matchlocks lit, they turned and fled. The *Croatoans* failed to recognize Manteo, who came ashore with the English. Only when he *called to them in their owne language* did they stop, tossing aside their weapons, greeting the colonists, and *embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little*.[137]

It is an immensely revealing admission. That the *Croatoans* initially fled from armed Englishmen, and then asked those colonists not to take their food, suggests the lengths Lane was forced to travel to feed his colonists. More importantly, that the *Croatoans* failed to recognize Manteo, *who had his mother, and many of his kinred, dwelling in that Island*, suggests that he had adopted enough of English material culture as to appear utterly English to his relations on *Croatoan* Island. To the *Croatoans*, Manteo no longer seemed like one of them. He had become an outsider, a stranger.[138]

After this initial fright, the *Croatoans* did their best to make the English feel welcome. They provided a feast for White's company, and treated the colonists with courtesy. Still, pervasive in the only surviving account, is a sense that the *Croatoans* would much rather have

[131] Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, 246-247.
[132] Ibid., 252, 269.
[133] Dover-Quinn, 531.
[134] Ibid., 516, 523.
[135] Ibid., 524-526.
[136] Ibid., 526.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

had the English leave them alone. Nothing good had come from contact with them. The *Croatoans*, White wrote, in another extraordinarily revealing example, *desired vs earnestly, that there might be some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friendes, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island*. For want of such a badge, the Indians told White, *diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, beeing founde out of the Island by Master Lane his Companie*.[139]

If the English responded to this request, White said nothing about it. More interested in how Indians were willing to treat Englishmen, than in how the English had mistreated Indians in the past, White learned that Howe had been killed *by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke, with whom Winchese kept companie*. He learned likewise that hostile Indians had wiped out Grenville's small party. White asked the *Croatoans* to assure the people of *Secota, Aquascogoc & Pomiock* that the English *would willingly receaue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both partes, should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten*... The *chiefe men* of *Croatoan* told White that they would see what they could do, perhaps aware that White was in no position to *receave* anyone under English protection, and that he had no power to demand anything from Indians in the region. The Outer Banks were a place much more anti-English in 1587 than they had been two years before.[140]

The English departed *Croatoan* and sailed back to Roanoke. There White waited for *the coming of the Weroanses of Pomioake, Aquascoquos, Secota, and Dasamongueponke*. Hearing nothing after one week, White decided to *differre the reuenging*... [of the Roanokes] *no longer*. They must be made to pay for killing Howe. He ordered an attack on Wanchese and his followers at *Dasemunkepeuc*. Manteo accompanied the English force, serving, White wrote, as *our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt*.[141]

Led by Manteo the English hoped *to acquite their euill doing towards vs*. They crossed the sound at night and marched overland to *Dasemunkepeuc*. It still was dark, White wrote, but *hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently sette on them*. The Indians were surprised. Some of the *miserable soules* fled into the surrounding reeds in search of cover. Several Indians were shot. Only then did the attackers learn that they *were deceaued, for those Sauages were our friendes, and were come from Croatoan*. They had crossed to the mainland to harvest the crops left behind by the Roanokes, who had fled farther into the interior after the death of Howe.[142] Manteo, who led the English into battle, and *behaved himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull English man*, had failed to recognize his own people around the fire at *Dasemunkepeuc*. The *mistaking of these Sauages*, White wrote, *somewhat grieved Manteo*. He accidentally had killed his own people. Still, he managed somehow to blame the victims. Manteo *imputed their harme to their owne follie*, White continued, *saying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour, at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance*. If only they had played by English rules, as he had.[143]

One wonders if Manteo considered, even for a moment, who he was. An Indian from *Croatoan*? An Englishman? John White did not dwell on Manteo's feelings, so we will never know. But the colony's governor did offer at least one answer to these questions a few days after the attack, though not without revealing the tremendous ambiguity of Manteo's position in the Anglo-American world. On the thirteenth of August, White wrote, *our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord therof, and of Dasamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull seruice*.[144]

V

White left the outpost on Roanoke Island on the 27th of August, homeward bound for England *for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries* for the settlement. He left behind his daughter, his son-in-law, and his granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first

[139] Ibid., 526-527.
[140] Ibid., 527-528.
[141] Ibid., 529-530.
[142] Ibid., 530.
[143] Ibid., 530-531.
[144] Ibid., 531.

English child born in America.[145] Circumstances would not allow him to return until 1590, three years later. The smoke he saw arising from Roanoke Island as he finally approached put him and his men *in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England*.[146]

After three years, however, White found Roanoke Island abandoned. On a tree near the site of the settlement, White found carved the letters *CRO*. The sign of distress that he and the settlers had agreed upon, a Maltese cross was nowhere to be seen, so White believed that the colonists did not leave in haste or in danger. Near the entrance to the fort, White found a post with the word *CROATOAN* carved *in fayre Capitall letters*.[147]

White never doubted that the colonists had moved safely to *Croatoan* Island, *the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends*. The rifling of the goods he had left behind, and which the colonists had buried, White attributed to the *Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan*.[148] If only White could sail the short distance down the Outer Banks to *Croatoan*, he believed he would find the colonists settled there under the protection of Manteo. Storms and leaky ships, however, along with the crew members' desire for Spanish prizes, once again would sabotage White's plans. He returned to England in 1590, broken-hearted and reluctant, without learning the fate of his fellow colonists. The men and women he left behind became the famous Lost Colonists of American myth and memory.

The story of the early Anglo-Indian exchange, of which Manteo's story is but a small part, was not simply one of conquest, as the ultimate failure of Ralegh's colonizing ventures makes clear. While English colonists two decades later would plant Jamestown in Virginia, and the Pilgrims would settle Plymouth, the colonists Ralegh sent explored *Roanoac*, *Dasamunkepeuc*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Choanoac*. The land, was never enough theirs to bother naming. The importance of this point should not be underestimated. Because the English failed in their efforts to plant colonies at Roanoke, historians can free themselves from the teleological fallacy that views all Indian-white relations in terms of the ultimate demise of native peoples. At Roanoke Island an intercultural encounter took place in which natives and newcomers learned difficult lessons about each other in an arena where neither was dominant. Indians responded to the newcomers in a variety of ways, as they creatively sought to cope with the rending changes English settlement produced.

Indians took interest in these newcomers, seeking to incorporate them into their conceptual universe. Manteo's story reveals for us that the history of Indians during the early contact period most properly is a transatlantic one, something too few historians have recognized. Even as the Lost Colonists abandoned Roanoke Island for the protection Manteo might provide at *Croatoan*, they demonstrated that Indian allies would play an essential role in Ralegh's nascent American empire.

Manteo fulfilled the benevolent expectations of Ralegh and his circle at Durham House. These men believed that Indians could abandon their savagery and become civil, that they could learn enough of the English and their way of life to become Christian. They believed that Indians would progress from their primitive origins and approach the standard of civility set by Elizabethan gentlemen. Manteo had done all these things, occupying a unique, and ultimately very lonely place, in the Anglo-American, Christian, New World Empire that these Englishmen hoped to create in America. Manteo could comprehend the war songs of rival Indians, and behave like an Englishman; he could speak Algonquin but understand the significance of English baptism. He had crossed an important line. Yet Manteo must have found this a narrow world, bound in an undefined space between what he once had been and what the English wanted him to become. In a poorly-defined colonial world where an Indian could behave as *a most faithfull English man* and kill nasty savages, where Manteo could serve as Ralegh's Lord of Roanoke while remaining a *sauage*, where did Manteo fit? Indeed, who was Manteo?

At times and in places, Manteo could be viewed as a savage and almost an Englishman. His would-be

[145] Ibid., 532-535.
[146] Ibid., 610.
[147] Ibid., 613-614.
[148] Ibid., 616.

colonial overlords saw in him both what they hoped and believed Indians might become, and what they feared Indians might remain. His was indeed a world too narrow. The tragedy of his life is that the paths he followed back and forth across the Atlantic led through so much promise to a dead end.

Ralegh, the Hakluyts, Harriot and White all believed that English settlement in America could largely be a peaceful enterprise. As Harriot wrote, *by carefulnesse of our selues, neede nothing at all to be feared.*[149] They did not reckon upon the havoc their arrival would wreak in native communities. They could not anticipate the devastating consequences of disease, or the coincidence of their arrival and drought-like conditions on the Outer Banks. They did not anticipate English pressure on Algonquian subsistence resources and the emerging belief among Indians in the region that the English were the source of their community's problems. Nor did they recognize the ultimate incompatibility of metropolitan hopes with the realities of the Anglo-American frontier, as the soldiers sent to do the work of colonizing seldom shared the philanthropic beliefs of Hakluyt and Harriot. Had all gone according to plan, the space Manteo occupied, between Indians and Englishmen, between the frontier and the metropolis, would have remained most treacherous. As it was, the fragile middle ground that emerged as natives and newcomers exchanged goods along Hatorask Island in 1584 rapidly disappeared, leaving little room for people in the middle—people like Manteo.

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Editor's note: In order for this paper to be consistent with others in the publication, endnotes have been converted to footnotes; American spelling has been imposed; italics have replaced quotation marks for cited text.

[149] Ibid., 382.

Climate for Colonisation

by Joyce A. Youings

As I left my home in a small village in Devonshire, England five days ago, seven miles from the ancient city of Exeter and a further 160 to the outskirts of the city of London, itself some four thousand miles from here, I thought of two much younger Devon-born trans-Atlantic adventurers whose names will be known to most of you, certainly to all North Carolinians who grew up in the mid-1980s during the Quadracentennial Celebrations. They were, of course, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, who took a similar route to Virginia in the early 1580s, but took much longer about it and embarked with scant hope of such a friendly welcome. They were apparently well-matched as ships' captains, but as individuals they had very different family backgrounds, some contemplation of which will, I hope, help towards an understanding of the society and economy of Elizabethan England.

Philip Amadas

The Amadas family heads were minor landowners in Cornwall, one of whom in the early sixteenth century moved into Devon, first to the market town of Tavistock and a descendant thence into the growing port of Plymouth. They were not alone, even as gentry, in migrating from a rural to an urban environment, offering, as it did, not only the opportunity to escape the expense expected of country gentlemen of maintaining an army of largely-idle domestic servants, but also more scope for adding to their freehold property. Philip's grandfather, William, besides much else, acquired the site of the dissolved Carmelite friary not far from the harbor in downtown Plymouth, possibly as a residence, but more likely for dividing into the tenement dwellings much in demand by a growing urban proletariat. The cash came largely from trade, John Amadas of Tavistock having exported tin to the Continent in the 1530s and imported French wine. In the 1540s his son William held the office of Collector of Customs and Subsidies for the port of Plymouth (which included the whole of Cornwall) and his grandson, John, Philip's father, still calling himself 'esquire', was Mayor of Plymouth in 1574-5. (John Hooker tells us that almost every Tudor mayor of Exeter was of gentle birth.) The Amadas mid-Tudor family wills point to a modest affluence and also to a certain Protestant zeal, William in 1561 not only bequeathing his soul 'to Christ Jesus my maker and redeemer in whom is all my trust' but also providing for the public reading, 'in an audible voice [and] with charitable devotion', of the homily of the salvation of mankind by Christ alone. He also left 24 shillings towards the cost of a 'competent dinner' for the Mayor and Council at which they would be reminded of 'their duties for the commonwealth of their town', and 20 shillings for a 'drinking' by the town's 'commoners', who were to be exhorted to do 'good works' and to be obedient 'to rulers and magistrates'.

The Amadases did not make old bones and when John died in 1581, aged 47, his eldest son, Philip, at 16 still a minor, was named as his sole heir—but not yet, all the property being left for her life to his widowed mother, Jane, a Cornish gentlewoman born. It may have been with the prospect of his mother living to a ripe old age, and probably remarrying, that, leaving behind two younger brothers and four sisters, he went off to London and entered Ralegh's household. Indeed his father may already have made such an arrangement, possibly with the help of his 'cousin' John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Navy. Having grown up in a community accustomed to providing its own seaward artillery defenses, with no assistance from the government, he would have been just the kind of young man Ralegh was looking for.

There is a postscript to all this. Only about a month ago I had the luck to find in the Cathedral archives at Exeter an original document, lacking a date, but on internal evidence it can confidently be placed between Philip's return from here [Roanoke Island] in July 1586 and November 1587 (early 1585 is possible but unlikely), whereby he conveyed all his property in Devon and Cornwall (his mother presumably having died during his absence overseas) to none less than his employer, Sir

Walter Ralegh. It is so imprecise in its details that it looks very like a mortgage, *i.e.* a temporary security for a loan. Unfortunately the 'consideration' is not stated. Although much mutilated the manuscript does, however, retain the confident signature of Philip Amadas (Ralegh's no doubt having been torn off as the more valuable by some dastardly autograph hunter) and as this is a new and, I think, unique find I have brought with me a facsimile to give to Dr. H. G. Jones for the Ralegh Library at Chapel Hill.

Arthur Barlowe

Arthur Barlowe's lineage is less well documented and may be assumed to have been more modest, his father probably being a farmer or craftsman, or both, and/or possibly a seaman. The fortunate discovery of a baptismal entry dated 10 May 1559 in the parish register of East Budleigh, near the coast some six miles from Exeter (and also the birthplace of Ralegh himself), indicates that he was in fact the older of the young two captains, a mature 26-year-old in 1584, by which year he had already served as a soldier with Ralegh in Ireland. The church marriage register for 1559 also reveals, incidentally, that his father, Alexander, had made an honest woman of his [Arthur's] mother only as recently as 26 February [1559]. Premarital conception was, of course, very common in Tudor England, economic conditions, especially underemployment, often leading to determent of marriage, though more rarely to actual bastardy. Indeed there still persisted the tradition that espousal was more important than the wedding ceremony. Tudor moralists, both clerical and lay, were more concerned about over-hasty marriage than about premature sex!

It is now time to look beyond England's West Country.

Rural Employment

The great majority, perhaps as many as 90 percent, of Queen Elizabeth's subjects lived very close to the land, either in villages, that is small rural communities, or, especially in the upland regions of the West and North of England, in hamlets, *i.e.* groups of three or four farms. A minority, especially hill farmers, lived in total isolation from their neighbours. In each case they derived their sustenance primarily from their own labour, whether that was devoted predominantly to arable or pastoral farming or, the most rewarding, a combination of both. Soil conditions and weather, both of which varied enormously, even within relatively small areas, largely determined their ability to generate a small cash income by meeting local market demand for grain, meat, dairy produce, hides and skins and particularly wool. Only thus, as tenants, could they pay their annual rent to their landlord, and the occasional entry fine for new or renewed tenancies.

But for most of Tudor England's small family farmers, those occupying up to ten or fifteen acres of arable land, cash also came from part-time labour on the larger farms in the neighbourhood. Younger sons in particular, and also daughters, either went out to work as 'day-labourers' or went off in their early teens to live as resident farm servants. Even eldest sons would leave home until their fathers died or became too old to work the farm, at which time they could move back and marry. It has been calculated that, including other occupations, in the age-group 15 to 24 over half of England's population lived in other people's households. Foreign observers thought this eccentric and indicative of a want of familial affection! Indeed English rural households rarely extended beyond two generations, which visitors also found strange.

Supplementary employment, largely seasonal, was also available in the extractive and manufacturing industries, most of which were rural-based, tin mining in the South West, lead mining in Somerset, quarrying of stone in many parts of the country. Last but not least, almost universally, but especially in the highland regions of the North and West, the combing, spinning and weaving of wool, yarn and cloth occupied whole farming families, men, women and young children, in such hours as were left after work on the land was completed. The rich clothier or industrial entrepreneur was no figure of fiction, but in certain areas, notably in parts of Yorkshire and the South West, the various processes involved in cloth making were organized around local markets whose rural suppliers operated on a weekly cash basis.

One must not forget, too, that from farms on or near England's long coastline many people went fishing to

supply their own and others' enormous demand for this cheap food. Some countrymen even signed on seasonally as merchant seamen and it was common for wills made in coastal parishes to contain bequests, not only of farm implements but of bosuns' whistles and shares in boats. Even ships' masters would arrange to be home to help their wives with sheep shearing and the harvest. Building workers did the same. Tudor country people, in fact, were extraordinarily multi-skilled and their diversified economy provided them with considerable protection against the vagaries both of the harvest and of the market.

Rise of the Larger Farm

So much for the ordinary husbandmen. But the sixteenth century also brought a great increase in England of the larger, and usually more specialized, farms. Most Elizabethan villages, in fact, were characterized by the existence of a half dozen or more farms of 100 acres and more (*i.e.* of arable land) and many more of upland pasture. Especially in the vicinity of urban markets their owners concentrated on livestock farming and the production of meat, dairy products, raw hides and skins. Much of their land was leasehold, often comprising part or all of the manorial demesne, and this gave them a degree of medium-term security, but they often accumulated a fair bit of copyhold and even freehold land, in the process dispossessing smaller fry. A favorite method was to foreclose on cash loans to needy neighbours. They were not so much old-fashioned enclosers as new-fashioned engrossers. (There were no anti-enclosure acts between 1565 and 1593. Such enclosure as did take place was by communal agreement, though the larger farmers usually came off best. Enclosure for sheep farming had almost disappeared now that the sluggishness of the cloth trade made corn production more profitable.)

But these larger operators remained working farmers. Together with some of the gentlemen, and in contrast to the smaller farmers, they were alive to the advantages of the new farming techniques coming in from the Continent, especially in the 1570s when they led the way in improving grain yields by the use of fertilizers, and the quality of their dairy cattle by seasonal flooding of water meadows. In Devon they first used lime to good effect in about 1578, and indeed in the 1570s and 1580s saw the nearest thing in Tudor England to an 'agrarian revolution', although if Arthur Barlowe told them in East Budleigh that he could take them where they could grow three crops a year they would have told him to pull the other one! Especially in parishes with no resident gentlemen these 'yeomen' (an old term but one beloved by the Elizabethans) tended to be leaders of the community, encouraged by the powers-that-be, not least because they were much more inclined than their humble neighbours to stay where they were. With cash in their hands they were able, better even than some gentlemen and certainly than ordinary husbandmen, to buy farms for their younger sons, who were thus enabled to marry earlier, or to send them away to town into such profitable callings as the Law or Trade. They followed the gentlemen, however, in leaving the core of their estate to their eldest sons.

It must be pointed out, however, that the growth of large farms, especially in the Midland plain, was to a considerable extent balanced in the highland regions, especially of the North, by the custom of partible inheritance, *i.e.* division among heirs. This led to a proliferation of unviable holdings, so there was plenty of incentive for small farmers, and especially their younger sons, to leave Westmorland as well as Wiltshire to seek pastures new.

The Landed Aristocracies

It would take a whole session to consider adequately those, a considerable but decided minority of Elizabethan countrymen who, in respect of their landholding, were freeholders. At the base of the pyramid were tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of occupiers of single farms. In substance they were the equals or less of their copyholding neighbours, their distinction being their absolute security of tenure, defensible at Common Law, for them, their heirs and assigns. Their chief hazard, especially in an age of frequent house fires, was the loss of their deeds of title, often, like their own ancestry, centuries old. They were village aristocrats in the sense of being bulwarks against aggressive lords of manors, although they could, of course, be bought out of their inheritance.

Indeed the purchase of small freeholds was one of the ways whereby those who regarded themselves, and/or were recognized in their communities, as gentlemen, made if not born, enlarged their own small estates. Many of them, indeed, were descended from ancient freeholders, content generation after generation to live in genteel modesty until one possessing unusual talents broke ranks. There were probably in excess of five thousand of them with a rural base, spread you may think rather thinly over some ten thousand English parishes. For those of them who successfully established their right to display armorial bearings, and hence to call themselves 'esquire', the records of the College of Arms indicate that the 1580s was their Elizabethan heyday. They lived partly by farming their demesnes, but mostly from rents which they raised only with difficulty, augmented by what they could make out of offices of all kinds, industrial enterprise and, occasionally, such risky ventures as ship-owning and privateering, this last occupying them primarily in the 1550s (remember Walter Ralegh senior), the 1560s and the 1570s. By the 1580s they were being superseded by the merchants. Only very occasionally, when they were able to collect renewal fines from their tenants, or when one of their other ventures paid off, did they have any spare cash, and most of that was promptly spent enlarging and improving their houses or in providing dowries sufficient to attract suitable husbands for their daughters. Those who preferred the urban lifestyle usually had more disposable income. Only a very small proportion became knights.

Finally there were the sixty or so lay peers, most of them owners of very large estates, spread, unlike those of the gentlemen, over several counties. Like the lesser landowners they too profited only fitfully from rents and fines, and while, as a body, the gentlemen were slowly but surely extending their share of the country's land (owning perhaps a half by 1600) the Elizabethan peers were decreasing theirs. Even in proportion to their resources, peers were the most extravagant in their spending; on prestigious mansions, on household goods, on clothes, and having learnt nothing from the gentry, on armies of household servants who, if not well-paid, had to be fed and liveried. They were frequently in debt, though not desperately so bearing in mind their potential landed income and the prospect of such windfalls as jointures. Common to both gentlemen and peers, and even to some small Elizabethan freeholders, was a hankering to be seen, and to nourish material aspirations rather higher than their income warranted: hence the Queen's retention, if not her enforcement, of the Sumptuary Laws of her predecessors. The merchants, though equally prone to ostentation, were more prudent, and it was they rather than the landed aristocracies who left furred gowns to their descendants.

But the ownership of land was the only real basis of long-term economic security for Elizabethan Englishmen and the only guarantee of ensuring at least their own status for their heirs and descendants, which was such an obsession of Tudor people: except the poor. The problem was not so much the price of land, which never rocketed, but, as Ralegh found, that in England so little of it was on the market. The Crown still owned vast estates but the Queen was infinitely more possessive than had been her father and brother. The surest way to acquire broad acres was to marry an heiress.

Town and Trade

In this great sea of English countryside the towns played a vital role by virtue of their facilities for fashioning and distributing the products of the fields and pastures. Though in the larger of them, especially the seaports such as Plymouth, countrymen were linked with the wider world of foreign nations.

The towns ranged both in size and character from what historians call 'country towns', *i.e.* enlarged villages which had acquired urban accessories such as markets and fairs and hostelries, through the more truly urban communities, some very ancient and some of those suffering considerable decay, to the score or so of large provincial cities and to the nation's capital, London, which in every respect was in a category of its very own. By and large their more settled residents, depending on their degree of organization by local guilds, followed one fulltime occupation, though not always throughout their working lives. On the whole town people were far less 'handy' than their country cousins, purchasing more of their necessities of life, and part-time employment was largely unskilled. Polarization of wealth was even more pronounced than in rural communities. Especially in London the richest inhabitants, mostly merchants

engaged in overseas trade, were very rich indeed, but it was wealth of their own accumulation. English cities, unlike those on the continent, had very few merchant dynasties. Only a small minority of the urban elite were born, or indeed died, in town. Apprenticeships to local craftsmen ran from about 17 to the mature age of 24, and in the case of merchants even longer, so that for the potentially wealthier citizens marriage was delayed even longer than in the countryside.

One of the anomalies of English society in the early modern period is that, in spite of the far greater constraints and regimentation of urban life, Tudor people at every level of society were drawn to it in seemingly ever-increasing numbers, especially to the larger towns and preeminently to London. There were, of course, many reasons why they came. The one which would probably have sprung most quickly to the lips of contemporary commentators was pressure of population on rural employment.

Population Movement

In the course of the sixteenth century the number of people in England rose substantially, increasing by about 50 per cent between 1500 and 1600, and by at least 30 percent during Elizabeth's reign. Given the time scale, this is marginal compared with population growth in many parts of the world today, but in the case of Tudor England growth was from a very low base. While it rose from about 2¾ million in 1541 to over 4 million in 1601, two centuries earlier, before the Black Death of 1349, the country had supported, without more than occasional pressure on resources, whether of employment or food, considerably more than it did even in 1600. The tide had slowly turned towards the end of the fifteenth century, but even in the 1530s Henry VIII's advisers had warned him that he ruled over a 'penury' of people, a dangerous situation for a king prepared to take on the military might of his European neighbours. It is ironic that Queen Elizabeth, who dreaded the financial expense of war, was being warned in the 1570s and 1580s about the dangers of an excess of people.

In simple terms a rise—or fall—in the number of mouths to be fed depends on the relationship between birth rates and death rates. Birth rates, the demographers tell us, are largely determined by the number of children per marriage, which in turn depends to a great extent on the age at which men and women marry. We now know that most ordinary people, all but the very poor and the very rich, married late in Tudor England, men on average in their late 20s, women in their middle 20s, late that is in terms of childbearing. In fact few marriages resulted in more than three or four children reaching their teens. What is more, a considerable number of men and women, especially resident domestic and farm servants, remained single all their lives. However, had there not been other limiting factors, the population could still have reached at least the highest medieval levels by 1600. That it did not was largely due to fairly high levels of mortality.

Epidemics

Of only marginal importance was the death of infants. This remained fairly high but women who lost babies, because they hadn't to breast feed them for the traditional two or even three years, would more quickly conceive replacements. The great early-modern killer of people beyond their childhood was epidemic disease, principally bubonic plague and, more rarely, the Sweating Sickness to which young men and women were particularly vulnerable. Plague was not new, of course, but its outbreaks were more frequent in Tudor England than in previous times. Epidemic diseases, were, in fact, a far greater immediate cause of premature death in Tudor England than starvation, although a run of bad harvests probably weakened people's resistance to disease. (The effects of harvest failures were made worse, of course, not only by poor land communications but by the natural propensity of farmers to horde their produce. The crises were prolonged by shortage of seed corn.)

Mortality, for whatever cause, as compared with the birth rate, was far higher in towns than in rural communities, and especially so in large cities, with London suffering worst of all. The prosperous little cloth-making town of Crediton in Devon (where Philip Amadas owned property) lost through plague in 1571 nearly a quarter of her total population, London in 1563 about the same proportion, a massive 20,000 people. In

the countryside not only was the death rate not quite as high, and the outbreaks not so frequent, but there was a degree of catching up as young people, able to obtain vacant farms, married and started families earlier. This happened more rarely in the towns where sheer weight of numbers produced a longer wait for dead men's shoes.

Migration

The effect of the more frequent, and more devastating, outbreaks of epidemics in the towns of Tudor England would have been to destroy many of them altogether had it not been for inward migration. This, as in the case of the Amadases, often took place in stages, starting with movement from countryside to neighbouring town and proceeding from the provincial towns to London, almost invariably from the North and the West to the South East. It has been estimated that some 4-5000 men and women a year came to London in the 1580s, some coming from as far away as Yorkshire, but most of those brought before the courts charged with being vagrants (which is how we know about them) claimed to have come from the adjacent Home Counties. Most were young (*i.e.* in their teens) and male and they came for a variety of reasons. Only to a very limited extent had they been driven out of their places of birth by homelessness or actual unemployment but came, like Dick Whittington (who was a gentleman, remember), to better themselves. A high proportion was younger sons. Those who came to take up formal apprenticeships already arranged by their families could expect a comfortable and relatively secure future, though there were always some who, for various reasons, ran away. Others, especially women, had had employment arranged for them by or with relations as resident domestic servants, the largest by far of the categories of London's employees. It cannot be too firmly stressed that few of those who found themselves hailed before the magistrates as 'vagrants' within the meaning of the law had arrived as the rogues and vagabonds of popular literature. Still less did they roam in gangs with a common and alien culture. This is the stuff of popular literature. Moreover far more came with hope of employment than because they had heard that London had more to offer by way of charity. But that didn't stop them begging (which was illegal, unless licensed), stealing, and, even worse in the eyes of the powers-that-be, remaining 'idle' and "master-less'. In every town and city, London in particular, enormous efforts were indeed made, by a combination of public and private charity, to relieve the most desperate, and by less humanitarian ways to be rid of the problem. Elizabethan vagrants were not, as far as I know, sent to sea but those, like Ralegh, who obtained commissions to impress seamen, were enjoined to seek out the unemployed. They might perhaps have had better prospects if they had been. As it was, some 600 a year in the early 1580s were herded into the former royal palace of Bridewell, the chief institution in London where some attempt was made to provide work, as far as possible competing only with the import trades, for example that in wool cards. But it was a losing battle and particularly in London's inner suburbs from Clerkenwell around to Southwark, and also to the west in Holborn and even Westminster, countless men and women lived, bore children and died in the streets or hidden in the warrens of plague-ridden cellars, in terrible squalour. Thus, in spite of such a high mortality from disease, and to a certain extent from hunger, London's actual population increased at a far higher rate than that of the country at large, from 3 percent of the raising national total in 1545 to 6 percent by the later 1590s. All the larger English towns had their complement of deserving and undeserving poor, but their problems were largely containable. London's was not: the superabundance of people about which the Queen was warned was then, not so much a national problem as one which lay very largely at her own back door.

Mid-Elizabethan Recovery

In fact the very year of her accession had seen the trend very dramatically reversed due to a great and almost universal outbreak in England in 1557 of a viral infection akin to influenza. Even in rural areas death rates trebled, especially among young adults, leading to an overall decrease of population of about 6 percent. So serious was the death rate that it provided the seeds for its own reversal. In this respect Arthur Barlowe's arrival in East Budleigh in May 1559 had a particular significance, his conception perhaps coinciding with his father's taking possession of a vacant farm, mortality in east Devon having been particularly severe in 1558. By

1559 the scourge had subsided and his chances of growing to manhood were good. The 1560s and 1570s were to be, for the most part, less troubled by plague, except in London where it was endemic. In 1583 the younger Hakluyt, you will remember, with tongue slightly in cheek, looked back on 27 years (not entirely coincidentally the exact length of the Queen's reign so far!) not only of good harvests but of 'seldom sickness'. William Cecil echoed the comment a year later. It was indeed almost true, and the corollary was a return to population growth, to a percentage increase in the decade 1566-76 of nearly 9 per cent (and in that of 1576-1586 of over 11 per cent, higher than at any time since the late 1540s), so that in the early 1580s England was full of young people, especially those in their late teens, most of them, or so it appeared to the Queen and her Council, converging on London. As one born early on in the bulge Barlowe's prospects of early responsibility were particularly good. Though born in 1565 Philip Amadas faced less competition than had his father's generation. But for both of them, as indeed for Ralegh, London beckoned irresistibly.

Underemployment

And yet, as for all young provincials, they had no compelling need to go there. Plymouth was a thriving port and in east Devon, in the 1580s, there were still, as in every part of England, hundreds of acres of waste, that is land once cultivated and capable of being restored to good use, and in other counties vast stretches of marsh and fen which could have been, and later were reclaimed. Indeed, as early as 1561, so William Camden tells us, the greater freedom to export grain led farmers in some parts of the country to break up grounds which had lain untilled beyond all memory of man.

Even Richard Hakluyt, while at pains for his own particular purposes to stress the increase in population, declared that if it had a mind to England could support a five-fold increase in numbers. Foreign observers were of the opinion that the English were lazy—Devonians certainly were and are—and that if they bestirred themselves they could provide a surplus of grain sufficient to upset altogether the reliance of their export trade on woolen cloth. English commentators like the astute Sir Thomas Smith who was so keen on Ralegh's projects in Ireland, were more inclined to argue that the real problem facing the nation was lack of sufficient alternative full-time rural employment for those who could not find work on the land. Such as there were, tin-working, quarrying, even in the seaports the building of ships, were under-capitalized and, again as already indicated, were supplied mostly by part-time labour. There were a few new industries in Elizabeth's reign, such as the making of brass cannon in the Weald (or forest) of Sussex and Kent, and of window glass in the former county, but on the whole these were not labour-intensive. It has been shown by Dr. Thirsk and others that Elizabethan England was full of new ideas, what she calls new 'projects', but few had progressed or spread very far, and many had suffered through their promoters seeking, and being favoured, with royal grants of patents of monopoly, an almost certain recipe for failure. (Ralegh at least confined himself to established trades.) Also, apart from those industries necessarily based in the countryside the rest, both old and new, such as soap-making and metal-working, were sited in London near the main national markets for consumer goods.

Inevitably, as in our own day, they exerted a fatal attraction. Perhaps it would have been too much to hope for there to have been liaison between some of the more enlightened rural industrial entrepreneurs and the 'governors' of the newly-established, largely urban and significantly-named, 'Houses of Correction'. Were their unfortunate inmates the people the Peckhams had in mind in 1583 when they advocated shipping to the New World 'a great number of men [women, and even children] which do now live idly at home', there to be set on work? Did they envisage England as the main market for the products of this overseas activity? If so they would have met opposition from those 'protectionists', including Sir Thomas Smith, who thought that England already imported too many foreign wares. However the Peckhams did suggest, for 'those persons as are no men of art or science', employment overseas 'in matters of husbandry,' here, indeed, was positive thinking. A search among the cellars of London's inner suburbs might have resulted in a useful haul of young men and women with memories of childhood employment on the family farm.

Overseas Trade

To a certain extent, but not perhaps as much as the metropolitan and provincial merchants would have argued, full employment, and its corollary, lack of popular unrest, especially in the chief clothing regions, depended upon the country's ability to find foreign markets, especially for our main product, woolen cloth. The 1550s had in fact seen a disastrous falling off in trade, especially in the export of broadcloths from London to the Low Countries on which the city's Merchant Adventurers had concentrated for the best part of two centuries. However, apart from a further trade slump in the early 1570s, the situation had partially recovered by 1580, though largely by the discovery of alternative markets.

Londoners were trading very profitably with Spain right up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1585 and, indeed, beyond, and for them further 'annoyance' of the Spaniards was not to be welcomed. There were indeed many, even in London and certainly in some of the provincial ports who, as war with Spain loomed, actually welcomed the prospect of indulging in legalized piracy as a quicker way to get rich than the hard slog of traditional merchandising. For them an all-out challenge to Spanish New World supremacy could not come too soon.

There were also, however, whole communities of merchants, including many in London, whose only wish was to be allowed to carry on normal trade along customary and proven routes. Such, for example, was the powerful Exeter Company of Merchants trading to France. John Hooker, their spokesman, had no room for trans-Atlantic adventures, a situation which must have made life a little uncomfortable for his near-neighbour in downtown Exeter, Ralegh's widowed but still formidable mother.

For some there were other battles to be fought nearer home. Just as many of the London merchants continued to concentrate their energy on an all-out onslaught on the aliens still engaged in trade in and out of the metropolis, so were many of the provincial merchants just as hotly engaged in invading the Londoners' own overseas preserves, in Russia and the Baltic, in the Mediterranean, and even in West Africa.

FIGURE 124: Engraving of the *Golden Hind,* Sir Francis Drake's flagship for his 1577-1580 circumnavigation of the globe.

The Turkey, Barbary and Guinea Companies of London were all creations of the 1580s and provincial members, if admitted at all, were very much on sufferance. Only the prospect of spices, silks and all that had already beckoned so many to seek a shorter route to the Far East via a north west passage was likely to attract London merchants in great numbers to look westwards. Even for those with more humdrum ambitions, was there any real hope of finding, so far south, a market for thick English broadcloth, which was the only commodity Londoners had to offer in any quantity? As for the lighter-weight Devonshire kerseys, as Philip Amadas's Plymouth friends would have told him, there were markets in plenty in a friendly Spain. Truly, of all the many arguments put forward by the promoters of New World settlement, that which promised new trans-Atlantic openings for seaborne trade was probably the most difficult to sell.

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[Editor's note: English spelling has been retained.]

Investors in the Roanoke Colonies

by David Beers Quinn

It may be useful, to begin with, to suggest what the promoters of the Roanoke expeditions hoped for which led them to support the expeditions of 1584 and 1585 and to a certain degree the later ones as well.

In October 1584, Richard Hakluyt, in his *Discourse of Western Planting*, set out his hopes of what should be the objectives of the American expeditions to see a large and growing English community established in North America so as to create another England overseas. This would produce goods which would allow England to dispense with other sources of supply and make her independent of most foreign countries commercially. In return the colony would provide a base from which woolen goods (England's most important produce), could be sold to the native inhabitants as well as required by the growing colonial population. He considered that all sorts of Mediterranean and subtropical products could be produced in the new colony, while its vast timber supplies could be used in many different ways to supply another of England's major needs, build her ships and, in the end, create a self-contained empire of the North Atlantic.

Some of these objectives were to be achieved in the very long run, but were deeply flawed by ignorance of what North America, in the parts to be first settled, were really like. No-one had so far explored them. In addition, he hoped that the new colonies would be used to weaken England's great enemy, Spain, by using the local inhabitants, when Christianized and the colonists too, to attack the Spanish empire in the Caribbean and also to use the colonies as bases for English ships to attack the rich fleets, carrying treasure and so many other valuable things from the Spanish empire, to Europe. Only a few of these objectives were attainable at the time and then largely if the assistance of Queen Elizabeth and her money and ships enabled them to be realized, but this was largely wishful thinking too. These hopes were shared by Walter Ralegh, Sir Richard Grenville and above all by the inspiration of the venturous Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary of state—all enthusiasts who were prepared to risk some appreciable part of their private fortune to realize the objectives. The missing element here is minerals. There was some skepticism about finding valuable minerals outside the Spanish possessions after the failure of Frobisher to find gold in the far north in 1577 and 1578. But the prevailing theory at the time was that gold did not 'grow' in cold countries, but only nearer the tropics or at least in warm climates so that there might indeed be gold in the regions to which the new colonizing ventures were directed. But gold was not the only mineral attractive to Englishmen: they had done much to develop the mining of iron and, still more, copper and lead deposits in England, with considerable, though mixed, success. Potential mineral discoveries, therefore, could attract a certain amount of money to new ventures, if nothing like the vast sum, for those days, of the £70,000 promised, if not all paid, for the Frobisher ventures.

We realize how fortunate we are that Richard Hakluyt left us such full and graphic records of the Roanoke voyages, so that they have become in a real sense the heritage of the people of North Carolina and the beginnings of its modern history as well as that of English settlement in North America in general. What is not so well realized is that they are edited narratives, trimmed of extraneous detail and hiding the specific details which would tell us how the expeditions were planned, and who, apart from the three I have mentioned, inspired and financed them—indeed made them possible. For only one Elizabethan expedition which had colonization in mind as part of its purpose have we full financial details of the subscribers and about the fitting out of the ships in every detail. This is for the Frobisher expedition to Baffin Island in 1578, which involved planning a colony as well as mining for fools' gold. We know a good deal about who backed the expeditions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578 and 1583, even if not precisely what they contributed. For the Roanoke voyages we have almost no information of this kind outside the narratives, though a certain limited amount can be put together or at least be guessed at.

Even though I and others have sought long and hard for specific detail, not a great deal has come to light. You cannot therefore expect me to give what apparently does not exist, a full account of my subject, namely by whom and to what extent the expeditions were supported.

Ralegh, who had owned a privateer (polite name for a pirate ship) since 1582, lost no time in sending off Amadas and Barlowe to America. They were both Devon men whom he knew well, and one of their barks may well have been Ralegh's privateer—its pilot Fernandes having been a pirate and narrowly escaping execution in 1577. Their reconnaissance was brisk and not costly—it did not cost Ralegh more than a few hundred pounds and he would not have needed outside assistance. It is worth noting that while Barlowe brought his vessel home with his report and, I think, Harriot and White, the two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese; Amadas and Fernandes, in the other bark, went off attempting to find a ship to rob in the vicinity of the Azores, though we do not know if they did so.

Manteo's proficiency in English, which amazed possible contributors to the next colonizing venture in December, was one of Ralegh's propaganda lines along, I believe, with copies of Barlowe's glowing report, and he also got Manteo to say enough in English to inspire hearers. Then when Ralegh had got himself elected as a member of parliament he was able to carry his propaganda further. He probably drew up his bill to give statutory effect to his patent, with Walsingham's approval, with little hope that the queen would accept it, but as a means of gaining the support of rich men in both houses. The House of Commons put the bill through its paces and eventually sent it to committee. There Ralegh reckoned on getting subscribers and supporters. Drake was there, for example, and ready to help (though perhaps not to subscribe very much—he had his own plans for a bigger expedition underway), Sir Richard Grenville was a vital associate, enlisted at this time. Sir Philip Sidney wished to go but drew back, though he certainly subscribed. Thomas Cavendish, a rich young man from Suffolk, not only wished to go but was willing to mortgage some land to fit out a ship to take part in the expedition. Anthony Rowse, a west country M.P., also declared his willingness to go. Who else we do not know, but a note-taker adds 'many that were to go in that journey'. Walsingham and Hatton, both royal officials, were undoubtedly supporters and subscribed as well. The bill was, of course, rejected in the House of Lords as Ralegh knew it would be, as it infringed the Queen's prerogative, but it picked up at least one subscriber there, Lord Howard of Effingham, who was shortly to become Lord High Admiral and a vital ally of Ralegh's maritime activities for many years.

Also Walsingham undoubtedly urged Queen Elizabeth to support the venture substantially, largely as a means of forestalling a Spanish attack on England and to weaken their overseas empire; she was, rightly, cautious in her response. She proved willing to give Ralegh money and privileges which were worth considerable amounts, but she did not intend to involve herself, to any extent, directly in the venture. She did agree to accept the name Virginia for the colony (her major contribution to later American nomenclature): in return she knighted Ralegh in January 1585 and allowed him to have one of her ships, the *Tiger*, though we do not know on what terms, while powder from the Tower of London and perhaps other contributions of this sort involved in equipping the ship were also made available. She did give him the unpopular privilege of impressing ships, men and stores for the expedition; although we do not know to what extent he used it. She did also put a little cash (£120) into the equipping of two ships which were to follow the main expedition in June, though, in fact, they were diverted at the last moment to another task.

The port towns of Devon and Cornwall did not offer much support to the 1585 or later ventures, Exeter even refusing any contribution to the 1586 voyage. But there was to be support in Barnstaple and Bideford in North Devon, especially from ship-owners who had a prior record of piracy (privateering from June 1585 if only Spanish or Portuguese ships were robbed). The primary influence there was Grenville whose extensive lands (after he had sold Buckland Abbey, near Plymouth to Drake) were in this area. London merchants, with very few exceptions, remained detached from the expeditions. They were primarily concerned with restoring or safeguarding their existing trades, especially that in unfinished cloth.

A vital question is how much did the setting out of the expedition in 1585 cost? We have no precise figures, but Kenneth Andrews worked out various schedules of costs

when he was writing on privateering which, if he is correct, give us some basis on which to calculate. Using his figures, the cost of fitting out the seven vessels which set out in April 1585 for a six-month's transatlantic voyage, which is roughly what the expedition amounted to, would be about £4,000, a good part of which would be covered by the value of the ships (all of which except one pinnace came back) and their guns (apart from those left on Roanoke Island). What is very difficult to add up is how much was spent on the pay and equipment of the colonists for their stay of what was estimated to be about nine months, including the initial capital cost of erecting and supplying the fort and housing. We may guess that some 200 would-be colonists were on board when the ships left England and that the number was almost halved by those marooned on Jamaica by Raymond (we think) and those who did not wish to stay when they got there, which brought the number who stayed down to 108. We should probably think of something like £20 each for 200, which would make provision for basic rations for nine months, namely about £4,000, even if a good proportion of the stores were destroyed when the *Tiger* grounded on Ocracoke. We might guess that £1,000 to £1,500 pounds would cover the fixed cost of setting up the colony after their arrival. The fifteen gentlemen who stayed would presumably pay for their own keep. That would make a total of at least £5,500 at most, though this is very much of a guess. We might say that £7,000 was an absolute maximum. These are tiny figures in relation to today's prices, but they represent as much as £1,000,000 in contemporary costs. In addition, the *Golden Royal* (and another ship) was supposed to sail in June with additional stores and colonists and we can only faintly guess how many, perhaps another 100, but she never sailed to Roanoke; we know the Queen contributed £120 for her and this she transferred to Ralegh. There was also the abortive supply ship sent out and returned in the summer of 1586, which found the colonists had left, which might have cost Ralegh another £1,000 to £1,500. We do not know whether or not Drake was rewarded for bringing back the 100 colonists in July 1586. It is not unlikely that he brought them gratis. I give these guesses at figures not to dazzle you with numbers but to provide the few clues to the financial effort that was required to set out the venture and to sustain it.

The returns from the 1585 voyage are better, if not fully, documented. Grenville captured a Spanish vessel, the *Santa Maria de Concepcion*, which had fallen behind the convoyed flota to the north of Bermuda and brought her as a prize to Plymouth. By that time war had broken out between England and Spain and this was legitimate prize. The Spanish said it was worth some £100,000, Grenville said £13,000 to £16,000. The truth is probably well over £20,000, or somewhere between. The crew all made themselves rich and so did Grenville, even if customs duties and the Lord Admiral's tenth had to be met and the *Tiger* repaired and returned to the Queen. How much Ralegh got is unclear but at least £4,000 to £5,000, enough perhaps to pay his costs. Grenville kept the prize and renamed her *The Virgin God Save Her*. There were also two smaller prizes taken in the Caribbean of which we hear nothing. There was a further complication also. The *Golden Royal*, under Bernard Drake and Amias Preston (with another ship), was supposed to bring out more colonists and supplies in June. Instead, the Queen ordered them, in June, to sail to Newfoundland and capture or destroy as many Spanish fishing boats as they could in revenge for English ships seized in Spain in May. We may ignore the fishing vessels they took (they were in fact Portuguese not Spanish) but in Newfoundland they joined up with George Raymond. He had commanded the *Red Lion* in Grenville's squadron but had gone ahead. It was probably he who marooned some colonists on Jamaica (on the excuse that he lacked supplies) to be mopped up by the Spanish, and then dumped the rest on *Croatoan* Island before Grenville arrived. He sailed on to Newfoundland and began to attack the Portuguese fishing vessels there before the *Golden Royal* arrived. On the way back he sailed southeastward and captured no less than four Portuguese ships laden with sugar from Brazil, worth at least £9,000. When he got back, Bernard Drake and Preston tried, unsuccessfully, to get a fair division of the spoils, but Ralegh is said to have seized a prize and to have got some £3,000 from it. Though there is some guesswork about this, it seems Ralegh got at least £8,000 from the venture as a whole, which provided him with a good profit from the venture, even though he sent out a vessel with supplies in 1586 which arrived too late to help the colonists who had been taken home by Drake. Walsingham and other investors must also, at the very least, have got their investment back and probably made a profit. This must have pleased

Walsingham, but he got less good news from his men who came home with Grenville in the autumn of 1585 who told him that the Outer Banks did not provide any secure anchorage for ships and that only small vessels could enter the Sounds round Roanoke Island. He cooled off from Virginia and concentrated on helping privateers to raid the Caribbean. It is clear that some of the privateer captains in the 1585 expedition were more interested in privateering than in establishing a permanent colony. Raymond was one example, but the very success of Grenville in taking a valuable prize diverted attention from the original emphasis on American settlement. Even if Ralegh eventually repaid his venture of 1585, by the time Drake brought his men home he must have been deeply disappointed.

Grenville's relief expedition, if it was seriously intended as such, was only ready in late June or July and even then its precise objective is not clear. His Spanish prize, named *The Virgin God Save Her* with Ralegh's *Roebuck*, were joined by three former pirate ships, *Pelican*, *Prudence* and *Jesus* of Barnstaple, with, perhaps several smaller vessels. But was he bringing out additional colonists? It is probable he carried supplies but my opinion is that he was only bringing out additional soldiers to guard against Spanish attacks, while his main purpose in making his outward voyage was to seize whatever foreign vessels he could and rob indiscriminately, his first robberies being from French and Dutch ships (for which he was subsequently penalized) and his enterprising voyage directly westward from Madeira, was influenced by similar objectives. This was what led him to arrive too late to help the colonists, even if Drake had not already removed them, as they would have probably been starving by the time he arrived. His futile leaving of a handful of soldiers behind, was I think, an attempt to fulfill his original military objective. What prizes he took on his way home we do not know, or indeed anything about the balance sheet of the voyage. It was probably not wholly a financial disaster as he is likely to have taken one or two prizes. This venture, however, cooled his ardor for overseas ventures for the time being.

We must thus regard the 1587 expedition in quite a different light from anything which went before. Here families had to prepare for long-term residence in a new land, where they would find land and timber but little else, apart from what they could buy from Indian neighbors, European goods or metals in particular. So they had to think in terms of the basic equipment of their homes on a long-term basis. This meant that even though few families went out in 1587, the men who represented heads of families had to bring with them the basic resources on which the households for their wives and children could be constructed. This meant substantial supplies of house-building and furnishing materials—They would have stripped their own homes of as much fittings as could be spared even though Elizabethan homes of the middle class were not burdened with a great deal of equipment and furniture. Some personal and basic supplies they would carry in their chests (some 12 tons at least) but there would be much more, when we come to think of what such as White found abandoned on Roanoke Island in 1590, iron in bulk for example. Cannon for defense weighing much more, being only part of their requirements. So we would need to push up the sheer weight of baggage to at least 100 tons and probably more. This would put up the cost, and they were still short of basics on arrival, having failed to acquire in the Caribbean essential livestock and plants. I am inclined, on reconsideration, to believe the expedition was a much more expensive one than I had formerly done.

After his disastrous return voyage in 1587 to obtain supplies White must, indeed, after much initial disappointment among those left behind, have been heartened to discover that both Grenville and Ralegh, apparently out of their own financial resources, had changed their minds about further involvement in North America. The privateering war against Spain was going well in the Caribbean but the need for a nearer base from which to attack the fleets was obvious, so they were planning for the spring of 1588 a substantial military naval expedition to create a naval base on the Chesapeake from which effective raids on the fleet could be organized. White could have found only confusion and dismay among the members of the City of Ralegh in London itself, but he could be quickly reassured that in North Devon preparations were under way for a major expedition. But coordinating the work of the London-based City of Ralegh Associates and would-be colonists with this North Devon affair evidently was far from easy, and indeed no shipping was available over the winter—or if a ship was made ready it could not get out

of the English Channel as so often happened, so that he had to induce his would-be colonists to come to Barnstaple and bring their baggage and supplies with them, no easy task over winter in England at that time. This was especially difficult as England was in chaos preparing for the now-inevitable Spanish Armada. Their tremendous effort between December 1587 and March 1588 cannot have been either easy or cheap, so that we must presume that Ralegh stepped in to provide some financial support over the winter to the would-be colonists, and the further supplies and equipment of their colleagues in America. We would be inclined to think that Grenville, especially, and possibly Ralegh too would not be unduly concerned about the lost colonists in the long term. They would be concerned to help in the short term but only in so far as it did not complicate their own plans. This, in turn, means that the initial capital for setting out would be higher than I had previously estimated, even if a substantial part was provided with their-own personal possessions. A point which it is easy to overlook is that this might well have left the families of the married men who went, leaving their wives and children behind, with a bare subsistence if not in absolute poverty, which would add to the urgency with which they insisted on speedy supply not only of their own wants but also, we must stress, provision for their families by bringing them out well-equipped as soon as possible or else making sure they had sufficient resources to live on until passage could be found for them. The handful who braved the perilous passage with White in 1588 (and were to suffer for it with failure and, in some cases with their lives), must have represented the families left most deprived by the departure of their breadwinners. All this must have made the dumping of them [the 1587 colonists] and their bulky possessions on Roanoke Island by Fernandes all the more galling, and not only that, but it placed a heavy additional burden on their removal to the Elizabeth River in time to settle in before winter, and also made more urgent the need to get fresh resources as soon as could be brought to them. Moreover it made it essential that additional capital be raised in England to supply their wants.

I have been thinking very much about the whole 1587 venture and find it very hard to understand how a group of people, evidently from modest but tolerable circumstances should wish to take up their roots in England and go to a distant and almost unknown area in America merely because of the attractions that White, Harriot, and Ralegh might suggest it had. It took the pilgrims of 1620 a long time actually to go out, even though they had thought of it for over twenty years. I have come to the conclusion that the Lost Colonists were a comparable group, bound by a theological bond. Now the word Puritan has a particular connotation in America, but a rather different one in Elizabethan England. To Americans it means people who wanted a clean break with the whole system of church and state, but in Elizabethan times it could mean rather people who were somewhat uneasy with the Church of England as it had developed and preferred a somewhat more Protestant style. Their inspirer, however discreet he was in his public capacity, was likely to have been Walsingham himself, as he sometimes gave himself away to trusted Huguenot refugee friends. So I wonder if the Lost Colonists, or most of them, were not such a puritan-minded group. This would put quite a different complexion on the venture. It would very much affect its backers for one thing and would put Walsingham and his friends (we cannot tell who they were) into the position of providing much of the financial backing which I am sure the colonists needed if they were to bring so much with them to create a permanent community. This theory is one which I think has many attractions. The colonists would not be breaking with their English contacts, as it could well have been pointed out to them that a Ralegh-Grenville naval base would be established nearby.

The countermanding of the North Devon expedition in March 1588 just as it was about to sail, and the requirement that the ships join the fleet at Plymouth, was beyond anything Walsingham could do, except perhaps influence the Lord Admiral to allow the two pinnaces to take White and a minimum of stores and the more desperate would-be colonists to sea. That they were overthrown by the greed and foolhardiness of their skippers was again something which none could foresee.

Now having strayed into speculation in one area I am tempted to do so in another, namely to say something of the men who were left on Roanoke Island to await White's return and bring him to the site of the newly-settled colonists on what I am reasonably certain was the Elizabeth River. When three or more pinnace-loads had taken the bulk of the colonists to the Chesapeake; leaving at the slipway from which they departed a mass

of debris as would inevitably be the case, the party left behind eventually, after winter was over, went on with the demolition of the older buildings and began the construction of the palisade enclosure that so puzzled White in 1590, as there were no buildings inside it. What they were doing, I am now convinced, was taking the first steps in constructing a trading post which would act as a continuing link between the colonists and Manteo, while exploiting the furs and, possibly, copper of the area prospected by Lane and Harriot from the advantageous post of Roanoke Island, unsuited as it was for a settled colony but ideal as an advanced trading base. But when and why should they have stopped and deserted the island? The reason has, I think, been staring us in the face since we have known that the Spanish reconnaissance vessel in July 1588 entered the Sounds and actually found the debris of the departing colonists at their departure point, while they were seen by the men who were preparing the trading post but had only got as far as completing the palisade. The fact that the Spanish had located the English base (or an English base) would have terrified them. They were not strong enough to meet any Spanish force which they would feel must inevitably follow the news of the vessel's discovery. Consequently they went hurriedly to work, buried White's chests and left some heavy capital goods behind taking themselves off to *Croatoan*. White found no evidence that anyone had been there for some considerable time (the rust on his armor alone would be sufficient indication that this was so). This again raised the question had or had not the pinnace come back from its last run to the Elizabeth River? If it had it is perhaps surprising that the Spanish did not sight it: if it had not then the men must have gone south in canoes and perhaps could not easily bring themselves, in fear of the Spanish, to return, knowing that White would interpret correctly, which he did, the signs they left for him whenever he did return. But as we know he did not get to *Croatoan* after all, and the men were left as isolated there as the main body was on the Elizabeth River.

Preparations to resist the Armada filled all official and local activities in the latter part of 1587 and throughout 1588, but preoccupation with the Spanish threat lingered on into 1589 and even 1590. Privateers were forbidden to operate in 1589 (though a few slipped away). This accounts for the failure of any move to help the Roanoke colonists earlier. Working behind the scenes Ralegh and his business manager, William Sanderson, an important London merchant; together with Richard Hakluyt, now back in London and actively preparing his *Principall Navigations*, which would give the Roanoke ventures much-needed publicity, he hoped; together with John White and the remaining Associates of the City of Ralegh, got together an impressive group of men in March 1589 in which Ralegh, the Associates of the City of Ralegh and a group of important London backers prepared to further the colony in Virginia. For the first time Customer Thomas Smith (who had recently lent Ralegh money), and members of the twelve Great Companies in London, including an ironmonger, a cloth-worker and a haberdasher and a member of one of the lesser companies (John Gerard the herbalist and member of the Barber-Surgeons Company), along with Hakluyt, who had extensive connections with the City Companies, agreed to put up money and supplies to see that the future of the colonists in Virginia was assured. But yet nothing, so far as we know, was done in 1589. This may have been because Lord Howard would not permit a vessel to sail or because it was still too dangerous to risk a debacle such as that suffered by White in 1588. There is no reason to believe that money was not available. We all know that in 1590 Ralegh believed he had arranged with the privateer-boss John Watts to allow his privateers to carry men and supplies to Virginia, but at the last minute the captain, Abraham Cocke, would only allow White himself on board with a promise to bring him to Roanoke Island on his way home—though artillery may indeed have been loaded in the hold for the colonists before the reversal of the original plan. The best that could be managed was that Edward Spicer (captain of one vessel in 1587) would bring out a ship, mainly it appears through pressure from Sanderson, to link up with the privateers and accompany them, or one of them, to Virginia. The *Moonlight*, no doubt provisioned with plentiful stores, though no additional colonists would meet the privateers off Cape Tiburon, which she duly did, and at the end of the Caribbean raid go on to Roanoke Island to see what could be done to help. We all know what finally happened—The *Moonlight's* Captain Spicer drowned in Pamlico Sound with a number of his crew; Cocke and White discovered clues at the abandoned Roanoke Island settlement that indicated *Croatoan*; Cocke, faced with one anchor and a threatening storm would not wait for White to get to *Croatoan*; and White barely made it

home, only to find that Ralegh and the syndicate had done all they were inclined to do, and rebuffed White decisively; the result being that White gave up the whole project and retired, perhaps with a few of the intending colonists of 1587, to the south of Ireland and remained there for the rest of his life, so far as we know, even though he may have left some of his own family behind in London.

Ralegh had become more arrogant as time went on; he was deeply involved in his vast new Irish estate and he had a selfish reason for deserting the Lost Colonists. If they could be deemed to be alive, whether on Chesapeake Bay or at *Croatoan*, his title to Virginia remained good. Otherwise his rights expired in February 1591. As it was, on the pretence of the continued existence of a surviving colony, or colonies, in Virginia he retained his rights until they were removed at his fall from power in 1603.

In the 1590s there was no money for colonization in North America. Much had to be spent in fighting Spain; privateering on the whole did well with a few disasters. Grenville might have done something if he had not been killed on the *Revenge*, fighting Spain in 1591. Ralegh spent much of the time in disgrace having incurred Elizabeth's displeasure and tried to regain it by the romantic hope of golden profits from Guiana. Much effort too was involved in Ireland—to begin with in getting the Munster plantation going (Ralegh rather soon tired of his vast estates there): this was followed by the disastrous Nine Years' War which destroyed many reputations and lives.

The country's economy too was struggling throughout the decade. Privateering might attract capital but not what were now seen to be long-term involvements—the Munster experience showed that even in nearby Ireland colonization was not necessarily profitable. So there were no backers to revive the Virginia enterprise. The Lost Colonists in Chesapeake territory were left to associate or integrate as well as they could (apparently they did well in both respects): the *Croatoan* group is also assumed to have integrated but nothing is known of its success. As late as 1605 an English ship was sent out to make contact with them, but never arrived, having been intercepted by the Spanish.

It is not original to say the Roanoke ventures were underfunded and that they also suffered an unusual number of failures in organization both in England and America. But continuous funding and a regular flow of colonists were not effectively within the capacity of Elizabethan England. Until a strong, well-capitalized business entity took matters in hand nothing permanent could be achieved, and even then, as the Virginia Company showed between 1607 and 1624, the ups and downs of such a venture were almost endless. Emigration by coherent groups like the Pilgrims and the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company did create effective colonies much sooner. The interest of the Lost Colony is that it attempted to show the way in this direction, but through misdirection and the distraction of its supporters by war, etc. it remained lost until it was wiped out by Powhatan, and a continuous record of its vicissitudes lost forever.

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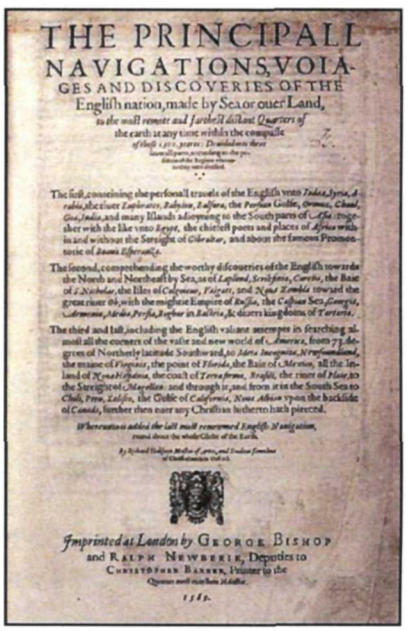
Professor, Liverpool University
Author of numerous books and articles

Professor Quinn remains the preeminent authority on the subject of the Roanoke Voyages.

Presented at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993


THE PRINCIPALL
NAVIGATIONS, VOIA-
GES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE
English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,
to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of
the earth at any time within the compasse
of these 1500. yeares: Deuided into three
seuerall parts, according to the pe-
riods of the Regiones vniuersae
wherein they were deuised.

The first, containing the personall travels of the English vnto Indea, Syria, Arabia, the riuer Euphrates, Babylon, Bassora, the Persian Gulfe, Ormus, Chaul, Goa, India, and many Ilands adioyning to the South parts of Asia: together with the like vnto Egypt, the chiefest ports and places of Africa within and without the Straight of Gibraltar, and about the famous Promontorie of Bona Esperanza.

The second, comprehending the worthy discoveries of the English towards the North and Northeast by Sea, as of Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicholas, the Iles of Colgoiue, Vaigats, and Noua Zembla towards the great riuer Ob, with the mightie Empire of Russia, the Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Bactria in Balteria, & diuers kingdoms of Tartaria.

The third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America, from 75. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to Terra Incognita, Nouo-Guinea, the maine of Virginia, the point of Florida, the Baie of Mexico, all the Ileland of Nouaes Hispania, the coast of Terra-forma, Brasil, the riuer of Plate, to the Straight of Magellan: and through it, and from it to the South Sea to Chili, Peru, Lasco, the Globe of California, Noua Albion vpon the backside of Canada, further than euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the last most renowned English Nauigation, round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Master of arts, and Student sometime of Christ-church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by GEORGE BISHOP and RALPH NEWBERIE, Deputies to CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

1589.

FIGURE 125: Title page of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.

Who's Who in the Roanoke Colonies

by William S. Powell

Who Came to Roanoke?

We have the names of close to 300 people who were involved with Sir Walter Ralegh's efforts to establish an English colony on the Atlantic coast of North America between 1584 and 1587. We know something in detail about a few of them, but the vast majority is known only as names in a list. A reconnaissance expedition arrived in 1584 under the direction of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe and was followed in 1585 by a colony of 107 men under Ralph Lane who remained almost a year. In July 1587 a colony of 91 men, 17 women, and 9 boys—the famous "Lost Colony of Roanoke"—landed to be governed by John White and a body of assistants named by Ralegh. Of the 12 assistants, three remained in England and two (Governor White and Pilot Simon Fernandez) soon returned to England. Still another assistant was killed by Indians after less than a week on Roanoke Island.

Since it is this last group, the "Lost Colony," that seems to capture the attention of more people let me set the stage for some of what I will say by giving you a few figures about them, deduced largely from the list of names. There were seventy-seven single men, or men who did not bring a wife (or at least men without women of the same surname). There were eight families consisting of just a husband and wife and two families with one child each. There were apparently four men who brought their sons, or perhaps they were younger brothers. There were seven single women and three children with no apparent relatives among the other colonists. Incidentally, all the children were boys and, judging from a comment made by John White, one of the children with his mother was so young that he was still nursing. White wrote: [150]

> *...at an Isle called Santa Cruz, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruite, like greene apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes....*
>
> *Also a child by sucking one of those womens breastes, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented....*

Finally, two children were born in August 1587, soon after the colonists reached Roanoke—Virginia Dare and a Harvey child.

For nearly four hundred years people have speculated as to just who these people were. We can only guess why they came and for the most part we can only wonder who they were. Nor do we know what became of most of them—even those earlier ones who returned to England.

Here we have the basis of a mystery. Over the centuries many historians, genealogists, novelists, and other writers have tried to solve the puzzle of their fate. It now looks as if we are on the verge of finding some clues which may help answer a lot of the questions.

The pioneer in this search was Professor David B. Quinn who collected, edited, and prepared for publication all of the known records of Ralegh's attempts at colonization on England's behalf. Published in two volumes in 1955 as *The Roanoke Voyages*, Professor Quinn's work contains the basic documents together with additional identifying material. I also played a very minor role in trying to identify the people of Roanoke. In 1949 I made a preliminary investigation at the Library of Congress and in 1956 held a Guggenheim Fellowship which permitted me to spend the better part of a year in the British Isles doing research. Some of my tentative conclusions were published in an article in the April 1957 *North Carolina Historical Review*.

More recently lebame houston, Olivia Isil, and others have formed a research team and spent many months in Great Britain seeking facts and clues towards identifying the Roanoke explorers, financial supporters, and colonists. On the team have been local experts in

[150] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 517-518.

England on the history of the sixteenth century, handwriting of the period, legal terminology, and civil and church archives. These professionals have begun a program to comb contemporary records of various kinds wherever they can be found. Although their work is far from complete, they have shared their findings to date with me so that I can combine them with my earlier notes and suggest to you who some of the Roanoke colonists were.

A hindrance that has plagued all of us is that we must work with little more than names of persons without birth or death dates, places of residence, occupation, or other clues. As a rule surnames in the sixteenth century had descended regularly from father to child for less than 250 years and, indeed, English records on into the eighteenth century contain instances of people without surnames—merely single or descriptive names. Several men and one woman are identified in the records we use by only one name—**Captain Aubrey, Captain Boniten, Chapman, Coffar**, and others, which are perhaps surnames. Some are recorded only as **Daniel** or **Robert**, Christian names. The St. Andrew's, Plymouth, register has such entries as ***John a duchman*** and ***Christofer a dutcheman***. This has hindered our efforts at identification even further in those cases. For example, among the men who remained a year with Ralph Lane was a **Master Allen**: later a **Morris Allen** was a Lost Colonist—were they the same person? A **Haunce Walters** was another of Lane's men, yet four years later John White mentions that **Hance the Surgeon** was with him searching for the Lost Colonists—does this represent one or two people?

Neither spelling nor handwriting was standardized at that time and a name might appear one way one time, and another the next. Nor was there a great variety of surnames among the Roanoke colonists: forty-two family names among all the known colonists and explorers are borne by from two to four individuals. There were even fewer Christian names, and a middle name was excessively rare. The earliest instance I have discovered of the use of a middle name occurred just ten years before the date of the Lost Colony.

Among the nearly 280 people counted among the explorers, crew, and colonists who actually reached Roanoke Island during the six-year period under consideration, it appears that at least twenty-two were not English-born. Three others bore names that do not seem to be British—**Shaberdge, Skevelabs, and Smolkin**. Nine nationalities apparently are represented: German, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Irish, Scottish, Danish, Flemish, and Welsh. The Germans were mining specialists who had worked in the tin mines of Cornwall and elsewhere in England. The Spanish and Portuguese were pilots: the Dane, **Martin Laurentson**, was a member of the Grenville expedition in 1585. A letter from Frederik II of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth said that Laurentson *intends to devote his attention to the art of naval warfare*, and Frederik requested that he be put in the charge of a skilled naval officer for that purpose.

Two of the German mineral experts have been carefully studied, and one of them is the subject of a paper being presented at this symposium. Both **Joachim Ganz** and **Daniel Hochstetter**, members of the Lane colony, were sons of distinguished families with scientific and industrial backgrounds.

Fourteen of the trans-Atlantic passengers made the voyage more than once. **John White** came the maximum number of times—five. **Simon Fernandez** came three and **Philip Amadas** twice. Only two of the Lost Colonists, however, had been to Roanoke before. Seven of the men who had been with Ralph Lane returned for a second time. In 1590 when John White returned to seek the colonists left in 1587, he had with him six men who had been to Roanoke previously.

The few facts that I am going to give you and the many assumptions and guesses concerning some of the Roanoke colonists are based on the recent findings of the research team of lebame houston and Olivia Isil and their staff, by David Quinn, and by myself a few years back. Much of it comes from entries in parish and guild registers and other manuscript records in England and from printed primary sources. While care has been taken to consider location and date in attributing our statements, we cannot at the present be absolutely certain in every case that this information applies to the Roanoke colonists—it could be to someone else of the same name and time. We certainly hope it's correct and that it can soon be proven beyond a doubt to apply to these early North Carolina residents.

One **John Anwike** [possible Lane colonist] was christened at St. Peters, Cornhill, London, 17 Sept. 1556, a parish from which many other Roanoke colonists appear to have come. This was an area occupied by many merchant-tailors, armorers, upholsterers, bakers, and grocers. Anwike is a rare family name, but one Edmund Anwike was one of the crew on a West Indian voyage in 1582-83, and the will of Thomas Anwike was submitted for probation in 1591.

Those of us who have been trying to identify these people are convinced that family relationships are important and may prove to be unexpected sources of information. A **Valentine Beale** was one of the colonists who stayed with the Ralph Lane colony for the year 1585-86. Another Valentine Beale, son of Stephen, was christened at St. Matthew's Church, Friday Street, London, 19 February 1597; he could have been a nephew or other relative of the colonist and perhaps both were born on St. Valentine's Day. Interesting speculation, of course, but more significant is the fact that a Robert Beale was brother-in-law to the powerful Sir Francis Walsingham. And Walsingham was governor of the mines of Keswick in Cumberland and others in Cornwall; some German miners from them were among the Roanoke colonists.

Another member of the Lane colony was **Thomas Philips**, chief agent of Walsingham, and Beale's and Philip's names are included together in the list of colonists. To add further to the interest in association is the fact that pilot **Simon Fernandez** was described as *Mr. Secretary Walsingham's man*. This all remains to be sorted out, but I have a feeling that in time we're going to have a lot of new things to say about the significance of the Roanoke ventures. The question has been raised as to whether some of these people might have been spies for Walsingham. In 1587 a **Roger Beale** married **Agnes Powell** and **Edward and Wenefrid Powell** became Lost Colonists. What kind of network might have been laid? Is the answer to the riddle of the Lost Colony concealed in family or business relationships?

Marke Bennet and **William Berde**, both Lost Colonists, are described in contemporary records as a husbandman and a yeoman, respectively. **Richard Berry** was of the same group and one of his name was described as a "gentleman" who had been a muster captain in 1572.

Thomas Bookener or Buckner was a Lane colonist whose London home was in Threadneedle Street near the Royal Exchange, and his parish church was St. Christopher's nearby. It was at Bookener's that **Thomas Harriot** died, and he was mentioned in Harriot's will.

Not surprisingly among Lane's men who stayed a year there was a shoemaker—**John Brocke**. **Francis Brooke,** treasurer of the 1585 expedition, seems later to have been a naval captain who commanded several privateer vessels. And **John Fever** was a basket-maker, undoubtedly a useful occupation in the colony with corn to be carried and fish weirs to be made.

William Brown is a common enough name, but one of that name was a London goldsmith prior to 1587 when the name appears on the roll of the Lost Colony. Since England hoped to find gold in the New World and artifacts of the goldsmith's trade have been found at the site, this William Brown may have practiced his trade at Roanoke.

Another 1587 colonist was **Anthony Cage** and one of that name had been sheriff of Huntington in 1585. The Cage family was large, prominent in a number of endeavors, and wealthy. Anthony was a favored name for many generations. They lived and had business in Friday Street and were members of St. Matthew's parish there. They appear to have been related to the Warren family with Lost Colony connections, and Ananias Warren was Cage's grandson, suggesting a Cage/Dare association. Later there were also Cage connections with Jamestown and New England.

John Clarke commanded the *Roebuck*, one of Raleigh's ships on the 1585 crossing but, of course, did not remain with the colony. Nevertheless, he and Philip Amadas did accompany Sir Richard Grenville on an expedition across Pamlico Sound. His father left him a considerable sum of money and the lease of a Thames wharf.

William Dutton was one of the Lost Colonists. He may well have been the William Dutton, Esq., whose license to marry Anne Nicholas of St. Mildred, Bread Street, was issued 2 Oct. 1583. She was the daughter of Sir

Ambrose Nicholas, sometime Lord Mayor of London. William Dutton, armiger, of Gloucester, possibly the father of the Lost Colonist, contributed £25 toward the defense of England on the eve of the expected attack by the Spanish Armada.

Men bearing the same name as two other Lost Colonists, **James Hynde** and **William Clement**, according to contemporary manuscripts now in the Essex Record Office, had been in prison together in Colchester Castle near London for stealing. This should not be unexpected as Ralph Lane referred to his company as *wild men of my own Nation*. Perhaps to be considered as at the other end of the scale on this list was **Thomas Ellis**; before leaving home in Exeter he had been a member of the vestry of his parish church, St. Petrock, still standing on the main business street of Exeter. The boy, **Robert Ellis**, likely was his son. The apparently unattached boy, **William Wythers**, possibly was the vestryman's nephew, as one Alice Withers had married a Hugh Ellis in 1573. An infant William Withers was christened in St. Michael Cornhill on 25 March 1574, making him 13 at the time of the Lost Colony. The plot further thickens, however. Adjacent to St. Michael Cornhill was St. Peter's, the parish of the prominent Satchfeilde family of bakers and grocers and next of kin of Ananias Dare. Moreover, John Withers, a merchant-tailor of St. Michael's who died in 1589 was the son-in-law of John Satchfeilde of Guildford, Surrey. Thus, there appears to be a viable three—or even four—family connection: Dare, Ellis, Satchfeilde, Withers.

One **Henry Greene**, a member of the very first expedition, the one headed by Amadas and Barlowe, was a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and it has been suggested that he was of the family as the ancestor of General Nathaniel Greene of Revolutionary War and Guilford Court House fame.

One of Lane's men, **Rowland Griffin**, was convicted and sent to prison in 1594 for robbery. On the other hand, **John Harris**, a member of the same expedition, was knighted in 1603 at the coronation of James I.

There may have been at least two college professors among the Roanokers, **Thomas Luddington**, one of Lane's men, was a fellow of Lincoln college, Oxford, and **Thomas Harriot**, a Lane colonist, was also a fellow at St. Mary Hall Oxford.

Thomas Hewet may have been the Lost Colonists' lawyer. At any rate he had a law degree from Oxford University. **Robert Holecroft** of Westminster, one of the Lane colonists, once appeared in court representing several dock and river workers.

It is possible that one of Lane's men recruited a colonist from his college. Both **William White** and **Richard Wildye** were graduates of the same Oxford college, and it appears that young **Thomas Hulme**, a member of the same expedition, entered their college the year following his return from Roanoke. **Richard Ireland** of the same colony entered Christ Church College, Oxford, two years later and eventually was headmaster of Westminster School.

It may have been thought that there would be a need for a particular official to serve with the Lane colony. At any rate he had with him **Christopher Marshall**, described as *one of the Waiters in the port of London,* and a Waiter at a port was a customs collector.

Lost Colonist **William Nicholes** may have been a tailor. A clothworker of that name was married in London in 1580 and in 1590 we find the grant of a license to someone else *to occupy the trade of a clothier during the minority of George Nicholles, son of Wm. Nicholles.* I wonder if a place was being held for the orphaned son of a Lost Colonist.

George Raymond, who came over in 1585, was a captain in the Royal Navy at the time of the Spanish Armada threat. In 1591 when he sailed on an expedition to the West Indies he was described as a *gentleman captain and privateer promoter*.

Anthony Rowse was a member of Lane's expedition. A man of the same name had been a member of Parliament the year before and afterwards was sheriff of Cornwall for several years. He was knighted in 1603 and at the death of Drake was executor of his estate. At the other extreme was **Richard Sare** of the same expedition, described simply as a laborer. Considering the significance of rank and position at that time, I have my

own opinion as to which man would have been more valuable in such an expedition.

John Spendlove, later a Lost Colonist, was described on a 1585 muster list as a *gentleman*, and reported present with his horse.

John Stukely came over in 1585. One of this name was Sir Richard Grenville's brother-in-law and the father of Sir Lewis Stukely who had an unfortunate role in the downfall and death of Sir Walter Ralegh.

John Twyt was one of Lane's men and one John Twyt was a London apothecary in 1580. We do not know whether this represents one man or two, but an apothecary would certainly have filled a potential need with the colony.

Both **Benjamin and John Wood** were with the Amadas and Barlowe initial trip in 1584. Later a Benjamin Wood had an interesting career at sea and was a noted navigator and captain. He fills a niche in the annals of British naval history for his attempt to reach China. He was known to have arrived at the Malay Peninsula but was later lost at sea. John Wood[151] had already been a muster captain and after returning home became one of the Jurates of the town and port of Sandwich. He was knighted in 1603 at the coronation of James I.

While doubt may be cast on the association of some of these people with the Roanoke ventures, there are others about whom there is no doubt at all. **Philip Amadas** was born in Devonshire, England, and at the age of 19, while a member of Ralegh's household, was chosen by Ralegh to explore the coast of America and select a site for a settlement. He returned to America the following year and remained a year under Ralph Lane. A few years ago there were reports in the press that his family home near Plymouth had been identified; the family coat of arms was carved in stone above a fireplace.

Arthur Barlowe was another young man in Ralegh's personal service who took part in the 1584 search for a site. It was he who kept the journal of the expedition on which we depend for so much valuable information.

Ralph Lane was the leader of the 1585-86 colony of men sent over to lay the foundation of Ralegh's permanent settlement. It was composed only of men, a few of whom may have been of the gentry class, but most must have been skilled craftsmen and specialists. We know from the comments of Thomas Harriot, however, that some of them were reluctant to work and were disappointed in what they found. Lane was a professional soldier and in the cousinage of Queen Elizabeth. The queen recalled him from service in Ireland and placed him at Ralegh's service but she continued to pay him. Unfortunately Lane returned home with his colony prematurely and it did not accomplish its objective. He later served as sheriff of Kerry in Ireland, was knighted in 1593, and died in 1603 in Dublin where he is buried.

Thomas Cavendish, who furnished and commanded a ship for Sir Richard Grenville's fleet bringing the Lane colony over in 1585, is one of England's great naval heroes. He sailed around the world in 1586-87, making many discoveries in the south Pacific, and while on a second such voyage in 1592 died at sea.

An extremely interesting report exists on an early experience of **Abraham Cocke** (or Cooke), captain of the *Hopewell* on John White's 1590 return search trip to Roanoke. He later achieved notoriety as a privateer captain. The High Court of Admiralty records reveal that he had been a seaman on the *Minion* which was trading to Brazil in 1581. At Bahia he fell out with the captain, Stephen Hare, over the matter of victuals and went ashore and did not return to England with the ship. In 1587 he was captured by one of Cumberland's ships while he was serving as a pilot on a small Portuguese vessel. Cocke had married and settled down in Brazil, but following his capture returned to England. In 1589 he commanded the *May Morning* and the *Dolphin* on voyages to the coast of Brazil.

Marmaduke Constable, a member of Lane's expedition, bears such a famous name that he poses an inviting problem for the researcher. He is likely to have

[151] Editor's note: In a 16th-century letter-for-sale around the time of the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*, a John Wood, apothecary in the household of Bess of Hardwick, mentioned his recent return from an overseas voyage, c. 1584. Overseas did not always mean a voyage to America, but it frequently did.

been the one who had just been graduated from Oxford and was 19 or 20 years old. We presume that he was one of the wild and unruly young men who gave Lane a hard time. Soon after returning to England following the year in Virginia, Marmaduke Constable was summoned to appear at Star Chamber as the leader of an armed gang of twenty ruffian-like and vagrant persons. They were accused of tearing down hedges, cutting up the earth, driving away *beasts and cattle* and hurting and wounding them. Whether for sure this was the colonist, we do not yet know, but it certainly fits Ralph Lane's comments about some of them. We know a great deal about the various Marmaduke Constables, but they cannot all be sorted out yet. In time we are likely to be able to prepare a rather full biography of him—and perhaps even to have a portrait to illustrate it.

Sir Francis Drake is no problem as he has been the subject of numerous biographies and appears as a character in novels, motion pictures, and television productions. He stopped by the Outer Banks when the Lane colony was there and picked up the men in 1586 to return them home. He sailed around the world, attacked Spanish shipping, and was a hero at the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Edward Gorges, who came to Roanoke Island with Sir Richard Grenville in 1585, was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, later Lord Proprietor of the Colony of Maine: his mother and Sir Walter Ralegh were first cousins. A graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, Gorges was later employed by Queen Elizabeth as a personal messenger to Henry IV of France, and he was knighted by her successor, James I. He is buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, not far from Sir Walter Ralegh. A portrait of him was sold some years ago but probably could be located.

Thomas Harriot, mathematician and astronomer, spent a year investigating the coastal region between what is now South Carolina and the District of Columbia. He examined the plants and trees, the soil, and the native people, and joined with John White in mapping the area. His book, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, published in 1588, gave Europeans their first information about this part of America. It introduced them to the products of the New World and undoubtedly played a role in luring many people to become settlers a few years later. And Harriot, himself, has been the subject of many biographies.

George Howe was one of the *Gentlemen of London* who was made an assistant in the government of the Cittie of Ralegh in the 1587 Lost Colony. Also present was a boy, George Howe, most likely his son and certainly not yet of age. The senior Howe was killed by Indians on 28 July 1587, just six days after the arrival of the colonists when he was crabbing and strayed away from the settlement. His wife may have been the one who had died earlier the previous year.[152] One George Howe was a member of the painter-stainer company, as was Governor John White, which suggests that had events developed more favorably there might have been even more watercolors to delight us. An interesting possible family connection is that one of the Lane colonists, **Thomas Rattenbury**, was married to Elizabeth Howe.

Abraham Kendall was a veteran navigator and renowned mathematician who was with Sir Francis Drake's fleet on the West Indian voyage that included a stop-over at the Roanoke settlement, and the transporting of Lane and his colonists back to England in 1586. Kendall had commanded a ship in the 1578 Frobisher expedition to Greenland on which John White did some watercolors. He afterwards was on a voyage to the Strait of Magellan in 1589, and in 1594-95 he was in the West Indies. Sir Robert Dudley, for whom Kendall once worked, considered him to be one of the most expert mariners produced by England. He may have been related to the **Master Kendall**[153] who also was with the Lane colony, but we can't be sure.

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[152] Editor's note: She died in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate—the same parish where, in the late 1560s, John White, painter was married, his son Thomas christened and buried, and his daughter Elinor christened. By the 1580s White had most likely already relocated to St. Clement Dane where his daughter Elinor married Ananias Dare.

[153] Editor's note: Post the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*, archaeology Professor David Phelps discovered a gold ring in his investigation of the Carolina Algonquian village site of *Croatoan* [modern Buxton]. Preliminary research conducted by lebame houston and John Brooke-Little, Norroy & Ulster King of Arms at the College of Arms in London, indicates that the ring is a crest ring associated with the Kendall family. Both Master Kendall and Abraham Kendall could have been at or near the discovery site in 1586, the former as a member of the group Lane had sent south to forage off the land and to keep a look-out for ships; the latter as a member of Drake's

Edward Kettel, a Lane colonist, bore an excessively rare name in England, so he may have been the son of the celebrated Dutch painter, Cornelius Kettel. Cornelius's name appears in the Return of Aliens in London and he was dwelling in the parish of Saint Andrew Undershaft in 1573. Four others of the name lived in an adjacent parish from which a number of Roanoke colonists are believed to have come. It has been supposed that young Edward Kettel may have been an apprentice of John White's.

In cases where there was a man and a woman bearing the same surname among the Lost Colonists, it has been assumed that they were husband and wife. **Edward and Wenefrid Powell** are examples. The baptism of one Edward Powell is recorded in the register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 2 January 1563, and another at St. Martin in the Field, Westminster, on 13 March 1569. The marriage of Edward Powell and Wenefrid Gray is recorded in St. Nicholas Church, Deptford, Kent, just outside London, 10 January 1584. While Edward is a common 16th-century name, Wenefrid is not, and the combination of Edward and Wenefrid Powell makes it rather likely that they are indeed the Lost Colonists. An Edward Powell was with Sir Francis Drake on the West Indian voyage of 1585-86 which made a stopover at Roanoke Island to relieve the Lane colony. Edward Powell was the scribe and recorder of the *Tyger* journal and was probably in the personal service of Christopher Carleill, who just happened to be Sir Francis Walsingham's stepson. Perhaps Edward decided in 1586 that he liked America and decided to return in 1587.

Jacob Whiddon, who was with Grenville in 1585 when he brought over Ralph Lane and his colony, was a trusted servant and follower of Sir Walter Ralegh. Ralegh spoke of him as *a man most valiant and honest*. Whiddon was sent out by Raleigh to explore the Orinoco River and he was with Ralegh on his voyage to South America in 1595. He died and was buried on the Island of Trinidad in the West Indies.

David Williams, if I have correctly identified the one who was a Lane colonist, was a young Welsh lawyer recently called to the bar and who later was an outstanding London lawyer and judge. He served in Parliament for one year immediately prior to coming over and for three years after he returned. In 1603 he was knighted. When I last inquired, a portrait of him was in storage while some repairs were being made at the home of a descendant.

All of us who have attempted to identify the Roanoke colonists have been struck in many cases by the fact that both explorers and colonists, leaders and followers, were related by blood or by marriage. Some were surely friends or acquaintances because they were neighbors who lived in the same parish or in an adjoining parish. **Edward Kelly and Thomas Wise**, for example, both members of Lane's colony, lived about two and a half miles from each other in Devon. Some were employed by the same person—**Atkinson, Fernandez, and Russell** are all spoken of as being in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham. Four others apparently were members of the same military unit—and as I have already hinted, two may have served time together in prison. Professor Quinn concluded that several of the men he investigated worked together on the Thames River.

Two of the single women among the Lost Colonists are interesting as they have surnames very much like those of two of the men. Because of the absence of uniformity in handwriting and spelling it may be that **Audrey T-A-P-P-A-N** and **Thomas T-O-P-A-N** were husband and wife; as were **Joan W-A-R-R-E-N** and **Thomas W-A-R-N-E-R**. Further support for the latter case exists in the 1584 marriage record of a mariner named Thomas Warner and Johanna Barnes.

I can make some reasonable guesses about several of the other single women. **Agnes Wood**, for instance. In 1549 one Robert Woode of St. Bride's Church—with which we are already familiar—married Johanna Toppan. Might this Agnes Wood have been their daughter and related to the Tappan/Topans? Or perhaps she was the Agnes Traver who married **John Wood** in London in 1577. John Wood had come to Roanoke in 1584; now there may have been some reason for his wife to come.

Or what can we say about the single woman **Jane Pierce**? In Ireland Henry Piers, who died in 1623, was the husband of one Jane Jones. Could this Jane Pierce

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fleet that sailed up the coast, anchored nearby and came ashore.

have been their daughter and therefore related to **Griffin, Jane,** and **John Pierse** who were also among the same body of colonists? Yet another possibility exists. In 1568 one Jone Pierse, a Portuguese, was registered as an alien in London. She was identified as the sister of men named Simon and Fornando and the tenant of one Frauncis White. When we see the names Simon, Fornando, and White in connection with the Roanoke colonists they immediately suggest a relationship. This Pierce woman lived within sight of the Tower of London in the parish of All Saints Barking. In the parish register regularly for between thirty and seventy years will be found the following names represented among the Roanoke colonists: **Archard, Backhouse, Bailey, Borden, Chapman, Constable, Cooper, Deane, Dymoke, Evans, Fullwood, George, Platt, Pratt, Hardin, Harvye, Harriot, Ireland, Nichols, Powell, Sampson, Sares, Snelling, Stone, Stevens, Wade, Wright, and John White**. Jane Pierce might have felt quite at home among such people.

One final association, **Jane Mannering**, was a very common name in a distinguished family so it will be difficult to sort her out. Yet the grandmother of **Humfrey Newton**, another of the Lost Colonists, was Katherine Mainwaring. The question then occurs to me: Were Jane Mannering and Humfrey Newton perhaps first cousins, grandchildren of Katherine?

But what about the other single women? Maybe they were looking for husbands either among their fellow-colonists or perhaps they already had husbands among the 15 to 18 men left at Roanoke by Grenville the previous year. The Lane colony had departed suddenly under unfortunate circumstances and these men, out on reconnaissance, had been abandoned. Did their wives take this opportunity to join them in America?

Why were there three boys with no apparent connection to any of the adults? Perhaps their fathers were among those abandoned the year before—or, of course, they could have been nephews or grandsons of colonists and we have just not yet discovered the relationship? Young **Thomas Humfrey** may well have been the son or brother of **Richard Humpfrey** of the Lane colony. Young **Thomas Smart** who came alone with the 1587 colony may well have been the son of the **Thomas Smart** who was with the Lane colony. The boy **William Wythers** may have been associated with the Tayler (Taylor) family—**John and Thomas Taylor** had been with the Lane colony: **Clement and Hugh** were with the Lost Colony; and **John** returned in 1590 with John White to search for the Lost Colony. And the implied family association continued in 1592 when one Robert Taylor married Elizabeth Wythers.

Now having mentioned a selection of typical Roanoke colonists, let me add that in recent years three "new" colonists have turned up. These are three whose names do not appear in the standard records—Hakluyt, Harriot, or Quinn. (1) **Richard Butler** is discussed in James A. St. John's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* published in 1868 in London. His record was found in the general archives of Simanca in a report he made on 1 May 1593 about his service to Sir Walter Ralegh with the Amadas voyage. (2) The second is the inscription on the tomb of **Robert Masters**, Gentleman, who traveled to Virginia and afterwards about the globe with Thomas Cavendish. His tomb is in the little church of Burghill in Herefordshire where he died in 1619. (3) The third man is anonymous, but he was a young clergyman of the Anglican Church who, when he learned of the Amadas and Barlowe expedition, sold everything he had and joined the company to take the Christian religion to the natives of America.

If we had relatives at a lonely outpost—perhaps a space station on Mars—and the sending of supplies to them depended first upon the speedy defeat of an enemy who threatened to invade our shores, I expect we would support all possible means of defense. In England there survives a list of persons who subscribed towards the defense of the country at the time of the threatened attack by the Spanish Armada in 1588. A comparison of this list with the names of the Roanoke colonists reveals that 38 men and one woman with the same family names contributed from £25 to £100 each to England's defense. This represents an enormous sum of money. Of these names only nine were represented among the colonists and explorers <u>before</u> 1587. But 29 contributors had the same family names as Lost Colonists, and 15 even had the same first name as well, making me feel that in these fifteen cases, at least, it was the father of a colonist who contributed so generously. While it is difficult to put a monetary value on love, this generosity suggests to me

that there must have been some colonists who were from families of more than average means.

The identities of many colonists remain uncertain. While these hardy pioneers were undoubtedly cut from uncommon fabric, the majority carry relatively common English names. Thus, for every Devon smuggler or Yorkshire cattle thief who bears a colonist's name, a learned Oxford clergyman or respectable London merchant may be found who bears exactly the same name at or close to the same time. We anticipate that further research will reveal more of these willing pioneers to have been worthy predecessors of the kind of people who now occupy the land in which they had such faith.

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FIGURE 126: The *Elizabeth II* with cast members of *The Lost Colony* aboard.

Simon Fernandez, Master Mariner and Roanoke Assistant
A New Look at an Old Villain

by Olivia A. Isil

Millions think of Simon Fernandez as the villain who abandoned the lost colony of Roanoke—if they think of him at all.

In this presentation, I will depart from the more traditional views of Fernandez and offer an analysis of the factual record of his career as compared to subjective, contemporary narratives that are not grounded in fact, but rather, in misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

In order to understand the persona of Simon Fernandez, Master Mariner and Roanoke Assistant, he must be viewed against the dynamic socio-economic and political backdrop of 16th-century Europe. By the time Elizabeth Tudor ascended the throne in 1558, Spain held an economic and political strangle-hold over the rest of Europe. This was due, in part, to the vast wealth being extracted from their holdings in the Americas. Elizabeth did not fail to grasp the significance. Increasingly, England's economic survival depended on discovering new avenues of trade. Many of the Queen's advisors and courtiers promoted overseas expansion, increasing her own holdings, gaining the wealth and power necessary to challenge Spain's dominance in Europe and in the Americas. She listened, but held her purse strings tightly. The promoters must find their own way.

One of the most critical needs was to gain more experience in the emerging science of navigation. While highly skilled as coastwise navigators, the English were aware of their shortcomings as blue-water sailors. They began looking to Portugal, the first of the great maritime world empires and the acknowledged masters in the science of navigation, for the help they needed to hone their own skills. They sought experienced Portuguese pilots and navigators from whom they could learn. Simon Fernandez was such a man.

Sources of Information

The factual record of Fernandez consists of snippets of information scattered in sixteenth-century government records, without frills or literary graces. They are cut and dried legal documents, factual, to the point and as objective as their human authors could devise.

There are, however, additional sources of information dating from the period. They exist in the form of narratives found in journals, diaries, chronicles and the like, compiled by information gatherers such as John White, Richard Madox, Richard Hakluyt, John Stowe, and Raphael Holinshed. These sources are subjective—one person writing about another as seen through the distorting prism of personal opinion, cultural bias, jealousy and a host of other emotions that are part of the human condition. Succeeding generations have formed impressions of Fernandez based almost exclusively on these subjective narratives. Over the years, reliance on the credibility of subjective information gatherers has eclipsed other information from more objective sources. In order to put Simon Fernandez into a more realistic perspective, the words of biased contemporary reporters must be put into juxtaposition with unembellished state records.

Virtually nothing is known with certainty about Fernandez's origins—except that he came from Terceira in the Portuguese Azores, settled in England sometime before 1570, and eventually became an English subject. While over the centuries, the mariner's name has been given many Anglicized forms— Fernando, Ferdinando, Fernand, Fardinando—he was a literate man who signed his name in a clear, bold hand: Simão Fernandez.

Fernandez's name first appears in the English State Papers in 1571. The record indicates that he was in partnership with one of the most notorious pirates of the

Elizabethan age—John Callis, and that the pair was operating out of Bristol, England and Pennarth, Wales.

The government's official stance on piracy was typically contradictory. While the crown deplored piracy in principle, it was always willing to turn a blind eye—to borrow a metaphor from the age of Nelson—to piracy when it served royal, national or personal interests. Thus English pirates, considered to be rogues and villains when they preyed on their own country's shipping, were magically transformed into privateers—patriot-heroes authorized by the crown to attack the enemies of England. Pirates were frequently under the patronage and protection of influential men, high government officials who were themselves involved as underwriters in the illegal but enormously profitable ventures. The Queen herself was known to have lent ships to, and taken her share of loot from, expeditions aimed at Spanish and French shipping. Conflicts of interests, both personal and national, frequently stretched the distinguishing line between outright piracy and licensed privateering perilously thin. As a pirate-entrepreneur, Simon Fernandez was part of a flourishing business network, no better or worse a man than so many others of his time.

Fernandez, the Pirate/Privateer

Jailed many times for piracy during the 1570's, Fernandez's bail and subsequent liberty to roam profitable sea lanes, was paid for by one influential patron or another. William and Henry Herbert, the powerful Earls of Pembroke, were frequently responsible for setting Fernandez at large. In 1576 alone, persons fined for *trafficking with pyrats* included the Lord Mayor of Dartmouth, the Lieutenant and Deputy Customs Searcher for the Port of Plymouth, the Deputy Vice-Admiral of Bristol, the High Sheriff of Glamorganshire, William Winter—a relative of the Surveyor of the Navy; William Hawkins, brother of the Treasurer of the Navy; and Henry Knollys, son of the Queen's own Vice-Chamberlain and a member of her Privy Council. Knollys owned *The Oliphant* [*The Elephant*], a vessel frequently leased by Fernandez for his piratical activities.

By the waning years of the 16th-century, English privateering had achieved the status of a respected profession. Men such as Drake, Hawkins, Grenville, Ralegh, Gilbert and Frobisher amassed fortunes as pirate-privateers rising meteorically in the service of Queen and country. Many achieved knighthoods, respectability, and the esteem of their fellow citizens. Not, however, Simon Fernandez, even though he was a valued member of this illustrious company of Elizabethan sea-dogs.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1579 Voyage of Discovery

In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, holding a royal patent, set sail on a voyage of discovery. As part of the fleet, his half-brother Walter Ralegh captained the *Falcon* with Fernandez as master. Don Bernardo de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, reporting from London to Philip II on the sponsorship and plans of *Onpe gilberto* [Humphrey Gilbert] for a reconnaissance voyage to the Indies wrote that: *...they are taking with them one Simon Fernandez, a thorough-paced scoundrel who has given them and is giving them much information about that coast which he knows very well....* A fragmentary account of this venture in the *Holinshed Chronicles* records that the expedition ran short of supplies and after *many tempests and fights,* the *Falcon* returned to Plymouth without having reached the Indies.

Gilbert's 1580 Voyage

The English State Papers record that in 1580, again under the patronage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Fernandez undertook a reconnaissance voyage to Norumbega, roughly the area of Newfoundland and present day Maine. By that time, Fernandez's reputation as a pirate was such that, despite Sir Humphrey's venture being authorized by letters patent from the Queen herself, he was obliged to enter into a bond of £500 for the good behavior of the master and his crew. Reputation notwithstanding, the intrepid master and his capable crew brought back the hides of very large animals thought to be bison, as well as collecting valuable information regarding the natives and natural resources found in those northerly latitudes. It was reported that *...Simon Fernandez, Mr. Secretary Walsingham's man went and came to and from the said coast within three*

months in the Squirrel, *a little frigat of viii tuns burthen without any other escort and arrived at Dartmouth where he embarked when he began his voyage....* The crossing of the north Atlantic in such a tiny vessel with a ten man crew and without a larger consort, must be viewed with some degree of admiration, albeit grudging, for Fernandez's seamanship.

Attempting the same voyage in the *Squirrel* some two years later, Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished in the waters off the Azores.

The Fernandez Map

In November 1580, Fernandez visited John Dee, noted scientist and astrologer, to give him an account of the voyage and to loan him his sea chart so that a copy might be made for Dee's extensive library. It should be noted that the Queen's principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Elizabeth herself were in frequent contact with Dee. The copy of Fernandez's sea chart is now in the British Museum's Cotton Manuscript. A note on the map reads: *The counterfeit map of Master Fernandez Simon and his sea chart which he lent unto my Master at Mortlake Anno 1580 November 20. The same Fernandez Simon is a Portugale, and born in Terceira being one of the Isles called Azores.*

Some scholars have suggested that Fernandez plagiarized this sea chart. In all probability, this notion stems from 19th-century misunderstanding of archaic wording and the fact that the Fernandez sea-chart is known to be based on a map that dates from the mid-16th century. In preparation for a dangerous voyage across the North Atlantic on behalf of an important patron, a master-mariner, even one as seasoned as Fernandez, would visit a reliable cartographer to obtain an existing map of the unfamiliar sea route. The master subsequently added personal notations on winds, currents, distances covered and other relevant data collected during his voyage. The end product was a sea chart of a specific voyage. The copying, buying and selling of annotated maps and charts had been standard operating procedure for centuries—this was the manner in which collective experience and information was shared. Fernandez did nothing devious or dishonest in basing his sea chart on an older existing map. Maps based on the voyages of Giovanni Verrazzano along the eastern seaboard of North America during the late 1520's, errors and all, were used by English colonizing ventures well into the 17th-century. Finally, it should be noted that Dee's secretary's use of the word *counterfeit* does not imply fraud. The 16th-century usage of counterfeit, now obsolete, simply meant to imitate or copy without the intent to deceive.

Frobisher, Fenton and Fernandez and the 1582 Voyage

In 1582, the Earl of Leicester—the Queen's own beloved Robin—began an enterprise to establish an English spice trade with the Molucca Islands. Martin Frobisher was to be the leader of the expedition and Simon Fernandez, co-pilot of the fleet along with Thomas Hood. The Cotton Manuscript contains an undated and fragmented letter to Frobisher from Fernandez indicating that the pilot was over-seeing the final fitting-out of the *Galleon Leicester*, the Earl's own ship and admiral, or flagship, of the fleet. The letter reflects a good grasp of English vernacular. It is written with style, ease, good-humor and a certain rough grace. For reasons that are not entirely clear, Frobisher was discharged from command and was replaced by Edward Fenton, with Fernandez staying on as co-pilot. The long-suffering Spanish ambassador in London again wrote to King Philip: *...the pilot of the principal ship is a Terceiran Portuguese called Simon Fernandez, a heretic who has lived here for some years and is considered to be one of the best pilots in the country....*

Mendoza's use of the word heretic has given rise to the notion that Fernandez was Jewish or perhaps a Moor. In the grand scheme of things, this represents a minor point. It does, however, illustrate the confusion that can arise from taking a word out of its 16th-century context and putting a 20th-century spin on it. Anyone who was not Catholic was, by Mendoza's definition, heretic. Fernandez was, in fact, described by one contemporary as being a Lutheran.

The Privy Council appointed Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls Oxford as co-chaplain and instructed him to keep a detailed record of the expedition. Madox recorded what he considered to be relevant information

in the form of a personal diary which he wrote in a system of code, convoluted cross-referencing and *marginalia*. Madox, who also sailed aboard the *Galleon Leicester*, described the pilot [Fernandez] as being a *...braggart, a glutton, coward ... a ravenous thief with talons more rapacious than any vulture....* The chaplain used Latin pseudonyms in his diary to describe merchants and members of the ship's company: Fernandez the Swine, Fenton the Deceiver, and Hood the Buffoon. Other unsuspecting shipmates were labeled parasite, swellhead, stupid, braggart and one described indecorously as a *fyzzeling* [farting] *tale-bearer*.

Few escaped Madox's critical scrutiny—he went so far as to jest about a fellow-chaplain's sexual proclivities. It was Fernandez, however, who was singled out to bear the brunt of the Chaplain's diatribes, *...he makes observations in Portuguese translating ineptly into English, they come out in a swill of many languages and everywhere abound in barbarisms, solecisms, and hyperbatons...these he sells as his own and boasts of himself as a notable author, inventor, rather he should be called a perverter of books, an extorter of readers and tormentor of writers....*

The Oxford educated clergyman-scholar is vicious in his personal attacks on everyone around him. One marginal note in Latin translates: *...tales not without flavor....* With its mean-spirited digressions and preoccupation with his own puerile wit, the diary tells us more about Madox himself than any of the other expedition members. His credibility as an objective observer and source of information must be called into question. Certainly, his layman's opinion of Fernandez's skill as a pilot must be dismissed totally. Despite Madox's vilification, Fernandez did not lose the confidence and respect of the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, the Privy Council, or any of the other influential investors in the voyage. In fact, it was quite the contrary. High-placed patrons continued to increase Fernandez's responsibilities by involving him in the all-important ventures for overseas expansion and colonization.

The 1584 Reconnaissance Voyage

Fernandez appears next in the records in conjunction with Sir Walter Ralegh's ventures to Virginia, beginning in 1584 with the reconnaissance voyage. The expedition's co-leader Arthur Barlowe presents a highly literate account of the fateful contact between the native North Americans and the English reconnaissance party, as well as the structure of native society and accounts of Roanoke's natural resources, but has little to say about members of the expedition. Fernandez is mentioned only in the context of being master and pilot of the admiral and as having been a member of the party that made initial contact with the natives.

The 1585 Voyage of Exploration

In 1585, the second Roanoke Voyage consisted of a fleet of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, with Ralph Lane Governor of the colony. During the expedition to Roanoke, the anonymous author of the *Tyger* Journal reported that *...the* Tyger *grounded on the bar due to Fernandez's carelessness....* Implicit in this report is the seed of an idea, that the grounding of the ship by Fernandez was an intentional act on the part of the pilot. The vessel was ultimately floated off the bar, beached and saved but not before the colony's stores of corn, salt, rice and other needed supplies were destroyed or seriously damaged by water. In a letter to the Queen's principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, dated 12 August 1585, Lane, a professional soldier with demonstrated leadership abilities, described the grounding of the *Tyger* and the loss of its stores. Far from blaming Fernandez for the serious accident to the flagship, Lane took the opportunity to praise the pilot for his skill and faithfulness to duty: *...the best harbor of all the rest is called Ferdinando discovered by the master and pilot of our fleet, your honor's servant Simon Ferdinando who has truly carried himself with great skill and great government all this voyage not withstanding this great cross to us all....*

On the 1585 voyage, Admiral Grenville and Pilot Fernandez were at loggerheads. Governor Lane clearly supported Fernandez. John White was also a member of the expedition and sailed on the flagship with both Grenville and Fernandez. Any record of White's favoring either Grenville or Fernandez has been lost. Considering White's continued involvement with Grenville and especially with Grenville's cousin Ralegh,

it is most likely that White's dislike of Fernandez started on the 1585 voyage if not before.

The 1587 Voyage of Colonization

In any event, and despite the contempt of the anonymous author of the 1585 *Tyger* Journal, Fernandez was chosen once again in 1587 to be the chief pilot of the fleet taking colonists—men, women and children—to what was to be a permanent settlement in Virginia. In addition, Fernandez was one of twelve men appointed to assist John White in the governing of the newly formed colony. Along with the Governor and the other assistants, Fernandez was granted armorial bearings.

The Grant of Arms to the Cittie of Ralegh, its Governor and Assistants

Acting under the patent granted to him by the Queen on 25 March 1584, Sir Walter Ralegh incorporated the Governor and Assistants of the Cittie of Ralegh in Virginia. William Dethicke, Garter King of Arms, prepared and granted arms to the new city. Within this grant were incorporated individual grants of arms to the Governor and each of his assistants. Three drafts survive, each more definitive than its predecessor, a clear indication of proofing and re-writing. Two of the surviving drafts are owned by the College of Arms in London, and one by Queen's College, Oxford. The original final grant is lost. Logically, it would have been given to Governor John White and may have been lost on Roanoke along with his armor, maps and frames. Since the drafts do not agree on all points, it is clear that changes were made in the final grant. The heraldry contained in the surviving drafts leaves many questions unanswered. However, the arms of Simon Fernandez are simple and unambiguous: *...a field argent, two bars wavy azure, On a canton gules three fuzels of the first.* The fuzels argent on a field gules which appear on Fernandez's arms, as well as those of the Governor and other assistants, are a reference to the patronage of Sir Walter Ralegh. The two wavy bars on an azure field are an unmistakable reference to Fernandez's profession—that of mariner.

In the Queen's College manuscript of the Grant of Arms, Simon Fernandez is described as *gentleman of London.* Whether he had attained that social standing prior to 1587 is not known. It must be said that 16th-century armorial grants conformed to the upward social mobility of the time. For a price, traditional rules for granting arms were ignored. In a manuscript dated 1602 called *The York Herald's Complaint*, George Brooke, York Herald, complained that William Dethicke granted coats of arms to families unworthy of armorial bearings. York used an outline of arms granted by Dethicke to William Shakespeare to illustrate his point. However, there is no reason to assume that Fernandez was poor or socially unworthy because he was a mariner. He had influential friends and patrons, some close to the Queen herself, so there is good reason to believe the opposite.

The Conflict between John White & Simon Fernandez

The John White Narrative of the 1587 voyage reflects an open, ongoing and bitter conflict between himself and the pilot-assistant. Their relationship during the long and arduous voyage to Virginia was strained from the start. Fernandez's dismal reputation is rooted in the fertile ground of this critical and damning narrative.

Some historians have accused Fernandez of usurping John White's authority. White evidently sailed as captain of the *Lion*, the admiral or flagship of the small fleet of three vessels. Fernandez was the master of the *Lion*, as well as pilot for the fleet. In the 16th-century, the captain of a vessel was the absolute authority over every aspect of shipboard life and activity—the supreme moral arbitrator responsible for law and order while at sea. Everyone aboard the ship, mariners and supernumeraries alike, were subject to the captain's authority. The captain might well have been the merchant who owned the ship, an agent of the company, or any appointee so designated—in other words, a land-man without knowledge of, or experience at sea.

On the other hand, the ship's master was a professional mariner, skilled, able and experienced. He was responsible for instructing the helmsman on the courses to be taken, commanding the boatswain with regard to the trimming of sails, and all other technical aspects involved in the sailing and maneuvering of the ship. As pilot, Fernandez had the further responsibility of plotting

courses for all ships of the fleet, a skill that required knowledge of astronomy, mathematics and cartography. The title of ship's master was not an empty one, while that of captain could be, under certain circumstances. Yet, the ultimate authority aboard the *Lion* was not its master, Simon Fernandez, a professional mariner, but rather, the colony's governor, John White, an artist by guild affiliation and trade. Although this Atlantic crossing was arguably the third for Governor White, he was by no means qualified as a shipboard leader and indeed, some might argue the same case for his leadership abilities on land.

White and Fernandez may have been shipmates or at least co-participants in two expeditions to Roanoke prior to 1587, certainly on the 1585 voyage. In both instances, Fernandez, as pilot of the fleet and master of the admiral, held a position of great responsibility and influence, while the role of John White, not then *Governor and Gentleman*, was considerably less exalted. With this reversal of fortunes, an impossible situation may have been created between Fernandez and White, one not likely to be ameliorated by a long ocean voyage aboard a cramped ship. White as captain, governor and probable recruiter, was no doubt preoccupied with the colonists that crowded the holds and decks of the 120-tun merchantman. In all probability, Elinor, the governor's own 19-year-old pregnant daughter, was aboard the *Lion*, as well as her husband, Ananias Dare, one of the twelve assistants of the colony. How this game of face-work and struggle for control must have rankled White and Fernandez's nerves!

White's Charges against Fernandez

The first in a long series of John White charges against Simon Fernandez is dated May 1587*: Simon Fernandez master of our admiral lewdly forsook our flyboat leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.* Storms frequently occur in that area, and frequently scatter ships.

On June 22, 1587, while anchored at Santa Cruz, [St. Croix] the governor along with six others went ashore for fresh water. According to White's narrative, upon heading back to the ship by another way, the group came upon *certaine potsheards of savage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was judged that this Island was inhabited with Savages, though Fernando had tolde us for certaine, the contrarie.*[154] The last time Fernandez was in the area may have been the 1585 voyage, and John White would have been with him.

A week later, at Ross Bay along the coast of St. Johns where *Fernandez promised we should take in salt,* another incident took place. White relates that when all was in readiness to go ashore to take the salt, Fernandez changed his mind saying he didn't know whether this was the place that he knew of and if the pinnaces went into the bay, the tide being treacherous, he did not know whether or not he could maneuver back out again without endangering both ship and occupants. White then described the following scene:[155]

> *Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the shippe in three fathome, and a halfe of water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in peeces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare up hard, beare up hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt by his meanes.*

On the 7th of July in the Caicos Islands, John White relates that while a group of the colonists busied themselves with useful occupation such as hunting, fowling, and seeking salt,...*Fernandez solaced himself ashore with one of the company....* Just exactly how the pilot solaced himself is not made clear by the governor, but his inference of inappropriate behavior is clear enough. Whether Fernandez dallied ashore with one of the unattached female colonists, spent a lazy, tropical afternoon with an agreeable native woman, or solaced himself by roistering with a brother mariner, is of little consequence. What is far more interesting and deserving of scrutiny is the governor's continual nitpicking. The narrative reflects that White was pathologically preoccupied with every move made by Fernandez and continued to cry foul against him for every trivial incident that chanced to occur. With great passion and rhetoric, White invariably cast himself in the role of stalwart Elizabethan hero and star of his narrative,

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[154] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 518.
[155] Ibid., 520.

largely through the vilification of the foreign born Fernandez. In print, if not in action, the governor did everything possible to bolster his own image as a strong and decisive leader. This raises a number of thorny questions: Did White cast blame on a convenient scapegoat in order to hide his own inability to maintain control? For whose eyes did Governor White intend his narrative with its long recitation of Fernandez's alleged misdeeds? What did White hope to achieve?

About the 16th of July White wrote:[156]

> the fleet ... *fell with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Fernando tooke to be the Island of* Croatoan, *where we came to an anker, and rode there two or three daies: but finding himselfe deceaved, he waied and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafforde bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Fernando, wee had beene all cast away upon the breache, called the Cape of Feare, for wee were come within two cables length upon it: such was the carelesnes and ignorance of our Master.*

This passage from the White narrative, with its implicit charge of deceit and negligence, rings a familiar bell.

The governor's narrative continues:[157]

> *The two and twentieth of Julie, we arrived safe at Hatoraske* [Port Ferdinando], *where our shippe and pinnesse ankered: the Governour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoake foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Greenvill had left there the yeere before,...meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Baye of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the shippe, a Gentleman by the meanes of Fernando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but leave them in the Island, except the Governour, and two or three such as he approooved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the sailers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoake....*

Financial infrastructure, authority and the power behind the 1587 voyage appear to be at the heart of this significant passage from White's narrative. Barely glossed over by traditional scholarship, the passage raises a series of highly relevant questions that remain unanswered. Who was the *gentleman* of whom White speaks? Was he a personal representative of Ralegh or one of the other important backers of the expedition? Did the gentleman have *carte blanche* to make autonomous on-the-spot decisions despite ... *directions in writing under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh?* He was obviously so influential that *it booted not the governour* to contend with him. Governorship notwithstanding, White apparently lacked the authority or the means to dissuade the man. A decision had been made and further discussion on the location of the landing site was futile. *A gentleman by meanes of Fernando...* charged the sailors to leave the planters on the island. This may be interpreted in two ways: that Fernandez called to the sailors in the pinnesse on behalf of the gentleman and persuaded them to do his bidding or that the gentleman made his decision *by means of Fernandez*, that is, by his influence. Since the gentleman was aboard the flagship during the three-month voyage, he had to be well aware of the conflict between the captain-governor and the pilot-assistant. It would seem that he had ample opportunity to hear both sides before making up his mind and giving final word on the landing site.

[156] Ibid., 522.
[157] Ibid., 522-523.

Colonizing and Privateering

At this point, it seems appropriate to address the issue of financial backers and their incentive for investing in the voyages. In 1587, Fernandez is singled-out as the privateer—the only privateer—whose self-serving interests came into direct conflict with colonization and thus contributed to the failure of the colony. It was Sir Walter Ralegh himself who encouraged financial investors by combining colonizing schemes with privateering enterprises. Returns on colonization schemes were long range and risky. By comparison, returns on privateering ventures were substantial—occasionally they were spectacular—and quickly in hand. On the return trip to England, after depositing Ralegh's 1585 colony of explorers on Roanoke, Sir Richard Grenville captured a fortune in Spanish booty, a turn of events that no doubt pleased investors in the expedition, as well as encouraged others to fatten their own purses by joining the colonizing scheme.

Fernandez frequently bears the sole responsibility for landing the colonists on Roanoke Island so that he could get about the business of privateering. The words of Governor White and the presence of an unnamed gentleman with clout seem to put a different spin on this. It is quite clear that this man of mystery had more authority than either White or Fernandez. It is not known who the man was, but it would seem that he was one of the high stakes, movers and shakers of the combined venture. In any case, Ralegh continued to reap his share of the spoils from privateering long after his interest in the Roanoke colony had waned. When John White finally returned to relieve the colony on Roanoke Island in 1590, it was with a privateering squadron.

Further Charges against Fernandez

But Governor White has more to say about Fernandez in 1587: On the 25th day of July, the Flyboat which had been *lewdly forsaken* by Fernandez in the Bay of Portugal, landed safely at Hatorask, a scant three days behind the other ships.[158]

> *...our Flie boate, and the rest of our planters, arrived, all safe at Hatoraske, to the great joye, and comfort of the whole companie: but the Master of our Admirall, Fernando grieved greatly at their safe coming: for he purposely left them in the Baye of Portingall* [Portugal], *and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had beene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were aboord, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.*

The next reference to Simon Fernandez in the narrative of John White is by implication. On the 21st of August, in the midst of preparing the flyboat and the *Lion* for their return to England: [159]

> *...there arose such a tempest at northeast,...our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to Sea, where he laye beating off and on, sixe dayes before hee coulde come to us againe, so that wee feared hee had beene cast away, and the rather, for that at the tyme that the storme tooke them, the moste and best of their Saylers, were left aland.*

White seems to be implying that Fernandez returned only for the skilled manpower necessary to work his own ship on its homeward, privateering voyage. On the other hand, the return of the *Lion* and its Master might indicate that he was not so hostile to the colony as the Governor would have us believe. As an assistant and probable investor, Fernandez had his own money tied up in the venture and had as much to lose—if not more—than anyone if the colony failed.

Governor White's Return to England

At last, on the 27th of August, the governor, having been constrained by the colonists to return to England for supplies, boarded the flyboat *who already had waied*

[158] Ibid., 525.

[159] Ibid., 532.

[weighed] anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them.... Fernandez rode at anchor just offshore in the admiral for over five weeks! Such a delay hardly reflects an over-eagerness to get on about the business of privateering, nor does it bolster White's case for abandonment of the colony by Fernandez.

While preparing to get under way, an accident aboard the flyboat with the capstan resulted in serious injury to twelve men aboard, only five of whom were able to *stand to their labor.* Totally out of character in this instance, Governor White did not document the name of the flyboat's master nor did he impute blame for this life-threatening accident. Despite the battered condition of the crew, they were able to keep *companie with the Admiral* until the 18th of September[160]

> *...wherfore understanding that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but linger about the Islande of Tercera* [Terceira] *for purchase* [taking of booty], *the Flie boate departed for Englande with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arrive shortly:*

On the 16th of October, after a series of storms, great sickness and near starvation, the flyboat landed on the West coast of Ireland. After two weeks spent attending to the needs of his sick and exhausted crew, White shipped out aboard the *Monkey* bound for Southampton.[161]

> *The 8. we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had beene there three weekes before: and also that Fernando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknes, and death of their cheefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into the harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not way* [weigh] *againe, but might all have perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them.*

This ends the narrative as seen through the eyes and written by the hand of John White, Artist and Governor. The White narrative survives as the primary source of information on the 1587 colony. It is within the realm of possibility that, somewhere in the nether regions of an obscure muniment room in England or perhaps in a long forgotten archive, there is another version of that fateful venture as seen through the eyes of another, written by his hand, and bearing the bold signature of Simão Fernandez.

Fernandez and the Spanish Armada

The next known references to Fernandez are to be found in the English State Papers and in the Harleian Manuscript. They date from the time of the Armada. The *Triumph*, the Queen's own galleon of 900-1100 tuns and reputed to be the largest ship on either side during the Armada of 1588, was captained by Martin Frobisher, one of four men commanding a squadron. His second in command was a Lt. Eliot, possibly the Laurence Eliot who was with Drake on the circumnavigation. The third officer aboard was Simon Fernandez, serving in the capacity of boatswain. As such, Fernandez was responsible for the manual operation of the ship, setting and reefing sails, raising and lowering of anchors, repairing canvas, transmitting the captain's orders to the crew, and seeing that these orders were carried out properly—a considerable effort in defense of his adopted country with a foreign invader at her door.

In a post-Armada survey of ships carried out at the Chatham dockyards, Fernandez was one of four out of a total of twenty-five boatswains who could write his own report. The *Triumph* had been in the thick of action for over a week and had engaged the Spanish flagship off Gravelines. Fernandez reported that the *Triumph* had lost but a single longboat. He noted that his old sponsor and captain, Martin Frobisher had made off with some prized souvenirs, the ship's silk ensigns, and that they would have to be replaced at considerable expense.

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[160] Ibid., 536.
[161] Ibid., 538.

The Syndicate to Relieve the 1587 Colony Does Not Include Fernandez

In 1589-90, Sir Walter Ralegh and Governor John White secured investors for an attempt to relieve the colonists left on Roanoke Island. The agreement was a three-part indenture among Ralegh, the nineteen investors, and the governor and his assistants in the Cittie of Ralegh in Virginia. While Fernandez's name appeared therein as having been one of the original Roanoke assistants, he is not mentioned as being part of the relief attempt which was being drawn up. He had been removed as an assistant in the governance of the Cittie of Ralegh—most likely by John White. But, there was another fight brewing with Spain and Fernandez simply may have lost interest in colonizing ventures, particularly ones that included his old nemesis, John White.

Fernandez Back at Sea in 1590

In 1590, Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir John Hawkins mounted an English attempt to blockade the Iberian Peninsula by capturing the strategic Atlantic Islands of the Canaries and the Azores. Simon Fernandez served in this campaign as master of the 300 tun *Foresight*, captained by William Winter. It is not known whether Fernandez survived this engagement but this is the last known reference to the Roanoke Pilot by name in the records.

Possible Reference to Fernandez in the 1600s

The following entry, dated 1605, *A Note of Australia Del Espiritu Santo,* appears in *The Writing and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* by Richard Hakluyt:[162]

> *Simon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbone told me Richard Hakluyt before other Portugals in London, the eighteenth of March 1604: that he having been in the Citie of Lima in Peru, did perfectly understand that four ships and barkes departed from the said Citie of Lima about the yeere 1600, in the moneth of Februarie towards the Philippines...'*

It is not known whether or not this man is Fernandez of Roanoke. Richard Hakluyt would certainly have known. If they were one and the same man, it does not seem likely that his name would be mentioned without some small reference to Roanoke, a project which had fascinated the Hakluyts. Nor does it seem likely that Fernandez, a naturalized Englishman of Portuguese extraction and a constant thorn in the side of the Spanish, would settle in Lisbon under Hapsburg rule.

FIGURE 127: Simon Fernando in Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* has changed his costume over the years, but his character remains essentially the same—the villain who betrayed the settlers. Actor George Spence [above] is sporting a buccaneer-pirate outfit designed by the production's second costume designer, Irene Rains, in the 1950s.

In his *Historie of Travell Into Virginia (1610-12),* William Strachey makes reference to *an olde plotte* shown to him by Lord De La Warr *...wherein by a Portingall our seat is laid out and in the same, 2 silver mines pricked downe*. A logical assumption would be that the map represented a potential settlement site on the Chesapeake Bay or James River. Since, at this juncture, we know of no other Portuguese involved in the Virginia enterprise, it remains suggestive that the

[162] David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Writing and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), 2:489.

FIGURE 128: [left] Simon Fernando took on a new look in the late 1960s with Broadway director Joe Layton at the helm of the production. The Fernando above is wearing a costume designed by Fred Voelpel, an award winning Broadway designer. FIGURE 129: [right] In the modern production, Fernando's costume designed by 6-time Tony-Award winning designer William Ivey Long, is based on extensive research, giving the outfit a practical Elizabethan look.

olde plotte was a sketch map based on Fernandez's first-hand knowledge of the area.

While the narrative of 1587 has had an enormous influence in forging Fernandez's reputation, there has been another influence, more compelling and more insidious than the passionate rhetoric of John White. For seventy-two summer seasons, Simon Fernando, reborn in the fertile mind of playwright Paul Green, leaps from the shadows of history onto the stage of Waterside Theatre on Roanoke Island. The swarthy, semi-crazed Fernando is played as a villain. As the drama of *The Lost Colony* unfolds, the black-hearted, black-bearded, black-clad Fernando bellows, swaggers, shakes his fists, spits, frightens children, insults women, kicks dogs, crosses blades with the gallant Ananias Dare or John Borden, slaps beloved Old Tom and grins malevolently as the English attack a peaceful gathering of native Americans. Ultimately, it is Green's double-dealing Fernando who betrays the colonists to the Spanish and abandons them to their fate in the wilderness. Paul Green's portrayal of Fernando is generally accepted without question, despite the fact that in 1937, the playwright stated that he interpreted the historical data available to him and changed it when it suited his dramatic purpose. With great artistic license, Green places White and Fernandez in the roles of protagonists: the courtly, grief-stricken, English grandfather versus the uncouth, bellowing, foreign-born bully. The drama ends as a Spanish ship anchors off the bar, and ragged, starving colonists drag themselves off into the forest primeval to meet their heroic destinies. Over three million theatergoers have seen the show and have left the theater confident that Simon Fernando betrayed the settlers to Spain. As Voltaire, that great cynic of a later century said, *History is the lie that everyone agrees upon.*

One last question—Was Simon Fernandez in the pay of Spain or sympathetic to her cause?

It has been well documented that a Terceiran pilot by the name of Fernandez worked with the Spanish at Saint Augustine during the 1570's. However, this man was Domingo Fernandez—our man Simon Fernandez was occupied elsewhere, as state records on English piracy bear out.

Sir Francis Walsingham, a longtime sponsor and patron of Simon Fernandez was one of the most powerful men in England. He would never have supported Fernandez had the mariner been in the pay of Spain. The continued patronage of a man such as Walsingham makes a powerful statement on the subject of Fernandez's loyalty.

As an historical character, Fernandez does not quite fit the Hollywood mold of a swashbuckling, Elizabethan seadog—the embodiment of virtuous and patriotic manhood, risking all for Queen and country. Neither was he a rogue and villain merely on account of his calling or because he was foreign born. Of all the diverse types serving the cause of English overseas expansion, privateers such as Fernandez, driven by dreams of gain, glory, social prominence, and perhaps even a smattering of loyalty, may have pulled hardest in the yoke—if not always in the right direction. Simon Fernandez must not be dismissed as a petty villain. While Fernandez's loyalty has been called into question by succeeding generations, historical facts prove that he had highly placed patrons, some close to the Queen herself, who trusted him in those turbulent days when England's survival as a nation hung in the balance. A skilled and experienced pilot, Fernandez's knowledge of navigation facilitated, in no small measure, the planting of an English speaking America.

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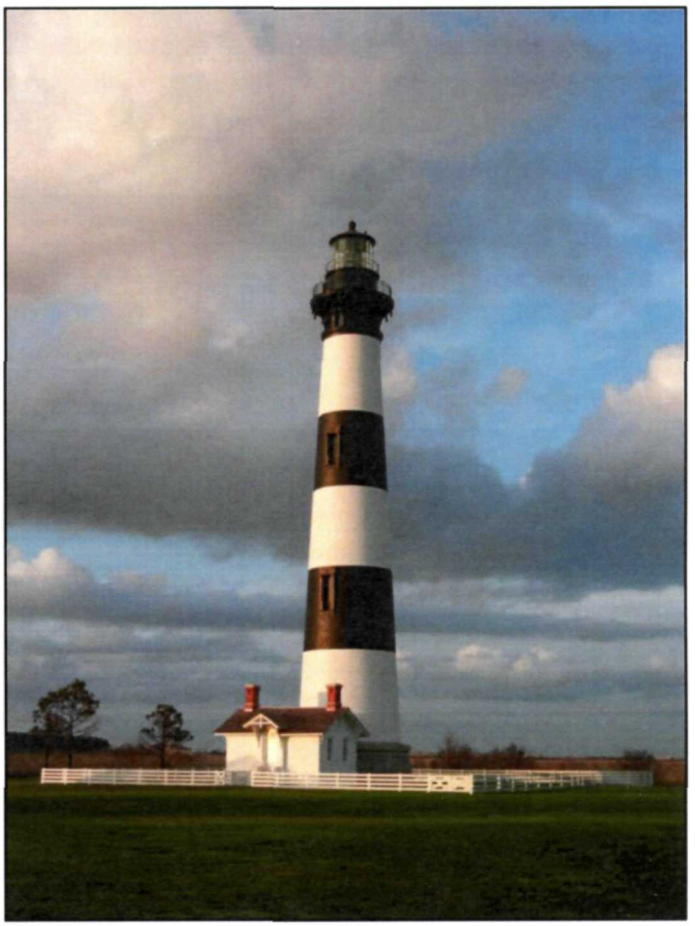


FIGURE 130: Modern Bodie Island Lighthouse is located near the inlet discovered by Simon Fernandez and named Port Ferdinando in his honor.

The Armorial Identification of Governor John White

by John Brooke-Little

When Sir Walter Ralegh, acting under the Charter granted him by the Queen on 25th March 1584, incorporated the Governor and Assistants of the *CITTIE OF RALEGH IN VIRGINEA WITH THE APPERTENANCES*,[163] he procured from William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, a grant of arms for his new city, in which grant were incorporated grants of arms to Governor John White and his Assistants—Roger Baylye, Ananyas Dare, Christopher Cooper, William Fullwoodd, Roger Pratt, Dionyse Harvye, John Nicholls, George Howe, Simon Ferdinando and three others not identified in the surviving grant drafts.[164]

The actual grant has disappeared, but three drafts of it survive, two owned by the College of Arms and one by Queens' College, Oxford. Whether or not the grant was actually made will probably never be known, but I strongly suspect that it was. It is very likely that since at least three drafts were prepared, each more definitive than the last, fees would have been paid and that therefore there was a firm intention to grant. It is fortunate that William Dethick was the granting King of Arms as it was his custom to make several drafts of his grants, of which a reasonably good collection is at the College of Arms. The exact date of the grant is not detailed on any of the drafts, but the date *1586* is written on the smaller draft.[165]This suggests that the actual grant must have been made between 21st April 1586 (the date of Dethick's creation as Garter) and 25th March 1587, which was the first day of the New Year, before the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar.

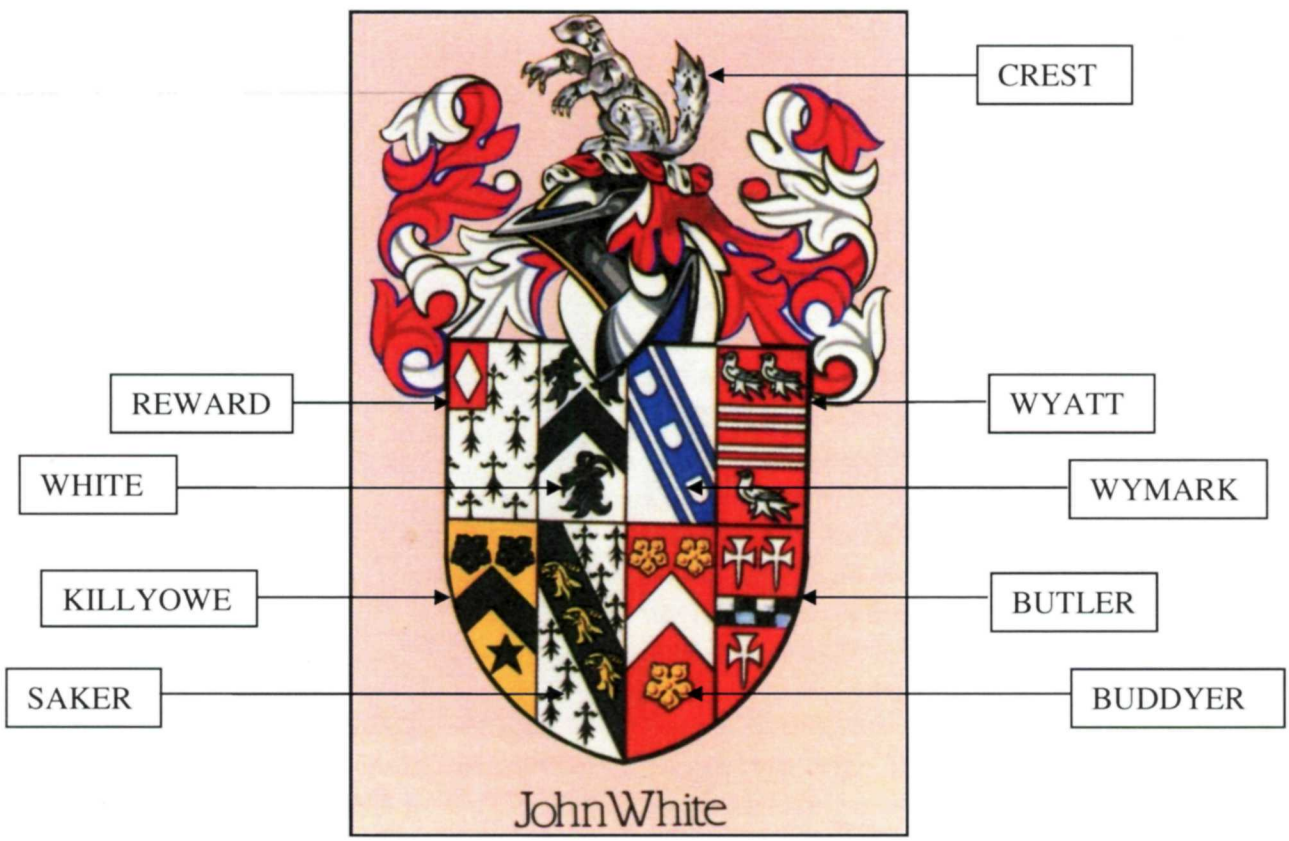


Figure 131: The armorial bearings granted to John White.

[163] Grant of Arms for the *Cittie of Ralegh in Virginea*, and for Its Governor & Assistants, College of Arms MS. Vincent, vol. 157, fol. 397. Hereinafter, longer draft.
[164] Ibid.
[165] *Civitas Ralegh in Virginea*, College of Arms MS Vincent, vol. 157, fol. 398. Hereinafter, smaller grant.

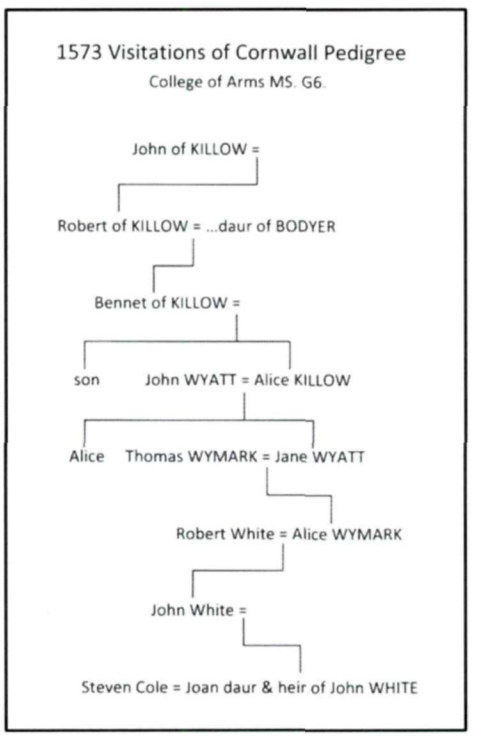
In the College's longer draft of the grant, the arms of the Governor and assistants are blazoned and all save four of the assistants are identified. One of these, George Howe, is identified in the Queen's College MS, but the illustration in the margin shows a different coat of arms from that detailed in the College's longer draft—namely a chevron charged with three fusils and set between three wolves' heads. Two of the remaining three assistants not mentioned in any of the three draft grants, can be identified as John Sampson and Thomas Stevens with reasonable certainty from John White's 1587 list of personnel published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. David Beers Quinn, in *Roanoke Voyages*, has suggested James Plat as the remaining assistant.

The actual heraldry in the draft grants leaves many questions unanswered—especially for John White. The first coat in his much quartered shield is a reward, or what is usually known as an augmentation of honour. The second coat (the chevron between three goats' heads) is described as the ancient coat of his family, but is nowhere recorded, although there is evidence that various West Country families of White used the same pattern, but with different colours. The remaining six coats—Wymark, Wyatt, Killyowe, Saker, Buddyer and Butler—represent, or should represent, John White's armigerous forebearers. The fact is that John White's origins are a mystery and his heraldry, which ought to give important clues to his family connections, appears to confuse the issue.

Research at the College of Arms has substantiated six out of the eight coats given in the Ralegh grant.

In the search for authentication of a pedigree that involved the families of Wymark, Wyatt, Killyowe, Saker, Butler and Buddyer in the context of the White arms defined in the Ralegh patent, we found six manuscript sources to provide evidence.

First, the *1573 Visitation of Cornwall*[166] gives a pedigree that places the Killyowe, Bodyer, Wyatt and Wymark families in the context of a White pedigree. That is four of the six families cited in the Ralegh patent. There is, however, no mention of John White the governor and the Arms are not tricked. The 1573 pedigree is as follows:

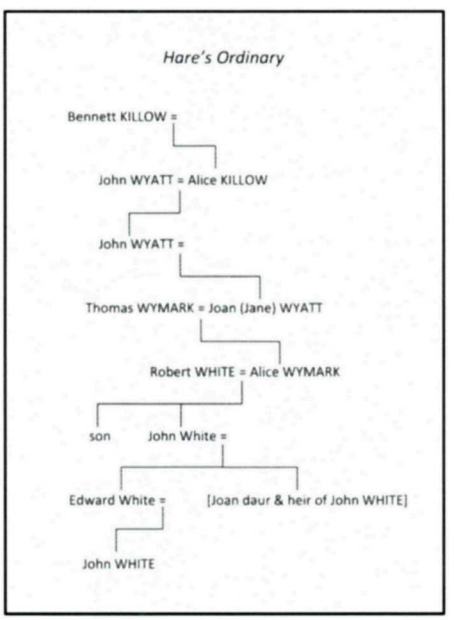


[166] *1573 Visitation of Cornwall*, College of Arms MS G6. Hereinafter, 1573 Visitation.

Secondly, seeking confirmation or explanation, we next examined *Hare's Ordinary*—an unofficial manuscript record at the College of Arms, but an invaluable source for unregistered Tudor and Elizabethan grants. Under the section dealing with Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms' confirmations and gifts, we found John White and the Wymark, Wyatt and Killow quarterings. Robert Cooke was Clarenceux from 1567 until his death in 1593, and he conducted the *1573 Visitation of Cornwall* that gives a pedigree placing the Killyowe, Bodyer, Wyatt and Wymark families in the context of a White pedigree. In earlier times, Cooke had been a servant to Lord Robert Dudley and was one of the first heralds to make a profitable business from his College activities.

Hare's Ordinary gives a coat and pedigree, but no crest. The pedigree differs little from that given in the 1573 Visitation, which was virtually contemporary. Missing the first two generations and the Bodyer marriage, the pedigree in *Hare's Ordinary* begins with Bennet Killow, whose daughter (Alice) married John Wyatt. Alice's son John Wyatt had a daughter named Joan [called Jane in the 1573 pedigree] who married Thomas Wymark. Their daughter Alice Wymark married Robert White of Lesterdell in Cornwall. We believe that this can be identified with Lostwithiel. Their second son John had a son Edward, whose offspring was named John White. The pedigree in *Hare's Ordinary* does not mention Joan/Jane, wife of Stevin Cole who would have been sister of Edward White. She is given in the pedigree of the Visitation as being the daughter and heir of John White, thus suggesting that Edward died before her. The 1573 pedigree would have been confined to the details known to Joan's offspring, while the pedigree in *Hare's Ordinary* would have been supplied by John White.

Though unofficial, *Hare's Ordinary* confirms Killow, Wyatt, Wymark in a White pedigree and introduces Edward White, grandson of Robert of Lesterdell Cornwall, and Edward's son John—who if the unofficial reference can be substantiated, is certainly in the generation of Governor White, and could be a candidate for the Governor himself.



The third manuscript source of relevance is the *1620 Visitation of Cornwall*, the next visitation conducted in Cornwall after the 1573 version. By 1620, we believe that Governor John White would have died. The White pedigree in this Visitation begins with the unnamed father of John White the haberdasher and his elder brother Richard. Only one of the copies in the possession of the College gives Richard White's sons Robert and John as being twins, but John is given as being the younger child. The pedigree is surmounted by a trick of the White Arms with a panther-like creature argent and sejant as the crest. In pencil next to this animal are written the words *an ermine*, in a contemporary hand.[167]

[167] College of Arms MS, *1620 Visitation of Cornwall.*

The Visitations of the County of Cornwall
By J. L. Vivian

WHITE OF TRURO

ARMS: Or., a chevron Vert between three goats' heads erased, Sa.
CREST: A Talbot segant, Arg.

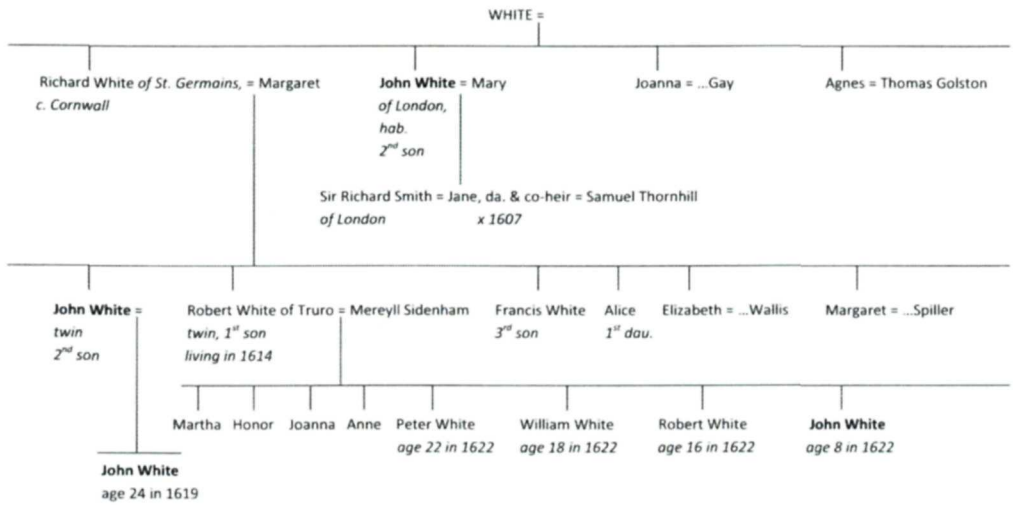


FIGURE 132: The Whites of Truro from J.L. Vivian's printed version of the *1620 Visitations of Cornwall*.[168] In the original manuscript, the crest is drawn as a panther-like ceature argent and sejant. Next to this animal are written the words, *an ermine*, in a contemporary hand.

There is no funeral certificate for John White in the College records, but there are detailed certificates for Richard Smith and Samual Thornhill. These give such full details, that they are of interest. In these it is stated that Sir Richard Smith's in-law John White haberdasher (whose daughter was Smith's 2nd wife) is given as being from Cornwall anciently. The funeral of Samuel Thornhill (1st husband of John White haberdasher's daughter) was attended by William Smith, Rouge Dragon—a noted traveler and cartographer. William Smith studied in Germany at about the same time as John White painter would have been abroad. William Smith's papers at the College make no mention of John White painter.

The fourth manuscript with relevant information is a volume in the Vincent manuscripts[169] that has a Robert Cokke confirmation of a White Coat of Arms with six quarterings: The Arms of White with the cadency for a second son in the first quarter, followed by Wyatt, Wymark, Killowe and 2/3 Buddyer. The pedigree, introducing the cadency for a second son is nonetheless consistent with four of the families cited in the Ralegh patent and with the four noted in the *1573 Visitation*. There was no trace of Saker and Butler, the sixth quarter being taken by the White Arms without the crescent. The crest looks like a stoat[170] sejant argent, but a smudge on the tail might be an ermine spot. The drawing dates from circa 1585. If the smudge on the stoat's tail is an ermine spot, then the crest for this pedigree is the same as the White coat in the *1620 Visitation*.

The British Library has two relevant documents. *Arms granted by William Segar, Garter*[171] has a quartered coat for John White of London. Segar was garter from 1607. The quarterings relate to White, Wymark, Wyatt and Killyowe.

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168 J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Cornwall* 1580, 1573 & 1620, part 2, 553.
169 Vincent MS Old Grants 184/270.
170 Stoat = Ermine. Same animal but in different seasons.
171 British Library Additional Manuscripts MS 4966/58b.

The crest is an ermine argent sejant whiskered or. The manuscript thereby providing additional documentation for a Killow, Wyatt, Wymark, White pedigree and a crest equivalent to that in the *1620 Visitation*.

The second manuscript, in the Harleian Collection, 1359/92, is contained in a bound volume of grants by Cokke and other Kings of Arms. This White coat has White, Wymark, Killyowe and Wyatt quarterings. There is a crescent drawn in the White quartering and the crest given is a white ermine sejant, its tail charged with an ermine spot. Again, the White, Wymark, Killow and Wyatt pedigree is confirmed, and again, the crest is the same as that in the *1620 Visitation* at the College.

In the 1620 Visitation, the White family lineage begins with John White haberdasher and his brother Richard. There is no ancestral pedigree given and no way to link this particular branch of the White family to any other branch has been discovered. John White haberdasher's armorial coat is identical to the White arms blazoned in the draft Ralegh patent for Governor White—except the colors of the field and chevron. The 1620 chevron is green & the field gold, while that in the Ralegh patent specifies no color for the field and sable for the chevron.

The draft Ralegh patent defines the crest as *an ermine seant proper*[172], while the *1620 Visitation* pedigree has a trick of the arms with a panther-like creature argent and segent as the crest. In pencil next to this animal are written the words "an ermine" in a contemporary hand. The 1573 Visitation has no crest, nor does Hare's Ordinary. Robert Cokke's confirmation in Vincent Old Grants and the two manuscript sources in the British Library all note an ermine crest significantly like that of the Whites of Truro. Crests are just as individual as coats. We can say that Governor John White appears to be entitled to the crest and arms granted to the Whites of Truro in the *1620 Visitation of Cornwall*, and is to be found somewhere within the armigerous Cornish family. Exactly where is another issue.

The search has begun. My colleague, lebame houston, who was a vital member of the research team investigating the armorial identification of Governor John White, shared with me her extensive independent research focused on the various armigerous White families, the linking of multiple White branches through marriage, and the study of wills and papers associated with the principal Whites of the 1580s. While individuals known to have had financial dealings with Ralegh and other overseas adventurers clearly appear in the expanded cousinage of John White haberdasher, there is no absolute point of connection to Governor John White. Certainly the haberdasher, dying in 1585, could not have been the governor. The only other possible listed candidate is the haberdasher's nephew John, variously described as twin or second son of the haberdasher's older brother Richard. Nephew John was associated with Plymouth, not an impossibility for the Governor of the 1587 colony on Roanoke Island, but more than a little out of the center of the action in the 1580s. Nephew John's will has not been located, but his brother's and his uncle's and a goodly number of other close relatives have been. Many of these wills are quite detailed—yet there is no mention of a governor of an overseas colony; no mention of a painter. Actually, based on information in hand, the first painter in the family is three generations later—and still no mention of an ancestor who painted the, by then, internationally famous pictures of the Native Americans in the New World, engraved by Theodor de Bry.

To date, there has also been no way to link a White line to a Saker or Butler family—the other two armigerous lineages specified in Governor White's arms in the Ralegh patent. Perhaps that discovery will place the Governor in the lineage. But that is a new search.

In lebame houston's notes, there is an entry for an armigerous John White of Faversham, who had a son Edward, who had a son John. According to her notes, the wills are listed but currently cannot be located at the records facility. This John, son of Edward would have been of the appropriate age to be Governor John White. Again, this avenue will require more research, but it is promising.

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[172] Longer Draft.

It may now be wise to look at what we know, or rather what we think we know about the painter and governor, John White. His possible association with the second Martin Frobisher voyage in 1577 as a painter is generally accepted by Roanoke historians, and his involvement in the Roanoke voyages has been documented and analyzed by David Beers Quinn in his *Roanoke Voyages* and other publications. Original research of the Painter-Stainer Records at London's Guidlhall by Helen Wallis of the British Library adds the discovery of a feoffment of the London Painter-Stainers Hall for which John White, painter was a feoffee in 1580.

lebame houston's research of the London Parish Registers—shared with me in 1987 and printed in 1991—adds two locations for John White painter/governor: As a young man, John White lived in the London parish of St. Martin Ludgate.

> *According to the church's parish register, a John Whyte married Tomasyn Cooper on 7 June 1566. This item alone has little significance, for there are literally hundreds of unidentified, but possibly applicable John White entries in the London registers. However, a subsequent baptism entry makes it highly probable that whoever this John White was, he resided in the parish, for on 27 April 1567, just over ten months after the cited marriage, John Whyte's son Thomas was christened. A third entry, this time in the burial Register, not only confirms the residence of the Whyte family, but also provides an identification of the father. On 26 December 1568, Thomas, the son of John White painter was buried. That these items refer to Roanoke's John White is confirmed by a second entry in the baptism register: On 9 May 1568, slightly over thirteen months after the christening of her brother Thomas, Elinor, the daughter of John Whyte painter was baptized.*[173]

There are two registers for the parish—an original and a copy. In her search for John White, houston transcribed and corroborated both versions from 1558 through 1610. There are no entries for John White after the birth of his daughter Elinor in 1568. If he had other children, as he most likely did, they were born, baptized and buried elsewhere.

The next location houston discovered for the White family is St. Clement Dane where *on 14 June 1583, fifteen-year-old Elinor married fellow parishioner Annanias Dare.*[174] While the parish is still being analyzed, it seems clear that the Dares lived in the parish for about a year and a half before relocating to St. Bride Fleet Street where they lived prior to embarking for the New World. It also is fairly clear that John White, painter and his wife Tomasyn were residents of St. Clement Dane—at least in the 1580s through 1590/91. To date, the baptism records for Ananias & Elinor's children have not been located, but Tomasyn, the daughter of Ananias was buried in St. Clement Dane on 13 March 1588/89.[175] Tomasyn Whyte, wife of John was also buried there on 6 February 1590/91.[176] Ananias's son Ananias was also buried there, but his son John was still alive in the late 1590s when his father was declared legally dead, the child named sole heir and placed in the guardianship of his next of kin—Robert Satchfield and later John Nokes. Ananias certainly had three children born in England. Whether or not Elinor was the mother of children named Ananias, Tomasyn and John has not been established, although it is certainly possible. The young couple could have had the three children before departing for the New World, naming one child for his father Ananias, one for his grandfather, John White, and one for her grandmother, Tomasyn White. The date, 1582, for the christening spoon formerly in the collection at the Painter-Stainers' Hall brings the identity of the mother to question.

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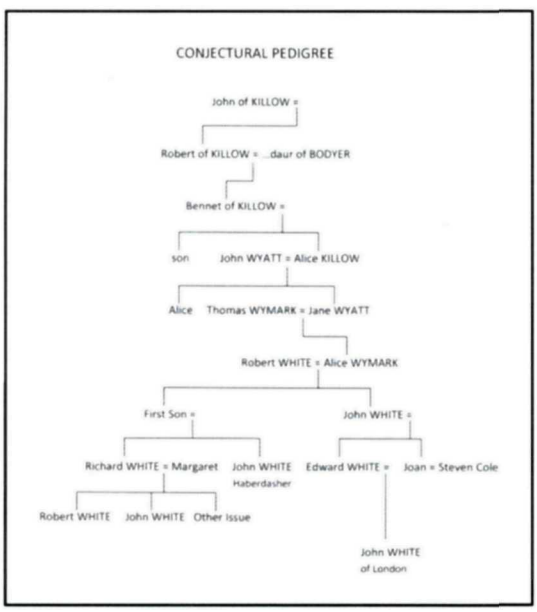
[173] lebame houston, "John White of London and Roanoke," in *The Lost Colony 1991 Souvenir Program* (Manteo: *The Lost Colony*, 1991), 30.
[174] St. Clement Dane Parish Register, Marriages.
[175] St. Clement Dane Parish Register, Burials.
[176] Ibid.

The reason for John White's relocation to St. Clement Dane is sheer speculation at this point. Perhaps the fact that Sergeant Painter George Gower [appointed 1581 – 1596] lived in the parish had something to do with it. The position of Sergeant Painter held the prerogative of gilding and painting all the royal palaces, barges, coaches as well as providing decoration for royal festivities. To this patent, in 1584, the Queen added another granting the Sergeant Painter the monopoly of portraits of the Queen excepting only Nicholas Hilliard's right to make miniatures of the Royal person in limning only.

During the tenure of John White and Ananias Dare, the parish also had a resident named William Boswell—who could easily have been the painter from St. Martin Ludgate who may also have been the painter who worked with John White in gilding armor for a royal mask in 1579.[177]

> *On January 1579, a maske of amasones was presented at Richmond Palace for the Queen, the French Ambassador being present. In a list of Revels' expenses for the time period 20 December 1578 through 15 January 1579, the following charge is cited under the category of painters:*
>
> > *To Iohe white/and* [space] *Boswell for the parcel gilding of two Armors compleat for mr Tresham and mr Knowles being two of the Knightes in the Amasons maske.*
> >
> > > *Each man was paid 33 shillings and 4 pence for the job.*[178]
>
> *The work entry is interesting on multiple levels. It brings John White into the mainstream of painters who worked for the crown, and it pairs him with another painter named Boswell. In the 1560s, when John White lived in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate, there were several other resident painters, one of whom was named William Boswell. In the parish of St. Clement Dane, where White relocated at least by the 1580s, there are also records for a resident named William Boswell who may or may not be the same person. No effort at identification has yet been made. The* Mask of the Amazons *work effort and the 1580 feofee of the Painter-Stainers Hall discovered by Helen Wallis are almost certainly references to the same John White, painter.* [179]



A few references discovered about a John White in Ireland, post 1593 are also tantalizing, but this is for another day. For now, we are close to confirming Governor John White's crest and therefore his arms. To find his position in his family line, we will need to locate his close relatives. To complete his line, we still have to find his Saker and Butler links. For that search, I have made a conjectural pedigree of the ancestry of John White, and suggested two potential **places** for him within the armigerous White family.

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Author

Presented at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

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[177] lebame houston, notes. [Editor's note: Subsequently published in "John White of London and Roanoke," in *The Lost Colony 1991 Souvenir Program* (Manteo: *The Lost Colony,* 1991), 11.]
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

Far From The Outer Banks
Recent Research on Ralegh, Lane, Harriot and White in the Caribbean, England and Ireland

by Eric Klingelhofer

This symposium [*Roanoke Conundrum—Fact & Fiction*] has focused on the North Carolina Outer Banks, and particularly upon Roanoke Island, as *the* spot for the first English settlement overseas. When we think about all that went into that first settlement and ensued from it, there are four figures that stand above all others: Ralegh, Lane, Harriot, and White. They came from different backgrounds and played different roles, but their combined efforts framed everything that took place here and recorded it for posterity. They are the Four Founders of Elizabethan America. Yet the Roanoke voyages were one episode in these men's lives. Other aspects, other activities, of these four give us insight into their abilities and attitudes. Evidence for this must be sought in distant places, far from the Outer Banks, and that is the topic of this paper.

John White's 1585 map of Sir Walter Ralegh's men's discoveries on the southeast coast of the United States shows one part of his expeditions to the New World.

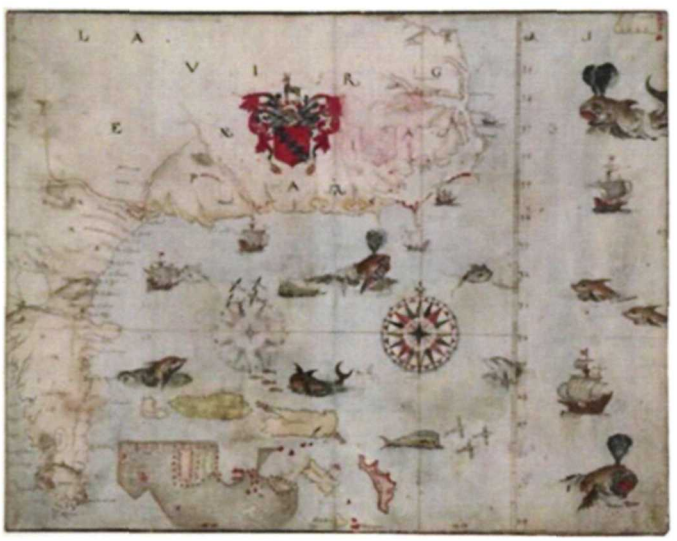

FIGURE 133: John White's *La Virgenia Pars* map of southeast North America. British Museum 1906, 0509.1.2.

We must go further south to pick up more of the story. Sir Walter Ralegh is thought to be the ultimate courtier, gentleman, and scholar—the epitome of the Renaissance Man. In the early 1580s, he came to the attention of Queen Elizabeth, and soon became her favorite at court. He advised not just the queen, but also the royal council, on matters military: first in Ireland, then on helping the Dutch fight Philip II, and finally on the undeclared naval war with Spain. As yet, no concrete evidence exists of the Elizabethan sea war in the New World, but traces may survive of the steps Ralegh took to establish a base on the North Carolina coast to intercept the Gulf Stream route of Spanish shipping.

On the way to found the colony at Roanoke in 1585, the voyage took Sir Richard Grenville's fleet into the Caribbean, where they landed at a rendezvous then called Mosquito Bay, on the south coast of Puerto Rico.

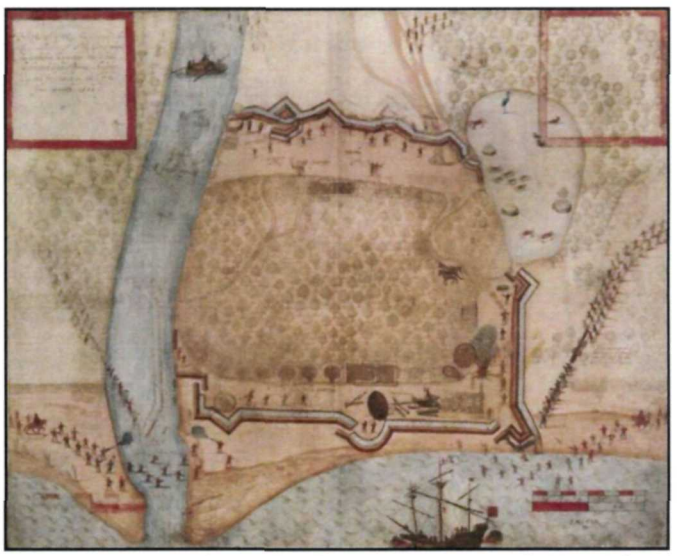

FIGURE 134: John White's picture map of Sir Richard Grenville's fortified encampment at Mosquito Bay on Puerto Rico. British Museum 1906, 0509.1.4.

To protect the sailors and soldiers recuperating after the long voyage and waiting for the rest of the fleet to arrive, Grenville built a series of entrenchments. The remarkable design of these fortifications may owe something to Sir Walter Ralegh's overall direction of the project. Certainly the men who worked for him would

have been influenced by him. The style of the south line of fortification, designated as Grenville's, has angles and concealed entrances. It is a well-designed, functional, and quickly erected, Renaissance fortification in the *trace Italienne* style. The northern defenses, labeled as Lane's, display zigzags and embellishments that reflect the most current *trace en tenaille* design, but such an earthwork of just two hundred yards seems overly complicated, perhaps even experimental.[180]

Where exactly was this first English colonial fort? David Quinn thought it was in a large bay on Puerto Rico's southwest coast called *Tallaboa* Bay, and his opinion has been often repeated.[181] But I and others disagree. The bay on the contemporary picture map by John White, where Grenville's ship is anchored, is shown to be punctuated by the strongly pronounced river mouth. Upstream it is wooded on both sides of the stream. At the northeast corner of the encampment, there is a lagoon or a lake with various kinds of wildlife. None of these landscape features exist at *Tallaboa* Bay. But a few miles to the west is a smaller bay called *Guayanilla*, which is deep enough for oil tankers to dock at a petrol refinery. The north shore is called *Playa de Guayanilla*, the beach of *Guayanilla*, a small town inland.

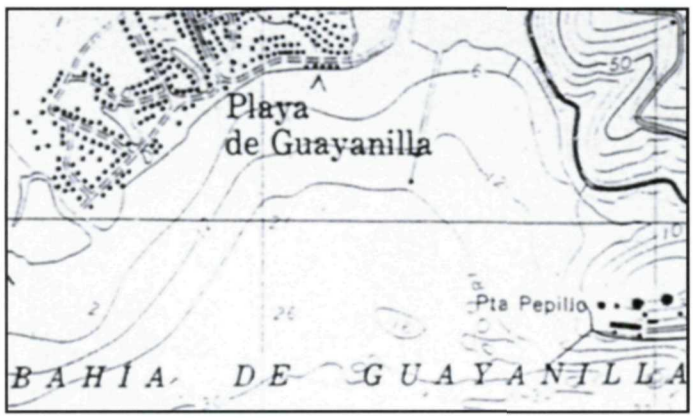

FIGURE 135: USGS map of *Guayanilla* Bay, Puerto Rico.

The river has silted up, and its course now runs further west, but the fossilized mouth remains.


FIGURE 136: Shore line of former mouth of river at *Guayanilla* Bay, Puerto Rico. Photo from the east.

Inland, the old river course runs north channelized between fields and to the northeast is a small lake. Little can be found on the ground because it is densely occupied by a fishing village and a beach area.


FIGURE 137: Street scene in *Playa de Guayanilla*, Puerto Rico.

On the next page, the comparative map of modern street system and shore line, in blue, overlies the Elizabethan picture map in grey.

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[180] Discussed in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*; Kim Sloan, *A New World. England's first view of America* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2007); Eric Klingelhofer, "Tudor Overseas Fortifications: a review and typology," in *First Forts: Essays on the Archaeology of Proto-Colonial Fortifications* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), 65-83.

[181] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages,* 181, n. 2; Sloan, *New World,* 100.

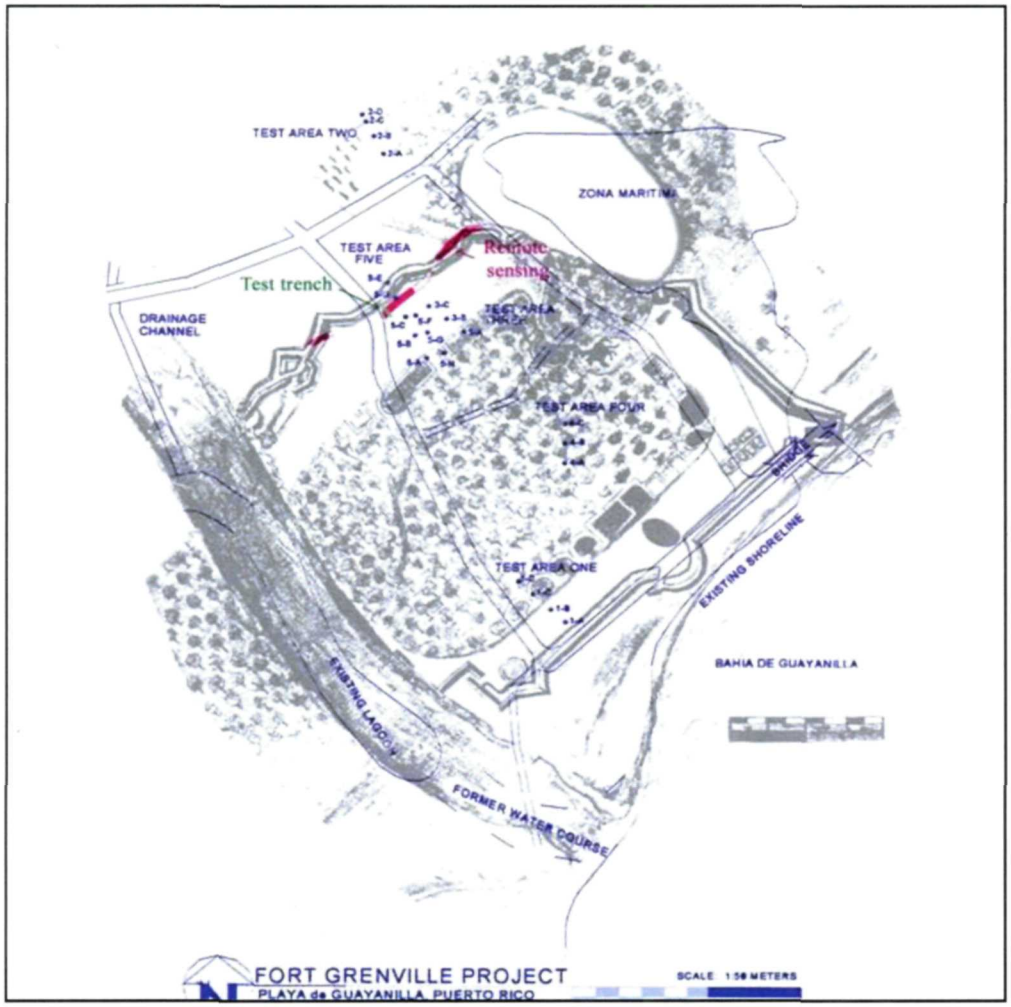


FIGURE 138: Map of Archaeological projects at *Playa Guayanille*, superimposed upon the White 1585 map of Grenville's fort.

The river course is much the same today; the forest is now only scrub trees, and the lagoon is the *Zona Maritima*, a marshy area. Remote sensing techniques found evidence at *Playa de Guayanilla* between houses and backyards, whose owners permitted my geophysical survey to obtain readings of anomalies that were close to the defensive line projected onto the modern map.

A test trench did find the slight signs of a linear feature, a ditch-like depression unfortunately truncated by sugar cane fields of the 18th and 19th centuries.[182]

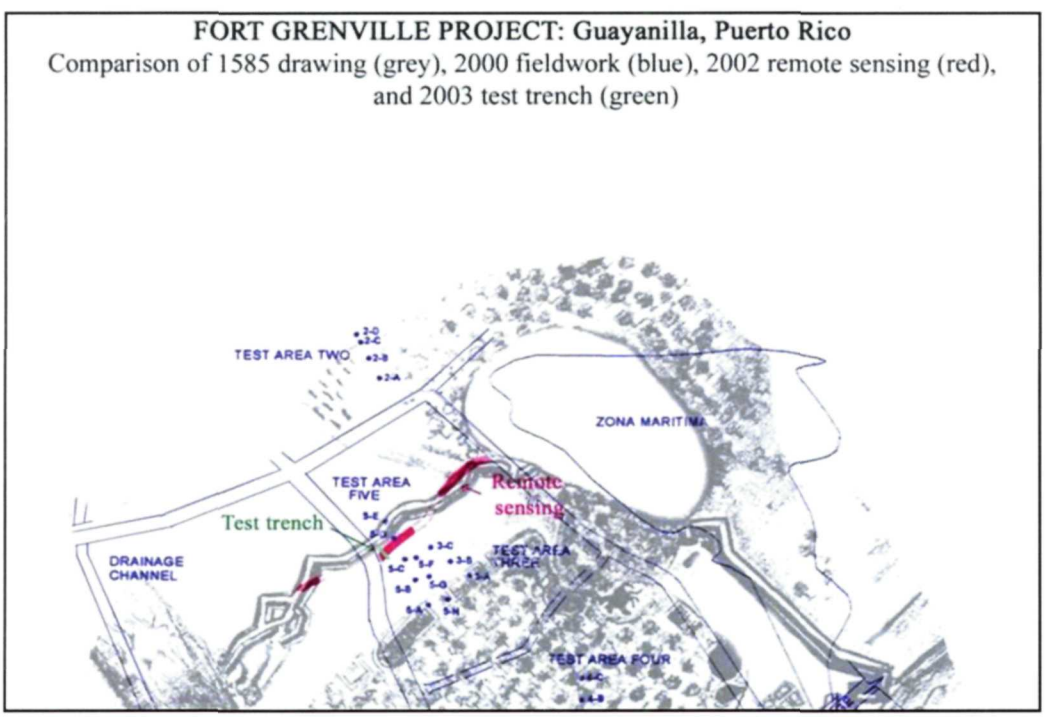
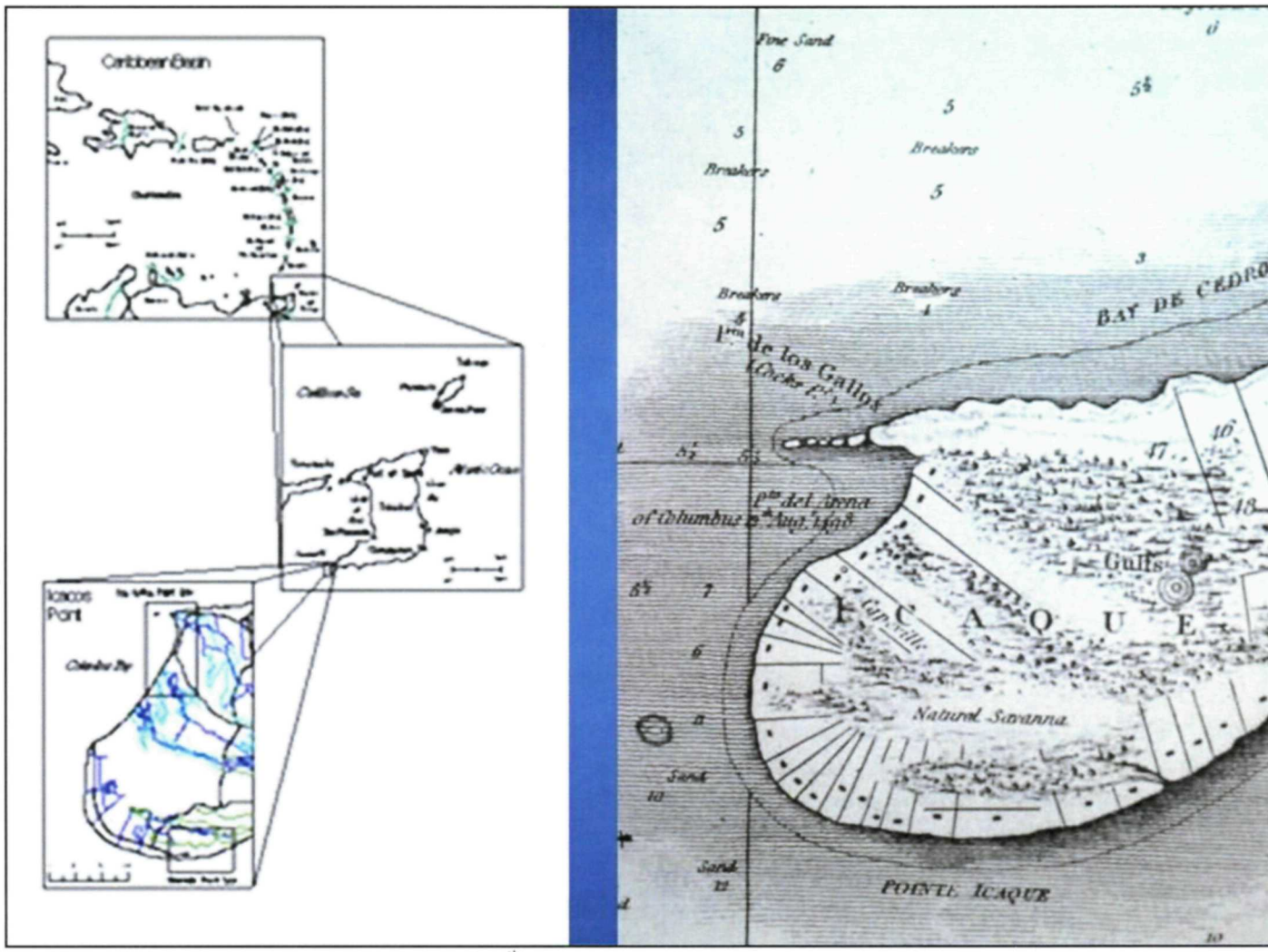


FIGURE 139: Detail of White's map of Grenville's fort on Puerto Rico.

Ralegh's men were in Puerto Rico on the way to Roanoke Island in 1585, but ten years later Elizabeth permitted Ralegh to lead an expedition to the New World. He had learned of the Spanish search for El Dorado, the City of Gold, and wanted to reach it first. The southwest corner of Trinidad, very close to the Orinoco River delta in Venezuela, is *Icacos* Point.

[182] See Eric Klingelhofer, "Geophysics and the Search for Raleigh's Outposts," in *Archaeology and Geoinformatics: Case Studies from the Caribbean,* edited by Basil Reid (Tuscaloosa: 2008), 155-169; and Klingelhofer, "Tudor Overseas Fortifications."



FIGURES 140 & 141: *Icacos* Point, Trinidad, and 19th century *Los Gallos* Point.

It has a northern projection and a southern rounded end, all fronted by water that is turbid and brown from silt flowing from the many mouths of the Orinoco. The northern promontory extends into small, tall islands that form part of a natural ridge that has long been eroded, and it is called the *Los Gallos* Point—looking like chicks in a line as the islets diminish in size.

FIGURE 142: Beach with *Los Gallos* Islets in background.

Ralegh never described precisely his activities at *Icacos* Point. He accounted for his storming the island, defeating the Spanish forces, and claiming it in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He wrote that he led crews in oar-powered boats to ascend the Orinoco to search for El Dorado. The flood season of the river defeated him, however, and he returned to order all his forces on Trinidad to depart, escaping what he thought was an imminent Spanish attack. It is from the

Spanish authorities that we learn that Ralegh had built a strong fort armed with cannons. He had expected to hold Trinidad permanently and to protect the route up the Orinoco with the fort he erected. The documents refer to *Los Gallos* Point and the site as adjacent to a freshwater stream and on a sandy beach beside the stream. Both are there today, but now the shore is almost a straight line that provides no good anchorage.[183]

Inland from the shore at *Los Gallos* Point, Mercer University archaeology student teams used various methods to survey a coconut plantation over a five year period. Past oil drilling activities made our magnetometer survey worthless; we found only the location of a massive drill hole and much metal debris scattered around by oil workers. Other techniques proved more useful.

FIGURE 143: Mercer students surveying in coconut grove at *Los Gallos* Point.

Surveying by resistivity meter and soil thermometer yielded readings suggesting ground disturbances like ditches and pits that could be man-made and hopefully not recent. It soon became clear that ground penetrating radar would be better suited here, but our remote sensing surveys and test pits not only found evidence of buried features, and even some artifacts that were unfortunately un-datable, but they also discovered the original shoreline. The unsuitability of modern *Los Gallos* Point as a place of anchorage and then fort construction was not so in the past. Our test pits exposed the gravel edge of an earlier beach, approximately a hundred yards distant from today's water and on the line indicated by early maps. Not far inland should be the remains of Sir Walter Ralegh's fort. Although the area closest to the freshwater stream is now a recreation center, and older maps show small houses there, the site's location in a coconut plantation keeps it safe from immediate development.[184]

Looking for evidence of Ralegh's experiences and for the clues that may inform us about all four men, we need to leave the New World for the Old World and turn our attention to England. The public recognizes Sherborne Castle as Sir Walter's Ralegh's beloved home, where he and his wife Bess lived during the long period of their disfavor at Court. This handsome structure, high on a hill surrounded by gardens and parkland, was purchased in the early 1600s by the Digby family from King James, who had confiscated it from Ralegh on trumped-up treason charges.

FIGURE 144: Sherborne Castle, Dorset.

But to Ralegh, it was not a castle; he constructed it as the hunting lodge for the Sherborne estate. The core of this building remains Elizabethan; Ralegh's feasting hall and other rooms still survive largely intact—even the cellar he installed. What impresses the public most, the upper stories and the corner turrets and flanking towers are all 17th-century additions.[185]

Ralegh spent much effort and large sums of money on the original Sherborne Castle, half a mile away and maintained by later generations of Digbys as a romantic ruin on the edge of a lake in beautifully landscaped grounds. Ralegh tried to improve the medieval castle to make it as impressive as Kenilworth Castle, which

[183] Klingelhofer, "Geophysics."

[184] Ibid.

[185] See Eric Klingelhofer, *Castles and Colonists: An archaeology of Elizabethan Ireland* (Manchester: 2010), 138-39.

Robert Dudley had earlier converted into one of the greatest structures in Elizabethan England.[186] Because Sherborne was largely destroyed in the English Civil War, few elements survive of Ralegh's construction.

FIGURE 145: Ruins of Old Sherborne Castle, Dorset. Gatehouse to left and great tower on right, with Ralegh's raised floor. Ralegh's Sherborne estate is one of several locations where the apocryphal pipe smoking incident is alleged to have taken place. According to the story, a servant is supposed to have come upon Ralegh smoking his pipe—a new device totally unknown to the servant. Seeing the cloud of smoke covering Ralegh's face and assuming he was on fire, the servant hastened to obtain a bucket of water, with which he promptly doused his master.

Handsome Tudor fireplaces were part of a suite of rooms built for the warden over the main gatehouse. In the center of the castle, a huge residential tower and a great hall to one side were largely demolished in the war. One corner of the tower still has the massive column that Ralegh installed to raise the floor level and make a great reception room attached to his private lodgings. Although his building plan was never completed, it would have been a magnificent palace.[187]

Sir Walter was not simply a man who built palaces. He was a military commander, and the state records tell of his orders from the Privy Council. He was instructed to oversee fortifications at strategic locations, and some of these have survived. All took place in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. At the important south coast naval center of Portsmouth, Ralegh extended shore defenses to a fort built by Henry VIII to guard the channel entrance.

FIGURE 146: Line of Elizabethan defenses, Portsmouth. To right is surviving part of medieval 'garrison' church, bombed in the Blitz.

With Renaissance angled earthwork that mounted cannons, though altered over the years, Ralegh's defenses were still used in World War II.[188]

Farther west, at Pendennis, near the other naval base at Plymouth, is one of Henry VIII's castle/fort combinations, with cannons at multiple levels and even outer ring defenses. The coastal forts took various forms: round, lobed, angled, and rectangular, all sorts of shapes that Henry VIII employed a generation before Elizabeth faced the Spanish Armada.

FIGURE 147: Pendennis Castle, constructed by Henry VIII. View from inland.

[186] See Derek Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, English Heritage Guidebook (London: English Heritage, 1991).

[187] Timothy Mowl, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 71-81. See also M. H. Johnson's walk through the site in *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London and New York: 2002), 136-60.

[188] H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works* (London: HMSO, 1982), 406-7, 526-27.

Ralegh was ordered to add landward defenses to the rear of Pendennis Castle, and he again employed an angled wall line and a sloping external face to deflect, not absorb, cannon fire.

FIGURE 148: Pendennis Castle, landward defenses built by Sir Walter Ralegh.

Yet Ralegh helped defend not just the southern coast, but also what today would be called a forward defense, in which islands some distance from the coast were bases for ships to take refuge or to strike out at Spanish fleets.[189]

One such place is Jersey, one of the Channel Isles just off the coast of Normandy. Ralegh was appointed its governor in 1600 and did much to repair and improve the defenses.

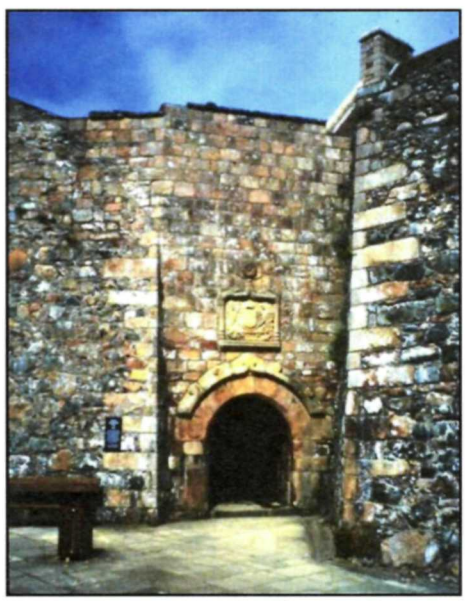


FIGURE 149: Jersey Castle, gate for inner defenses erected by Sir Walter Ralegh.

[189] Ibid., pp. 597-601.

The gate to the upper fort should date from his occupancy, but he held authority for only a few years before King James came to the throne and stripped him of his offices.[190] West of the English Channel, beyond the Cornish point of Lands End, are the Scilly Isles. St. Mary's, the largest, has a harbor overlooked by a castle—really a stone fort.

FIGURE 150: St. Mary's, Scilly Isles. Star Castle on the hill at left overlooking the protected harbor in the upper left.

Following the Council's orders to organize its construction, though never visiting it, he gave instructions to one of his supporters who oversaw its construction. Ralegh must have approved the design, and I suspect that he played a larger role than that. Called Star Castle, the structure still retains much of its Elizabethan form. Over the entranceway are the royal signet, ER, and a date, 1599.

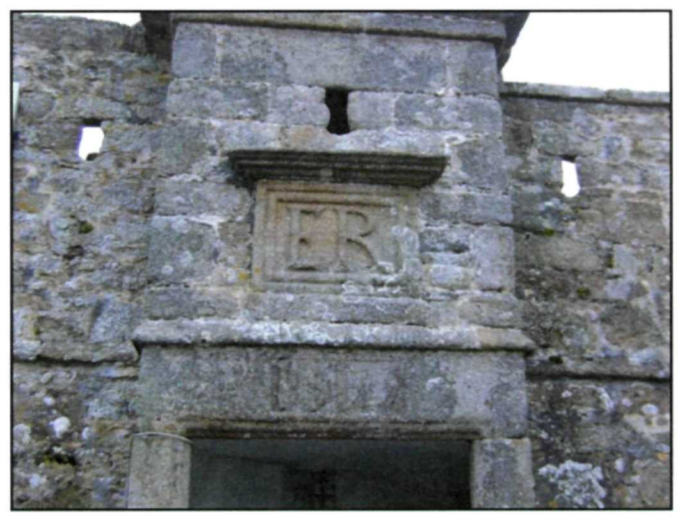


FIGURE 151: Entrance to Star Castle, with initials of Elizabeth Regina and the date, 1599, below.

[190] Ibid., pp. 453-54.

Remarkable in both design and preservation, Star Castle has been a hotel since the 1920s when Edward Prince of Wales attended its opening. It offers a unique opportunity to experience a standing and living structure, as my own stay there proved, in an 18th-century guardhouse on the outer battlements.

FIGURE 152: Star Castle, showing angled walls and defended entrance to right, surrounding roofed angled inner tower.[191]

From the ground outside or within the walls, the design of the fort is not obvious. The name Star Castle does suggest a shape, but a map drawn in 1600 makes explicit an intricate and sophisticated design. The map was part of a common military occurrence, a proposal to expand the defenses and to receive requests for additional funding.

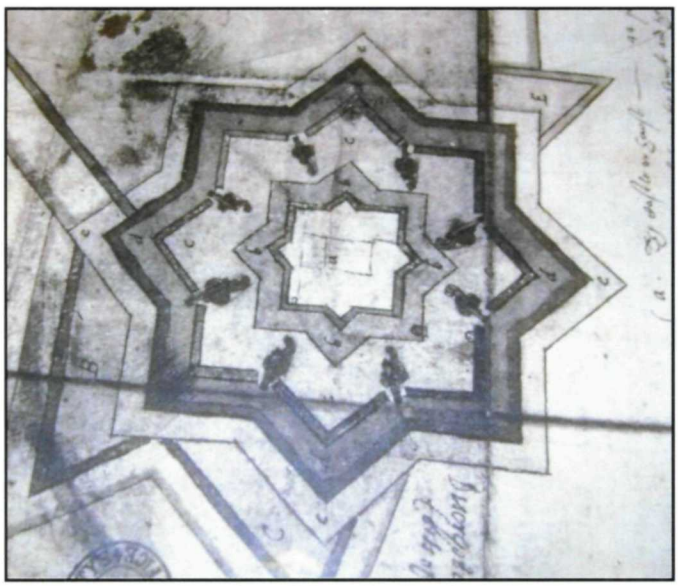


FIGURE 153: 1600 plan of Star Castle, depicting inner tower in white, ground-floor passage, raised gun platform with cannons, ditch and proposed additional external defenses. From display at the Castle. Illustration, Record Office, SP 12/264 ff 271-2.

Close inspection shows the "star" to be formed by a square shape overlaid by another square at a 45 degree angle. This is simple geometry but is nearly identical to Ralph Lane's temporary little sand fort on Puerto Rico, put up for a day so his men could safely take salt from the Spanish.

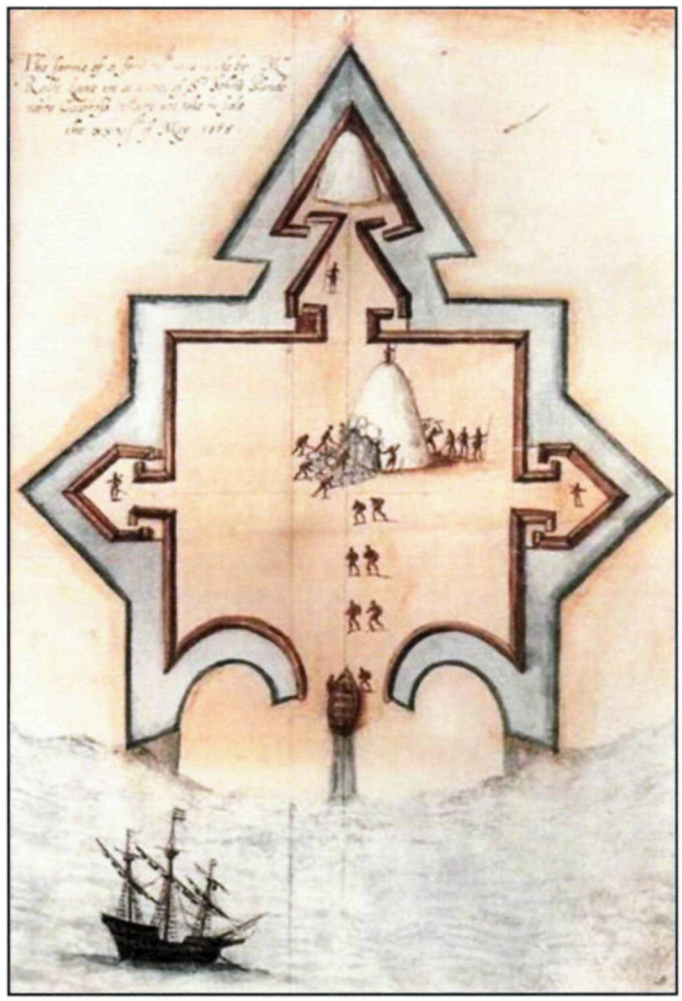


FIGURE 154: John White's picture map of Ralph Lane's earthwork sconce on Puerto Rico. British Museum 1906, 0509.1.5. According to the *Tiger* journal of the 1585 voyage, *Master Ralfe Lane, went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Ions, to fetch salt....as soone as he arriued there, he landed with men, to the number of 20. and intrenched him selfe vpon the sandes immediately, compassing one of their salt hils within the trench.*

Open to the sea, elsewhere its square walls are superimposed by others at 45 degrees. Although having two idiosyncratic corners, the Fort Raleigh earthwork also follows the principle of a square centered on a square and cornered mid-side of the first.

[191] Ibid., pp. 591-93.

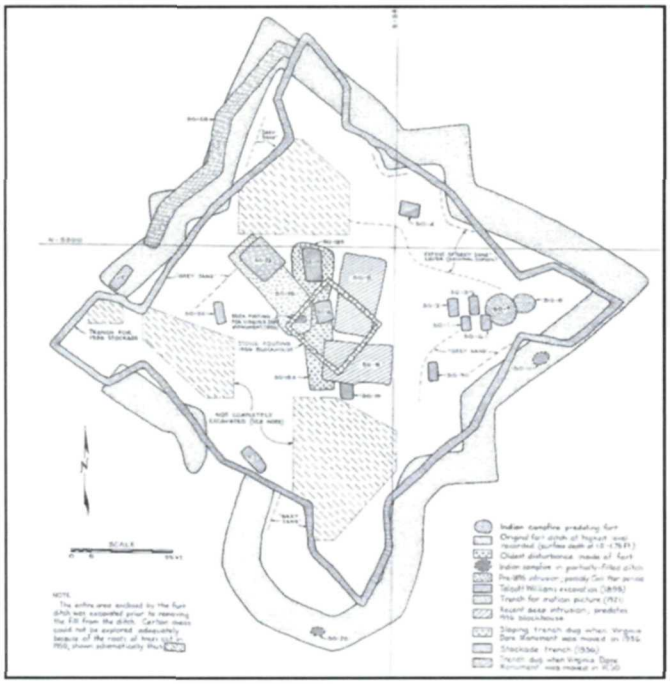


FIGURE 155: Plan of Fort Raleigh earthwork, excavated by J.C. Harrington, who first identified it as a sconce. From his *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh*, (1962).

This particular fortification design is not spelled out in Renaissance manuals, and the common link among the three seems to be Sir Walter Ralegh, perhaps from Lane. One might assume that Thomas Harriot played a role, but this is unlikely. Among his extensive papers left in the hands of his patrons the Percy family, are plans of fortifications, but none were designed like the double-square forts. All were standard Italian forms copied from instructional publications that Harriot probably used to prepare Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, for his 1600 inspection tour in the Netherlands.[192]

But we must consider other aspects of Thomas Harriot, certainly a polymath if not a military expert. He was twice the long-term expert-in-residence for an important Renaissance figure. The first was at Durham House, Queen Elizabeth's gift to Sir Walter Ralegh, a great Thames-side London mansion. Unfortunately it no longer exists. But if we were to take the traditional Elizabethan route by water, we would find several miles upstream Syon House, the London seat of the Earls of Northumberland and their residence still.

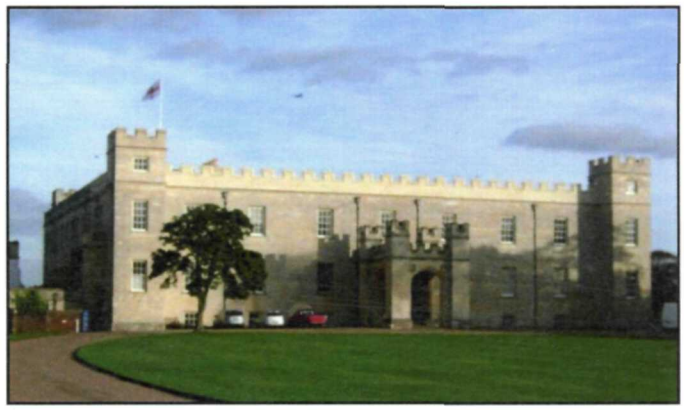


FIGURE 156: Syon House, outside London, the home of the Earls of Northumberland.

There the public will find Harriot's presence acknowledged. His achievements are less recognized as an explorer in North America and more as a Renaissance scientist who saw the craters on the moon with a telescope before Galileo, but did not publish his findings.

FIGURE 157: Waysign display at Syon House, describing work of Thomas Harriot. The benchmarks of Harriot's life and career include his sailing to the New World in 1585, and publishing his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*. By 1596, Harriot was living at Syon under the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland. Years later, both the Earl and Harriot were arrested on suspicion of their involvement in the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.

Though willing to share his work for Henry Percy, the "wizard earl," with researchers in foreign lands, he seems not to have been free to disseminate his knowledge publicly.[193] But it is known that a small

[192] British Library additional manuscript MS 6788, fols. 50-65. John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 127, 295-96, thought Harriot 'well versed' in military construction, but there is nothing to suggest that these notes were made before 1595 when Harriot entered the Percy employ.

[193] He had published his navigation manual based on his work for Ralegh at Durham House.

corner of the mansion's renowned gardens in a sort of service area between the main house and the formal

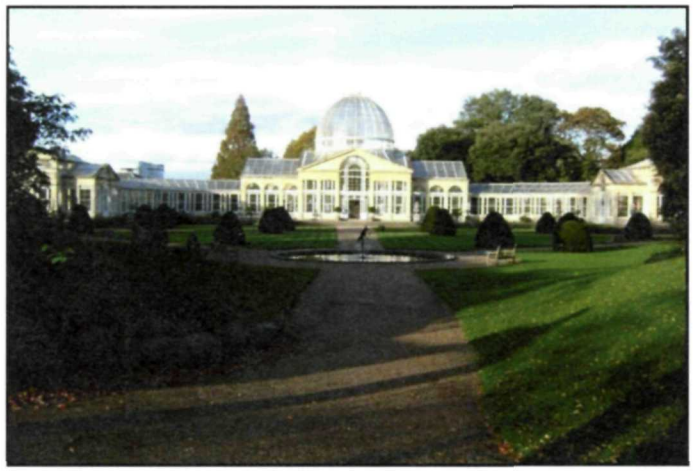


FIGURE 158: The formal gardens of Syon House, centered upon the vast Victorian Conservatory.

plantings, was where the earl once lodged him. The British Library collection of Harriot's papers contains references to the relationships of buildings and walls around the mansion, and by these means the house site can be closely located.

FIGURE 159: Garden area containing Harriot's house, with Syon House in background.

Near the spot, a grilled-covered open shaft may be part of the Syon water system that Harriot improved and extended. Drawings show a water course from a spring house some distance away, carried by pipes bringing fresh water to the mansion and service buildings.

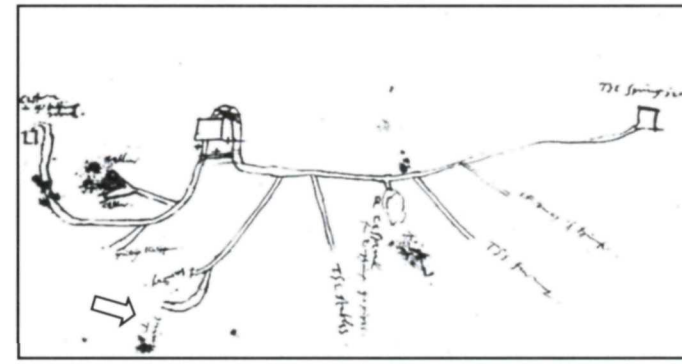


FIGURE 160: Harriot's sketch of the Syon House water system, flowing from *The Spring House* on right; *privy T.H.* is in the bottom left. From Shirley's *Thomas Harriot*, (1983). British Library additional MS 6786 fo 369r.

There are many details, but the one of greatest interest to us is labeled "privy T.H.," a water pipe that led to Thomas Harriot's dwelling. Logically, the existing shaft should be related to this feature, but whether it is or not, Thomas Harriot of Roanoke Island, certainly lived at Syon House and designed its Elizabethan waterworks.[194]

In England, new information has been uncovered about another of the four colonial founders, Ralph Lane, who erected in 1585 the *New Fort in Virginia*, the large wooden enclosure that remains to be discovered on Roanoke Island.

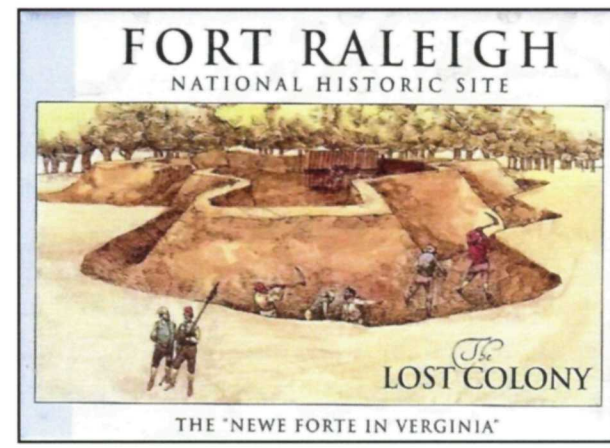


FIGURE 161: National Park Service reconstruction view of the Fort Raleigh earthwork, identified as Lane's 1585 fort.

[194] Shirley, *Thomas Harriot*, 293-95, describes the documentary evidence for the waterworks.

As the first English governor and fort-builder in America, what do we know of his expertise; seemingly of such repute that Queen Elizabeth specifically authorized him to leave his command in Ireland to rule in her name in Virginia? J. C. Harrington used a Lane letter in the Bodleian Library at Oxford to make the case for an expertise in fortifications, but did not provide details.

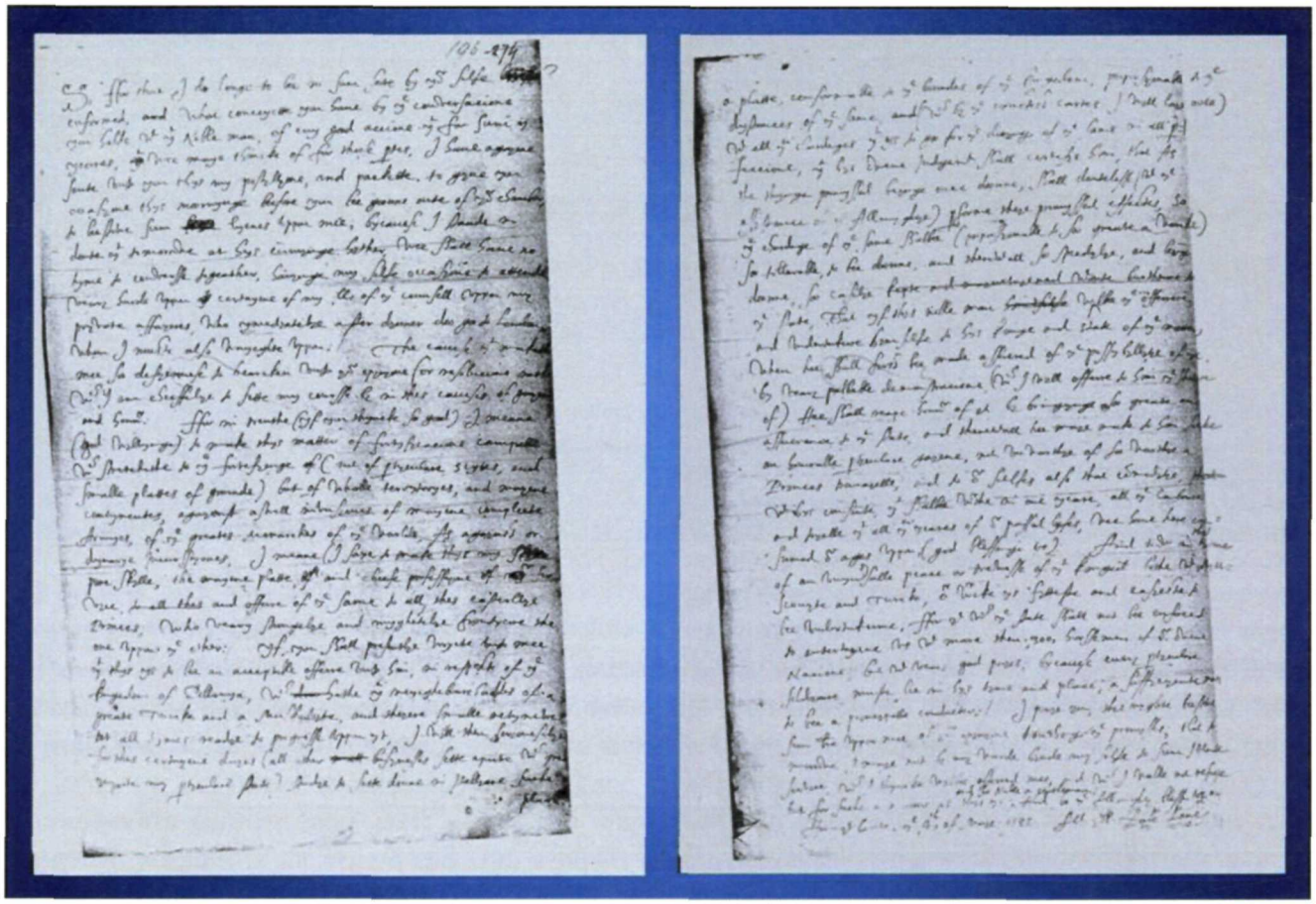


FIGURE 162: Photostat of 1583 letter from Rafe Lane to W. Hearlle. Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 79 f.196.[195]

Lane wrote on 4 May 1583 to William Herle, who served as an agent for government figures such as the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's spymaster.[196] Lane asked him to contact a man who had just arrived in England and was visiting the Queen, presumably on official business. Lane carefully did not give the name, but we know that he was Prince Albert Laski from *Polonia*, the 16th-century term for Poland. In the letter, Lane offered to design fortifications for the kingdom of Poland to protect them from one enemy, *Moskovy*, and another, *the Grand Turk*. Lane never got the commission, and perhaps Herle was unable to bring them together. Laski, we know, went from an audience with the Queen to Mortlake village near Oxford, where lived Dr. Dee, the Queen's advisor. Often called the Queen's philosopher, he was a scientist, proponent of colonization, and senior colleague of Thomas Harriot.[197] Laski convinced Dee to travel to the Continent, where he lived in Germany and the Czech lands for a number of years, and was consulted at the imperial court as a scientific expert. The Prague metallurgist at Roanoke, Joachim Ganz, however, had already taken up residence in England, so this was not an occasion for them to meet.[198]

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[195] Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 79 f.196. See Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh*, 25, n. 13.

[196] Herle also wrote to Elizabeth about Virginia colonization as a way to injure Philip of Spain: Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 225-26.

[197] Dee addressed Harriot as "friend" in 1590. Benjamin Wooley, *The Queen's Conjurer. The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Adviser to Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2001), 280.

[198] Ralegh replaced Dee in the "Fellowship of New Navigations Atlanticall and Septentionall" when purchasing the shares that Gilbert had given Dee. See Raleigh Trevelyan, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2004), 67.

The Lane letter shows how close were the connections among soldiers, scientists, and courtiers in Elizabethan England. It reveals the scope of Ralph Lane's training, skill, and ambition. Equally interesting is the closing of the letter.

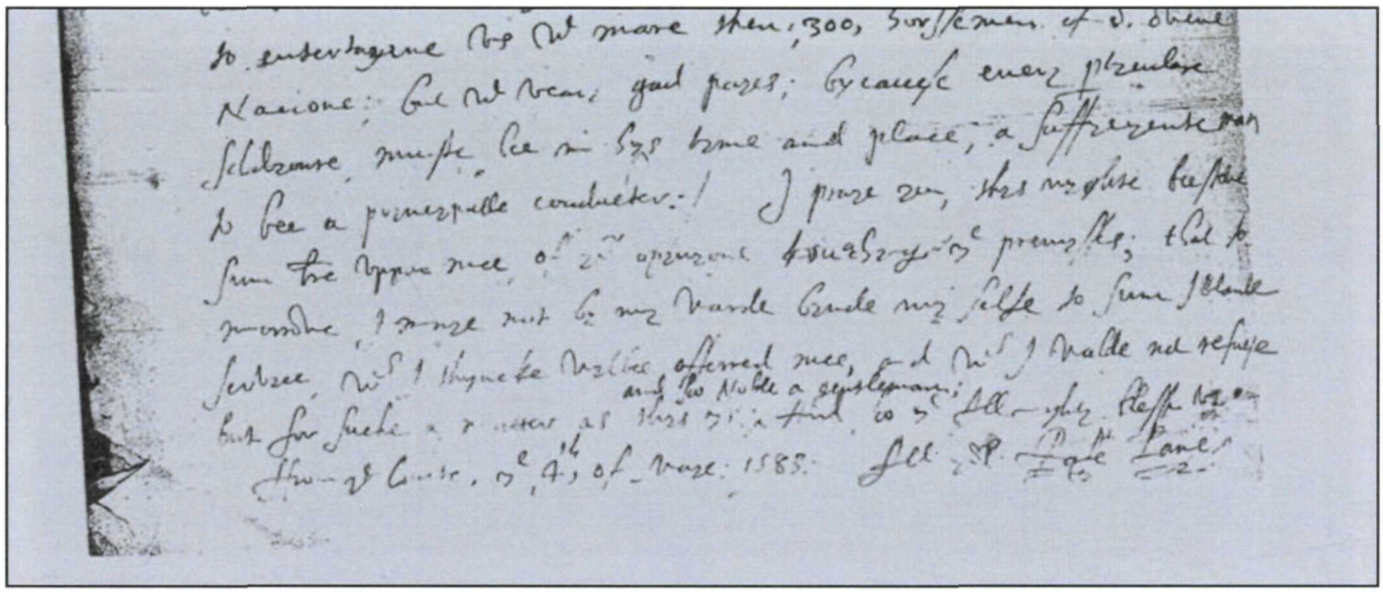


FIGURE 163: Detail of 1583 letter from Rafe Lane to William Herley. Signature at bottom right.

He signs it as *Rafe* Lane. The variant spelling provides us with the pronunciation of his name, not uncommon even today in England, though the spelling has been standardized as Ralph.[199] What more can be known about him, a hopeful designer of defenses for an entire kingdom? His native village, Horton, is a very small place today, not far from the Midland town of Northampton. His boyhood church is still standing, although closed to the public as unsafe.

FIGURE 164: Horton parish church, Northamptonshire. Photo from the northeast.

[199] Note that the 1585 letter appointing him to the Virginia post spells it "Raphe;" Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 149-50.

With permission of the verger, I located his family memorial plaque on a wall close to the altar.

FIGURE 165: [left] Horton parish church, Northamptonshire, now closed. The north wall of the chancel, with memorial plaques of aristocratic families. FIGURE 166: [right] Lane family memorial in Horton parish church.

His father, also named Ralph, was a knight. His mother was by birth of high rank as the daughter of Lord Parr, but more importantly she was the cousin of Elizabeth's much-loved stepmother, Queen Catherine Parr. Governor Lane was thus a Parr relative with royal connections, but as a younger son unable to inherit the family lands, he had turned to a military career. Lane may have been a constant job-seeker, but through his family's high position in the region and with a higher association with the monarchy, he was no unknown soldier-of-fortune. Before coming to the New World, Lane already had a minor position at Court as an equerry of the royal stable (Robert Dudley was of Master of the Horse) and held a captaincy in Ireland. Within two years of his Virginia expedition, he served on the twelve-man committee organizing the national defense against the Spanish Armada. These men were Elizabeth's warriors; Ralegh was one, Grenville another, and Lane a third. After the Armada he took part in expeditions to Portugal and later returned to Ireland, where he held senior military positions. Wounded in action, he was knighted for bravery a few years before his death; his memorial in Dublin has not survived. Despite the personal conflicts that seem to have been part of every Elizabethan life, we should now think better of Lane—of Sir Rafe, a noted soldier in the service of his queen.[200]

In Ireland we are finding new physical evidence, of the four Elizabethan *Virginians*. In the late 1500s, the Earl of Desmond held many manors throughout the southwestern Irish province of Munster.

FIGURE 167: Elizabethan map of County Cork, showing feudal divisions and English lordships. The Blackwater and Youghal lie above the corner of the empty caption in the lower right corner. National Maritime Museum. Dartmouth map 27.

When he rebelled against Queen Elizabeth, ultimately to be killed and his rebellion crushed, she made the decision to confiscate all his properties. Previously forgiving toward noble families, her policy now enforced the law that traitors lost all their possessions. Those valuable lands would be distributed to those more deserving, and her favorite, Sir Walter Ralegh, seemed the most deserving. Elizabeth gave him the largest amount of estates, a huge assemblage of lands running up the Blackwater valley from the port town of Youghal.

FIGURE 168: View of St. Mary's in Youghal. Photo from the southwest with the Blackwater estuary in the background.

[200] Sir Ralph Lane entry (by Sir John Knox Laughton), *Dictionary of National Biography 11*, edited by, Sidney Lee (London: Tempus Publishing, 1909), 518-19. See also Susan James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Stroud: 2008).

FIGURE 169: Sir Walter Ralegh's house in Youghal, now called *The Myrtles*. Photo from the southwest, showing the rear and the gable end.

Ralegh joined other courtiers, and investors too, who were expected to make southwestern Ireland safe. In Youghal still stands Ralegh's house, now called the Myrtles. Its front was altered in the 18th century, but the back side is little changed since Elizabeth's reign.

With so many large, tall chimneys, the small building was probably reused, not newly erected, by Ralegh. Originally, it would have served neighboring St Mary's church as a collegial residence with individual rooms and fireplaces, an architectural development of the late Middle Ages. [201]

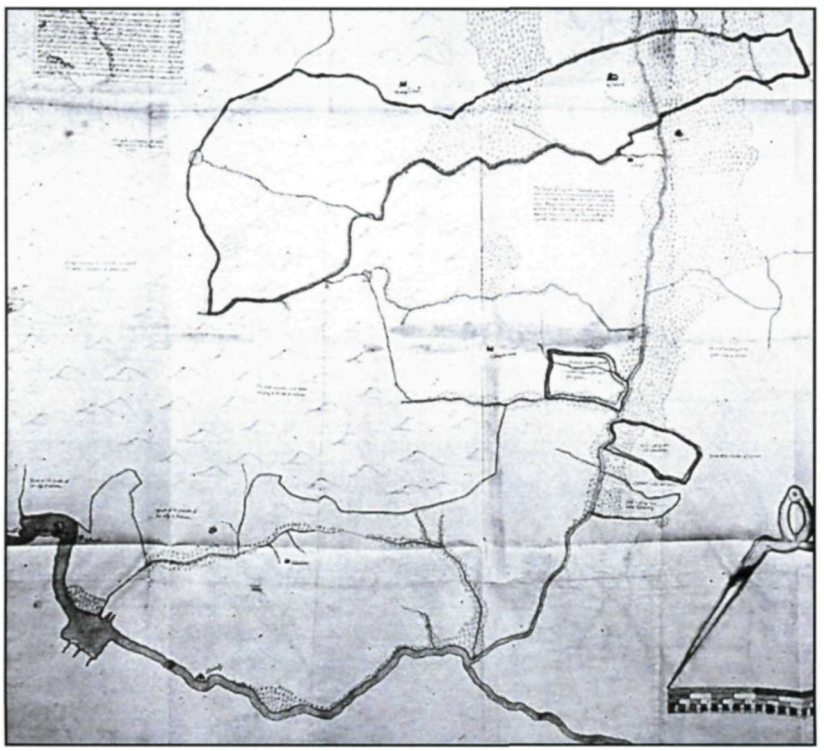
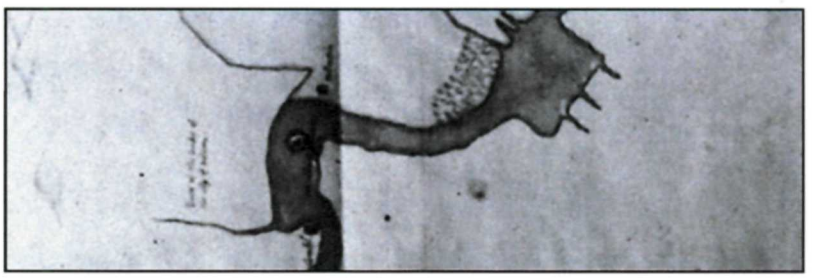


FIGURE 170: Portion of the *Inchinquin* map, showing properties surveyed for Sir Walter Ralegh on the Blackwater and Bride River valleys. Drawn with north to left, reoriented with north at top. National Maritime museum, Dartmouth map 29. [202]

Yet Ralegh's main interests were not in Youghal, but in his landholdings upstream. One 16th-century map survives to show the different estates, where surveying teams began work on the former Desmond lands in 1586.

The *Inchiquin* Map is a copy made by Thomas Harriot in 1589 (John White worked on another rare surviving map, dated 1598, after Harriot had left for London); it also depicts a small island in the Blackwater River.

FIGURE 171: [below] *Inchinquin* map, detail of lower Blackwater River with Island of Molana.



This was Molana Island, the site of an ancient medieval abbey, which Sir Walter Ralegh gave along with its nearby estate to Thomas Harriot in 1587. Architectural studies, in which I was joined by colleagues Carter Hudgins and James Littleton, included a full survey of the ruins in 2012 with the report completed in 2013.

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[201] Klingelhofer, *Castles and Colonists,* 8, 9, 106 n.7, 144-45; Tadgh O'Keefe, "Plantation-era great houses in Munster: a note on Sir Walter Ralegh's house and its context," 274-89 in T. Herron and M. Potterton, eds., *Ireland in the Renaissance c. 1540-1660* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).

[202] National Maritime Museum, Dartmouth map 29.

FIGURE 172: [left] Molana Abbey, north wall of church choir and west end. FIGURE 173: [right] Molana Abbey, residential tower north of the church.

The results reveal how during his ownership, 1587 to 1597, Harriot converted the monastic buildings into a manorial complex. A future archaeological project there is planned to recover buried details.[203]

One of the four men who led Elizabethan America has been little mentioned so far, John White, the expedition artist on the 1585 voyage and the governor of the 1587 colony. In 1593 White wrote to the publisher Richard Hakluyt from his home *at Newtowne in Kylmore* in Munster, describing his 1590 return to Roanoke Island and his discovery of the colonists' absence. Unfortunately there are many Newtowns in southwest Ireland and just as many Kilmores. David Quinn noted that Kilmore translates as *the Great Wood*, and such an area had the Elizabethan name of *Cuffe's Wood* in north County Cork. Quinn found a Newtown in the 12,000 acre area that Cuff controlled and suggested that it was White's home.[204] But in 1979, an Irish scholar, W. A. Wallace, noted that the Ballynoe village in southeast County Cork, not far from Ralegh's estates on the Bride River tributary of the Blackwater, was near an area called Kilmore in Elizabethan documents.[205] As Ballynoe can be translated as *New Town*, Wallace proposed that this was the location of White's house. But local archaeologist Eamonn Cotter has challenged that idea, seeing no example of a settlement name translated into English, then translated back into Irish. He offered, instead, a wood called Kilmore in the north County Cork area where Cuff had been granted lands. The government's Down Survey map from the 1600s depicted near Kilmore a village called Newtown Shandrum, and Cotter proposed that as White's residence.

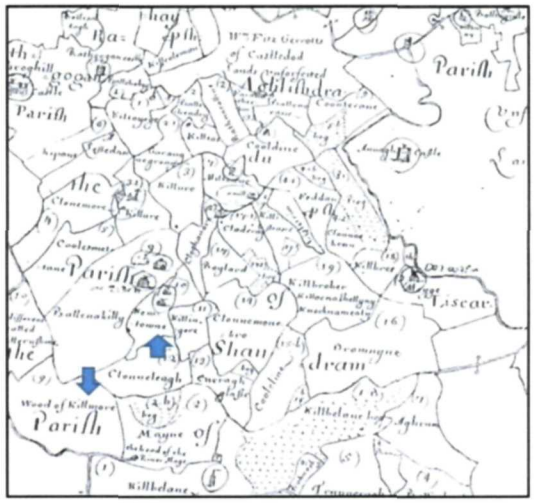

FIGURE 174: 1659 Down Survey Map shows townland Newtowne in parish Shandron barony of Orrery and Kilmore; and townland *Wood of Killmore* to the southwest.[206]

John White was closely tied to Ralegh and Harriot, however, and his house should be found near their activities. Ballynoe can be rejected as a possible residence, but the nearby Kilmore place-name was closer to Ralegh's power on the Backwater than other suggestions. Townlands are an administrative unit comprising several farms; a Kilmore townland lies today off the Bride valley on the road to Youghal. Because woodland names often mark the farthest extents of once-broad forests, this Kilmore would have lain in the wooded upland that reached from the Bride Valley southeast to the lower Blackwater.[207]

The Irish Archaeological Survey map of the area shows the relevant sites: Walter Ralegh's house in Youghal; Thomas Harriot's Molana Abbey; the castle of Templemichael, which Ralegh had given to his local agent; and the nearby grouping of the Newtown townland and two nearby Newtown place-names.

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[203] Eric Klingelhofer and James Lyttleton, "Molana Abbey and its New World Master," in *Archaeology in Ireland* no. 4 (Wordwell, Dublin: 2010), 24:32-35.

[204] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 716.

[205] See Shirley, *Thomas Harriot*, 160, for Wallace's argument.

[206] Eamonn Cotter, personal communication, 2011. See website: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/historical-gis. html. 20 September 2013.

[207] Compare to Mogeely Castle and its deserted settlement on the Bride River and the modern Mogeely village not far from the south coast, with the medieval forest of Mogeely covering all the wooded upland between them. See Eric Klingelhofer, "Elizabethan Settlements at Mogeely Castle, Curraglass and Carrigeen, Co. Cork (Part I), "*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society,* 104 (1999), 97-110.

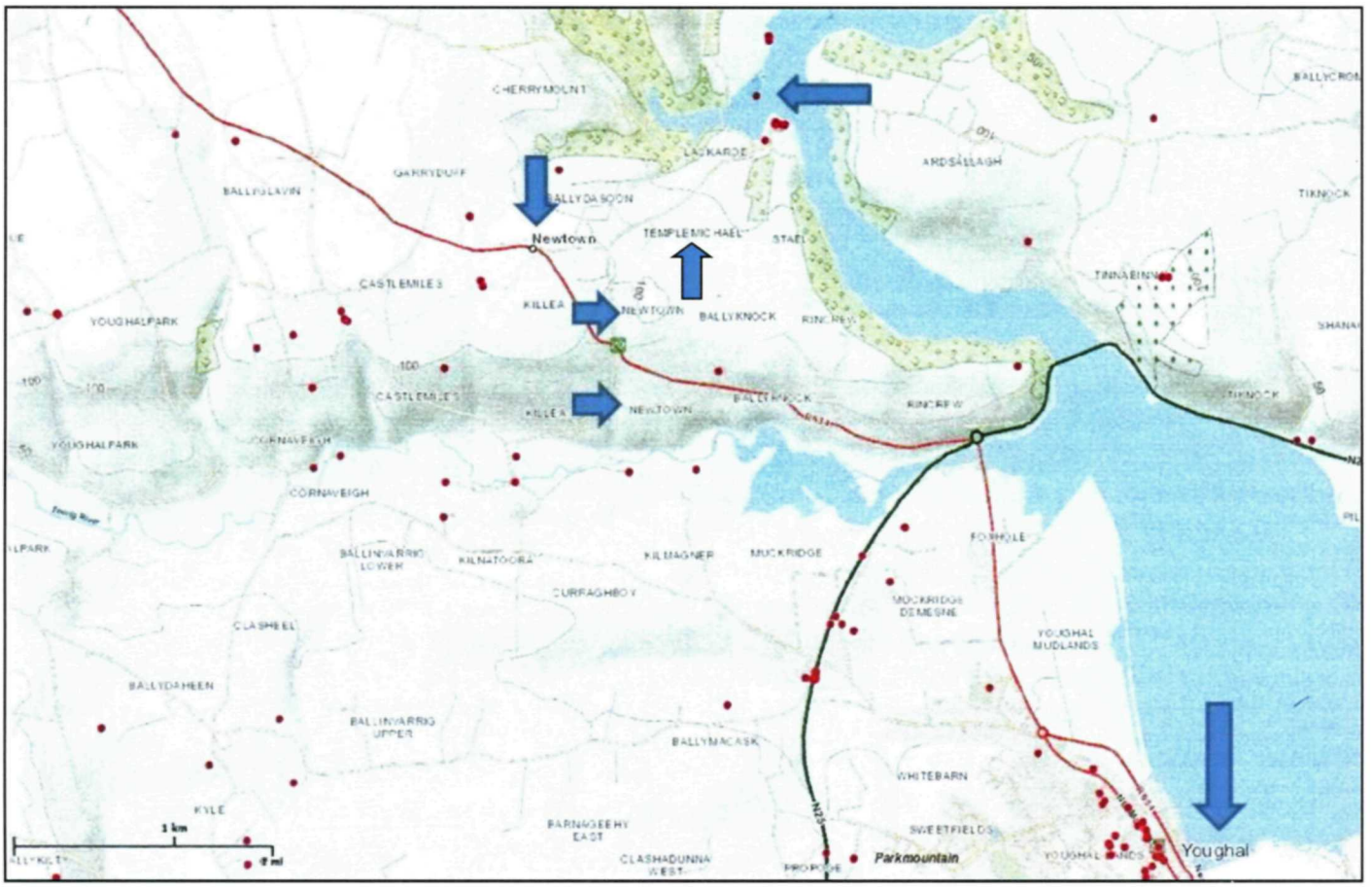

FIGURE 175: Irish Archaeological Survey Map of the lower Blackwater valley with the port of Youghal and upstream the small island of Molana. Inland localities bearing the name of Newtown.[208]

I cannot claim that the Newtown residence of John White has been identified, but the evidence is strong. When Thomas Harriot returned to London and there looked though his telescope at lunar wonders, he soon sold his Irish land to his English neighbor at Templemichael, William Floyer. By using some of the symbols he himself had created for an Algonkian script, we know that Harriot helped create the *Inchiquin* Map for Ralegh. It depicts along the river Molana Abbey and nearby Templemichael (a former Templar holding). The townland of Templemichael climbs west up to the once-wooded high ground, where it adjoins another townland, Newtown. John White spent his last days participating in the administration of the vast Raleigh estates and living on one of them, Newtown. Surely this is too great a coincidence.

This paper has presented new information on the lives of the Four Founders of Elizabethan America. As for the Old World residence of the former governor of Ralegh's Virginia, John White, research has brought us tantalizingly close to identifying it, just as we may soon be able to recreate, at least virtually, Thomas Harriot's house. But until both projects advance, these buildings—and the dreams that once filled them—lie only in our imaginations.

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Professor of History, Department Chair, Mercer University
A Senior Archaeologist, First Colony Foundation Board of Directors
Author

Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium, *Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction*
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012

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[208] Website: http://www.archaeology.ie/ArchaeologicalSurveyofIreland.

1991 Archaeological Investigation, Phase II Interim Report Submitted To The USNPS Southeast Archeological Center

by Ivor Noël Hume

FIGURE 176: Phase II excavations seen from the east, 1950 reconstructed earthwork in background.

PREFATORY NOTE

This interim archaeological report, like any other, is designed to disseminate information gleaned from the digging as succinctly and as quickly as possible. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that such interpretation as it provides is the last word on any facet of the project. By its nature, too, the report lacks the historical background, and the ancillary arguments will be included in the final account of the 1991 work.

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY FOUNDATION

The Virginia Company Foundation is a public non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the Archaeological heritage of Virginia's eastern settlements. Since its inception in 1988 the Company's staff has undertaken both archaeological and historical research on behalf of the Commonwealth and of the United States National Park Service, and has worked on several sites threatened by major developments in the Tidewater area.

A staff nucleus is augmented on a project by project basis by experienced archaeologists drawn from major institutions such as the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, and Mary Washington College.

An exempt organization under section 501(c)3 of the Internal Revenue Code, The Virginia Company's tax identification number is 54-1472920.

PROJECT DESIGN SUMMARY

The Sought Goals

The renewed archaeological investigations at the Fort Raleigh site undertaken between October 25 and November 9, 1991, under the aegis of the Virginia Company Foundation and the writer's on-site direction, was designed to help support or disprove the proposition that the earth fortification, reconstructed in 1950 was not (as it has been interpreted) Ralph Lane's 1585-86 fort, but was erected later. The same revisionist thesis argued that the wood-built structures found by J.C. Harrington in 1965 was not an "outwork" to the earth-built fort, but

was in reality part of the fort built by Lane and described in 1585 as a "wooden fort of little strength"[209]

The above argument drew heavily upon artifactual evidence recovered in part by Harrington in 1965,[210] and from additional ceramic material excavated in an adjacent area in 1983 by National Park Service archaeologists John E. Ehrenhard and Gregory L. Komara.[211] Together the ceramics and bricks suggested the presence within Harrington's "outwork" (Lane's fort?) of scientific research probably associated with the metallurgical studies undertaken by "mineral man" Joachim Gans during the 1585 expeditions sojourn on Roanoke Island. It was further argued that the presence of copper and ceramic sherds reported by Harrington as being found under the rampart remains of the earthwork (as well as in the subsequent silting of its ditch)[212] suggested that Gans had done his work before the earthwork was built and that its construction had cut through at least part of the land surface previously used or occupied by Gans and other members of the 1585-86 colonizing enterprise.

The intent of the 1991 investigation, therefore, was to try to locate an undisturbed 16th-century stratum that could unequivocally be identified as the place where Gans worked—rather than as a general area where waste products and other related fragments had been deposited by unknown hands at an uncertain time. On the last day of the dig, that aim was fulfilled.

The second aim was to find an intact 1585 layer that could be shown to have been cut through by digging the reconstructed fort's ditch. With the possible exception of one small Gans-related (?) artifact found at the fort's entrance in ground intersecting the ditch (IIB.11, F.R.E.R. 26E), that goal was not reached. The site flanking the ditch had been too extensively disturbed to allow the hoped-for evidence to survive.

The project's third intent was a) to determine why Harrington thought his "outwork" had been constructed from still rooted trees, and b) to find additional post or "tree" holes that would further define the curtain walls extending S.W. and S.E. from the outwork's box-like central feature. The first question was convincingly answered, but although many holes were found and plotted, they did not provide patterns recognizable as those of palisades, or, indeed, of buildings inside them. However, the team's failure to recognize structures may be blamed, at least in part, on the sequence of events that had misled Harrington into assuming that his outwork's holes had been created entirely by trees.

The Archaeological Strategy

Careful reading of Harrington's 1962 and 1966 reports had made it very clear that the Roanoke Island site was archaeologically extremely fragile, and that with so few artifacts yet found, the precisely recorded placements of each potentially significant item would be essential.[213] To work in what is geologically little more than compacted sand, and to record, identify, and to initially interpret each artifact while still *in situ*, called either for one or two highly skilled archaeologists with 16th-17th century experience working slowly over a very long period or to assemble a large team of skilled directors and do the work in a relatively short time. Because of the friable nature of the island's soils and their vulnerability to erosion by wind, rain, and misguided (or unguided) visitors, only the second alternative had merit.

To test the viability of this plan, a core team was assembled by the Virginia Company Foundation in April, 1991, to embark on a four-day, Phase I test to determine the soil's stability and to enable the principals to learn what to expect when the high-intensity Phase II began. The April test provided four crucial pieces of evidence:

1) The sandy strata, separated.

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[209] Relation of Pedro Diaz, March 11/21, in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 2:790.

[210] Jean Carl Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh,* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Monuments Association, 1966).

[211] John E. Ehrenhard & Gregory L. Komara, *Archeological Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Season 2, 1983* (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1984).

[212] Harrington, *Search For the Cittie of Raleigh,* 21-22.

[213] Artifacts found in *bonafide* 16th-century contexts are identified by individual find numbers in addition to their stratum numbers, and the positions of all such numbered items were triangulated. However, if an artifact was dislodged during the ground scraping process and its precise position could not be assured, that artifact bears only its layer number, *e.g.* F.R.E.R.13D. When find numbers are appended, the full citation reads F.R.E.R.E.13D, #21. There being so few *in-situ* artifacts, this numbering is continuous across the site.

2) Holes that in some respects had the appearance of post holes.

3) The area intended for excavation had been seriously and extensively disturbed by modern road building and removing, by trenching for water and electrical lines, as well as by the Harrington and Ehrenhard excavations.

4) Backfill from the former's digging yielded Phase I's only Elizabethan artifact—a warning that none of the previous digging's backfill could be quickly removed unexamined. It would all need to be screened in search of errant artifacts.

Although two of the four revelations were discouraging, the others made it clear that if undisturbed strata could be found they would be easy to identify, and that no tree root hole should be dismissed as potentially uninformative.

Because Harrington's excavations had been recorded before the metric system became the Park Service's measurement of choice, it was decided to continue to use feet and inches. It also made sense to use the system employed by those who created the features we hoped to measure.

It has long been American anthropological practice to excavate in two, three, or five meter squares immediately adjacent to each other. However, in the Old World (at least until recently) the Wheeler/Kenyan grid system has been employed. This divides the site into fifty foot squares containing sixteen ten-foot squares separated by two-foot and three-foot balks. The preservation of the balks enables dirt to be screened and carried away from the site without walking or running barrows over ground in the process of excavation. They also protect survey grid markers (which in the open square system often fall out); they provide for quick and accurate triangulation, and most important of all, they provide a pattern of always-checkable stratigraphic profiles in every direction across the site. At Fort Raleigh as the excavation progressed several balks were removed, enlarging the opened areas so that their postholes and other features could be photographed and more fully interpreted. Although most of the balks still remained at the end of phase II, only one retained possibly useful information, this beneath a tree that we were reluctant to damage to the point of death.

The Number System

The Phase II grid remained as devised for Phase I, the numbered units being theoretically extended east into the reconstructed fort and south into the open area to the west of it. North/south grid lines were lettered (A, B, C) and the east/west lines received Roman numbers (I, II, III, etc.). Thus the central, and principal area of investigation was defined as IIIC. Numbering was from the S.E. corner, as was the Arabic numbering of each unit's sixteen ten-foot squares. Thus, for example, the excavation's most productive area became IIIC.9. Removed balks between squares were defined by the linked numbers of those sub units, thus: IIC 10/11.

Stratigraphy and features within each ten-foot square were identified by Fort Raleigh Excavation Register (F.R.E.R.) numbers, the straight number (e.g. F.R.E.R.31) being applied to topsoil and otherwise unstratified material, and each layer or feature below it being given a letter. Thus a layer immediately below the topsoil would be F.R.E.R.31.A, with a root hole exposed by its removal being defined as 31B, in turn cutting through layer 31C. To avoid possible misreading of hurriedly written field notes and the numbers applied to the artifacts, several letters were not used: I, J, O, Q, U and V.

Record Keeping

The key to this short-term and high-intensity surgical excavation was, as previously explained, the experience of the excavators. Each ten-foot unit was supervised and in most cases dug by an archaeologist of directorial caliber who kept his/her own day book and drew his/her own profiles and area plans. At the day's end those books and plans were turned over to me to be summarized in the Excavation log, and the following morning the unit drawings were reviewed by the project's draftsperson to make sure that everything of significance had been transferred to the master plan.

To ensure that all day-book entries and drawings used the same system, each recorder was first provided with a three page set of instructions and an illustration of the kinds of drawn details needed both horizontally and

vertically. That level of preparation and the resulting uniformity made the end-of-day logging much easier. It should be added that these day books will become the permanent record of all details that are not of sufficient importance to feature in the final report.[214]

Artifact Recording

Because stratified European artifacts were expected to be few and far between, the plan called for each to be plotted by triangulation. But because Phase I had revealed a few aboriginal sherds scattered in an apparently un-interpretable way through the primary levels, the written instructions did not call for each to be plotted. However, as the excavation progressed, it became clear that the native ceramic vessel and tobacco-pipe fragments had almost certainly been used on the site, not by tribal inhabitants but by the colonists, the instruction was amended to require the triangulation plotting of all stratified cultural material.[215]

Profiles and Elevations

Because the investigated area had been so extensively, and in some sectors, totally disturbed in modern times, detailed all-sides profiles were considered an unaffordable expenditure of time. Nevertheless, two major profiles were drawn both N/S and E/W across the site, specifically the east balks from IIIB.9 to IIIc.9, and the south balks from IIIB.3 to IIIC.4. Other short, ten-foot sections were drawn in those areas that had something to contribute. Because the site was virtually flat, and such undulations and variants as it had were the product of modern disturbance, the majority of elevations were only recorded as being below modern grade (B. M. G.) in key areas, and the N.E. corners of most squares transit-derived elevations were taken, their measurements projected from the 1936 F.D.R. benchmark which had been used by Harrington and given an arbitrary elevation of 100 feet above sea level. On all plans top elevations were marked with triangular symbols and bottom with a square.

[214] Purely procedural information provided in this interim report will not be included in the final, designedly more readable account of what was found and what it meant. Then, too, other information unrelated to the site's 16th-century occupation, *e.g.* concerning modern utility trenches and other NPS disturbances will remain recorded only in the day books and on the Phase I-II master plan.

[215] See Note No. 213.

Photography

Black and white record photography was my responsibility and eleven rolls were shot and processed by the National Geographic Society. These are simply feature shots and do not include working or action pictures. Most of the record shots are duplicated in color slides. The National Geographic Society provided a professional photographer, William Ballenburg, whose color pictures were forwarded unseen to the Society. He was reluctant to allow me to review his preliminary Polaroid shots and so one had no way to monitor what he shot. His photography of artifacts from Harrington's excavations was also taken without archaeological input or supervision.

The Virginia Company, N.P.S., and Local Participants

THE PHASE II PROJECTS' SENIOR STAFF WERE AS FOLLOWS:

Ivor Noël Hume, Field Director

William Kelson, Va. Co. President

Nicholas Luccketti, Va. Co. Executive Director

David Hazzard, Supervising Archaeologist

Carter Hudgins, " "

Eric Klingelhofer, " "

Nathaniel Smith, Archaeologist

Audrey Noël Hume, Curator

Martha Williams, Curatorial Assistant/Archaeologist

Jamie May, Draftsperson

Phillip Evans, Historian/Servitor[216]

William Leigh, Servitor/Archaeologist

[216] The term *servitor* is here used to define theoretically unskilled persons hired to push wheel barrows, to sieve dirt and perform other heavy and menial tasks. In some instances the servitors were historically or archaeologically skilled and took those jobs as a means of participating; in others, servitors learned sufficiently quickly to undertake more specialized tasks. Without exception, all were worth their weight in gold. The term *servitor* has its origins in 17th-century glass making, where the journeyman assistant to the master blower was so defined.

Alastair MacDonald, Va. Co. Accountant/Servitor

Bennie C. Keel, N.P.S., S.E.A.C. Supervisor

Although the Fort Raleigh project is professionally sponsored by the Virginia Company Foundation, its archaeological principals came from several leading institutions: the Noël Humes retired from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Dr. Kelso from the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Mr. Luccketti from the James River Institute for Archaeology, Dr. Klingelhofer from Mercer University, Dr. Hudgins from Mary Washington College, Mr. Hazard who directs the Virginia State Archaeological Salvage Program, Mrs. Williams formerly an artifact registrar for the National Park Service, and Phillip Evans who for many years as a Park Service Ranger also acted as its unofficial historian at the Fort Raleigh site.

In addition, six local servitors were hired to sift soil and shift wheel barrows. They were as follows: Susanne Wrenn, Alice Snow, Ward Hall, Brian Kersey, Stephen Ryan and Michael Gery.[217]

Financial Support

Phase II was primarily funded by a to-be-matched grant from the National Geographic Society, the match being donated by the Kenan Foundation, the Elizabeth Hooper Foundation, Mr. Lawrence Lewis of Richmond, and Mrs. James E. Maloney of Wiliamsburg.

Public Relations

Before Phase II excavations began, the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site staff removed all concrete paths within the to-be-impacted area and substituted a highly professional boardwalk to skirt the area and to provide visitors with opportunities to view the work as it progressed. Special recognition is given to Charles Snow for his cooperation, but all NPS grounds crew provided a variety of assistance without which the project would have progressed far less smoothly and efficiently.

The Park Service management prepared a very helpful leaflet describing the project to visitors, and detailed an interpreting ranger to answer their on-site questions.

The final Friday (November 8) was set aside for a press visit, an invitation deliberately kept low key in a studied effort to avoid breaching the publicity restrictions imposed upon the recipients of the National Geographic Society's research grants. The attending reporters were therefore limited to representatives from the *Virginian Pilot* and the local *Coastland Times*. The former published its report on November 9 and the latter on the 14th, and considering the complexity of the story to be told, both were commendably accurate.

Upon completion of the excavation, but before the artifactual and posthole evidence could be fully studied, the National Geographic Society news service issued a lengthy release to both the United Press and the *New York Times* News Service written by its science writer Donald Frederick.

At the time that this interim report is compiled no decision has been made by the National Geographic Society on whether to carry a Fort Raleigh article in its magazine. However, and as previously noted, the society did send down photographer Ballenburg, and later the well-known historical illustrator Richard Schlecht to garner material that could be used in such an article.

No decisions have been made regarding a possible television program on the renewed search for "Fort Raleigh" but professional footage was shot by I Video Inc., of Norfolk and by team member David Hazard. Together, they provide a basis for any subsequent program which must inevitably rely strongly on supportive historical visual material. In the spring of 1990 I had recorded an interview with pioneering archaeologist J. C. Harrington at the reconstructed Wolstenholme Towne fort, seeking his views on the merit of renewing excavations on what will always remain *his* Roanoke Island site.

Site Visitors

Dr. and Mrs. J.C. Harrington visited the Phase II excavations on November 6 and 7, and although he had turned ninety at the end of October, his memory of his work at Fort Raleigh remained vivid and extremely helpful. Virginia Harrington, too, was able to comment on their shared work on the outwork in 1965. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of their visit, however, was

[217] See Note 216.

their presence among the younger members of the Phase II team. The resulting group photograph inside the earthwork showing four generations of historical archaeologists there assembled is one that each participant will long treasure [see last page].

On November 3 the site was visited by Mr. and Mrs. G. Humphrey Bryan of Hampton, Virginia. Mrs. Bryan is chairman of the Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America's *Fort Raleigh Committee* which had been set up when that society generously donated to Phase I of the 1991 project.

THE EXCAVATION

Quest for a 16th-century Horizon

The Phase I work had left little doubt that the composite plan showing the relationship between the reconstructed earth fort and the Harrington and Ehrenhard excavations, drawn by William P. Athens for the Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center in 1983, was in some undetermined way flawed. Nevertheless, this was the only available base map, and it was onto this that the 1991 grid had to be overlaid. Consequently areas of known previous disturbance that we hoped to avoid were encountered, and areas we hoped to uncover were not precisely where we expected them. In reality, the presence of significant artifacts in both the Harrington and Ehrenhard backfill, the fact that Harrington had left intact ground his plans showed as removed, and the discovery that in the most crucial of areas Ehrenhard's excavation had stopped two inches above the key 16th-century layer, meant that everything had to be re-excavated and be treated with the greatest archaeological care. There were to be no short cuts. There may, therefore, be justification in claiming that an astonishing amount of dirt was sieved and removed in less than two weeks. What originally was planned to amount to the removal of thirteen ten-foot squares extended to more than twenty such units. Dr. Bennie Keel, the National Park Service's supervising archaeologist, has estimated that about 2,000 square feet were explored to subsoil—all of it sieved and removed from the explored area.[218]

As a by-product of the Phase II work, Harrington's 1950 and earlier trenches, his 1965 outwork digging, Ehrenhard's 1983 M-10 area, and the reconstructed fort ditch were all remapped and can be incorporated into a new and more accurate plan of the fort's environs. The Phase II plans also show water and electrical line, as well as other modern ground disturbances that were not to be found on current maintenance and engineering plans for the park.[219]

Unhappily, the finding of every one of those intrusions diminished opportunities to discover undisturbed 16th-century features. It is no overstatement to say that beginning with Union soldiers' treasure hunting in the 1860s, at least 95% of the critical area within the embrace of Harrington's outwork palisades has been destroyed. Indeed, were it not for Harrington leaving a three-foot balk in 1965 (a balk his plans show as having been removed) and Ehrnhard stopping inches short of the key Gans-related work floor, virtually nothing of significance would have survived.

Work by Dr. Kelso in square IIIC.9 revealed the first hint of something useful when he discovered several science-related sherds and an apparent piece of cuprous waste in an area much mutilated by laying, using and removing the asphalt road put down in 1950 and taken up in 1965. Eventually he reached an inch thick stratum containing apparently undisturbed 16th-century artifacts to the western edge of his unit, among them a tiny sliver of glass. Barely the width of a finger nail, it was the earliest piece of English glass discovered in the New World.

Encouraged by these finds, the north half of the balk between squares IIIC.9 and 10 was removed down to the 16th-century layer limited in width to the three-foot balk left partly unexcavated by Harrington in '65. From this narrow strip came the majority of the artifacts. The hole for one of Harrington's survey stakes was identified and found to have penetrated so close to the

[218] Dr. Bennie C. Keel to Chief, SEAC, November 13, 1991.

[219] A copy of that plan accompanies this report, but is too large to be bound into it, or reproduced here.

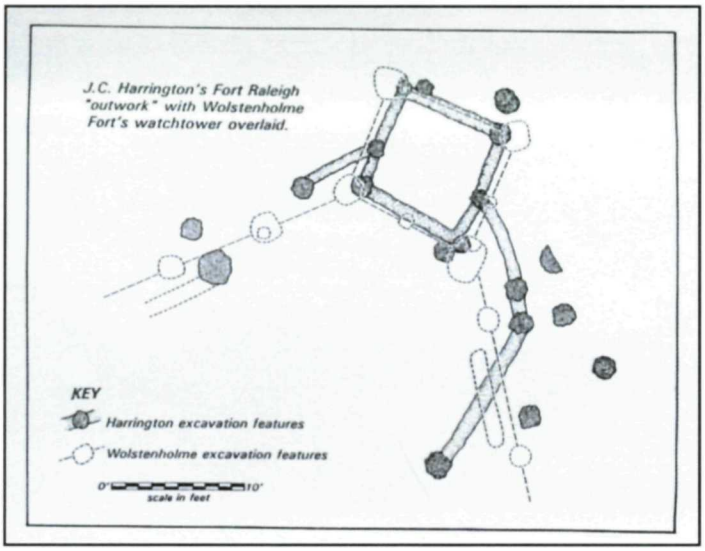

FIGURE 177: The Fort Raleigh *Outwork* plan (solid lines) overlaid by that for the ca.1620 fort watchtower at Wolstenholme Towne in Virginia.

largest piece of crucible from the site that it chipped one corner, and at the same time pushed aside a tell-tale fragment of brick.

Tree Holes v. Post Holes

Harrington's identification of his outwork's structural supports as being standing trees had been challenged when Phillip Evans recognized a striking similarity between the Roanoke outwork's plan and that of the c.1620 watchtower posts at the Wolstenholme Towne fort in Virginia (Fig. 177). So close was the relationship that had the two structures been contemporary they might well have been built by the same men. The undeniable parallel suggested two things: 1) that the outwork and the Wolstenholme remains were both parts of standard wooden fort construction in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and 2) that if the outwork's shape was dictated by the presence of suitable still-rooted trees, it could not have so exactly paralleled the Wolstenholme watchtower. Persuasive though both arguments were, it was hard to explain convincingly why so experienced an archaeologist as Harrington was deceived by what he thought he saw.

The unequivocal explanation was to be provided, not by the recovery of further 1585 or 1587 evidence, but by the uncovered remains of the Roanoke site's 1936 reconstruction. Conceived as a palisaded fort built with vertical posts (rather than with posts, rails and planks as was documented at Jamestown),[220] the incorrect interpretation survived until 1950 when it was replaced by the reconstructed ditch and rampart structure based on Harrington's excavations. The change resulted in the removal of most of 1936 palisades—save for a short section from one flanker that extended beyond the newly defined ditch at the entrance to the 1950 earthwork. Discovered in the north half of IIB.12, the bases of nine posts were found still seated in their ditch. One of them had been gripped at the top by roots from a nearby live oak that clutched it like a capping hand reaching down into the rotting core of the post to draw moisture and nutrient not to be found in the sterile sand of the island's subsoil. Here was a classic example of the way in which, and in a relatively few years, a man-installed post could be converted into a deceptively natural feature.

FIGURE 178: Units IIIC.9 & 5 from the North, showing in the extreme right foreground the remains of the "science center" floor, to its left the south end of Harrington's 1965 excavation. Beyond that runs the 1950 road ditch cut through by related guardrail posts. Beyond that, and slightly angled, runs the board-lined trench for a modern electrical line.

[220] William Strachey's "True Reportory" (1610) in David B. Quinn, *New American World* (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 4:295.

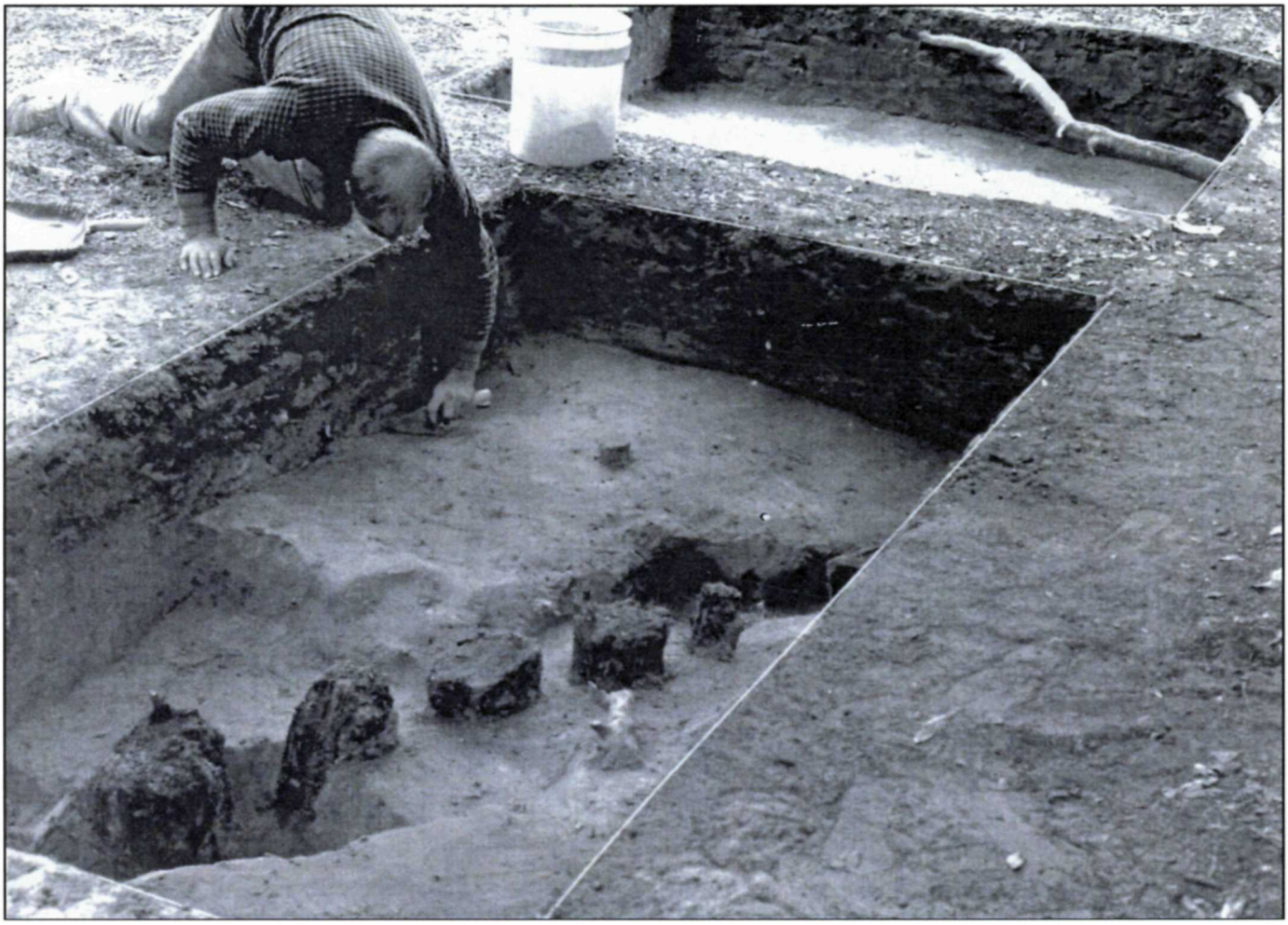

FIGURE 179: The remains of the 1936 Fort Raleigh palisade exposed in Unit IIB.12. Beyond, to the right, lies the entrance to the earthwork reconstructed in 1950.

The archaeological interpretation of post-in-the-ground remains depends upon similarities between one posthole and another: methods of digging, diameters of post molds, their placement within the holes, and most importantly, similarities of depth. All those criteria become obscured when a root system makes its home in a post hole. A tap root will extend far below the bottom of the original hole and secondary roots will spread out to obscure its once-sharp outline. When the root eventually dies and is itself converted to loam, the deception is complete.

The Phase II area was rich in root holes, those that had been tap roots usually containing a dark gray to black sandy loam beyond which the normally yellow sandy subsoil became a reddish brown that faded away toward its extremities. This might erroneously be read as the product of burning, but the fact that similar soil coloration was attendant upon the root systems of still living trees, indicated otherwise. Indeed, in some areas where there was no tap root and no dark core, the removal of the reddish-brown soil created the shapes of shallow-rooted trees.

With that said, however, it must be noted that in several instances the dark cores yielded fragments of what looked much more like charcoal than the product of naturally carbonized wood. One such tree hole was sealed by a stratum containing only 16th-century artifacts and might have been the product of aboriginal forest burning or perhaps of a lightning strike in antiquity. Samples of the black fill and of the charcoal (IIC.9, F.R.E.R.8D) were taken by Dr. Keel to S.E.A.C. for analysis and dating.

The likelihood that blackened root holes can be the product of lightning strikes or the burning off of woodland by the natives was documented by John White in 1590, when he reported landing at the north end of

Roanoke Island and "coming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place."[221]

Only a series of eight paired holes in unit IIC.7 clearly identified themselves as being related one to another, and it was at first thought that they might represent a light palisade with angled buttressing supports. But when excavated the holes were found to be shallow, and neither row displayed the angling that would identify them as holes for sloping supports. One might have been tempted to dismiss the holes as the seating for a boardwalk or some other such modern structure, but they were extremely carefully excavated by Dr. Keel who was certain that they were sealed by a layer that contained no modern intrusions. Because the group could not be identified (at least with certainty) through adjoining squares, one must conclude that they related to some form of small construction, perhaps a work bench or even a work platform.

Harrington's 1965 plan of his outwork does show a row of three rather similarly spaced holes to the east of his lateral log slots, and one of those holes has its pair (?) to the southwest (Fig. 180). We hoped that the newly found series could be traced northward to within a measurable relationship with Harrington's roots. Unfortunately the key area (IIC.11) had been almost entirely destroyed by massive modern disturbances.

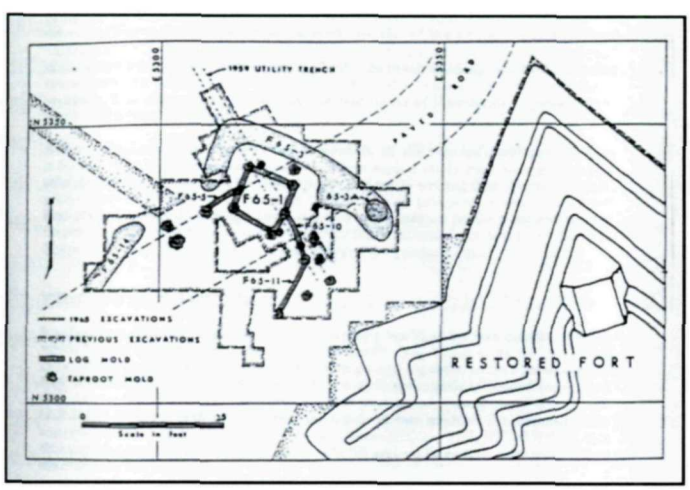

FIGURE 180: J.C. Harrington's 1965 plan of his "Outwork" and other related features.

In an attempt to reassess the character of Harrington's outwork timbers, unit IID4 was opened and found to have been dug out to a depth of more than three feet, and although massive holes were encountered, none could firmly be identified as the corners of Harrington's tower or breastwork. He visited the site on November 6 and examined this feature, but like us he was unable to identify its holes as being part of his structure. The new excavation, he said, was much too deep. Just who had dug there (carrying modern asphalt all the way to the bottom) and why, remain a mystery. One thing only was certain: the last traces of Harrington's all-important feature had been destroyed.

Before a final report on Phase II can be written, all the tree-hole evidence (such as it is) will have to be intensively studied. From such a study may emerge new and stimulating hypotheses, but both on the site and while writing this interim account, preliminary thinking does not suggest that as a likely prospect. Holes, which when first plotted looked promising, turned out to contain modern bottle glass and tin-can fragments, and none were found that convincingly extended the two holes found in Phase I (F.R.E.R. 3L and 6H) to create a hoped-for palisade line.[222]

The Outwork's West Ditch

Harrington's outwork is shown as being partially enclosed by two ditches—ditches which he saw as being components of the defense[223] (Fig. 180). Just as we had hoped to be able to re-examine the associated root holes and log slots, so we also wanted to find his ditches and to trace the westerly line as it apparently extended southward (F65-14). A 5'0" x 5'0" test cut put in for that purpose as part of the Phase I work (F.R.E.R.6) failed to find it.[224] Another adjacent cut was made at Dr. Klingelhofer's suggestion at the end of the Phase II excavations (IIIC.11, 11/7, 2'0" of IIIC.7), but this exposed nothing but old road metal backfill and massive tree disturbance that reached into the subsoil.

[221] John White's narrative of the 1590 voyage sent to Richard Hakluyt, February 4, 1593, quoted in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 2:613.

[222] I. Noël Hume, *Phase I Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, April 12-15, 1991*, MS report to National Park Service, SEAC, 9.

[223] Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh*, 18.

[224] Noël Hume, Phase I Fort Raleigh (FORA Archive), App. 1, 5ff.

Earlier in Phase II, square IIC.4 had been opened in the hope that it, too, might reveal continuance of Harrington's outwork ditch. Instead the unit revealed something entirely different, namely the foundation trench and dirt seating for the 1896 historic marker that had been moved out of the 1936 palisaded fort in 1950. At the bottom of the backfilled marker trench, and apparently tramped into the natural yellow sandy subsoil, was a fragment of what at first was thought to be 16th-century roof tile but which later turned out to be a large slice from a brick (F.R.E.R.17D & E). The brick's removal led to more fragments although there was no visible evidence that the natural subsoil had been disturbed.

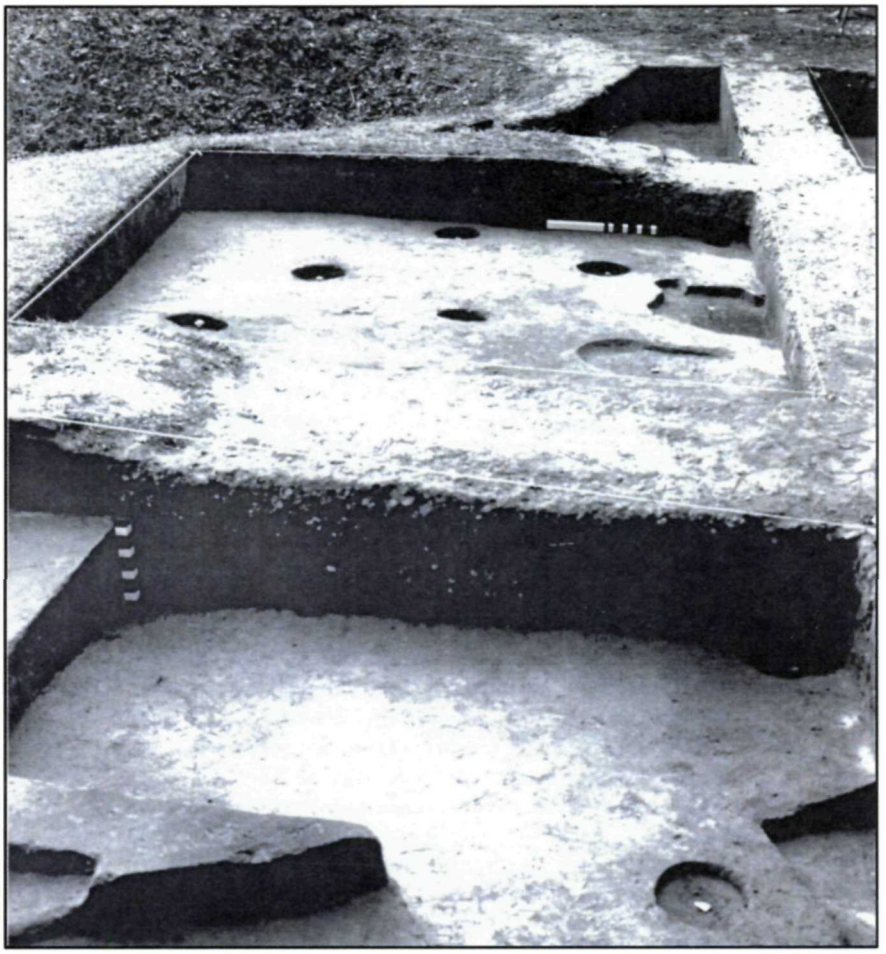

FIGURE 181: Units IIC.11 & 7 from the north. IIC.11 had lost any trace of a sixteenth-century horizon due to at least three modern intrusions. Square IIC.7 has pairs of post holes believed to be of settlement date.

Some four inches into it, however, the sand turned darker and eventually assumed the familiar shape and color of a long-gone tap root. What made this feature remarkable, however, was the presence of colonial brick chips and quantities of charcoal extending to a depth of three feet (BMG). There could be no doubting that this was a feature that in some unexplained way had absorbed not only charcoal but brick chips in, presumably, the 16th century. More disturbing and no easier to explain was the fact that had not the first brick fragment protruded up into the bed of the historic marker trench, the natural-appearing sandy subsoil would never have been removed. That being so, one is left wondering whether, and how many, other such archaeological features may lie concealed, never to be found.

Harrington's Log Molds

The allegedly tree-crated corners of Harrington's box-like outwork central feature had been linked by soil-filled slots which he had interpreted as traces of horizontal logs. Similar slots extended twenty feet to the southeast and about 5'6" to the southwest. As noted above, we had hoped to be able to look again at these slots and to reevaluate them in the light of current thinking, but regrettably, in the flanker area (if that is what it was) every trace had been eradicated before the 1965 excavation was backfilled. However, on the last day of the Phase II operation, while scraping the supposed subsoil in the N.E. corner of square IIIC.9 and underneath Harrington's 1965 excavation, a square-cut slot seven inches in width was encountered extending a distance of about 2'9" in a N.W./S.E. direction and reaching to a depth of 1'2" below Harrington's excavation (2'5" BMG).

The slot was sectioned but not fully excavated. It certainly had the appearance of being man-made, but unlike Harrington's log slots, this one was not straight. Instead it curved as it headed into the eastern balk of square IIIC.9. Had the slot remained straight, one might have been tempted to suggest that it was the southerly link to the two log-laid arms (F65-3 &F65-14) extending

from Harrington's structure. But even then, there would have been a major objection to such an interpretation. Why, if Harrington had been able to detect and plot the log traces revealed elsewhere in the same excavated area, could he not have seen, and recorded this one? There is no doubting that he looked with great care. In his report he described his *appendages to the sunken square* as being *somewhat smaller, but sufficiently similar to be identified as log molds. The main problem,* Harrington added, *is to account for their being sunk into the ground, and the fact that they seemed to play out.* His deepest logs (those of the square structure, F65-1) reached only to a depth of 2'0" BMG, whereas the IIC.9 slot terminated seven inches deeper.

Because the newly found but unexplained slot disappears into a balk (IIC.9/10) that remains unexcavated due to the presence thereon of a dogwood tree, and because the all-important 16th-century work floor extends for an unknown distance in the same direction, there may be merit in sacrificing the tree in search of additional evidence.

The Artifactual Evidence

As in any excavation, the recovered artifacts fall into two groups: those found *in situ* and those that were not. As a rule, however, the majority of the latter are dismissed as irrelevant. That is not so of Fort Raleigh where 16th-century artifacts have been scarce in any context, and where the potsherds that have been found relate to a very small number of vessels of very specific and important types. Whereas on many richer sites, artifacts found in previous excavator's backfill would be classified as *unstratified* and serve only to help repair vessels found in *good* contexts, here the distribution of such sherds might help determine the limits of the 1585-86 enclosure wherein they had been scattered. Thus, for example, a Normandy flask or costrel fragment (F.R.E.R. 18D) found in Harrington's 1948 trench backfill, appears to belong to the flask much more of which he was to find sixteen years later and sixty feet to the north in and around his outwork.

Normandy flask sherds were by far the largest numbers from an apparently single vessel found in Phase II digging. I say, apparently, because until the partially restored vessel now on exhibition at the Fort Raleigh Visitor center can be taken apart and the new fragments compared with it and mended to it, there is no certainty that only one vessel is represented.

The photograph of the repaired flask illustrated by Harrington in 1966 gives the appearance of being complete, but in reality one entire side is missing, while at least a third of the visible area is plaster reconstruction.[225] Furthermore, the number and size of the sherds found both in the Ehrenhard excavation of 1983 and in the Phase II work, are still insufficient to fill in all the gaps in Harrington's vessel.

Thanks to the published research of British archaeologist John Hurst, much more is known about these French bottles than when I reported on Harrington's example in 1966.[226] They were made in Martincamp from the late 15th well through the 17th century, and fall into three types: I, an off-white fabric flattened at the sides, c.1475-1550; II, the globular gray stoneware variety represented at Fort Raleigh, and common throughout the 16th century; and III, a similar shape but fired in an oxidizing atmosphere, and common well through the 17th century.

Examples of Type III have been found in England with the remains of wading still around them, indicating that they were intended to transport and to protect their contents. A French woodcut of the early 17th century shows bottles which may be of Martincamp type with wicker extending all the way to their necks—unlike their modern Chianti-style counterparts which usually are cased only to their waists. There is no telling whether the Fort Raleigh flask retained its casing to the end. But it can be argued that had it done so, the fragments would have been more likely to stay together.[227]

Because fragments of the flask were found on the Gans/Hariot working floor, it is reasonable to deduce that it was employed in experiments involving distilling, possibly as a receiver or even as a cucurbit. In the most basic of distilling processes there are four components: the furnace, above it the cucurbit in which the materials

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[225] Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh,* App. 1, 18.

[226] John Hurst, *et al, Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe 1350-1650* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1986), 102-104.

[227] Randle Holme, *An Academie or Store House of Armory & Blazon* (London: Roxburge Club, 1905), 227-234.

are seated, over that the alembic into which the steam rises and condenses, and finally the receiver into which the distillate is drawn off. Cucurbits, alembics and receivers were often of glass, although the ceramic examples are known and have been found in at least one Virginia excavation. Sometimes, however, alembic was made from brass or copper, as was a bowl set in the top of the furnace to provide a seating for the cucurbit.

The 17th-century's principal English pictorial source for distilling equipment is Randle Holme, part of whose massive treatise *An Academie or Store House of Armory & Blazon* was first published in 1682, but assembled from manuscripts and sketches begun no later than the 1640s. Holme shows no fewer than thirty-three different combinations of components employed for differing types of distilling—one of them described as *The Antimonie still*.[228] It may be no coincidence that a lump of smelted antimony 2 3/8" in length (F.R.E.R.12C, #17) was found in the 16th-century stratum immediately south of the remaining work area.

Because most materials from which distillates were to be extracted could not be heated in Cucurbits directly exposed to the furnace flames, they were cradled in a metal bowl or some such stout container filled, as Holme explained, *with water or fine sand*.[229] Among the artifacts found on the work floor was part of an aboriginal bowl, its exterior caked with 3/8 of an inch of fine gray sand (F.R.E.R.8G#48). A rim sherd from the same vessel (?) found nearby also has the same kind of gray sand adhering to its exterior (F.R.E.R.12C#45). Because the sand is attached also to the broken edges (though not to the interior), one can deduce that the bowl served as a cucurbit and broke in the heated sand, its contents running out to bond the sand to its walls. One dares hope that an analysis of the sand may help identify the nature of that bonding material.

Among other finds that seem to relate to processes described by Holme, are fifty-six small ferrous flakes, the largest of them barely ½ an inch square, and the majority very much smaller (F.R.E.R.12C). Discussing the material used to seal the junctions between the several components of a distilling apparatus, Holme called it *the Lute of wisdom*, and said that it was made from *the pouder of Tyles or well burnt bricks, the pouder of iron scales and fine sand....*[230] It seems possible, therefore, that Gans brought with him a supply of iron scales and that the found flakes are a few of them.

Less easy to explain are fragments of what appear to be burnt and vitrified flint (*e.g.* F.R.E.R.8N #40, 42, 61, 80 & 102). These have not yet been subject to geological analysis, and nothing in the available literature refers to the use of flint in the distilling or assaying processes. Other rocks represented among the finds from the working are two varieties of quartz (F.R.E.R.31B #101 and 8D).

Undeniably associated with metallurgy are the several ceramic crucible fragments, the largest of them from a triangular-mouthed vessel, measuring approximately 3 inches at the opening (F.R.E.R.8G #71). Only two sherds retain evidence of their usage and both appear to be ferrous-related (F.R.E.R.31B #56 & 61). Examples of slag were also found (F.R.E.R.8D #4 & 18, and 8F) and there is hope that these may respond informatively to analysis.

While other crucible fragments and examples of copper waste had been recovered from previous Fort Raleigh excavations, none had yielded sherds of glass. Consequently, those recovered from the work floor (*e.g.* F.R.E.R.31B #77, 82, 84, 88, 91 & 31D) can claim to be the earliest English(?) glass discovered in the New World. All but the last of those pieces are very small, and though possessing some curvature none is of sufficient size to indicate its original form. All are of green glass, but vary in surface color due to differences in decay. Whether they are parts of a single vessel differently attacked by their soil matrices or whether several vessels are represented cannot now be determined. Analysis of glass may be more informative.

The only glass fragment that is sufficiently large to suggest an original shape is the fragment from F.R.E.R.31D, a layer immediately below the working floor and into which the sherd had been pressed. This is of a well-preserved green glass and is part of a tapering, conical or tubular vessel, the fragment is 2 inches in

[228] Ibid., 232.
[229] Ibid., 228.
[230] Ibid., 231.

diameter at its greatest width. This clearly is part of a chemical glass vessel, and can be paralleled by any one of several of those shown in Holme's drawings.[231]

Second only to crucible fragments found in the Ehrenhard excavations (MS.10) were sherds from Netherlandish or English Maiolica ointment pots and drug jars; most of them heavily burned. Although their tin glazes are blackened and bubbled and due to their fragile bonding are now in worse condition than when first examined in 1989, it would appear that at least four polychrome decorated vessels were found, all of them from the easterly end of Area MS-10 Extension 1B.[232] It was hoped that many more related sherds would be recovered in our Phase II digging, but only one was found, and that barely 3/8" square (F.R.E.R.8D). Nevertheless, it came from a stratum that yielded only 16th-century items.

Reexamination of the Ehrenhard maiolica sherds yielded one polychrome fragment (MS-10.TP1:608.140) measuring ½" x ¼" which almost certainly came from the same vessel as the two sherds found by Harrington and illustrated in his 1962 report (Find Nos 105 and 33).[233] Unfortunately, the report does not say where those were found and the illustration shows the pieces without regard for their association. However, restored to their correct relationship they seem to represent a vessel similar in shape and size to the attempted reconstruction shown on the next page as Fig. 182.

In 1585 the English maiolica (delftware) industry was still in its infancy, having been established first at Norwich in 1567 by Jaspar Andries and Jacob Janson who moved to Aldgate in London ca. 1570. Although waste products from Maiolica kilns have been found both in Norwich and at Aldgate, there is as yet no way of knowing whether the Roanoke fragments are of English or Netherlandish origin, nor can one be certain that they related to the work of Hariot rather than to that of Gans.[234] On balance, however, such vessels are more likely to be associated with an apothecary than a metallurgist.

Collectively, the foregoing artifactual evidence leaves no doubt that two activities were performed in the immediate vicinity of the newly discovered working surface. That it was, indeed, such a surface is shown by the presence of the glass splinters pressed into the sand. Lacking the weight and body of potsherds that might be swept up and re-deposited, there is no doubting that the glass was broken nearby and trodden into the soft ground by the 1585 expedition's workers. As for the two activities, the crucibles speak to metallurgy and the glassware and sand-coated aboriginal sherds to distilling. But because the distilling was one facet of the mineral man's assaying, both activities may have been linked to Gans's metallurgical studies, rather than to the pharmaceutical testing more likely to have been performed by Thomas Hariot.

Unfortunately, Hariot's *Briefe and true Report* says nothing about his making any distilling experiments. On the contrary, it suggests that he was not well conversant with plants and their properties. Under the heading *Sweet Gummes* he wrote that these *and many other Apothecary drugges of which wee will make special mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kynd, that in taking reasonable paines shall discover them more particularly than wee have done....*[235] Hariot went on to note that he could not say more, having lost his samples *with other things by casualtie before mentioned.*[236] He was referring, of course, to the loss of his and others' baggage in the June '86 scramble to reach Drake's fleet before the hurricane engulfed them. The question remains, therefore, to what degree of particularity had Hariot studied his collection and had he put any part of it to a distillatory test? Only an analysis of the accreted sand on the aboriginal bowl sherds may yet yield the answer.

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[231] Ibid., 227-234. See also Charles Singer *et al*, *A History of Technology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 3:62, fig. 37; assayers' glassware and pottery vessels, 1574.

[232] Ehrenhard, *Investigations at Fort Raleigh*, 12, fn. 211.

[233] Harrington, *Search For The Cittie of Raleigh,* 23, fig. 21.

[234] Ivor Noël Hume, *Early English Delftware from London and Virginia* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1977), 107-118.

[235] Dover-Harriot, 11. Although many authorities spell Hariot's name with two "r's" the 1590 edition of his report uses only one. I, therefore, have elected to use that contemporary spelling.

[236] Ibid.

That Hariot could have known or learned how to distill useful liquids from American plants and roots is reasonable enough. As a mathematical tutor in the household of Sir Walter Ralegh, a man renowned as both chemist and alchemist, it seems highly likely that Hariot would have been exposed to the processes. It is almost certain, too, that Ralegh would have given him instruction and schooling in the scope of the researches to be performed by the expedition's scientific team, for as Hariot wrote on the title page of the 1590 edition of his report, he was *servant to the above named Sir WALTER, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discovering*.[237] Then, too, in the unlikely event that Hariot did not understand the art and mystery of distilling, Joachim Gans could have enlightened him.

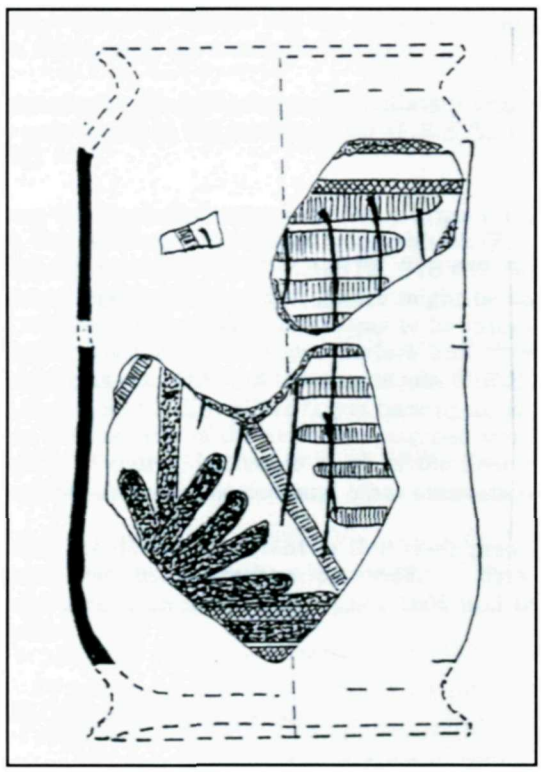

FIGURE 182: J.C. Harrington's maiolica jar sherds interpreted as a 16th-century Netherlandish or English pharmaceutical jar of albarello form. Scale 1/1. Dark stippled bars are manganese purple; those straight hatched are antimony yellow; cross-hatching represents cobalt blue as do the black vertical lines. The largest sherd carries Harrington's number 105, and the upper fragment 33. The very small sherd came from Ehenhard's MS-10 and has the number 608.140. It is possible, even likely that sherd 33 belongs further to the right creating a triangular zone of comparable size to that containing the purple fronds. The very small sherd is placed where it is, only because the hook at the top of the vertical blue line parallels those on sherd 33.

[237] Ibid., title page.

Conceivably associated with the gathering and distillatory analysis of plant material, were parts of two nuts found in the working floor (F.R.E.R.31B #79) and two small seeds (F.R.E.R.8N).

Other artifacts from the work floor area included a brass (?) ring 1cm in diameter (F.R.E.R.31B #79), and previously mentioned iron fishhook (F.R.E.R.8D), six sherds from a West-of-England jar or jars (F.R.E.R.31B[2], 31B #52, 54, 78 & 83), and three pieces from a redware object which at first glance might be the base from a much larger vessel, but which on close inspection seems to be intact and therefore some kind of small palette, concave on its upper surface and there impressed with a quality of glittering mica (?). Three of the sherds join (F.R.E.R.31B #81, 31B [2]), though the fourth does not (F.R.E.R.8G 337), yet here again is evidence that in the workshop floor area the majority of the artifacts remained where they had been left in 1586. The tragedy, of course, is that so much of the floor and its environs had been destroyed by previous archaeological and other excavations.

The West-of-England sherds are important in that their presence proves that this ware and jar form was in production by 1585. Previous archaeological documentation could take it back no earlier than 1609 and the wreck of the *Sea Venture* off Bermuda.

The Working Floor Stratigraphy

The stratigraphic sequence in areas IIIC.5 (F.R.E.R,12), IIIC.9 (F.R.E.R.8), and its adjacent extension (F.R.E.R.31) which embraced all that remained of the Gans/Hariot workplace, had been severely damaged by previously mentioned modern intrusions, ranging from the 1950 road and its ditch, to Harrington's outwork dig in 1965 and Ehrenhard's 1983 investigation. All that remained was approximately 1 ½ inches of gray/brown sandy loam with lenses of blackish sand (F.R.E.R.31A) immediately below Ehrenhard's 1983 plastic underlying his back fill. This 31A layer capped and in places blended into F.R.E.R.31B, the working floor level of gray sandy loam with mottled white sand and charcoal, and identified by the artifacts spread throughout it. Approximately 1 inch in thickness, it rested on mottled brown sandy subsoil. Cutting through that, and partially sealed by 31B, was a post or root hole in the side of

whose fill nestled the chemical glass fragment (F.R.E.R.31D).

Three other posts or root holes were found at the 31B level, and it is tempting to interpret them as seatings for posts supporting a roof over the work area. Unfortunately, differences in depth and shape could be used to deny any such relationship. However, as explained earlier, and although negative evidence is never persuasive, the lack of similarity might be explained by the conversion of post holes into root systems.

Domestic Artifacts

The arguably total absence of European domestic ceramics, meat bones, fish bones, oyster shells, etc., leaves little doubt that the interior of Ralph Lane's wooden fort (at least in the vicinity of Harrington's outwork) was set aside solely for experimental use. Admittedly, some of the artifacts could, in other contexts, have been interpreted as purely domestic items. West of England jars are for storage, Martincamp flasks held wine, aboriginal vessels were for cooking, and fishhooks, after all, were for fishing. But found where they were, all these items (even the fishhook if used for suspension) could be employed in the scientific processes.

It should be noted that a single oyster shell was found in the upper filling of a tree/post hole in square IIC.14(F.R.E.R.8D #12).

In addition to the fishhook, several small iron items were recovered from good levels in the vicinity of the work floor, among them something that might have been the foot from a chafing dish (F.R.E.R.12C #1), and two nails, one 3" in length (F.R.E.R.8D #16) and the other incomplete (1 7/8"; F.R.E.R.8D #12). Other smaller fragments of extremely decayed iron were too far gone to be identified.

Aboriginal Artifacts

Native potsherds were the most frequently found artifacts from the Phase II excavation, and all those examined by Dr. Keel were identified as *Colington Simple stamped* wares attributable to dates anywhere from the 16th to the 18th centuries. However, unlike the very conical and tapered-based vessels found by Harrington, these include thick, flat base sherds that seem to come from perhaps hemispherical bowls of kinds that would be useful in the distilling processes described earlier. One thing is certain, those sherds found in the 16th-century strata of areas IIIC.5 and 9 (and in the latter's westerly extension (F.R.E.R.31) can be dated to 1585-86, as can at least one tobacco-pipe fragment (F.R..R.31B #86).

Although the evidence is strong that the aboriginal pottery from the work area had been used by the settlers, it does not follow that all sherds from the excavated area (or those found by Harrington and others) were also so used. Native occupation of the area both before and after the Ralegh settlements came and went could have been responsible for the presence of such wares.

Organic Materials

Shells of nuts, small seeds, many lumps of charcoal, and a piece of carbonized wood were found on the work floor, but professional identification of these materials is not yet forthcoming.

Tobacco Smoking

In addition to the tobacco-pipe mouthpiece fragment cited above, pieces from another's bowl were found in the N.E. corner of square IIC.4 in a layer of mottled dark gray sand that also yielded a modern wire nail (F.R.E.R.10K). Both pipes are likely to be of the same type as that found by Harrington in the dirt fort's ditch.[238]

Because (with the exception of the example from the bottom of the fort ditch) no pipes had hitherto been found in a 1585-86 context, the likelihood persisted that their presence at large on the site should be read as evidence of prior or later aboriginal occupation. Clearly, however, aboriginal pipes provided the 1585 settlers with their only means of smoking what Hariot said the natives call *Vppowoc*. *We ourselves during the time we were there*, he wrote, *used to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, & have found maine rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof.*[239] On the basis of this, some authorities have suggested that in 1586 Lane's returning colonists introduced tobacco into

[238] Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh*, 41, Fig. 32.
[239] Dover-Harriot, 16.

England. However, two years later, William Harrison in his *Chronologie* wrote that in 1573 *the taking in of the smoke of the Indian herb called Tobacco, by an instrument formed like a little ladell...is greatly taken up and used in England.*[240] Harrison would appear to have given the credit to Francis Drake who invaded Panama in 1572, sacked Porto Bello, was the first Englishman to see the Pacific, and returned to Plymouth on August 9, 1573. Professor Quinn suggests that the credit so long given to the 1585-86 Virginia colonists should be modified to claiming that they introduced the aboriginal tobacco pipe to England and that it became the prototype for the shape of the English pipe.[241] But if shape similarity is the alleged connection, this, too, is a tenuous thread.

The "Science Center's" Location

That Gans and Hariot would have wanted to construct their workshop(s) in a protected space, is a reasonable conclusion. The mineral man's experiments were to be at least one key to the wisdom of future investment in Virginia. Neither the workplace nor its products could be left vulnerable to the curiosity of idle English soldiers or to the whims of visiting natives. It made sense, therefore, that the science center should be constructed (and its products housed) in the settlement's safest place. Then, too, there would have been merit in locating the furnaces within an enclosure that provided protection from the vagaries of the wind. Furthermore, it had long been European practice to keep industrial activities at a distance from habitation areas, usually outside a city's walls. While that may also have been a consideration on Roanoke Island, keeping it away from the residential area would have been a lesser factor than keeping it safe.

Test Area

Just as Phase I had been designed to test the area to be opened in Phase II to determine the ground's character and archaeological potential, so on the last two days of the November excavation, 1 ½ squares were opened to the west to re-expose post holes found by Harrington in 1948, holes that had the appearance of being building related. In the time available only one post or tree hole was uncovered, and nothing conclusive was learned. However, the area did yield part of an aboriginal, stone, expanded center bar gorget decorated on one side with delicate incised hatching (F.R.E.R.28D). Dr. Keel places this Algonquin object in the Late Woodland period and thus potentially contemporary with the English occupation. The only other find of note was a small copper alloy button of late 18th- or early 19th-century date.

As stated above, the locations for the test cuts (VE.3: VE.2 & VE.2/VD.14) were dictated by the placement of Harrington's previous trenching; but were, however, in the immediate vicinity of both the 1950 work and the old log-built museum and therefore in an area subject to previous disturbance. Beyond, and immediately to the west rise vegetation-covered dunes that may well conceal undisturbed 16th-century deposits. There also are areas to the southwest of the main Phase II excavation which, though within the Park Service's landscaped approach to the fort, are likely to be productive. A 1946 Harrington trench across that area encountered a pit filled with charcoal that may well have related to Gans's smelting experiments.[242] Relatively close to Phase II's square IIIC.4 which yielded the enigmatic hole containing brick and charcoal fragments (F.R.E.R.17C), there is hope that further industrial activity can be traced and identified in this direction.

Summation

Although the 1991 Phase II excavation failed to find the limits of Harrington's outwork (the structure now believed to have been part of Ralph Lane's *wooden fort of little strength*) we did achieve our principal objective, namely finding irrefutable evidence of what may be termed America's first science center. For the first time it is possible to point to a specific piece of ground at Fort Raleigh and state with more than reasonable assurance that:

ON THIS SPOT AMERICA'S FIRST
ARCHAEOLOGICALLY IDENTIFIED

SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS WERE
PERFORMED. HERE WORKED THE

[240] Quoted by Adrian Oswald, "English Clay Tobacco Pipes," in *The Archaeological News Letter,* no. 10 (London: April, 1951), 3:153.

[241] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages,* 1:345-56, fn.3.

[242] Harrington, *Outwork at Fort Raleigh,* 36.

MEN WHO BEGAN BOTH THE INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE HARVESTING

OF NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE COLONIES THAT BECAME THE FIRST

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

That statement is, of course, very carefully couched to avoid any conflict with similar work that almost certainly had long been performed by the Spaniards in their Central American colonies, and probably by the French in Florida. In the light of subsequent American history, it is significant that Fort Raleigh's pioneering scientific team included a Jewish metallurgist from Prague—foretelling the multi-ethnic character of the nation four centuries later.

Unfortunately, nothing has been found to add to what little we can deduce from Harrington's disarticulated bricks, about the character of Gans' furnace. Nor can anything be said with confidence about the appearance of his workshop. Only the activity itself is now archaeologically documented.

Because no details of Gans' work survive, and because Lane's interpretation of his mineral-man's sole statement is equivocal, some authorities have suggested that Gans did no on-site analysis of his own. What Lane wrote was this:

> *And touching the Minerall, thus doth master Yougham affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the worlde.*[243]

The discovery of the scientific workplace now supports Professor David Quinn's interpretation of Lane's statement, namely that *the more nearly pure the copper was the easier it would be to melt, so that, if the Indians could melt it, it must be pure.*[244] Lane did not mean that Gans did no smelting of his own, and now the new archaeological evidence indicates that he did work with hot metal. Indeed, the notion that he might not have done so, when Gans' experience was as a refiner and smelter, made little sense.[245]

Phase II brought us no closer to identifying the size of Ralph Lane's fort, nor are we better able to interpret its construction. The absence of domestic artifacts from within the excavated area is strong evidence that none ever existed there. However, it is evident from Lane's narrative that some people were resident in the fort, or at least under cover while on duty there. Describing the native's intended attack on the settlement, he wrote:

> *...so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is sayde, and that as well for them of the forte, as for us at the towne*[246]

The statement does not say that the people at the fort were living there. On the contrary, the fact that Lane includes himself among *us at the towne* and was living in an evidently undefended house, makes it clear that unlike the medieval castle and village or Irish bawn village concept, the settlement leader did not reside within the protection of his fortress. That being so, the chances are that nobody did, and that the fort contained only a *corps du garde*, military supplies—and Gans's workshop.

There remains, however, another unproven scenario: For the reasons discussed earlier, Gans' operation could have been contained within an isolated but protected compound and that this is the true interpretation of Harrington's outwork. Were that to be so, it would still follow that the now-reconstructed earthen fort is too close to have coexisted with the outwork, and that it almost certainly cut through ground previously used and trodden by Gans and others.

In this writer's view, the argument that the dirt fort was built by or for the fifteen (or eighteen) men left behind

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[243] Ralph Lane's "Discourse on the First Colony," in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:274.

[244] Ibid., fn. 2.

[245] Garry C. Grassl, "Joachim Gans of Prague: America's First Jewish Visitor," *Review of the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews (1987)*, 53-90. Although other writers have spelled the man's name as Ganz, I have here assumed Dr. Grassl to be the current authority and so have used an "s" rather than a terminating "z".

[246] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:282.

by Grenville in 1586, continues to be the most likely interpretation of both the archaeological and the documentary evidence.

Looking at the value of the Fort Raleigh Phase II work in a broader perspective, it is worth stressing yet again that its artifactual evidence is small, sometimes almost microscopically so. While potsherds, slivers of glass and slag samples do not in themselves offer memorable exhibit opportunities, nor are they destined to excite a National Geographic Society photographer, in strictly evidential terms all that matters is that they have been found and can be interpreted by those with the knowledge to do so. Like a fingerprint on a murder weapon, such small and scarcely visible clues can be more important than a cart load of unstratified pots. Furthermore, the Phase II excavation has demonstrated the need for cleanliness in fieldwork, for without it the fragile and minuscule pieces of Fort Raleigh's history would almost certainly have eluded us. This, perhaps, is something to bear in mind if and when the National Park Service authorizes further archaeological digging on this most important of sites.

THE POTENTIAL FOR CONTINUED ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

Two avenues of research need to be pursued: 1) to complete the remaining opportunities to investigate the Gans/fort relationship, and 2) to locate and excavate the *towne*.

The former is limited to two small areas, that beneath the tree at the junction of squares IIIC.9, 10, 13 & 14 where a little more of the work floor may survive, and three areas within the reconstructed fort shown on Harrington's 1950 plan as "*certain areas could not be explored adequately because of the roots of trees cut in 1950.* It is possible (though in the light of the many post-1950 disturbances in the outwork area, by no means certain) that 16th-century ground surface may survive to be studied inside the fort. If so, one may be able to establish beyond doubt that the interior of Lane's fort extended into it. In this connection, it may be significant that no post/tree holes are shown on the published plans of the fort's excavated interior. That none existed seems highly unlikely.

The site of Ralph Lane's town (which may also have been part of the 1587-88 Lost Colony's settlement area) has been among the most elusive goals in the annals of American archaeology. Although some local sages contend that it was located perhaps miles from the fort, the newly discovered work floor evidence leaves no doubt that key, non-military activities took place in the immediate vicinity of the earth fort. It follows, therefore, that the first settlement site is close by. Furthermore, if the dirt fort is related to Grenville's tiny garrison of 1586, it also follows that their dwellings are not far away, for they occupied the buildings vacated by Lane's departing colonists. Following the contemporary Irish bawn village model, it should follow that the dirt fort's gate opened onto the street or village green (as was the case at Wolstenholme Towne), and that the dwellings should stand in rows on either side of it. One may argue, therefore, that the reconstructed fort gate is pointing the way to the 1585 village.

Trenching by Harrington in 1947-48 and area digging by Ehrenhard in 1983 all encountered patterns of holes, some of which are shown on their plans as looking very like those for posts. We believe that renewed examination of these areas in a Phase III operation may lead to solving the mystery of the lost village(s).That significant traces should survive is indicated by the knowledge that when Grenville's men were attacked, they retreated into their storehouse which was then set on fire by the natives. Even if the victors subsequently carried off anything that was useful, the burning must have left an indelible scar in the shape of burned building materials and ruined stores. Such a discovery would be of monumental importance to the history of material culture in the late 16th century.

National Park Service Fort Raleigh superintendent Thomas Hartman has indicated that the Service would welcome a proposal from the Virginia Company Foundation to continue both exploratory avenues under a two to three year federal permit. Encouraging though that confidence may be, the success of any further work will depend in large measure on the availability of the now site-experienced team that worked on Phases I and II. Fortunately, all the principles involved in the Phase II operation expressed willingness to return and continue for a further two week season in the fall of '92, and most expect to make a similar commitment for the following

year if the preliminary village search is expanded to investigate fully the information previously retrieved.

Such a program is, of course, dependent on securing the necessary funding—initially only for Phase III, the merit and scope of subsequent work being assessed on its results.

Ivor Noël Hume
Project Director at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, December 1991

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Presenter at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

Four generations of historical archaeologists at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site.

Archaeology of the Carolina Algonkians: Colington Phase Summary and Research Framework

by Edward Clay Swindell

ABSTRACT

Previous descriptions of the Colington phase, or prehistoric and historic Carolina Algonkians, in many ways resemble this overview in being far too broad and incomplete in content. While they may have mentioned geographical, social-political and subsistence variability, no attempts have been made to evaluate or refine to what degree. Originally, the phase was presented as a single block of time spanning the entire Late Woodland Period and refined in 1983 to include the newly affiliated Historic Period Carolina Algonkians. It has been almost thirty years since the last archaeological synthesis of the Colington phase was written. Since then several new studies, surveys and excavations have occurred necessitating update and revision. This paper will look at current research in regards to several phase themes associated with the prehistoric and historic period Carolina Algonkians including: chronology; spatial distribution; landscapes; socio-political aspects; subsistence economies; and material culture. While the original phase description partially attempted to segregate periods of time or events that had direct consequences on the broad phase themes, the framework presented here seeks to isolate completely the specific episodes of initial European contact and Colonial settlement in order to provide a framework for the organization of future studies. What has emerged from structuring this framework and overview is that if Colington phase studies are to move beyond blanket descriptions of a culture that at one point occupied nearly 23,000 square km (5,000 sq km water) of diverse environment over a span of 900 years, the studies will need to be better organized and focus on specific issues. Such a statement is by no means a criticism of past studies, rather a testament to where current Colington phase research stands and where it is headed.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the late 19th and mid-20th century, numerous historical, ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies of the Carolina Algonkians were undertaken by scholars with limited archaeological inclusion. With the exception of a study by William Haag (1958) few regional surveys or excavations were conducted until the 1970s and 1980s (*e.g.* Claassen 1980, Phelps 1978, 1980b, 1981 1982; Wilson 1977). Comparatively, these regional surveys diverged in both design and intent but most had been focused on identifying archaeological sites directly correlating with village locations documented by Thomas Harriot, John White, Ralph Lane and other English observers in the late 16th century.

As a result of his investigations, David S. Phelps in 1982 recognized and described the Colington phase as one of the two archaeological correlates with the Late Woodland period cultures of northeastern North Carolina (Phelps 1982 a:1). His phase summary represented a culmination of research data gathered during the regional watershed surveys and site testing projects he and others had undertaken in the 1970s. He further refined and summarized the adaptive behavioral and material aspects of the phase in his contribution to *The Prehistory of North Carolina* (Mathis and Crow 1983) basing it largely on stratigraphic or contextual evidence from a suite of sites, as well as associated radiocarbon dates from the Tillett Site (31DR35), Kitty Hawk Bay (31DR33), White Court (31DR14) and Baum (31CK9). Phelps concluded that Colington phase manifestations best represented the principal early-to-terminal Late Woodland period (AD 800–1650) and further suggested the people most likely associated with the Colington phase

archaeological culture were the ancestors of the region's historically recognized Algonkians, made famous by early English Exploration.

Archaeological phase descriptions, artifact typologies and other heuristic guides serve only to direct, organize and aid in the interpretation of archaeological data, providing models of past behavior. Such models are meant to be confirmed, refined or cast-off as new data are integrated. With this intent in mind, elements of this paper will serve as a primary study by refining the original phase framework, and further be considered a contribution to ongoing Colington phase research. It is intentionally broad in scope with the aim of providing an updated framework and measure for future archaeological studies to build and refine upon. It will examine the present state of Colington phase research in North Carolina, looking back to how it came about and integrate what has been learned through the on-going endeavor of regional archaeological research. While advances have been made over the past 30 years, our knowledge of the pre-Contact and post-Contact period Algonkian societies through time remains very much fragmented. It is hoped that this document will provide direction for future Colington phase studies.

<table>
<tr><th>Date</th><th></th><th>Subperiod</th><th colspan="3">Regional Phases</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1750
1715</td><td rowspan="2">Historic Period</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">North Coastal</td><td>South Coastal</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tidewater</td><td>Inner Coast</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">1650
1584</td><td rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="3">Colonial</td><td rowspan="2">Colington III</td><td>Cashie III</td><td rowspan="6">White Oak</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cashie II</td></tr>
<tr><td>Colington II</td><td rowspan="3">Cashie I</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">800</td><td rowspan="4">Woodland</td><td rowspan="2">Late</td><td rowspan="2">Colington I</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mt. Pleasant III (Middletown)?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">400
AD/BC
300</td><td rowspan="2">Middle</td><td colspan="2">Mt. Pleasant II</td><td rowspan="2">Cape Fear</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Mt. Pleasant I</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1000</td><td rowspan="2">Early</td><td colspan="2">Deep Creek III
Deep Creek II
Deep Creek I</td><td rowspan="2">New River</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">2000
3000
5000
8000</td><td rowspan="4">Archaic</td><td rowspan="2">Late</td><td colspan="2">Croaker Landing</td><td>Stallings</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Savannah River</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Middle</td><td>Halifax</td><td colspan="2">Guilford
Morrow Mountain
Stanly</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Early</td><td colspan="3">Kirk
Palmer</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">12000</td><td rowspan="2">Paleo</td><td rowspan="2">Late</td><td colspan="3">Hardaway
Hardaway/Dalton
Clovis</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1: Chronological Sequence for the North Carolina Coastal Plain.

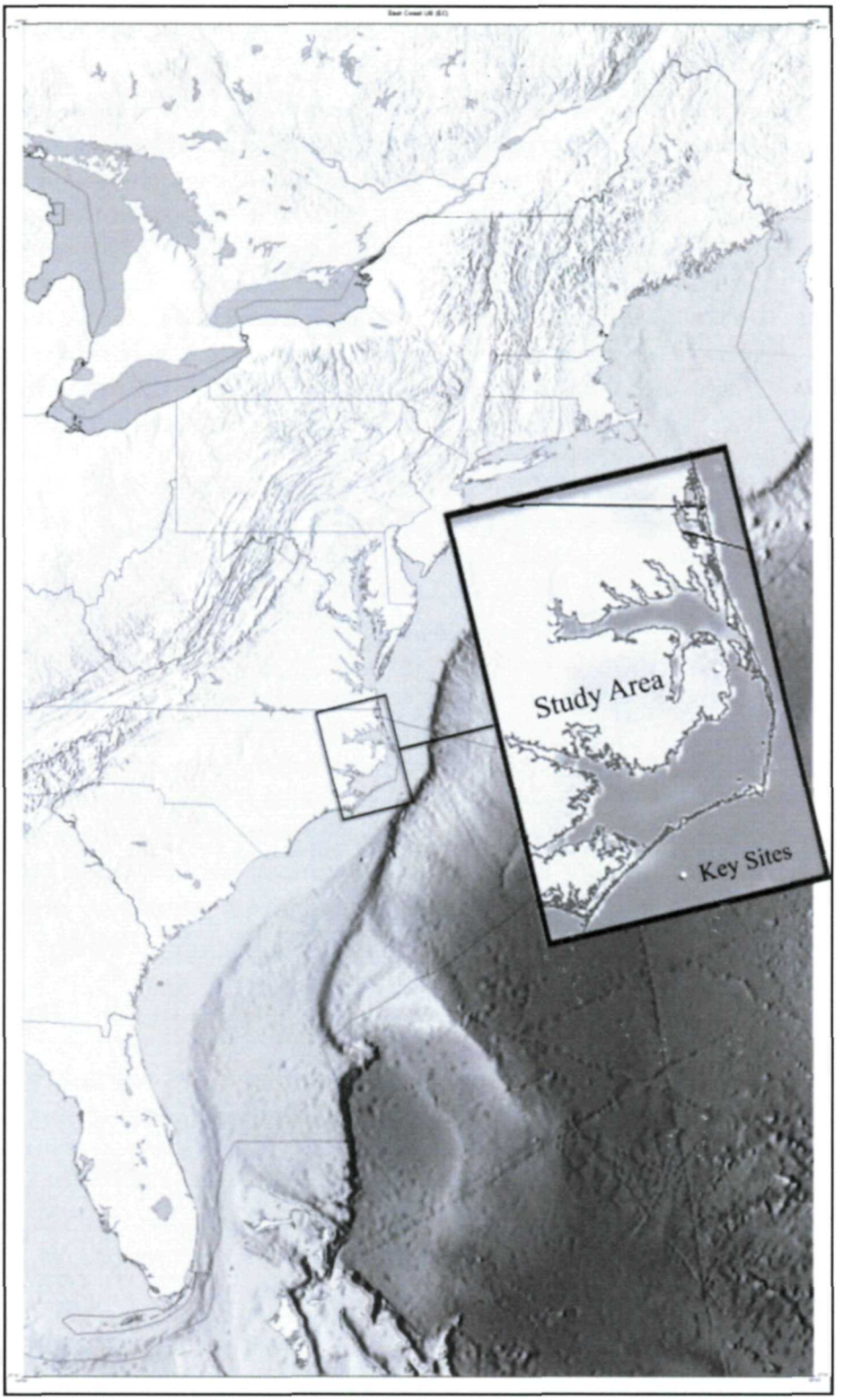

FIGURE 185: Northern Coastal Plain Study Area.

Reflection

Dividing past cultural traditions into a manageable sequence of chronologically organized units was first envisioned for the eastern United States by Ford and Willey (1941), and later widely adopted by many archaeologists working in both northeast and southeast cultural areas. Such a concept allowed archaeologists to

assemble material or behavioral variations within more broadly defined prehistoric periods by dividing chronologically broader periods into sub-periods (*e.g.*, early, middle and late woodland). Regional expressions of particular archaeological cultures within such broadly organized chronological constructs are usually referred to as phases. In general, prehistoric archaeological data in North Carolina are interpreted using a culture history model which is based on spatial and temporal patterns (Table 1). That is, artifact assemblages with discrete geographic distributions are associated with specific time spans, which are generally interpreted as material markers of past cultures or societies (Willey and Phillips 1958:47). The occurrences of artifact groups sharing similar attributes in a particular geographic region are typically interpreted as the material representations of shared cultural knowledge or adaptive strategies. Pre-European contact period archaeological cultures are essentially scientific constructs used to interpret archaeological data in the absence of documented knowledge of particular American Indian societies.

Prior to radiocarbon dating, cultural historians in the south employed several methods for ordering cultural units through time, often including the Direct Historical Approach but primarily through the use of pottery seriation and stratigraphy (Gibson 1993:31). Before the implementation of any systematic research, a few earlier researchers, through pottery seriation and stratigraphic excavation had attempted to address chronological, spatial and material manifestations of the North Carolina Coast. In 1954, William Haag conducted investigations throughout the North Carolina Coastal Plain in an attempt to reconstruct occupation of the region from its earliest times until the dispersal of the Indian societies by English colonization. The second and perhaps main focus of these investigations was to relocate town sites depicted on the John White maps of the 16th century, and possibly find evidence of the Lost Colony (Haag 1958:1). As a result of his work, Haag had, in his mind, been able to correlate much of the pottery he recovered from surface collections with those of historically known Algonkians from the Northeast. While he concluded that most of the archaeological material encountered was recent in origin, he did however caution the potential for greater time depth in the ceramics (Haag 1958:119). This latter point would prove more truthful than Haag had originally supposed given the presently accepted chronological sequence for North Carolina's coast which suggests continued occupation since the Paleo-Indian Period (12,000 B.C). Despite Haag's (1958) regional investigations, he produced no cultural sequence, leaving future archaeologists to build upon a series of surface collections and a handful of stratigraphic excavation units to construct a cultural sequence.

Many of these early Cultural Historians were primarily concerned with constructing chronology, so they turned to classification units they thought capable of capturing temporal and spatial attributes. This meant a heavy reliance on ceramic and lithic typologies to create their regional cultural sequences with southern archaeologists perhaps placing greater emphasis on them than others (Gibson 1993:21). It was not uncommon then for theoretical constructs such as phases to reflect regional ceramic and lithic typologies in both space and time. The Colington phase defined by Phelps in 1982 was no exception.

Refinement

The Colington phase was named after the shell tempered pottery series first formally described from test excavations at Colington Island, North Carolina. As early as the 1970s, data from the Northern Coastal Plain Study Area (Figure 185) had been accumulating through historical records and artifacts (relying on similar shell-tempered ceramics) allowing for the construction of cultural boundaries. Further site excavation, more varied artifact assemblages, and radiocarbon dates allowed the assay of changes through time. Settlement, socio-political, subsistence, and other traits added to the artifact assemblages enhancing the scheme, and finally today the Colington phase can be broken down into three phases of change during the Late Woodland and Colonial Historic periods (Table 2). This section will begin by discussing the chronological and spatial extents of the phase and a framework to manage them before progressing to descriptions of the three sub-phases and the unique characteristics of landscapes, socio-political, subsistence and material culture which distinguish them from one another.

Dates	Period	Phase	Sub-Phase	Ceramic Types	Major Trends
AD 1750	Historic(Colonial/Reservation)	Colington	Colington III	Colington Simple Stamped Colington Fabric Impressed Colington Plain/Burnished	Permanent European colonization of the northern coastal plain begins. Pottery tends to be more crude with less care in production, but still shell tempered. Colington Simple Stamped increases in frequency to become the majority ware in some areas, especially where contact with Iroquoian groups were high. (This interaction was possibly a means to maintaining viable populations.) The punctated and incised decorative types decline and disappear as social groups disintegrate. Rouletted and decorative pipes more common. Abandonment, sale or reduction of original territories as population further declines drive groups to official and unofficial Reservations. Colonial trade and acculturation increase and European style burials practiced in some areas. Small societies merge or intermarry. Period of Indian vs Colonial wars.
AD 1650	Late Woodland		Colington II	Colington I Ceramic Types continue to be developed but frequency distribution changes as cultural stress increases	Period of initial contact. Population decrease causing disruption of normal social and political organization trade and exchange with English colonies begins in some localities. Simple stamping increases in frequency. Material culture attributed to socio-political identity disappears as cultural stress increases.
AD 1584 AD 800			Colington I	Colington Fabric Impressed Colington Punctated Colington Incised Colington Simple Stamped Colington Plain * (Designs similar to those on the Colington Punctated and Incised pottery are also found on smoking pipes and in the tattoos on people shown in the John White paintings of 1585, and may have class or kinship associations.)	"Classic" shell tempered ware. The punctated and incised types, with some precedent in the preceding Middle Woodland period, may have social implications. Simple stamping present as early as A.D 1200 due to increased Cashie (Tuscarora) interaction and settlement of the Inner Coastal Plain. Some localities never fully adopt this surface treatment. Large ossuaries, perhaps reflecting social hierarchy used. Chiefdoms, well defined territories with capital towns and dispersed agricultural population. Highly efficient subsistence system based on estuarine, riverine exploitation, agriculture, upland hunting and collecting. AD 800-900: Appearance of archaeological evidence of the material culture directly traceable to the Algonkian-speaking societies of the Historic Period.

Table 2: Colington phase chronological sequence with identifying pottery types and cultural trends, from Phelps and Swindell 2009.

Time and Space

Time: Radiocarbon & Calendars

The Colington phase temporal range as originally defined was based on stratigraphic sequencing and five radiocarbon dates (Phelps 1983:39). Seventeen new dates have been added for a total of twenty-two known or published dates (Eastman 1999; Herbert 2003). For the purposes of this paper, all dates were recalibrated using Oxcal v.4.1 against Marine 09 and IntCal 09 calibration curves with a resolution of two. Probabilistic curves were generated with median and sigma range plotted and further arranged by location (see Tables 3, 4, 5, 6).

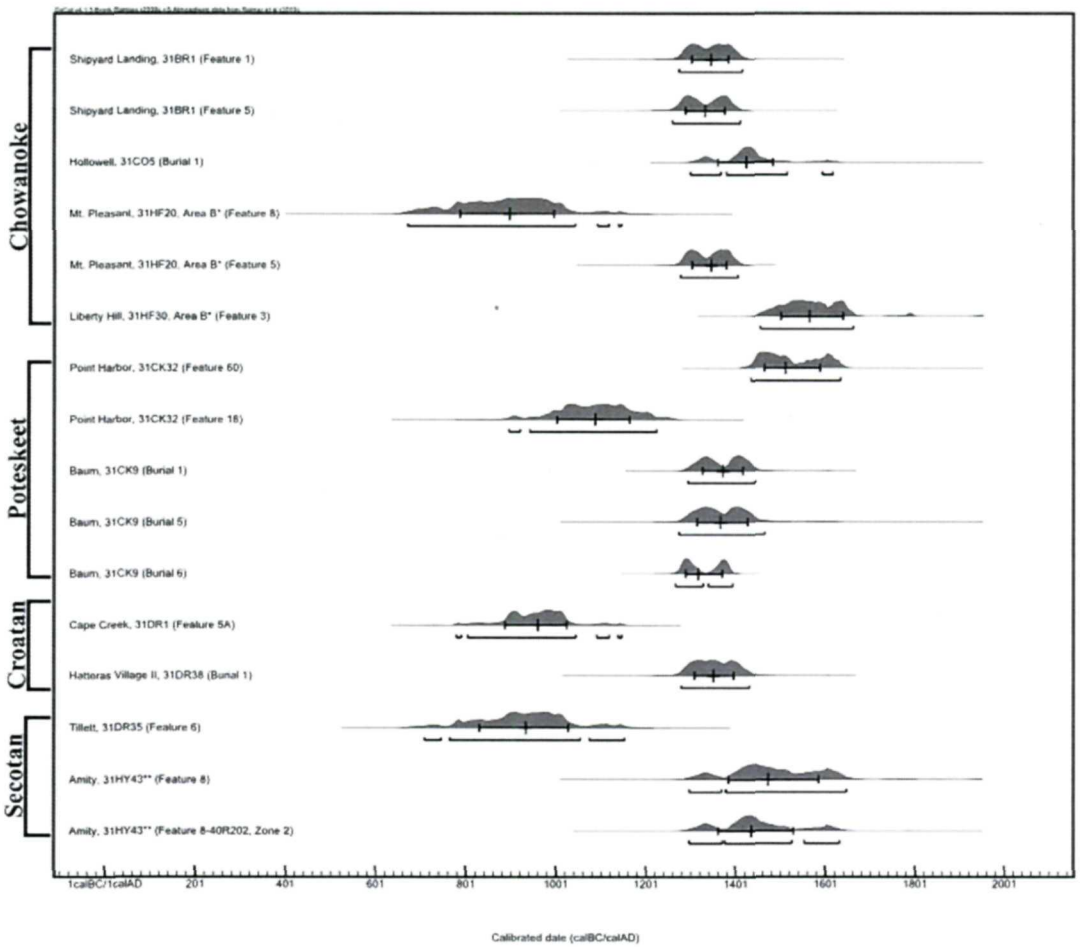

Table 3: 95% Probabilistic radiocarbon calibration curves for non-shell C14 samples by locality. Intersection of mean probability with sigma and two sigma range shown.

Site Name and Number	from	to	%	sigma	median
Shipyard Landing, 31BR1 (Feature 1)	1275	1416	95.4	40	1347
Shipyard Landing, 31BR1 (Feature 5)	1260	1412	95.4	44	1333
Hollowell, 31CO5 (Burial 1)	1301	1618	95.3	62	1425
Mt. Pleasant, 31HF20, Area B* (Feature 8)	673	1148	95.4	104	899
Mt. Pleasant, 31HF20, Area B* (Feature 5)	1278	1405	95.4	38	1346
Liberty Hill, 31HF30, Area B* (Feature 3)	1455	1663	95.4	69	1565
Point Harbor, 31CK32 (Feature 60)	1435	1635	95.4	62	1512
Point Harbor, 31CK32 (Feature 18)	897	1225	95.4	80	1089
Baum, 31CK9 (Burial 1)	1295	1444	95.4	45	1373
Baum, 31CK9 (Burial 5)	1275	1466	95.4	56	1367
Baum, 31CK9 (Burial 6)	1268	1395	95.4	40	1318
Cape Creek, 31DR1 (Feature 5A)	780	1148	95.4	68	962
Hatteras Village II, 31DR38 (Burial 1)	1280	1432	95.4	44	1352
Tillett, 31DR35 (Feature 6)	710	1155	95.4	98	935
Amity, 31HY43** (Feature 8)	1299	1649	95.4	101	1474
Amity, 31HY43** (Feature 8-40R202, Zone 2)	1298	1633	95.4	84	1436

Table 4: Colington phase radiocarbon sample range and median probability from non-marine samples.

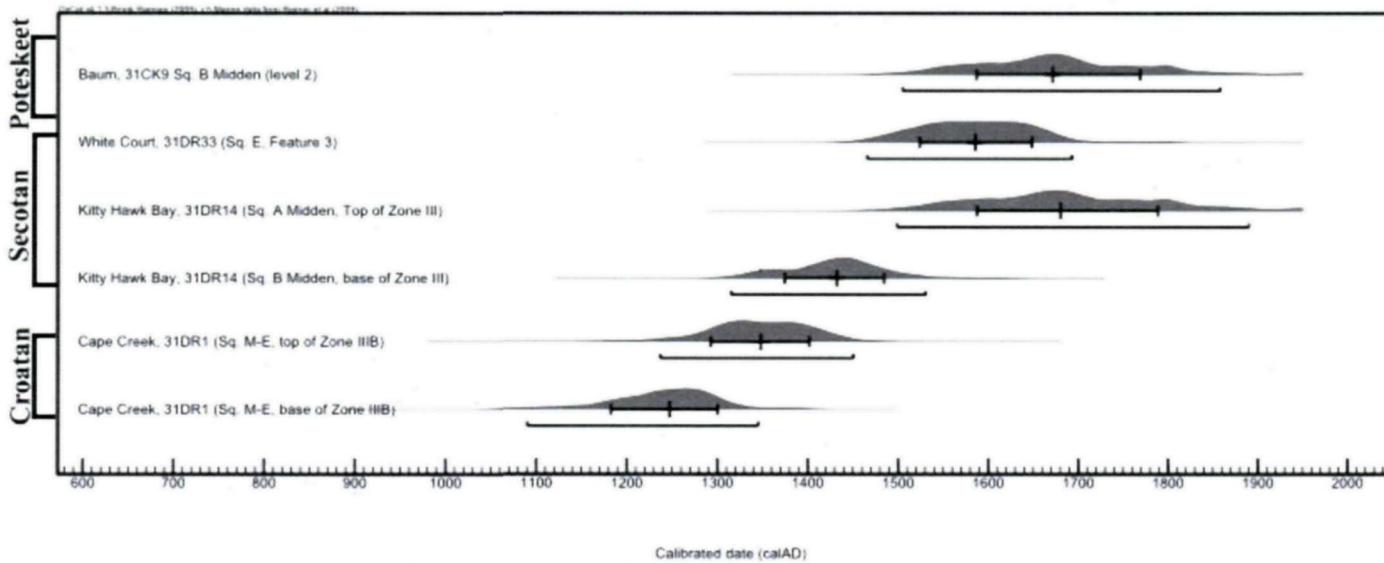

Table 5: 95% Probabilistic radiocarbon calibration curves for shell C14 samples by locality. Intersection of mean probability with sigma and two sigma range shown.

Site Name and Number	From	to	%	sigma	median
Baum, 31CK9 Sq. B Midden (level 2)	1505	1858	95.4	91	1671
White Court, 31DR33 (Sq. E, Feature 3)	1466	1693	95.4	62	1585
Kitty Hawk Bay, 31DR14 (Sq. A Midden, Top of Zone III)	1499	1890	95.4	100	1680
Kitty Hawk Bay, 31DR14 (Sq. B Midden, base of Zone III)	1315	1530	95.4	55	1432
Cape Creek, 31DR1 (Sq. M-E, top of Zone IIIB)	1237	1450	95.4	55	1348
Cape Creek, 31DR1 (Sq. M-E, base of Zone IIIB)	1090	1345	95.4	59	1247

Table 6: Colington phase radiocarbon sample range and median probability from marine shell.

Despite these additional dates and recalibration, no change can be made to the Phelps' A.D. 800 date marking the beginning of the phase, nor do these dates suggest any regional temporal variation in settlement. One possible pattern of note is that no shell samples from the base of a midden date before approximately A.D. 1200 (Table 5).

The calendric date of 1750, derived from historical documentation, is used to represent the end of the Colington phase. This arbitrary date does not mark the end of Algonkian Culture, it only demarcates an approximate point in time with the loss of core defining attributes of the phase. Shell tempered ceramics; ossuary style burials; and longhouses are no longer present. After 1750, the complicated process of acculturation makes archaeologically identifying the Algonkian cultural pattern from the Colonial culture pattern very difficult. Small numbers are noted for the *Chowanoke*, *Machapunga* and Hatteras after 1750 (Feest 1978:272) but it appears that only the Hatteras Indians of Hatteras Island would remain identifiable as Algonkians. They appear to have been practicing, primarily their own culture into the late eighteenth century.

Space: The Coastal Zone

The original spatial boundary for the Colington phase was defined as the Tidewater or estuarine physiographic region of North Carolina from the Neuse River northward (Phelps 1980:2; Phelps 1982a:4; Phelps 1983:36). At that time Phelps tentatively extended the northern boundary for the phase beyond North Carolina into Virginia to the southern side of Hampton Roads, based on perceptual differences between Carolina and Virginia Algonkian archaeological assemblages. Beyond this statement, no attempt was made to validate this claim, and the boundary has remained arbitrary despite calls for more cooperative studies between North Carolina and Virginia. Likewise, the arbitrary southern boundary, noted as the Neuse River, did not include those areas south of this regional boundary due in part to a limited understanding of cultural distribution and exchange as well as the need to facilitate a tentative sub-regional ceramic framework outlined in 1980 by the University of North Carolina Archaeological Consortium (Phelps 1980:4). Here, for the purposes of a comparative discussion, researchers had divided the Virginia-Carolina coastal or tidewater zone into four sub-regions from northern South Carolina to Northern Virginia to begin correlating the diverse ceramic series typologies, all characterized by shell tempering. Although such regional schemes have fallen out of favor, most archaeologists in North Carolina acknowledge a cultural boundary above or below the Neuse River existed, but how it has changed throughout time is poorly understood. At present the Neuse River remains a convenient boundary between the Northern Coastal region and the Southern Coastal region for the Late Woodland Period (see Figure 186).

PHYSIOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE COLINGTON PHASE

The general topography of the Atlantic Coastal Plain is relatively flat-to-gently undulating and slopes seaward to a submarine Continental Shelf (Bellis 1995:6; North Carolina Geological Survey 1988:92). Most researchers divide the greater Atlantic Coastal Plain of the United States, including North Carolina, into two sub-areas, the Inner and Outer coastal plains (see Figure 186). Each sub-area, separated by escarpments, has unique physiographic characteristics and soil stratigraphy. The Outer Coastal Plain, sometimes referred to as the Tidewater or the coastal zone, is separated from the geologically older, Inner or Middle Coastal Plain by the Suffolk Scarp (see Figure 186), an ancient shoreline or wave-cut scarp that formed between 200,000 and 100,000 years ago.(North Carolina Geological Survey 1988).

Although North Carolina's various scarps and terrace formations emerged after a decline in sea level over millions of years, the barrier islands formed more recently as a result of a periodically fluctuating, but net rise in sea level at the end of the last Ice Age. Present archaeological evidence supports the geologic data in that no known human occupation sites predate circa 300 BC (Phelps 1981:48). Exceptions are those inland islands like Roanoke Island which were created as rises in sea levels inundated once-upland ridges, and have been occupied since the Paleo-Indian Period (Riggs *et al* 2003: 102).

The climate and habitats of the barrier islands are defined by the geological processes that lead to their creation. South of Cape Hatteras the warmer waters of the Gulf Stream are a driving influence, while north of the Cape the nearshore zone is influenced by the colder water moving south from the North Atlantic Ocean (Bellis 1995:18). This places most of northeastern North Carolina in a transition of tension zone between Virginian and Carolinian biotas, accounting for the greater diversity in the northern barrier islands (Bellis 1995:18). Maritime forest plants and trees, coastal grasses, and a wide variety of salt-water adapted plant species stabilize the barrier islands.

The North Carolina estuaries are drowned lowlands behind the barrier islands and are the river and tributary stream valleys with areas below sea level (Riggs *et al.* 2003:25). This estuarine system consists of a complex structure of habitats and shorelines that result in a rich biodiversity. From east to west there are zones of differing salinity gradients and tidal processes which directly affect aquatic species diversity.

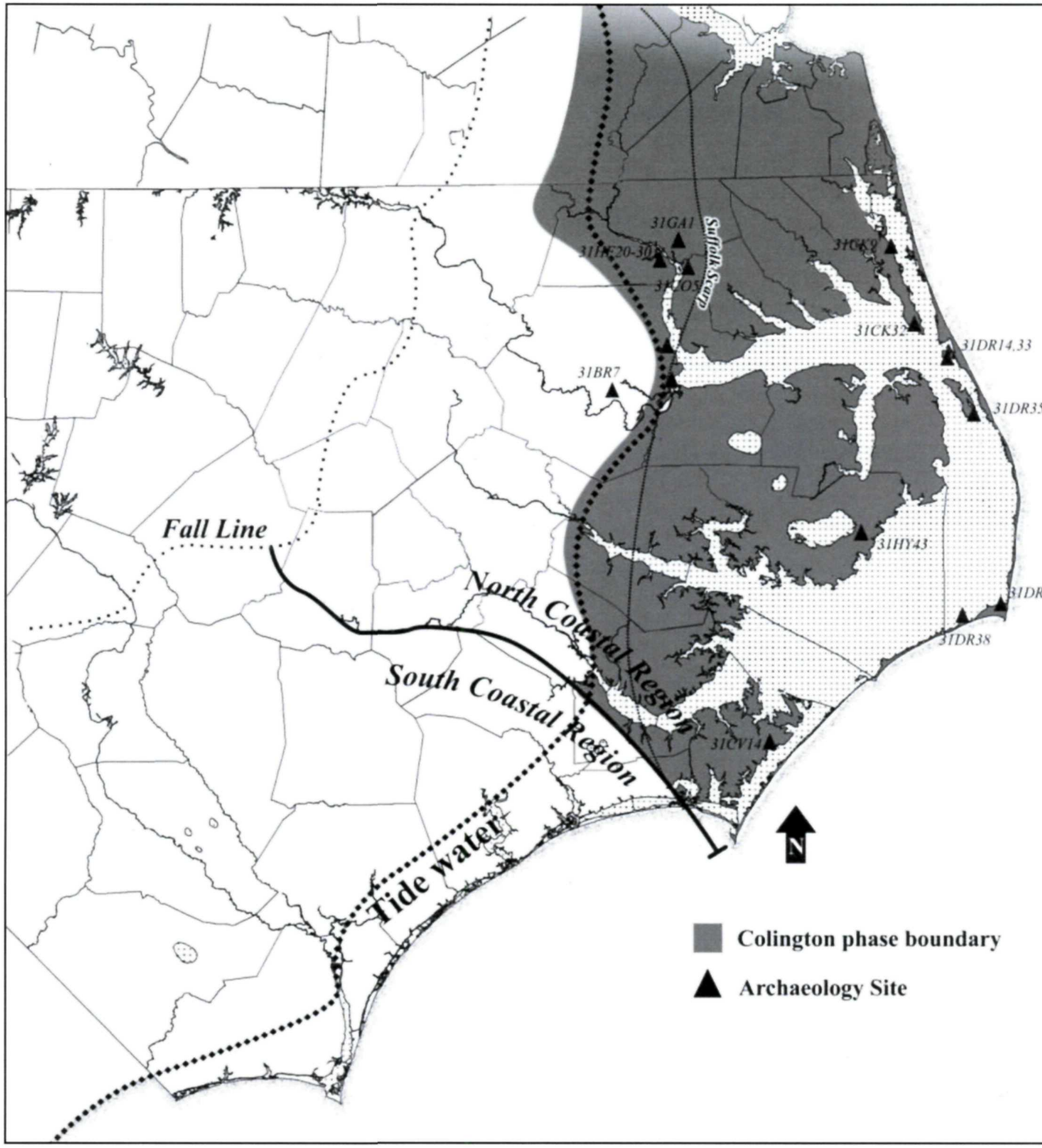

FIGURE 186: Map of North Carolina and Virginia Tidewater. Note Colington phase extents in the North Coastal Region shaded in gray and archaeological sites discussed in text.

Managing Time and Space: Localities

In 1982, Phelps' pursuit to summarize Colington phase sites for the North Carolina Tidewater led to the definition of eight distinct phase localities (Phelps 1982a: Figure 185). The two most common ways of looking at archaeological space are 1) a primarily geographic model based on drainage basins, stream systems, etc., or; 2) a cultural/spatial model based on similarity of culture within a given geographic space. Phelps elected to plot localities based on the geography. However, use of the term "locality" presumes cultural homogeneity within a geographic space (Willey and Phillips 1962:18) and ultimately his localities suggested loose social boundaries.

The revised locality boundaries presented in Figure 187 are drawn to reflect Colington I-II phase localities as a synchronic unit, ca. 800 - 1650 AD for northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia. Phelps' locality names, based on geographic features, have been dropped in favor of the names of Algonkian chiefdoms encountered by European explorers during the 16th and 17th century. The diverse geography of the region is reflected in the mapping, and at the time would have affected locality boundaries. Admittedly, projecting these political boundaries backwards in time is problematic, but the need for comparative units warrants their use in such a manner. Future studies are also needed to refine locality boundaries further.

Phelps (1982:3) identified 8 localities (Chowan Basin; North Albemarle; South Albemarle; Roanoke Island-Dare Mainland; Outer Banks; Hatteras Island; Pamlico; Neuse). Present data suggest expanding the number to 10 (Nansemond; *Chesepioc*; *Weapemeoc*; *Poteskeet*; *Chowanoke*; *Moratuc*; Secotan; *Pamouik*; *Neusiok*; Croatan). New are the tentative additions of Nansemond and *Chesepioc*, while Phelps' North Albemarle locality has been divided in two, *Weapemeoc* to the west and *Poteskeet* to the east. Chowan has been renamed to *Chowanoke*, South Albemarle has been renamed *Moratuc*, while Pamilico and Roanoke Island-Dare Mainland have been dissolved. North of the Pamlico River has been renamed to Secotan whose boundaries extend up the Dare mainland east, and south of the Pamlico has been renamed *Pomouik*. Neuse has been renamed to *Neusiok* and Hatteras has been renamed Croatan.

In this system, locality is defined as a geographic space in which there is a single political system (chiefdom) with a capital site and other sites ruled by sub-chiefs, in which material and other culture are closely shared. Within that space, sites may have other traits which differentiate them. Site components (Colington I,II) will show the change in culture through time, and degree of intensity of shared culture at any given time period. Segregating smaller areas within individual localities should make use of smaller socio-political or geographic units to maintain differences in site/settlement distribution and function. For example within the Secotan polity existed the smaller sub-chief towns of *Pomeiooc*, *Aquascogoc* and Roanoke—each possessing small farmstead sites, temporary or seasonal sites in their catchment domain. These domains can be isolated when possible and represent an intermediate description unit between that of a site and locality (*e.g.* North Coastal Region: Secotan Locality: Roanoke: 31DR35-Component).

Colington I phase (A.D.800-1584)

The Colington I phase represents the time interval between the emergence of a suite of archaeological patterns directly attributable to the Historic period of Algonkian speaking inhabitants of Southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, and the period of European exploration and interaction in the region. This description of traditional Colington phase expressions forms the basis of this overview and is, as expected, more detailed than subsequent sub-phase descriptions.

LANDSCAPES

Colington phase populations have been described as semi-sedentary fisher-farmers, but by European contact in the 1580s, exhibited a more complex, chiefdom level social structure (Feest 1978:278; Mook 1944:182; Phelps 1983:39). Site types are thought to have included "capital towns," large villages (nucleated and dispersed), hamlet communities, family farmsteads or compounds, and seasonal exploitation camps (Gardner 1990:72; Green 1986:4; Phelps 1983:40,

1984:8.). Settlement patterns on the Outer-Tidewater differed somewhat with most sites found along or near the shores of the great sounds, or along the major river estuary shores on well-drained, sandy landforms. As such, Colington phase settlements, while distinctly marine or estuarine locales, were somewhat varied and adapted to local micro-environments within the limitations of locally available arable lands.

In those areas along the Chowan and Roanoke rivers there are relatively high bank locations with multiple micro-environments immediately accessible: vast area of excellent arable, sandy loam soils for horticulture/agriculture using the slash/burn rotation system; forested oak/hickory/pine uplands for hunting, nut collecting and wood for fires and building materials; abandoned fields starting second growth harboring smaller fauna like rabbits; stream (creek and

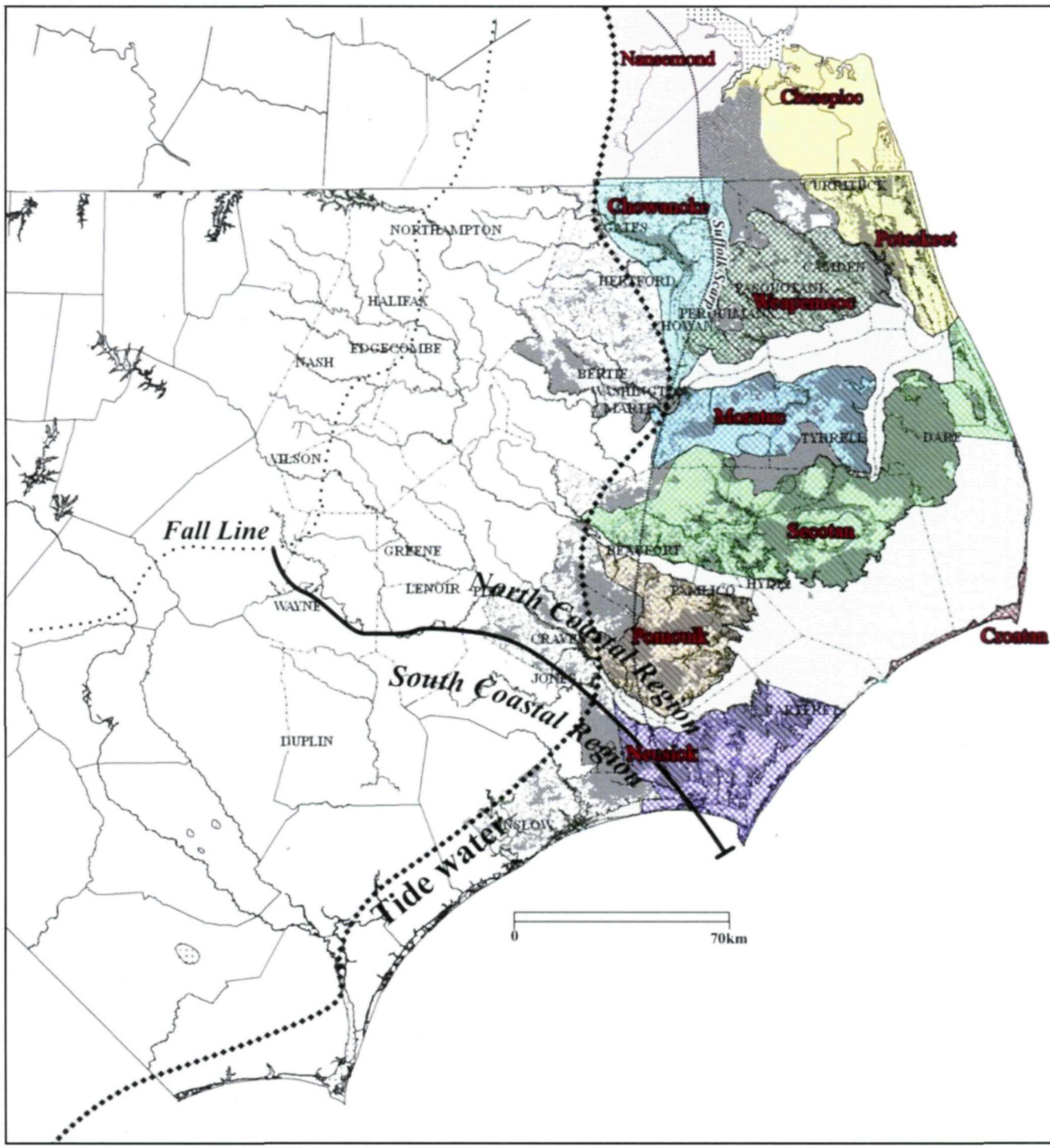

FIGURE 187: Map of Colington I & II phase Localities overlaying North Coastal Region, note environmental boundaries.

riverine) swamps for items like turtles and other swamp fauna as well as cypress for canoes; creek and river for ample fishing and shellfish (in this case fresh water mussels); easy, protected canoe access in the creeks leading out into the river and sound; and a fairly well protected location from storms.

While land formation processes were different from inland sites like Salmon Creek to coastal sites like Baum, the resulting environment/subsistence strategies were the same. Inland sites were highly productive locations able to support larger populations, thus the *Chowanoke* were one of the largest chiefdoms in population and number of towns, possibly as many as 18 towns at the time of sixteenth-century English exploration in the region (Feest 1978:272).

Similar to the mainland pattern of strategically locating habitation areas based on micro-environments and arable land, Colington I phase populations on the barrier islands may have coped with poor soils and harsh fall and winter conditions by seasonal movement between the sound shores and island interiors. Similarly, ethnohistoric sources indicate that seasonal movements between mainland settlement areas and inner barrier islands were not uncommon.

SOCIO-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SUBSISTENCE SYSTEMS

The Colington I phase socio-political system at the time of contact was described by early English explorers in their own terms as a *monarchy* ruled by a *king*. The Algonkian term *werowance* applied to a ruler of each polity (locality), who inherited leadership through his or her status in a matrilineage. Below the royal lineage in this class-stratified society were the nobility, including advisors, priests, subsidiary town or local leaders likely from related lineages; and the common class who supported themselves and likewise supplied corvee labor for the upper class (Phelps 1984:3). A *werowance* could have multiple wives, likely coming from villages subordinate to him. One polity, Croatan, was possibly ruled or controlled at one time by a queen suggesting further variability in complexity of the polities inhabiting the range. The Colington I phase religious system was formally lead by priests who would have been members of the nobility, managing naturalistic beliefs and rituals appropriate to subsistence as well as ancestor worship, particularly as it applied to the nobility.

TRADE

Inter-locality and regional trade for the Colington I phase occurred most often along the interlinking rivers and sounds (Figure 188). Along these routes would have moved goods, staples and finance/tribute. From outer-Tidewater localities, goods and staples like marine shell, beads, and shellfish were exchanged for tubers, deer products, stone and ceremonial and personal objects of copper. Inner-Tidewater localities would have then taken many of these items and traded further up the rivers for the exotic materials like copper. Inner-locality trade and economics are poorly understood but it can be assumed that some goods moved through the hierarchical settlement and subsistence system.

The economy of the Carolina Algonkians at the time of sixteenth-century English exploration has been described as one of limited intercultural commodity transactions, primarily centered around a gift-exchange system (Mallios 2003:148). Archaeologically, such interpretations are difficult to verify but what data there are on intercultural (inter-locality) interaction suggest some subsistence commodities moved from Outer-Tidewater localities inland to localities like *Chownaoke*. During excavations at the *Chowanoke* complex (*Chowanoke* Locality: 31HF20 and 30) of sites, Green recovered considerable amounts of clam (Mercenaria), and minor quantities of bay scallop, oyster, whelk and periwinkle. Given that these species inhabit near-shore estuarine and marine biomes, their presence at a freshwater site such as *Chowanoke* suggests transport or exchange over considerable distances (Green 1986:222). Further evidence of such inter-localtiy exchange comes from the Shipyard Landing site (*Chowanoke* Locality: 31BR1) where whelk net weights and tulip shell columella were recovered. Marine shell species appear to have constituted an important subsistence and craft commodity for Outer-Tidewater localities. These may have been exchanged for the Inner-Tidewater subsistence commodities of dried or smoked shad and herring as well as plants not found locally or difficult to grow in a marine environment.

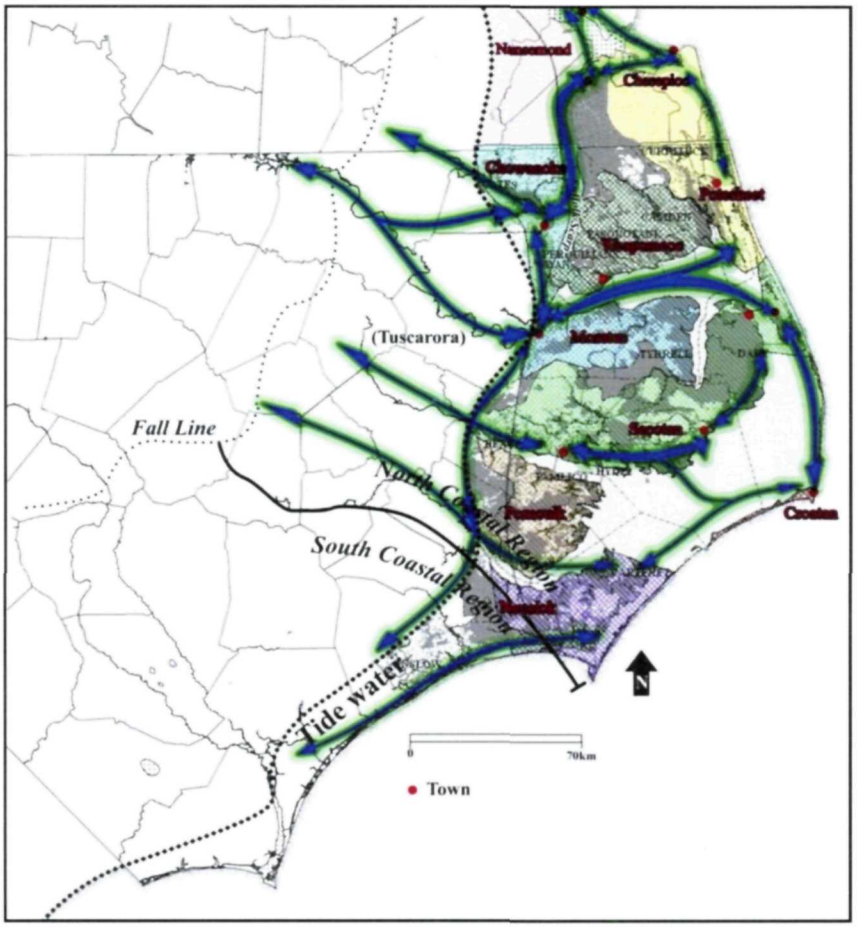

FIGURE 188: Major inter-locality and regional trade routes of the Colington I & II phases.

There are a few archaeological manifestations of Inter-Regional trade and how this interaction may have transpired. Marginella beads had an important social meaning to the Inner Coastal Plain Cashie phase (Tuscarora), where these beads are often found by the thousands within their ossuaries (Heath and Swindell 2009:16; Phelps 1983:46). Cashie phase populations would have acquired these objects as well as many others from the coast, and evidence of this interaction sphere further manifests in pottery frequencies. The Cashie phase, or Historic Period Tuscarora are thought to have moved into the Inner Coastal Plain by A.D. 1200 (Heath and Swindell 2009:4) and these Iroquoian speakers produced distinctive pottery, most possessing simple stamped exteriors. While Colington phase pottery types include a simple stamp variety, this type does not appear to have been present on the North Carolina coast until A.D. 1200, and the presence is interpreted as a direct result of Colington-Cashie interaction. It is not uncommon then to recover Colington series pottery on some Cashie phase sites, nor is it uncommon to find Cashie series pottery on some Colington phase sites; direct evidence of regional interaction. Obviously this interaction was greatest at those areas where the two populations were closest and in some locations there appears to have been no interaction at all. Despite numerous pottery studies from sites in the *Poteskeet* Locality (Phelps 1980, Lautzenhiser and Stewart 2006; Swindell 2008; Phelps and Swindell 2009), little to no Cashie pottery is found, and more telling is an absolute lack of Colington Simple Stamped pottery. Trade and interaction in the North Coastal Region is as much enabled by the environment as it is inhibited by it.

MORTUARY PRACTICES

Colington I phase burial patterns include single primary inhumations, but large ossuaries (Figure 189a,b) or what Ublelaker (1974:8) defined as a collective secondary deposit of skeletal material representing individuals initially stored elsewhere and re-deposited after a prescribed amount of time, are the most known and studied. Phelps further refined Ublelaker's description to fit the Algonkian pattern by adding that ossuaries should contain a significant number of individuals or groups of individuals indicating re-disposal of the dead from more than one family unit (Phelps 1980:1). The degrees of articulation and bundle consolidation within these dense ossuaries were highly variable (Hutchinson 2002:49; Phelps 1983:42). Phelps interpreted mass interment patterns such as those remains from the Baum site (*Poteskeet* Locality: 31CK9) as the material manifestation of elite communal focused, rather than individualized family oriented burial rituals; and segregated clusters of remains in large ossuary pits, such as those from the Hollowell site (*Chownaoke* Locality: 31CO5) as possibly representing segregated kinship groups included within a single ossuary feature (Phelps 1980:4; 1982:38, 1983:42). He further suggested that kinship segregation may be present at ossuaries like Baum, but in closely compacted deposits, clusters or patterns can be obscured and not readily obvious. Nevertheless, there remains an observable variation in pit form and size between ossuaries found in

Outer and Inner Tidewater localities. Ossuary evidence from Outer Tidewater localities such as *Poteskeet* and Croatan suggest that small deep circular pits between 2 and 3 meters in diameter (Figure 189A) were most common, while Inner Tidewater locality data imply pits rectangular or ovoid in form with dimensions of 2.5 x 3.5 meters (Figure 189B). It should be noted that an ossuary from the Piggot Site (*Neusiok* locality: 31CR14) possessed attributes similar to Inner Tidewater patterns, however this locality remains tentatively placed within the Colington phase and further study may dismiss this pattern as distinctive.

Colington I phase ossuaries from all localities contain the remains of both sexes and all ages from fetal to old age (Hutchinson 2002:65; Horning 2007:10; Phelps 1980:4; 1983:42). They typically possess no associated grave goods and in instances where they occurred were likely attributed to being placed with an individual prior to final deposition (Phelps 1980:8). Artifacts sometimes associated include: bone pins, awls, beads of shell and copper. In some cases crania with red mat staining (Figure 189C) have been recorded suggesting an observable consequence of ritual preparation and storage prior to final disposition.

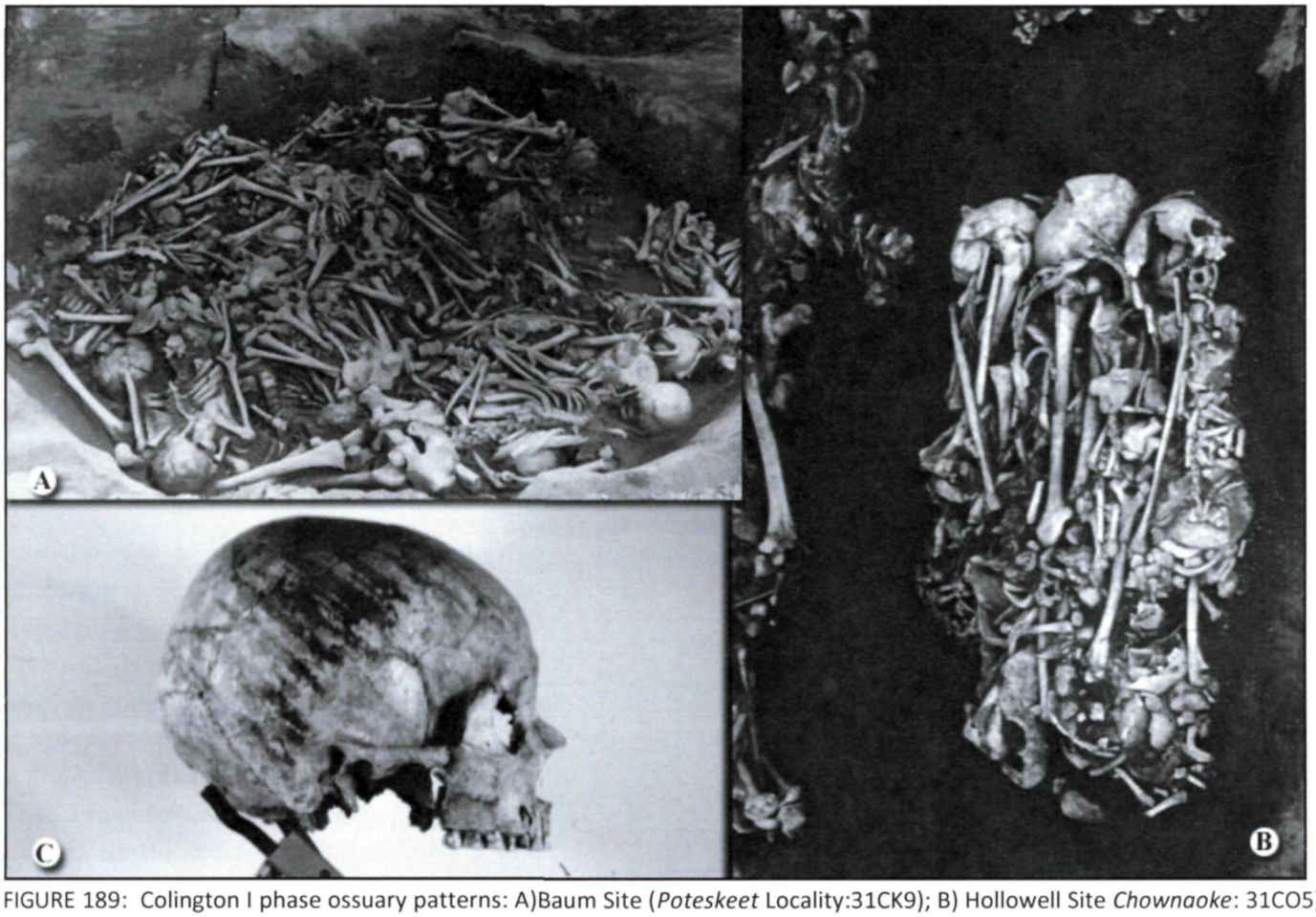

FIGURE 189: Colington I phase ossuary patterns: A)Baum Site (*Poteskeet* Locality:31CK9); B) Hollowell Site *Chownaoke*: 31CO5); C) red cranial staining from mat.

SUBSISTENCE

The complexity of ecological zones within southeastern Virginia and North Carolina cannot be overstated. Found within this region are combinations of freshwater, brackish and saltwater estuarine ecosystems, swift and slow moving rivers and swamps—all found adjacent to equally varied terrestrial habitats. Early historical observations by English explorers noted the regions' abundance of marine resources (*e.g.*, Barlowe 1957 [1584]; Harriot 1972 [1590]) and today, dozens of species of fish, shellfish and turtles continue to abound in the salt, fresh, and brackish waters that fill the sounds, rivers and lakes. Likewise, these same early descriptions expound the richness of terrestrial resources like bear, deer, rabbit and waterfowl as well as a wide variety of plants growing in good arable soils for agriculture.

As coastal adapted fisher-farmers, Colington I phase peoples settled near shorelines in settlement clusters that took advantage of the diverse array of marine/estuarine resources while simultaneously occupying agriculturally suitable lands (Phelps 1982b:13; 1983:40). They cultivated maize, beans, squashes and other cultivars as part of their seasonal subsistence economy. Floral assemblages from Colington I phase sites have yielded maize cobs and cupules, squash seeds, acorns, hickory nuts, grape seeds, chenopodium and sumpweed seeds (Green 1986:184; Phelps 1983:40, 1984:103). While field based agriculture centered on maize, beans and squash appears to have developed at some point during the Colington I phase, Hutchinson's (2002) bioarchaeological studies do, however, suggest that maize may have been less significant as a primary food resource than previously assumed for Coastal Algonkian peoples. Faunal assemblages from Colington phase I sites exhibit greater species diversity than assemblages from Middle Woodland period contexts in the same region (Green 1986:195). Inner-Tidewater locality populations regularly exploited fresh and brackish-water fish, anadromous fish, turtles, and freshwater mussels. The outer-coastal populations utilized a wide variety of marine shellfish including multiple species of clams, pear conchs, mussels, oysters, scallops and whelks. Large fauna, such as deer and bear, were hunted throughout all localities during the winter months when such efforts did not interfere with horticultural and fishing/shellfishing efforts in milder seasons (Byrd 1997:14; Green 1986:195; Phelps 1983:40). Faunal data from the *Chowanoke* Locality, when compared with the Croatan Locality sites, indicate as expected that populations settled in Inner Tidewater estuarine/riverine areas and exploited more terrestrial, mammalian and reptile resources, while their neighbors in the Outer Tidewater marine localities exploited proportionately more marine/estuarine species (Green 1986:195).

MATERIAL CULTURE

The archaeological assemblage of the Colington I phase includes the shell tempered Colington ceramics series from which the phase name is derived—clay pipes, various types of shell beads, small equilateral triangular projectile points and other tools of lithic, shell, or bone (Phelps 83:39). This section is an attempt to describe better those various material types which make up a known Colington I artifact assemblage. Certain materials are inherently recovered more frequently from Colington I sites and studies of them are frequently a higher priority (*e.g.* Pottery studies). Therefore, more descriptive space is devoted to these items.

Pottery

Diagnostic ceramics for the Colington I phase are the shell-tempered Colington series. This series was relatively conservative over time, at least in terms of vessel forms (Figure 190) and paste characteristics, but is most notable for the unusual array of decorative treatments, primarily in the form of incised, punctuated linear and chevron designs in various combinations (Figure 191 and 192; Phelps and Swindell 2009:14). The Colington series compares favorably to other Late Woodland period shell tempered series found from the northeast to the south coastal region of North Carolina, though there are recorded differences (Table 7). Besides variations in types, the presence or absence of elements like interior rim stamping appear meaningful to Colington series distribution. Shell tempered series north of the study area either lack the element, rarely possess it, or archaeologists fail to report it. In the Southern Coastal Plain, interior rim stamping was not only applied differently, but was applied further down the vessels' interior (Marshall 1999:92) and lacks the decorative combinations Colington potters used. These combinations include single vertical and oblique stamping sometimes in pairs, triplets, and more rarely chevrons (Phelps and Swindell 2009:16). Colington series pottery includes plain/burnished, fabric-impressed, incised, punctuate, and simple-stamped types. Decorative types constitute combinations of various designs applied to the upper portions of a vessel—designs reminiscent of Carolina Algonkian tattoos painted in the sixteenth century by English artist John White (Figure 193) perhaps reflecting some yet undetermined social meaning. Incised and Punctate types are found throughout all the localities, though as with other types, individual localities express certain uninterrupted preferences.

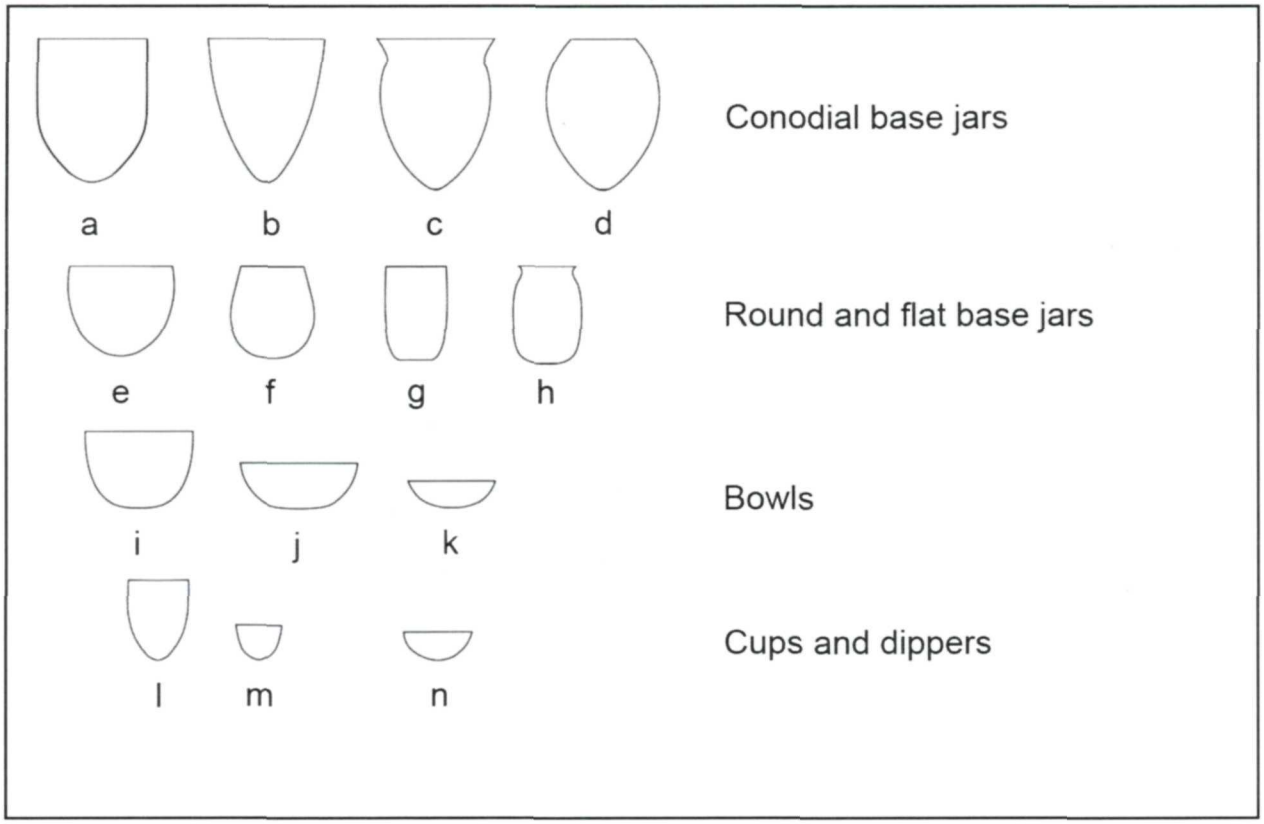

FIGURE 190: Common vessel forms of the Colington pottery series.

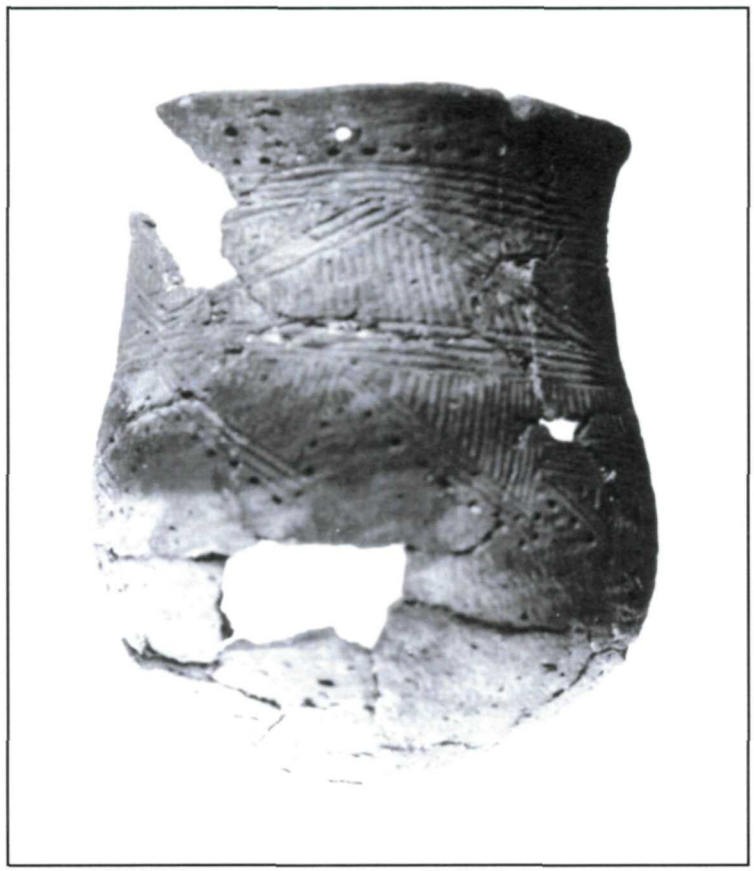

FIGURE 191: Small Colington Punctated Jar (Design Group P3), note incised filled chevron.

FIGURE 192: Upper vessel portion of a Colington Incised (Design Group I3) Jar.

One of the most observable technological differences in the Colington series between Inner and Outer Tidewater localities is the type and size of the shell used for tempering. Those localities at the back of the estuaries, or away from saline environments utilized freshwater mussel shell for temper which is much thinner; while Outer-Tidewater localities used the shell of larger thicker-walled marine mollusks (Green 1986:69 Phelps 1983:36). Both the entire shell and the individual laminae crush much finer with fresh water mollusk, whether with or without slaking (burning), creating a shell hash used as temper. After deposition, taphonomic processes like leeching produce linear voids only observable under magnification. On the outer coast these linear voids tend to be larger and much more obvious.

Besides the Colington series, a fine sand-tempered ware is often found in Colington I phase sites, particularly those located in the Croatan Locality. Originally, they were considered an extra-local "trade item" (Phelps 1983:39). Excavation data from Hatteras Island (Croatan Locality) suggest that the well-made pottery represents an *in situ* coeval development with the Colington series, however it remains undefined and poorly understood.

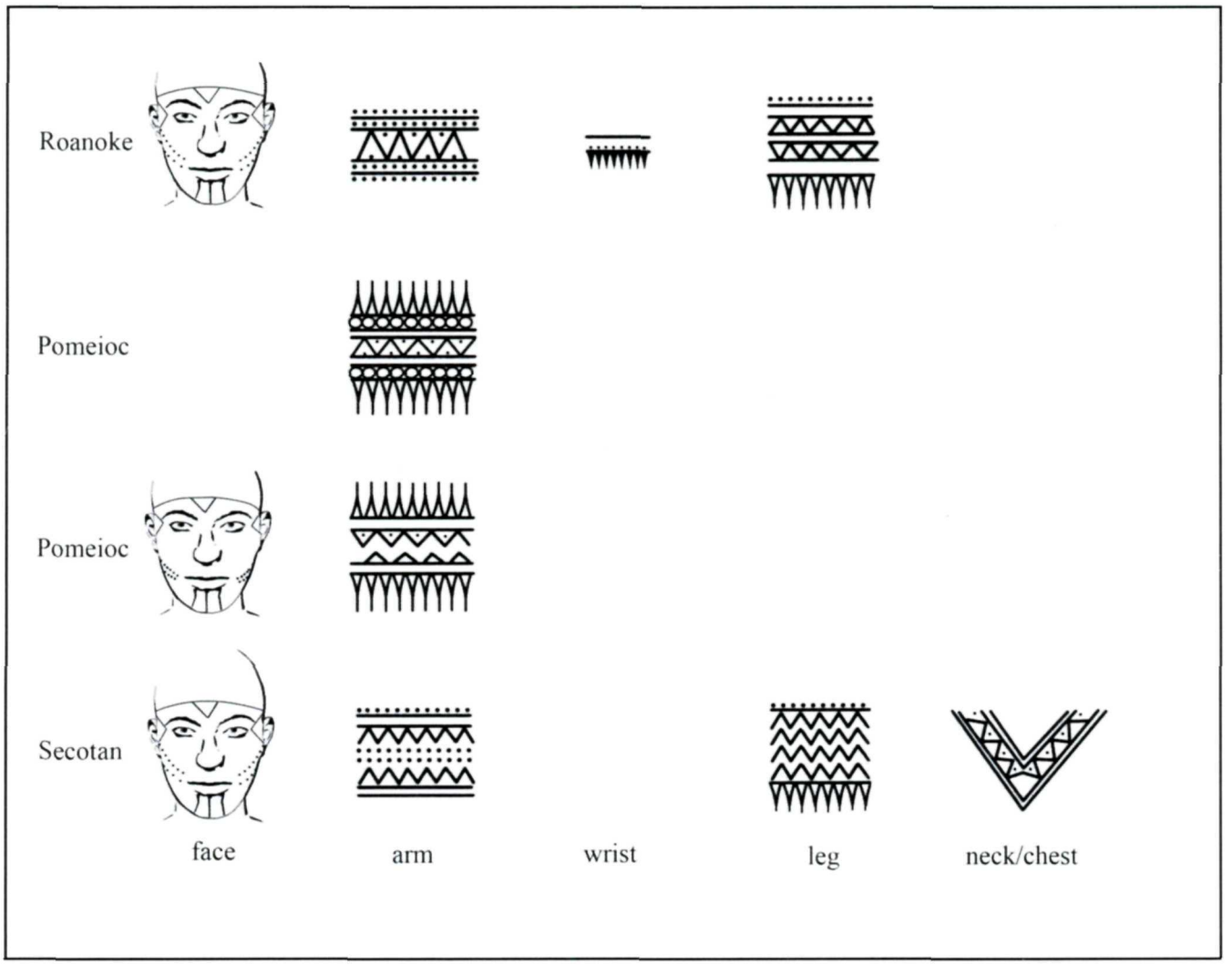

FIGURE 193: Tattoo designs of Secotan Locality high-status females depicted by 16th century artist John White. Derived from various images in Hulton 1984. Note that De Bry's reworking of White's images are too generic for comparison.

Colington Series	Townsend Series	White Oak Series	Chickahominy Series
Colington Fabric Impressed	Rappahannock Fabric Impressed	White Oak Fabric Impressed	Chickahominy Fabric Imp.
Colington Punctated	(absent)	(absent)	(absent)
Colington Incised	Rappahannock Incised	(absent)	(incised type, not named)
Colington Simple Stamped	(absent)	White Oak Simple St. (rare)	Roanoke Simple Stamped
Colington Plain	(absent)	White Oak Plain	Sussex Plain
(absent)	Townsend Corded	(absent)	(rare)
(absent)	Townsend Herringbone	(absent)	(absent)
Interior rim stamp < 2 cm	(absent)	Interior rim stamp > 2 cm	Int. rim stamp < 2 cm (rare)

Table 7: Comparison of shell tempered series types from the Southeast and Mid-Atlantic regions. From Phelps and Swindell 1999.

Pipes

Despite a high recovery rate, very few detailed or comparative analyses of smoking pipes from Colington I phase sites have been undertaken. At present, Magoon's (1999) analysis of pipes found at several Late Woodland and Historic Period sites represents the most detailed analysis of this artifact class in the North Carolina Coastal Plain. Unfortunately, only one Colington phase site, Croatan (Croatan Locality: 31DR1) was used in this study but from it can be suggested a few notable trends perhaps relevant to all Colington phase localities. Magoon reports that the majority of locally produced pipes at Croatan were the undecorated obtuse-angle plain-basket bowl shape (Magoon 1999:115). This form occurs across the Colington phase range and represents the type depicted in De Bry's modifications of the John White paintings (Harriot 1972 [1590]:61). Therefore it is assumed that the plain-basket obtuse-angle form, primarily undecorated was characteristic of the Colington I phase, and may or may not be tempered with shell. The angle of the bowl likely varied with some examples closer to straight. Certainly this form is not the only one in use during this period of time, but according to Magoon, straight stemmed and monitor types were in the minority (Magoon 1999:117). Determining whether such observations hold true for the entire Colington range during this sub-phase will require verification from more detailed analyses. To suggest relative percentages for other forms would be speculation.

Bone/Shell

Bone and shell as material were routinely used for a wide assortment of objects found on Colington I phase sites. Most of the shell beads recovered are of four forms: disc, barrel, rectangular and tubular shaped (Figure 194B). Similar forms were made from bone, typically of wading birds. Other objects include shell gorgets, hoes, picks and cups; bone awls, pins and needles (Figure 194: A, C).

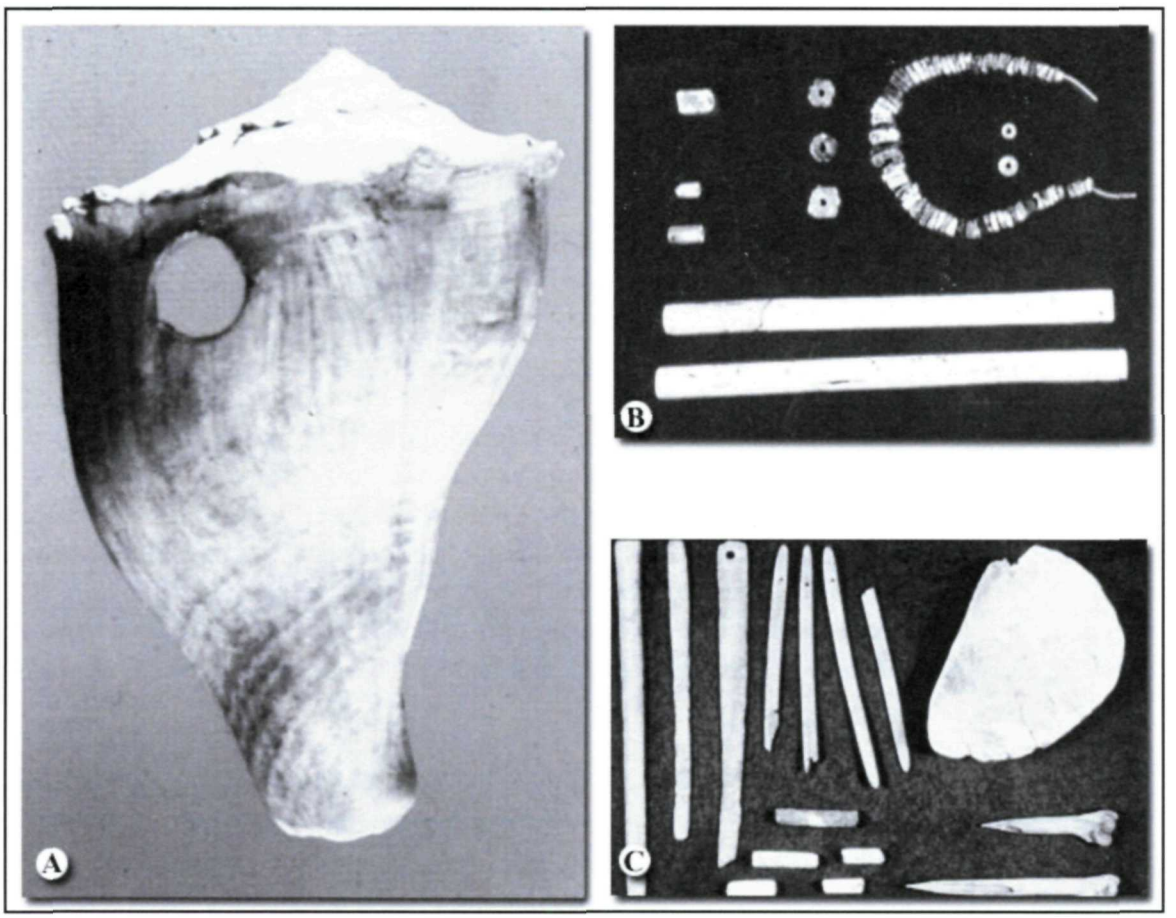

FIGURE 194: Typical shell objects from Colington I phase sites. A) Shell Hoe; B) Various bead forms, some possibly later; C) Various forms of bone needles and awls.

Lithics

Colington I phase lithic assemblages include small triangular projectile points (small Roanoke), bifacially worked tools (knives, drills, awls), expedient bifacially/unifacially worked tools, sandstone abraders, milling stones, net weights, polished stone celts and gorgets. A common lithic tool, but often unrecognized, from many coastal sites is what Loftfield referred to as an *oyster knife* (Loftfield 1988:112). These tools are often found amongst shell midden accumulation and are easily confused with pebbles or cobbles missing a few flakes from one end.

This lithic assemblage was manufactured from multiple raw material types usually dependent upon resource availability. Projectile points and tools at Outer-Tidewater localities were typically made from cobbles of jasper, a type of chalcedony (Pellent 1992) available to *Poteskeet*, Secotan and Croatan localities at areas where relic Pleistocene stream channels are exposed along ocean shorelines, as well as from the submerged stream channels themselves. Use of jasper as a lithic source for tools was not a Late Woodland phenomena as both Early and Middle Woodland lithic assemblages contain the material type. Inner-Tidewater Colington I localities also made use of jasper sources, but quartz and quartzite as a raw material seem more available as it had been in the previous Woodland and Archaic periods. Larger lithic tools such as grinding stones, axes and celts were primarily made of stone acquired through trade. It is unclear whether these objects were prefabricated prior to trade, but such objects found within the Colington I range do not appear different in shape or style to those in use elsewhere during the Late Woodland Period.

Copper

Copper has always been viewed by archaeologists, as well as prehistoric peoples, as valuable, with its presence noted in reports and literature that are otherwise suspect (Goodman1984:5). This suggests that at a minimum, the present data set numbers of Colington I copper occurrences are fairly accurate, and that from them we may understand a few things about its importance to prehistoric peoples. As discussions of copper's importance to the Carolina Algonkians advance, immediately issues of copper source identification arise. Identifying prehistoric copper on multi-component/multi-phase sites with occupations into later historic periods is problematic. Furthermore, copper items often associated with the Colington I phase, like small beads and disc, do not always survive to be recovered. Considering these two factors, low recovery rate and confusion with later period European copper, the picture of copper use during Colington I phase remains incomplete. However, English explorers in the region during the late 16th century, keenly interested in locating North American copper sources (Grassl 2006:122) went to great lengths in documenting any presence of the mineral amongst the Algonkians. From these accounts we learn that it was used in the manufacturing of personal adornments (similar in form to those made from shell) as well as in badges of office; the latter depicted in John White's drawing of *A chief Herowan* (Hulton 1984: 76 [Plate 46]). These reports also document no viable raw copper ore sources in the immediate region, but leave a mixed impression about indigenous smelting or smithing of it. It is unlikely that copper ore was ever processed within the Colington phase region; more likely, pure copper was acquired through trade and modified by local artisans to meet specific socio-political needs. Given copper's rarity during the Colington I phase, it can be assumed valuable, and perhaps possession of it signified elevated status. Furthermore, it can be speculated that personal items made from it were reused, curated, and passed down along kinship lines, rectangular copper badges of office perhaps being passed on to succeeding *werowances*.

Other

Besides the objects discussed above, there exists a wide array of perishable materials which only survive in the archaeological record under the best of conditions. These included household items like, wooden spoons and platters, gourd containers, textiles, cordage and reed mats; personal items like pearls, garments, shoes, and pouches from skins; activity objects such as wooden canoes, paddles, weirs, rakes, nets, baskets and military related items such as wooden swords, shields, arrows and armor fabricated from reed.

Colington II phase (A.D. 1584-1650)

The Colington II phase represents that period of time between European exploration in the region and initial English settlement. Despite the late 16th century English descriptions, which only serve to document the end of the Colington I phase, this sub-phase lacks credible records relating to those localities south of the *Chesipioc* and Nansemond.

LANDSCAPES

Colington II phase locality boundaries remain unchanged from the previous sub-phase and while population decline was likely consistent across all polities, reductions may have had a greater affect on Inner-Tidewater landscapes. At these areas, small villages would have struggled most. If Harriot's (1588) death by disease assessment of 25 percent or more in small villages is accurate, then it is likely many of them would have been abandoned or perhaps merged to remain in existence. The number of small farmsteads maintained by extended families would have been drastically reduced, although it is possible some villagers may have moved out into the countryside. Large open format villages and Capital Towns may have retracted towards their political and religious centers as nobility struggled to maintain control of the stratified system. These long-term patterns are pure conjecture, placing considerable weight on Harriot's statement. Whether populations continued to decline as a result of disease is unknown. Regardless, by the 1650s, those English settlers moving down into the Chowan River basin found large uninhabited tracts of land and many located their homesteads on "old Indian Fields."

A consequence of dividing the Colington phase into three sub-phases has been the recognition of the proverbial black hole description of the Colington II phase. While it is a safe assumption that population decline had profound effects on landscapes, to what extent remains unknown. Beyond the incomplete and brief reports brought back from the unsuccessful Jamestown attempts to find evidence of missing Elizabethan colonists, no other written records for the North Carolina localities remain. All that can be determined from the Jamestown accounts is that native populations were present in the region. Archaeological evidence of Colington II as a component exists at many Colington phase sites. However, distinguishing it from a Colington I component is at this point difficult given that macro material culture and settlement patterns appear largely unchanged. Possibly the only thing which can be assumed or interpreted from the evidence at hand is that a sharp decline in population, possibly due to the spread of European diseases obtained by early contact, would have been devastating, leaving the survivors unable to operate at previous chiefdom levels. The immediate impact would have been felt in the Secotan and Croatan localities, followed by *Chowanoke* and *Weapemeoc*, all of which were visited first hand by the English. Given the usual level of intertribal communication, disease would have spread from those localities into others which had no prior contact with the English. That said, changes should be observable in those landscapes, material culture and socio-political and subsistence systems directly attributed to maintaining a chiefdom. Presently, many of these systems have only been tentatively defined, so suggesting how changes to them manifest in the archaeological record during this 66 year period would be speculative. Therefore, as observed from the framework, only a limited attempt has been made to list some potential differences between Colington I and II sub-phases until future studies and data fill the gap. Perhaps in this case it would be best to draw from better documented events where another Native American society of similar complexity lost large amounts of populations in a short time span.

SOCIO-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SUBSISTENCE SYSTEMS

Changes to the socio-political, economic and subsistence systems of the Colington II sub-phase are not known. However, it can be hypothesized that they remained similar to those of Colington I but at a much diminished scale. The use of traders and trading posts out of the Jamestown Colony as well as others in the mid-Atlantic grew in the years between 1607 and 1650 and spread through Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. In those years, there was certainly a dribble of trade coming to North Carolina, but probably through the traditional trade network rather than direct from trading posts, but to what degree is unknown.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Continuing with the Colington II theme of population and political decline, manifestation in material culture can be observed as a drastic change in the frequency distribution of pottery types. Popularity of the simple stamping type greatly increased as interaction with the Tuscarora and Meherrin increased and the decorative types of the previous sub-phase fell from favor as socio-political affiliations fractured and faded. Other material culture associated directly with socio-political identity diminished in manufacture and form while core cultural materials and technology remained unaffected (*e.g.* pottery remained shell tempered).

COLINGTON III PHASE (A.D. 1650-1750)

The Colington III phase represents the segment of time from permanent English settlement in the region to the disappearance of core identifiable Colington phase traits (Colington shell tempered pottery, longhouses, ossuary style burials). This portion of the sequence marks a continuation of the cultural decline begun during the previous Colington II phase and accelerated by further population decline, land sales, displacement, and forced removals. Population loss results in an inability to produce and maintain things necessary for chiefdom level operations, while reduced territories would have permitted settlers easy access to former Indian lands. Marginalized, the remnants of the various localities either merge with other groups or acculturate as a means of survival. Some would however resist these changes in a series of documented and undocumented conflicts, not all involving Europeans. This block of time marks a period of great mobility and the point when several official and unofficial reservations were created (Table 8).

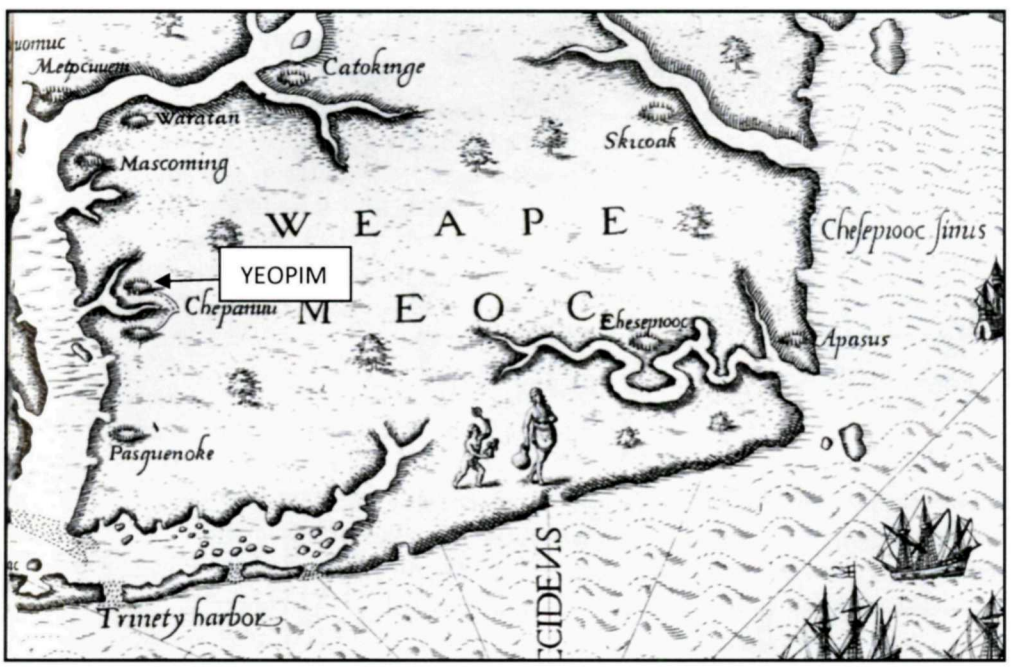

FIGURE 195: Detail of Ralegh's Virginia.

LANDSCAPES

Colington III phase landscapes should be conceptualized in terms of a restricted domain, and distinguished from previous sub-phases by rapid territorial reduction and displacement. For the Inner-Tidewater region the loss or sale of lands during English expansion into northeastern North Carolina had a dramatic impact on settlement distribution. For example, the Yeopim, or remnants of the *Weapemeoc* sold their traditional lands around areas of Yeopim Creek and moved to the eastern extents of their old territorial range at North River. Exactly what prompted this land sale is unknown but one speculative reason would be population pressure from colonials moving into the area. To survive, the *Weapemeoc* were forced to move east towards less appealing locations. The area around Edenton, on both sides of the river, had a fairly quick surge of colonial occupation stimulated in part by Nathanial Batt's establishment at the head of the Albemarle Sound in 1650. This is but one instance of Algonkian territorial reduction and marginalization leading to the establishment of several official and unofficial reservations (Table 8) during this period. To date only limited testing has occurred at known sites, therefore little can be said about settlement patterns within these confined territories.

Locality	Capital Town	Reservation Site	Comment
Nansemond	?	?	
Chesepioc	44VB7,9 Great Neck/Riding Ridge	None ?	
Chowanoke	*Chowanoke* (31HF20/30)	Robert's Warf-31GA9 (ECU # 31GA1)	*Chowanoke* residing on their tradtional lands west of the Chowan remove themselves to their land east of the Chowan at the conclusion of the *Chowanoke* War (1675-1677) along a 12 square mile reservation south of Bennetts Creek. One site known: ECU # 31Ga1 (State # 31Ga9), Roberts Wharf.
Weapemeoc	Yeopim Creek	Indiantown (31CM13)	Occupied by remnants of *Weapemeoc* Chiefdom (the Yeopim Indians of the Historic Period). Not an official reservation. Original lands in the vicinity of Yeopim Creek in Perquimans and Chowan counties were sold to early colonists (deeds to Harvey and Batt). In 1661 group moves to their eastern lands in Camden county with a "center" at Indiantown on west side of North River. One site known: 31Cm13, Indiantown.
Poteskeet	Churches Island (31CK2/7)	*Poteskeet* Town	Not an official reservation more a remnant and enclave of remaining *Poteskeet*. No known affiliated site.
Moratuc	Weyerhauser, Plymouth (#?)	None	?
Secotan	Secotan(31BF25/115)?	Mattamuskeet (31HY43?)	Occupied by remnants of the Secotan Chiefdom (the Mattamuskeet or *Matchapunga* Indians of the Historic Period). Consolidation of various groups from the original Secotan Chiefdom whose territories ranged from Dare to Beaufort counties. Given a reservation on the southeast side of Lake Mattamuskeet following their participation with the Tuscarora in the Tuscarora War. One site known, 31HY43
Croatan	Croatan (31DR1)	Croatan (31DR1)	Remnants of the Croatan Chiefdom (the Hatteras Indians of the Historic Period). Not an official reservation. Royal Governor Dobbs granted the "Hatteras Indians" 200 acres including their "traditional town", Croatan, on Hatteras Island to secure pacification during the French and Indian War. One site known: 31Dr1, Croatan
Pomouik	?	None (Included with Mattamuskeet)?	
Neusiok	?	None (Included with Mattamuskeet)?	Tentative Algonkian affiliation

Table 8: List of official and unofficial Carolina Algonkian Reservations in North Carolina and Virginia (From Phelps 2008).

SOCIO-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SUBSISTENCE SYSTEMS

Early in the Colington III phase, depopulation was to some degree unequally distributed across the range, resulting in relaxed territorial boundaries where groups were most decimated. Organizationally, even depopulated groups retained some semblance of the hereditary ruling nobility of previous sub-phases, but to what degree it resembled earlier phases is unknown. As trade for European goods increased, traders began to integrate into many areas as early as the 1650s and possibly earlier. Batt's is the first recorded permanent location (see Figure 196) but earlier Spanish traders are thought to have been living with the Tuscarora prior to 1650. Spanish traders in the region possibly bear out archaeologically through the presence of small peaches. They have been recovered from various sites across the coastal plain and their presence in Colington III sites was either the result of trade with the Tuscarora who had groves, or that the Algonkians had likewise acquired the knowledge for growing them. Seeing opportunity, Virginian traders by 1650 moved south to take advantage of the new market where, as a whole, Algonkian populations in the greater Albemarle region still amounted to a viable open market. The period from 1650 to 1665 appears to be pivotal in the expansion and trade development as the Colleton (Colington) Island and Point Harbor plantations were started in 1663. Batt's had bought land from the *Weapemeoc* in 1661 and 1662, and the assemblage of trade goods changed and increased from earlier experiences. What entered the trade market was raw materials, including, brass, cloth (as evidenced from bale seals), glass beads and coins manufactured by Europeans and turned into traditional products by local Algonkian craftsman and artisans. Accompanying the raw materials were also the production methods and metal tools to accomplish them.

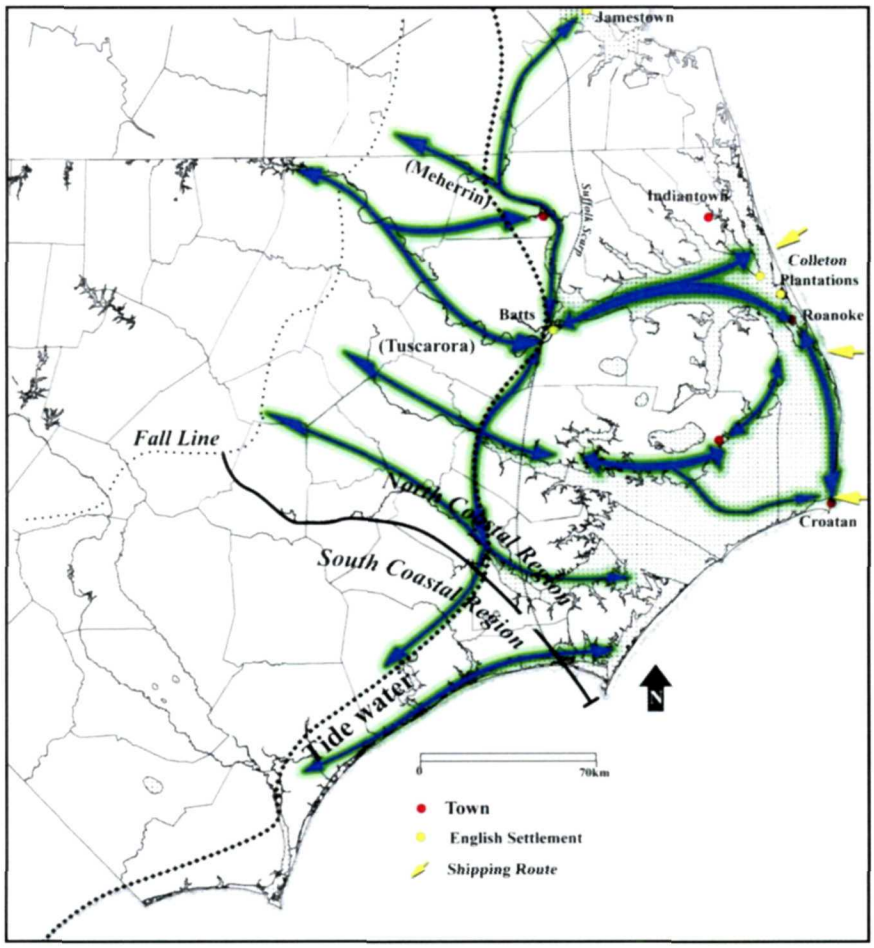

FIGURE 196: Major trade routes (1650-1670) for the Colington III phase. Polities have fractured by this point with remnants in single towns or reservation tracts.

MORTUARY PRACTICES

Coffin style burials found at Indiantown 31CM13, demonstrate that the *Weapemeoc*-Yeopim society had begun acculturation very quickly (Phelps 1984:17). However, despite being buried in the "European" form, many individuals were buried with both traditional and trade items—suggesting some retention of traditional beliefs. It is not entirely known whether such a quick conversion in mortuary standards is representative of other Carolina Algonkian groups at this time, but in all likelihood it was not. No known ossuaries have been excavated or observed from this sub-phase, so no direct comparison can be made with those ossuaries of the Colington I phase or with the type of ossuaries found elsewhere in the mid-Atlantic containing large numbers of individuals accompanied by considerable amounts of grave goods and offerings of native and European manufacture (Curry1999: Phelps 1980b:1). Subscribing to Phelps' belief that Carolina Algonkian ossuaries contained only the remains of nobility, it is possible that with such a drastic population loss, those nobility may not have existed in large numbers—nor were there priests to process the remains. The most probable pattern for this phase is one which existed throughout the phase where an individual was buried in a semi-flexed position.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture assemblage of the Colington III phase represents a theme of traditional culture retention while seeking alternative sources. With the English settlement of the Albemarle region, more and more European alternatives began to dominate Colington III assemblages. This section is an attempt to describe those various material types which make up a Colington III artifact assemblage in a better way, and briefly describe those materials of European origin and how they supplemented traditional types and sources.

Pottery

Pottery remained tempered with shell, but much more crudely produced and with less care in production. Colington Simple Stamped increased in frequency to become the majority type in some localities, especially where contact with Iroquoian groups was high. The punctated and incised decorative types disappeared as socio-political identity disintegrated. Colington III components can be identified by type totals where simple stamping was greater than or equal to fabric impressing in proportion. Use of plain and burnished types increased in some areas.

Pipes

An upswing in tobacco consumption by Native Americans during the Colonial period has been well discussed by Swanton (1946: 383-384); Gardner (1990: 52); Bradley (1987); Mouer (1993) and Ward and Davis (1992:365-368). Increased archaeological evidence of pipes from Colington III sites proposes such an increase is accurate whatever the cause. Magoon further suggests a possible archaeological correlate for this transformation would be the presence of a diverse array of locally-produced pipe forms and pipe decorations with an increased presence of European pipes as trade goods (Magoon 1999:120). This is reflected from pipe assemblages at Colington III components (Figure 197) where adoption of European pipes through trade and locally produced pipes, often made in molds, mimic these forms. Both locally made European copies and traditional Colington pipes possess hollow geometric and solid forms constructed from a series of dentate-stamped lines (Magoon 1999:116).

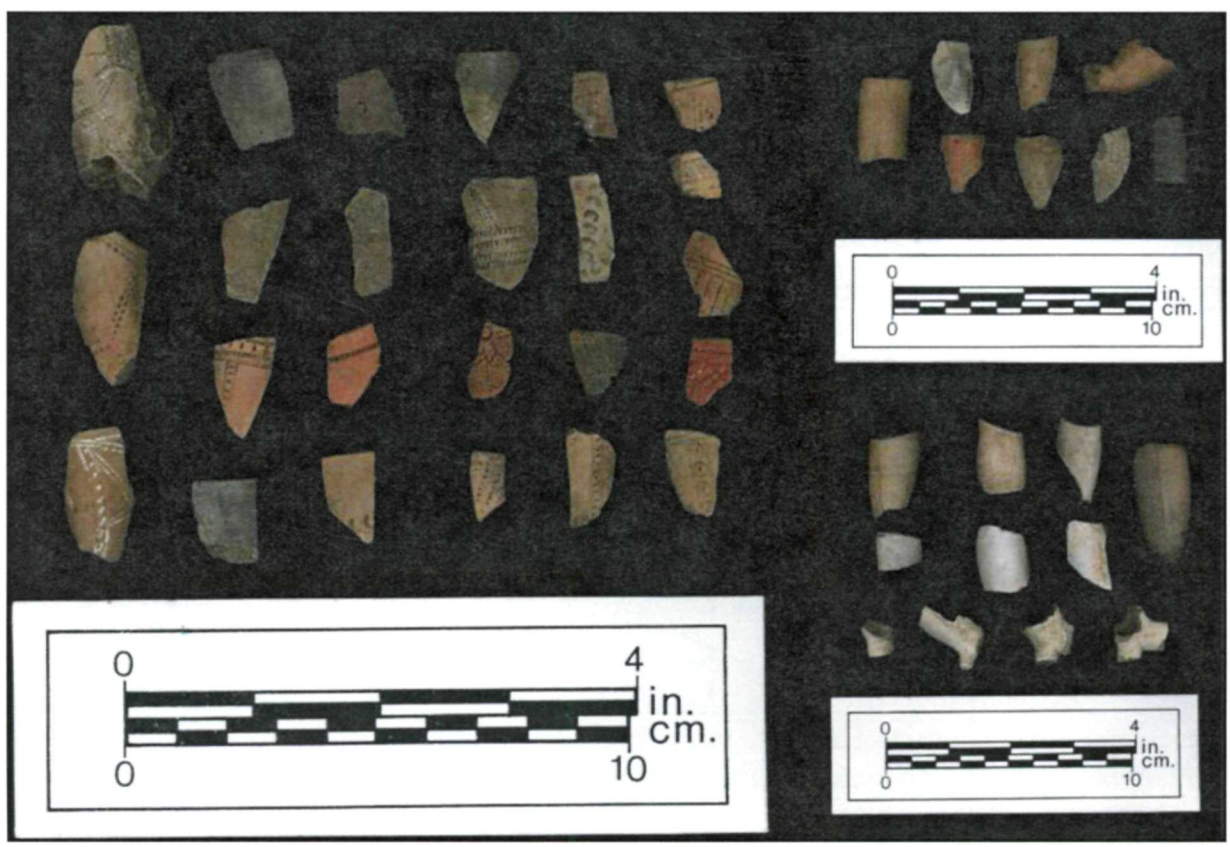

FIGURE 197: Colington III phase pipe assemblage from 31DR1 Croatan. Note mixture of locally produced and traded European styles.

Roulettted pipes are more likely to be associated with a Colington III component though the patterns used may have deeper cultural meaning given their similarities to the tattoos of elite Algonkian women (Magoon 1999:121).

Bone/Shell

Manufacturing and use of tools or personal adornments of bone and shell remained important—furthered by the presence of alternatives available through trade with Europeans. The types of European trade goods found at Colington III phase sites reflect a trade market partially driven by traditional needs. Shell hoes were replaced by metal hoes; and bone pins and needles were replaced by those of copper alloy, while disc, barrel, or tubular shell beads were supplemented by those of glass and copper alloy.

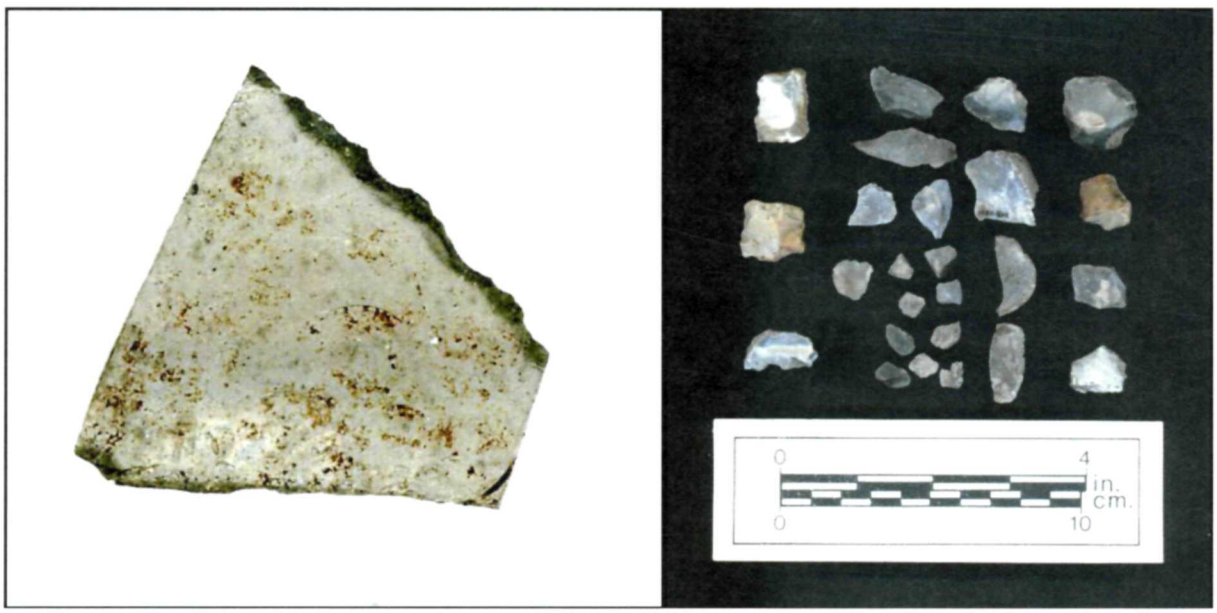

FIGURE 198: Examples of Colington III phase worked glass [left] and Jasper gun spalls and debitage [right].

Lithics

As a resource for tools and projectiles, lithic or stone declined in use with an upswing in the use of alternatives like glass and metal. Worked objects of glass like projectile points and scrapers have been recovered from Colington III phase sites retaining those forms exhibited during Colington I-II sub-phases. Their occurrences further suggest the retention of traditional lifeways while seeking alternative sources. Alternatively, there were instances where the traditional skill of working lithics was adapted to supplant acquired foreign technologies. This was most notable in the adaptation of local jasper resources to supplement the lack of flint available for use with flint-lock guns acquired through trade. Jasper is a type of chalcedony or microcrystalline variety of quartz with a hardness (moh's scale) of 7, and while not ideal material for gun spalls, its immediate availability on the outer coast would have made it a viable alternative to flint.

Copper Alloy

Copper alloy occurrences at Colington III sites demonstrate a similar pattern noted elsewhere in the southeast and Mid-Atlantic where it had been devalued from market saturation (Horning 2007:15). By the late 17th century very little copper would have been circulated amongst the trade networks because cheaper brass had replaced it. Large brass scrap, likely cut from kettles recovered from Colington III component at 31DR1 suggests that artisans were less concerned with recovering waste as they manufactured items like tubular beads, aglets, spear points, tinkling cones, lozenge pendants and human figures. Other brass items typically associated with Colington III sites include upholstery tacks, tinned straight pins, belt-end loop fasteners and bosses. The Colington III phase workshop at Croatan (31DR1) is an example of Algonkian artisans, supplied with ample amounts of metal and appropriate tools, manufacturing traditional items for trade.

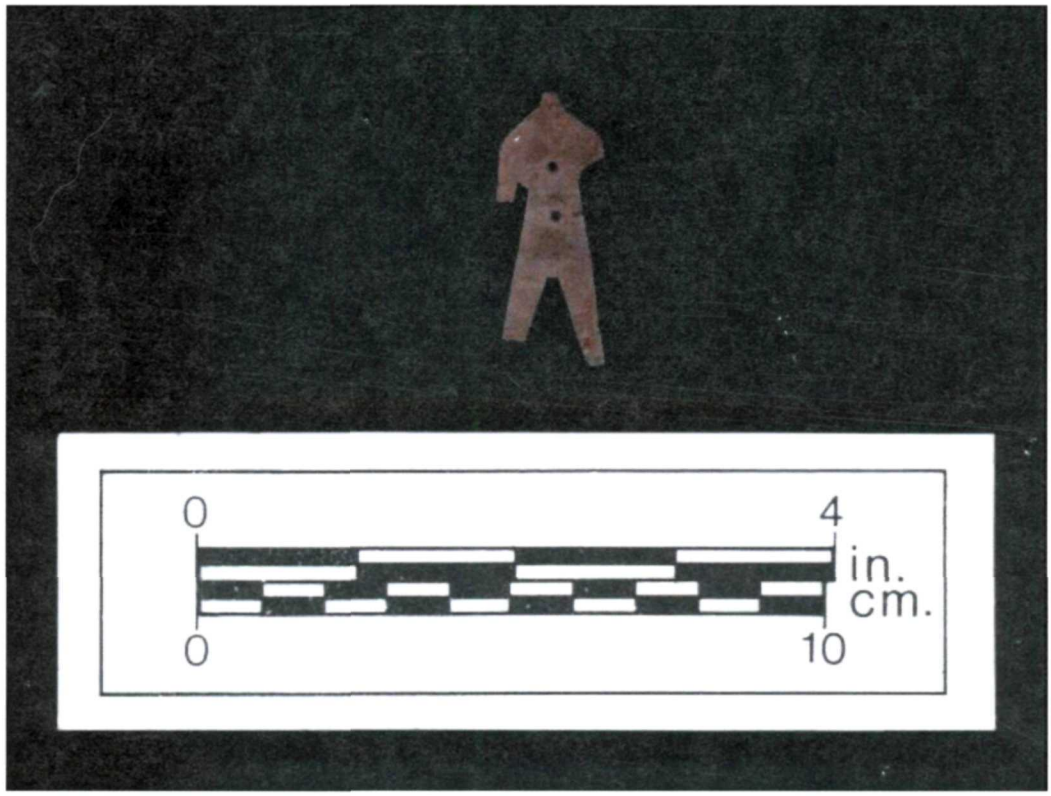

FIGURE 199: Cut copper alloy figurine from Croatan Colington III component.

Discussion and Conclusion

During the process of summarizing and refining the Colington phase framework used throughout the 1980s and 90s, several observations, deficiencies and potential directions for research have become apparent. Many of the observations, of course, center on the fundamental need for more studies, but some center on consistency and new approaches. When compared with other regions, the Tidewater of Virginia and North Carolina have only received systematic and continuous archaeological studies bound to a research framework since the 1970s. Furthermore, many of those studies were inconsistent, sporadic and not always able to focus solely on Late Woodland chronologies. Since that time, many of the broad chronological and spatial patterns are better understood, but details about how these patterns and processes fluctuated, varied, and changed are relatively unknown. This section is intended to highlight specific issues and suggest possible approaches to solutions of problems within the broad sub-phase themes: time and space, landscapes, socio-political, subsistence and material culture.

Time and Space

BEGINNINGS

The Colington phase does not represent the beginnings of Algonkian culture in Southeastern Virginia and Northeastern North Carolina, it simply reflects the Late Woodland archaeological construct directly traceable to the Carolina Algonkians of the Historic Period. Middle Woodland settlement distribution in North Carolina suggests to some degree continuity between the Middle Woodland Mount Pleasant phase and the Late Woodland Colington phase. Nearly all Colington phase sites, including settlement (permanent and temporary) and resource procurement have a Middle Woodland component, typically Mount Pleasant phase. There are considerable differences however, and any interpreted continuity could be a consequence of coastal zone environmental features where settlement was driven by suitable dry land, and subsistence exploitation acquired from similar ecological niches. Continuity is a loaded and often useless term when discussing phases, simply because the things used to measure it are themselves

subjective and poorly suited to demonstrating gradual change. Not all new phases can be attributed to intrusive populations, nor can *in situ* development be viewed as impervious to outside influence. That said, the previous explanation of Colington phase origins as the result of Mockley phase populations' southward expansion during the Middle Woodland (Phelps 1983:36; Potter 1993:4), is far too simplistic. It does not account for the sizable Mount Pleasant phase population inhabiting the region, nor does it address the possibility that ideas—not necessarily people—moved throughout a well established interaction sphere. In general, Mount Pleasant, not Mockley, phase components underlay Colington phase sites. How then can the origins of the Colington phase be better defined? At present it cannot, until early portions of it are understood. Colington I sub-phase represents a period of approximately 800 years with no understanding of how it changed during that time. Future work should include diachronic studies which address the mechanisms that altered the semi-sedentary patterns of the Middle Woodland phases towards the sedentary chiefdoms observed in the 16th century. Such studies to understand these changes will further serve to refine the Colington I phase.

EXTENT

In the original 1982 Colington phase definition, the northern and southern spatial boundaries were tentatively extended north into southeastern Virginia to the south side of Hampton Roads, and south to the Neuse River at the boundary of the North Coastal and South Coastal regions (Phelps 1982a:4). Since then, rectifying these boundaries has been problematic and essentially unchanged.

In some instances there is data to suggest dropping the southernmost *Neusiok* Locality, based on pottery studies that show both northern and southern types present, with southern types more abundant (Cassedy and Jorgenson 2005). However, such studies do not warrant dropping the locality at present, given that these areas have received little work in comparison to the Northern Coastal Plain, and a suitable chronological sequence is still missing. Some sharing of Northern Coastal and Southern Coastal traits is expected, and there is no understanding of how boundaries may have fluctuated over time. Therefore the *Neusiok* Locality remains temporarily associated with the Colington phase, until a sound chronological sequence or better understanding of shared traits suggest otherwise.

The tentative placement of the northernmost localities, Nansemond and *Chesepioc*, into Colington phase is in many ways less problematic to reconcile, but still complicated. If the restrictive environmental boundaries of the Tidewater are taken into consideration, it seems logical to extend the Colington phase north into these areas, though it must be admitted that little attempt has been made in this paper to justify such assumptions. This was not intentional, but more an issue of data comparison, especially as it relates to material culture. Here researchers should strive to communicate their results more effectively. Researchers working in Southeastern Virginia and Northeastern North Carolina, author included, have often projected the boundary between the two states backwards in time, even though they admit how foolish such ideas are. As outlined in the framework above, these localities can be associated with the Colington I phase, however, after permanent English settlement in Virginia, they become less associated and more influenced by the complicated factors of population decline through war, displacement and disease. It would take another 50 years before those complications reached further south into North Carolina; occurring there during the Colington III phase.

LANDSCAPE STUDIES

Several major factors have been identified throughout this paper which would have drastically impacted on the Colington phase landscapes. These processes were: socio-political consolidation (rise of chiefdoms); depopulation (breakup of chiefdoms), which occurred most notably during the final two sub-phases; permanent English settlement and increased marginalization (reservations); and increased interaction and trade with Europeans (acculturation). Transitions in the landscape may have been gradual, as was the case with consolidation, or rapid as it was during those periods of depopulation and marginalization. Despite admission of these factors, little can be said at this point regarding possible archaeological correlates that represent these changes. Presently, five site types have been

suggested for the Colington phase: Capital Town; village; seasonal village; farmstead; procurement site—but no descriptions of how these varied from locality to locality, from Inner Tidewater to Outer Tidewater, or over time are fully understood.

SOCIO-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SUBSISTENCE SYSTEMS

The Carolina Algonkian socio-political organization has been described variously and inconsistently as group tribes with a stratified society (Hagg 1958:123 Feest 78:277; Speck 1944:6); chiefdoms and possibly embryonic state systems (Phelps 1983:39); and ranked societies or chiefdoms (Ward and Davis 1999:211). Much of the variation in description is more a product of the time in which these descriptions were made. Relatively speaking, all described a similar organizational level, but there are notable implications today in their application. By use of the descriptions, tribes, chiefdoms, or embryonic states, the Carolina Algonkians can be placed at various locations along the scale of complexity. Definitions for tribes and chiefdoms are as varied as the societies they are meant to describe, some of which include archaeological correlates of each type.

A discourse on where, or, if the Carolina Algonkins fit within these various models (for models refer to: Renfrew1974, Carneiro 1981 Earle 1977 Steponaitis 1978, Wright 1977, Anderson 1994, Peebles Kuss 1977, see Beck 2003 for summary of most) of complexity is sorely needed and well beyond the scope of this paper. Major concepts of what constitutes a chiefdom are worthy of discussion. It is important to note that work around the topic of what constitutes a tribe from chiefdom or from complex chiefdom, and whether these anthropological concepts are of use continues to evolve (Beck 2003). Beck suggests that instead of viewing previous models as heuristic classification tools, they should be described with specific range and variation subsumed within the chiefdom concept (Beck 2003:642). This then would move discussions away from building typologies and closer to understanding the underlying processes that structure chiefdom variability. Variability within the Carolina Algonkian chiefdoms is rarely discussed, however it is plainly clear that the polities varied not only in size, scale and complexity, but also in how they fluctuated or how consolidation occurred. Beck (2003:643) defines consolidation as the process by which multiple communities are integrated into a hierarchal organized regional polity. It is the process that structures regional hierarchies of chiefdoms. He further states that polities are closely tied to the emergence of political economies based upon staple finance in which surplus production finances the institutions of the chiefdoms. In this scenario leaders strive to expand their institutions through access to agricultural surplus, a goal achieved in two ways, 1) promotion of agricultural intensifications and 2) attraction of additional followers to augment the amount of human labor available for agricultural production. Each of these creates conflict between local level chiefs striving to control the political economy. Regional hierarchies emerge through the temporary resolution of this conflict.

Beck's (2003) scenario places emphasis on agriculture's ability to create the surplus that can lead to complex societies. Agriculture's ability to do this cannot be denied, yet discussions such as his tend to overlook or downplay examples where subsistence economies, based on marine, estuarine and riverine resources, are equally capable of creating surplus and supporting similar social complexity. Hutchinson's isotopic study of several ossuaries demonstrates that while maize is present in the Colington phase subsistence economy, he calls into question its ranked dietary importance (Hutchinson 2007:132). At the time of his 1983 Colington phase description, Phelps emphasized the importance of agriculture, fishing and shellfish gathering, and explained that Colington subsistence strategies were to be considered in regards to mainland or island localities as they relate to site catchment area (Phelps 1983:40). While he did not rank these strategies in any particular order, he does discuss the importance of soils for agriculture in the Chowan Locality, indicating that Colington phase sites are most often encountered on *high sandy loam bluffs along the river and its major tributaries*, on landforms with *larger expanses of arable, well drained soils* (Phelps 1982b:13.) Similar statements about the importance of arable soils have been made here, however their rank in importance is now called into question. Clearly the Carolina Algonkians were producing and storing maize and other cultivars at the time of sixteenth-century European exploration in the region, but was it a subsistence strategy that simply supplemented their fisheries industry—their main subsistence economy—and was overstated by Europeans?

CONCLUSION

Descriptions of the Colington phase, or prehistoric and historic Carolina Algonkians, resemble the overview presented here in that they still remain far too broad and woefully incomplete in content. While there is some mention of geographical, social-political, subsistence and material variability within them, no attempts have been made to evaluate or refine to what degree. This updated framework, it is hoped, will provide the needed organization and direction for such future studies. While such approaches are valid for structuring comparative data to address both synchronic and diachronic variability, they are not without fault. Many of those faults after all constituted major criticisms of the Culture History paradigm (see Lyman *et al* 1997: 177-185). This author acknowledges that many of these criticisms are valid concerns, but makes no apology in retaining the Colington phase model; after all there is little debating the historically described boundaries of the Carolina Algonkians and their resemblance to the Colington phase archaeological construct boundaries. At present archaeologists are left using the changing frequency in ceramics types to denote the changes in the phase, so more radiocarbon dates and more excavated sites to measure shifts within those broad phase characteristics such as settlement, burial patterns and subsistence are needed; but that will come as research proceeds. It is important to remember, every model expresses only what is known at the moment, and all models are subject to change with new data; they (the models) are simply frameworks of time, space and culture which keep data organized and consistent as research continues.

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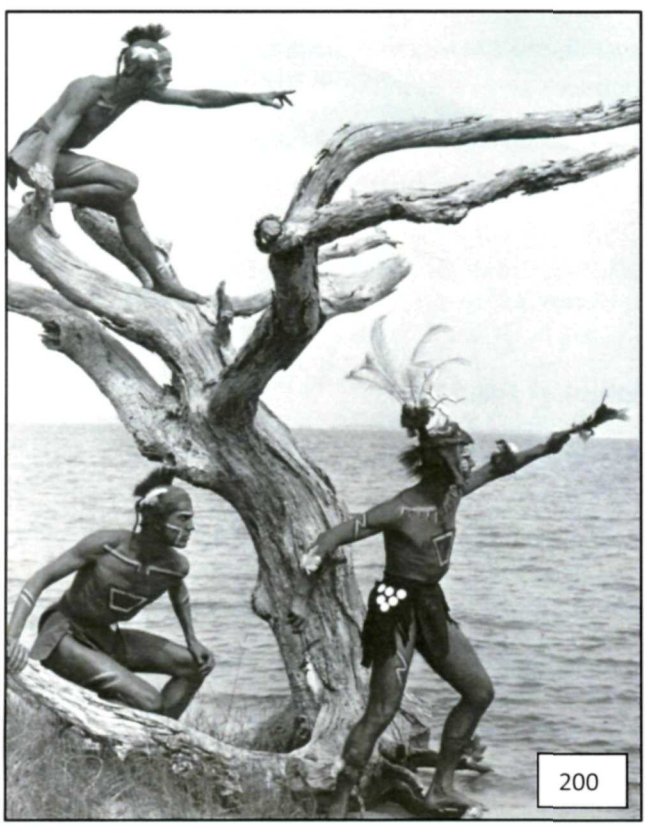
Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium, *Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction*
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012



Archaeology of the Native Americans: The Carolina Algonkians

by David S. Phelps

Introduction

This report summarizes research and other activities from May 1, 1983 to April 30, 1984, the period covered in the agreement for the first year of a grant entitled *Archaeology of the Native Americans: The Carolina Algonkians*. It is the final report of a series submitted at approximately quarterly intervals during the grant period as required by the agreement, and presents the preliminary results and achievements of the project rather than logistical, personnel and other aspects of project administration. The latter subjects were discussed in each of the three quarterly reports (submitted July 15, 1983; and March 1, 1984), as were newspaper, radio and television reports of project activities, and are not included here.

The project, sponsored by America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee and funded by the American Quadricentennial Corporation with funds provided by the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, has three basic goals:

> (1) to achieve as complete an understanding as possible of the native Carolina Algonkian culture and population at the time of initial English contact (1584-1587) and its final prehistoric manifestation, the Colington phase (A.D. 800-1650);
>
> (2) to identify and conduct research at those sites that had direct contact or important exchange with English explorers and colonists; and
>
> (3) to disseminate the resulting knowledge of the Carolina Algonkians and their relationship with the English to the general public and the scientific community during America's Four Hundredth Anniversary (1984-1987) celebration of that period which was so influential in shaping the course of New World events.

Conceived as a four-year endeavor, the project, as proposed, was based upon previous research in the northern Tidewater subregion of North Carolina, the homeland of the Carolina Algonkians, (Figure 201), which had outlined the cultural-historical continuum ending with the Colington phase[247] and summarized the distribution of Colington phase sites by localities, based in part on historic delineation of socio-political territories, and ranked them in order of importance and research potential.[248] In addition, the records and descriptions of native people, places and culture written by the Roanoke Voyagers,[249] the unique watercolor drawings of John White,[250] interpretations of these existing records,[251] ethnohistoric accounts of the Carolina Algonkians[252] and earlier archaeological work[253] all provided the necessary background for this research.

The first year of this project was designed to be a data-gathering segment with respect to the archaeological research, recognizing that the amount of information and specimens generated in the survey and excavations could

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[247] David S. Phelps, "Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and Hypotheses," in *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium,* Mathis and Crow, eds. (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1983), 1-52.

[248] David S. Phelps, *A Summary of Colington Phase Sites in the Tidewater Zone of North Carolina* (Greenville: ECU Archaeology Lab, 1982a).

[249] David Beers and Alison M. Quinn, eds., *The First Colonists* (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1982).

[250] Hulton-Quinn, *American Drawings of John White*, 613.

[251] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*.

[252] Maurice A. Mook, "Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sounds," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 34 (1944), 6-7. And see also, Christian F. Feest, "North Carolina Algonkians," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 15 (Northeast), edited by B. G. Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).

[253] William G. Haag, "The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina," in *Louisiana State University Coastal Studies Series* no. 2 (Baton Rouge: 1958). And see also Harrington, "Search for the Cittie of Raleigh."

not be analyzed adequately and published during the first year. The locations of sites worked during the year are shown in Figure 201.

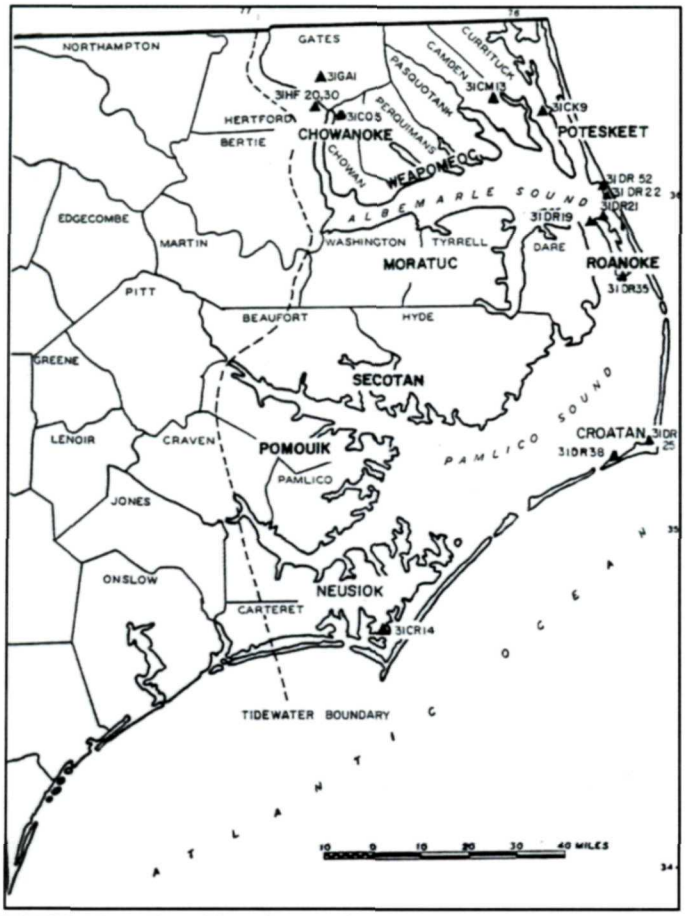


FIGURE 201: Algonkian sites and societies.

The major expenditure of effort in field research involved area excavations, tests and mapping of the mile-long site of *Chowanoke* (31HF20, 30), Capital Town of the Carolina Algonkian society of the same name, on the Chowan River in Hertford County. The work at *Chowanoke* served both the goals of general knowledge of Colington phase culture and specific site where known contact occurred between the English and *Chowanoke* during Ralph Lane's expedition in 1586. Subsidiary to the *Chowanoke* work was further excavation and testing of the site (31GA1) at Roberts' Wharf on Bennetts Creek in Gates County, where the *Chowanoke* were placed on the first reservation in North Carolina in 1677, and where they ended their history as a separate socio-political entity. This work served the goal of general knowledge of the culture and specifically related to the type of culture change experienced by one Algonkian society in Colonial times. Two other scheduled elements of the Chowan River segment of the research, survey and possible testing of the *Ohanoak* site near Colerain in Bertie County and *Ramushonnouk* at Parker's Ferry in Hertford County, were not accomplished because of planted crops in the summer, lack of time and higher priorities for other project elements later in the year.

Equally important was the work on Roanoke Island, designed to begin a process of elimination for areas of negative and positive evidence of the 16th-century Roanoke Indian village and the English settlement. Work this year included test excavations, mapping, a study of previous collections and records available at Fort Raleigh National Historic site, a beginning re-evaluation of erosion on the north shore of the island, and follow-up investigation of previously reported finds such as a 1563 English coin. Our research, correlated with the current archaeological project being conducted at Fort Raleigh by the National Park Service, has suggested a new potential location for the Indian village visited by Barlowe in 1584. The Roanoke Island work was specifically related to the goal of identifying contact period (1584-87) sites.

Coincident with the Roanoke Island part of the project was a brief survey of the west shore of Bodie Island in the vicinity of Jockeys Ridge and Nags Head Woods, where we hoped to find intact sites which might be contemporaneous with 16th-century Colington phase and English activities on the north side of the former Roanoke Inlet. Sites were located, but they were almost completely eroded and only two belonged to the Colington phase. Because their cultural context is destroyed, no further work was planned except for more extensive artifact collections when low water conditions exist.

On Hatteras Island, the primary goal was to determine whether the Cape Creek site at Buxton, the presumed location of the town of *Croatoan*, had sufficient context remaining to support meaningful excavations. Both sections of the site, 31DR1 and 31DR25, appear to have intact deposits as determined by survey and tests, and offer one of our best opportunities to investigate a site with frequent and intense contact between the English colonists and the Carolina Algonkians. Other sites on Hatteras Island were also re-visited to obtain better collections, but this met with varying success.

Two other investigations were fortuitous inclusions in the goals and work of this year, rather than planned activities. The first was the salvage of the fifth ossuary, or mass burial, typical of Carolina Algonkian culture, at the Baum site (31CK9). This burial added to the goal of general knowledge of the culture, and augments previous data which may lead to a better understanding of the class stratification and religious systems of the Carolina Algonkians, as well as accurate reconstruction of the population and physical type. A second fortuitous exposure of burials in a sand pit stimulated test excavations at Indiantown (31CM13) in Camden County where the Algonkian *Weapemeoc* society ended its history as the *Yeopim* Indians between 1662 and 1750. Preliminary evidence from this site indicates a pattern of change similar in general, but different in particular from that of the *Chowanoke* in response to European Colonial culture after 1650, and adds significant general knowledge of the last days of Carolina Algonkian existence.

Although discrete analysis of data and materials from the above excavations has only begun, the preliminary results and interpretations of each are presented in more detail in the main body of this report under the appropriate site headings.

Other research during this first year of the grant involved the initiation of a study of the skeletal remains of Carolina Algonkian populations from the Baum site, 31CK9 (ancestors of the *Poteskeet*); Hatteras Village site, 31DR38 (*Croatoan*); Hollowell site, 31CO5 (*Choanoke*); Piggot site, 31CR14 (*Neusiok*); and the Tillett site, 31DR35 (Roanoke). This study is being performed by Dr. R. Dale McCall, physical anthropology consultant for the project at UNC-Wilmington, who has completed analysis of the Tillett site remains and those from the first Ossuary at the Baum site. Approximately 237 individuals are available for study, a sample which will produce an accurate reconstruction of the Carolina Algonkian physical type in general, and may reveal differences between societal populations and speculations concerning inter-breeding and social distance between particular societies.

Consultant studies of the animal and fish bones, food remains from the various sites, are being conducted by Dr. Jeannette Runquist, Birmingham Southern College, and Dr. Camm C. Swift, Los Angeles County Museum, both experts in their fields. These studies, along with the study of preserved botanical specimens from the food residue, being done by Paul Green, Assistant to the Project Director, will provide a more detailed understanding of Carolina Algonkian subsistence and utilization of natural resources to augment the descriptions left us by Thomas Harriot and other writers of the Roanoke Voyages period.

The other requirements and results of this first project year concerned the third goal of the grant, dissemination of information and knowledge of the Carolina Algonkians. First among these is the publication of a monograph on previous research at the Tillett site, at Wanchese on Roanoke Island. This seasonal site belonging to the Roanoke society of Carolina Algonkians, was the first fishing village at Wanchese, and is the first study of this type of seasonal site. The site is also of interest in that the artifacts for the first museum at Fort Raleigh were excavated there by playwright Paul Green in 1938. The publication is entitled *Archeology of the Tillett Site: The First Fishing Community at Wanchese on Roanoke Island*.

A slide/narrative presentation, entitled *The Carolina Algonkians*, has been prepared and is available from the AFHAC office, and a travelling exhibit of typical Carolina Algonkian artifacts has been produced to accompany the slide show or be used as a separate exhibit.

A final element of dissemination of knowledge was the presentation of numerous public and professional talks, lectures and papers related to the general subject of the Carolina Algonkians in relation to the 400th celebration and The Roanoke Voyages, as well as to specific research topics. These are listed in their appropriate section below.

Finally, this year the grant has been most successful in reclamation of excellent archaeological data to further the goals of understanding the Carolina Algonkians; in identifying at best a few of the contact sites; and in disseminating information. While not all production delivery dates could be met as desired, the AFHAC was provided timely information on project activities through the quarterly reports, and a special report prepared for

the Archaeology Subcommittee Chairman to submit to the Reynolds Foundation. Perhaps more important, sufficient funds were saved from the 1983-84 budget to fund another six weeks of research this summer at the site of *Chowanoke*.

Archaeological Research

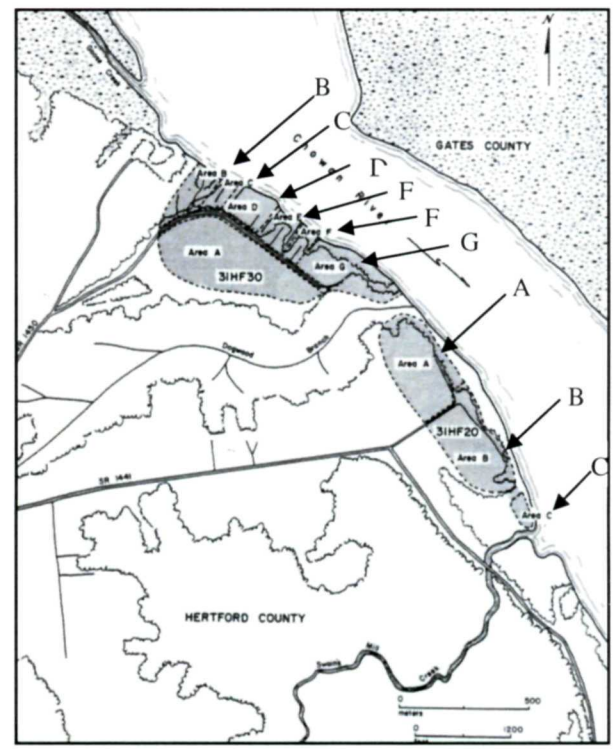
This section of the report presents a summary of research accomplished, and preliminary results and conclusions for each of the sites or localities investigated during this grant year. It is by no means a final analysis, therefore conclusions and interpretations offered here should be taken as tentative until detailed analysis and comparative studies have been accomplished.

Chowanoke

The archaeological site of *Chowanoke* is located on the western bank of the Chowan River in Hertford County (Figure 201) along a series of high bluffs that extend for approximately one mile along the river. *Chowanoke* was the Capital Town of the Carolina Algonkian society of the same name, and was described by Ralph Lane as having a population sufficient to put 700 fighting men into the field, a figure which implies a total population of at least 2100 people for the town. Harriot[254] (1590:24-25), on the other hand, said that the greatest *wiroans* and his government (the *Chowanoke* ruler and society) had but 18 towns, the largest with 30 longhouses (probably *Chowanoke*, the capital) able to put 700 or 800 fighting men into the field from the total population. Somewhere between the figures in the two statements lies reality; 30 longhouses with an average of 15 persons per house gives a town population of 450. But Harriot also observed, in relation to the town of *Pomeioc*, that the towns or town clusters contained only the houses of the ruler and nobility, and the temples or other public buildings and areas, thus the 30 longhouses at *Chowanoke* may have been only the central core, with commoners' residences dispersed along the shore. Lane's 1586 description of the location of *Chowanoke* is one of the most specific in the English records; he says: *From Muscamunge* (near Edenton) *we enter the river, and the jurisdiction of Chowanoke* (the society): *there the river* (the Chowan) *beginneth to straighten until it comes to Chowanoke* (the town) *and then growth to be as narrowe as the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth.*[255] The archaeological site of *Chowanoke* is located exactly on the only high bluffs at that point where the river begins to narrow between Hertford and Gates counties, and where environmental factors and location below the mouth of the *Wiccacon* River at its confluence with the Chowan confirm both Lane's description and the location shown on two of John White's maps.

The archaeological site of *Chowanoke* has been recorded as two separate sites, 31HF20 (Mount Pleasant complex) and 31HF30 (Liberty Hill complex), and each of these sites has been further subdivided into areas in order to facilitate better control of this large and complex town area.

FIGURE 202: *Chowanoke* Site Complex (31HF20, Mt. Pleasant, and 31HF30, Liberty Hill.)



[254] Dover-Harriot, 24-25.

[255] Quinn & Quinn, 1982, 25.

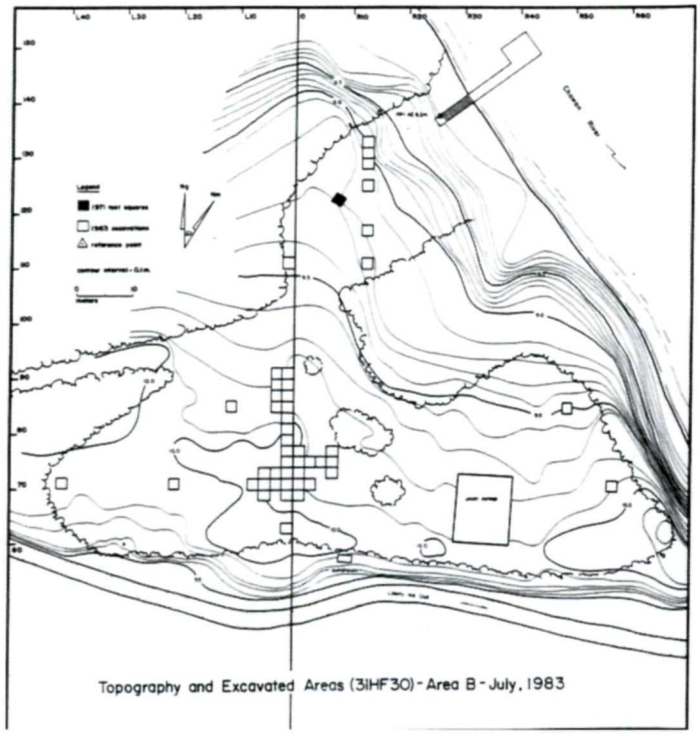


FIGURE 203: Topography and excavated areas, 31HF30–Area B.

Previous work (1971) at 31HF20 had centered on salvage after bull-dozing of the small, southern Area C, a densely occupied residential area which produced evidence of house patterns, tools and food remains normal to residential activities. Thousands of ceramic and stone specimens had been collected from the surface of Area B, 31HF20, and a feature (cooking pit) excavated in one of the 1980 tests had produced a radiocarbon date of A.D. 825, the earliest date for the Colington phase (Carolina Algonkian) occupation of the site; equally important, a midden (refuse) zone in the northern section of Area B, also tested in 1980, was found to be intact below the depth of plowing. At 31HF30, a test square was opened in the north section of Area B in 1971, and this small sample suggested a residential zone similar to Area C at 31HF20.

Research under this project was conducted at *Chowanoke* from May 16 to July 30, primarily in the 31HF30 complex. Because Area B at 31HF20 was under cultivation in the summer, mapping, test excavations and controlled surface collections were accomplished there in February and March, 1984. Work at 31HF30 included the establishment of a master grid which can be extended as necessary to any area of the site, general and specific topographic mapping, excavations and tests in areas A, B and F, and surface collections of these areas as well as Area E. At 31HF20, excavation and mapping of Area A was accomplished and a master grid established for that site complex. The 1984 work in Area B of 31HF20 included test excavations, mapping of the midden zone and beginning a controlled surface collection (20-meter grid) in the northern section of Area B.

Area A at 31HF30 (Figure 202) proved to be peripheral to the Colington component along the river shore, and work here was abandoned after a surface collection, mapping and excavation of ten 2-meter squares and 12 transect tests paralleling the road toward the south of the area. All cultural material from Area A has been cataloged and analyzed, and a draft report prepared as an eventual chapter in the larger *Chowanoke* site report. The analysis showed this area to have been occupied during the Middle Archaic Morrow Mountain phase (ca. 3500-4500 B.C.), and again in the Deep Creek (8000-300 B.C.) and Mount Pleasant (300 B.C. – A.D. 800) phases of the Woodland period. 80.6 percent of the ceramic specimens reclaimed belonged to the Mount Pleasant series, indicating maximum use during that phase. Colington ceramics represented only 6.6 percent (50 sherds) of the site total, widely scattered but with a higher frequency toward the river side of the site. Ten sherds of Cashie ware, probably representative of trade from the Inner Coastal Plain subregion were also found. Spatial and specimen frequency analysis show Area A to be on the fringe of the Colington occupation zone next to the river.

Area B, at the north end of 31HF30 (Figure 202), provided valuable information on one of the Colington phase residential areas and data on the preceding Mount Pleasant phase which may be useful in determining whether or not this phase is directly ancestral to Colington. Forty-six 2-meter squares were excavated in Area B, seven in the northern section (Figure 203, upper) where the 1971 test had been excavated, and the remainder in the southern section (Figure 203, lower).

Area B had been extensively disturbed in modern times, as we learned from the previous owner of the property. Much of the mussel shell midden had been borrowed for field liming and the area was farmed up to the 1950s, proof of which can be seen in the form of plow scars in the underlying clay in Figure 203, lower, an activity which had reduced, or truncated, the remaining context of the area. All material from Area B has been

cataloged, and analysis of content of the 22 features (cooking, storage and refuse pits) has been initiated. One human burial, disturbed and fragmented by plowing to the extent that only the right elbow remained in place, may have belonged to either the Mount Pleasant or Colington components; and an intact burial of a small dog dating to the Colington phase has been forwarded to the zooarchaeology consultant for analysis and description. Evidence of the formal burial of dogs in Carolina Algonkian culture adds a confirming humanistic bit of archaeological evidence to the boy and his dog sketched by John White at the village of *Pomeioc*.

The northern section of Area B appears to have supported a primary Mount Pleasant phase residential area, while the southern section produced more evidence of a Colington residential zone, suggested by the dog burial and a cluster of features near the southern end of the excavations. One of these features, a cooking pit (Feature 3), produced a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1640 +/- 50 (Beta-8134) from charred hickory nut shells. Taken at face value, the date is only four years prior to the presumed abandonment of *Chowanoke;* within its 2-sigma range, however, the feature could have been used anytime between A.D. 1540 and 1740. Within this range of time, the possibility exists that Area B was an existing residential zone at the time of Lane's visit in March, 1586. The concentration of Colington ceramics, charred deer antler, deer, turtle and fish bone, mussel shell and miscellaneous artifacts in the 2nd level of Feature 3 were found in Area B, as were the shell-tempered Colington ware (4 or 5 vessels are represented in the pit) and charred antler fragments. Other Colington phase features have similar subsistence and domestic content, and await analysis. An interesting Mount Pleasant phase feature (Feature 16), a refilled cooking pit, contained an excellent sample of ceramics (Mount Pleasant cord marked and incised), bone pins and sufficient charcoal for a radiocarbon date when the sample is submitted.

Ten 2-meter squares were excavated in Area F (Figure 204), another residential zone of 31HF30. Work here was extremely difficult because it was accomplished in July after a long drought and in extreme heat. Even though patterns in the earth were difficult to read, the area produced excellent evidence of a Colington residential area in the form of features and partial patterns of postmolds. Observed in the field while washing specimens, was a difference in the quantity of lithic material (arrow points, production flakes) in Area F, far surpassing that reclaimed from Area B. Whether this represents a difference in household activities, or differing residences for particular specialists will have to await analysis. Specimens from Area F have been cataloged, but not yet analyzed.

A surface survey, sketch mapping and collection of Area E and a surface inspection of Area G, 31HF30 (Figure 202) completed the Summer, 1983, activities at the site. Area E appears to have both Mount Pleasant and Colington residential debris and the remnants of a mussel shell midden. Like all of the other areas along the river, it has been disturbed by cottage construction, grading and yard modification activities. Area G proved to be too disturbed by house, trailer and other construction to provide any useful data.

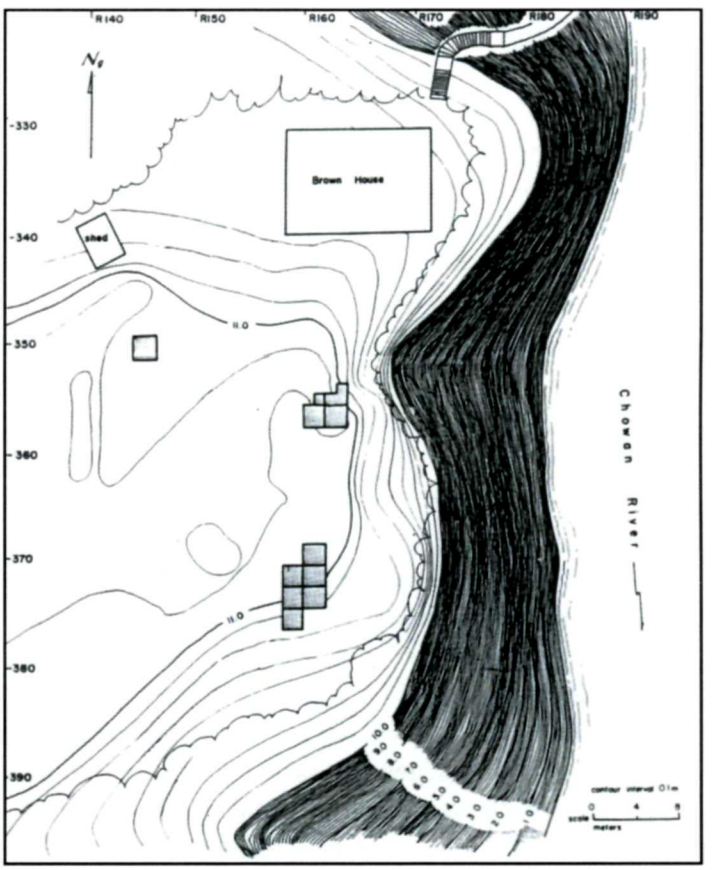


FIGURE 204: Map of Area F, 31HF30 (Brown property).

At 31HF20, four 2-meter squares and 17 transect tests were excavated in Area A (Figure 202) during the summer season. Evidence here indicates a Mount Pleasant and Colington phase residential zone, but yard

grading, cottage construction and a boat ramp have either destroyed or covered any remaining evidence. The recovered data and specimens are sufficient, however, to fit that area into the *Chowanoke* puzzle.

The February-March, 1984 activities in Area B, 31HF20 (Figure 202) included the laying out of a 20-meter surface grid for controlled surface collecting, topographic mapping of the northern section of the area, and excavation of three 2-meter squares. This area is considered the most likely part of the site for the Town Center, or cluster of nobility residences, public buildings and areas. It is also the one area of the site which has an intact midden deposit of .3 to .5 meters thickness below the plow zone. A 1980 test there had revealed the intact midden, and the three squares opened this Spring sampled both the shell and non-shell sections of the midden, and exposed seven features and a number of post molds in various levels of the excavations. The midden is primarily Colington from top to bottom, as are the features, all of which overlay and disturbed an earlier Mount Pleasant occupation. This richest area of the site is agricultural land under lease until 1986, and can only be worked in the Fall and Spring when cleared of crops. The material from this work has been washed and is awaiting cataloging; the contents of the features appear to be complex and the existence of postmolds holds promise for eventual recovery of structure and outlines.

Based on current evidence, our hypothetical intrasite pattern, or town plan, of *Chowanoke* proposes a central core of ruler and nobility residences, public buildings, temples and burials near the north end of Area B at 31HF20. This may have been the 30-longhouse cluster observed by Harriot, and the other areas of both 31HF20 and 30 supported commoners' residences on the small erosion peninsulas along the bluff between the *Wiccacon* River and Swain's Mill Creek. West of the town and river lay the vast extent of agricultural lands that supported the population. Known to be occupied for 800 years of the Colington phase, this largest town of the most politically powerful Carolina Algonkian society contains valuable evidence yet to be recovered.

The funds saved from this year's grant will be utilized to support another six weeks of research at *Chowanoke*, with further excavations planned in areas E and F at 31HF30, and the wooded shoreline fringe of Area B at 31HF20 which contains some interesting topographic features as well as intact midden deposits.

Roberts Wharf

When the *Chowanoke* society abandoned its lands on the west side of the river sometime after 1644, and moved to their eastern territory in Gates and Chowan counties, the site at Roberts Wharf (31GA1) on Bennett's Creek in Gates County (Figure 201) was already a traditional Colington phase village. In 1677, when the *Chowanoke* were placed on the first reservation for Native Americans in North Carolina, the site became the primary reservation town and is so shown on Moseley's 1733 map of North Carolina.

The 1983 work at Roberts Wharf was a continuation of research done in 1977-78 and 1982, the subject of a preliminary publication on the site.[256] Five days were spent excavating previously exposed features, mapping the site, opening two more 2-meter test squares and collecting a recently cleared area of the site.

Although the site occupation sequence began around 1000 B.C., it is the Colington and Reservations phase components which are of primary interest to this project, particularly applicable to the goal of general knowledge and the type of culture change experienced by the *Chowanoke* from 1677 to 1750. Evidence indicates a continuation of traditional subsistence and material culture, with the addition of European Colonial materials (pipes, bells, ceramics) after 1677, and the Colonial Records are testimony to the *Chowanoke's* own desire to acculturate through Colonial education. Perhaps indicative of continuing contacts with native groups in the vicinity (Meherrin and Tuscarora), Cashie ceramics are relatively well represented in the collection along with a more than usual quantity of burnished plain ware that is similar to Colono-Indian pottery described for the North Carolina Tidewater region. Further work at the site should provide excellent data on the *Chowanoke* Reservation period transition from traditional Colington phase culture to that of European Colonial.

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[256] David S. Phelps, "Test Excavations at Roberts Wharf, 3GA1," in *Archaeology of the Chowan River Basin: A Preliminary Study* (Greenville: ECU Archaeological Research Report, no. 4, 1984), 40-56.

Baum Site

In a continuing saga of salvaging burials following exposure by shoreline erosion, two weeks in September and October, 1983 were spent excavating Burial 7 at the Baum site (31CK9) in Currituck County (Figure 201). The Baum site probably functioned as a Capital Town for the ancestors of the Carolina Algonkian *Poteskeet* people, but may not have been occupied in the late 16th century. The site's main importance is its contribution to understanding Carolina Algonkian mortuary and religious customs, and in the excellently preserved skeletal remains which provide a generational population sample and the opportunity to reconstruct accurately the physical type of the Carolina and Algonkian people.

Figure 205: Note the mat in John White's drawing. *Juncus Roemerianus* was also used to cover houses, and probably to encase bodies in ossuaries.

Burial 7, similar to others previously reclaimed in the cemetery area at the north end of the site, contained approximately 30 individuals. Four of the crania showed evidence of red-staining from having been stored in mats or chests painted with red pigment. Our current assumption is that these individuals were stored in the rear of mortuary temples in the manner illustrated in John White's painting of such a temple at *Secoton*. Further, if Harriot's statement that only the nobility lived in the towns, and the ossuaries only occur in the town sites, then this burial type may represent only the ruling and noble classes of Carolina Algonkian society.

The skeletal material from Burial 7 has been sent to the physical anthropology consultant at UNC-Wilmington for processing and analysis.

Indiantown

The *Weapemeoc* society which inhabited the north shore of Albemarle Sound was known in Colonial times as the *Yeopim*, whose ruler, *Kilcocanen*, was signatory to the first deed recorded in North Carolina. After selling and/or being forced from their western lands, the *Yeopim* moved to the site of Indiantown (31CM13) in Camden County (Figure 201) and there ended their history. Burials being disturbed in a sand pit brought our attention to the site and 28 square meters of test excavations were opened in March, 1984. Much of this site is still intact beyond the sandpit operation and below the plow zone of the surrounding fields. The individual burials, accomplished soon after death, appear to be in the European pattern. Each individual probably had artifacts of both Indian and European manufacture (shell and glass beads, copper ornaments) placed in the grave, a pattern quite unlike the traditional Colington burial practices, where at least the nobility were honored before interment and few offerings went into the grave. The copper stains on the cranial fragment probably resulted from a head-band sewn with copper discs, and appears to be typical of the dual origins of burial goods.

The Indiantown site has information relating to culture change and acculturation of the *Weapemeoc-Yeopim* society from its traditional form to that of Colonial society, and here we may be able to address the causal factors of social system collapse through population reduction (from disease, inadequate subsistence and other factors). The *Yeopim* pattern also takes different paths from that of the Reservation period *Chowanoke*, and even technological system traits, such as ceramics, show a decline in traditional craftsmanship. The pottery, which we have named Indiantown ware, is still shell-tempered in the Colington tradition, but the temper is poorly crushed and the clay has been insufficiently worked, producing a crude, contorted copy of the older Colington Ware.

Further excavation at Indiantown has not been possible this year because of higher priorities at other sites, but the site should certainly be included in future grant segments.

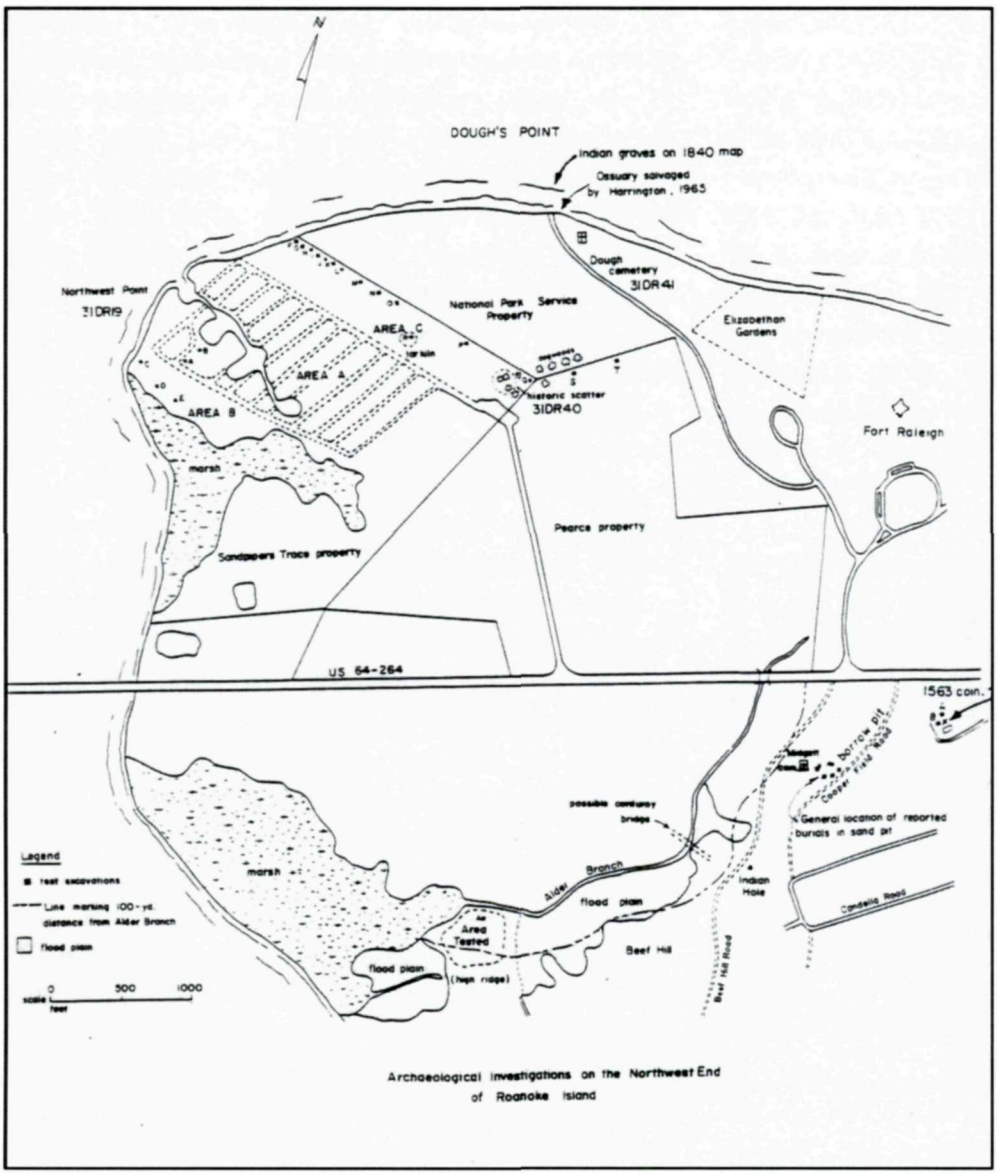

FIGURE 206: Archaeological investigations on the Northwest End of Roanoke Island.

Roanoke Island

Except for the 19th century work of Williams (1896), Haag's (1958) survey and Harrington's (1962; 1966) research in the immediate vicinity of Fort Raleigh, there has been almost no professional study oriented toward the location of the 16th century Roanoak Indian and 1585-87 Colony settlements on the north end of Roanoke Island. Even a modern management study commissioned by the National Park Service[257] (Thompson 1977) did nothing to address this problem. Over the years, occasional tantalizing clues have emerged, but these have received little or no professional attention or follow-up study. One of the primary purposes of our work on Roanoke Island was to test as many areas as possible in the vicinity of traditional suspected locations of Indian and European settlements outside National Park Service property, with the goal of identifying both negative and positive evidence areas and thereby eliminating or adding areas for future research. To this end, a field crew worked on Roanoke Island from October 15 to December 15, 1983, and again from April 9-20, 1984. During this period, 28 2-meter, 1-meter and 1x2 meter test squares were opened, a number of transect tests were dug, considerable surface area was walked, informants questioned, specimens and records at Fort Raleigh studied and photographed, and a study of island erosion initiated. The net result has been as much negative as positive evidence, but this has generated new hypotheses to test.

Work began at Northwest Point (Figure 206), on the property of Sandpiper's Trace, Inc., the traditional location of the Roanoke Village visited by Barlowe in 1584, and which supported Lane's colony in 1585-86[258] (Quinn 1955). Site 31DR19 was first recorded by Haag (1958), who collected ceramic specimens from the beach, as had earlier investigators. Five test squares were excavated by us in the vicinity of the point (Figure 206) with negative evidence of cultural material, and squares C-E outside the filled and modified section A of the property revealed that the humic zone below the top sand layer lay directly at present sea level. Subsequently, a study of erosion patterns

[257] Timothy A. Thompson, *Archaeological Resources at The Cape Hatteras National Seashore. A Management Study* (Manteo: CAHA Report on file, 1977).
[258] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1955.

at Northwest point revealed that the dark gray humic layer, presumed to have been the exposed land surface in the 16th century, is being eroded at current sea level. Since all known and reported specimens have been reclaimed from the shore of Northwest Point, and our tests were negative, one can conclude that the site which once existed there is now completely eroded. All reported collections from the site have included both Mount Pleasant and Colington Phase ceramics, but given the elevation of the land with respect to current water level, the extent of erosion in response to rising water level, and the negative land evidence of cultural material, the logical hypothesis is that this site was not inhabited in the 16th century, probably having been abandoned some centuries earlier because of low elevation and erosion. While the hypothesis will require more exacting information and correlations of elevation, sea level rise, and rates of erosion, I believe that it will stand the test.

Tests in Area C of Sandpiper's Trace and the Pearce property, both adjoining the National Park Service tract (Figure 206), produced only evidence of 19th century activities (a house site, tar kiln and scattered specimens). These tests were placed to determine whether or not the scatter of 16th-century English and Colington artifacts observed in the Elizabethan Gardens while under construction extended this far west and south. This was important, given the relatively frequent occurrence of Colington specimens from Harrington's excavations of the Fort and a similar situation observed in the current NPS project (John Ehrenhard personal communication). The frequency of reported specimens appears to concentrate at the Fort and then decline as a westward scatter near the Gardens.

A search of the Fort Raleigh files produced slides of Harrington's unreported 1965 salvage of Indian skeletons near the old Dough farmstead of Dough's (or Etheridge's) Point (Figure 206). The excavation photos reveal what is probably an ossuary burial similar to those of the Colington phase, and the existence of this type of burial usually confirms a town location. Further, an 1840 shoreline survey map incorporated in Cheeseman's (1982) study shows the notation of *Indian grave yard*, also at Dough's Point, presumably meaning the observed erosion of burials at some time around 1840. This, along with two features recorded in Harrington's 1965 field notes, but not excavated, certainly indicate the existence of a Colington phase town at or near Dough's Point. The point has lost considerable land in the erosion process, and specimens collected from the shoreline as far east as Crab Claw spit probably migrated with the sand from erosion of the point[259] over time. While nothing may be left, and even the skeletons excavated by Harrington have not yet been located in the Smithsonian Institution collections, Dough's Point is the probable location of the 9-longhouse village visited by Barlowe in 1584, and relied upon by Lane in 1585-1586. Its location is approximately one-half mile from the Fort, sufficient area to support field systems, sufficiently distant from Lane's operation to be safe, but near enough for frequent and necessary exchange. Future research should include testing of the area between Dough's Point and the Elizabethan Gardens.

A further, unsuccessful search was made for the burial mound reported by Williams in 1896. Squares and transects were opened at various points along Alder Branch, and a local informant finally showed us the possible location of the old corduroy bridge across the branch, a major locational point in Williams' description which will be a key to future searches (Figure 206).

A report of previous exposure of Indian skeletons in the old Cooper Field borrow pit occasioned excavations there (Figure 206), but the only material found was an aboriginal milling stone, 19th-century scatter, and a ditch line traced east and west of the borrow pit. No artifacts were reclaimed from the ditch although its fill and outline are very obvious (Figure 207) and its date and relationships remain unknown. In addition to the excavations, a 19th-century cemetery belonging to the Midgett family was mapped, photographed and recorded.

[259] Phelps, 1984.

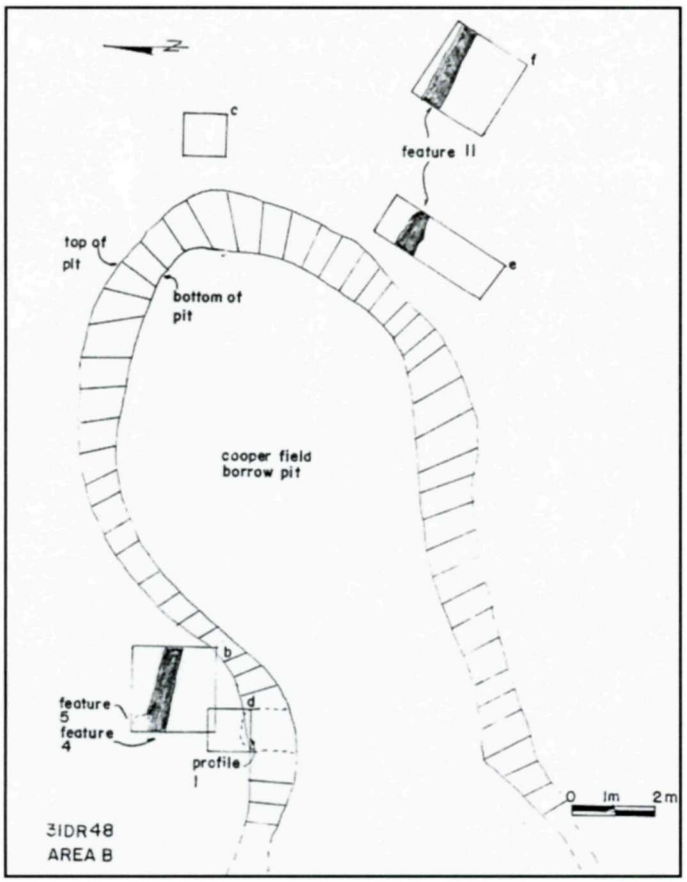

FIGURE 207: Ditch line (Features 4 & 11) in Cooper Field Borrow pit.

Two test squares were opened on the Fuqua property (Figure 206) where a 1563 English coin had been found, but no evidence of other artifacts or features was found. At the moment, the best explanation for the coin's location is that of an accidental loss by one of the 1584-87 colonists or an Indian into whose possession it had come.

A study of the Roanoke Island Historical Association Center for the Arts site in Fort Raleigh National Historic Site[260] permitted a better understanding of the stratigraphy on the north end of Roanoke Island, some new data on erosion patterns and the exposure of small oyster shell deposits, origin unknown, much like those on Colington Island. While radiocarbon dating of the specimens from that project was unsuccessful, the data generated have direct application to the current research although it was not a part of this project.

Bodie Island

A brief shoreline survey of reported shell midden sites on the sound between Jockey's Ridge and Nags Head Woods produced evidence of three sites, all mostly or completely eroded. One, and possibly another, of the sites (31DR22, 56) (Figure 201) belong to the Colington phase, but have insufficient context remaining to warrant further work.

Hatteras Island

The primary focus of the Hatteras Island survey and tests was to determine whether or not the Cape Creek site (31DR1) at Buxton was sufficiently intact to support excavations. The site has been traditionally considered the location of the Capital Town of Croatan [*Croatoan*], and thus figured prominently in English-Algonkian relations during the 1584-87 period. A surface survey of a recently cleared area of the site collected numerous specimens of ceramics (almost exclusively Colington) and bones, much the same as the earlier collection by Haag (1958). In the cleared area, a section has been graded and a septic tank installed, presumably for a house, and some graded soil has been pushed up into a second terrace above the house site. Underneath this second terrace, shovel tests revealed a 20-30 cm. midden still intact and every indication points to a large section of the site undisturbed under the dunes beyond the clearing. Site 31DR25, a southern extension of the Cape Creek site, was densely covered with maritime forest and undergrowth, and there was insufficient field time remaining to clear and test. Local informants report that shell midden areas of the site still exist, however.

Four other sites near Buxton were relocated and collected, but no time remained for further work.

The Cape Creek site offers one of the best opportunities to investigate thoroughly an English-Algonkian contact town whose affiliation and name (Croatan or *Croatoan*) are known, which figured prominently in friendly relations with the 1587 colony, and which may contain not only English artifacts but English skeletons. Every effort should be made to conduct excavations here.

[260] Ibid.

Other Research

The description and analysis of available human skeletal remains of the Carolina Algonkian population should provide not only one of the most thorough of contemporary studies, but also one of the larger population samples. Remains from 5 ossuaries at the Baum site (31CK9), one each from the Hollowell site (31CO5), Piggott site (31CR14), and Hatteras Village site (31DR38), and single burials from Baum and the Tillett site (31DR35) number over 237 individuals representative of at least 4 different local populations.

During this year, processing, reconstruction and preservation of the ossuary samples have begun, and a summary description of one of these, Burial 1 from 31CK9, has been prepared along with a description and analysis of four burials from the Tillett site. The metric and morphological traits to be measured and observed throughout the study have been selected and computer programs designed for processing these data.

The summary skeletal study of Burial 1 was to be included with this report, but it has not been received from the physical anthropology consultant.

REPORTS, PRODUCTIONS AND EXHIBITS

This section of the report summarizes the various methods of dissemination of information about the Carolina Algonkians and their relationship to the 400th Anniversary, thus addressing a third goal of the project during this year.

Reports

Activities related to this grant during the year have been summarized in three quarterly and the final reports. The three quarterly reports have been submitted to AFHAC as required, and have also been shared with other researchers and scholars concerned with the period (David Quinn, National Park Service Archaeologists and Fort Raleigh staff and others) since the reports contained pertinent new information. The quarterly reports were submitted on:

July 15, 1983 – First Quarterly Report, 10 pp.

December 9, 1983 – Second Quarterly Report, 13 pp.

March 1, 1984 – Third Quarterly Report, 5 pp.

The Final Report is herewith submitted as required by the grant agreement.

A special report (11 pages) summarizing grant activities and results from May 15 – October 31, 1983, was requested by the Chairman of the Archaeology Subcommittee, AFHAC, and was submitted to him on November 1, 1983, as part of the annual report to the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation.

The one published report required this year is the study of the Tillett site at Wanchese on Roanoke Island. The title of the report is:

Archaeology of the Tillett Site:
The First Fishing Community at
Wanchese on Roanoke Island.
East Carolina University Archaeological
Research Report, No. 6.

Productions

A Slide/narrative presentation, entitled *The Carolina Algonkians: Archaeology and History,* has been produced and reviewed by the AFHAC and Archaeology Branch, N.C. Division of Archives and History. The production contains 112 color slides of archaeological sites, features, burials, and artifacts, as well as slides of selected John White paintings, maps and other visual aids. The narrative has been transcribed on tape and runs for approximately 20 minutes, and script copies have also been provided for those situations where tape recorders might not be available.

The Traveling Artifact Exhibit

Designed to complement the slide/narrative presentation when accompanying it, or to stand alone as a supplementary display, the traveling exhibit entitled *Artifacts of the Carolina Algonkians* contains a representative range of cultural material typical of the 16th century. The display case measures 2.5' x 2.5' when closed and opens to a full width of 5' in its viewing position. Its construction is sufficiently durable to

withstand the rigors of three years of travel during the 400th Anniversary commemoration period, but the unit is relatively easily handled. The case was constructed by the East Carolina University Maintenance Division Carpentry Shop, and the display was designed and constructed by the project director and his staff at the Archaeology Laboratory. A small panel in the lower right corner of the exhibit gives sponsor and funding credit to the American Quadricentennial Corporation and the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation. Loan and travel arrangements for the exhibit are to be the responsibility of the 400th Anniversary staff at the N.C. Division of Archives and History, and a loan agreement for the artifacts has been made with the Executive Director, AFHAC. Preview showings of the traveling exhibit at the N.C. Museum of History in Raleigh on March 9 and at the Carolina East Mall, Greenville, on March 16 in conjunction with the Greenville Area Girl Scouts 400th Anniversary activities, met with favorable comments. The exhibit is now at the Museum of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City.

Artifacts in the exhibit include typical specimens of the distinctive shell-tempered Colington ceramics, made by the Carolina Algonkian potters from A.D. 800 into the 17th century, with typical surface finishes and decorative designs; a ceramic obtuse-angle smoking pipe of the type which became the model for later European pipe designs; a stone (jasper) knife typical of the coastal area, stone axe (celt), a hammer used in the production of stone tools, and triangular arrow points. In the other side of the case are a fragment of charred grass (*Juncus roemerianus*) mat of the type used to cover the houses and as mats upon which to eat and sit, along with a drawing showing the reconstructed mat; a whelk shell weight for fishings nets; shell beads, including the popular marginella shell beads used extensively in trade (These are the type sewn onto Powhatan's mantle or cloak preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.), and disc-barrel and tubular-shaped beads, the latter two most well known as *peak* and *Roanoak* in the Colonial period exchange system; a sewing tool (awl), antler tip for flaking stone, and hair and clothing pins made of bone; and a sample of red ochre, one of the pigments used to produce red paints and dyes.

Other Exhibits

A sample of Colington phase artifacts, photographs and descriptions were preserved and reconstructed and have been placed on long-term loan to the *Elizabeth II* State Historic Site, Manteo, for their visitor center museum display on the Carolina Algonkians.

Preliminary discussions have been held with the North Carolina Museum of History for the loan of artifacts from our collections for their Carolina Algonkian exhibit next year (1985).

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Presenter at the *Roanoke Decoded Symposium*
Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993

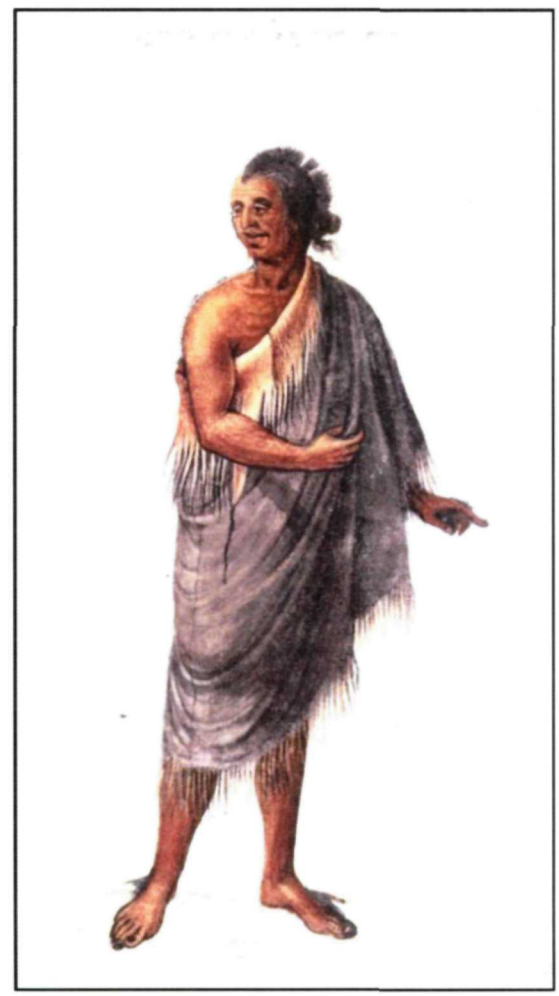

FIGURE 208: John White's drawing of an elder Carolina Algonkian c. 1585.

Roanoke after Ralegh

by Phil Evans

English voyages to Roanoke Island, under the charter from Queen Elizabeth I to Sir Walter Ralegh, reached a dramatic climax on August 18, 1590. Early that morning, John White, 1585 exploration artist and governor of the 117-person colony in 1587, landed at Roanoke and came ashore in search of the men, women and children, including his granddaughter Virginia Dare, whom he had left there three years before. White's account, as preserved by Richard Hakluyt, recounts the search party's walk on Roanoke Island from an area of burning *grasse and sundry rotten trees* near the north point; through the woods to the western shore of the island, directly across what is now Croatan Sound from the village of *Dasamunkepeuc* near modern Manns Harbor, NC. White and the searchers then turned to walk the shore *round about the Northpoint of the Iland* to approach the site where White said he left the colony.

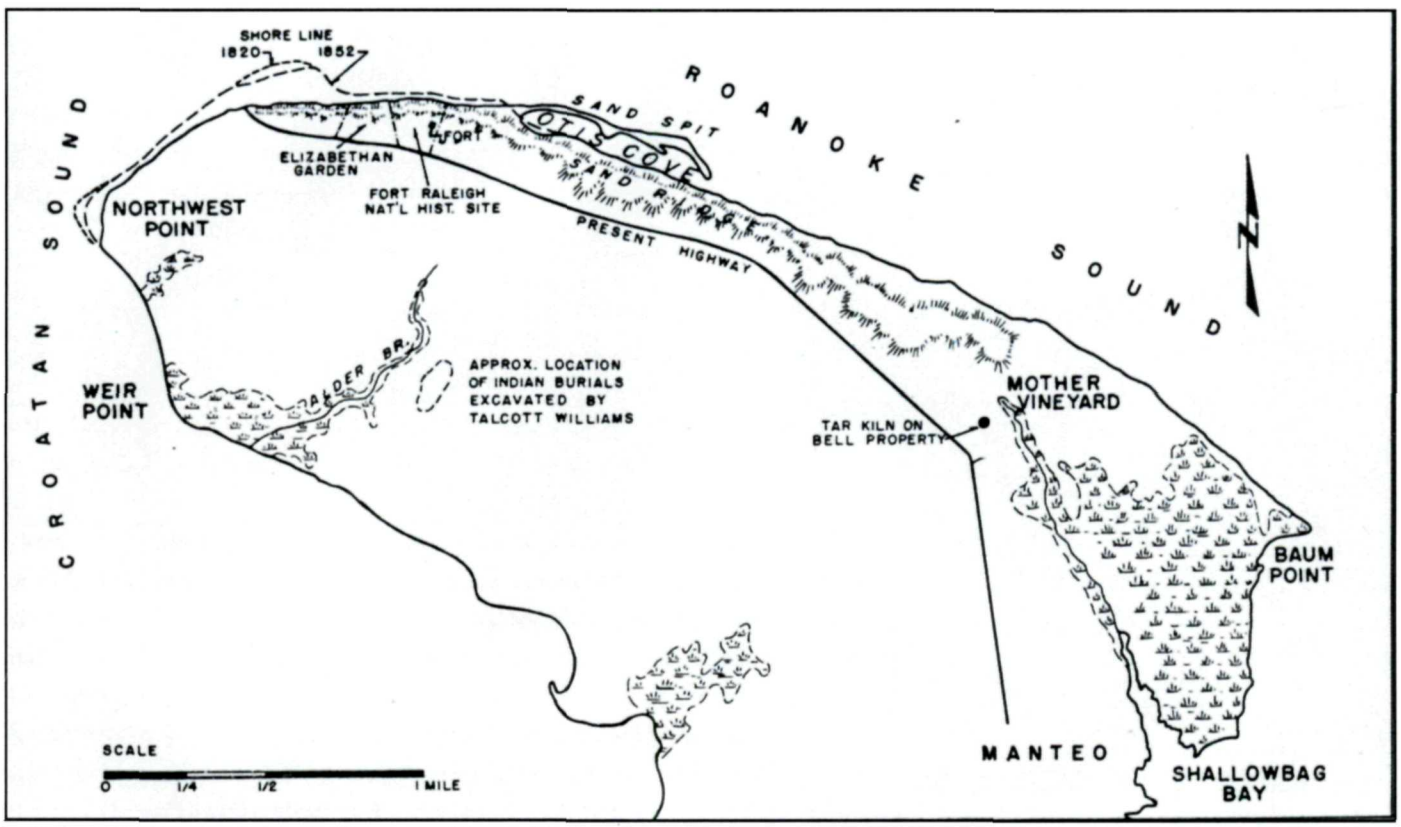

FIGURE 209: The north end of Roanoke Island showing principal topographic and historical features, and the extent of erosion since 1820.

After rounding the north point, at some distance along the walk, White and the others *entred up a sandy banke,* where they found carved upon a tree the Roman letters *CRO*. White considered the letters, and may have explained to his companions, as he later did to Hakluyt, that the carving was a clue to the colonists' current location. Prior to White's departure from his settlers in 1587, he had discussed with them the possibility of their abandoning Roanoke Island for a site fifty miles away. The absence of a cross meant the settlers were not in distress.

Next the search party passed to one of the most famous scenes in the history of early American discovery, exploration, and colonization—the site *where they were left in sundry houses*. Here White said he and his few companions that summer day in 1590 *found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high*

palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and on one of the chief trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barrres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, throwen here and there, almost ouergrowen with grasse and weedes.[261]

What happened to this scene after that famous day of August 18, 1590? Where is this site today? What remains there of what John White saw in 1590?

The original site of James Fort of 1607 has been found and is the focus of amazing archaeological discovery. Likewise the site of the Popham colony's Fort Saint George and Champlain's settlement at St. Croix Island have been archaeologically studied.

Plimoth of 1620 sets upon the same site as Plymouth, MA today. The Leiden or Leyden Street of the Pilgrims is the same Leiden or Leyden Street that runs from Plymouth Harbor to Church Hill.

What happened at Roanoke after Ralegh? And what can research being done there today tell us?

Roanoke Island at the beginning of the 17th century had probably changed relatively little from how John White saw it on 18 August 1590. Surely the palisado he saw had further deteriorated and the weeds had grown higher with shrubby undergrowth becoming established, but otherwise the island was once again in the quiet possession of the Algonquins who inhabited it before Ralegh's captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe arrived on its shore in 1584.

FIGURE 210: Roanoke Indians as depicted in *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama.

Under instructions from Sir Walter Ralegh, White had left the island in 1587 under at least the nominal dominion of a *Croatoan* Indian, Manteo, as Lord of Roanoke and *Dasamunkepeuc*.[262] (*Croatoan* was that part of the barrier islands or outer banks off what is now North Carolina extending from around Cape Hatteras to about the middle of Ocracoke Island.) White had encountered no one on Roanoke Island in 1590, but reported seeing the fresh footprints of two or three Indians along the sound shore.[263]

Whether the Indians inhabited Roanoke or *Dasamunkepeuc* in 1600 is not known with certainty, but they appear to have at least visited the island to hunt for deer. In 1587, White stated that the natives hunted deer in the marshy, reedy areas of the island and that it was likely a party of these hunters who had killed colonist George Howe, one of John White's Assistants for the Cittie of Ralegh. White identified the Indians variously as remnants of the Roanokes revenging the 1586 killing of their leader *Wingina*, and as associates of Wanchese. The De Bry engraving of 1590 that shows a small English vessel approaching Roanoke Island also shows an Indian, who has left his canoe at Broad Creek near the southern end of the island, stalking and about to shoot a deer with his bow and arrow. [264]

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[261] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 2:613-614.
[262] Ibid., 531.
[263] Ibid., 112-616.
[264] Ibid., 525-526. Hulton, *America 1585*, 108, fig. 6.

FIGURE 211: Theodor De Bry's engraving, *The arrival of the Englishemen in Virginia*. Note the deer and hunter.

As the new century dawned Sir Walter Ralegh was still mindful of Roanoke Island and the settlers left there in 1587, but not seen in 1590. Queen Elizabeth I was still on the throne and Ralegh was captain of her personal guard. He likely also hoped that some of his colonists survived and that as a consequence his 1584 charter to Virginia enjoyed legal validity. In 1602 Ralegh sent out Samuel Mace to look for the colonists and to bring home any valuable commodities that could be found on the Virginia coast. It does not appear that Mace got any closer to Roanoke Island than modern Cape Hatteras, if that close.

Ralegh followed this voyage by arranging with Mace and Bartholomew Gilbert to take two ships to Virginia. Gilbert was unable to bring his 50-ton *Elizabeth of London* into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Even more unfortunately Gilbert went ashore near Delaware Bay and was killed by Indians. The ship's master, Henry Shute, returned to England with the remaining crew in late September 1603 only to find that Ralegh had been imprisoned on treason charges since July. Even less information exists about Mace's 1603 voyage. Records indicating that Virginia Indians were in London demonstrating canoe handling in early September may be a result of Mace's contact with the American coast. There is no known record of how close Mace came to Roanoke Island.[265]

[265] Quinn, *Set Faire for Roanoke*, 355-357.

In May 1604 a joint English and French effort was formulated to reach *Croatoan,* contact the 1587 colonists, and obtain plants referred to as *oyssan* and *bissanque*. These were likely names for yucca or another plant—called *wisakon* in Thomas Harriot's 1588 report and *wisanck* on one of John White's 1585/86 watercolors. This plant, the milkweed, publicized in 1597 by herbalist John Gerard as a silk grass thought to be found in abundance at *Pomeiooc*, would also have been found on the mainland west of *Croatoan*. The Anglo-French party was aboard the *Castor and Pollux* and an unnamed second vessel, both English ships under Captain John Jerome. The expedition sailed under a French license with a cape merchant named Bertrand Rocque, who commanded after the death of Jerome. In March 1605, off the coast of modern South Carolina, the Spanish captured the expedition thereby preventing their intended mission at *Croatoan*. When Rocque was interrogated by the Spanish, he reported that English people, brought by Ralegh were living at *Croatoan*—located at 36 ½ degrees north latitude. This is exactly the latitude of the North Carolina/Virginia line and well to the north of both *Croatoan* and Roanoke Islands. Although the Spanish appear to have obtained very garbled testimony, it appears that Ralegh or others had suggested to the Frenchman Rocque that the colonists could be found between *Croatoan* and the Chesapeake. The continued emphasis on *Croatoan* may relate to Ralegh's establishment of Manteo as his feudal subtenant in the region, and may have been due to John White's 1590 report of the abandoned settlement on Roanoke Island and discovery of clues indicating re-location at *Croatoan* as well.[266]

The capture of the Anglo-French trade mission of 1605 motivated the Spanish in Florida to send out a reconnaissance under Fernando de Ecija. Ecija was under orders to find out whether the English inhabited the coast of what the Spanish called *Ajacan*. It does not appear he ventured as far north as Cape Fear. Nonetheless Ecija reported on 21 November 1605 that by collating information from the 1588 reconnaissance of Vicente Gonzales and Gines Pincon with testimony of Pero Dias Pimienta, Juan de Garachico and David Glavia, he could identify the area of English settlement as being at 35 degrees north latitude, and that the landmarks were three large dunes with two inlets. Ecija further stated that inside the inlets was a large bay (the Carolina sounds) and *toward the west s.westnorthwest it shows a sign of hilly land and a great forest*. This was a fairly accurate, albeit thumbnail, description of Roanoke Island.[267] When the Spanish learned of further settlement activity relating to the establishment of Jamestown, they sent out a second Ecija reconnaissance expedition intended to reach at least *the latitude of 37 and one half degrees, where, it is suspected, the first Englishmen are settled on the site that they call Virginia or Cortuan* (Croatoan) *and in our tongue is called the bay of* Jacan. This time Ecija went all the way to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.[268]

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

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[266] Ibid., 358-360.

[267] John H. Hann, *Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the Gonzalez Derrotero of 1609* (Tallahasse: Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, 1986), 14-15. The Ecija accounts and the *derroterro* of Gonzalez provide a fascinating seaman's-eye-view of the North Carolina coast four centuries ago.

[268] Ibid., 22-24.

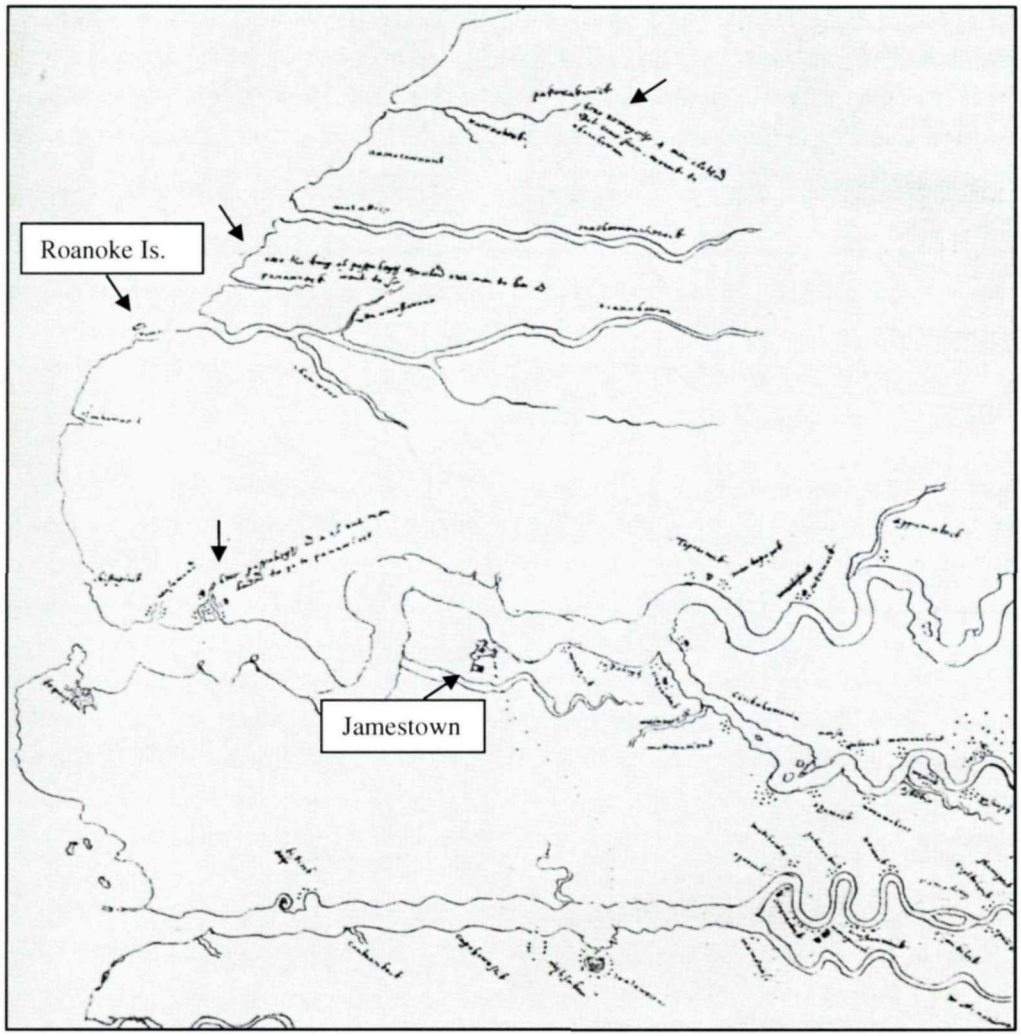

FIGURE 212: The 1608 Zuñiga Map.

On 23 May 1609 Ecija was in the Atlantic east of Roanoke Island and continued to observe smoke signals made by the Indians on hills and in the interior on Roanoke Island and adjacent mainland. Two Indians came out on the beach and made *another great smoke signal*. Six more Indians then came out drumming and shouting to the Spanish. The Indians again retreated into the dunes when the Spanish attempted to speak with them. Ecija recorded that then a great number of Indians with bows and arrows came into sight, which he feared signaled an ambush. As the Spanish turned away, six of the Indians ran down the beach after them. These Indians *were continually blowing on some pipes and shouting to us*, wrote Ecija. He believed that *in accord with what we heard, that they played the aforesaid pipes made by foreigners*. Historian Philip Barbour translates this last sentence as the Indians played the pipes or flutes in harmony and in a European manner. These Indians would have had considerable contact with Roanoke Island. Their ability to play what may have been European pipes or flutes in a European manner suggests strongly that they were either descended from the Roanoke colonists of the 1580s or taught by someone who had learned much from them. The survival of this piece of European culture on the Outer Banks some twenty years is quite remarkable. It is tempting to speculate that these Indians, some of whom might also have been survivors or children of survivors of the Lost Colony, were attempting to signal Ecija's vessel in hopes that it was English and some beneficial contact could follow. It appears that when the Indians on the beach heard their shouts answered in languages they did not understand (Spanish? Indian languages from Guale or present day Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina?), these coastal inhabitants retreated from contact with the unidentified Europeans off shore. It is possible that Ecija went on north to search for the Jamestown settlers without ever even considering that he had seen what remained of Sir Walter Ralegh's colonists.[269]

[269] Ibid., 32-37. Philip L. Barbour gives a slightly different translation and leaves out an important page in his *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society 2nd Series (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), no. 136. Barbour suggests more strongly than Hann that the Indians were playing their music in a European harmonic manner.

The history of the efforts by the English at Jamestown to find survivors of the Roanoke colony is complex and only half understood. It does not appear that the Jamestown settlers focused their search on Roanoke Island or even came any nearer to it than the Chowan River in the first two decades of their colonization. The 1608 Zuñiga map of the area extending from the Chesapeake to the Carolina sounds shows Roanoke Island as small and inconsequential to the interests of the map's maker and to the searchers for the lost colonists.[270]

No European contact with Roanoke Island and very little interest in it was recorded for the 1620s and 1630s. The English colony around Jamestown was busy with survival and expansion. The Virginia Company had its charter vacated and Virginia became a royal colony in 1624. The Anglo-Powhatan wars of 1622 and 1644 drew the attention of the leadership at Jamestown, while affairs in Europe may have complicated efforts to settle areas south of Virginia under the name *Carolana* in the 1630s. [271]

The conclusion of the second Anglo-Powhatan war of 1644 was followed closely by the Anglo-Chowan war of 1646 and the reawakening of English colonial interest in the Chowan and Roanoke River basins in the late 1640s. Additionally this period was one of conflict between King Charles I and the Puritan dominated Parliament of England, of the execution of the King and the continental exile of his sons, and of the establishment of a commonwealth government under Oliver Cromwell. These events in England impacted on the government of Virginia. Royalist governor William Berkeley was eventually removed from office and replaced by someone more agreeable to the Cromwellian regime. Berkeley's successor was Major General Richard Bennett of Nansemond.[272] Bennett had been instructed by Berkeley in 1646 to lead an English colonial force against Indians in the Chowan region. Bennett marched overland while Lt. Col. Thomas Dew approached by boat through the sounds and up the Chowan River. The English defeated the Indians in a battle on the upper Chowan with the loss of only one man.[273]

In 1648 with *peace being concluded with the Indians*, Henry Plumpton, a veteran of the 1646 Bennett-Dew military expedition, joined with Thomas Tuke of Isle of Wight County and others from south of the James River to procure land in the Roanoke and Chowan river basins. Promotional tracts were published in England touting the region, including the *No Lesse Excellent Isle of Roanoke*. Both Roger Green, a Nansemond *clarke*, and Edward Bland, a merchant explorer, proposed settlement *to the Southward*.[274]

A letter dated 8 May 1654 from Francis Yeardley, son of former Virginia governor Sir George Yeardley, to John Farrar (Farrer, Ferrar) in England gives an account of an expedition to Roanoke Island and environs the previous September of 1653. Yeardley wrote Farrar because of the *fervent affections to this my native country* that Farrar had demonstrated. Farrar apparently had a strong interest in silkworms and the French-Walloon silk industry and had printed a map of the American coast from Cape Fear to the Hudson River in 1651. A version of this map, printed

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[270] William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1998),136-137, map no. 28 *Zuniga 1608 MS*; reproduced in Cumming as pl. 21.

[271] Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 29-31. Powell has suggested elsewhere that John Pory's 1622 expedition into the Chowan may in part have been an effort to find more about the fate of the Roanoke colonists. Paul E. Kopperman, "Profile of Failure: The Carolana Project, 1629-1640," *North Carolina Historical Review* (January, 1982), 59:1-23.

[272] Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *Enyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 47.

[273] Hening's *Statutes at Large*.

[274] William S. Powell, *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1958), xv-xxii. Also his "Carolana and the Incomparable Roanoke: Explorations and Attempted Settlements, 1620-1663," *North Carolina Historical Review* (January, 1974), 51:10-16. Henry Tuke's deposition regarding the Bennett-Dew expedition and his land purchases from the Indians is quoted in John Bennett Boddie, *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia* (Chicago: Chicago Law Print Co., 1973), 130-131. Boddie also mentions a late 17th-century will made in the Albemarle by Samuel Davis, who used three arrows and a tomahawk as his seal. Compare with similar symbols for Algonquin *weroances* shown in Theodor DeBry's engraving, *The Markes of sundrye of the Cheif mene of Virginia.* Hulton, *America 1585, 129,* fig. 27.

FIGURE 213: Detail of John Farrar's *A Mapp of Virginia. 1651.* Note the two fort-like symbols on Rolli passa near the confluence of the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers.

under the name of Farrar's daughter Virginia and likely dating to 1652, added the name *Rawliana* to the later Carolina part of the coast and *Rolli passa* for the present day Albemarle Sound. It is possible the Farrars, both father and daughter, were interested in the southern part of Virginia because of 16th century reports of silk grass in the area of Pamlico Sound. The 1654 letter stated that Argall Yeardley, the older brother of the writer, had received letters from Farrar encouraging *better designs than that of tobacco*, which may have been a suggestion to produce silk.[275]

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

Yeardley related that five men, one from his family and the others his neighbors, set out to discover *South Virginia or Carolana* after their leader, *a trader for beavers commonly identified as Nathaniel Batts,* was left behind by his sloop. This young man believed the sloop had sailed for *Rhoanoke* and went to search for it there. After entering Currituck Inlet, the little party went to *Rhoanoke Island; where, or near thereabouts, they found the great commander of those parts with his Indians a hunting, who received them civilly, and shewed them the ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh's fort, from whence I (Yeardley) received a sure token of their being there.*[276]

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[275] Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 23-29. Salley's version of the account is taken from Thomas Birth, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe,* 7 vols. (London: Printed for the Executor of the late Fletcher Gyles, 1742), 2:273-274. William P. Cumming had the original manuscripts (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson A 14) in Oxford, England examined and so small errors were found to have crept into both the printed collection of Thurloe's papers and Salley's modern reprint from it. See William P. Cumming, "Naming Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (1945), 22:34-42. The Farrar maps are discussed in Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps.* One version which shows two symbols on *Rolli passa* similar to those used to indicate forts is reproduced in H. G. Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1983), 24, ills. 2-8. The symbols appear on the map near the confluence of the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and on the south shore of what is now Albemarle Sound near modern Columbia, NC.

[276] Ibid., 25-56.

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

Yeardley's letter made no mention whether any Indians were living on Roanoke Island in 1653, but gives considerable information of the interest of the Indian leader (later called the *great emperor of Rhoanoke*) in education, religion, and material goods of the English when invited to visit the colonial settlements at Lynnhaven or modern Virginia Beach, Virginia. Yeardley and his brother Argall not only agreed to educate the Indian's son, but build him an English house and pay 200 pounds sterling for *three rivers* that were unidentified in the letter. On Mayday before Yeardley wrote his letter, the Roanoke arrived at Yeardley's home with a Tuscarora prince and other *kings of the provinces.* The Roanoke brought his wife and son with him. On 3 May 1654, the son of the Roanoke commander became perhaps the first North Carolina Indian to be baptized since Manteo in 1587. The Yeardleys planned not only to raise the boy as a Christian, but they planned to send another exploration party to the southward in July of 1654.[277]

When Charles II returned to England in 1660, he looked to favor those who had supported him in exile and enabled his restoration to the throne. In 1663 he granted the province of Carolina to eight men titled *Lords Proprietors.* Perhaps in anticipation of the proprietary grant, the Council of Virginia on October 9, 1662 appointed Samuel Stephens *commander of the southern plantation*, the growing English settlement along what would become Albemarle Sound.[278] They gave Stephens authority to appoint a sheriff for the plantation, but no record of Stephen's service as commander survives.[279] One of the proprietors, Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley, was *en route* to America to resume his office when the appointment of Stephens was made, but Berkeley did not alter the arrangements for the southern plantation. In 1664 the Proprietors created three large counties to subdivide the Carolina colony, naming the northernmost one closest to Virginia the County of Albemarle in honor of proprietor George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. William Drummond, another Virginian, was named governor of Albemarle in October 1664. He held the post until replaced by Samuel Stephens in October 1667. Stephens served as either governor of Albemarle or deputy to Sir William Berkeley until his death sometime between January 20 and March 7, 1669/70. At some earlier time the proprietors and the crown realized that the original proprietary grant had not put the English settlements on the north shore of what quickly became known as Albemarle River actually in the Carolina colony. In 1665 the Carolina grant was extended from 36 degrees to 36 ½ degrees north latitude, the present Virginia/Carolina line. Roanoke Island would have been included in Carolina under the first grant, but the extension brought the already settled areas along Albemarle Sound and the rivers flowing into it from the north into Carolina.[280]

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[277] Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 28.

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

[279] Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, contributor, "Samuel Stephens," in William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* P-S (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 5:440-441.

[280] William S. Powell, ed., *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh: NC Archives and History, 1958), xxiii-xxv; 14, fn. 3.

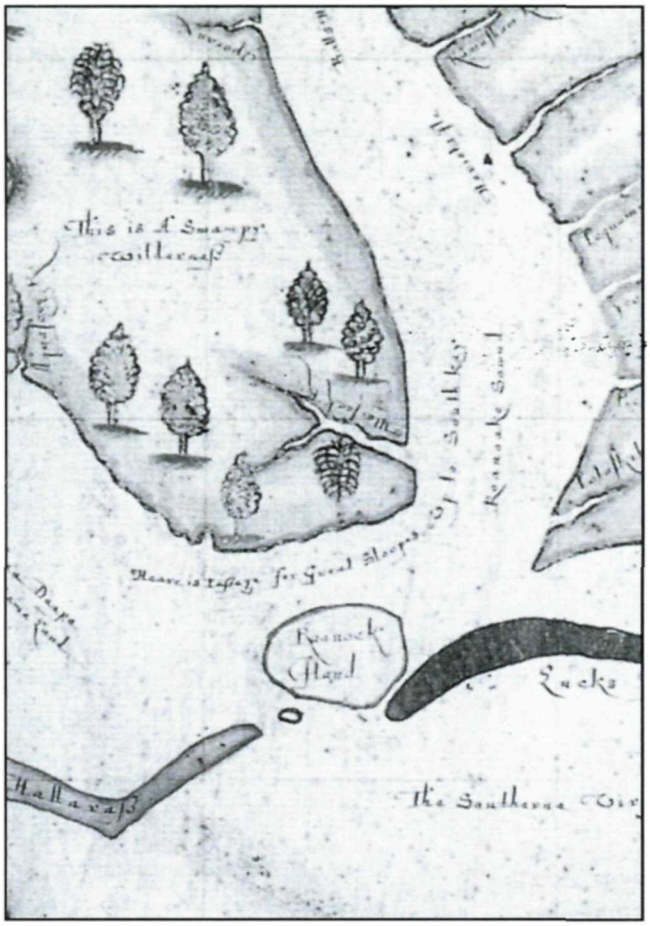

FIGURE 214: Detail of Nicholas Comberford's *The South Part of Virginia*. 1657.

At some point prior to his death, Samuel Stephens obtained ownership of the whole of Roanoke Island. Exactly when and under what circumstances this occurred is unknown. Historian David Stick has stated that Samuel Stephens had livestock on the island at the time of his death.[281] His ownership of Roanoke Island passed to his heir and widow, Francis Culpeper Stephens. By 21 June 1670 she had married Virginia Governor William Berkeley. Not long after the gubernatorial nuptials, Anthony Slockam sued *for a hatt at Roanok yt was brought into yd country by Mr. Withro Stephens*. The Court found for Slockam on 27 September 1670 and ordered that the hat was to be given him by Withro Stephens, who is identified as a *fisherman at Roanok*. Slockam was to pay the court costs. Although *Roanok* can mean just about any place between Roanoke Inlet and Roanoke River in this period, the connection of the place name with Withro Stephens's livelihood would tend to suggest that he fished and perhaps even resided somewhere on Roanoke Island.[282] It is important to remember that the names of some early residents may not be found in the land records for the island.

In 1672 Sir William Berkeley was unwilling to sign an agreement with the other seven Lords Proprietors to fund jointly certain colonization efforts. There followed an apparent informal agreement on March 29 that Berkeley would receive control of lands stretching sixty miles south of Currituck Inlet and one hundred miles west of the western shore of Roanoke Island as his separate part of Carolina, while surrendering his interest in the rest of Carolina. As this would have put almost all of Albemarle County under the control of the Proprietor who was also Virginia's governor, it would also help the other Proprietors quiet claims the Old Dominion might assert to the area under the Convention of 12 March 1651/1652.[283]

Berkeley sold his bride's island of Roanoke for 100 pounds sterling to merchant Joshua Lamb of Roxbury, Massachusetts on April 17, 1676.[284] Berkeley's deed to Lamb recited the conveyance of *cattle, hoggs, and other stock with Marishes, houses, and buildings thereon*. The deed did not state whether this recitation denoted actual assets or this was legal verbiage used to satisfy the purchaser. The deed also mentions nothing about whether they were to be found on the northern or southern end of Roanoke Island.[285]

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

[282] Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1670-1697* (Raleigh: NC Archives and History, 1968), 4.

[283] Ibid., xxxix-xl.

[284] William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1965), 16-19.

[285] J. R. B. Hathaway, ed, *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register,* no.1 (Edenton, NC: 1901), 2:101-108. Similar language appeared in the deed from Lamb to Nicholas Paige for the southern half of the island, where it was simply stated that Paige received half of everything on the island, without any distinction between chattels and fixtures. Historian Bruce Cheeseman wrote that even though it appeared Stephens did not occupy Roanoke Island, he established a livestock plantation there with

The Lords Proprietors of Carolina were understandably interested in gathering information on their new grant, so a number of maps were generated of it in the second half of the 17th century. They even sent out instructions in October 1672 to begin laying out three towns in Carolina, the *chiefe towne* on Roanoke Island to be where the council and General Assembly were to meet. The fact that this act was essentially repeated in 1715 and 1723 is a pretty good indicator that no town had been created. The act of 1723 for establishing the town of Carteret refers to *three hundred Acres of Land lying on the No. E't Side of the Said Island, commonly called Roanoak old plantation.*[286]

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

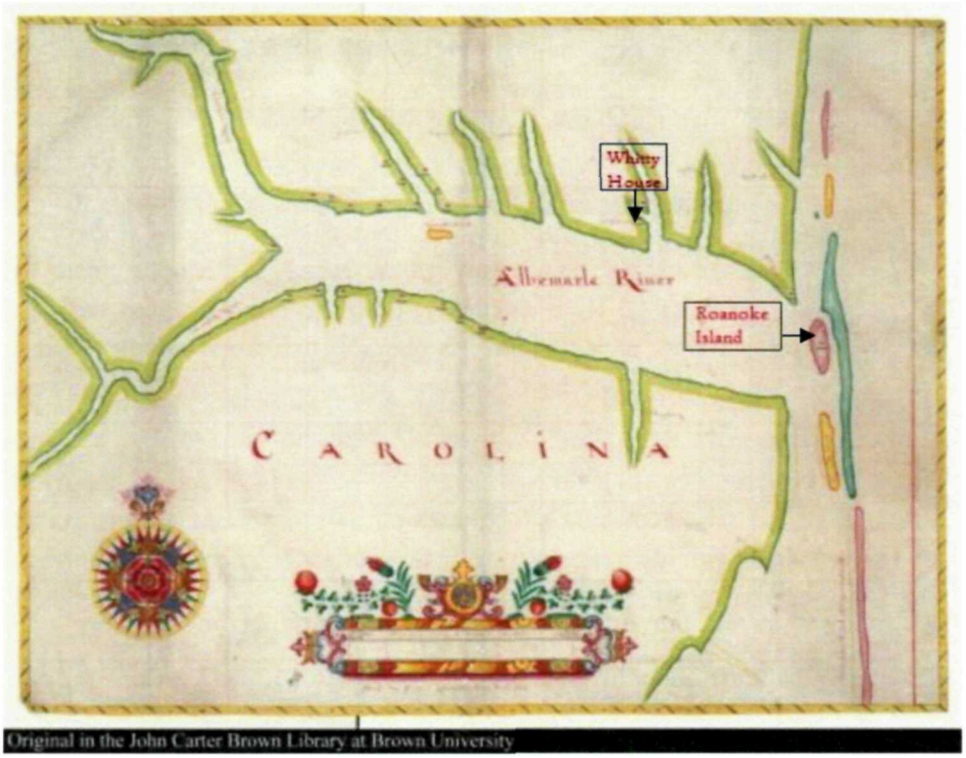

FIGURE 215: The Lancaster Map of the Albemarle 1679.

The first ones of interest are the 1657 maps of Nicholas Comberford of the *South Part of Virginia,* likely produced as a direct result of the Yeardley expeditions of 1653 and 1654. The Comberford maps show the house Yeardley had carpenter Robert Bodnam build for Nathaniel Batts at the confluence of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. Yeardley died before Bodnam was paid, so court records of Bodnam's suit for payment survive to give details about the house. The Comberford maps show Roanoke Island, but give no details as to anything on the island. There is no indication given that anyone, English or Indian, lived there.[287]

The first map to show the region in detail after the granting of the Carolina Charter is the James Lancaster map of the Albemarle. Although the map is dated 1679, it appears to be based on information gathered prior to 1670. On the map the house of *Captn Whitty* is shown on the west bank of Pasquotank River. Captain John Whitty was mentioned in a 1665 letter to Peter Carteret regarding Sir John Colleton's plantation on Colington Island. Whitty was dead prior to

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caretakers who could have been the island's first permanent European residents. Cheeseman believed that the Berkeleys and Lamb continued the Stephens operation. There was no primary source given in Cheeseman's report for anything other than the Berkeley deed to Lamb. He may have been repeating secondary sources for other statements. Thanks to lebame houston for checking the Cheeseman report at the Outer Banks History Center in Manteo, NC. For those wishing to do so as well, see Bruce S. Cheeseman, *Historical Research Report: Four Centuries and Roanoke Island—A Legacy of Geographical Change* (Unpublished report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, National Park Service, 1982), 37-38.

[286] Powell, *Paradise Preserved,* 22; Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, 1906), 25:201.

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

April 22, 1670 as his widow had remarried by that date. The Lancaster map is a beautiful, full color map showing the homes or *plantations* of individual settlers along the Albemarle Sound as little white houses with chimneys and red roofs. Most of the houses appear at the western end of the sound, but the Carteret/Colleton plantations at Powell's Point and Colington Island are shown. Roanoke Island is only shown as a very elongated oval, again with no indication of habitation by the English or the Indians.[288]

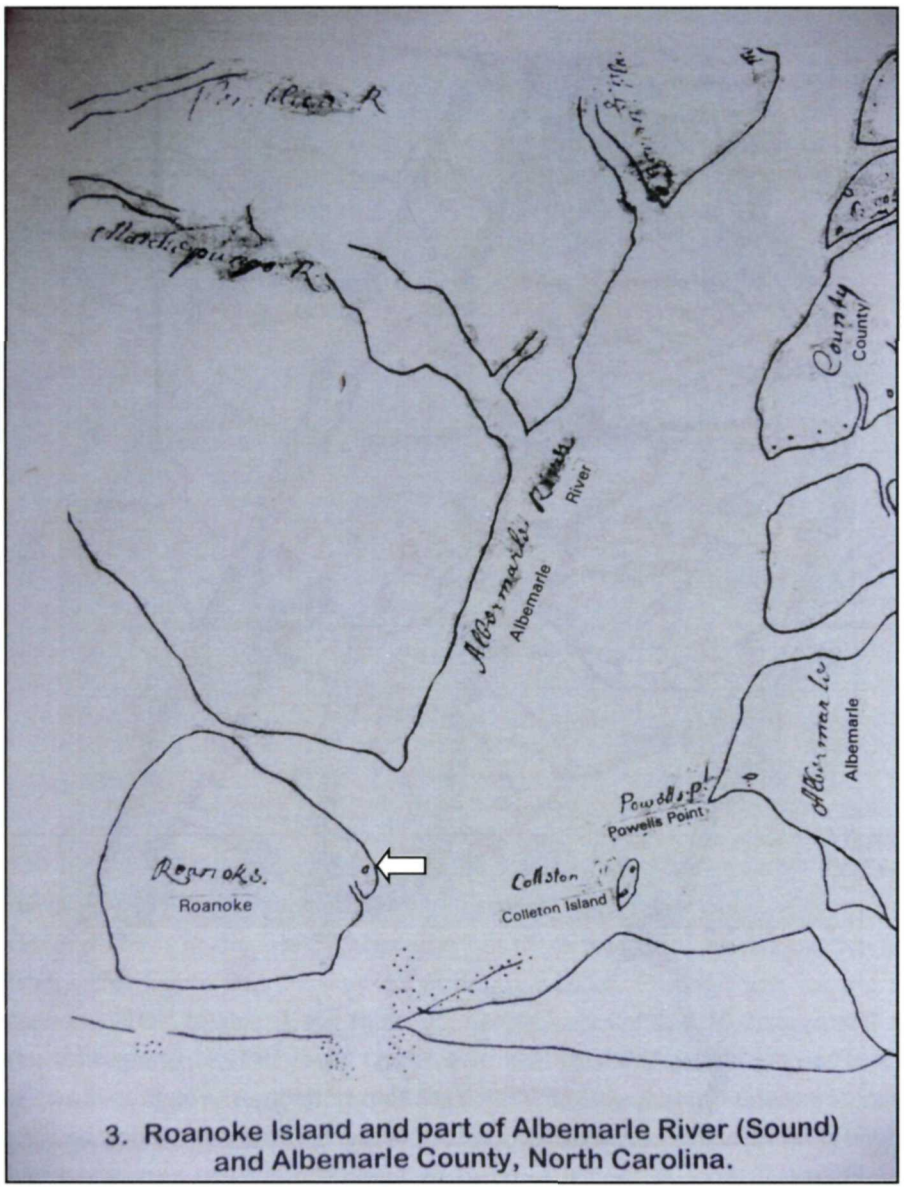

FIGURE 216: Manuscript Sketch Map made post 1664.

Somewhat more difficult to date is a manuscript sketch map made after the establishment of Albemarle County in 1664. Although this map is tentatively assigned a date of circa 1670, it shows the location of the plantations of the governor in the western Albemarle Sound region and the plantation of one *Biggs* along Perquimans River. This is likely a reference to Timothy Biggs, who was collector of customs for proprietary governor Thomas Miller. Biggs and Miller became embroiled in what is known in North Carolina history as Culpeper's Rebellion in the later 1670's, and it is likely that the Lords Proprietors desired a map that would show them the scenes of civil unrest in their province. If so, this sketch map likely dates closer to 1677-79. Roanoke Island is once again shown and this time there is a small circle drawn on the island just north of what appears to be Shallowbag Bay. Whether this small circle indicates the habitation of Indians (as they do on earlier maps by John White and others) or an English household perhaps that of the caretaker of Joshua Lamb's livestock, is unknown.[289]

[288] Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* 170. This is Cumming's map no. 81, *Lancaster 1679 MS D.* The Lancaster map is part of the *Blathwayt Atlas* at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. It can be viewed online in color through the website for the JCBL. It also appears as the frontispiece of Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, *NC Higher Court Records, 1670-1697,* but it is not in color there.

[289] Reproduced in Gary C. Grassl, *The Search for the First English Settlement in America: America's First Science Center* (Bloomington, Indiana: Author House, 2006), xxii, ill. 3. Also see Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* 158, map no. 52, *Anon. ca. 1672 MS.*

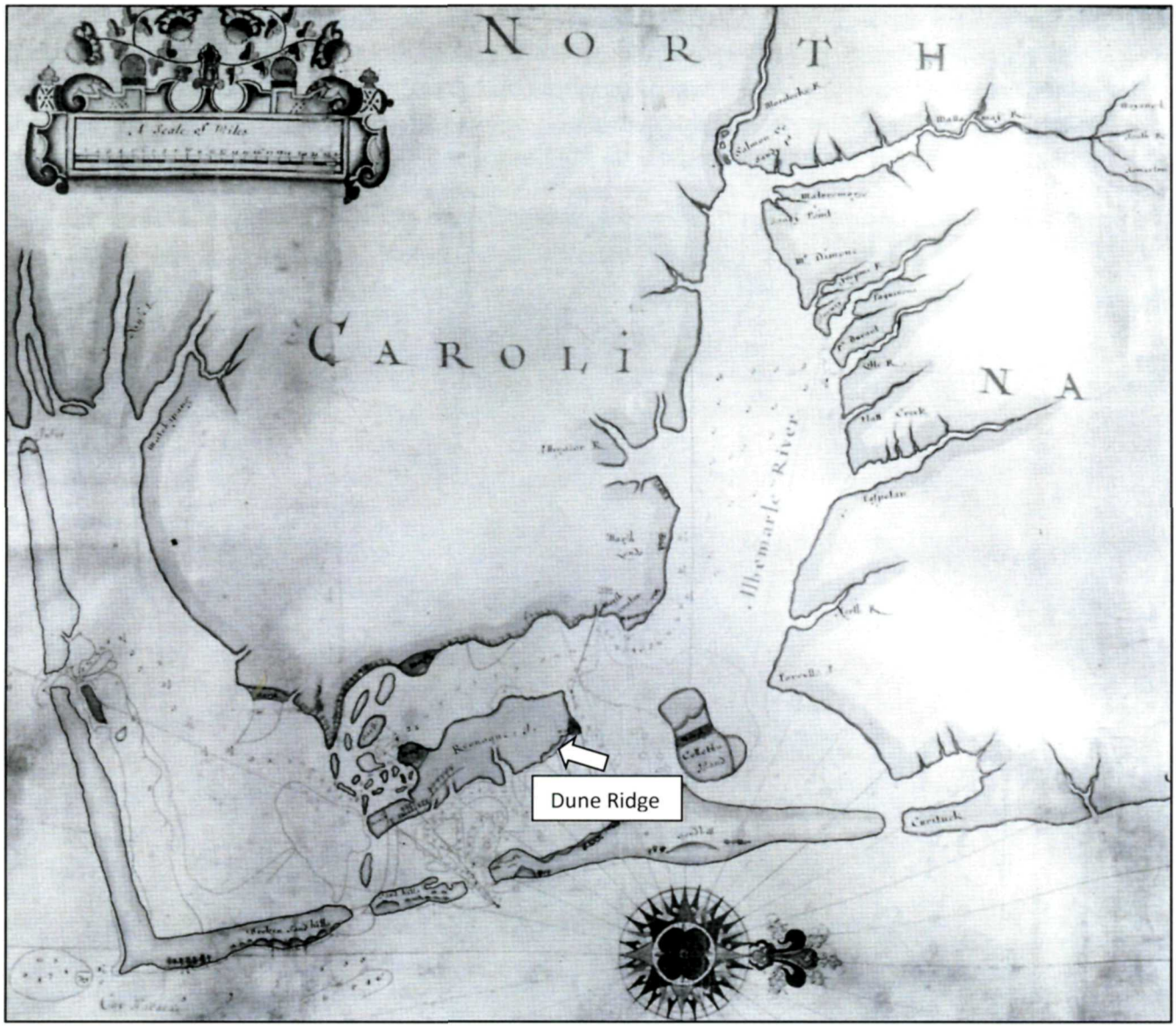

FIGURE 217: Roanoke Island, part of a detailed navigational chart c.1684.

A fairly detailed map of Roanoke Island that is part of a detailed navigational chart for Roanoke Sound appears sometime around 1684 from an anonymous Thames side mapmaker. This map shows landmarks of importance to a mariner entering Roanoke Sound and proceeding to the English settlements on the Perquimans. Although it shows no habitations on Roanoke Island, it gives specific information on marshes, forested areas, and the dune ridge between modern Mother Vineyard and the north end of the island. A careful look at the map reveals what appears to be a house frame at the site of what was once *Dasamunkepeuc* and is now Manns Harbor, but the cartographer used Mashoes Creek as the navigational landmark instead.[290] It is worth noting that a 1672 map of Carolina, the Ogilby-Moxon or 1st Lords Proprietor's map, showed the word *Croatan* at this site for the first time.[291]

[290] Ibid., map no. 99, *Thames School c. 1684 MS B,* 178. Reproduced as pl. 41.
[291] Ibid., map no. 70, *Ogilby-Moxon c. 1672,* 163. Reproduced as pl. 37.

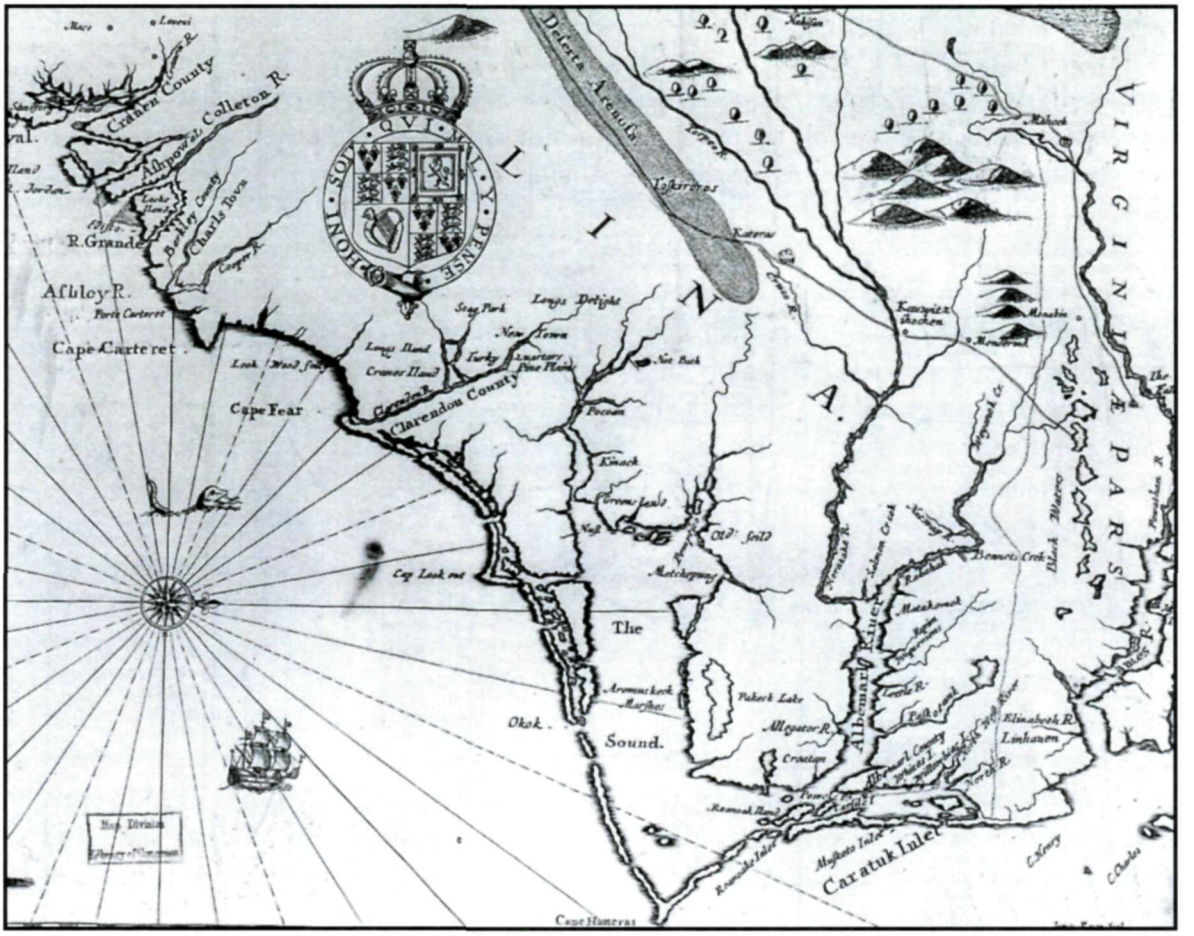

FIGURE 218: A New Description of Carolina. c. 1672. Ogilby-Moxon. First Lords Proprietor's Map.

Lamb appears to have turned a neat profit by selling half of the island to Nicholas Paige for more than the amount he had paid Berkeley for the whole. On September 19, 1677 Lamb sold the southern half of Roanoke Island to Paige for 150 pounds sterling. Before Joshua Lamb's death in 1690, George Pordage of Boston had obtained half of Lamb's remaining half or a one quarter of the island. Pordage appears occasionally in the record of the North Carolina General Court in the late 17th century, but there is nothing in those references to indicate that he resided on Roanoke Island. Pordage's quarter was the northern quarter. Pordage was having trouble with the caretaker of his livestock there by 1701. In the record of the General Court for the July/August 1701 term, the Court heard the suit of George Pordage against John Lewen for breach of contract. Pordage alleged that Lewen neglected to fulfill his part of the contract to manage and improve Pordage's one quarter of the island and the cattle placed there. Pordage further alleged that Lewen refused to allow anyone to come on the property and take over its management. It is not clear whether Lewen resided on Roanoke Island, but this additional allegation would seem to allow that inference.[292]

In 1701 explorer, naturalist, and surveyor John Lawson landed along the Santee River in South Carolina and began a trek through the Carolina piedmont and back out to the coast of North Carolina. At some time subsequent to his travels in the Carolina backcountry and before he sailed to England to publish reports both on his travels and the colony, Lawson may have visited the site of the Ralegh colonies on Roanoke Island. His report of what could be seen there at that date is well known.

Lawson noted *the Ruins of a Fort ...to be seen at this day* and listed objects *which have been found lately*. The listed items included *some old English coins...and a Brass-gun, a Powder-horn, and one small Quarter deck gun made of*

[292] Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1697-1701* (Raleigh: NC Archives and History, 1971), 453.

Iron Staves and hoop'd with the same Metal.

Recently, archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume has posited that Lawson was reporting on objects left on Roanoke in the later seventeenth century, not the 1580s, and that therefore the earthwork fort reconstructed at the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site should date to that period. An important part of his argument concerns one object on Lawson's list: the *Powder-Horn.*

Noël Hume speaks with a certain authority when he states that powder flasks were triangular in shape in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and that powder horns were unknown in the sixteenth century. Early seventeenth-century illustrations of military powder flasks certainly show a standard triangular shape, which may have developed in Renaissance Italy. This standard shape appears to be true for the Elizabethan period, as well. Dr. Klingelhofer owns such an example attributed to the Dutch revolt against Philip of Spain, examples have been found on Armada wrecks, and the Tower Armouries possess a late sixteenth-century musketeer's powder-flask bearing the arms of the Goldsmith's Company, which provided one of the Trained Bands of the London militia.

But private or specialized powder flasks need not have followed the military standard. Priming flasks were quite small, but the wide variety of their shapes may suggest a similar broad range for non-military powder flasks.

Evidence does exist for large-scale powder horns. A brief survey of sixteenth-century works by Lucas Cranach and Peter Brueghel has yielded two such examples. Cranach's 1532 painting *The Payment* depicts a rich sportsman's powder flask carved from deer antler, and hanging beside it, the firearm it served. Brueghel's 1565 print, *The Parable of the Good Shepherd*, shows the opposite end of the social scale: a gang of villains breaking into Christ's sheepfold. One robber is armed with a hatchet, a saber-like sword, and a large powder flask made from a bull's horn. That it is not a hunting or sounding horn is apparent from the narrow projecting knob to the lid covering the base of the horn. These illustrated examples from only two Northern Renaissance artists imply that powder horns could be found in non-military, but widely different social levels in sixteenth-century Continental Europe, decades before Ralegh's colony was founded on Roanoke.

John Lawson's powers of observation and deduction, therefore, should not be in question. He did not mistake the ruins of Old Fort Ralegh and its associated Elizabethan artifacts for defenses erected at most a few decades before his visit and objects manufactured in his own lifetime.

But just as with the 1653 visit by the Yeardley party, no details are given about exactly where on the island either remains of the fortifications or scattered artifacts were to be seen.[293]

David B. Quinn, the eminent historian of the Roanoke Voyages, addressed this problem in his assessment of the *Archaeology of the Roanoke Settlements*. He noted, *There survived into the seventeenth century, therefore relics on two sites—that of the palisaded enclosure containing some heavy debris, and that of the...fort with damaged ramparts and largely filled ditch. Our subsequent problem is to tell when later observers are speaking of the one or the other. Thus we cannot be sure which is referred to by Francis Yeardley when he was shown the ruins of Raleigh's fort by an Indian in 1654. Lawson, some fifty years later, also saw* 'Ruins of a fort' *and* 'some old English coins, which have lately been found, and a Brass-gun, a Powder-horn, and one small Quarter deck gun made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal.' *The finding of the guns strongly suggested that the site he was describing was that of the palisaded enclosure where White had found comparable heavy debris in 1590. If so, Lawson's visit is our last known contact with this site.*[294]

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[293] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina,* ed. Hugh T. Lefler (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1967), 68-69.
[294] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages* 2:903-904.

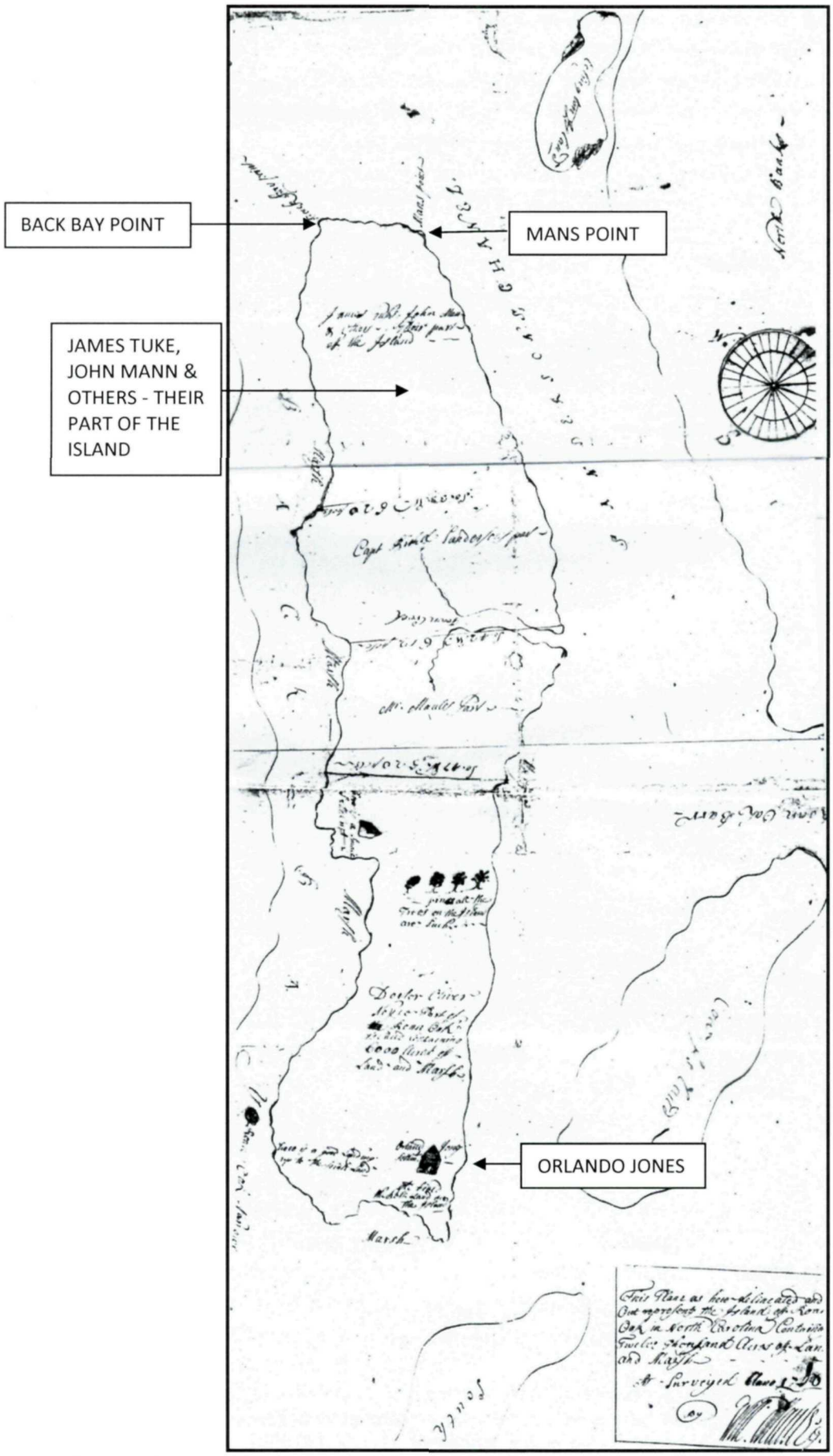

FIGURE 219: Plan of Roanoke. 1718. William Maule.

By 1718 the northern quarter of the island appears to have been in the hands of *John Man, James Tuke & others* as shown on a map made by William Maule. [295] Edward Moseley copied this map in 1729 and gave the same landowner names for the north end of the island. On the 1718 map the northeastern point of the island near the site of the Dough Cemetery is named *Mans Point* and the northwest point at present day Heritage Point is named *Back Bay Point*. By 1820 *Mans Point* was shown as *Etheridges Point* and *Back Bay Point* had become *Manns Point*.[296]

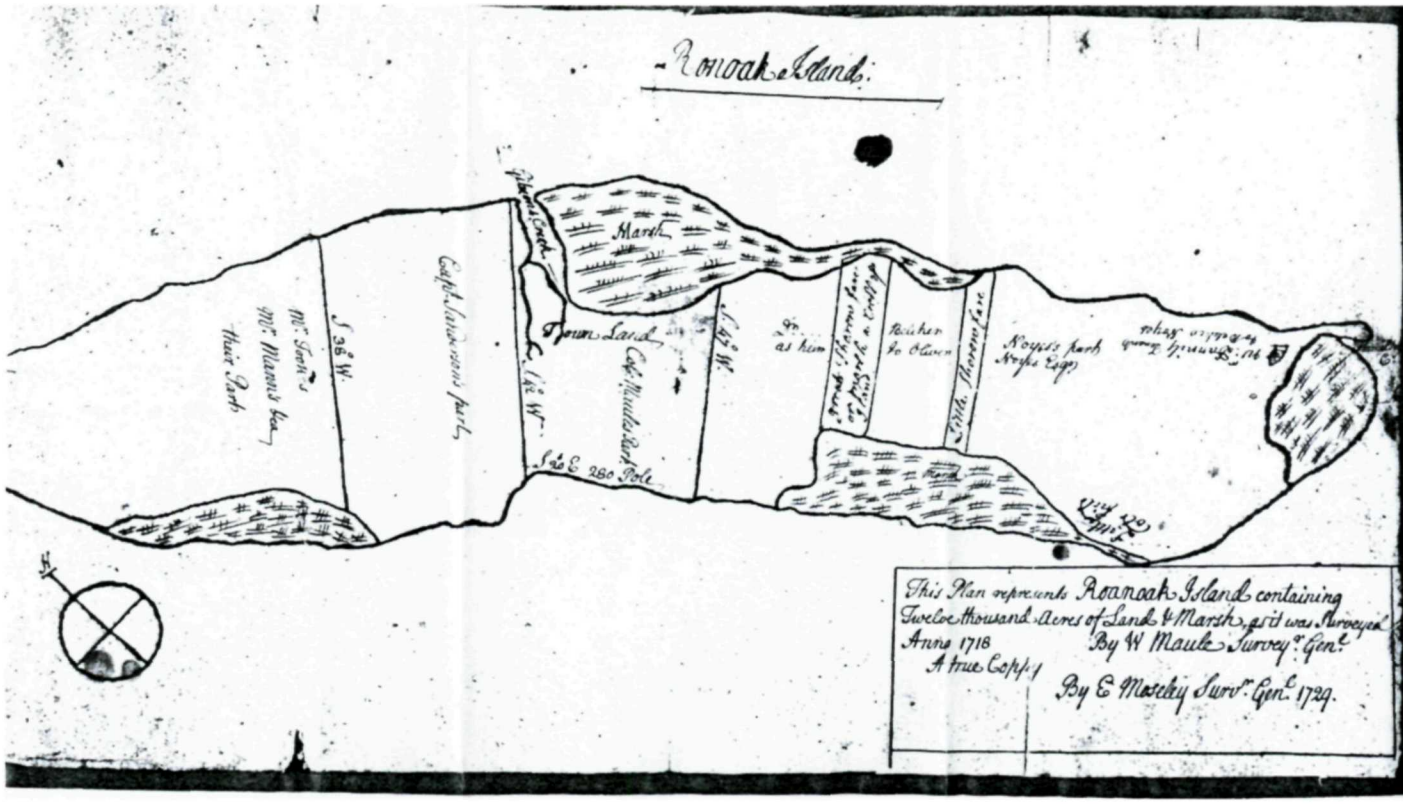

FIGURE 220: Plan of Roanoke. 1729. Edward Moseley.

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

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

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[295] This is an unpublished map at NC Archives & History in Raleigh, NC. See Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* map no. 167 *Maule-Roanoke 1718 MS,* 211. Color reproduction in possession of author.

[296] Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh*, 7; Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* map no. 203, *Maule-Moseley 1729 MS,* 225.

By 1701 Pordage had a caretaker for the north end of the island and the allegations of Pordage's suit suggest that John Lewen was at least a part-time resident. Capt. Joshua Lamb, Jr., wrote Governor Robert Daniel on 5 December 1704 to remind the provincial government of his claim of ownership to one quarter of Roanoke Island from his father's 1676 purchase from Berkeley. Lamb noted that he intended *to dispose to one of the inhabitants of Carolina* his part of Roanoke Island. Lamb also noted that Pordage maintained his claim to his quarter as well.[297] But by 1718 the north end had been parceled out to various owners, some of whom were almost certainly residents. It would appear that someone was on the island in the first decade of the 18th century to serve as tour guide to John Lawson. The 1718 map by Maule shows a plantation in the hands of Orlando Jones on the south end at present day Wanchese. This was apparently a tenancy that passed by 1729 to the Daniels, whose family is still locally prominent. The Manns of the north end also have remained to become locally numerous and prominent.

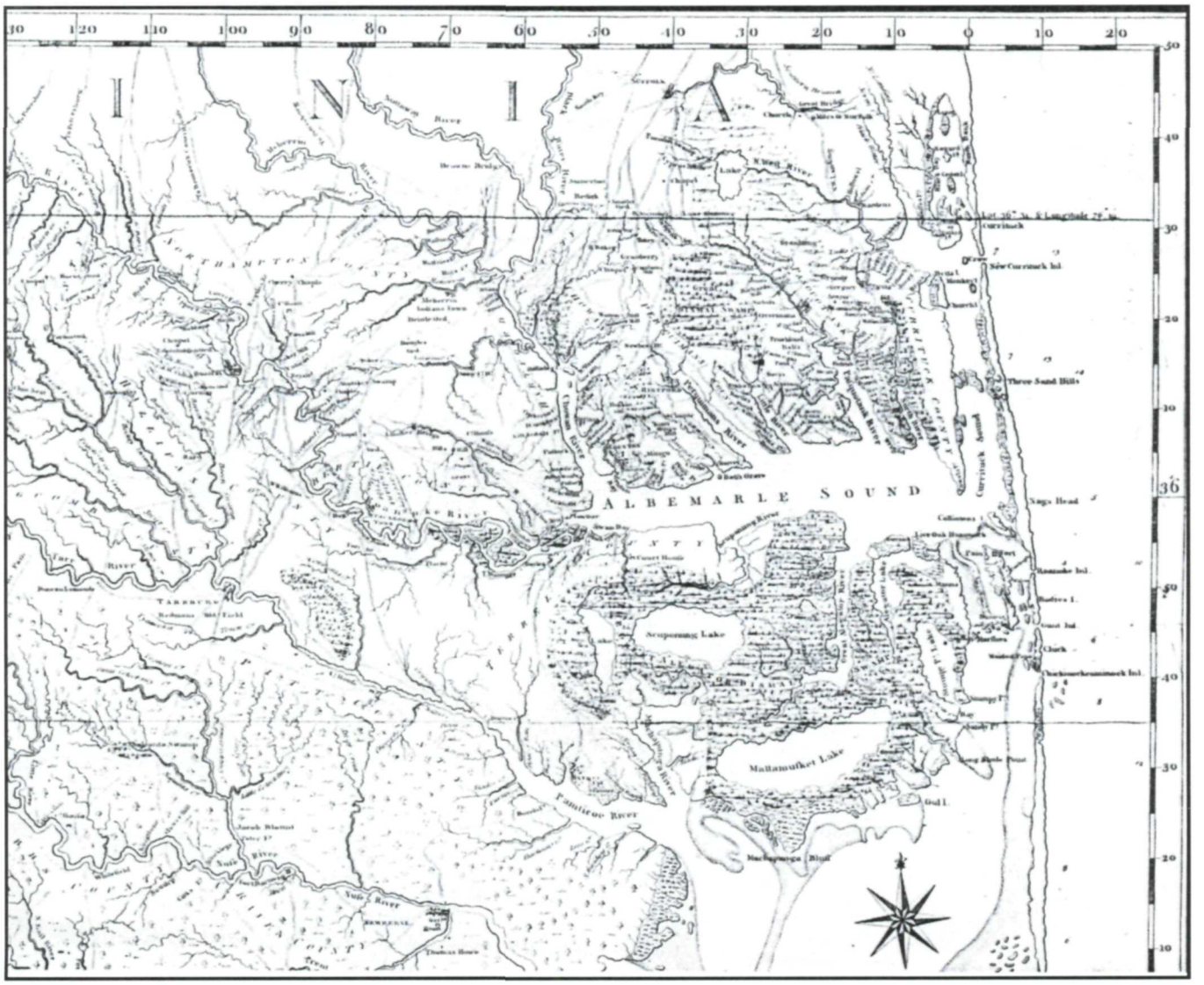

FIGURE 221: A Complete Map of North Carolina. John Collet. 1770.

By the time John Collet assembled his manuscript map of North Carolina from surveys collected by William Churton, a number of residents are shown both by name and place of dwelling. These names on Collet include the Daniels and

[297] J. R. B. Hathway, ed., *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register,* no. 1 (Edenton: NC, 1900), 1:306. The Carolinian was probably Captain Richard Sanderson, who was shown as the owner of this quarter of the island on the 1718 Maule map. There is also on this same page of Hathaway's *Register* a letter from Nicholas Paige, the owner of the south end of the island, to Gov. Daniel dated 20 September 1704. Page mentioned that originally *the Island was ye Gov. Stephens, he dying left it to his wife.*

a Pain. There also appears a fort symbol at the location of the reconstructed earthwork and the notations *Walter* and *Rawleigh* appear along the eastern side of the island.[298]

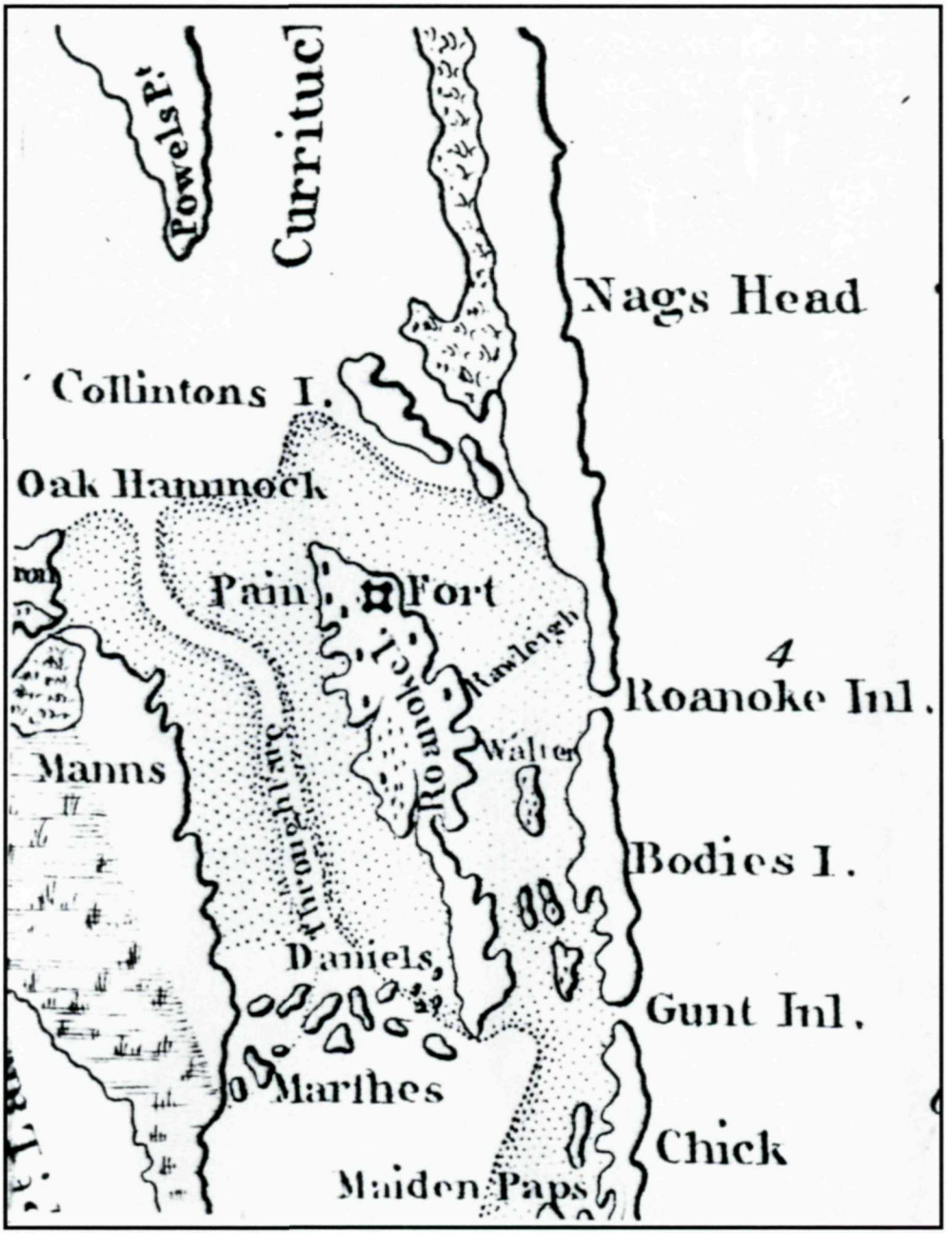

FIGURE 222: An Enlarged Section of Collet's Map of North Carolina. 1770.

Only seven years (1761) before, the Rev. Alexander Stewart, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had found that remnants of the Roanoke Indians had joined with the remnants of the Hatteras at Mattamuskeet, where he baptized seven Indians. Two years later he baptized twenty one more. Stewart noted *the remains of the Attamuskeet, Roanoke, and Hatteras Indians live mostly along the coast, mixed with white inhabitants, many of these attended places of public worship, while I was there, with decency, seemed desirous of instruction, and offered themselves and their children to me for baptism.*[299]

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[298] Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* map no. 362, *Collet 1768 MS,* 300-301. Reproduced in Grassl's *Search for the First English Settlement*, 59, ill. 27.

[299] William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), vol. 653; vol.6, 995-996.

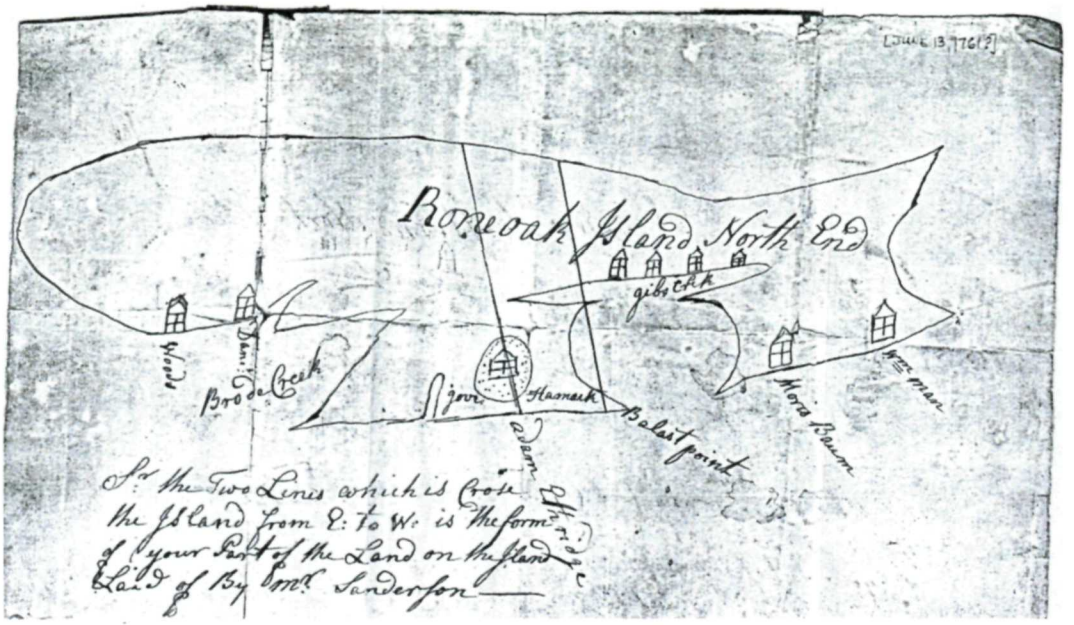


FIGURE 223: Plan & Plat of Roanoke Island. 1761 MS.

On June 13, 1761, surveyor John Clayton produced a manuscript map of Roanoke Island showing projecting land points at the very northwest and northeast corners of what he labeled the *North End*. Near the northeast point, he drew a small house symbol and added *Wm Mann* to identify the householder. A little further south and nearer present Shallowbag Bay, Clayton put another house symbol and the name *Morris Baum*. These are the only houses he showed on the north end, although he places several (4) at the present site of Manteo along what he denotes as *Gibs Creek*, along with houses of *Dani'l* and *Woods* at present day Wanchese.[300]

In the years following Clayton's drafting of his Roanoke Island survey and probably near the time Collet's 1768 manuscript map was engraved and printed in 1770, much of the homestead of William Mann and what is now the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was covered with a thick blanket of sand. This sand layer has evolved into a lovely maritime forest of dunes and swales, through which winds the National Park Service's Thomas Harriot Nature Trail. Historical, archaeological and other research methodologies will have to be employed to determine if this blanketing of sand was the result of the hurricanes that struck coastal North Carolina in 1769 and 1775.

But let's return to the site visited on August 18, 1590 by John White and possibly by John Lawson in the first years of the 1700s. Is it still underneath the blanket of sand that started to accumulate in the second half of the 18th century? Has it been lost to coastal erosion and rising sea level? Was it somewhere at a distance from the earthwork fort and outside the present boundaries of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site?

The First Colony Foundation has hopes of answering these and other questions.

Phil Evans
Historian
Former Historian at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
President of First Colony Foundation
Author

Presented at the *Archaeology and History Week Symposium*
Roanoke Island Festival Park, NC, October 2011

Presenter at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012.

[300] MS map in Hayes Collection #324, Southern Historical Collection, UNC Library, Chapel Hill.

The Banker Horse Genetic Research Program

by E. Gus Cothran

Genetic Analysis of the Feral Horse Populations of the Outer Banks

Of all the tools of conquest European man brought to this hemisphere, one of the most significant was the horse. The horse was a vehicle of exploration, a weapon of war and a tool for agriculture. The domestic horse first came to the Americas with Columbus on his second expedition in 1493. By 1500, several horse breeding operations were set up in the West Indies. These island studs became extremely important sources of horses for the Americas.

By the late 1500's, colonization efforts along the eastern coast of North America were underway by both the Spaniards and the English. Some of these efforts involved horses, and over the course of time horses were lost or escaped to establish feral populations. There have been feral populations ever since. The vast majority of these horses were certainly of Spanish origins. [Let me note here that from now on I will refer to all horses with ancestry from the Iberian Peninsula from the 15th and 16th centuries as Spanish.] However, over the course of the last 400 years, many of the wild populations have been eliminated while many others have been changed by the introduction of other types of horses. Currently there still are a few wild horse herds on the barrier islands. Here I report the results of genetic marker analysis of barrier island horse populations, and what it tells us about the past of these herds (particularly that of the Ocracoke herd), and also something about the possible future of these feral populations.

Six feral barrier island horse populations have been sampled (Figure 225). The Chincoteague, Shackleford Banks and Cumberland Island populations were first tested as part of a collaborative effort with Drs. Robert Warren and Robin Goodlow of the University of Georgia. The Carrot Island population samples were provided by Dr. Beth Stephens of the Atlanta Zoo. The National Park Service provided the Corolla and Ocracoke samples. In most cases the sample sizes are small; however, a significant portion of the herds were sampled. An additional six horses from the Back Bay wildlife refuge were sampled after this analysis was completed. I will not discuss this population here except in regard to relationship among the island herds. Each

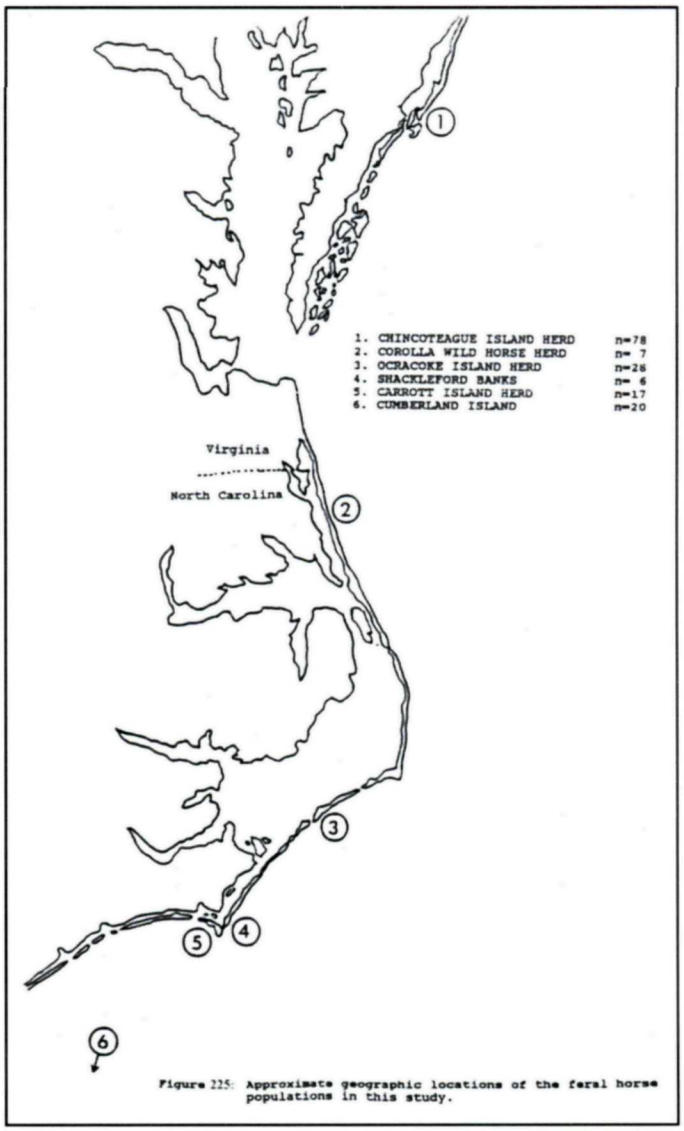


Figure 225: Approximate geographic locations of the feral horse populations in this study.

sample was tested for 17 genetic marker systems (loci). Seven of these systems were red blood cell antigen loci (known as the **A**, **C**, **D**, **K**, **P**, **Q** and **U equine blood groups**) which were examined by standard immunological techniques involving hem-agglutination and complement mediated hemolysis. The remaining systems (albumin, **Al**; **a-1-B** glycoprotein, **A1B**; serum cholinesterase, **Es**; vitamin D binding protein, **Gc**; glucosepho-

sephate isomerase, **GPI**; alpha hemoglobin, **a-Hb**; phosphoglucomutase, **PGM**; phosphogluconate dehydrogenase, **PGD**; protease inhibitor, **Pi**; and transferrin, **Tf**) were typed by standard starch and polyacrylamide gel electrophoresis and isoelectric focusing. The genetic data were analyzed to determine levels and patterns of genetic variation within the populations, and also to attempt to determine the possible ancestry of the herds. The Ocracoke sample was analyzed in two ways. In the first, all samples were analyzed as a single population. Second, those individuals known to be descendants of the introduced Andalusian stallion Cubinita were excluded from the analysis. I will discuss this aspect of the analyses later.

Genetic Variability

The first aspect of the study that I am going to cover is genetic variability. Genetic variation can tell us something about the past, present, and the possible future of a population.

Genetic variability was measured in several ways. The first and simplest way was simply the total number of variants (alleles) present. A more informative measure is the effective number of alleles (**Ea**). **Ea** is a measure of genetic diversity that takes into account both the number of variants and the frequency of the variants. Individual variability was measured by heterozygosity (**H**). A locus is heterozygous when the two copies of the genes at the locus are different. **H** is the average number of systems that are heterozygous. **H** was calculated in two ways. Observed heterozygosity (**Ho**) was calculated by counting the number of heterozygous loci per individual horse. **Ho** was only calculated for biochemical systems due to the possibility of recessive genes at the blood group loci. Expected heterozygosity (**He**) is an estimate of heterozygosity based upon gene frequencies and the laws of random mating.

Genetic variation in a population can be influenced by deterministic forces such as selection or non-deterministic forces such as sampling error called genetic drift. For horses going from domestication to life in the wild on the barrier islands, selection could have been extreme. Not only did these animals now have to fend for themselves, but they were exposed to a variety of conditions that were foreign to the species. Selection surely changed the genetic makeup of the feral island populations relative to their ancestors, but whether levels of variation were changed or not is uncertain.

Genetic drift is a random change in gene frequency due to sampling errors in the union of gametes that combine to produce the next generation. Drift can have major effects in small populations. Think of tossing a coin. If you only flip it a few times it is not unlikely that you could get all heads, whereas with many tosses the ratio of heads to tails is 50:50. Genetic drift is a primary cause of reduced genetic variation in small, isolated populations.

Another process that can reduce genetic variation in small populations is inbreeding. In genetic terms inbreeding is mating of individuals more closely related to each other than they are, on average, to random individuals within the population. Inbreeding increases homozygosity because the offspring of an inbred mating has a greater chance of receiving two copies of a gene that are identical by descent. Inbreeding also can reduce fertility and viability primarily due to the increased likelihood of deleterious recessive genes being homozygous due to shared ancestry. This is called inbreeding depression. Both inbreeding and genetic drift are inevitable in small, isolated populations.

I talk about population size, but from a genetic standpoint what counts is what is called effective population size [**Ne**]. This is a complex term, but basically it is the number of individuals that contribute to the next generation. The basic formula is 4 (**Nm** x **Nf**)/(**Nm** + **Nf**) where **Nm** is the number of males and **Nf** is the number of females. These only include reproductive individuals. Usually, **Ne** is less than the census size. For Ocracoke the current census size is 28, but the effective population size is no more than 9. For Corolla it could well be less. We do not have estimates for the other herds, but they are probably small. Thus the prediction is that the island populations, if they have been isolated for a considerable period of time (few or no introductions) should have low genetic variation, based upon comparisons with other horse populations.

In terms of the number of variants (Table 1), domestic horse breeds range from 96 to 48, the lowest we have seen for a domestic breed. The Friesian horse, with 49 variants, clearly is a product of severe inbreeding as the population was reduced to just 3 breeding stallions after the Second World War. The Shagya, with 48, is a Hungarian line of the Arabian horse which also has been highly inbred. The Ocracoke population had only 50 total variants, 47 if the offspring of the introduced Andalusian stallion Cubinita are not counted. The Corolla herd has only 29 alleles [variants], among the lowest number observed in any horse population. In general, all the island populations except Chincoteague have a low number of variants.

TABLE 1. OBSERVED NUMBER OF VARIANTS IN SELECTED HORSE BREEDS AND ISLAND POPULATIONS OF FERAL HORSES

	BLOOD GROUP LOCI	BIOCHEMICAL LOCI	TOTAL
THOROUGHBRED	34	30	64
AMERICAN SADDLEBRED	54	42	96
QUARTER HORSE	56	37	93
CHILIAN CRIOLLO	48	38	86
STANDARDBRED PACER	54	31	85
MORGAN HORSE	48	36	84
ANDALUSIAN	44	31	75
PERUVIAN PASO	43	31	74
STANDARDBRED TROTTER	40	28	68
PERCHERON	37	31	68
ARABIAN	34	29	63
CLYDESDALE	31	24	55
ARABIAN (BLUE STAR)	29	23	52
FRESIAN	29	20	49
SHAGYA ARABIAN	27	21	48
CUMBERLAND ISLAND	27	23	50
SHACKLEFORD BANKS	25	19	44
CHINCOTEAGUE ISLAND	44	30	74
OCRACOKE ISLAND (all)	26	24	50
OCRACOKE- no CUBINITA	26	21	47
COROLLA	18	11	29
CARROTT ISLAND	22	19	41

The number of variants indicates reduced genetic variation. However, this measure is related to population and sample size; and in general the island populations are small. Let's look at some of the other genetic diversity measures (Table 2). For Ocracoke and Corolla, the effective number of alleles and genotypic diversity are well below the average values of domestic breeds. For effective number of alleles, the Corolla number is below the lowest number seen for breeds. The same is true for expected heterozygosity. These measures are related to the actual number of variants present and show similar trends. Observed heterozygosity is independent of sample size and number of alleles. Here Ocracoke actually is above the mean for domestic breeds. Corolla has an observed heterozygosity lower than the breed mean, but not so drastically lower than for the other measures. I won't go into much detail here but in general, for horse populations, **Ho** [observed heterozygosity] is higher than **He** [expected heterozygosity]. This pattern exists both in highly out-bred populations and ones that are much inbred. This may indicate some selection for heterozygosity in horses.

TABLE 2. GENETIC VARIABILITY ESTIMATES FOR ISLAND HORSE POPULATIONS

LOCATION (ISLAND)	NUMBER OF ALLELES	EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF ALLELES	Ho -	He
CUMBERLAND (GA)	50	2.20	.315	.401
SHACKLEFORD BANKS (NC)	44	2.26	.415	.425
CHINCOTEAGUE (VA)	74	2.96	.381	.467
CARROT (NC)	41	1.92	.360	.370
COROLLA (NC)	29	1.62	.371	.251
OCRACOKE (NC) all	50	2.18	.436	.396
OCRACOKE (NC) - cubanita	47	2.04	.400	.364
CHILOTE (CHILE)	69	2.55	.392	.449
DOMESTIC HORSE MEANS	65.5	2.39	.381	.412

Table 3 shows patterns of genetic variation in various groups of domestic horse breeds, classified by number of individuals in the breed, and diversity of origins or length of time the stud book has been closed. The first group is breeds with large population size and relatively out-bred origins. This group would be expected to have high genetic variation and, indeed, that is what is observed. The second group is out-bred also, but with smaller population size. In this case heterozygosity still is high, however the number of variants and genetic diversity are somewhat lower. Next are breeds that are somewhat inbred, but currently have large populations. Here even with large, internationally distributed populations genetic variation is relatively low. The Thoroughbred has among the lowest genic diversity of the domestic breeds. The fourth group combines inbreeding with relatively small population size. Here we observe a greater range of variability measures. In some cases the populations fit the expectations, but in some cases they do not.

For feral populations (Table 4), population size is much less than for all but the smallest domestic breeds. Here there is a very clear trend for genetic variation to be related to population size, although not a perfect correlation.

TABLE 3. GENETIC VARIABILITY ESTIMATES FOR DOMESTIC BREEDS

BREED	NUMBER OF ALLELES	EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF ALLELES	Ho	He
(OUTBRED WITH LARGE POPULATION SIZE)				
CHILEAN CRIOLLO	86	2.96	.374	.457
CAMPOLINO	83	2.81	.410	.457
QUARTER HORSE	93	2.75	.398	.453
MINIATURE HORSE	82	2.58	.411	.477
AMERICAN SADDLEBRED	96	2.51	.404	.433
(OUTBRED WITH SMALL POPULATION SIZE)				
AMERICAN CREAM DRAFT	62	2.40	.465	.463
MOUNTAIN PLEASURE HORSE	89	2.66	.389	.439
MISSOURI FOX TROTTER	69	2.59	.422	.453
(INBRED WITH LARGE POPULATION SIZE)				
ANDALUSIAN	75	2.50	.349	.426
ARABIAN	63	2.15	.308	.370
STANDARBRED TROTTER	68	2.10	.398	.414
THOROUGHBRED	64	2.01	.294	.326
(INBRED WITH SMALL POPULATION SIZE)				
BRETON	54	2.25	.387	.413
PERCHERON	68	2.68	.404	.450
FRIESIAN	49	1.88	.300	.343
SHAGYA ARABIAN	48	2.30	.416	.357
BLUE STAR ARABIAN	52	1.89	.203	.303
DOMESTIC HORSE MEANS	65.5	2.39	.381	.412

TABLE 4. GENETIC VARIABILITY ESTIMATES FOR FERAL HORSE POPULATIONS

LOCATION	NUMBER OF ALLELES	EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF ALLELES	Ho	He	POP. SIZE
ROCK SPRINGS (WY)	61	2.48	.391	.438	L
15 MILE HERD AREA (WY)	59	2.28	.379	.411	L
KIGER RANGE (OR)	77	2.72	.406	.463	L
PRYOR MOUNTAINS (MT)	71	2.52	.419	.459	M
CEDAR CITY AREA (UT)	49	2.63	.389	.424	M
T. ROOSEVELT NP (ND)	62	2.15	.369	.389	M
GRAND JUNCTION (CO)	59	2.32	.300	.389	M
CERBAT MTNS 1970 (AZ)	39	1.92	.357	.335	S
CERBAT MTNS 1990 (AZ)	27	1.41	.267	.128	S
CHLORIDE HERD (UT)	38	1.81	.267	.318	S
SOCORRO AREA (NM)	42	2.03	.342	.352	S

L Population size greater than 150 individuals.
M Population size greater than 60 individuals but less than 150.
S Population size less than 60 individuals.

The Island Populations

Finally, I return to the island populations (Table 2). The **Cumberland Island** population is fairly large (over 200 individuals in recent years). Feral horses have been present since the late 18th century, but there have been periodic introductions of domestic animals. Still genetic variation is low.

Shackleford Banks is a bit more difficult to interpret. The number of alleles is low, but this may be due to very small sample size. Heterozygosity is fairly high. Population size was over 90 horses at the time of sampling. It is likely that the high variability is a result of introductions.

The **Chincoteague** herd is maintained at about 150 animals. There have been a number of introductions into the herd over the years and this is reflected in the genic diversity. Observed heterozygosity was somewhat lower than might have been expected under these circumstances.

The **Carrot Island**, **Corolla** and **Ocracoke** herds all show low genic diversity. All have small population sizes. Heterozygosity also is low except for Ocracoke. Not all of the high heterozygosity of the Ocracoke herd can be explained by the introduction of the Andalusian Stallion.

One other island population I wanted to mention is the Chilote horse from the **Island of Chiloé** off the coast of Chile. The horses came to the island in the early 1800s with the Spanish as they were being driven out of Chile. Population size was probably fairly large at one time, but has been greatly reduced in recent years. This island was quite isolated until recent times; however genetic variation in the Chilote is fairly high. This is probably a result of diversity in the founding population and subdivision of the breed throughout its history.

What about inbreeding in the island herds? In the Corolla and Carrot island populations it is highly likely that there has been extensive inbreeding although it cannot be quantified. This is based upon the very similar marker types of individuals within the herds and low heterozygosity. In the Corolla herd there is a variant in the **Pi** system that we have never seen before, which is present at very high frequency. For the Ocracoke herd a pedigree has been constructed. Unfortunately, the pedigree does not go far enough back to make more than rudimentary calculations of inbreeding. However, reasonably good kinship estimates could be made, which indicate that most all individuals are closely related. This means that future inbreeding levels will likely increase rapidly.

In summary, small population size and isolation clearly are associated with reduced genetic variation in horse populations. In particular, the feral horses of the Cape Hatteras islands have low genetic variation and with their small effective population sizes, inbreeding and continued reduction of genic variability will continue. However, the total genetic diversity among the

populations is high. Minimal exchanges of individuals among these herds could maintain high genic diversity. I will come back to this issue. The main point is that the genetic variation results for the Cape Hatteras herds are consistent with the prediction of isolation, and thus with the possibility that the island herds have been isolated for some period of time.

Genetic Markers

Because most genes are passed from parent to offspring unchanged, genetic markers can be used to tell us something about the ancestry of a population. There are a variety of methods for doing this, and I will utilize three here. All involve comparison of the genetic variants found in one population with those found in another. Changes in the genetic makeup of a population through time, either through loss of variants or the introduction of new markers, adds uncertainty to the analyses, so that care must be taken with interpretation of the results.

The first analysis is the calculation of **genetic similarity**. Genetic similarity is a statistical measure of resemblance based upon allele frequencies. There are a number of different coefficients, and the one used here is Roger's (1972) S. Rather than show all the individual comparisons of island populations to domestic breeds, I present means of similarity of breeds grouped into broad categories (Table 5). Genetic similarity is just that, a measure of resemblance, and it does not actually measure relatedness. However, in most cases, high similarity probably is a result of relationship.

TABLE 5. GENETIC SIMILARTY (ROGERS-S, 1972) OF EAST COAST ISLAND FERAL HORSE POPULATIONS TO MAJOR DOMESTIC HORSE GROUPS.

	THOROUGHBRED DERIVED	ARAB TYPE BREEDS	IBERIAN PENINSULA	SOUTH AMERICAN	SADDLE & HARNESS	DRAFT BREEDS	PONY BREEDS
OCRACOKE(28)*	0.736	0.738	0.720	0.721	0.780	0.725	0.736
OCRACOKE(15)!	0.713	0.704	0.675	0.684	0.747	0.702	0.707
COROLLA	0.650	0.660	0.696	0.702	0.664	0.661	0.671
SHACKLEFORD B.	0.762	0.744	0.753	0.765	0.764	0.753	0.772
BACK BAY	0.677	0.666	0.709	0.704	0.623	0.646	0.678
CARROTT IS.	0.750	0.752	0.745	0.746	0.778	0.725	0.742
CHINCOTEAGUE	0.832	0.811	0.834	0.845	0.851	0.826	0.823
CUMBERLAND IS.	0.817	0.825	0.807	0.804	0.844	0.776	0.779

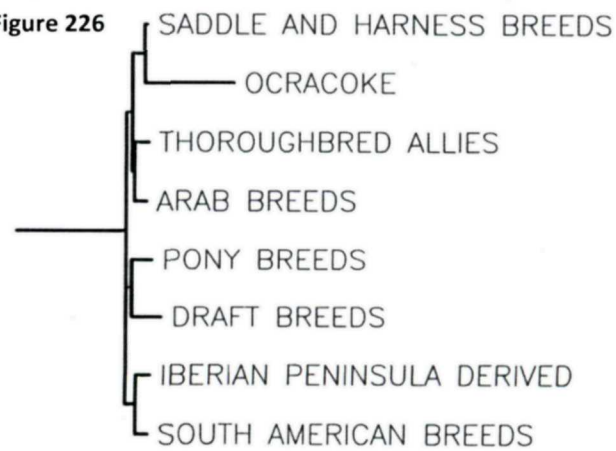
* = All horses from the Ocracoke herd.
! = Horses from Ocracoke herd not descended from CUBINITA.

All the island populations, except Corolla and Shackleford Banks, had the highest overall similarity with the Saddle and Harness horse group. This group includes the Saddlebred, Standardbred and Morgan Horses. Shackleford Banks had the highest similarity with the ponies. This is difficult to interpret, but may be an artifact of sample size. The Corolla herd was the only island population having the highest similarity with any Spanish breed group (the South American breeds), however, the level of similarity is not particularly high. The South American breeds are those of Spanish origins that were developed in the New World. These breeds are perhaps most like what feral populations derived from Spanish horses should be like. In general the island herds do not show relatively high similarity to either group of Spanish horse breeds.

All the information in a genetic similarity matrix can be summarized by doing cluster analysis to produce a tree diagram. The trees shown here were created using the restricted maximum likelihood procedures of the **PHYLIP** package provided by Felsenstein.

For the Ocracoke herd the tree (Figure 226) shows just what we observed by looking at mean similarity. The closest group is the Saddle and Harness horse group. The relationship is essentially identical if the influence of the Andalusian Cubinita is removed.

Figure 226



When we look at the Corolla herd (Figure 227), we see that it really is genetically distant from all the domestic groups. This is a common result when a group with low genetic variation is compared to groups with much higher genetic variation. In this case, the individual similarity measures are probably more informative.

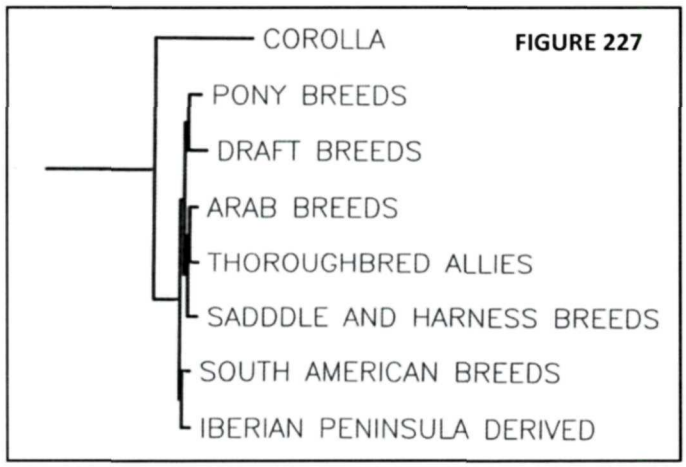


FIGURE 227

Figure 228 shows the relationships among the island populations. The main thing to note is that the herds from the Hatteras chain do form a cluster that is distinct from the other two herds. This cluster is maintained when the domestic groups are added to the analysis, (Figure 229). Basically this shows that the island herds are more like each other than they are like domestic breeds, and that the Saddle and Harness breeds are the most similar domestic group. The data from the Back Bay horses is important here as well. Again, the sample from this area was small so that genetic similarity analysis is inconclusive. However, the variants present in these horses suggest that all horses in the Cape Hatteras claim are related. Particularly the variant **Es-N**, which is quite rare in horses in general, is present in the Back Bay and the Carrot Island horses, the northern most and southern most herds in this group. **Pi-V** also is present in both herds. As well, **Hb-AII**, another uncommon variant, is present in Back Bay and Shackleford Banks. In my view, these results strongly suggest that all the feral horses on Cape Hatteras are descended from a single population, although other introductions may have taken place later.

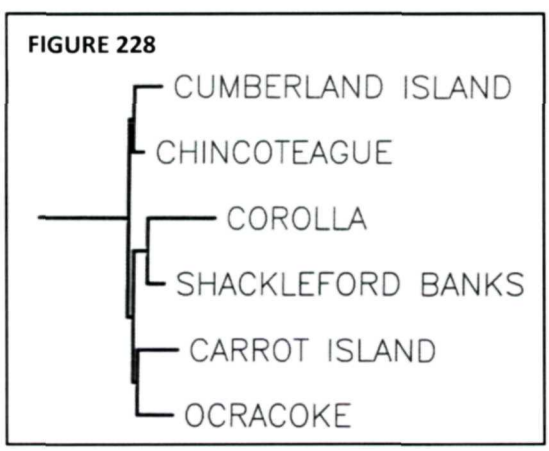


FIGURE 228

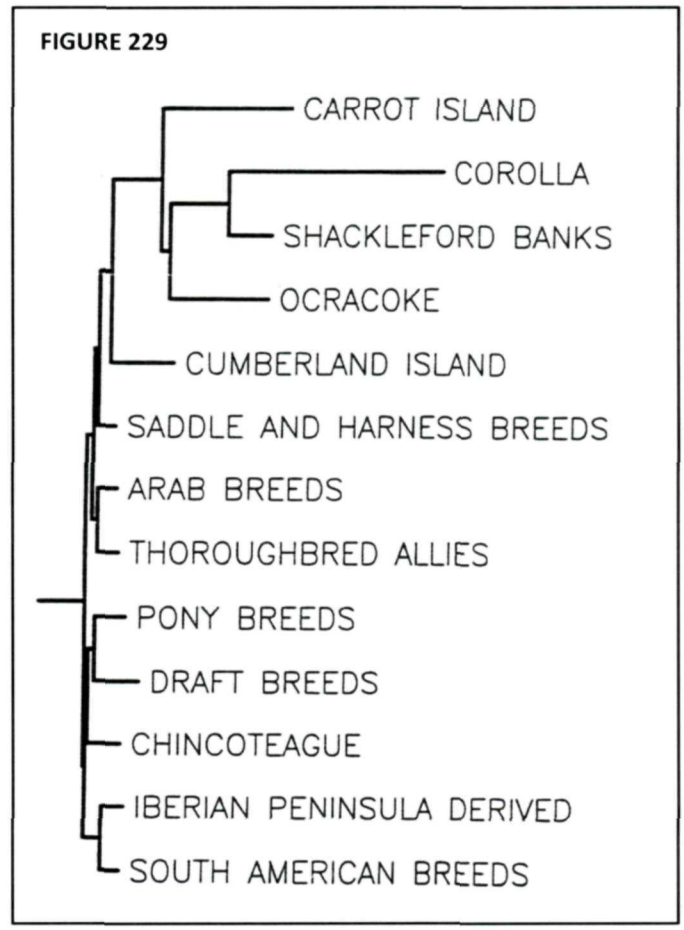


FIGURE 229

The final type of analysis of ancestral relationships is simply to look at the specific genetic markers in a population. Many groups of domestic breeds have markers that are unique to the group, or that clearly originated within the group. This seems to be particularly true for the Spanish horses. Table 6 shows a number of gene markers strongly associated with Iberian Peninsula ancestry. None are present in any of the island populations, with the exception of **Pi-V** which is very common in the Carrot Island herd, and is present at very low frequency on Chincoteague. The lack of diagnostic markers, however, is simply uninformative. The diagnostic markers tend to be rare in the breeds in which they are found (usually a frequency less than 10%). These are exactly the type of markers most likely to be lost in founding events or through genetic drift.

TABLE 6. GENETIC MARKERS ASSOCIATED WITH IBERIAN PENINSULA ANCESTRY.

LOCUS	MARKER NAME
TRANSFERRIN	A
	H1
	J
ESTERASE	R
PROTEASE INHIBITOR	V
	W
D BLOOD GROUP	dek
	dfk
	cfgkm

Spanish Ancestry

Well, where do we stand regarding the ancestry of the island herds and particularly the possibility of Spanish origins? The analyses just presented may seem to say that there is no basis for the claims of Spanish ancestry; but in fact we need to look closer at what these results indicate.

First, what is a Spanish horse? Prior to domestication, horses ranged over all of Europe, North America, most of Asia and Northern Africa. As proposed by Bennett, the native horses of the Iberian Peninsula were primarily derived from a proto-draft subspecies of *Equus cabelus*, but probably had some input from a proto Arab subspecies from northern Africa. Later, throughout the history of domestic horses in this region, there was some input from Asia and Africa. The genetic marker data is consistent with this scenario, although the markers associated with the northern breeds are actually more in evidence than are those of the Arab type breeds.

But how do you determine if a horse is Spanish now? With the exception of the work that I am doing, Spanish horses are determined by the way they look. A general description of the Spanish horse is 14 to 15 ½ hands tall (56 to 62 inches at the shoulder), and a weight of about 1000 pounds. The forehead is wide, the profile straight or slightly convex, and ears well set. The neck is long, supple and crested; the shoulder is long, sloping and full. They have fairly prominent withers, broad chest, short back and sloping quarters. The croup is broad and strong and the tail is carried high. The legs are strong with short cannons and pasterns. The mane and tail are long and silky. They are spirited but tractable, intelligent and learn quickly. They have a natural high action and are very agile.

One characteristic that is frequently cited as evidence of Spanish ancestry is the procession of five rather than six lumbar vertebrae. It may well be true that many or even most Spanish horses have five lumbar vertebrae, however, so do many other breeds. Number of lumbar vertebrae appears to be a common polymorphism in horses and thus is not a reliable indication of ancestry, especially in small populations. The horses of Ocracoke and Shackleford Banks have Spanish type characteristics and horses from these herds have been registered with the Spanish Mustang Registry which has very strict judging criteria. The Corolla and Carrot island populations are of similar appearance. The Cumberland island horses probably are little related to the original feral horses on the island due to domestic introductions. The Chincoteague horses are more pony like and have little Spanish blood except for introductions. The physical characteristics also are genetic and thus inherited. Those populations that show physical Spanish characteristics likely have at least some Spanish ancestry.

The similarity analyses also needs reexamination. Again, overall the island horses tended to be most like the Saddle and Harness horse group. These are breeds such as the Saddlebred and Morgan that originated in the United States within the last 200 years. It is highly unlikely that these breeds contributed directly to the feral herds, or were introduced in modern times. The connection may be the ancestors of these breeds. There is a strong Spanish component in the development of the Saddle and Harness breeds. Indeed, this is likely the source of their particular gaits. It also is probable that the Spanish horses that contributed to these breeds came from the Spanish studs in the Caribbean. This is the same source that Spanish horses that may have founded the feral herds would have come from. Some feral populations in the western U.S. show similar trends. They clearly have Spanish markers, but have the ones that are in New World Spanish breeds in higher frequency than they are in modern Old World horses.

A possible common element to the feral horses and Saddle and Harness breeds is the Narragansett Pacer, a breed now extinct but listed as a breed that contributed

to the Saddlebred, Standardbred, Morgan Horse and other related breeds. Just what the Narragansett Pacer was and what its origins were is a matter of some controversy. Of the competing theories, the one I think is best supported is that the breed was derived from the Spanish Jennet. The widespread use of the Narragansett in the development of American Horse breeds and the use of the Jennet by the early Spanish explorers and settlers may explain the similarity of many of the feral herds to modern breeds that they are unlikely to be directly related to.

In summary, although the gene marker data do not indicate strong similarity to modern Spanish horses, the data do suggest a relationship with the horses that were progenitors of modern American breeds. This, in combination with the physical appearance of the Cape Hatteras horses, lends support to the theory of Spanish origins of these feral horses. We cannot say anything about how pure these horses may be. Changes in the genetic makeup of the island populations combined with changes that have taken place within the gene pools of the domestic breeds make more concrete statements impossible at this time.

One of the most significant results is the fairly close similarity of the Cape Hatteras populations to each other. With the current low levels of genetic variation in these herds and the small effective population sizes, long term maintenance could be difficult. However, the similarity indicates that exchanges of individuals among the herds would be an effective way to increase variation without serious changes to the genetic character of the populations.

The Ocracoke Island Herd

The Ocracoke herd was the most intensively analyzed population of this study. All individuals in the herd at the time of testing were sampled and historical records were used to build a pedigree for the living horses. As covered above (Tables 2 and 5; Figures 226, 228 and 229), the genetic variability of the Ocracoke herd is among the highest observed for the island populations, and genetic analysis does point to Spanish ancestry for the herd.

Probably the most significant event in the recent history of the herd was the introduction of the Andalusian stallion Cubinita in 1981.The purpose of the introduction was to reduce the inbreeding level of the herd which was believed to be responsible for an unacceptable high incidence of neonatal isoerythrolysis (**NI**). However, there are a number of impacts of the introduction that need to be understood.

First, the initial premise that inbreeding was associated with **NI** is false. Inbreeding tends to make all individuals in a population similar, thus decreasing incompatibility of blood types, although other problems could arise. The introduction of Cubinita could well have been a genetic benefit to the population by reducing inbreeding; unfortunately, this stallion was an extremely bad choice relative to **NI**. **NI** results when a mare produces antibodies to a blood group antigen a foal has inherited from the stallion, and the mare's blood system is exposed to it during gestation or birth. It is necessary that the mare be negative for this blood group antigen. If a second foal is conceived with this antigen, when it first nurses and takes in the antibody containing colostrum, the antibodies against this blood group antigen attack and destroy the blood cells of the foal. The antigen most frequently associated with **NI** is known as **Aa**. Based upon analysis of the offspring of Cubinita, he was heterozygous for an **A** system variant that was positive for **Aa** and the negative variant as well, thus he carried both types of genes needed to perpetuate **NI**. It should be pointed out that the Ocracoke herd already was polymorphic for both **Aa** positive and **Aa** negative variants, and that no **A** system genotype introduced into the herd would have made any immediate improvement.

The second main impact of the Cubinita introduction was upon genetic variability of the herd. As can be seen in Table 1, Cubinita added three variants to the herd. These were **Aadg**, **Ddfk** and **Qc**. The overall effect upon genetic variation as measured by this genetic marker analysis was fairly small. Observed and expected heterozygosity measures (Table 2) were 3.6 and 3.2 percent higher, respectively, when Cubinita's descendants were included in the estimates. The difference in **Ea** was more substantial (Table 2). This does not tell the whole story. The real impact will be maintenance of genic variation over time. The introductions of Cubinita's genes into

the Ocracoke herd will slow the loss of genetic variation in the population.

The final aspect of the introduction of Cubinita that I will discuss is how his genome influences the historical aspects of the herd. As an Andalusian stallion, Cubinita clearly added Spanish genes to the herd as can be seen in Table 5. The Ocracoke sample that included Cubinita's descendants had higher similarity to the Spanish breeds than did the sample without his descendants.This is partly a sample size and genic diversity effect because, as can be seen, all similarity values are higher in the total sample. However, the magnitude of the difference is greater for the Spanish breeds. But the modern Andalusian is probably not directly related to the ancestors of the Ocracoke horses, thus the interbreeding changes the genetic makeup of the Ocracoke herd away from what was isolated on the island. This presents something of a counter point to the potential genetic benefits of the introduction.

The current Ocracoke population can be divided into two main groups and two minor ones. The major groups are the descendants of **Jim** and those of **Cubinita**. The two minor ones are the cross of the major ones and two horses that are daughters of **Oakey**. Additional diversity within the groups is represented by the contributions of the mares. At present, all individuals in the herd are clearly related to each other, and even with the outcross to Cubinita, inbreeding to some degree is inevitable. To maintain genetic variation and minimize inbreeding, it is important that matings be chosen to balance the genetic contributions among the lines. This means that the horses **Angel** and **Little Bow** are especially important as they are the only ones not sired by Jim, Cubinita or one of their sons. It may be decided that the influence of Cubinita be decreased or eliminated from the herd. If so, it would still be a good idea to breed the horses **Nevado**, **Feliz** and **Rebecca** as they have genetic contributions from mares not otherwise represented in the herd. The use of **Stormy** would take the place of **Rebecca,** as Stormy is Rebecca's dam. In general, matings involving offspring of mares other than **Old Paint** and her descendants should be favored. At the time of this analysis, three horses (**Jim**, **Cubinita** and **Old Paint**) contributed 73.5% of the total gene pool of the Ocracoke herd. The genic input from other horses not known to be directly related to these three must be increased to insure continued genetic diversity within the herd, unless the option of introducing horses from other parts of Cape Hatteras is employed.

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Roanoke Island, NC, May 1993.

FIGURE 230: Horses in the herd at Ocracoke.

The New Deal Comes to the Outer Banks: Social, Economic and Environmental Transformations

by Jim Senter

Driving Highway 158 between the Wright Memorial Bridge and Whalebone Junction, one could be forgiven for thinking that Dare County has always been closely tied to the mainland through its automobile-based tourist economy. It is all-encompassing. The line of surf shops and souvenir stands, restaurants and rental properties spans the 16 miles nearly unbroken. Few remain alive who remember things differently, but as recently as 1930, things were quite different.

My introduction to this lost world came in the mid-1990s when Steve Harrison, Cultural Resources Manager for the National Park Service at the time, suggested I look into what he called, *those CCC graves in Cudworth Cemetery*. When I went to Wanchese to take a look, I found nineteen uniform marble gravestones, mildew-blackened with neglect. They presented a strong contrast to the varied stones of the family plots in the rest of the graveyard. Engraved in granite were the words: *These are the graves of the homeless men who died in work camps while employed by the Department of the Interior, National Park Service on beach erosion control work in the counties of Dare, Hyde and Currituck. 1936-1941.*[301]

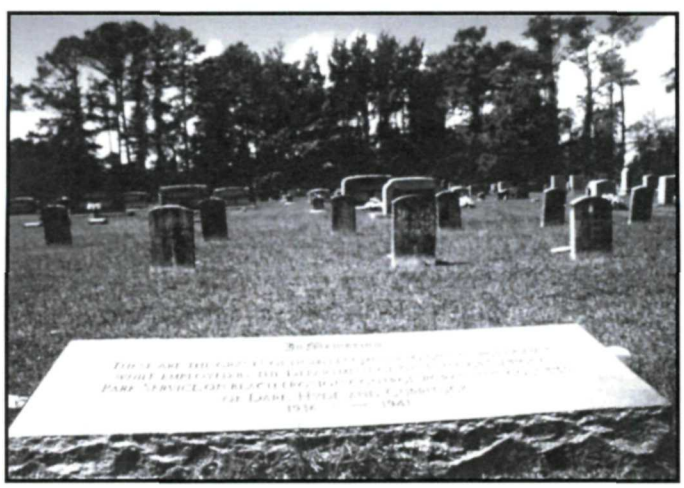


FIGURE 231: Cudworth Cemetery.

[301] Cudworth Cemetery grave stone. Photo by Jim Senter.

The graves in Wanchese pose a quiet challenge. What were these men doing here? What was this erosion control work? For whom were they working? The recollections of those few still living who had taken part in those events were clouded with the years. When I got started on this, the Park Service had lost its institutional memory, as staff retired and records lay forgotten in dusty boxes.

It took some digging, but what I found was a complex story of numerous state and federal agencies, of local government and civic groups spread all across the coast and spanning the better part of a decade. It is a story of the transformation of the Outer Banks from an isolated area of small villages subsisting on what could be hauled from the sea, to the booming region fully integrated with mainland society which we see today. The social and economic transformations of the 1930s were predicated on a transformation of the landscape. The roads that brought tourists to the Outer Banks in large numbers to see *The Lost Colony* in that first season were made possible by the erosion control project mentioned in the Cudworth Cemetery.

FIGURE 232: Nags Head ferry, circa 1890.

Isolation attracted the first permanent European settlers to the islands. Indentured servants fled to the Banks to get free of their Jamestown masters in the seventeenth century. A distinctive dialect, the Outer Banks brogue,

developed in that isolation and persisted well into the twentieth century. Small fishing villages grew up, clusters of cottages on the most heavily wooded sound-side sections. Often they were built on top of the remains of First Nation's settlements that were there for the same reasons—protection from storms and easy access to aquatic resources.

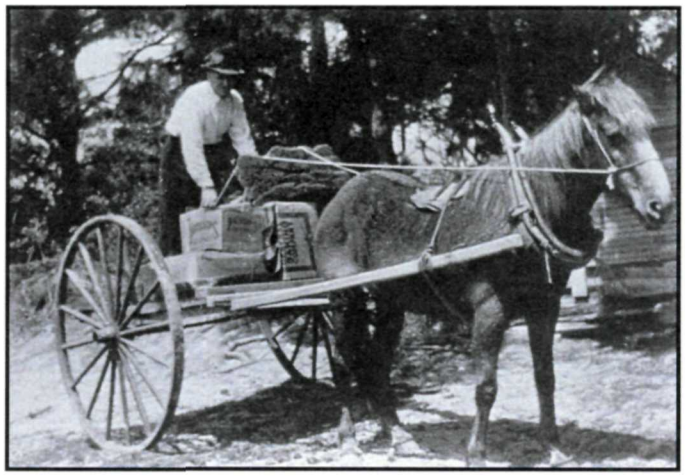


FIGURE 233: Horse Cart on Hatteras Island, 1932.

FIGURE 234: Hatteras Village, circa 1890, from the roof of the Weather Bureau Station.

The only way to Nags Head was by water: down the Dismal Swamp canal by steamer, or by rail into Elizabeth City, then boarding one of the local steamships for the trip to the dock on the sound side of Currituck Bank. Horses and ox carts were used to haul people and goods over land. As well as seafood, and the waterfowl that migrated through the area in huge numbers in the fall, food was grown in small kitchen gardens. The yards were fenced to keep the livestock out, not in.

All this began to change in the 1920s. Ever since the Civil War, sportsmen from the north had bought up large tracts of mostly sound-side land. They started members-only hunt clubs, such as the Swan Island Club, and the Whalehead Club, where they could come and take

FIGURE 235: Saltwater Farmers, 1932.

advantage of the unexcelled hunting opportunities afforded by the yearly waterfowl migration. In the 1920s, one such group from New Jersey began looking at the Outer Banks with the eyes of real estate developers. A nationwide move to the oceanfront was under way, and in the overheated economy of the Roaring Twenties, speculative fever abounded. While North Carolina did not escape entirely, it did avoid the excesses that led to a crash of the real estate market in Florida in 1927.

In conversation with Washington Baum, the chair of the Dare County Commissioners at the time, this group of sportsmen lavished praise on the area's beaches and hunting and fishing opportunities. They pointed out that development was held back, however, because of the difficulty in getting to the area.

Mr. Baum got the message and started petitioning the state highway department for roads and bridges. At the time, the Outer Banks were ignored by policy-makers in Raleigh and neglected as a useless backwater. Baum was told that fifty years would pass before the state got around to building a highway to Manteo. Not to be denied, Baum took the initiative, floated a county bond and spent $140,000 on a bridge across Roanoke Sound. When it was completed in 1928, it was a bridge to nowhere. In the east, it ended in a maze of sand tracks

leading through the dunes south to Oregon Inlet and north towards Nags Head. This situation did not last long.

FIGURE 236: Advertisement, Wright Memorial Bridge Company.

In 1930, a group of Elizabeth City businessmen formed the Wright Memorial Bridge Company, bought up some seven miles of beach property in Kitty Hawk, built a bridge from the mainland across Currituck Sound to provide access to that property, and began advertising lots for sale. The next year, the state Highway Department built a paved road, called the Virginia Dare Trail, between the two bridges, and Manteo was connected to the mainland by a land route for the first time.

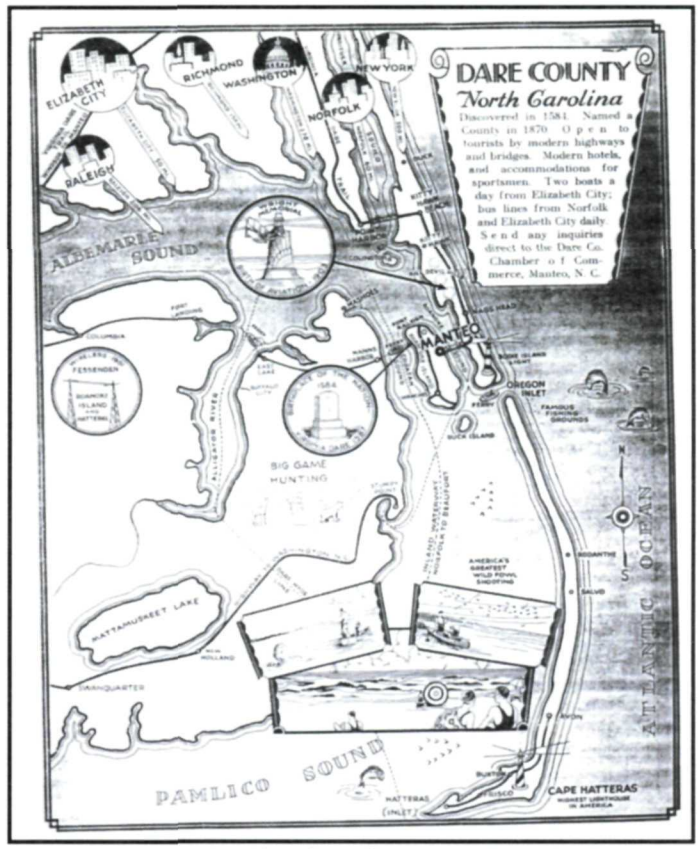


FIGURE 237: Dare Co. Chamber of Commerce Tourist Map.

Construction quickly began along the beach highway. Hotels, restaurants, dance halls and gas stations went up and businessmen began to advertise in mainland newspapers to attract business.

FIGURE 238: The Wild Duck Inn, combination restaurant and service station, opened soon after the Wright Memorial Bridge. It was the first building on the Dare County side of the bridge.

Commercial bus service started trips between Norfolk, Elizabeth City and Manteo on a daily basis. As soon as ferry service across Oregon Inlet started, a bus route between Manteo and Hatteras village was established as well.

FIGURE 239: The Barcelona ferry, 1933.

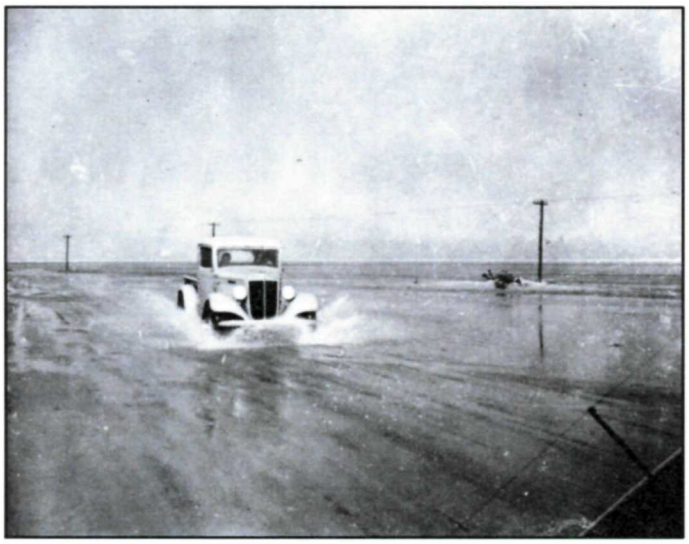


FIGURE 240: Beach Driving.

FIGURE 241: Manteo-Hatteras Bus, leaving Buxton.

FIGURE 242: Hatteras Village, 1935.

The year after the Virginia Dare Trail was built was a tumultuous year for the Banks and the nation as a whole. The Great Depression ground its way through the nation's economy. Unemployment approached twenty-five percent. Thousands of banks went bankrupt, closed their doors, and took the savings of millions with them. Unemployed veterans packed up their families and streamed towards Washington to demand early payment of the bonus they were promised at the end of the First World War. When they got there, the Bonus Marchers, 45,000 strong, pitched a tent city on the banks of the Anacostia River and settled in for the duration. Other, less organized unemployed people simply abandoned families, left home, and jumped on the nearest freight train in a desperate search for work. The lyrics of Yip Harburg's new song were on everyone's mind: *Once I built a railroad, made it run, made it race against time. Once I built a railroad. Now it's done. Brother, can you spare a dime?*[302]

On the campaign trail, Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt fought for the soul of the nation. Hoover thought the only thing to be done about the Depression was to tough it out and let the economy heal itself. Roosevelt, on the other hand, thought the government had a responsibility to alleviate suffering and put people back to work. The choice before the voters was a stark one.

The Outer Banks suffered through storms of a different kind. In March 1932, they were slammed by a nor'easter

[302] Yip Harburg, lyrics, Jay Gorney, music, *Brother Can You Spare A Dime?* (1931).

with five days of near hurricane-force winds. Fishing boats and ferries were swamped and blown out to sea. Nets were lost. Houses and hotels were blown off their foundations. The Virginia Dare Trail was broken up and buried in sand. A New Inlet separating Pea and Hatteras Islands opened, putting another water barrier between Hatteras and the mainland. The dedication of the newly completed Wright Memorial Bridge was nearly cancelled because of the foul weather. Telegraph lines were down, and four days passed before anyone knew what had happened on Hatteras Island. At that time, Warren Midgett of Rodanthe sailed into Manteo with news. Seventeen houses in the village had been destroyed as families fled through the storm from one house to another seeking shelter. Amazingly, no one was killed.

Roosevelt won the election in November by a landslide. At the same time, North Carolina elected J. C. B. Ehringhaus, an Elizabeth City lawyer, as governor. One of the first things Governor Ehringhaus did was appoint a Manteo businessman and state representative, R. Bruce Etheridge, as director of the Department of Conservation and Development. Coming out of the 1932 election, there was a man in the White House committed to doing what was necessary to put the nation back to work. The Governor's Mansion in Raleigh was occupied by someone committed to the development of the coastal region, and the department overseeing the state's conservation and economic development programs was directed by a Dare County native. The stage was set for major changes on the Outer Banks.

Another nor'easter tore into the Outer Banks the week after the election. Again, hotels and houses were blown apart. Again, the Virginia Dare Trail was buried. Again, telegraph and telephone wires had to be restrung. Again, nets and boats were lost.

President Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933. As part of the legislative whirlwind of his first hundred days in office, Roosevelt established two agencies that would later be active on the Outer Banks. The first, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) employed young men, ages seventeen to twenty-five, in conservation projects of all types. The second, the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA) provided financial support to local relief agencies.

Up until the 1930s, responsibility for support of the indigent fell on local charities and local government. As the number of unemployed escalated, and the economy ground to a halt, the need for assistance increased at the same time that local charities were overwhelmed and county governments found their revenues falling. The ERA gave grants to state governments to support these already existing aid programs. An attempt was made to exchange aid for work, as no one, FDR included, liked the idea of government handouts; but because it was tied to the pre-existing welfare system, the ERA projects were limited to work that could be found at the county level. People were put to work cleaning parks or repairing roads or some other similar job in the communities in which they lived.

One group of indigent people that could be moved to where work needed to be done were those who had already abandoned their homes in search of work—the transients. Hence, the ERA-Transient Bureau was the first New Deal Agency to go to work on the Outer Banks.

Hatteras Island residents watched the building boom going on along the Virginia Dare Trail and started to demand a road of their own. They circulated petitions and wrote letters to Senator Josiah W. Bailey, arguing that the federal government had an interest in a Hatteras Island road because such a road would make the Coast Guard stations on the island more efficient by speeding the movement of rescue equipment to wreck sites. Bailey then requested information about the practicality of the proposal from the Department of Conservation and Development. Charles Ray, the Department's Chief Engineer, wrote in response, *Along the beach between Oregon Inlet and Cape Hatteras, during the storm of March 6, 1932, the beach was breached by the sea* [over-washed] *at some 16 different points. In addition to New Inlet proper, it is still difficult under conditions of high tide and a heavy sea to negotiate the beach between the two points mentioned. These especially low areas combined with a generally low elevation throughout the region likely will make maintenance of a highway more difficult and ultimately, more expensive than its actual construction. Accordingly, we are faced with the*

problem of building up the beach.[303]

In July1933, The Elizabeth City *Independent* published an article entitled *A Coastal Park for North Carolina and the Nation* by Frank Stick. Stick was a native of New Jersey, an artist, hunting guide and real estate developer. In this article he praised the region's mild climate and great recreational opportunities. In order to preserve public access to the oceanfront in the face of growing pressure from private development interests, Stick suggested establishing the first national coastal park on the Outer Banks and building a road across Hatteras Island to access it.

Before Stick's proposal could be considered, the weather struck two powerful blows to the Banks in quick succession. On August 22, and then again on September 16, full blown hurricanes swept the coast. The September storm killed twenty-one people and resulted in three million dollars in damages in North Carolina alone (in 1933 dollars). Jay Barnes, an historian of Atlantic hurricanes, called the September hurricane *one of the most tragic storms in North Carolina history*.[304] Once again, Outer Banks communities were devastated.

FIGURE 243: Hurricane damage at Nags Head, 1933.

The changing nature of Outer Banks communities was reflected in newspaper accounts of these storms. People who had spent their entire lives on the islands and those who recently moved to the Banks to take part in the nascent tourist industry responded quite differently to the tumultuous weather.

Mrs. R. L. Williams, wife of the number-two man at the Wash Woods Coast Guard station north of Duck, spent two hours in the water during the August hurricane. The entire settlement, built up around the Coast Guard station so wives and children could be with their husbands and fathers had been washed away. The surf was so high, the doors to the Coast Guard boathouse could not be opened, so the wall to the building had to be cut away to get the surf boat out to conduct the rescue. Mrs. Williams described her hours in the water with her child on her shoulder simply as *harrowing*. [The women of the Coast Guard were in every way the equal of the men, though their heroism was rarely recorded.]

Last Week's Storm At Nags Head Not Unusual Says Capt. W. J. Tate

Veteran of Coast Country Recalls Other Storms on the Beach; One Reached Velocity of 84 Miles an Hour and Then Blew Instruments Off Weather Station

BUS DRIVER HAS DIFFICULT TRIP

Normal Schedule to Norfolk Restored; Damage South of Here Slight

LINEMEN BUSY; HAVE A BIG JOB

Cork-Jacketed Mothers Saved Their 5 Babies

Vast Waste of Waters Swirling Below Hill Was Terrifying Sight

J. Wesley Foreman Tells of Experiences in Trying to Locate Family When the Storm Struck Coast

STORE DAMAGED TO EXTENT $2,000

DANGER FROM LIVE WIRES STILL EXISTS IN CITY, REPORTED

FIGURE 244: Newspaper clippings about the storm.

J. Wesley Foreman of Elizabeth City described the same storm in much more exciting language. He tried to get to Nags Head to see after his family, who were there on vacation. He did not make it beyond the east end of the Wright Memorial Bridge. *I never saw such a sight in my life, at once so grand and terrifying as that which greeted my eyes as I topped the hill between the Wright Memorial Bridge and Kitty Hawk Pavilion.... Below I saw a vast waste of swirling, foaming waters extending far beyond the highway in the midst of which the little real estate office was bobbing about like a cork.*[305]

Frank Stick called the storms *unprecedented*. In contrast, Captain W. J. Tate, keeper of the Coinjock

[303] Charles Ray, correspondence (Raleigh: NC Archives & History, 1932).

[304] Notes in the author's possession.

[305] "Vast Waste of Waters Swirling Below Hill Was Terrifying Sight," in *The Independent*, Elizabeth City, NC, September, 1933.

lighthouse, told a reporter, *Man and boy I have spent a life time in this coast country, and what happened last week I have seen happen before and may live to see happen again. If I don't, younger men will.*[306]


Globe Fish Co.

A Dare County Enterprise
OPERATED BY
Dare County Men

We Offer The Greatest Marketing Service For Dare Fishermen to be Found In The East

We are in constant touch with all the outlets for both fresh and salt water fish east of the Mississippi River and are therefore able to command top market prices at all times.

Our company has ample storage facilities in Dare County making it both convenient and to your advantage for you to market your fish with us.

Globe Fish Co.
MAIN OFFICE, PACKING PLANT AND COLD STORAGE
AT ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.

FIGURE 245: Advertisement, Globe Fish Company.

In October, a different kind of disaster struck with the death of Ezekiel Rollins Daniels from appendicitis. Daniels, the owner of the Globe Fish Company, was a Wanchese native. He started life as a fisherman, then began buying up his neighbors' catches and sailing them to Elizabeth City for re-sale in the mainland market. By the 1920s, the Globe Fish Company was the wholesale fish dealer on the Outer Banks, with warehouses in Buxton, Rodanthe, Wanchese and Elizabeth City.

Daniels was also the source of informal credit for the people of the Banks. With fluctuating income and little of financial value for collateral, residents of the Outer Banks found it very difficult to obtain loans from banks. When someone needed money to repair a boat, or for a new set of nets, or medicine for a sick child, they went to Uncle Zeke, as Daniels was widely known. At his death, Daniels' estate was owed the immense sum of $75,000. Subsequently, the Globe Fish Company was wrapped up in probate court. In the wake of the 1933 hurricanes, when the people of the Outer Banks needed it most, their source of credit was gone. This put greater emphasis on the need for a different economy, a different way of life, for the people of the Outer Banks.

In late September, the Department of Conservation and Development conducted a two-day tour of Hatteras Island, during which the department's chief engineer, the State Forester and State Geologist, along with Frank Stick and D. Bradford Fearing, chairman of the Dare County Commissioners, talked with residents and surveyed storm damage. The Department of Conservation subsequently announced the initiation of *The Coastal Development Project* which consisted of dune building and reforestation work, as well as the coastal park and Hatteras Island highway proposed by Mr. Stick two months earlier. This proposal was, in effect, the outline for what became the future for the Outer Banks.

The Coastal Development Project was brilliant in a number of ways. By building fences where dunes were desired, the wind was left to move the sand. And by using native grasses and shrubs to hold it in place once a dune was built, a landscape was created that looked quite natural. Crossing the Bonner Bridge onto Pea Island, and observing the vista across that dense marsh along the 15-foot sand wall with sea oats waving from the top, observers could be forgiven for not realizing they are looking at a man-made environment. As recently as 1909, Pea Island was a bare sand flat, as shown in photographs of hunting clubs in the area. By preventing salt spray and over wash, the sand wall first built in the 1930s allowed this dense growth to develop. The same is true for the pine woods south of Salvo, though there, the trees were actually planted.

Upon their return to Raleigh, Department of Conservation and Development officials formally submitted the Coastal Development Project to the federal Public Works Administration for funding. Governor Ehringhaus went on the stump in support of the project, holding

[306] Ibid., "Last Week's Storm at Nags Head Not Unusual says Capt. W.J. Tate."

public meetings in coastal counties to explain how development of the Outer Banks could help them as well. Visitors to Dare County had to get there through mainland communities, after all. This official support for coastal development was reflected in the newspapers. The Raleigh *News and Observer* gave serious coverage to coastal developments and events for the first time. The isolation of the Outer Banks was finally broken.

In the spring of 1934, the Emergency Relief Administration's Transient Bureau set up a work camp in Parkerson's Hotel and Seahawk Casino, just south of Jockey's Ridge, to house two hundred men. Frank Stick directed the camp, named Camp Kitty Hawk, and quickly set the men to work. They modified the hotel into a barracks and started construction on a representative 16th-century settlement to be called the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. The chapel, blockhouse and palisades, built under the supervision of Albert Q. Bell, quickly became a popular tourist attraction. It was so popular, in fact, that the North Carolina ERA used a picture of the chapel as the frontispiece of its final report.

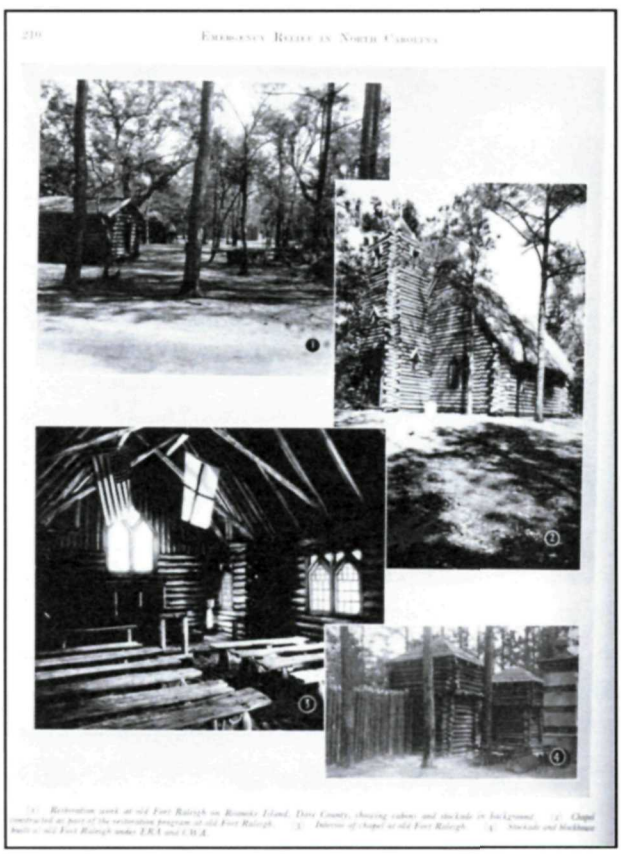


FIGURE 246: The Cittie of Ralegh State Park: upper left—log cabin; upper right—chapel; lower left—inside chapel; lower right—entrance gates.

250A

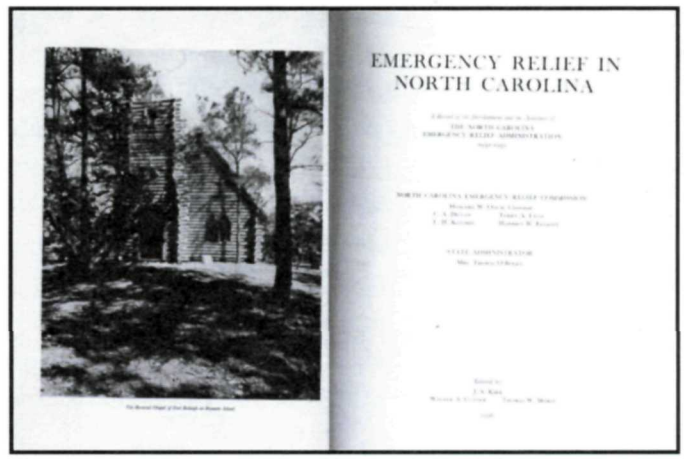


FIGURE 247: The chapel as frontispiece in the *North Carolina ERA report.*

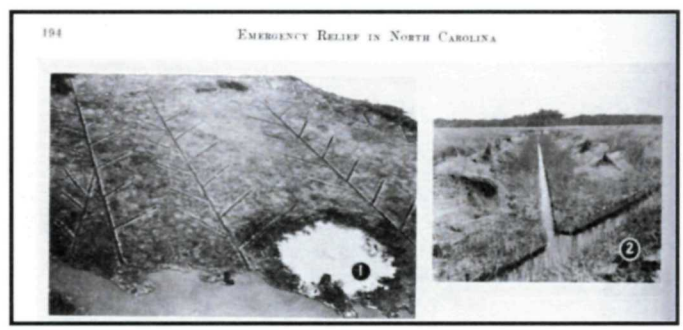


FIGURE 248: ERA Swamp Drainage near Roanoke Island.

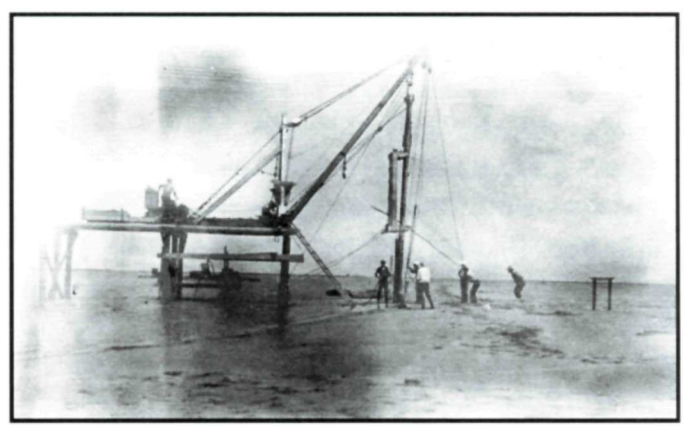


FIGURE 249: Bridging the New Inlet, 1934.

250B

FIGURE 251: Currituck Beach Project.

The transients of Camp Kitty Hawk also built sand fences to catch blown sand and build dunes in low spots along the beach. They drained swamps near Roanoke Island to control mosquitoes; rebuilt the Oregon Inlet ferry landings; bridged New Inlet; and planted seed oysters in Albemarle and Currituck Sounds.

One of the most ambitious projects undertaken by the Transient Bureau, the Currituck Beach Project, took place on Currituck Bank in the vicinity of Duck. The storms of the previous two years had pushed salt water across the bank, adversely impacting the eel grass beds that grew in the nearly fresh water of the sound. Fish that bred among the eelgrass and the waterfowl that fed on it during migration were also adversely impacted. To deal with this situation, the Transient Bureau crews built a mile-and-a-half long bulwark across the low section. This was the harbinger of even larger environmental engineering projects to come. In all of this, the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Department of Health identified areas of work needed and supervised its execution.

While this work was underway, conflicts arose about the location of Camp Kitty Hawk. Long time summer residents objected to the presence of two hundred hobos in the middle of their community. Public drunkenness was alleged and harassment of women took place. Pressure mounted within the county government to do something about it. Termination of the project and removal of the camp was contemplated. W. O. Saunders, editor of the Elizabeth City *Independent* and a long time Dare County booster, defended the ERA workers in the pages of his paper. He suggested that Sheriff D. Victor Meekins go after the people selling moonshine to the ERA workers and wrote, *Unlike local people, natives do not know them. Visitors are afraid of them. When one makes a break, all are judged by him. He is conspicuous because he is one of the transients.*[307] The people of the Outer Banks had not come to terms with large numbers of strangers in their midst.

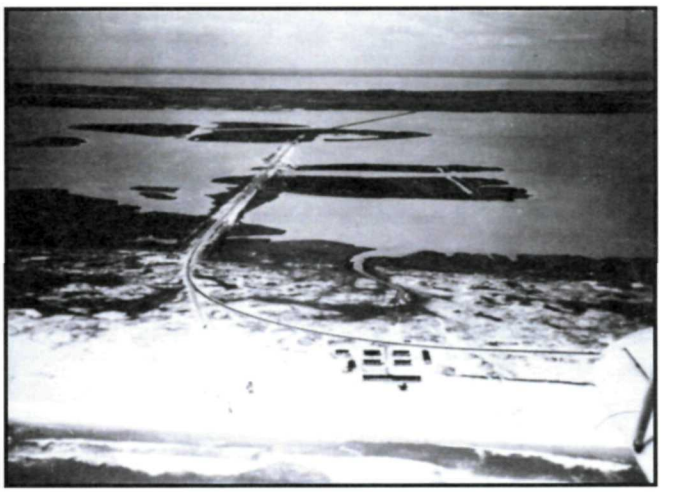


FIGURE 252: ERA Transient Bureau's Camp Weaver, on the beach at Whalebone Junction. Note the Virginia Dare Trail as it turns west towards the bridge.

The location of the camp did not remain an issue for long. In July 1934, another one hundred transients transferred to Dare County. Since Parkerson's Hotel was not large enough to accommodate the additional personnel, a new camp was built on the beach front at Whalebone Junction, well away from any other buildings. Camp Weaver, named after the head of the NC Transient Bureau, was under the leadership of Rupert West, who transferred to Dare County along with the new transient workers. As a retired Army colonel, the leadership thought West could maintain discipline in his sometimes unruly workforce. Frank Stick became manager of the work detail.

As the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the first English settlers on Roanoke Island approached, D. Bradford Fearing and his Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo made plans to mark the event. Under the supervision of Albert Q. Bell, an ERA crew built a temporary theater on the shore at the Fort Raleigh site. Power lines were extended to the shore from the newly constructed Cittie of Ralegh State

[307] W.O. Saunders, editorial, *The Daily Independent.*

park in order to provide electricity for the stage lights. Other ERA crews rushed to finish the chapel in time for its August 18th consecration. Roanoke Island residents sewed costumes and painted sets, and rehearsed their lines. The Coast Guard sent the 75-foot cutter *Pamlico* to patrol the mass of pleasure craft expected to crowd the sounds for the event. The Highway Patrol sent fifteen motorcycle officers to help with traffic control. Three thousand people watched the motorboat races from the Manteo waterfront on the last day of the festival. From conception to production, *Oh Brave New World: The Pageant of Roanoke*—written, produced and directed by Harrington-Russell Festivals Company of Asheville—took three weeks, a gage of the commitment of all involved. The Pageant was also an example of the cooperation that was putting Dare County and the lost colony on the national map. About 5,000 people attended the festival.

Two weeks after the visitors left, a tropical storm passed offshore. It knocked out telephone lines between Manteo and Elizabeth City and forced the evacuation of Camp Weaver, exposed as it was at the top of the beach. There was little damage done, but four men quit work and left the camp, saying that they could not stand the weather.

On October 11, 1934, Civilian Conservation Corps Company 436 arrived on Roanoke Island and pitched tents along the road north of town. An open air kitchen was the center of the camp. In the camp newspaper, corpsmen complained about eating the dust kicked up by the curious townspeople who cruised up and down before the camp checking them out. Before long, Camp Virginia Dare was up and running and the CCC crews pitched in on the erosion control work in the Nags Head area. Another group of CCC boys worked with the Biological Survey—now known as the Fish and Wildlife Service—building the Pea Island Wildlife Refuge south of Oregon Inlet. Getting to Pea Island was time consuming—eight-and-a-half miles through the dunes across Bodie Island, then a wait for the ferry across Oregon Inlet. To cut down on wasted time, the crews set up a barracks and mess hall on Pea Island administered through Camp Virginia Dare. On Pea Island, the CCC dug impoundments for waterfowl, planted dikes with live oak and myrtle, and erected sand fences along the ocean beach.

At Camp Weaver, Retired Colonel Rupert West implemented a zero tolerance policy toward drunkenness. On November 4, four men were discharged for violating it. Two weeks after that, West's concern about alcohol consumption was validated when three workers of the camp got drunk, decided they had had enough, stole a sailboat and headed for Elizabeth City in the face of a threatening gale. Their bodies were found floating in the sound three days later.

The FERA was replaced by the Works Progress Administration [WPA] in the spring of 1935. President Roosevelt did not believe in *the dole* as government handouts were known then. He did believe in government's responsibility to step up and fully utilize the creative capacities of the people when private enterprise proved incapable of doing so. In his message to Congress on January 4, 1935, he outlined his proposal for a new work program. He said, *The lessons of history, confirmed by the evidence immediately before me, show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is inimical to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers.... I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, of market baskets, of a few hours of weekly work cutting grass, raking leaves or picking up the papers in the public parks. We must preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution, but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination.*[308] He went on to propose guidelines for the work program. First, the work should improve the people's living conditions and create new wealth for the country. Wages should be greater than the dole, to encourage people to work, but less than that paid by private enterprises, so workers would be encouraged to transfer to the private sector when such work became available. Projects should be chosen and planned so as to compete as little as possible with private enterprises.

On April 8, 1935, Congress passed the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act which established the Works

[308] Franklin Roosevelt, "Message to Congress," in *The Congressional Record* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 4 January 1935).

Progress Administration to do just that. It took the rest of the summer and most of the fall for Transient Bureau crews, materials and projects to be transferred to the new agency. Re-approval of projects already underway was especially time consuming. North Carolina Congressman Lindsay Warren, a great supporter of the Coastal Development Project, became involved in facilitating the transfer.

The New Deal on the Outer Banks expanded again in August 1935 when an advance detachment of CCC Company 3423 landed in Hatteras, after a rough, four hour crossing from Swan Quarter. This was the first exposure to open water for many of the company, and some became violently seasick. On landing, the men moved to the cape where they started to build Camp Diamond Shoals in the shadow of the Hatteras Light. Men and material dribbled across the sound as boats to carry them became available. In September, the camp was flattened by a thunderstorm in the middle of the night, which, according to the camp newspaper, increased the motivation to complete the permanent barracks.

FIGURE 253: Cabins at Cape Hatteras State Park, constructed by CCC Company 3423.

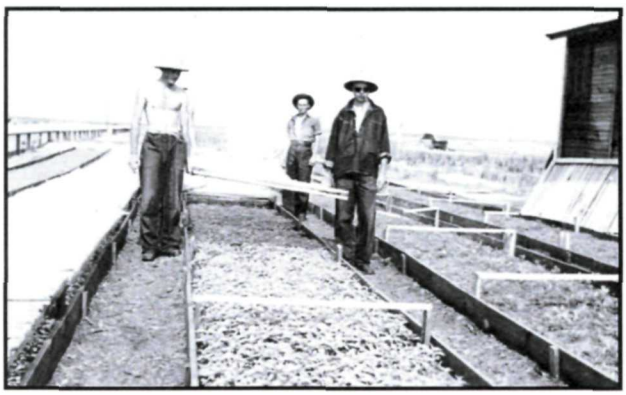


FIGURE 254: Plant nursery at Camp Diamond Shoals, propagating plants for use in the dune stabilization work.

Company 3423 engaged in erosion control work on Hatteras Island, built rental cabins for what was then Cape Hatteras State Park [these cabins still exist and are used to house National Park Service personnel], and established a plant nursery to grow the plants used in the erosion control work. That December, much of the Company was given leave to go home for the holiday. As recounted in the camp newspaper, the long journey started with the crossing to Swan Quarter [*Old Pamlico was in a playful mood*] followed by long bus rides to other parts of the state. Expressing the high morale characteristic of the CCC, one member wrote, *Not forgetting the fact that we are about 100 miles from the nearest railroad, and 45 miles from the nearest highway, we still believe that we have one of the best camps in the district.*

FIGURE 255: The site of Camp Diamond Shoals, 2003. The concrete slab is believed to be the floor of the motor pool. Note also the dense maritime forest that grew up where protection from storms was provided.

We circle back to the graves of the homeless men of Cudworth Cemetery. Their death certificates tell an interesting story in themselves. These men came from all over the United States, from New York City, Philadel-

phia, St. Paul Minnesota, from Lexington and Staunton, Virginia. Reflecting the immigration patterns of the time, they were born in Sweden, Poland, Germany and Russia as well as the US. Unlike today, many of them were killed by infected wounds and tuberculosis, which now are easily treated with antibiotics. One was killed by a drifter for his pay. Another fell from a boat and drowned. Like today, heart disease was the most common killer, accounting for 9 of the 19 men buried in Wanchese.

Rather than the CCC, these men were employed by the Works Progress Administration under the supervision of the National Park Service. At its height, the WPA managed six camps on the Outer Banks and employed 1500 men on the Coastal Development Project. Five of these camps were operational by the summer of 1936.

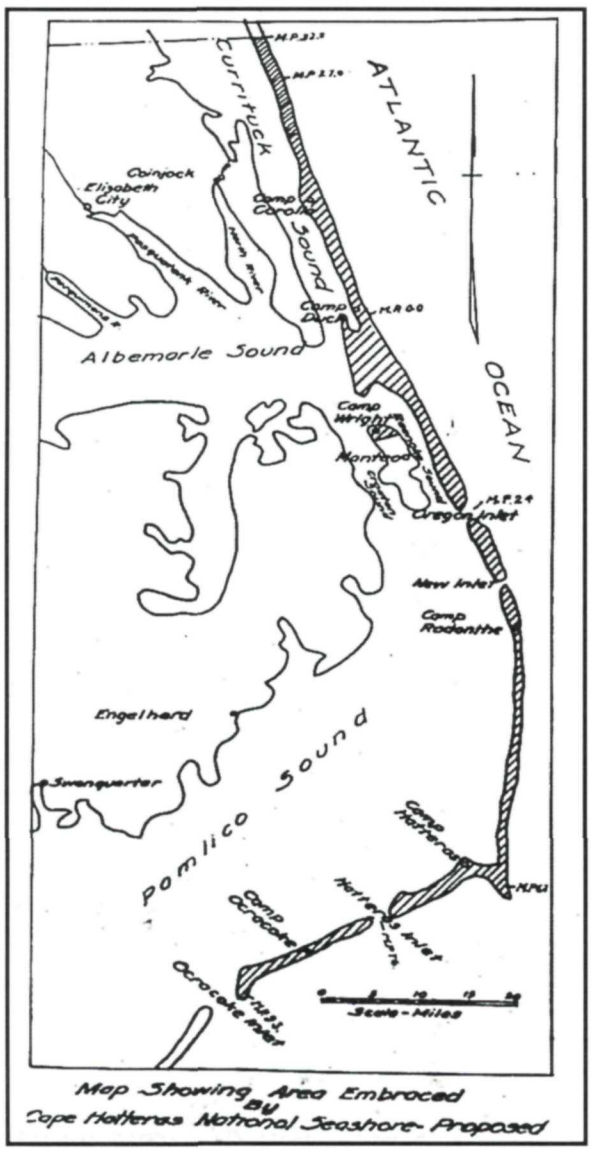


FIGURE 256: Location of Outer Banks WPA camps.

After the WPA was established in the spring of 1935, a hurricane blasted a WPA camp in the Florida Keys and killed 300 men. The Roosevelt administration was accused of ignoring storm warnings and then bungling the evacuation. This made officials leery of establishing other camps on isolated shorelines and delayed the transfer of the Coastal Development Project to the WPA. Representative Warren had to intervene once again to make sure the project retained federal sponsorship.

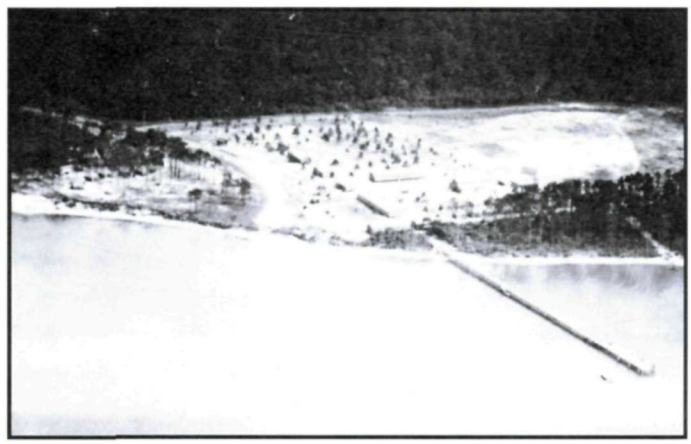


FIGURE 257: The WPA main administration center, Camp Wirth, also known in some records as Camp Wright, on the north end of Roanoke Island.

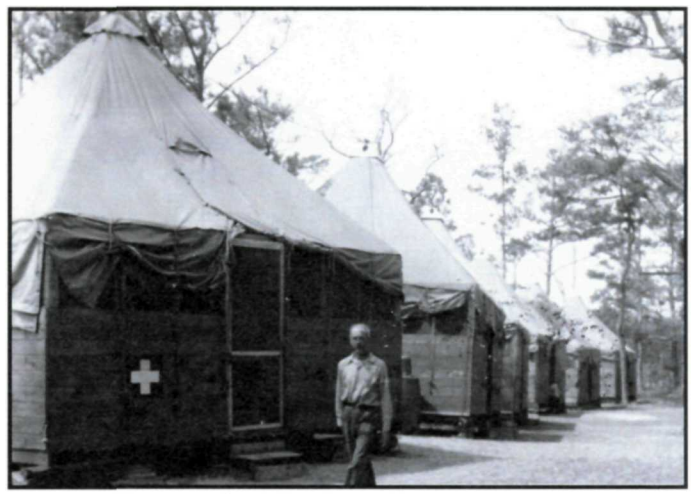


FIGURE 258: Barracks, WPA Camp Hatteras.

FIGURE 259: Administration building and mess hall, WPA Camp Hatteras.

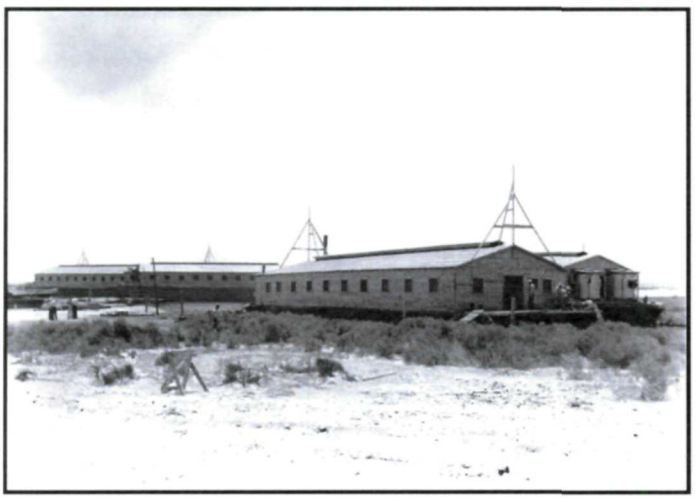


FIGURE 260: Barracks barges, WPA Camp Rodanthe.

FIGURE 261: Transportation of pre-fabricated sand fence sections on the New Inlet, one of the Oregon Inlet ferries.

FIGURE 262: WPA workers erecting a sand fence.

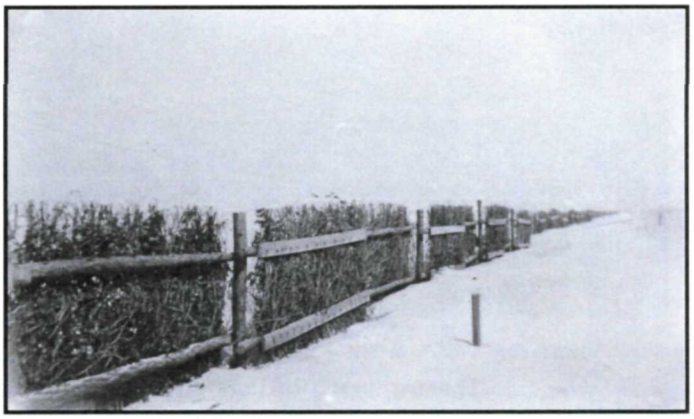


FIGURE 263: Sand fencing.

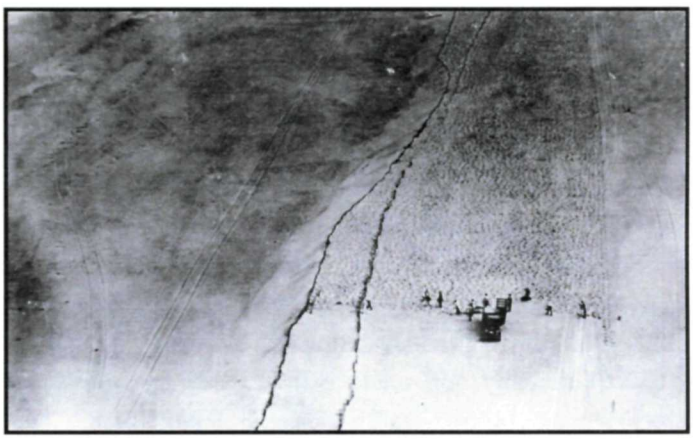


FIGURE 264: Planting a dune to stabilize it. The dark lines running across the photograph are the tops of sand fences, now covered in sand.

The involvement of the National Park Service in the project was another subject of intense negotiation. Dare County officials and officials of the Department of Conservation and Development thought that the NPS's experience with managing large tracts of land, their interest in seeing a national coastal park established, and their willingness to seek funding independent of the state WPA all recommended the Park Service for supervision

of the project. Details about lines of communication and divisions of responsibility and authority between agents on the local, state and federal levels having been worked out by the winter of 1935, the Park Service was busy managing WPA crews on the erosion control project on the Outer Banks.

From January through the spring and early summer of 1937, the CCC and the WPA set up sand fences and strove to hold the dunes in place. Congressman Warren drafted the legislation to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore. As the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth approached, Bradford Fearing's Roanoke Colony Memorial Association contracted Pulitzer Prize winning playwright Paul Green to write *The Lost Colony*. The WPA built an amphitheatre on the site where the temporary theatre had been in 1934, but this time it was to be permanent with a large main-stage and permanent set, two side stages, a choir loft, narrator's booth, full backstage, light towers, light booth and elevated seating on a man-made hill. Albert Q. Bell designed, and supervised his WPA work force in the construction of The Waterside Theatre, home of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*. The Federal Writer's Project, an arm of the WPA, wrote press releases promoting the upcoming events. The Federal Theater Project, another arm of the WPA, imported actors from New York City and North Carolina, although most performers were locals. The University of North Carolina Playmakers provided the director, supervising director, choreographer, some actors and technicians. The Federal Music Project provided original music and arrangements. WPA sewing rooms in Dare County and Durham coordinated with local groups to produce the costumes, and members of CCC Company 436 made extra money by joining the performing company as Indians and colonist men.

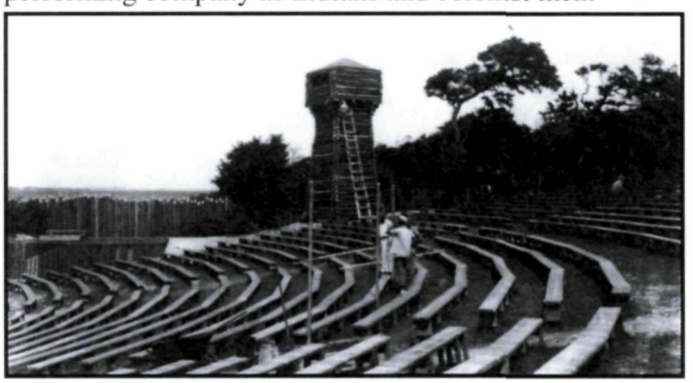


FIGURE 265: Albert Q. "Skipper" Bell's masterpiece—The Waterside Theatre, Home of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*. Seating capacity: 3500.

After holding the curtain for rain, *The Lost Colony* opened on July 4, 1937 as planned. The house was 2500—1000 short of being full, but the audience was enthusiastic nonetheless. In August, Brooks Atkinson reviewed the play for *The New York Times,* calling it *an uncommonly impressive evocation of the daring that seeped into this country from the wave-beaten beaches north of Hatteras.*[309] For those first season audiences—a total of 50,000 people—Green's play was not just about the 16th-century lost colony of Roanoke Island. As much as it was an historical drama, *The Lost Colony* was also a statement about the present as well. The audiences saw in the lost colonists the very courage, determination and hope the Great Depression called on them to express. At the end of the performance, when the players walked off the stage into darkness, the audience typically remained silent—perplexed until their personal moment of catharsis when they each subscribed to the colonists beliefs and goals and actually felt the exhilaration hope can bring. Emotional involvement of the audience is a central characteristic of outdoor symphonic drama—of which *The Lost Colony* is the premiere example.

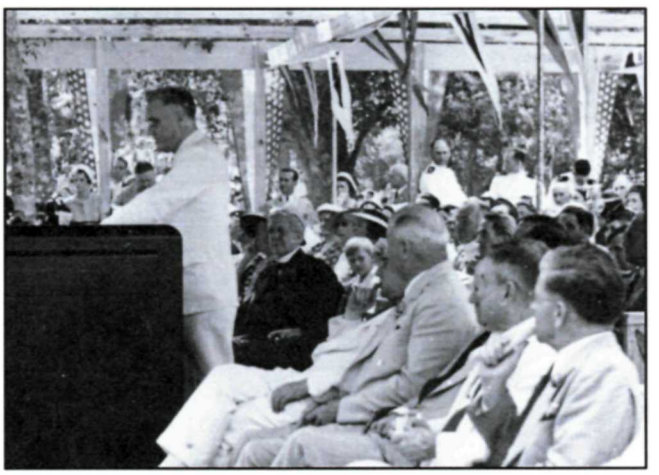
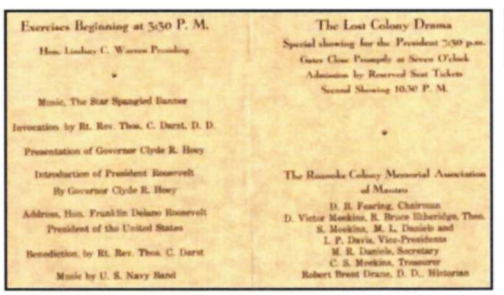


FIGURE 266: President Franklin Roosevelt at the podium on Roanoke Island in The Cittie of Ralegh State Park, on 18 August 1937.



Exercises Beginning at 5:50 P. M.

Hon. Lindsey C. Warren Presiding

Music, The Star Spangled Banner

Invocation by Rt. Rev. Thos. C. Darst, D. D.

Presentation of Governor Clyde R. Hoey

Introduction of President Roosevelt
By Governor Clyde R. Hoey

Address, Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States

Benediction, by Rt. Rev. Thos. C. Darst

Music by U. S. Navy Band

The Lost Colony Drama
Special showing for the President 7:30 p.m.
Gates Close Promptly at Seven O'clock
Admission by Reserved Seat Tickets
Second Showing 10:30 P. M.

The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association
of Masons
D. B. Fearing, Chairman
D. Victor Meekins, R. Bruce Etheridge, Thos.
S. Meekins, M. L. Daniels and
I. P. Davis, Vice-Presidents
M. R. Daniels, Secretary
C. S. Meekins, Treasurer
Robert Brent Drane, D. D., Historian

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[309] Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, 15 August 1937.

FIGURE 268: Newsreel crews and radio operators, Cittie of Ralegh State Park on 18 August 1937.

The relevance of Roanoke Island's past to the nation's present was the subject of a speech President Roosevelt delivered at the Cittie of Ralegh State Park on August, 18, 1937, the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth. That afternoon, a crowd estimated to be ten thousand strong gathered at the re-created settlement to hear the President. Many of them would stay over to attend one of the two performances of *The Lost Colony* that evening. After the prayers and naming of politicians in attendance, and the reading of a telegram from the English Ambassador, Congressman Warren announced to the public that, the day before, President Roosevelt had signed the bill establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

Roosevelt began his speech: *The thousands of who are gathered here today are reliving American history, and that being so, I think it is entirely fitting that we should look back for a moment on those three and one-half centuries.* He went on to say, *... if we are to understand the kind of world upon which Virginia Dare opened her eyes on that far-away day of August in 1587, we must ask the question why Western Europe came to this New World.*[310] The answer Roosevelt gave to this question drew a line connecting the men, women and children sitting before him to the ghosts of the lost colony.

Most of the people, who came to the New World, Roosevelt said, were not people of standing and title. They were working people and artisans. *They had the courage, physically and mentally, by deed and word, to seek better things, to try and capture ideals and hopes that were forbidden to them by the laws and rulers of their own home lands.*[311] *They came seeking the freedom to exercise the religion of their choice. They came seeking freedom from feudalism, freedom from the rule of those who claimed the wealth of the nation as their own. The lost colonists did not come to the wilderness to make Walter Ralegh Lord of the New World. They braved the unknown to make a better life for themselves.*

FIGURE 269: The press pool, Cittie of Ralegh State Park, 18 August 1937.

These worthy hopes led the father and mother of Virginia Dare, three and a half centuries ago, to come to the New World. Those worthy hopes have led fathers and mothers from many nations, through many centuries to seek new life in the New World. Pioneering it was called in the olden days; and pioneering it still is—pioneering for the preservation of our fundamental institutions against the ceaseless attack of those who have no faith in democracy. Fortitude and courage on our part succeed today the fortitude and courage of those who planted a colony on this spot, on this island, in the days of good Queen Bess.[312]

FIGURE 270: President Franklin D. Roosevelt's marker noting the

[310] Franklin Roosevelt, Speech on Roanoke Island, 18 August 1937. NPS-FORA-MRC.

[311] Ibid.

[312] Ibid.

spot from which he viewed a performance of *The Lost Colony*. The President then left the stage, and was driven to the Nags Head beach home of John Buchanan, a Democratic Party stalwart and owner of a Durham insurance company. While there, Roosevelt ate lunch, rested and discussed politics with state party officials. In the evening, he came back to Roanoke Island to watch *The Lost Colony* from his car which was parked at the top of the amphitheatre. Before the play began, Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and a staunch supporter of the Playmakers, went on stage for an introduction that mirrored the President's new pioneering theme. Graham said, in part, *On this 350th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare, we hear above the world's tumult tonight, the voices of Roanoke, Ralegh, and Roosevelt, himself undaunted by uncharted seas, a dreamer and voyager toward a new world. After stormy years, he has brought us ashore to the frontiers of an economic wilderness for whose social mastery the new pioneers blaze intellectual and spiritual trails toward the America of their dreams, dreams as old as Roanoke.*[313] With that, the stage lights came up and the show began.

The Lost Colony, a great success in its premiere season continued to run each summer through 1941, at which time U-Boats were bringing World War II to the Atlantic shores off Cape Hatteras and the beaches. *The Lost Colony*, went dark during the war years and many of its actors and technicians joined the allied forces in the fight for democracy.

In 1941, with the United States' entry in the Second World War, the dune stabilization project was terminated. By that time, New Deal workers under the National Park Service had built 3 million feet of sand fences, planted 142 million square feet of dune grasses, grown and planted over 2 1/2 million trees and shrubs, and totally transformed the Outer Banks from the Virginia line to Ocracoke village. With land acquisition postponed by the war, Cape Hatteras National Seashore did not officially open its doors until 1953, the year after the Hatteras Island highway was completed.

The people who brought the New Deal to the Outer Banks built better than they knew. Three-quarters of a century later, every fall, *Wings Over Water* brings birders from around the country to Pea Island Refuge to witness the migration—a migration that, while a pale echo of the throngs that darkened the sky a century ago, still thrills. Every summer, people from around the region and the world come to work and play in Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*, having re-opened in 1946 at the end of the war, continues to run every summer season. Over 3 and a half million people have seen a performance at the WPA built Waterside Theatre on Roanoke Island.

The Lost Colony still reminds us of the vision and common courage of our ancestors; and still reminds us that those same qualities can stand us in good stead as we face our own uncertain future.

Jim Senter
Independent Historian
Human Ecology Expert
Photographer & Author

Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012.

[313] Frank Porter Graham, 1937 Speech. RIHA Archives.

The Waterside Theatre

At Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

The 1930's Waterside Theatre is located sound-side in the forested Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, satisfying one of the basic requirements for outdoor symphonic drama—isolation from the modern world.

Home of *The Lost Colony* Outdoor Drama

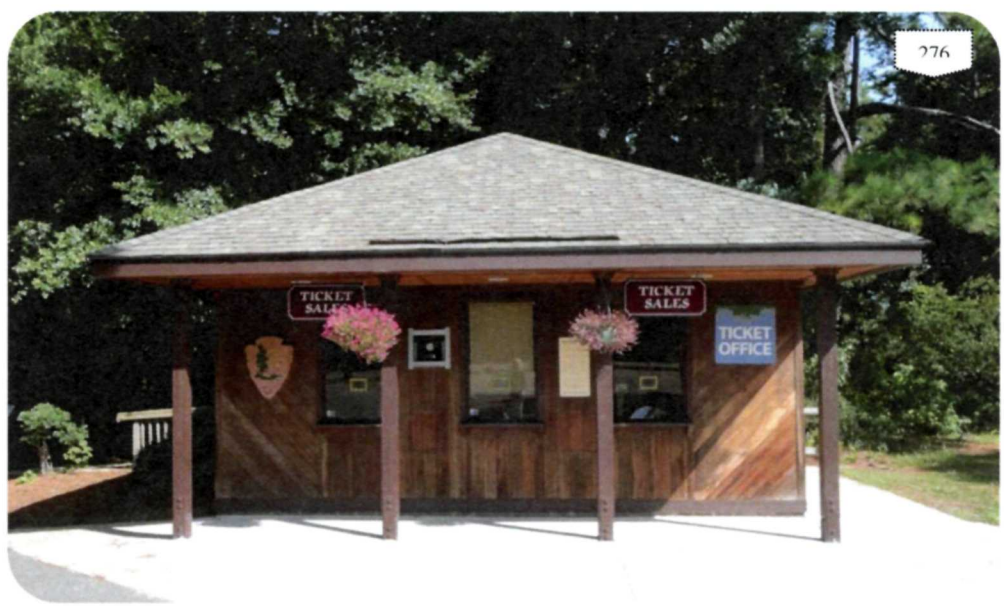
by Brandon Smith

Entrance To The Historic Zone

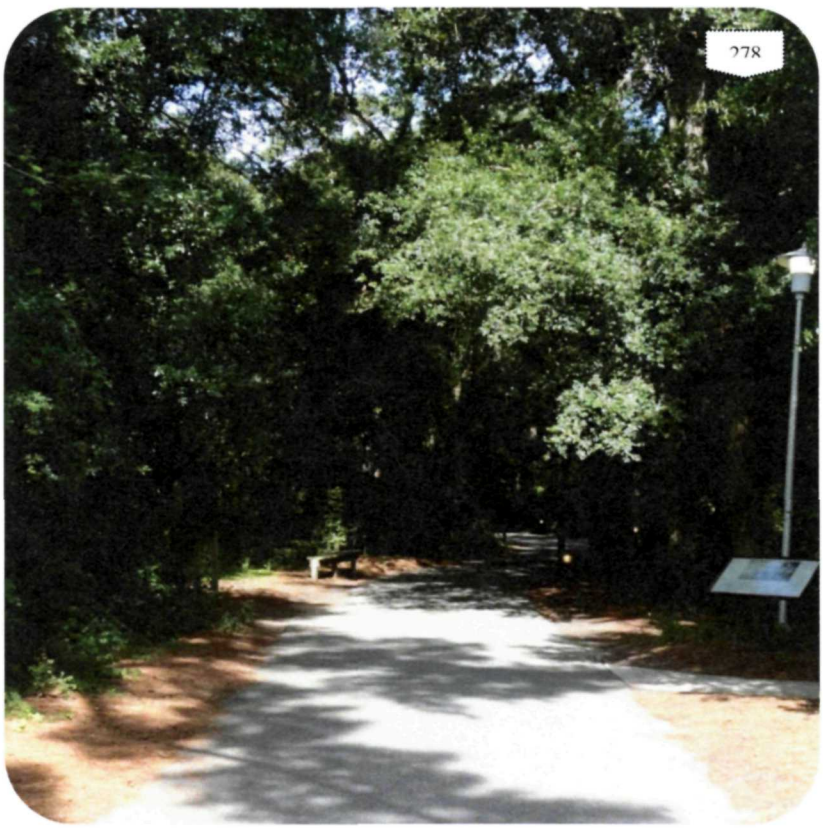
Before *The Lost Colony* was a reality, there were other commemorations of the first English settlements on Roanoke Island, the most significant being The Cittie Of Ralegh State Park, purporting to be a re-creation of the Roanoke Island settlements. Constructed in 1934 (gates pictured **above**) with the assistance of ERA and WPA funding, the Park featured a log-cabin village. Artist Frank Stick spearheaded the project and designed the buildings. Albert Q. "Skipper" Bell, who later designed the Waterside Theatre, was project construction designer & supervisor for the village. Parking for the Cittie of Ralegh was either on the side of the road, or in nearby private make-shift lots. **Below** is a view of the modern day Waterside Theatre parking lot, located a few hundred yards from the former site of the now demolished Cittie of Ralegh entrance gates shown **above**.

Theatre Ticket Office

Originally, *Lost Colony* tickets were sold in the left blockhouse at the entrance gate. In the 1950s, the Park entrance was changed and the lower section of the blockhouse was re-logged vertically to continue its life as a Box Office through 1966 [**above**]. The modern five-station computerized Ticket Office, [**below**] was constructed in 1994 and named for Mabel Basnight, the legendary Box Office Manager of *The Lost Colony* from 1937 – 1992.



Walk To The Theatre



ABOVE: In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a dirt road led to the site known as 'Old Fort Ralegh'. In today's Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, visitors can see a re-constructed fort, thought to have association with the 16th-century colonies. In the 1930s, the Cittie of Ralegh Park and *The Lost Colony* used the same entrance road, ultimately paving it.

BELOW: The modern path from the Ticket Office to the Theatre was relocated in 1966. It starts at the Ticket Office off the Parking Lot and winds its way through the historic zone to the Theatre.

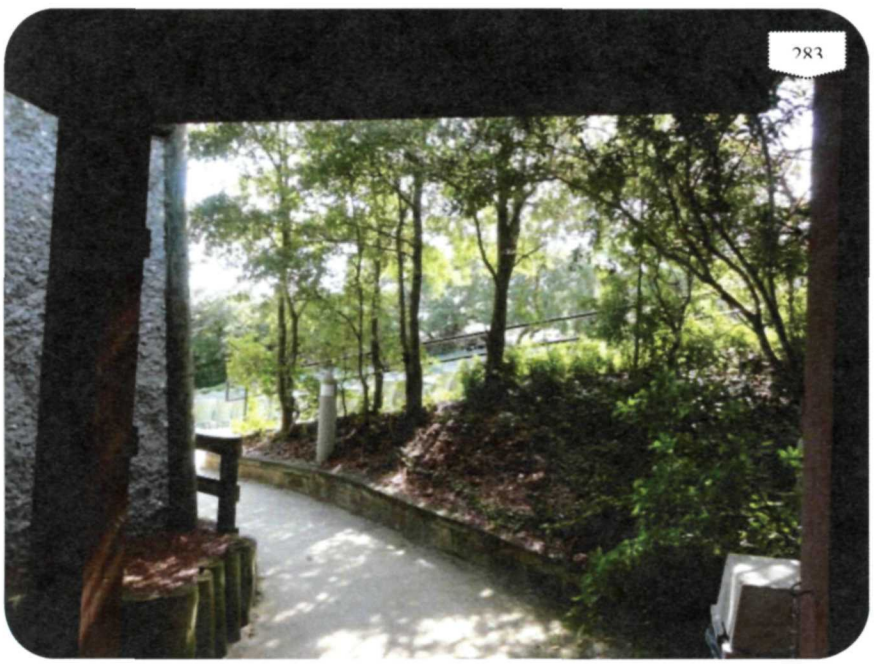
View Inside The Theatre's Entrance Gate

From 1937 through the present, 2014, visitors' first view at the Theatre entrance is the back side of *The Lost Colony's* Production Booth. The ground level is used by the House Staff; the upper serves as the communications, lighting and audio center of the production. Located at the top of the house, the production booth provides space for the Production Stage Manager to call cues; and for electricians and audio technicians to operate lights and sound. Theatre technology has experienced a total re-design many times in the 77 year history of *The Lost Colony*, and the structure of the coordination center has changed with it. The original log-production booth is **above**. See the back view of the current booth on the following page. Today's booth, still located at the top of the hill at the rear of the house, is three levels, providing a break room for the house staff in addition to servicing the production team.

View from the theatre entrance—backside of the modern production booth.

View from the theatre entrance—the House Left rain shelter-comfort area.

Right & Left Corridors

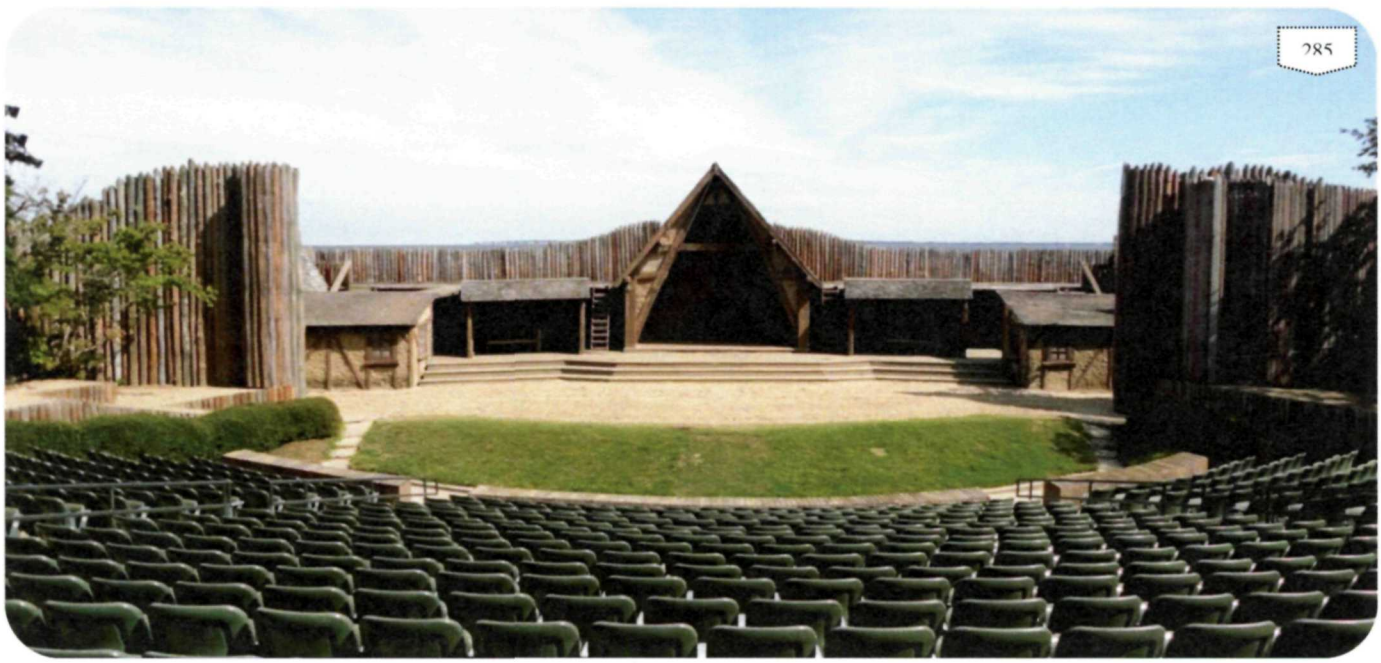


When the Waterside Theatre opened in 1937 there were no "lobby" areas or rain shelters. As expectations of the public have changed, so too has the Waterside Theatre. The rain shelter areas, pictured **above** and on the preceding page, were constructed in 1997. There is one on either side of the house, each unit featuring restrooms, concession stands, gift shop areas, picnic areas & covered benches.

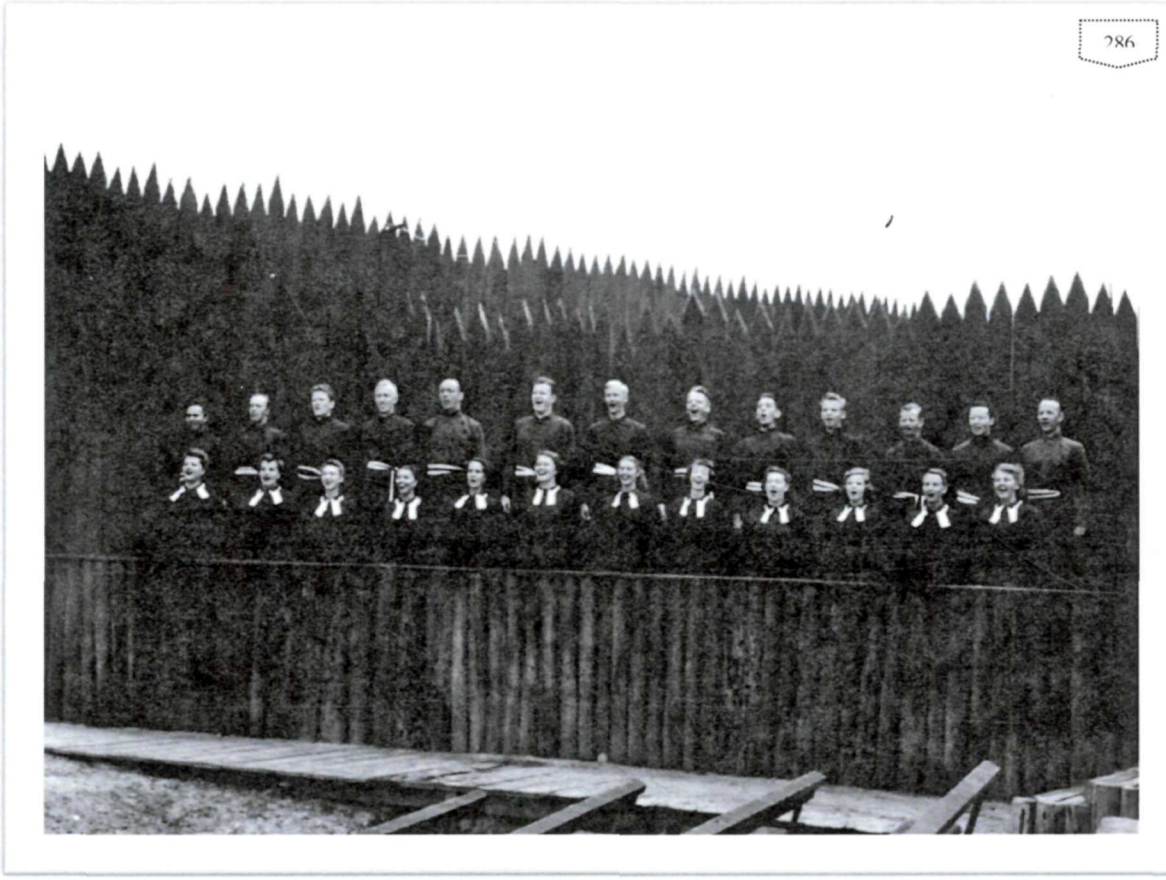
The photo at **left** is the entrance from the House-Left rain shelter, to the Theatre seating area.

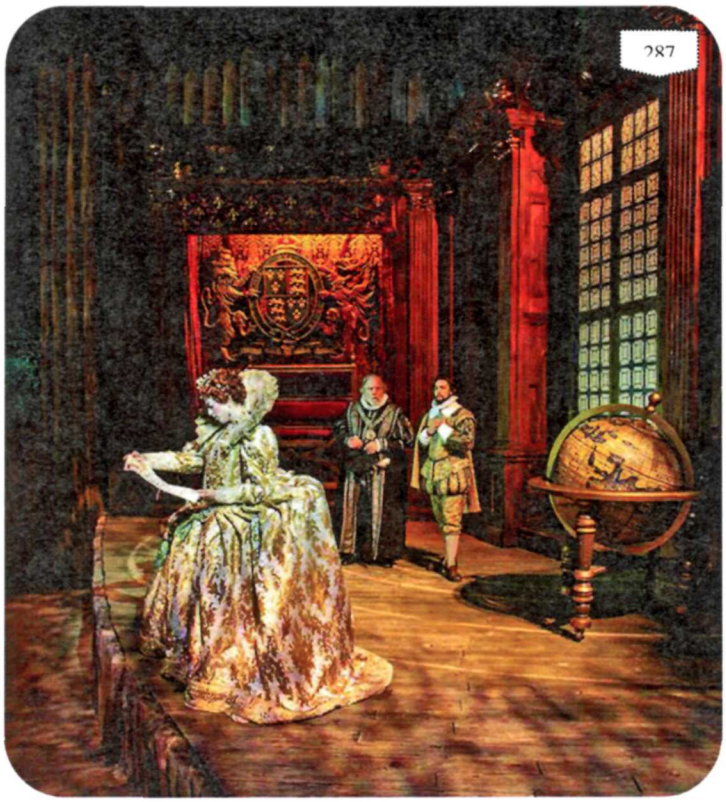
The Waterside Theatre

ABOVE: 1937 Waterside Theatre with log structures, thatched roofs, backless benches and earthen walkways. **BELOW:** 2014 re-modeled theatre with wattle-and daub structures and stadium seating. Compare the main-stage and two side stages for differences reflecting changes in production style.



Stage Left Side Stage





ABOVE: Most of the area on the side stage on house-right was originally used for a stationary choir. Through the years, staging for the choir has evolved from always in-place, to occasionally moving the choir onto the stage for some musical numbers in much in the same way that modern operas are staged, to performing on the main-stage exclusively. The latter opened up the full side stage for other purposes. **BELOW:** Since 1964, the house-right side stage has been used as an expansion of the main-stage for large scenes; and as the exclusive setting for two of *The Lost Colony's* intimate scenes—Old Tom's Pub Scene, and the Queen's Chamber Scene. The left photo shows one of the positions of Production Designer William Ivey Long's 2013 book-set—the Queen's Chamber scene.

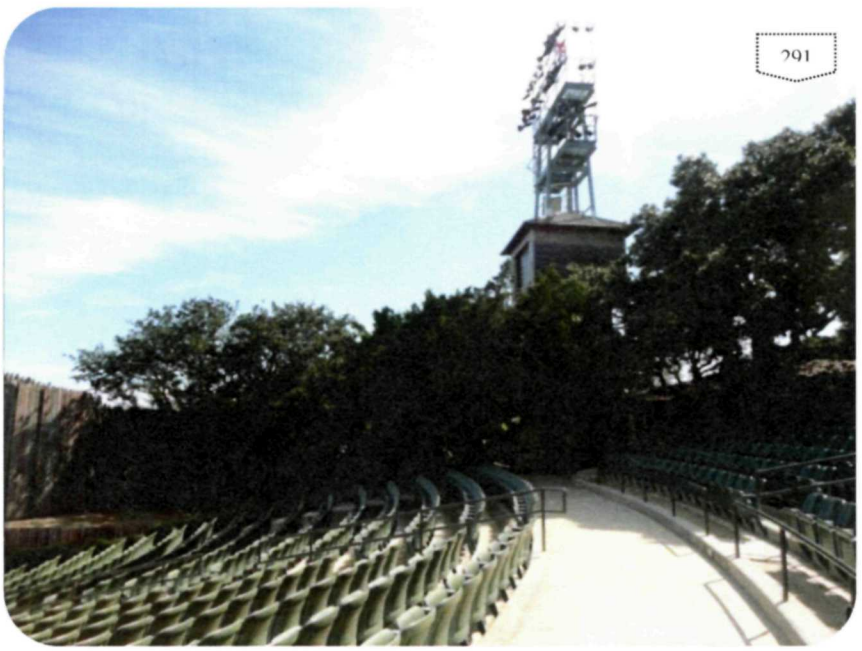
The Light Towers

One of the two original light towers located in the house of the Waterside Theatre. The photo shows the house-right tower, abutting the small side-stage used for the Queen's Chamber scene. The lighting instruments in the tower were large 2200-watt beam projectors, enabling full-and-spot lighting for both the main and house-right stages. Control of the lighting instruments during performance was, and is, operated through dimmers and a console located in the Production Booth at the back of the house.

The Light Towers

One of the two light towers located in the house of the 2014 Waterside Theatre. The photo shows the house-left tower, abutting the house-left side stage—an area used primarily for intimate scenes—usually Indian. In 2009 a multi-million dollar project to build new towers & replace aging instruments was completed. Observe the un-used wooden tower, now a re-built place-holder for a modern metal light tower.

Seating



Since 1937, there have been several incarnations of theatre seating, the original being backless wooden benches.

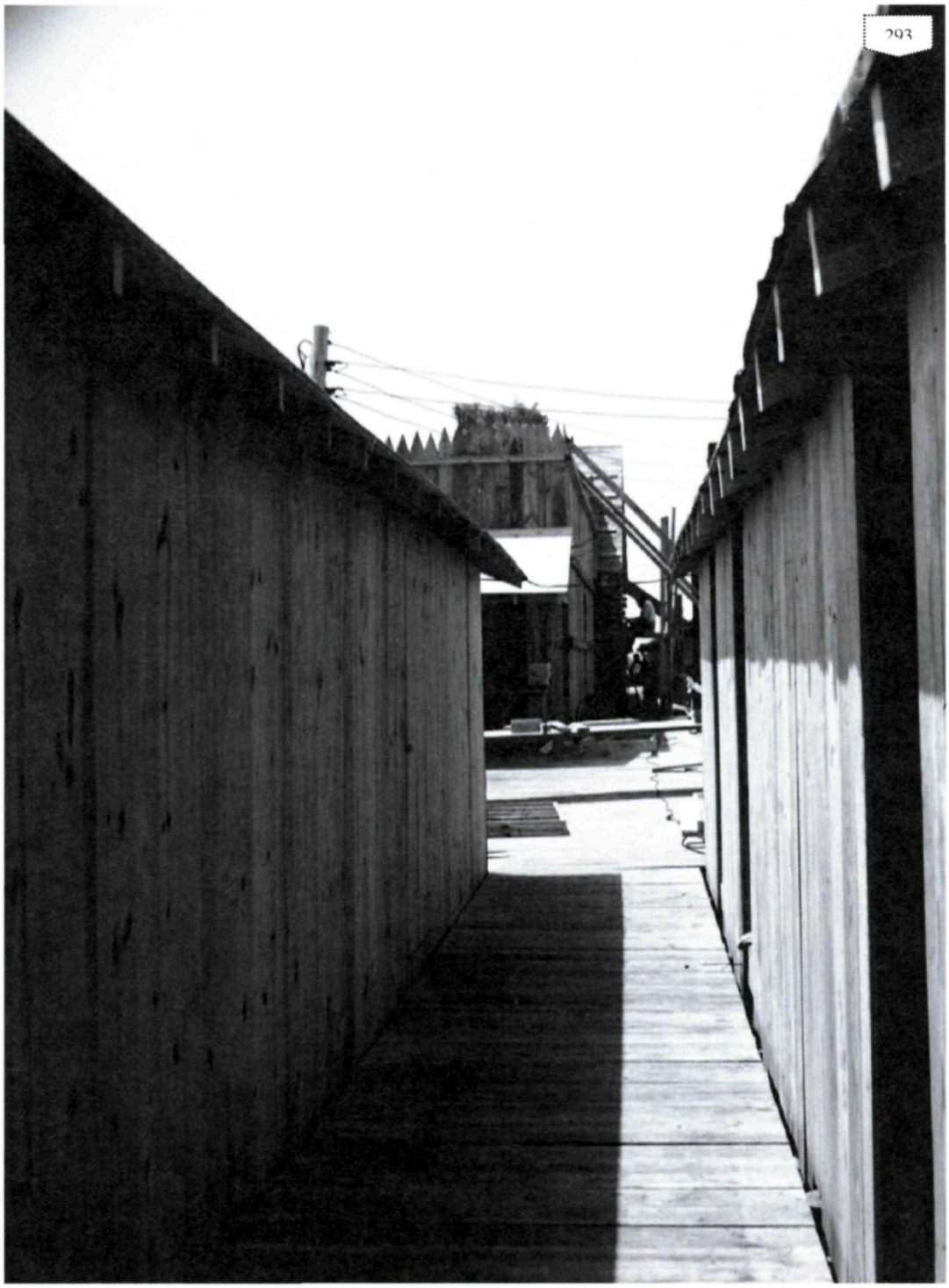
ABOVE: Wooden benches with backs were introduced c. 1950s and, with frequent repairs, remained until the mid-1990s.

BELOW: The current seats were installed in 1997 and are the same style of stadium seating found in most NFL stadiums. Longevity has been an issue, and, as of this publication, there is a project underway to replace the stadium seats with a newer model.

Main Stage & Stage Left Wing

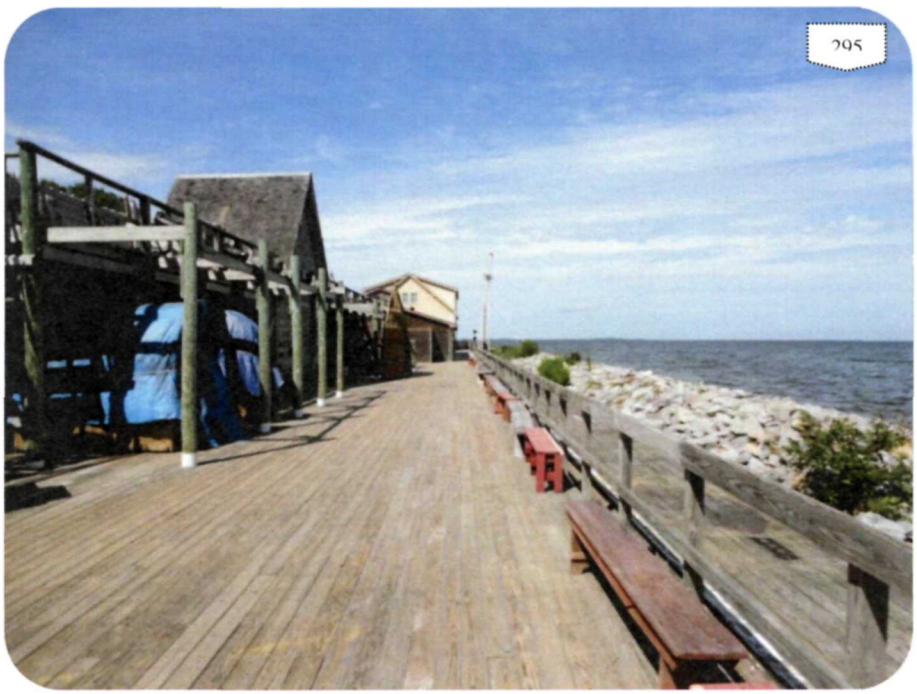
Stage left wing of the modern theatre—with a view of the women's dressing area backstage. Note the book-set attached to the proscenium wall in the upper right.

Backstage Dressing Room Area



c. 1950s open corridor of the women's dressing room area, now completely roofed.

Behind The Main Stage



ABOVE: Area behind the permanent main-stage set. Note immediately behind the set, the narrow walkway used by performers and technicians to cross sides during performances; the waterside tracking ramp for 'sailing' the prop-ship; and the pump house on pilings in the water on the upper right.
LEFT: The same area of the modern theatre, the space between the back side of the set & the ship's ramp, having been decked to provide space for elaborate set pieces.

Backstage Ship Dock

The ship is the largest prop in the show. **ABOVE TOP**: c. 1938 ship and mooring. **ABOVE:** The more elaborate, 2013 ship that takes 8 people to move.

Backstage Prop Shop & Deck

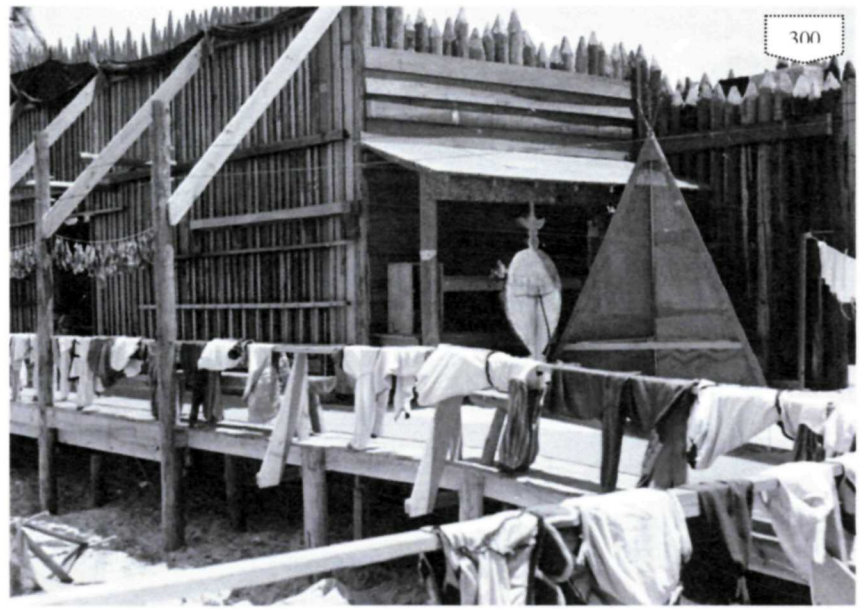
During the day, backstage decks are frequently used by production personnel to create, repair and paint show items.

ABOVE: c. 1938 Property Master, William Long, Sr. inspects the Indian props.

LEFT: Backstage side of the 2013 Prop Cabin where actors collect and deposit hand-props they use in particular scenes on stage. The unit is a re-modeled version of the c.1960 cabin serving the same purpose.

Backstage Airing Out Costumes

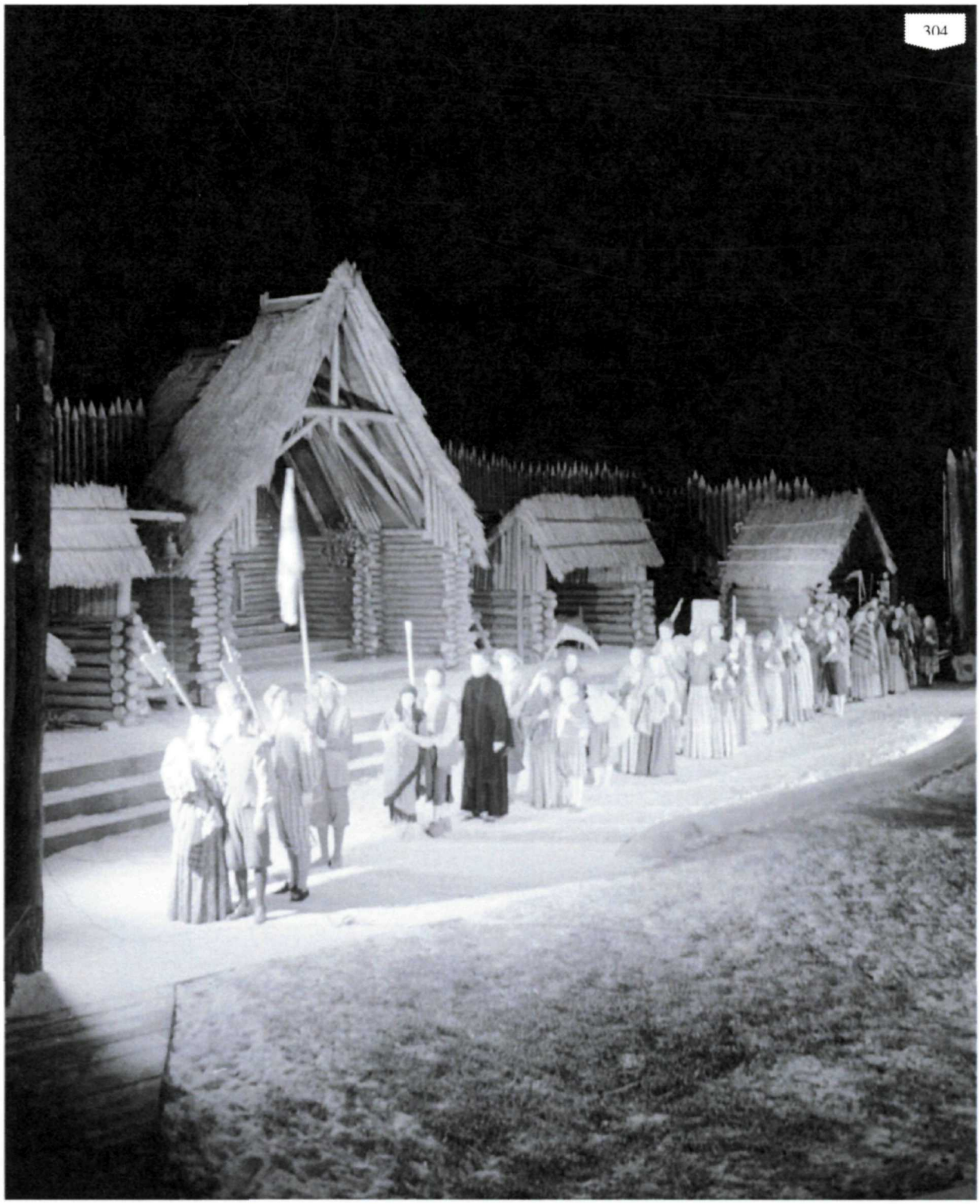
Some things never change—laundry and the weekly 'airing' of costumes being cases in point.
RIGHT: c. 1938 costumes, turned inside out received a weekly refreshening on the backstage railings.
BELOW: Note the 2013 costumes turned and spread along the railing for 'airing', while other costumes on rolling racks are being sun-dried and de-mildewed—still a weekly process.



Inside The Backstage Costume Shop

ABOVE: The 1940s costume shop and stitchers. Until 1964, all new costumes were built and maintained on site. **LEFT**: The 2014 costume shop studio where the work of maintaining the 5,000 plus costume pieces is still largely done in-house. Most new costumes for the modern production are constructed in New York, but when time and money permit, a few are actually built in the Waterside studio.

The Lost Colony's Final March (1937)



The Lost Colony's Final March (2013)

OPPOSITE PAGE & ABOVE: Early years [1937-1963] and early modern years [1964-2013] versions of the colonists and their Indian friends marching into the wilderness—
the final scene in
Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*.

Brandon Smith
CEO *Tecumseh* Outdoor Drama
Former Theatre Manager at *The Lost Colony*

Presenter at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012

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Symphonic Drama—the Art Form for Interpreting History

by Mark Reese Sumner, Sr.

The Lost Colony—the first Symphonic Outdoor Drama

What is the artistic importance of *The Lost Colony*? Why is an understanding of this, or any other outdoor drama, important? Do we watch this play because it commemorates the importance of the first English attempts to settle the New World and is a report for history students? Is it so we in America can understand those gallant people who braved the hazards of exploration in search of a better future? And why do groups who want to stage their own outdoor drama look to *The Lost Colony*?

When it opened in 1937, *The Lost Colony* was a new form of American theatre, with extensive characterizations, settings of authentic environments and factual history, telling a story with dance, music, speech and action. Everything was and is highly visible, utilizing some of the visual elements of a film—more so than in a stage play. *The lost colony* tells a story with the clash of ideas, emotions and personalities between characters. Struggles are evidenced. Understandings are reached, issues resolved, an ultimate solution found.

This new form of American Theatre is much evolved from a mere pageant. Playwright Paul Green took ideas he had gotten from a tour of Europe and his studies of modern theatre overseas in the 1920s, and coupled them with his own deep interest in musical theatre and opera to stage something highly more advanced than a pageant. It was not merely a recitation of this happened here, and that happened there. It was a disclosure of events happening to characters who had specific goals, causing them to make choices; that in turn caused other events, resulting in characters taking other actions that caused additional events and actions; and so on. Characters acted and reacted in a carefully constructed plan, a plot made from history, so as to create empathy in the audience.

The creation of empathy is the goal of most art. Empathy is the exercise of experiencing emotion by identifying with observed individuals; by feeling what they feel. Empathy can increase our understanding of any observed event, even if that event is in the imagination.

Paul Green called his new theatrical form, symphonic drama. In it, he used dance, music, speech and pantomime the way an orchestra conductor uses musical instruments. Earlier, on the New York stage, Green had tested some of the symphonic structure ideas in his play, *Johnny Johnson*.

His first outdoor symphonic drama effort, *The Lost Colony*, became the preferred model for the outdoor dramas to follow, many of which he wrote. Green intended his play to appeal to multi-generational audiences—even young children. He deliberately fashioned comedy scenes to appeal to both young and old. From the outset, a large number of families viewed the play and the pattern was set to accommodate that reality.

Why is *The Lost Colony* emulated? Why has it been so successful? There are numerous reasons, not the least of which is the script itself. To understand fully, we need to look at what actually came before the first production in 1937.

The History Interpreted in *The Lost Colony*

In the 1580s, Sir Walter Ralegh's explorers investigated the area that is now the Outer Banks of North Carolina and built a fort and houses on Roanoke Island, using it as a base of operations for 11 months before returning to England. A few months later, in 1587, a group of about 120 English men, women and children under Ralegh's aegis settled on Roanoke Island.

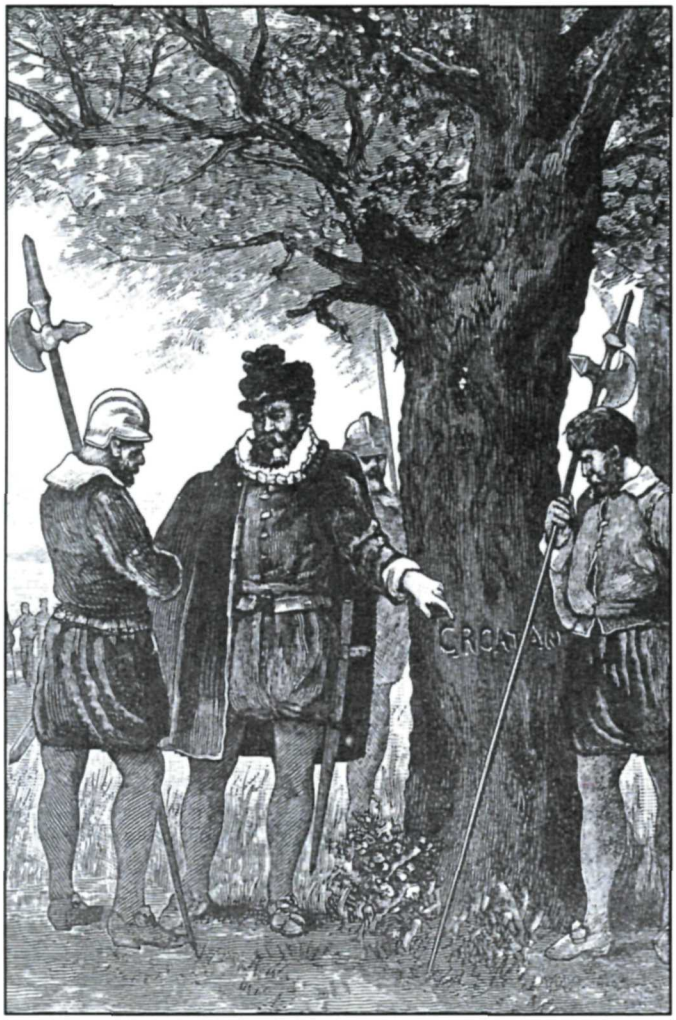


FIGURE 307: Artist's interpretation of Governor John White's search for his settlers.

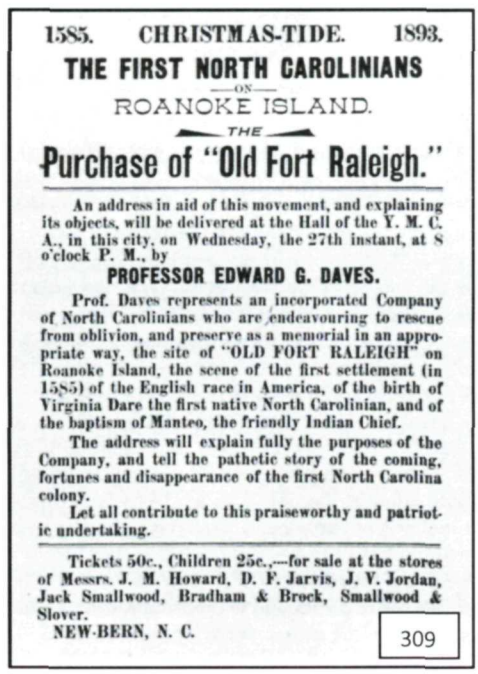
By August 1590, probably much earlier, the entire colony had abandoned Roanoke Island, leaving only the cryptic messages, '*CRO*' and *Croatoan*—possibly indicating that some or all of the colonists had relocated to the nearby Indian village at modern-day Buxton. New clues concerning their possible destination, or destinations, are being presented at this symposium, but for the present, the settlers remain where they have been for over 400 years—locked in the world of legend, as Ralegh's famous lost colony of Roanoke Island.

The settlements captured the imagination of the island's subsequent settlers and visitors, who were quick to grasp the importance of Ralegh's colonizing efforts in the continuum of the founding of the United States of America.

FIGURE 308: Artist William Steene's vision of Virginia Dare's christening.

The birth of Virginia Dare on 18 August 1587—the first child of English parentage to be born in the New World was here—and with her, the cornerstone of English America was planted. Protestant churches looked upon the settlements as the site where Protestant rites were first practiced in the new land, the Native American Manteo, having been baptized here on 13 August 1587.

By the late 1800s, forward thinking members of the local and regional communities, and expatriate North Carolinians living in Baltimore saw Roanoke Island history as the state's crown jewel. With the formation of multiple organizations, they took definitive steps to preserve and commemorate Roanoke Island's unique history.



1585. CHRISTMAS-TIDE. 1893.

THE FIRST NORTH CAROLINIANS

—ON—

ROANOKE ISLAND.

THE

Purchase of "Old Fort Raleigh."

An address in aid of this movement, and explaining its objects, will be delivered at the Hall of the Y. M. C. A., in this city, on Wednesday, the 27th instant, at 8 o'clock P. M., by

PROFESSOR EDWARD G. DAVES.

Prof. Daves represents an incorporated Company of North Carolinians who are endeavouring to rescue from oblivion, and preserve as a memorial in an appropriate way, the site of "OLD FORT RALEIGH" on Roanoke Island, the scene of the first settlement (in 1585) of the English race in America, of the birth of Virginia Dare the first native North Carolinian, and of the baptism of Manteo, the friendly Indian Chief.

The address will explain fully the purposes of the Company, and tell the pathetic story of the coming, fortunes and disappearance of the first North Carolina colony.

Let all contribute to this praiseworthy and patriotic undertaking.

Tickets 50c., Children 25c.,—for sale at the stores of Messrs. J. M. Howard, D. F. Jarvis, J. Y. Jordan, Jack Smallwood, Bradham & Brock, Smallwood & Slover.

NEW-BERN, N. C.

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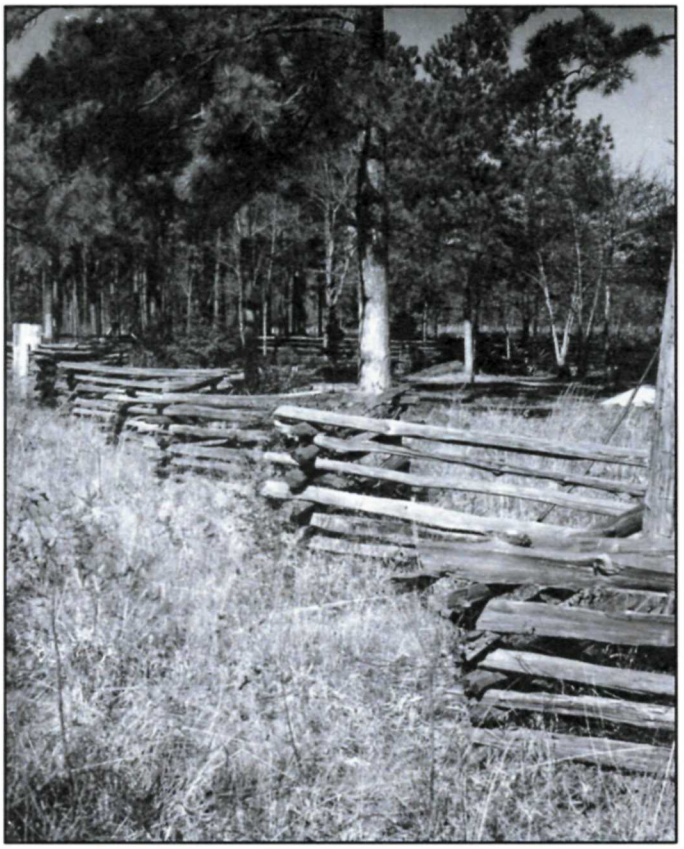

FIGURE 310: The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Baltimore purchased the earthwork at Old Fort Ralegh in 1894, and soon erected a split-rail fence for protection.

They succeeded in preserving the still-visible earthwork fortification and surrounding acreage; and began the long and slow process of publicizing the importance of Roanoke and Virginia Dare—hosting a booth at the Chicago World's Fair, conducting lectures in North Carolina and the Mid-Atlantic States, and by sponsoring publications and contests. By 1920, the state of North Carolina was ready to invest in its heritage, and—primarily through the efforts of Roanoke Island native, Mabel Evans [later Jones]—the Roanoke Island settlements would lead the way.

FIGURE 312: C.A. Rheims and Red Stephens of the Atlas Film Corporation of Chicago, and Miss Elizabeth Grimball of New York, making a motion picture in 1921 about the Roanoke Island settlements.

The Movie about the Roanoke Island Settlements

In 1921, Mabel Evans, A. C. Clements and the North Carolina State Department of Education produced a silent film, on the site of the settlement at Old Fort Ralegh, using a cast comprised mostly of locals. Elizabeth Grimball directed the production, with equipment and crew provided by the Atlas Film Company of Chicago.

FIGURE 313: Miss Mabel Evans as Eleanor Dare in the 1921 movie; background is the film's fort.

Dare County Superintendent of Schools, Miss Mabel Evans—the powerhouse behind the production—researched and wrote the screenplay; designed and

supervised the construction of sets and costumes; organized production details; and performed the principal role of Eleanor Dare. College student Paul Green, later to be the author of *The Lost Colony* symphonic outdoor drama, was one of the spectators at the filming. He had traveled to Roanoke Island by boat, as had all other non-residents. A silent film, the movie was distributed throughout the state from 1921 through 1931. It was not only well received across the state; it did its job well—by 1931, most North Carolinians knew about their state's role in the founding of English America. Today, the film is treasured as one of the area's most important artifacts.

FIGURE 314: After centuries of isolation, bridges and roads connect Roanoke Island to the mainland.

Heritage Tourism

By 1931, the first bridge connecting long-isolated Roanoke Island to the mainland was completed; a paved road ran the length of the beach to the bridge; and another paved road on Roanoke Island ran from Wanchese to the historic zone on the north end. Heritage Tourism for the Outer Banks was about to be created.

FIGURE 316: Senator Bradford Fearing, charismatic dreamer and visionary who promoted heritage tourism for the state of North Carolina, using Dare County historic sites as prime examples.

Two leaders emerged: D. Bradford Fearing, Roanoke Island civic and political leader—variously Dare County Commissioner and/or Chair; Dare Chamber of Commerce member and/or president or secretary or chair; Senator of the first district in the State General Assembly; local businessman; and W.O. Saunders, Sr., owner and publisher, sometimes editor of *The Independent* and *The Daily Independent* newspapers in Elizabeth City. Both were visionaries; both were dreamers; both had influence.

FIGURE 317: W.O. Saunders, controversial visionary and newspaperman used the power of the press and his influence to promote and develop tourism in the Albemarle region, especially Dare County.

Both knew that 1934 would be the 350th Anniversary of the English explorers' arrival on the Outer Banks; and that 1937 would be the 350th Anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare. Both knew that the commemoration and celebration of these two anniversaries would be ideal opportunities to spread the 16th-century Roanoke Island settlement story, and to open up the beaches and island to tourism. Their approaches were different.

In 1932, Saunders formed and chaired the Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA), and used his influence and that of the members—including D. Bradford Fearing—to secure state and federal leadership and funding for the celebration of the upcoming 350th Anniversary of the arrival of the English explorers, Amadas & Barlowe.

The fledgling group, with the considerable support of Congressman Lindsay Warren, was about to succeed, when the depression hit the nation, and all state and federal funds slated for the project were withdrawn. RIHA decided to abort plans for the 1934 event.

Fearing, working under the banner of his newly formed Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo, decided to move forward with a celebration in 1934. Confident he could raise money locally, his group and the Dare County Chamber of Commerce and Dare County Commissioners held a mini-festival on 18/19 August 1934, a Dare County Homecoming in celebration of both Virginia Dare's birthday—and the arrival of the Elizabethan explorers.

FIGURE 318: The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Baltimore started the tradition of celebrating Virginia Dare's birth with picnics and speeches at the site of Old Fort Ralegh. As time passed, music and dramatic presentations became a part of the celebrations that soon included a Dare County Homecoming promotion as well.

The traditional picnic, concert and speeches on the grounds of Old Fort Ralegh were enhanced by two rather spectacular additions.

FIGURE 319: The entrance gates to the Cittie of Ralegh State Park on the grounds of Old Fort Ralegh.

FIGURE 320: A log structure representing the quarters of colony governor, John White.

FIGURE 321: The settlement's chapel. The structure was envisioned and designed by artist Frank Stick. Albert Q. (Skipper) Bell designed and supervised construction of the chapel and all other buildings and fences in the park.

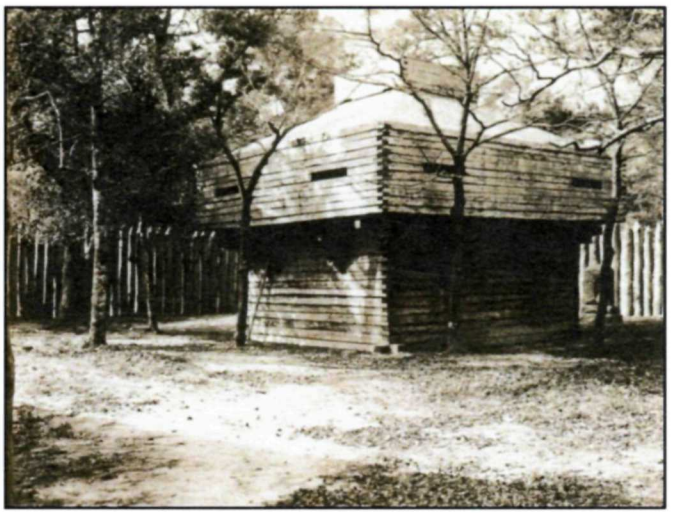

FIGURE 322: The palisaded earthwork site with representative Guardhouse.

First, the grounds were in the process of becoming The Cittie of Ralegh State Park—a representative fort and settlement on the site where Ralegh's colonies had settled. Enough of the log structures were complete to allow an official opening of the park for the 1934 celebration. Secondly, a temporary amphitheatre, with electricity for theatrical lighting had been set-up, where the Waterside Theatre is now, for performances of a professionally produced theatrical production. *The Pageant of Roanoke* was produced by the Harrington-Russell Festivals, a well known theatrical pageant production company brought in from Asheville. Edith Russell and Hershell Harrington were the principals, with Ellen Self, a well known Asheville actress, playing the lead. Many local and Albemarle citizens joined company members in forming the cast for the pageant—including W.O. Saunders who was the narrator/historian. I worked with the Harrington-Russell Festivals in my hometown of Asheville, but a considerable number of years after 1934.

The Homecoming Festival was a success, bringing in about 5,000 visitors to Manteo—more than 10 times the population!

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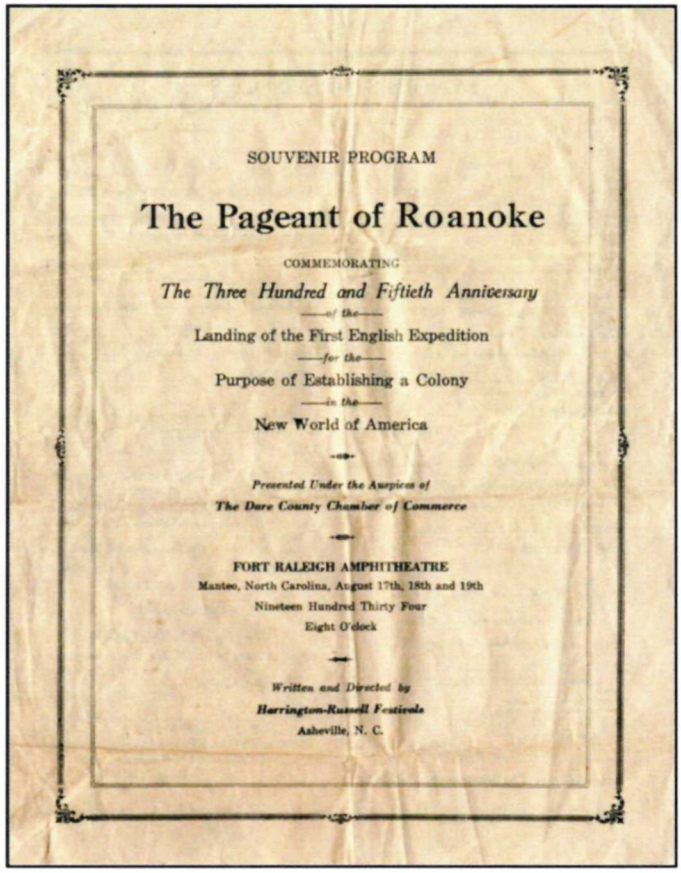

SOUVENIR PROGRAM

The Pageant of Roanoke

COMMEMORATING

The Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

—*of the*—

Landing of the First English Expedition

—*for the*—

Purpose of Establishing a Colony

—*in the*—

New World of America

Presented Under the Auspices of

The Dare County Chamber of Commerce

FORT RALEIGH AMPHITHEATRE

Manteo, North Carolina, August 17th, 18th and 19th

Nineteen Hundred Thirty Four

Eight O'clock

Written and Directed by

Harrington-Russell Festivals

Asheville, N. C.

FIGURE 324: Program for the *Pageant of Roanoke*, booked by Bradford Fearing and featuring W.O. Saunders as the on-stage narrator.

Heritage Tourism had begun on Roanoke Island, and the focus of all groups turned toward 1937—the 350th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare. But the depression continued, with no end in sight. While RIHA had been able to tap into federal and state relief programs for components of the planned celebration, by January 1937, it was clear they would not be able to secure total funding from the federal and state governments. Saunders and the majority of RIHA members, having maintained from the outset that they would not participate unless total funding could be secured, once again withdrew. Fearing, under the aegis of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, once again picked up the baton, and took a huge financial risk, but Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* opened as planned on 4 July 1937 and ran through Labor Day. President Franklin Roosevelt attended a performance on 18 August 1937. By the end of the season, Fearing actually netted enough money to pay all expenses for the next season in 1938.

Re-structuring RIHA

Fearing, under the banners of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association and *The Lost Colony* Production Company, ran the organization and production for the first five seasons, netting a profit each year. At the end of the 1941 season, the show closed because of World War II. Both Saunders and Fearing died before *The Lost Colony* reopened in 1946. Both RIHA and Fearing's groups wanted the production to continue. So did North Carolina Governor J. Melville Broughton, who summoned most of the surviving members of all three groups to a meeting in his office.

FIGURE 325: North Carolina Governor Broughton and most of the surviving members of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo and *The Lost Colony* Production Company met during World War II to combine the organizations and reactivate the production of Paul Green's drama at war's end.

At the meeting, the groups were merged and the Roanoke Island Historical Association, as we know it today, was formed. It became, and remains, the business and political force of *The Lost Colony*. The membership is composed of persons from the region, state and a variety of national locations. Members have varied business backgrounds, including some from the performing arts. Representatives from local, state and federal agencies are also involved. This board-member demography has made *The Lost Colony* a model for non-profit arts organizations.

The Lost Colony play, a Federal Theatre project, is the longest running Federal Theatre Community Grassroots Project in the country and it is still in production by the same company that developed it with Federal Aid.

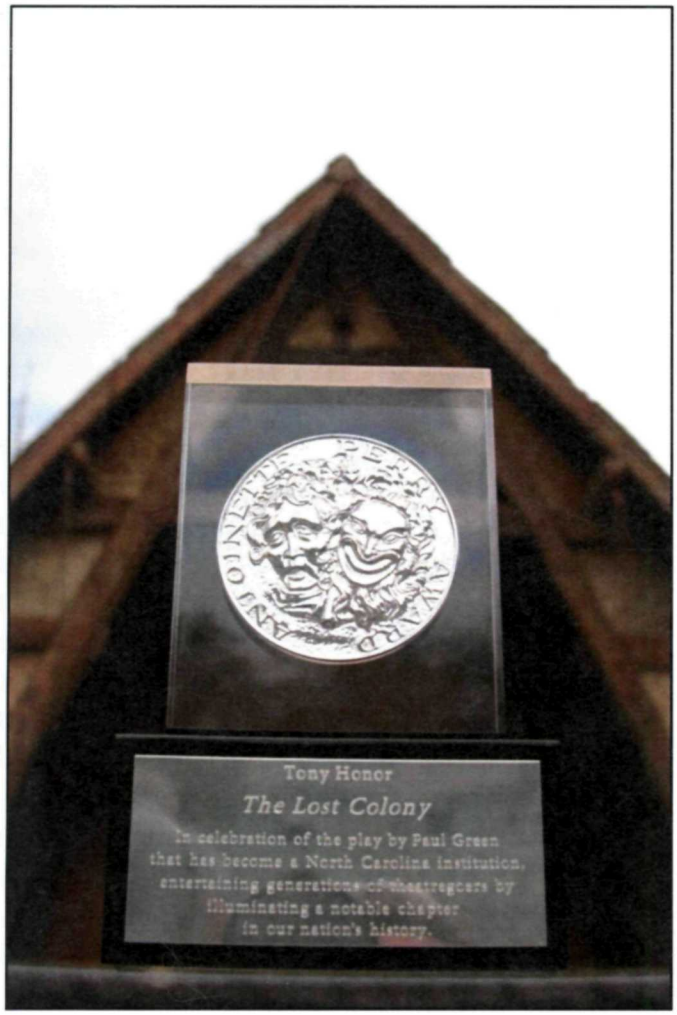

FIGURE 326: In 2013, The American Theatre Wing honored Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*—the last survivor of the WPA Federal Theatre Project's grassroots theatre program— with a special Tony Award honor.

In 2013, the production received an honorary Tony Award from the American Theatre Wing.

An additional boon is that the drama was and still is produced in the Waterside Theatre, built on the shores of the Roanoke Sound in the general area of the Elizabethan Fort and Algonquian Village. The site and theatre with its accompanying buildings are part of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site complex, maintained and operated since 1941, by RIHA'S most valued partner, the National Park Service.

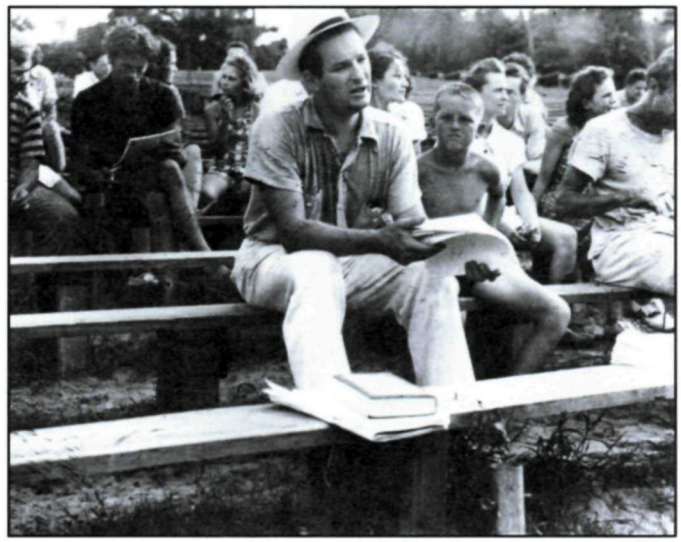

FIGURE 327: 1937—From option to opening—Paul Green drafted his own contract with Bradford Fearing and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo to write a pageant drama called *The Lost Colony*.

In January 1937, one of Fearing's first steps was to contract Paul Green to write *The Lost Colony*. Ten years earlier, Green had won a Pulitzer Prize for his drama, *In Abraham's Bosom*. An avid history buff, poet and philosopher, Green not only agreed to write the play, but he also functioned as Artistic Director during Fearing's tenure with the show, and remained an enthusiastic supporter of the project for the rest of his life.

Paul Green quickly involved his friend and mentor, Professor Frederick Koch, Chair of the Dramatic Arts Department of the University of North Carolina and head of the famed Carolina Playmakers. Koch, who was the state Advisor for the Federal Theatre Project, had been instrumental in starting the movement for creating American folk plays in the mid-west, and had done extensive work in that regard at the University in Chapel Hill. His two most enthusiastic playwriting students were Thomas Wolfe and Paul Green, both native North Carolinians.

FIGURE 329: Dr. Samuel Selden, *The Lost Colony's* first director addresses his performers.

Through Koch, and with the support of the university, Fearing secured the services of Dr. Samuel Selden to direct *The Lost Colony*. While the depression raged, Selden, a former New York theatre professional, joined the world of academe as a staff director for the Playmakers. Later he wrote many of the theatre texts used in colleges and high schools throughout the country. As director of *The Lost Colony*, he turned out to be an inspired choice, bringing with him many followers as well as his all-encompassing knowledge of theatre arts.

Local backing, the sale of commemorative coins, grants; support from the University; state and federal relief programs including the WPA, CCC, and the Federal Theatre, Music & Art Projects enabled Fearing to produce *The Lost Colony*. Of particular importance to the artistic quality of the show were the professional performers who played the leading roles in the show, and the internationally acclaimed Westminster College Touring Choir who provided the music. Such diversity made *The Lost Colony* a unique production. It was not community theatre—even though most of the cast members were amateur adults from Roanoke Island. It could not be classified as professional, even though the principals were. It certainly was not academic, but numerous college professors and students were involved either on or off stage. It was and is a different kind of production with a strong community base that brings amateur adults, students and professionals together in a creative and educational environment for the primary purpose of making a play happen—and not just any play, but a play that tells an important story of America's beginning.

This was the first of the outdoor history plays to build and use a framework that included federal, state and local organizations and individuals all working together to lead, finance and present their understanding of their heritage to people from other areas of the nation through live theatre. This organizational pattern was quickly picked up and used throughout the country. So was the cast, crew & production staff demography.

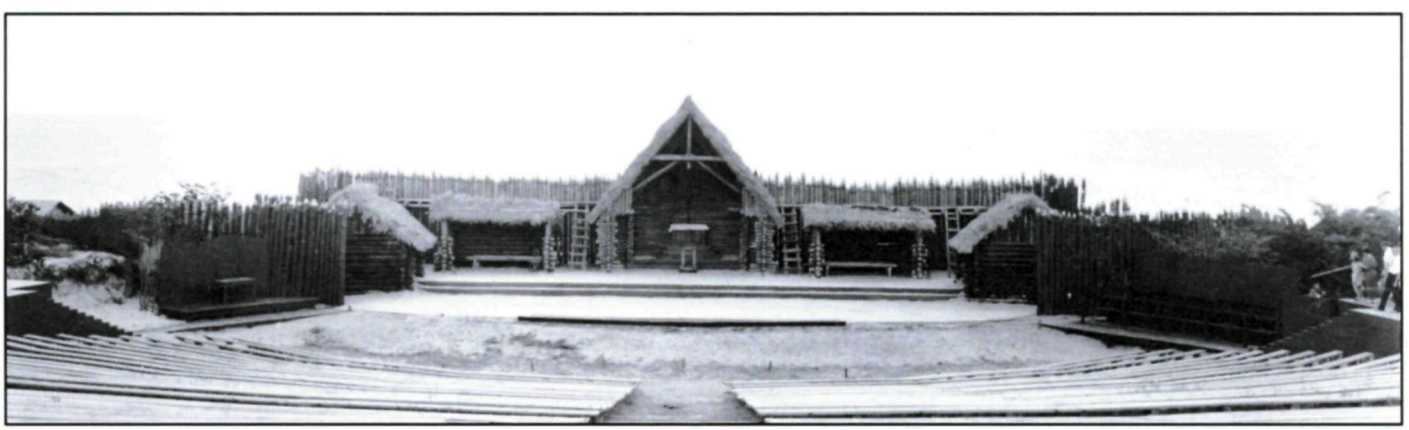

FIGURE 330: The original Waterside Theatre—the house that Skipper Bell designed and built.

The original production of *The Lost Colony* was also fortunate to have the services and interest of a very talented landscape gardener/construction designer—Albert Quentin "Skipper" Bell. Bell, originally from England, came to Elizabeth City, NC by way of Canada, and in the 1930s relocated to Roanoke Island as construction designer/supervisor for the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. Skipper had installed the temporary theatre for the *Pageant of Roanoke* in 1934—as an extension of the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. He was vitally interested in his next project, the design and construction of Waterside Theatre—a permanent stage in the same location. He worked closely with Fred Koch whose theatrical experience included directing a play in an amphitheatre in St. Louis, and with director Sam Selden whose knowledge of technical theatre was vast. Bell set out a full main stage and side stages both left and right. This was similar to some indoor stages in France and Germany, and was a very effective arrangement that allowed plays to flow continuously without stops for scene changes. Since most of the play takes place on Roanoke Island in the settlement, Skipper's job was to create a permanent set that represented the village, and other undefined areas that could be used for different locations both indoor and outdoor. The script included a stationary choir and narrator—places for each had to be included in the permanent set.

FIGURE 331: By design, the original theatre included a small booth located on the House-Left Stage. Its purpose was to house the actor playing the role of historian—a storyteller and authority figure who remained stationary throughout the performance—at least from 1937 through 1963.

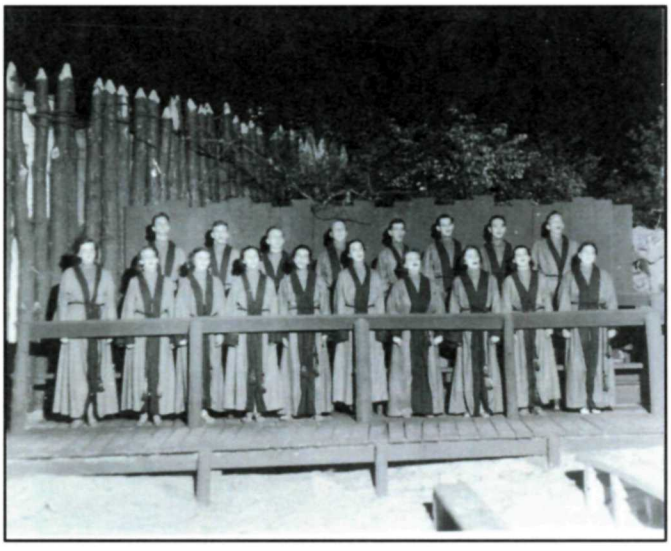

FIGURE 332: From 1937-1963, the side stage House Right included a choir loft for singers and a space for the organ and organist. In the premiere season of the production, the choir remained stationary, but in subsequent years, certain musical numbers were performed solely in the choir loft and others on stage—or in a combination of loft and stage.

A permanent technical booth, organ pit and light towers had to be designed and installed.

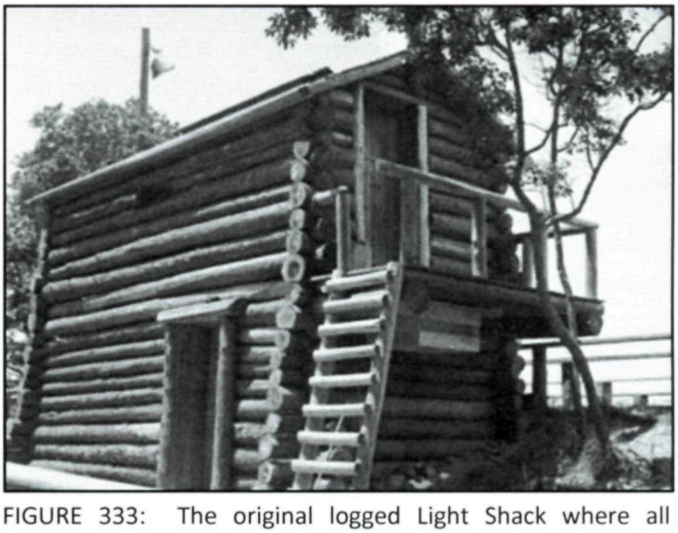

FIGURE 333: The original logged Light Shack where all lighting consoles, follow spots and sound mixers were operated during the performance. The building was expanded over the years to accommodate more sophisticated equipment, the production stage manager and the organ and organist who re-located from the side stage.

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FIGURE 335: The original light tower—one of two that housed primary lighting for the two side stages and the main-stage until 1964, at which time additional metal towers were erected to supplement the lighting. In the 2000s, supplemental metal towers were installed atop the wooden towers, and the old metal towers were discarded.

And—the entire permanent set and house had to look appropriate to the environment both in and off season. He had to build a theatre and a permanent set that was in the style of the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. He did; and also created some landscaping in the house, around the palisade and near the side-stage areas. The Waterside Theatre is the first amphitheatre ever built in the United States for the sustained performance of a single play.

Labor to build the amphitheatre was supplied by many enthusiastic locals and men from the nearby CCC Camp. I recall Paul Green talking about building Waterside Theatre with "*a mule, a scoop, and the CCC Boys*." The Federal Civilian Conservation Corps did indeed supply the labor to shape and build the amphitheatre. The WPA supplied much of the material. After the production season opened, some of the CCC boys enjoyed being in the play, most opting to play Indians.

FIGURE 336: Until 1941, many CCC boys performed in *The Lost Colony* as Indians or colonists.

Symphonic Outdoor Drama

The Lost Colony is not a documentary showing only historic facts. It is a dramatic work constructed from history to create empathy on the part of the audience. The drama demonstrates the proper use of stage spaces to keep the outdoor play moving in a modern tempo expected by today's audiences. The production is also unique in that it demonstrates the use of an actual historic site to create a sense of pilgrimage that is sustained and enhanced year after year.

It is a unique form of drama, frequently more difficult to stage than an indoor play. It rains. The winds blow. Insects make noise. So do people if we have our amphitheatres too close to them. They fly planes, run trains and trucks and blow auto horns. That is why the first requirement for a site is to find a place where we can isolate our audience from distractions, and we can create our own time travel as the audience enters the theatre.

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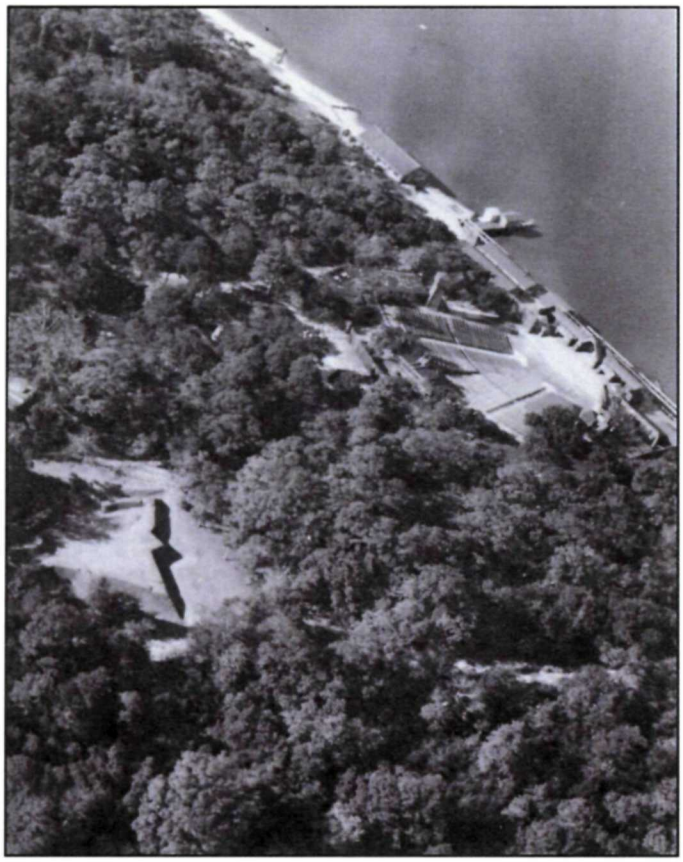

FIGURE 338: The Waterside Theatre on Roanoke Island.

Waterside Theatre, located on the northeastern shore of Roanoke Island, is the perfect site for an outdoor drama. The outline of the Outer Banks can be seen in the distance and the sky overhead is always intriguing no matter what the weather. I was in the audience at Waterside the night our explorers landed on the moon.

FIGURE 339: *The Lost Colony* Prologue, with ghost choir humming and historian speaking:

For here once walked the men of dreams,
The sons of hope and pain and wonder,
Upon their foreheads truth's bright diadem,
The light of the sun in their countenance,
And their lips singing a new song—
A song for ages yet unborn,
For us the children that came after them—
"O new and mighty world to be!"
They sang,
"O land majestic, free, unbounded!"

This was the vision, this the fadeless dream....

Now down the trackless hollow years
That swallowed them but not their song
We send response—
"O lusty singer, dreamer, pioneer,
Lord of the wilderness, the unafraid,
Tamer of darkness, fire and flood,
Of the soaring spirit winged aloft
On the plumes of agony and death—
Hear us, O hear!
The dream sill lives,
It lives, it lives,
And shall not die!" [314]

The words of the Historian were received by the audience as though they were predicting the future. We knew that the space vehicle was whirling around the moon, and it was as though *The Lost Colony* with its deep understanding of the kind of people, who brave the unknown, was a forecast of things to come. If you listen to Green's words, that is what this play is. It is not only a commemoration; it is a forecast of today. When you see the play, think of the Americans on the moon.

Not every historical event shows goals and conflicts clearly, but *The Lost Colony* definitely shows how the goals of the early colonists are championed by the leading characters. Outdoor drama is not about people who do nothing. It is about people taking action to achieve something, usually for the group, or state, or nation. This outdoor historical drama is about people who act heroically to achieve goals and/or defend them. Outdoor drama is extroverted, like the American people.

History sprawls out over the landscape to other places, states and countries. There is no way the development and bending of historically important events can show exact times. Outdoor history plays must condense time

[314] Paul Green, *The Lost Colony* (Durham, NC: Seeman Printery, Inc., 1984), 2.

and place. This prevents the theatre environment from being covered with expensive scenery that requires huge stage crews for what is only a summer run.

There are always more characters involved in the history than can be hired for a summer run. Therefore we have to combine historical figures into fictional representatives for many scenes. We bend the truth when we ask historical characters to do what they did not actually do in history. Fictional characters, however, can combine actions and demonstrate feelings and problems that surround events in the story. Doubling (an actor playing more than one role) is sometimes possible, but combining characters is a better solution. In films, actors can be hired for a few days work, and then be released. Outdoor cast members are there for the summer.

In the beginning years of outdoor drama, the actual voices of the actors were used. Microphones were not successful in the wind and the equipment was delicate. Modern technology has changed the practice of actors using their skills in projection and enunciation, but these attributes are still extremely important in casting—as technology sometimes fails. The audience, after all, must hear the play!

FIGURE 340: The Lane Scene—interpreting the murder of King *Wingina* near the end of Governor Ralph Lane's eleven-month tenure on Roanoke Island—is played out on the small intimate stage located House-Left. Within the production company, the stage has always been referred to as, the Indian stage.

FIGURE 341: The Queen's Chamber Scene—providing an explanation for Governor's White's failure to relieve his Roanoke colony in a timely fashion—is an intimate view of the relationship between Queen Elizabeth I and Sir Walter Ralegh at the time of the first Spanish Armada's attack on England. The scene takes place on what is known as the Queen's stage, located House-Right, originally located between the choir loft and light tower. After 1963, it was expanded to include the space formerly occupied by the choir loft.

FIGURE 342: The fishnet scene is an example of presenting a large scene on the mainstage only.

FIGURE 343: In the Final March scene, or Big Battle, Plymouth, Indian/Amadas and Barlowe, or any 3-stage scene that has great importance to the plot and involves large crowds, two or three stages are used to great effect.

Small scenes are played on the side stages, with large scenes on the main stage. The play runs continuously—like a film. There is less of an attempt to pull the audience into the action, but instead an attempt to hurl the play into the last row of the audience. The staging does not, as in traditional theatre, try to bring the audience up through the fourth wall. The play comes after the spectators, making them focus wherever the director wants them to focus.

The Playwright's Philosophy

When I was first learning about playwriting, I had a Broadway playwright tell me that a line of dialogue had to do at least one of three things. It had to advance the story, disclose the character, or get a laugh. It was great if it did all three. The teacher who gave me the best tool told me that I must make the audience feel what the character felt as the scene was played on stage.

The world has always been a dangerous place and right now we Americans are looking for a lot of answers. We are not alone in this, since the populations of other nations are in the same boat, or if not the same one, at least a similar one. I am not talking about the obvious problems of seeking answers to technical questions on the environment, electronics, or energy that are raised in an increasingly complex world society. Everyone is trying to learn in these areas, and much of our attention is focused in these dramatic aspects of modern life.

I refer to the fact that we in America, and indeed much of the world, have great difficulty in understanding other nationalities. It is as though we have learned little about cultural communication since the time of the ancient Greeks.

It is not enough to learn about historic events; we must also learn why they happened. We need to know and understand the conditions, the locations, the beliefs involved; and what the people felt. We count on home life, schools and religion to supply a good part of this necessary knowledge, with some degree of success. Yet, even in this country, racial tensions, group pressures, forceful dissention instead of debate, questionable integrity of elected officials, and an unwillingness to accept the decisions of elected leaders all threaten our system of self-government and the very essence of our society.

All of this, plus the international hostility and friction prevalent today demonstrate little change in international, religious and ethnic communications despite our electronic revolution. For all our great print media, radio, television, internet and social media, communication between large segments of the American public seems reduced to hostility. Despite the printed and spoken word, twitter, face book and blogs, we do not seem to be hearing each other.

I maintain that lessons learned only intellectually, without some personal exercise of emotional involvement may turn out in the long run not to have been learned at all, because they have not been truly understood. This seems to be a major factor in the problem of communication between the older generation and the younger, between ethnic groups and between different economic segments. If one cannot physically stand in the place and manner of another, then he, or she, must be able to do so emotionally or there is no understanding in the fullest sense.

Empathy, you will recall can increase understanding of any observed event. It is often overlooked in our society by our heavy-handed emphasis on competitiveness, money and power. The result, too often, is an apprehensive and unfulfilled people welded with suspicion and fear to self interest groups who in turn fear each other. These groups are afraid of each other mostly

because they do not know each other—and cannot communicate effectively; ergo cannot understand each other.

The emotional exercise offered us by the Arts is greatly important to our culture. From light entertainment to classical music, the Arts supply society with exercise in empathy and therefore exercise in the understanding of others. This imaginary sense of life, which clarifies and preserves our shared humanity, creates awe and homage for both natural and man-made wonders. It widens our view of basic human goals and offers a base for love and understanding of other life patterns. A society shirks its artistic responsibility at the risk of losing its international sanity, and perhaps its soul.

FIGURE 344: Barbara Edwards Griffith as Eleanor Dare, struggles to control a hungry, cold and frightened colony.

Outdoor historic drama, or epic drama if you will, offers a re-creation of selected real events in the past, and the people who took part in them. The play is a conscious effort to achieve empathy with the audience and to clarify the human condition—while concurrently entertaining and educating.

Outdoor Historical Drama takes a special place in the theatrical world since it is community based, growing locally with the care and support of the people whose history is depicted. It is drama produced by the people, for people who do not live there, stating the values of those who are the presenters.

Those of us who have worked in outdoor drama know that the people of the communities that sustain outdoor dramas are a special breed of Americans and we salute

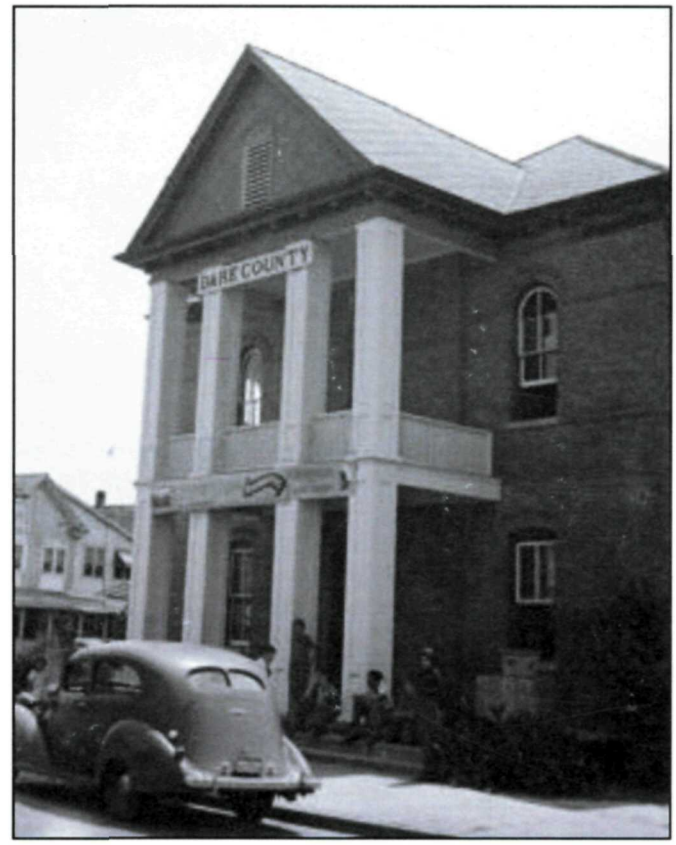

FIGURE 345: The Dare County Courthouse, located in downtown Manteo, served as the administrative and production offices for *The Lost Colony*, Chamber of Commerce, Board of Education, Register of Deeds, Clerk of Superior Court, Sheriff's Office and Community Center in the 1930s and early 1940s when Heritage Tourism and Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* were being developed and implemented.

them. It is these people who struggle to produce and sustain regional art, and work tirelessly to express the good and bad of our past in artistic terms where it can be understood emotionally. These people are the most valuable protectors of our nation's history, and of its future.

This community and the countless others like it deserve the most heartfelt gratitude of the state and the nation.

Mark Reese Sumner, Sr.
Actor, Director, Producer, Playwright
Executive Director Emeritus, Institute of Outdoor Drama
Former Producer, *The Lost Colony*

Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012

Preserving the Past
Archives of the
Roanoke Island Historical Association
&
The Lost Colony

A Photo Essay by Barbara Hird

The National Park Service and the Roanoke Island Historical Association have been in partnership to produce *The Lost Colony* since 1941. The partnership to preserve artifacts began almost immediately with the Park Service's continued use of items that had been a part of the original museum in the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. It was not until 1998, however, that the Museum Resource Center was completed providing additional archival space. Cataloging and preserving RIHA-*The Lost Colony* records and artifacts began in earnest in 2005.

Now, one of the major collections at the Museum Resource Center is that of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, producers of *The Lost Colony* Symphonic Outdoor Drama. This collection contains extrinsic records about early attempts to interpret Sir Walter Ralegh's colonies from the late 1800s through the mid-1930s, as well as records that tell the story of the beginning and perpetuation of Paul Green's premiere outdoor drama over the past seventy-seven years. The association's records begin with 1946; *The Lost Colony* with 1936. From financial, administrative and operations records to scripts, scores, publicity, publications, production records and artifacts, the MRC houses the largest single collection of RIHA-*The Lost Colony* records and artifacts. Vintage photographs, archival videos of the production, TV commercials, minute books, architectural drawings, production bibles, theatrical designs, paintings, books, props and costumes abound. Researchers can study the music of *The lost Colony* from its origin in 1937 through several evolutions to the present. Archival videos of the production from the 1970s to the present provide material for the study of variations in staging, and production bibles—available for most years from the 1980s to the present—are sources for blocking, lighting, sound, costumes, props, sets and the running of the show. For some years, the bibles are so complete that using them, the actual performance could be reproduced in every detail. A picture of the structure and operations of the association itself, once considered a model for history-based non-profits, can also be seen in the minute books and board papers. These and other documents reflecting the association's partnership with the NPS; and its own internal struggles to keep the production on the boards through difficult times are also available. Most of the materials in the collection came to the archives directly from the association, and from thousands of alumni.

Public and scholarly research at the MRC is facilitated by the NPS Cultural Resource Manager, and by the RIHA Historian.

Barbara Hird
Author
Archivist for the RIHA/*TLC* Collection
Roanoke Island, NC.

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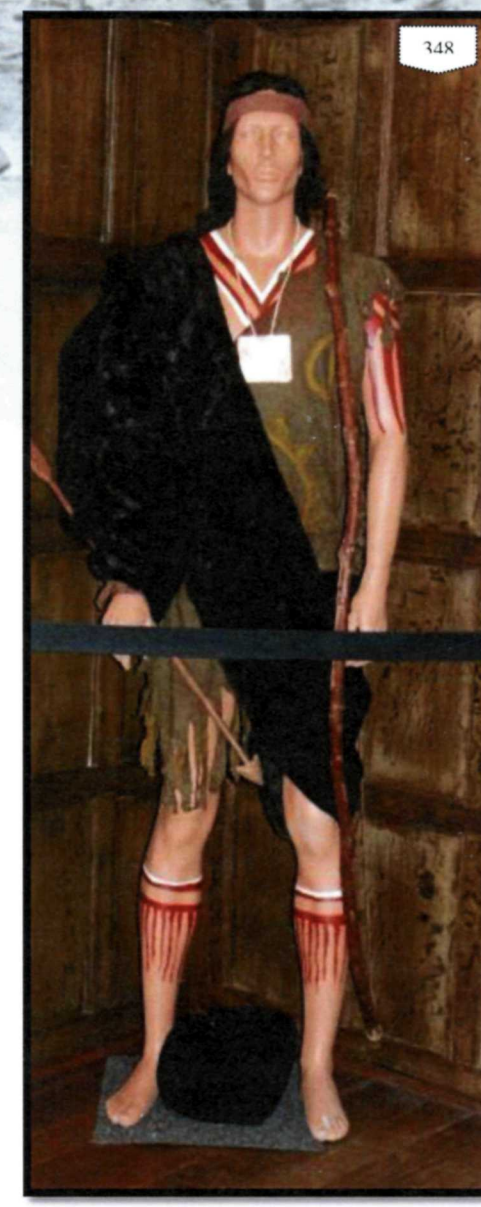
The 1921 Silent Movie about Ralegh's Colonies



In 1921, long before anyone had given serious consideration to producing a drama about Sir Walter Ralegh's colonies on Roanoke Island, Mabel Evans brought their story to life in a five-reel silent film that was distributed throughout North Carolina. Funded by the NC State Department of Public Instruction, the movie was filmed on Roanoke Island in the historic zone associated with the Elizabethan settlements. The wide-spread interest generated by the film, paved the way for the production of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama in 1937.

A digitized copy of the movie, numerous still photos and some of the costumes and props are preserved in the RIHA-*Lost Colony* Archives at the MRC.

Disasters

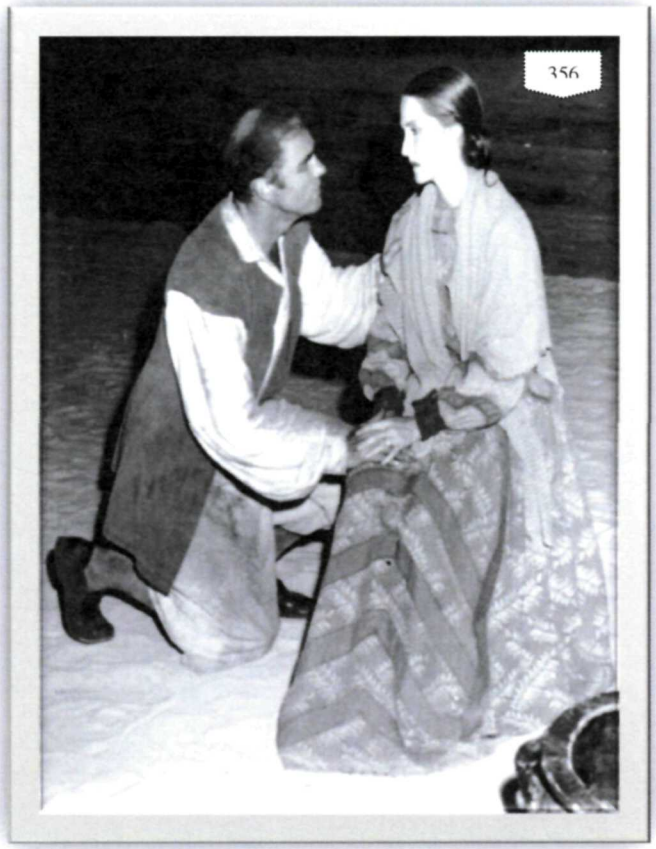
Over the past seventy-seven years, *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama has suffered through three major disasters that threatened its continuity. **TOP:** In mid-season—June 1947, the Waterside Theatre was almost totally destroyed by fire. **MIDDLE:** In September 1960, Hurricane Donna demolished the entire theater and most of the backstage area. **LOWER:** In September 2007, fire destroyed the Costume Shop and most of the show's costumes and textile supplies.

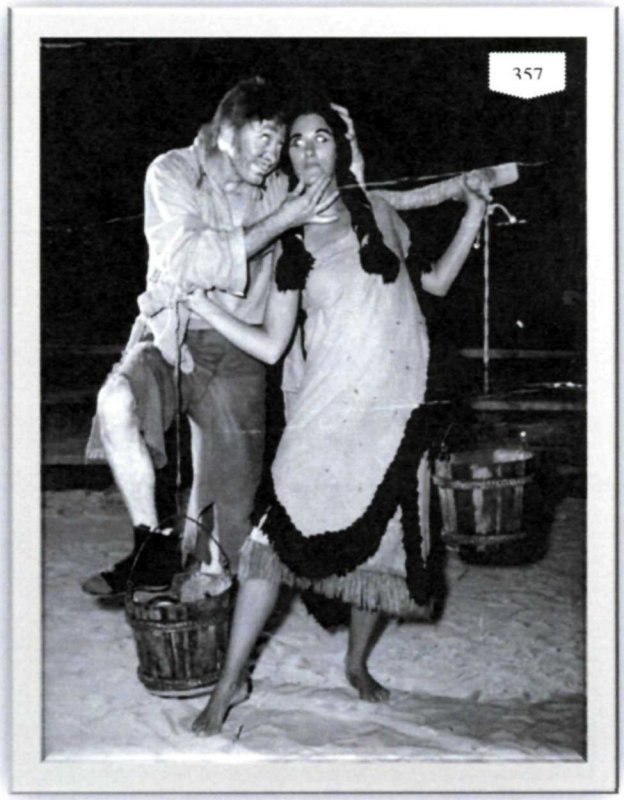
Photos and artifacts of the disasters, and 'Costume Bibles' for the multi-million dollar re-design of the show's costumes are in the RIHA-*Lost Colony* Archives at the MRC.

Scenes from the Show

In 1937, *The Lost Colony* was envisioned by Paul Green and originally designed by Sam Selden, Wilbur Dorset and Skipper Bell. Joe Layton re-envisioned the show in 1964, and Fred Voelpel and Nan Porcher re-designed from 1964 – 1970. From 1988-2009, William Ivey Long completely re-designed the sets, costumes and props. The RIHA-*Lost Colony* Archives at the MRC house scripts, programs, many of the designs, costumes and props, as well as thousands of photos of scenes and characters. Archival videos of the show include most seasons from 1970 – 2014.

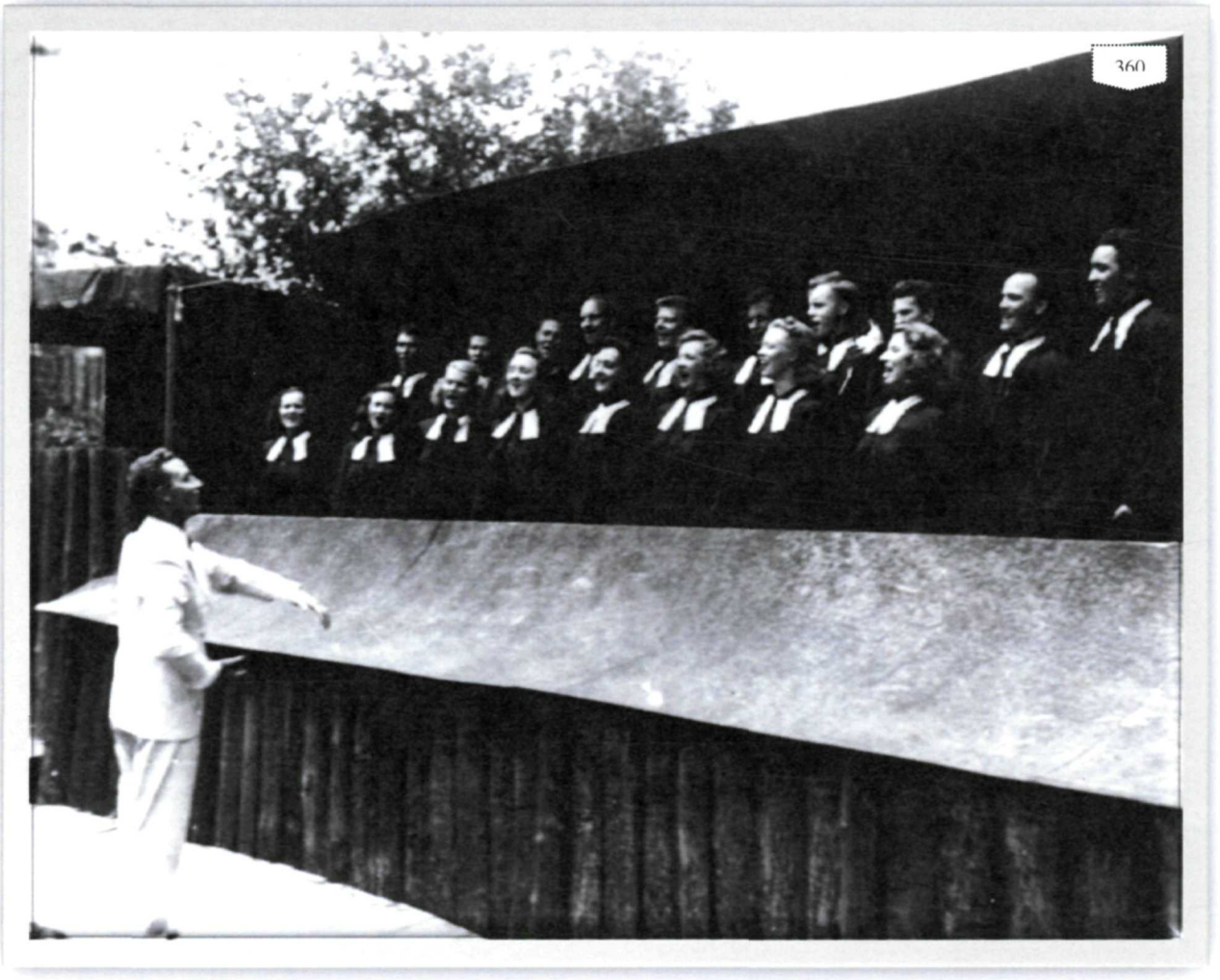
Scenes from the Show





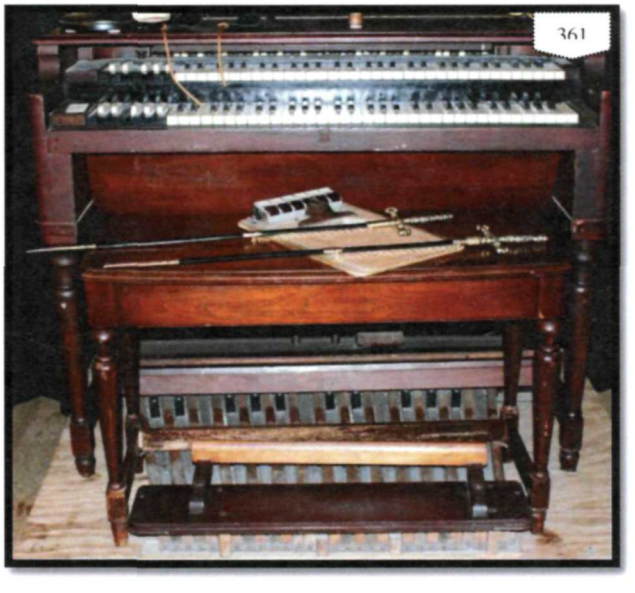
Scenes from the Show

The Music



The music and the way it is presented have experienced many re-arrangements and re-scorings over the years. Originally, all music was performed from a choir loft on the stage-left side stage. In 1964, the loft was removed and singers fully integrated in the performance. The organ was the single instrument used until the 1970s when it was replaced with a symphonic recording. In recent years the score has been re-arranged, and on occasion completely replaced to produce a more modern sound.

Many recordings, tapes, dvds, videos and scores are part of the RIHA-*Lost Colony* Archives at the MRC.



Costumes & Props

Costumes & Props

Costumes & Props

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Costumes & props are a major part of the RIHA-*Lost Colony* Archives at the MRC.

The costume collection includes examples from all four of the show's designers: Ora Mae Davis, Irene Rains, Fred Voelpel and six-time Tony Award winner, William Ivey Long.

Props in the collection are mostly from the 1960s, 1970s and 2000s.

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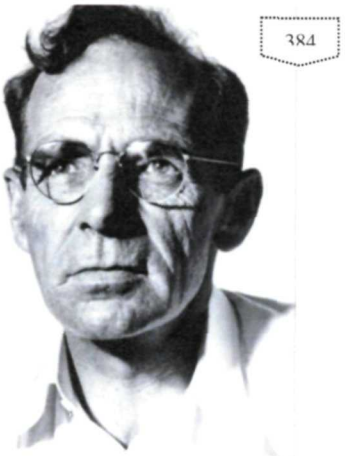
Candid Photos

371. Paul Green, Bradford Fearing
372. William M. Prince, Irene Rains
373. Victor Meekins
374. John Lehman
375. Kay Kyser & Unknown
376. Mabel Basnight
377. William Long Family
378. A. Q. Skipper Bell
379. Joe Layton

Candid Photos

380. 1937 Box Office
381. Bill Friday,
Emma Neal Morrison,
Andy Griffith
382. Hettie Westcott &
Dr. Drane
383. Mark R. Sumner
384. Ben Dixon MacNeill



...*This Wooden O*...
The Director and the History Play

by Jane McCulloch

Introduction

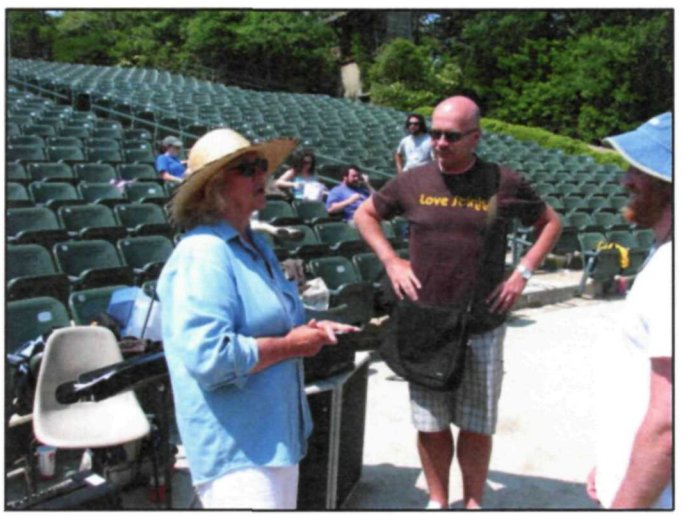


FIGURE 385: English director, Jane McCulloch, at the artistic helm of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*.

Well—it is great to be back on Roanoke Island and the land of *The Lost Colony*. It almost feels like coming home; and Roanoke Island certainly is my 'home' on this side of the Atlantic.

When lebame [houston, co-director of the *Roanoke Conundrum Symposium*] first asked me to give this talk and told me the subject—the director and the history play—I have to admit to being a little daunted. The idea of covering the vast subject of the history play in an hour—from the Greeks to the present day, not to mention Shakespeare etc. in between—is of course an impossibility. And to include the director's attitude to all this as well—I'm afraid it would be longer than the *Ring*!

So I have decided to cheat—and make it purely subjective—in order to cover as much material as possible from a personal point of view. It will not be an in-depth academic narrative, but hopefully will give you some insights and pointers for yourselves, into this fascinating subject.

What is a Historical Play?

Basically it is a play representing events drawn wholly or partly from recorded history. After that it is up to the dramatist to interpret those events in his or her own way. And after that, the script is there for the director to come in and interpret what the dramatist has done!

I have called this talk *the wooden O* because Shakespeare, certainly building on Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*, was the first person to tackle the problems of putting historical events on the stage—with a purpose of then representing them satisfactorily—given all the problems involved, and creating what we now know as the Renaissance History Play.

I am rather presuming that Shakespeare would have been responsible for staging his own plays, as the role of director did not exist in Elizabethan times. Shakespeare had none of the assets, gimmicks and effects that the modern director can call upon. He sets out this dilemma in his opening speech of *Henry V*, making his plea for the audience's understanding at the outset.

Anecdote

I must digress here with a little anecdote: When I did the opening workshop for the re-built Elizabethan Globe Theatre on the Thames Southbank, I was lucky enough to have at my disposal many of the great British classical actors, who were there to try out the space and the unfamiliar acoustic—actors who included Dame Judi Dench, Sir Ian McKellen, Sir Derek Jacobi and a whole host of others. And the first speech I chose to start the evening was the opening lines from *Henry V*. It was a thrilling moment, as the theatre was being used for the first time in 400 years; and because we were back in the *wooden O* it seemed the most appropriate speech possible.

FIGURE 386: The re-built Elizabethan Globe Theatre where director McCulloch conducted the opening workshop to test the acoustics.

And here are those lines, that resounded in the new reconstructed Globe, just as they had in Shakespeare's day when he pled for indulgence of the inadequacy of his stage, for the presentation of the events that were to follow.[315]

O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention,
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!
Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars, and at his heels,
Leash'd in like hounds, should famine, sword and fire
Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all,
The flat unraised spirits that have dared
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
So great an object. Can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air of Agincourt?

Well, no is the answer. Of course not, although nowadays they have a pretty good try with back projections, film, revolving scenery, battlements being flown in and out, not to mentions guns, smoke and explosions.

You get the idea! Personally, I think it would sometimes be a good idea for the modern director to go back to Shakespeare and take his advice. Too many of these so-called assets really can detract from the play. Clever they are, I am sure, but I prefer, when doing Shakespeare's plays, to put them on in Shakespeare's way without the clutter of large sets and endless gimmicks. Just get the language clearly spoken and the acting roles played with truthfulness and clarity, is my advice to the director! Shakespeare himself does the rest.

Shakespeare, in that *Henry V* speech, goes on to tell the audience, that there are two devices that can be used to help them over the limitations of the space: the descriptive word, and the audience's own imagination—or as he puts it *On your imaginary forces work.*[316]

In fact, in *Henry V* Shakespeare uses another device—the narrator. In this play he is called, Chorus. In more modern plays, dramatists use similar narrators, like journalists or television reporters. The narrators or guides help the audience cover fast-moving and complicated events which frequently occur in historical plays.

Pay Attention to the Text

As I cover the subject of the history play and the director, I will be speaking from personal experience as both the playwright and as the director. As the director, I always pay great reverence to the text, and in fact, this is a general rule for all directors. The director should always approach historical drama with the question: "What did the writer want with this piece?" Once decided, the director should then try and do justice to the play, and to the playwright's interpretation of events. I say should, but all too often, this does not happen. Most texts of the classics thankfully cannot be changed—although inevitably some are messed about with, usually to ill affect! But with contemporary writers and new plays, alas, this reverence is not always given. Now these plays are at the mercy of every whim and gimmick a modern director can use. There are exceptions of course. I do not think most directors would mess around with Michael Frayn, David Hare or Tom Stoppard, but I will give you an example of where things can go wrong.

[315] "Henry V," in A.L. Rowse, ed., *The Annotated Shakespeare, Three Volumes in One, The Comedies, The Histories, Sonnets and Other Poems. The Tragedies and Romances* (New York: Greenwich House, 1988), 1285, lines 1-14.

[316] Ibid., line 18.

William and Mary Anecdote

In 1985 I was commissioned to write an historical drama to celebrate the 300 years since the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the British throne. They had taken over in troubled times. The Kingdom had been rife with agitation, uprising, conspiracy and fighting between the Catholics and the Protestants.

It was hoped that Mary, the daughter of a Catholic King, married to Protestant King William, would help solve the problem and calm things down. Mostly it did, but NOT in Northern Ireland where the Catholic uprisings were finally suppressed with great severity by King William.

Sorry for the short history lesson, but you need to understand that this play I had been commissioned to write was something of a political hot potato, because in the 1980s the troubles between the Protestant Royalists and the Catholic Republicans in Northern Ireland were at their height; and the subject of William of Orange—the Protestant King who had ruthlessly suppressed the Catholic rebellions—was NOT the easiest or most tactful subject to write about. However, it was a fascinating period of history, and I drew on contemporary writings and historical sources, concentrating a good deal on the touching relationship between William and Mary themselves, and the good things that happened in their reign—like the creating of the beautiful gardens at Hampton Court and Mary's love of music and art.

FIGURE 387: The gardens at Hampton Court Palace.

It was enough to make a charming literary piece—or so I thought! Not so the avant-garde director who had been asked to direct it. He did not like what he considered the bland and rather boring literary element of the piece. I was informed he would be making a few changes. That was an understatement. He covered the stage floor and scenery in newspapers and renamed one of the real courtiers Rumour, and another as Gossip. Whole chunks of the piece were removed, and the director added his own material. The whole thing was given a racy, contemporary feel with bawdy language and a modern score—not the Purcell that I had selected. All political correctness was now completely out of the window!

It was, I suppose, an exciting piece of theatre—but NOT what I had been commissioned to do and NOT what I, the writer, had intended! It was so completely changed that on the first night I barely recognized it as my work, and the inevitable political uproar followed. I had learned my lesson. Choose the director for your play very carefully; keep watch on the copyright; and allow no changes unless you make them yourself—or better still, direct the piece yourself.

I think lebame [houston, American playwright and stage director] has always followed this maxim, and wisely directs her own plays!

Of course not all dramatists are directors, in which case it is advisable to work with directors well known to you; directors who will respect what you have written. Even in this case, it is also wise for the playwright to attend rehearsals, to know what is going on during the rehearsal process.

Role of the Director

Then, how important is the role of the director? The exciting thing about the theatre is that no two directors will interpret a play in the same way. I have no quarrel with updating the classics and with giving them a contemporary feel—as long as the thrust and meaning of the play is still adhered to. The director's concept and interpretation is what makes theatre so exciting. With the history play, the director has real scope.

Timon of Athens

I have just seen a brilliant production of Shakepeare's play *Timon of Athens* at our National Theatre [in London], where the director, Nicholas Hytner updated it to

present day Greece. *Timon* is one of Shakespeare's more obscure plays and is rarely performed. It deals with the profound anger of a few voices against everything that Athens IS, and everything Athens fails TO BE. It is also about wealth and the mismanagement of finances bringing about the inevitable downfall of both the city and its hero. To set the play in modern Greece—with all the financial problems that the country is going through at this present time—makes perfect sense; and demonstrates once again, the extraordinary timelessness of Shakespeare's writing. His plays can be transferred to any age and still be absolutely relevant. Thus it can be seen that different directors can direct the same play in a completely original way, without ever changing a word of the text.

The Lost Colony

I directed the 69th and 70th productions of *The Lost Colony*, and certainly there were absolutely no changes allowed to the script. Although I was in a somewhat stricter straight jacket as a director than I normally am—which I must admit I found a little constraining on my creative juices—I still approached the piece in the same way I do any play, asking the same questions: What is the playwright saying? What is the best way to make it come alive on stage as the writer would have wanted?

As I am the only woman director to have been given this task of directing *The Lost Colony*, I quickly related to the fact that Paul Green had written a play about two very strong women, who, to a certain extent, dominated the action—Queen Elizabeth I in Act I, and Eleanor Dare in Act II.

FIGURE 388: In Act I of *The Lost Colony*, the Queen appears in the Garden scene, where she receives Sir Walter Ralegh and some of the main players in his colonization ventures—the Native Americans Manteo & Wanchese; Simon Fernando; the artist John White, his daughter and son-in-law. Subsequently, the Queen reappears in what is known as the crossover [a *mis-en-scene*] to continue dialog with Ralegh and Eleanor Dare about the New World colony.

Although not over-used, the Queen dominates the proceedings in Act I, because it is upon her actions that every other character depends. She acknowledges the discovery of the New World territory; accepts it as part of her empire; appoints a leader; authorizes a voyage and colony of exploration; and defines its demography and purpose. Through Ralegh, we learn that, off-stage as it were, the Queen has authorized and contributed to the establishment of the Cittie of Ralegh in the New World—a colony of men, women and children, all of whom are ready to set sail at the end of Act I, under the leadership of the artist John White—now sporting the arms of a gentleman, compliments of the Queen, and bearing the prestigious title of Governor.

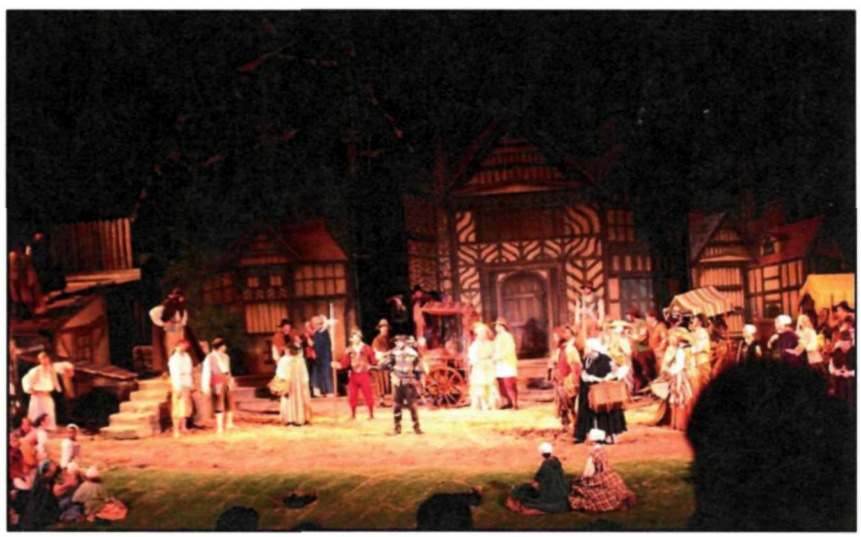


FIGURE 389: At the end of *The Lost Colony's* Act I, the colony of men, women and children, destined to catapult to the world of legend as the famous lost colony of Roanoke, sets sail from the port of Plymouth, bound for the New World.

It is the strength and leadership of Eleanor Dare in Act II that support the colonists in their time of trial. She really dominates proceedings in Act II.

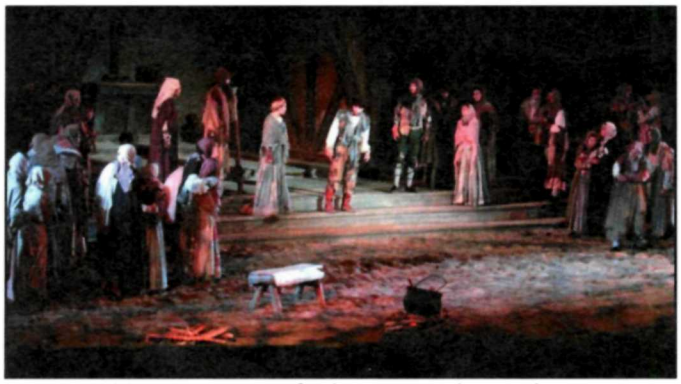


FIGURE 390: In Act II of *The Lost Colony*, Eleanor Dare, daughter of Governor John White, is officially at the helm of the colony after her father's departure for England, and the murder of her husband, Ananias Dare. She is supported and assisted by John Borden—an everyman and apparently Eleanor's first and final love.

Situational epic drama places Eleanor in the New World and Queen Elizabeth in England as the Spanish armada threatens the existence of the latter, and a Spanish ship off the bar of the Outer Banks threatens the former.

As the director I tried to draw strong performances from the actresses playing these roles, and place them in the strongest areas when staging—which every director knows is centre stage, preferably downstage centre.

I was lucky enough to get my great friend, the late and wonderful actress, Lynn Redgrave, to give her interpretation of the role of Queen Elizabeth at a few performances. All who saw her will remember how she really did dominate—not only everyone on stage—but everyone in the audience as well!

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The Lost Colony

FIGURE 392: English actor Barbara Hird portrayed Queen Elizabeth I in *The Lost Colony* for a record-tying ten consecutive seasons, juxtaposing her performances in the outdoor drama with an international tour of her one-woman show *Elizabeth R*.

And I know that Barbara Hird's performance as the Queen, given for so many years, made sure that the dominance was certainly powerfully there.

FIGURE 393: Lynn Redgrave, a member of British Theatre's Royal Family, guest-starred as Queen Elizabeth I in *The Lost Colony*.

The Role of the Director before and after 1800

The role of the director has not always had the importance it does today. Quite frankly, from the Greeks up until 1800, directors did not actually exist. Plays were either put together by the playwright as in Greek times, or the various City Guilds in Medieval times, or by the Theatre Manager in Elizabethan times—although one gets the feeling that Shakespeare, being the all-round theatre genius that he was, would have kept tight control over the staging of his plays and the actors in them—even the acclaimed Master Burbage! By the 1850s the role of the director had crept in, and nowadays that role is considered all-important. Today it is the director who is there from the outset of a production with the overall concept to which the designers and composers have to adhere. The director also works with the producing management of the theatre in choosing the cast—a task which can actually make or break any production but is particularly important in history plays where real and known characters are being portrayed. Preparations for the production start long before the company is assembled and the director has to be there from the start.

Change in the Role of the Director

You may well ask, why this change from the 1800s to the role of the modern director? It basically developed out of an interest in realism, coupled with technical advances, which finally made the director indispensable. It became vital to have the chosen director at the helm integrating all the various aspects of the production.

As I have said before, every director is different. I think I would probably put myself in the category of minimalist director. I like to concentrate on the text and interpretation of character, producing maximum effect by using costume, lighting and music. Basically I have a dislike of large sets; they are cumbersome, hold up the action and except with the very highest technology at our larger theatres, can look laughable and unrealistic—especially in historical drama. I love open space on the set; and again this is particularly good for historical plays. Of course certain plays, particularly musicals and opera, demand big sets, and when they are necessary I grit my teeth! But I digress.

Devices That Can Be Used

As a director, particularly in historical plays, there are three main devices that can be called upon and on which I rely—apart from good casting and good acting of course. These are: lighting, costumes and music.

A clever **lighting** designer can work magic and create almost any scene and produce any atmosphere required. These designers are getting cleverer all the time, and their effects can be visually stunning.

For historical plays they are extra important as they can set the scene brilliantly, especially battle scenes—before, during and after. I include technical effects as well—snow, smoke, fog—very atmospheric when lit.

Costumes, again, are absolutely necessary for historical drama, and can really help set the period of the play with accuracy. You have a wonderful example of this on your doorstep, with William Ivey Long's magnificent costumes which add so greatly to *The Lost Colony*. They are thoroughly researched and brilliantly interpreted.

However, there is a danger with historical costumes. Designers can sometimes get carried away and over romanticize or just get plain inaccurate with the period of the costumes. It is a fact that everyone should remember, that although period costumes look beautiful in portraits of the great and good, there was little washing and almost no sanitation before the mid-1800s and even later, and the majority of the public would have looked unwashed and scruffy to say the least. To make historical drama **believable** this is something that should be understood—otherwise all realism goes out of the window. Too often, Merry England can look like a child's history book illustration—all prettiness and flowers and CLEAN! I do not know whether any of you saw the film *Shakespeare in Love*, but the art director got it spot-on with the feel of the Elizabethan period. You just felt the muck and the grime of the general populace, as opposed to the beautiful appearance and elegance of the courtiers.

Music is the third great asset for any director, and particularly in historical drama—music and sound effects. Music can set a period of history quicker than almost anything else. It can set a mood; set danger,

romance, anger, conflict, and all with a few chords. It can take you from court scenes to country idyll.

With music I should include **dance,** and the choreographer when necessary. The music director and choreographer are as important to the director as are the costume, set and lighting designers. And never let us forget sound effects. They can immediately create war, crowd scenes—you name it—there is always a sound effect to help out.

The Historical Play

So having talked about the role of the director, we now move on to the historical play itself. I am going to by-pass Greek and Medieval plays here, because they are rarely produced now, and I will leap straight on to Elizabethan theatre. Although there were other great dramatists at the time, especially Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, it is the Shakespearean historical plays that are most often produced today, and which the director has to re-interpret for the modern audience. Although the exception is Marlowe's *Edward II,* which has been done recently with a couple of revivals, especially a famous one in the 1960s with the young Ian McKellen.

Shakespeare

But it is Shakespeare who remains the most popular and most performed of all playwrights writing historical drama. Sometimes, both actors and audiences feel daunted by Shakespeare's language, but this really should not be so if the actor has been directed properly. It is vital that the play, particularly the historical play, be fully understood. When I am tackling a Shakespearean play, I often ask the actor to say the speeches in contemporary language first, putting their own interpretation on it. Once the actors totally understand what they are saying, they can make it understandable to the audience.

What Is the Writer Trying To Say

So, we come back yet again, to what is the writer trying to say? Most texts are multi-layered. Shakespeare used historical subjects to emphasize problems of his own times, and by referring to the past he was saved from being clapped in the Tower for treason. It was very important for the Elizabethan hierarchy to sell the idea of the monarchy, and Shakespeare in his history plays probes deeply into the royal mind without ever having to mention Elizabeth. Shakespeare was a great propaganda writer. He wrote *Henry V* when Queen Elizabeth was at the height of her powers, but it was also a time of war, and the link between crown and people became all important. Shakespeare knew this. *Henry V* was a success—like the Queen herself.

FIGURE 394: Queen Elizabeth I, paralleling the courage and charisma of Henry V at Agincourt, addresses her troops at Tilbury in advance of what was thought to be the eve of a fight-to-the-death land battle with Spanish forces.

But Shakespeare wrote of royal failures too. A King like Richard II who didn't understand his people and was out of touch, selfish and arrogant was seen to fail. A King like Richard III, who was a tyrant, also was seen to fail. This would have impressed the Elizabethan audience.

Richard III

Incidentally the play *Richard III*, as we now know, is historically inaccurate and poor Richard was not the tyrant and villain that Shakespeare so powerfully portrays. Shakespeare used the subject merely as useful Tudor propaganda and manipulated the truth accordingly. The director would do well to remember that very few historical plays are entirely historically accurate. They are the vehicle the dramatist has used for his drama, and the dramatist will have been flexible with the truth if that is what the drama needed. There is a very interesting book, almost a detective novel, which deals with the truth about Richard III. It is called *A Daughter of Time*, written by Josephine Tey. It is worth a read.

Dilemmas of Directing History Plays

Reinventing history is one of the dilemmas of directing the history play. The writer will have put a personal interpretation on events. The director cannot quarrel with this; rather has to interpret what is on the page.

Yes, research can be done into the period and into the facts of the historical event, but finally, the play has to be done as it is set down—warts and all.

Returning to Shakespeare's Plays

In Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays he exposes the doubts and strains of kingship; the heavy burden the King has to carry; and the exploration of whether war is ever justified. This theme is again pursued in *Henry V*.

There is a longing for the monarchs to be understood by their subjects, and to have the momentous decisions they have to make, understood and accepted. This would have had a great effect on the Elizabethan public. Many of Queen Elizabeth's speeches echoed the tone of, I am one of you, as in her Tilbury Speech, *...I am come amongst you...being resolved...to live and die amongst you all*;[317] She was always declaring her love for her people, as in her Golden Speech: *...there is no Prince that loveth his Subjects better, or whose Love can countervail our Love.*"[318] Elizabeth also knew the power of performance, as could be seen in her great Tilbury performance: *we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my Kingdom, and of my people*;[319]—echoes of which were in the Agincourt speeches of Henry V, *Cry God for Harry, England, and St. George*![320]

The director should be mindful of all this—of Shakespeare's intentions. These intentions rather changed in his plays after the death of Elizabeth, when James I came to the throne. James was a very different monarch, and this was reflected in Shakespeare's later plays, which were full of madness and sanity, good and evil, ambition and revenge. He asks the question, does power corrupt? The answer in *Macbeth* is definitely yes.

And in *Lear* he shows that once the mask and trappings of Kingship have gone, there is merely the ordinary human left behind.

There is debatable realism and accuracy in all Shakespeare's history plays, but we should be aware that he was writing them with a reason; holding the mirror up to nature and by looking back at historical characters and events, he was able to show the shortcomings and mistakes of the present times.

These major themes of love, loss and suffering are as relevant today as then. And what could be more topical than the fall of tyrants or the decisions to go to war?

History plays are as important as history itself.

After Shakespeare

After Shakespeare and the Elizabethan dramatists, the historical play went a little out of fashion. The three centuries that followed dealt with more domestic and frivolous subjects. Then in the 20th century, the playwrights once more turned to history, using their writing of historical events in many different ways.

Contemporary History Plays

George Bernard Shaw wrote his play about St. Joan [Joan of Arc], but he was more interested in the interplay of character than the epic events surrounding the heroine. This was a wordy, intellectual play, not full of epic battle scenes. In his *Caesar and Cleopatra* his writing again gives us amusing and clever characterizations, the quick-fire interaction between two epic people. The drama is through the word—not the action.

The poet T. S. Eliot gave us *Murder in the Cathedral*, again a monumental moment in history conveyed in beautiful verse that explored the relationship of the two main characters, Archbishop Thomas Beckett and Henry II.

These plays that concentrate on word and character give the director a difficult task, as the interpretation of the

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[317] "Tilbury Speech," in Alan Glover, ed. *Gloriana's Glass, Queen Elizabeth I reflected in verses & dedications, addresses to her, reports concerning her, and her own words written & spoken* (England: Nonesuch Press, 1953), 536.
[318] Ibid., "Golden Speech," 31.
[319] Ibid., "Tilbury Speech," 536.
[320] "Henry V," in Rowse, *The Annotated Shakespeare*, 1304, 3.1.34.

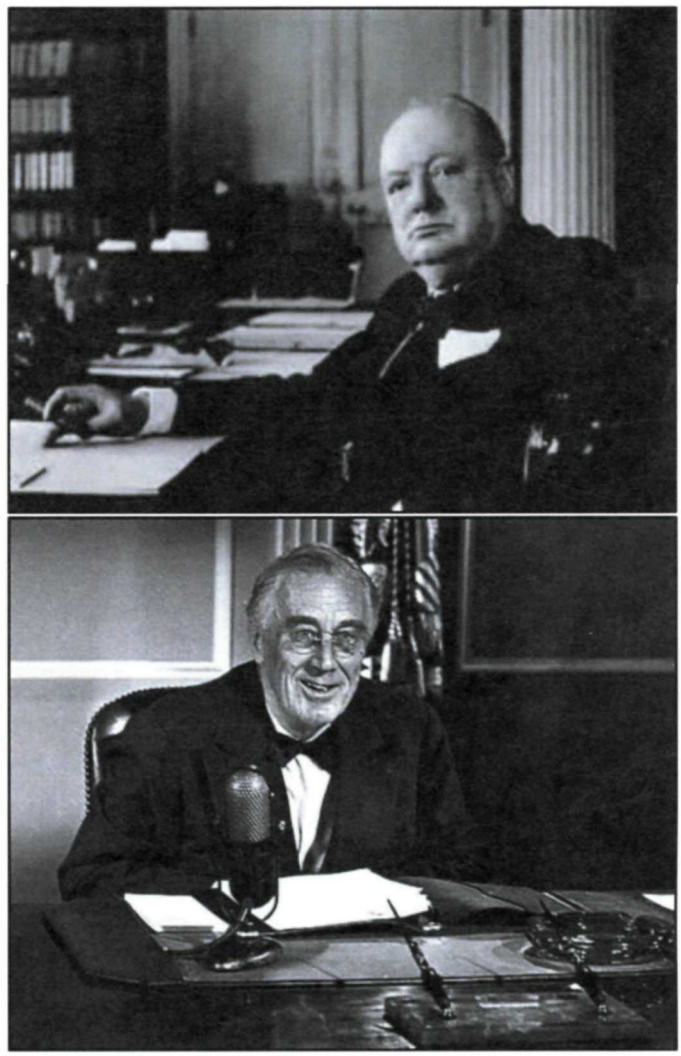
text is all important, and the performance of the actors must be supreme to make them work. There is no epic staging or battle scenes—just dialogue.

We then have the more romantic writing of William Goldman showing a family at war in *The Lion in Winter,* which reminds us all that family-life, has not changed much over the centuries. Some history plays are based on historical events using court room scenes, diaries and accounts. *Inherit the Wind* was one of these, where the lawyer protagonists take centre stage. Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons* was an accurate account of the life of Thomas More, and again used court room accuracy in his trial, and contemporary writings as well. Some history plays are written to shock. Howard Brenton's *Romans in Britain* caused uproar with its explicit sexual scenes when first produced. Like so many historical plays it was written about the brutality and effect of acts of war.

Political Drama

In the last thirty years the historical plays have developed into political drama with writers such as Howard Brenton, David Edgar, Howard Barker, and the leader of the pack, David Hare, who has written many plays using contemporary events and actual living characters. One of his latest plays, *Stuff Happens*, deals in performance with the events leading up to the Iraq war—and all those characters so familiar to us—Blair, Bush, Colin Powell, Dick Cheney, Condoleezza Rice—play the leading roles. The director has a dilemma here: How to make these well known characters believable and not just caricatures. Hare's writing is clever enough to make this task easier, and good casting did the rest. The familiar events of late 2002 and 2003 are given an imposing dramatic architecture; but it is clearly the playwright's opinion of events. At the end of the play, an Iraqi exile, who is as appalled by the invasion as he is by Saddam's reign, says, *A country's leader is the country's own fault.*[321] The play had great impact, not only in England but also, surprisingly in the States. Hare chose not to demonize or lionize Bush or Blair, but to show that their power derived simply from the stubbornness of their convictions; not an easy message for audiences on either side of the Atlantic. Hare did not disguise this message in previous history as Shakespeare had done, but in a clear account of recent events and people who were fresh in our minds.

Their Finest Hour



FIGURES 395 & 396: Winston Churchill [top], Prime Minister of England and Franklin D. Roosevelt [bottom], President of the United States.

There was an interesting historical piece I put together some years ago, and it was compelling drama. Called *Their Finest Hour*, the play is based on the dramatised correspondence of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Wearing my **writer's hat**, I was lucky that there were no copyright problems, because the letters, broadcasts and speeches are all in the public domain. Copyright can be a major problem when writing modern historical dramas. For this piece, I added in some actual telephone conversations as well as

[321] David Hare, *Stuff Happens* (London: Faber & Faber, 2004).

excerpts from famous speeches and broadcasts. It was fascinating material and in two hours we covered the whole of World War II, from the first letter in 1939 to Roosevelt's death in 1945.

As the **director** I had a more difficult task. I not only had to find two actors who looked like Roosevelt and Churchill, I also had to make sure they sounded like the great men whose voices were so distinctive and well known. Luckily I managed both. Strangely enough my perfect Churchill was an American actor who came from Texas, the late and great William Hootkins. At one performance in the Roosevelt Library a good many members of both the Roosevelt and Churchill families had been invited. After that evening, Churchill's actual grandson came up to Bill Hootkins and said "Grandpapa!" I think that meant he approved. Bob Sherman as Roosevelt was equally impressive. You could close your eyes on the Pearl Harbour speech and I defy you to think that you were not listening to Roosevelt himself.

My next problem was to decide how to stage it. The drama rested entirely on the words; there was no action. So I had the two actors sitting at desks; Stage/Right was the White House and rather grand. Stage/Left was the War Cabinet Rooms underground in Whitehall, and rather scruffy. Their desks set the scene and were covered with period props, very carefully chosen—telephones, microphones for the broadcasts, Roosevelt's medicine bottles, Churchill's cigars and brandy flask etc. I also used a wheelchair as Roosevelt's desk chair.

For the most part the two actors spoke out front and not to each other, which in itself is unusual. However, on the occasions of their meeting at various conferences, they swivelled their chairs round to face each other and had actual conversations—lifted from the letters. That was almost the only movement in the whole evening, a simple but very effective device. When Roosevelt died he uttered his last words, *I have a terrific pain in the back of my head,*[322] and then fell forward onto the desk. Only then did Churchill stand for the final eulogy.

I also turned to my usual aids, lighting and music. For this piece I had more elaborate music than usual. I had a soundtrack put together, like a film score. The appropriate sound effects would introduce a telephone section, or broadcast, or news of some battle. Often I used music underscoring various speeches to heighten the emotion and tension. The play was a great success with all age groups, but particularly those who had memories of the war. It was performed over a period of fifteen years, on and off, all over the UK, in Bermuda, in the United States, and even aboard the *Queen Elizabeth II*.

But whatever way the history play is wrapped up, and however the events are written, it is up to the director to interpret them correctly and put them on the stage to make maximum impact.

Shakespeare, Shaw, and the present-day writers, remind us of the uniquely immediate voice that theatre can raise in the discourse about central questions of the age; and allow us to add our own reactions to these major issues that the historical plays unearth.

There are many areas and plays I have been unable to touch on, but I hope I have given you an overall view.

Jane McCulloch
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Director of Opera UK, London
Guest Director for numerous theatre companies in Great Britain and the USA
Former Director of *The Lost Colony*
Playwright, Author

Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012

[322] Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (2003), 1110.

O Brave New World!
Elizabeth I, Shakespeare and the Founding of Virginia

by Rosalind Miles

It is a privilege and an honour to be invited to join your celebrations for the 75th anniversary of the first performance of *The Lost Colony*, and indeed a celebration of the founding of this decisive strand of American history in itself. These events have a peculiar poignance for the English in what one of your leaders called "Old Europe," because that was when we gave you the first of the few, some of the best souls we had, and some we could hardly spare, the men and women and children too of extraordinary courage, vision and faith who sailed here to build this brave new world.

It is a story that will never pall and one that can stand up to many re-workings, telling as it does of the glories of the human spirit and some of our all-too-human faults and failings as well—a truly epic sweep of characters and events of which we can never tire. I first encountered the tale of the Lost Colony when I was writing a book which focused on women's contribution to history, now published in the US under the sporting title of *Who Cooked The Last Supper*. There I paid tribute to the tireless endeavours of the early settlers, especially the women.

The men's work would be brutally hard and unremitting, with land to clear, fences to erect, trees to fell, and roots like boulders to be prised out of the reluctant ground, as well as the 24-hour task of group protection, which has been observed from the earliest times in our primate ancestors as an unavoidable obligation of the male. But I cannot help suspecting that many of the men would have been secretly relieved to have been spared the women's work of washing, spinning, weaving, cob-baking Native American fashion in the embers of a dying fire—and then having to salt the fish, scour the floor, light the fire, plant up a herb garden with a few of the old herbs brought from England to see which would take, try some onions or yarrow to flavour the stringy turkeys the men brought back from the woods, warn the children about those poisonous weeds, hear the maid's catechism, teach the boy to read … and then find time to write home to mother to tell her "how well we do here," as so many of the colonists' letters so stoutly sign off.

This of course was later than the settlers of Roanoke, whose story is given a special haunting tragedy by the birth and loss of Virginia Dare. In one of those strange twists of history, the first Australian of English stock was also a little girl, the aptly named Rebekah Small, born to one of the female convict transports soon after the First Fleet landed in 1788. Unlike Virginia, Rebekah survived to live down the taint of being born to one of the women regarded as little more than "damned whores." When she grew up, she married a missionary and presented the world with no less than 14 little Australians in her turn.

Rebekah's story is little known, and I have sometimes wondered if that of Virginia Dare has spread as far as it should. I was once making a presentation to a Ladies' Club in another part of America, very far from here, I hasten to add, and made mention of Virginia Dare as the first English baby to be born on American soil. At the end of the talk, I was invited to meet the President, a long-serving lady of obvious wealth and great antiquity, who proudly informed me that she was a direct descendant of Virginia Dare. As I looked round the group, I could not be sure if I was the only one there who knew what had happened to the first little Virginian, or if they were all being truly British in their "stiff upper lip" silence and restraint. Needless to say, I did not *dare* to ask.

I dwell upon your colonists' early history at the serious risk of telling you what you already know, because I hope to show that both the idea of the New World and the reality will unite all the themes we shall discuss today. For just as the early settlers took ship, set sail and ventured into unknown waters and uncharted territory to find and build that which had never existed before in the "brave New World," so did the originator and "onlie

begetter" of that great phrase, William Shakespeare of Stratford on Avon, "Gent," as he styled himself.

And even more so did his Queen, Elizabeth I. She shared this journey and a major historical trajectory with the man who became the greatest poet dramatist in the English-speaking world, and the chief ornament of her reign. The opening of the New World paralleled Elizabeth's whole reign as she voyaged into *terra incognita,* for in every significant sense, Elizabeth I was England's first queen.

Of course the Celts had queens in the British Isles long before the Tudors, and warrior queens at that: the Roman historian Tacitus observed that the Celts made no distinction of sex in their leaders or military commanders, because they were well accustomed to women in power. The leading lady of this tribe of women leaders is Boadicea, as the Romans called her, Queen of the Iceni of East Anglia, the largest tribe in the east of England in the first century CE.

FIGURE 397: Boadicea, now known as Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni of East Anglia, by John Opie.

This queen is now known as Boudicca since the scholars have recovered her real name, and she was one of many: warrior queens were continuous elements of Celtic culture from the dawn of time, and both royal status and inheritance could be passed down in the female line. As a Celtic queen, Boudicca enjoyed a strong connection with divinity and was very likely regarded as a goddess herself, or at the least as a senior Druid with divine powers: her name itself evokes the Celtic war goddess Boudiga, to whom Boudicca sacrificed before her battles against the Romans.

Boudicca blazes into history for a mere three months before her death in the year 61 CE. Her war cry "Death before slavery!" rings down the years and still resonates today. She paid with her life and that of her two daughters for her refusal to submit to the invading Romans, who in their turn refused to recognise the sovereign right of Celtic queens to hold power and still less to enjoy divine status: it is noteworthy that after she was stripped and flogged, both Boudicca's young daughters were raped, a deliberate and calculated act not of lust but of desecration, by which they were robbed of any claim to royal or divine status thereafter.

It is also significant that the story of Boudicca, a glorious failure, is so widely known when few have ever heard of a Celtic queen whose reign boasted a string of successes, and who even succeeded in getting the notoriously misogynistic Roman invaders on her side. This was a direct contemporary of Boudicca, one Cartimandua, as the Romans called her: we do not know her Celtic name, only that it meant "Sleek Pony," which signifies her quality and status, setting her above the wild, coarse and rough-coated native ponies of North Britain at the time.

Cartimandua was queen of the Brigantes, the largest tribe in Britain and one of the largest in Europe. In that role she successfully negotiated with the Roman invaders and managed to retain her crown and throne as well as the allegiance of her tribe, no mean feat when the warlike Celts were agog to make mincemeat of every Roman in the land. Like Boudicca in these pre-Christian times, Cartimandua enjoyed full sovereignty as the

FIGURE 398: Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes.

incarnation of the Great Goddess the Romans called Magna Mater, the Great Mother, the ruling power and spirit of the land, and her treaty with the Romans enshrined her right to rule for 12 years, and brought her people a decade or so of peace. She also enjoyed the even older Celtic women's right of "thigh freedom," established before Romans and Christians combined to make women, especially married women, the property of men. This meant that a woman could take any man in "thigh partnership" without shame or blame, and could change her consort or husband at will.

Cartimandua overcame many challenges in her reign, proving herself a shrewd military strategist in pitched battles as well as a sharp negotiator when the war horns fell silent and the fighting died away. But the tide of history was turning against her. When she decided to revive both herself and her queenship, the sovereignty of the land, by replacing her husband with a younger man, that ancient female right was already on the wane as male domination became the order of the day and shortly afterwards, the law of the land.

It could not have helped Cartimandua's situation that the newcomer, her chosen lover, was her husband's armour-bearer, and a younger man. The displaced and aggrieved ex-consort Venuntius mounted a successful challenge to his former wife, and drove her from the throne. Happy to have a man in command of the tribe at last, the Romans gave Cartimandua and her young man a refuge where she lived out her life in peace, and unlike Boudicca, died in her own bed.

Whatever contrast in their fates, the lives of both these queens show that in the Britain first century of the Common Era, women could:

- hold supreme authority, both civil and military
- make treaties with foreign powers
- lead their own armies into battle
- choose their sexual partners and dispose of unwanted husbands at will—

all rights which were denied to their Roman, Greek, Jewish and Christian sisters at the time and indeed to most of the women of the world for the next 2000 years.

After Cartimandua, it was to be another thousand years in the British Isles before another woman even attempted to rule as queen. Matilda, also known as Maud, was the granddaughter of William the Conqueror and the only legitimate descendant of William's only son, Henry I. But on Henry's death in 1135, she found herself usurped by her cousin Stephen, and spent the rest of her life fighting for her right to the throne. She won both civil and military encounters with Stephen's forces, despite falling more than once into her rival's hands and in 1141 was welcomed into London as England's rightful queen.

FIGURE 399: England's Queen Matilda, granddaughter of William the Conqueror.

But Matilda was not an easy woman. She had a powerful and pugnacious spirit that led her to defy Stephen and escape from his clutches, climbing out of captivity clothed all in white to flee unseen across miles of snow. On another occasion she disguised herself as a corpse ready for burial, and arranged to be carried out of her prison to safety, and like other Celtic queens, she led her own armies in battle and directed strategy. All this rendered her quite unsuitable for government when she won it, taking over in such a time of fragile peace. Rashly announcing the need for new taxes to keep up the war against Stephen, she alienated the notoriously chippy Londoners and was driven out of town, and out of England too. She spent the rest of her life on the continent, campaigning for her son to gain the throne, and lived long enough to see him crowned as Henry II.

Fast forward another 550 years, then, to the valiant attempts of Henry VIII to get a son to inherit, despite having two brilliant and healthy daughters, so convinced was the Tudor king now known as "England's Stalin" that women could never rule. But when his only son Edward was born, Henry's determination to extirpate any possible male challengers to the throne meant that after the boy, now King Edward VI, died at sixteen, only women were left to rule. And in total contradiction to the old king's misgivings, Henry's older daughter Mary, daughter of his first wife Catherine of Aragon, came to power in 1553 amid general rejoicing as the legitimate heir.

But Mary's popularity was shortlived. Any goodwill she had inherited was steadily eroded by her rigid and fanatical policy of enforcing a return to Catholicism in what was by now a thoroughly Protestant country, with no desire to turn back. Mary's disastrous decisions to marry the Most Holy Roman Catholic King and Emperor Philip II of Spain in 1554, and to burn out Protestantism by persecuting heretics, made her feared and loathed. In the course of her five-year reign, Mary burned alive, approximately 280 dissidents all over the country—over one a week. When she died in 1558, by common consent the reign of England's first queen regnant had been another unmitigated failure, and she is still largely detested, with no allowance made for how roughly she was handled both by history and by the men in her life. Once again it seemed that women were unfit to rule.

FIGURE 400: Mary Tudor, elder daughter of Henry VIII, became Queen of England at the death of her brother King Edward VI.

FIGURE 401: Queen Elizabeth I ruled England 1558-1603.

Against this background, the achievement of Elizabeth I of England is all the more remarkable. She was destined to roll this very personal and particular boulder uphill all her life, the prejudice against women in power which is

still active today. But in the course of her unusually long life—she died in her seventieth year, a great age for the time—she succeeded in:

- rebuilding the Treasury left empty by Henry VIII's ruthless and vainglorious plundering,
- regulating the currency in the teeth of galloping inflation and international turmoil,
- establishing a religious settlement at home between Protestant and Catholic and reining in dissent,
- maintaining the balance of power abroad with a judicious foreign policy,
- fighting off the Spanish Armada in 1588, the most deadly enemy force ever unleashed against England until the Nazi onslaught of 1940, the desperate Battle of Britain,
- all this while pursuing one of the most elaborate double games in history, playing the role of the world's most eligible bride while never getting anywhere near the altar.

And herein lies the true secret of the founding of Virginia. Thirty years before Sir Walter Ralegh's first voyage of exploration sought out the new land he was to call by that name, Elizabeth created her own unique "Virginia," a landscape of the mind and of the heart, purely virgin territory in which she determined to dwell: that is, living and being loved as a single woman. At this historical distance, and especially in the wake of such heroic spinsters of the modern age as Florence Nightingale and Susan B. Anthony, it is almost impossible to recapture how radical and exceptional this was.

For just as most men and women at the time believed that a woman could never rule, the vast majority would and did never think that even if she did, she could and would go it entirely alone. No one else around the young Queen Elizabeth in 1558 had any sense that she would live and die a virgin. Even Elizabeth's closest advisers, the men who knew her best and valued her most, were convinced that she must marry and inevitably would: there was no alternative, as they saw it. But Elizabeth's own and home-grown "Virginia," a concept which became an organising principle and then a way of being, had two profound and powerful political advantages for her:

- It generated and cultivated enormous good will through the idea that Elizabeth was "married to the land" and mother of all its people, her life pledged to England not to any foreign prince.

- It cleverly re-colonised and capitalised on the lost realm of "Maryland," the element of Catholicism that 16th-century Protestants most missed and mourned, the worship of the Virgin Mary, the pure and devoted Queen of Heaven, Mother of us all.

This is not to suggest that Elizabeth had this scheme in mind from the start: like all great strategies, it seems to have emerged over time and after considerable thought, shaping up somewhere along her troubled path as the best and only way to go. Nor do I care to think that a woman so physically active, sensitive, and highly attuned to men, went to her grave never knowing anything of the joy of love and the bliss of love expressed. Love expressed in full sexual intimacy, observers agree, was never to be hers: in an era before any kind of contraception, a woman as innately clever and cautious as Elizabeth would never have risked either the shame of pregnancy or the ever-present threat of death in childbirth, two of her stepmothers having died horribly of childbed fever (*puerperal sepsis*), Jane Seymour and Katherine Parr.

But love at least, the passionate involvement with another person, she certainly knew, first for her childhood friend and lifelong love Robert (Robin) Dudley, whom she created Earl of Leicester, and latterly for his stepson, another Robert, the wayward Earl of Essex. There again the self-styled Virgin Queen was sailing in unknown waters, braving the inevitable shoals and shallows of difficulty and distress, and indeed the emotional shipwreck that lay ahead. Even today the passionate and public attachment of a woman of 53 for a youth of 19 is rare and dangerous. Elizabeth was not deterred. She only relinquished her hopes of her bad boy when he raised a rebellion against her in 1601 and tried to put her off the throne, which would have meant her death.

Yet she survived. Beautiful, bold and brilliant, Elizabeth steered her amazing course through some of the world's most terrifying times, still daring, still voyaging, all her life. At the very end, between the turn of the century in 1600 and her death in 1603, she took the risk of not

naming her successor, correctly calculating that to do this would be more destabilising than allowing nature and custom to take its course and bring in James I from Scotland. And when the Earl of Essex, her last love, raised his rebellion against her, she held her nerve and refused to flee, rallying London to her side, and once again making the correct judgement call.

What a woman! And after that, what must it have taken to order the execution of the man she still loved for the sake of England and the safety of the realm? Truly Elizabeth was one of the most remarkable people in the history of the world, let alone of little England. In her life she kept the known universe of Christendom in balance and at her death, she proved once and for all that a woman could rule England and pass it on in a state of peace. Elizabeth I indisputably takes her place as the greatest of our leaders, before or since. My only regret is that she never saw America.

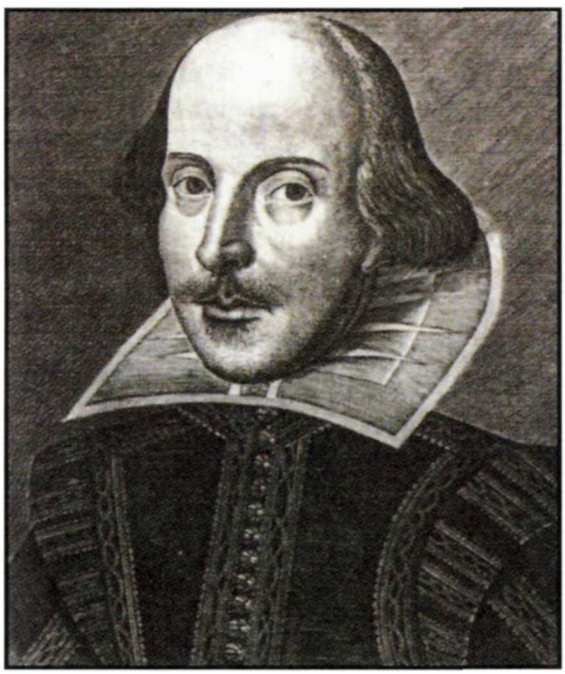

FIGURE 402: William Shakespeare of Stratford and London.

Like the great Queen, her greatest subject was similarly a voyager all his life, always striking out to unknown lands. When Shakespeare was born in 1564, English drama was on a par with the maps of the world which were all that Ralegh's men had to go on, mere shadows of what was to be. By the time he died in 1616, this quiet and unassuming man from Warwickshire had created worlds and conquered worlds: Elizabethan actors toured his plays as far afield as Sweden, Germany and Spain, and you will not be surprised to learn that Hamlet was a favourite. His creations look back as far as the Ancient Greeks, and even more strikingly forward into forms not even invented in his time: opera, the novel, ballet, film and TV. In his astonishing reach and range, William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon is arguably the greatest genius in any art form in the world, and surely the one who has given the most people the greatest pleasure and enlightenment.

FIGURE 403: Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, 1517-1547 invented the iambic pentameter verse line.

"With a little help from his friends," as he would probably be the first to acknowledge, for he was a modest man. First among these is the little known poet and aristocrat, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-47). Descended from kings on both sides, Surrey was one of many possible pretenders to the English throne exterminated by the increasingly paranoid Henry VIII, beheaded before his 30th birthday and only days before the tyrant died himself, a death which would have saved Surrey from the block had the order of events been reversed. But in his short life, Surrey is generally credited with inventing the Shakespearean verse line, the building block of every Shakespeare play, the distinctive iambic pentameter with its five regular beats (*Uneasy lies the head that bears a crown*).

Surrey and his friend Sir Thomas Wyatt were both trying to develop an English equivalent of the Latin poetry they

admired, Virgil's *Aeneid* and the work of the Italian sonneteer, Petrarch. The verse form that emerged was noted for its strong drive, the sense always pushing on to the end of the line and carrying forward to the next, which made it highly suitable for drama. One of the greatest to seize on and exploit its potential was the playwright Christopher Marlowe, so much so that the iambic pentameter has long been known to scholars and critics as "Marlowe's mighty line." With this instrument Marlowe carved out some of the finest plays in the English canon: *Tamburlaine the Great*, *Edward II*, *Dr. Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*.

FIGURE 404: Christopher Marlowe, poet and playwright, *blazed like a comet in a dark sky for all too brief a time, and then was gone.*

Marlowe's *Edward II* almost certainly gave Shakespeare the idea for his *Richard II*, and his other history plays too. But Marlowe also demonstrated that tragic heroes did not need to be kings. They did not even need to be men: his Dido, Queen of Carthage, paved the way for Shakespeare's tragic heroines like Cleopatra. He opened the door through which Shakespeare and his fellows gladly trouped. And like Boudicca, he blazed like a comet in a dark sky for all too brief a time, and then was gone.

For Marlowe was a bad boy—and in that incarnation, he enjoyed some sort of connection with Ralegh and his secret band of questioners and free-thinkers, the School of Night. Openly gay in an age when homosexuality was a capital offence, Marlowe boasted that *They that loved not tobacco and boys were fools*. He also risked death for blasphemy and heresy, asserting that *Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest* [unchaste, a whore]. In addition, he worked in some covert capacity for Elizabeth's great spymaster, Francis Walsingham. Any one of these could have led to his death. It was probably a toxic combination of all three which led to his assassination in May of 1593, like Surrey at the young age of 29, on the orders of Walsingham, it is assumed.

But as Marlowe dropped the baton, Shakespeare picked it up. The two men were almost exact contemporaries, born only weeks apart in 1564, but Marlowe was miles ahead. If Shakespeare too had died in 1593, we would probably have only the early parts of the rather feeble *Henry VI* to remember him by, as all his good and great work was yet to come.

As indeed it did. Shakespeare outstripped his mentor and door-opener to become very much his own man, and nowhere more so than in one of his last works, *The Tempest*. Still voyaging in mind, though as far as we know, he never left England in body, Shakespeare took a keen interest in the expeditions and voyages of exploration with which his contemporaries were pushing forward the boundaries of knowledge and expanding the world. It is my contention that in this remarkable play, above all in the line *O brave new world that hath such people in it!* Shakespeare does full justice to the ideal of the discoveries, the beauty and the wonder of the undiscovered countries, while at the same time showing the shipwrecks, deaths and losses which this entails, and the reality of all-too-frail human nature from which no world can ever be free. All Elizabethans seem to us now to be extraordinary people and none more so than the explorers and colonists who ventured here to Roanoke between 1584 and 1587. It seems to me that England and the Old World at that time gave you of our very best, a favour that America outstandingly repaid in two World Wars, and continues to return many times over in a relationship which remains very special to very many of us, to this day.

From one Queen Elizabeth to another: I close now with reference to our present Queen, who like her mother is well known to love and admire the USA. I strongly suspect that in this her Jubilee Year, when Her Majesty

is celebrating 60 years on the throne, she would secretly love it if among the many gifts and rich tributes she is receiving, she could have the Colonies back, or at least Roanoke. But my advice, on the basis of this splendid symposium of the 75th anniversary of your unique drama *The Lost Colony,* and of all that has been achieved here, is—Stay as sweet as you are, O Brave New World!

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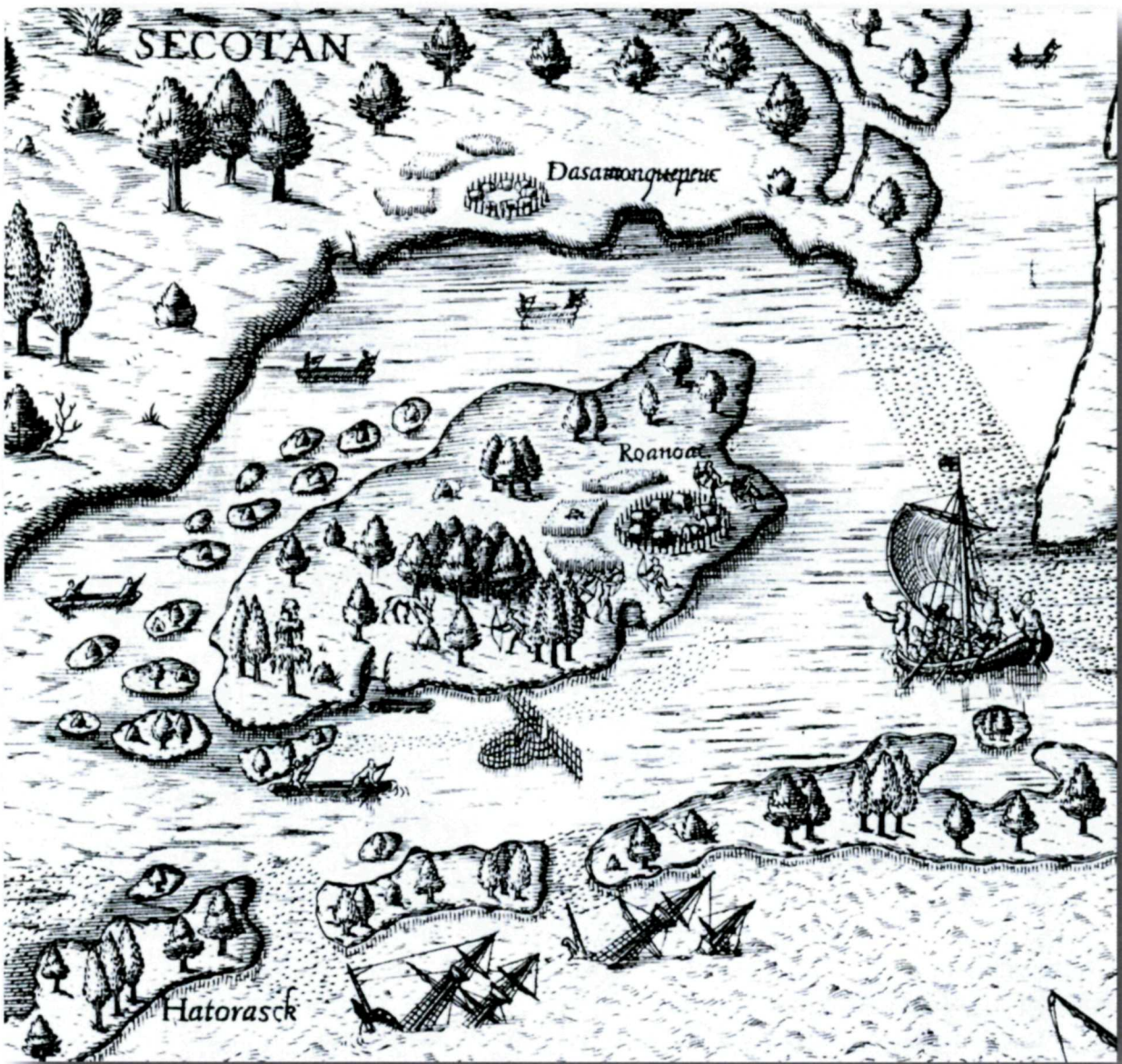
Author of fiction and non-fiction
Faversham, England

Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium,
Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012



And So Dance Out the Answer
Interpreting & Staging Dance in Shakespeare's Plays [323]

by Nona Monahin

[323] This paper is partly based on an earlier version I presented at the 8th World Shakespeare Congress held in Brisbane, Australia in 2006, under the title *Staging Shakespeare's Dances: Primary Sources, Secondary Solutions.* I am extremely grateful to lebame houston for inviting me to present the current version at the Bill & Ida Friday International Symposium, *Roanoke Conundrum—Fact & Fiction,* held 6-10 October, 2012 on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to participate in this remarkable symposium.

In this paper I combine two important aspects of Elizabethan culture: the plays of William Shakespeare, and dancing. Shakespeare needs no introduction. The role of dance, however, may benefit from some explanation. It is well known that Queen Elizabeth loved to dance.[324] It is also well known (as, for example, from the history of Louis XIV of France and his role in the development of ballet) that when the monarch dances, everybody in the court dances. But, more than that, dancing was an essential social skill not only at the court of Queen Elizabeth, but in Renaissance courtly society in general.[325] Not surprisingly, Shakespeare's plays are full of references to dance.

In the first part of this paper, after some brief remarks about the role of dancing in Renaissance courtly society, I give an overview of the choreographic sources from the period, focusing on those that contain dances mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. In the second part, I offer two examples (from personal experience of choreographing dances for the theater) of how a knowledge of the dance types of the period may help directors and choreographers make Shakespeare's dance references intelligible to audiences today.

Part I
Dance in Renaissance courtly society.

In the Renaissance period it was not unusual for children of the nobility to begin their dance training as early as age six or seven.[326] Dancing lessons were usually provided by a dancing master, whose duties, in addition to teaching dance, deportment, and rules of social etiquette, could include teaching fencing and horseback riding to the young men of the court.[327] The dancing master also created new choreographies for the numerous courtly festivities, most of which included dancing.[328] Outside of the courts, citizens could take advantage of the various dancing schools that flourished during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Dancing served many functions. In a society where women's mobility was limited, dancing served as an aid to courtship by allowing young men and women to meet and interact. Thoinot Arbeau, a French cleric and author of a sixteenth-century book on dance, viewed dancing as a useful exercise, especially for women, since they could not participate in other physical activities such as fencing and horseback riding. Arbeau also noted that dancing gave one an opportunity to assess the fitness level, and even the breath quality (!) of a prospective marriage partner.[329] Dancing lessons, begun early enough, could

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[324] John Stanhope of the Privy Chamber reported in 1589 (when Queen Elizabeth was in her fifties) that "the Queen is so well as I assure you, six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing, is her ordinary exercise." Cited in Alan Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981), 4-5.

[325] In this paper I use the expression Renaissance rather than early modern period not because I prefer one label to the other, but simply because in the area of early dance research this designation is the one most commonly used. Choreology (or dance history as it is often called, although each term has its own delimiting properties) is a relatively new discipline and much of the pioneering research on early dance was carried out by musicologists, whose discipline has not abandoned terms such as Renaissance and Baroque. Additionally, the emergence of dance as an art form (as opposed to a ritual or pastime) and the associated desire to theorize about dance, and attempt to notate it, is closely connected to the Italian Renaissance and humanism.

[326] See Ingrid Brainard, "The Role of the Dancing Master in Fifteenth-Century Courtly Society," in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 1979), 2:21.

[327] Links to the Library of Congress online collection, showing images from Cesare Negri's dance manual, *Nuove Inventioni di Balli* (Milan: 1604):

1. A man inviting a lady to dance: http://memory.loc.gov./cgi-bin/ampage?collId=musdi&fileName=121/musdi121.db&recNum=53&itemLink+r?ammem/musdi:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28121T000%29%%29%231210001&linkText=1
2. A man getting ready to practice jumps and capers by holding on to the furniture: as above, with Num=91 substituting for Num=53

[328] Ibid. For more on dancing masters, see Timothy J. McGee, "Dancing masters and the Medici court in the Fifteenth century," in *Studi Muscali* (1988), 17:201. Additionally, the Italian dancing master Cesare Negri provides much information regarding other dancing masters (*ballarini*) of his time. See Cesare Negri, *Le Gratie d'Amore* (Milan: 1602) facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969). Reprinted in 1604 as *Nuove Inventioni di Balli,* 2-6.

[329] Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesographie: method et theorie en forme de discours et tablature pour apprendre a danser, batter le tambour* (Langres: Jehan des Prezy, 1588, 1589, 1596). Facsimile editions: reprint of 1596 edition, *Orchesographie,* edited by Francois Lesure (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); also online at Library of Congress as in Footnote 327, substituting Num=3 for Num=53. English translation: *Orchesography,* trans. Mary Stewart Evans, with a new

develop the distinguishing physical characteristics that were the hallmarks of a courtier or a gentleman or lady, such as good posture and deportment, along with grace and poise. From a political standpoint, dancing, or rather its setting and accessories—lavishly decorated ballroom, splendid attire—could impress upon visitors the wealth, and hence power, of the hosting court. Dancing also played a large role in Renaissance theatrical productions, such as the English masques, the Italian *intermedii*, and the French *ballets de cour*. These too served to proclaim the court's wealth and power with their spectacular sets and costumes. In such works dancing could be used symbolically, to evoke harmony and concord, following the neo-Platonic world view that dancing, because it comprised orderly and measured movement, was the earthly representation of the celestial order and harmony of the dancing stars and planets.[330] By the same token an absence, or an interruption, of dancing could be used to suggest a disruption of harmony. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shakespeare does not have Romeo and Juliet, doomed as they are, dance together. Similarly, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Claudio and Hero do not dance together until the end of the play, when order is restored.

Shakespeare's plays contain many references to dance, often in the form of puns. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, for example, Beatrice compares repentance after marriage to the *cinquepace*, which was the basic figure of a strenuous dance called the galliard, and was made up of a sequence of five steps (*cinque pas* in French) taken over six beats of music.[331] The five steps comprised four leapt kicks, done with alternating feet, on the first four beats of the music, followed by a jump that took the last two beats (one for the rise, one for the landing). The kicks were called *grèves* in French.[332] Thus Beatrice's *sink into the grave* becomes '*cinque* into the *grève.*' Dancing also occurs as part of the action of many plays, although Shakespeare does not state which particular dances he had in mind. One challenge to the choreographer and director wishing to use authentic period dances is to find appropriate dances that fit the given dialogue and action, or that can be adapted to do so with minimum alteration to the original choreographies. Another challenge, regardless of whether the staging is in period style or not, is to make the dance references intelligible to today's audiences.

Sources of information about dance during the Renaissance period.

Knowledge about dancing in Europe before the middle of the fifteenth century is limited. Some information can be gleaned from sources such as eyewitness accounts, letters, memoirs, literary references, iconography and music, but none of these, even in combination, provide enough detail to enable us to reconstruct a dance. Beginning about the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a new category appears: instruction manuals that explain how to dance. Most of these are written in prose, describing the dances verbally, step by step, since a graphic dance notation was not fully developed until the late seventeenth century.[333] These dance manuals include comprehensive treatises that discuss dance from a theoretical point of view as well as providing detailed instructions for doing a variety of dances; some also supply the accompanying music, and others include an assortment of rules of behavior for young ladies and gentlemen of the nobility. Smaller works consist of compi-

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introduction and notes by Julie Sutton, and new Labanotation section by Mireille Backer and Julia Sutton (New York: Dover Publications, 1967). The references to testing the fitness level and breath of one's partner are on page 12 of this Dover edition; the reference to dancing as a suitable exercise for women is on page 18.

[330] For more on Renaissance dance and symbolism see: Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*. For more on the Elizabethan world view in general (not specifically regarding dance) see E. M. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1943), and many later reprints and editions by various publishers.

[331] William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, 2.1, in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Peter Alexander (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951), 142.

[332] Arbeau, *(Orchesography, 87)* explains how to perform *greves* and other steps involved in the galliard.

[333] Early attempts at a short-hand dance notation include several fifteenth-century Burgundian manuscripts that list just the first letters of the step names, and a fifteenth-century Spanish manuscript that represented different steps by means of dashes of different lengths. These manuscripts, however, described a dance type known as the *basse danse*, which employed only five different steps. Dance notations capable of representing graphically a large variety of dance steps arose at the court of Louis XIV during the late seventeenth-century. The most comprehensive one is known today as the *Beauchamp–Feuillet* notation, after the names of its inventors. For more on dance notations see the entry "Notation" in *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

lations of dance descriptions without accompanying music. Additionally one finds isolated choreographic notes, possibly *aides-mémoire* or cheat-sheets of dance students. Needless to say, all of these notated choreographies were the products of, and describe the dances of, the nobility and the upper urban classes. There are no extant choreographies for the dancing of the poorer classes from this period.

Brief overview of the major dance sources from Shakespeare's time.

- **English dance sources.**

While there are no extant English dance manuals from Shakespeare's time, we do have a number of manuscripts describing a dance type known in England as the *measure*, which is one of the most frequently mentioned dances in the works of Shakespeare. *Measure* and *measures* are wonderful terms to pun on because of their multiple meanings. Even when restricted to meanings related to dance, the terms can still be applied in a variety of ways. *Measure* could be used as a general term for dance.[334] The dance manuscripts show that the term was also used in a more restricted way, to designate a certain category of fairly sedate dances, danced by a number of couples, presumably following one another, round-about-the-hall, as in a procession.[335] The designation *measures* included dances called *pavin* and *almain* (in various spellings) as well as dances simply referred to as *measure* or *measures*.

Descriptions of *measures* are found in seven English manuscripts dating from the mid-sixteenth century to the second half of the seventeenth century, all associated with the Inns of Court, and now commonly referred to in dance and music circles, as the Inns-of-Court manuscripts. Much has been written about the contents and intended purpose of these manuscripts, so a brief summary here will suffice.[336] Each one has been traced as having belonged to someone associated with one of the Inns. All seven contain very brief descriptions of several dances, and all but one are without music. What is remarkable is that although these manuscripts span a century, they describe more or less the same dances. In particular, a certain group of eight *measures* is present in every one of the manuscripts except the earliest one, which lacks one of the eight, but contains the other seven. Yet there is just enough variation in the way the same dances are described to preclude the possibility of them all being copies of a single written source. The variations are more likely to reflect changes in style that took place over the course of a century. What is even more remarkable is that these eight *measures* always appear in the same order, even though in some manuscripts they may be interspersed with additional dances. There are various theories, not necessarily mutually exclusive, as to why this group of *measures* persisted so long. One is that they were part of a traditional *Repertoire* of dances performed at revels and other festivities at the Inns of Court. Another is that this set of dances formed the basic teaching *Repertoire* at the dancing schools which the young men of the Inns are known to have attended, suggesting that the manuscripts were classroom notes of the students. Apart from the *measures*, these Inns of Court manuscripts mention (but do not describe) the following dances: *cinquepace*, galliard, *coranto*, French *Levolto*, Spanish *Pavine*, *Spanioletta*, and French Brawles.

The descriptions of the *measures* in the Inns of Court manuscripts are very brief; the outline of each dance is

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[334] Richard Mulcaster, in his *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, first published 1581, edited by William Barker (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, c. 1994), 81), appears to use the term in this general sense, applying it to both sedate and lively dances: *Howbeit there be in it some more violent measures then some: and in beginning with the most staydest and most almanlike, and so marching on, till the springing galliard and quicker measures take place... .*

[335] The instructions in one of the Inns of Court manuscripts are to dance the *doubles* [the name of a dance step] *rounde about the Hall*. London, Inner Temple Library. Records of the Inner Temple, Vol. XXVII, fols 3r-6v.

[336] For more on the Inns of Court dance manuscripts see: James P. Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London: Jordan & Sons, Ltd., 1965); Patri J. Pugliese and Joseph Casazza, *Practise For Dauncinge; Some Almans and a Pavan, England 1570-1650, A Manual For Dance Instruction* (Cambridge, MA: P.J. Pugliese & J. Casazza, 1980); John M. Ward, "The English Measure," in *Early Music* 14 (1986), 15; David Wilson, "Dancing in the Inns of Court," *Historical Dance* 2, no. 5 (1987), 3-16; John M. Ward, "Apropos 'The Olde Measures," in *Records of Early English Drama* 18, no.1 (1993): 2-21; David Wilson, "The Old Measures and the Inns of Court: A Note," in *Historical Dance* 3, no. 3 (1994), 28; Ian Payne, *The Almain In Britain, c. 1549-c. 1675: A Dance Manual From Manuscript sources* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

given, while the actual dance steps involved are named but not explained. Here is a description of the *Earl of Essex measures* from one of the manuscripts:

> ***The Earle of Essex measures***
> *One double forewardes & one single backe 4 tymes,*
> *ij Singles syde, one double forward & one single backe.*
> *againe all. honoure & soe ende.*[337]

In this description no information is provided on how to do the *honoure* or the steps called single and double. The *honoure* is almost certainly a bow or curtsey to one's partner, since nearly all dances in other sources (French and Italian) end that way. Steps called single and double are described in a much later English source: John Playford's *The English Dancing Master*, published in 1651.[338]The French source mentioned earlier, Arbeau's *Orchésographie* of 1598, also describes how to do a *pas simple* and a *pas double*, but gives two versions. One of these is identical to Playford's: for a double in four beats of music (*in duple meter*), one does three steps on three beats of music, and closes the feet (brings the trailing foot to be side by side with the last stepping foot) on the fourth beat. A single takes two beats—one for the step, another for the close. In Arbeau's other version the steps end with one foot slightly raised in front instead of side by side on the ground. Arbeau uses the latter kind for his *Allemande*—a dance that closely resembles some of the English *measures*. Thus, when performing the English *measures* one needs to decide which version of the known singles and doubles to use.

John Playford's 1651 dance manual, as well as many later editions of it (now simply called *The Dancing Master*) also gives descriptions and music for many English country dances, some of which are mentioned by Shakespeare.[339] However, because of the late publication dates, we do not know if the dances from Shakespeare's time were done in the same way as they are described in Playford's books.

Brief overview of the major dance sources from Shakespeare's time:

- **Dance sources from other countries.**

Since the English sources from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries describe only *measures* and country dances, we must turn to other countries to learn how to dance the galliard, *coranto*, *la volta*, French *brawl*, and other dances of foreign origin that are mentioned (but not described in detail) both in the Inns-of-Court manuscripts and in the works of Shakespeare. Whether we can justifiably transfer choreographies across national and chronological boundaries is another question. Fortunately, there is evidence that dance styles did cross at least national borders, one reason being the various intermarriages between the courts. It is also known that copies of some of the French and Italian dance manuals were present in England, that the Tudor court employed at least one Italian dancing master, and that Queen Elizabeth had learned to dance in the Italian manner.[340] Furthermore, when we compare choreographies for the same dance from different locations, the various versions, though rarely identical, are similar enough at least in those elements that distinguish that particular dance type from another one. Thus it seems reasonable to use some of these foreign sources for choreographing dances in Shakespeare's plays, as long as doing so with caution, assessing each situation on a case by case basis.

Brief overview of the major dance sources from Shakespeare's time:

[337] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 280, fols. 66(a) v-66(b) v. Cited in Payne, *Almain*, 222-223.

[338] John Playford, *The English Dancing Master: or, Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance* (London: "Printed by Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by John Playford, at his Shop in the Inner Temple neere the Church doore," (1651). Many later editions (now titled simply *The Dancing Master*) added new dances and deleted older ones.

[339] Despite the name, country dances were popular in courtly society. They included dances with circular figures, squares, and lines of couples. See the entry "Country Dance" by Patri Pugliese, in *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*.

[340] Barbara Ravelhofer notes that an Italian dancing master by the name of Jasper Gaffoyne is documented as having been employed at the Tudor court between 1542 and 1584. Ravelhofer also cites the by now well-known remark by the French ambassador De Maisse about Queen Elizabeth's Italian-style dancing. See Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29.

- **French dance sources.**

The most relevant French source for dances in Shakespeare's plays is the already-mentioned *Orchésographie* of Thoinot Arbeau (pseudonym for Jehan Tabourot), published in 1589. Arbeau was a cleric from Langres who valued dancing as a means of exercise (for women as well as for men) and regarded it as an appropriate way for young men and women to meet and interact. He notated several dances that were popular in his youth, as well as a number of contemporary dances, together with their accompanying music. The main reason for the appeal of Arbeau's book to dancers today is the clarity of its notation; in particular the correlation of dance steps with notes of music is more precise than in many of the other sources.[341] Arbeau's manual contains instructions for several dances that are mentioned in Shakespeare's plays: *pavane* and *passe meze* (Shakespeare's *passy measures pa*[v]*in*), *allemande* (known in England as the *almain* or *measure*), *gaillarde* and its basic five-step pattern, the *cinq pas* (Shakespeare's galliard and *cinquepace*), *volte* (Shakespeare's *la volta*), *courante* (Shakespeare's *coranto*), *canaries* (Shakespeare's canary) and *branle* (Shakespeare's French brawl). Arbeau also describes a dance called the Matachins, gives excerpts from a Morris dance, and includes a hay figure in one of his dances.

A slightly later French manual, Francois de Lauze's *Apologie de la Danse*, published in 1623, was dedicated to George Villiers, who later became Duke of Buckingham.[342] This volume describes the *courante*, *gaillarde* and *branle*, but the dance instructions are hard to decipher, a situation not made any easier by the fact that no accompanying music for any of the dances is provided.

Brief overview of the major dance sources from Shakespeare's time:

- **Italian dance sources.**

The majority of extant choreographies from the Renaissance period are from Italy, which is not surprising, since, in the realm of dancing, Italy was the role model for the rest of Europe. Between 1581 and 1602 three important dance treatises were published in Italy—two by Fabritio Caroso and one by Cesare Negri—that describe many different types of dances, provide detailed instructions for doing the individual dance steps, and supply the accompanying music. Among the many dances in Caroso's and Negri's manuals, are several that are relevant to the study of dance in Shakespeare, namely: *passo e mezzo* (passy measures *pavin*); *canario* (canary); *corrente* (*coranto*) and numerous variations of the very popular *gagliarda* (galliard). Also from Italy we have several brief manuscripts describing one or more dances, as well as a number of manuals devoted to the *gagliarda* (galliard). This dance (incidentally one of Queen Elizabeth's favorites), could be danced by one or several male-female couples, and usually included extended solo passages for the male dancer who could use them to display his athletic skills by performing vigorous variations consisting of many kinds of hopping, kicking, jumping and turning steps. The following familiar quotation from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* illustrates that the galliard could be used to test a man's dancing ability:

> ***SIR TOBY BELCH:*** *What is thy excellence in a galliard, knight?*
>
> ***SIR ANDREW AGUECHEEK:*** *Faith, I can cut a caper... And I think I have the back-trick simply as strong as any man in Illyria.*[343]

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[341] To the best of my knowledge, Arbeau is the first author of a dance manual from the Renaissance period who makes it explicit that he is writing for posterity (see Arbeau, *Orchesography*, 1967, page 15 of the Dover translation). The fact that he apparently changed his mind and threw the manuscript aside after he had finished it, deeming it not worthy of publication, does not contradict this hypothesis. True, he may have been writing *for posterity* in jest, that is, the book's fictional dancing master, Arbeau, and not the cleric Jehan Tabourot himself, may have been *writing for posterity*, but, whatever the case, he certainly makes the connection between posterity and the need for a transparent notation, and this perhaps helps explain why he went to more trouble than other writers to make his instructions clear.

[342] François de Lauze, *Apologie De La Danse* (n.p., 1623). Reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1977). English translation by Joan Wildeblood (London: Frederick Muller Ltd,1952). De Lauze's book was plagiarized by B. de Montagut, and published as *Louange De La Danse* before the appearance of de Lauze's book. See Barbara Ravelhofer's translation of this work: *B. de Montagut. Louange De La Danse*, edited by Barbara Ravelhofer (Cambridge: RTM Publications, 2000).

[343] William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act 1, Scene 3, in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Peter Alexander (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951), 351.

In this humorous passage Sir Toby is making fun of the hapless Aguecheek, who falls into the trap and reveals his *lack* of dancing skills by boasting about the one galliard variation he thinks he knows! For, judging from the quantity and content of the literature devoted to this dance, a good male dancer would have been expected to have quite an assortment of galliard variations in his *repertoire*. The *gagliarda* manuals and the dance treatises together offer literally hundreds of variations of varying complexity, for male dancers to practice and to pick and choose from for performance (should they feel disinclined to invent their own).

TABLE 1: Summary of the main dance sources relevant to Shakespeare: English dance sources.

Inns-of-Court Manuscripts (mainly descriptions of *measures*) [344]
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 108, fols 10r-11r (circa 1565)
Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD / WO 55/7, Item 36 (1594)
London, British Library, MS Harley 367, fols 178r-9v (n.d.)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 280, fols 66(a)v-66(b)v (circa 1606)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 864, fols 199r-v, 203r-204v (circa 1630)
London, Inner Temple Library, Records of the Inner Temple, Vol. XXVII, fols 3r-6v (mid to late 17th c.)
London, Royal College of Music, MS 1119, fols 1r-2v (mid to late 17th c.). Includes music.
John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651, and many later editions with some changes in contents, under the title *The Dancing Master*).[345] Includes music.

TABLE 2: French dance source.

Thoinot Arbeau (anagram for Jehan Tabourot), *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1588/89) [346] Includes choreographies and music for several dances mentioned in Shakespeare's plays, such as: *pavane*, galliard, *volta* (*la volta*), *branle* (brawl), *allemande* (measure), *courante* (*coranto*), and *canaries* (canary).

[344] See note 336, especially Payne, *Almain*.
[345] See note 338.
[346] See note 329.

TABLE 3: Italian dance sources.

Lutio Compasso, *Ballo della Gagliarda* (Florence, 1560) [347] 166 galliard variations. No music.
Fabritio Caroso, *Il Ballarino* (Venice, 1581) [348] 54 "rules" comprising step descriptions and advice on comportment. Choreographies and music for 82 dances by Caroso and others. Illustrations.
Prospero Lutij di Sulmona, *Opera Bellissima…Passeggi di Gagliarda* (Perugia, 1587, 1589) [349] 31 galliard variations and 24 simpler *passages* to be danced between galliard variations. No music.
Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600) [350] 68 rules comprising step descriptions; 28 rules consisting of advice on comportment. Choreographies and music for 48 dances by Caroso. Illustrations.
Cesare Negri, *Le Gratie d'Amore* (Milan, 1602) [351] Lists of dance teachers, places where Negri danced. 55 rules comprising instructions for dancing galliard variations and advice on comportment. 25 additional rules of step descriptions. Choreographies and music for 44 dances by Negri and others. Illustrations.
Ercole Santucci, *Mastro da Ballo* (Manuscript, dated 1614) [352] 214 rules comprising steps, descriptions and advice on comportment. 12 choreographies mostly by other choreographers. No music.

[347] Lutio Compasso, *Ballo della gagliarda* (Florence: 1560). Facsimile reprint,with introduction by Barbara Sparti. Freiburg, fagisis,1995.

[348] Fabritio Caroso, *Il Ballarino* (Venice: Ziletti, 1581). Facsimile reprint: Fabritio Caroso *Il Ballarino* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967). Also online at Library of Congress: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=musdi&fileName=230/musdi230.db&recNum=0&itemLink=r?ammem/musdi:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28230T000%29%29:@@@REF%232300001&linkText=1

[349] Prospero Lutij, *Opera bellissima nella quale si contengono molte partite, et passeggi di gagliarda* (Perugia: Orlando, 1587, 1589).

[350] Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice: Il Muschio, 1600, 1605). Facsimile reprint of 1600 edition: Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Bologna: Forni, 1970). Also online at Library of Congress: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=musdi&fileName=199/musdi199.db&reNum.=0
English translation: Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame*, trans. and edited by Julia Sutton, music ed. F. Marian Walker (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); reprinted as *Courtly Dance of the Renaissance*, with Labanotation section by Rachelle Palnick Tsachor (New York: Dover, 1995).

[351] Cesare Negri, *Le Gratie d'Amore* (Milan: Ponti & Piccaglia, 1602). Facsimile reprints: (Bologna: 1969; New York: Broude Brothers, 1969). Reprinted as: *Nuove Inventioni di balli* (Milan: Bordone, 1604). Facsimile online at Library of Congress: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=musdi&fileName=121/musdi121.db&recNum=0&itemLink=r?ammem/musdi:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28121T000%29%29%231210001&linkText=1

[352] Ercole Santucci, "Mastro da Ballo," 1614, MS. Perugia. Facsimile reprint, with introduction by Barbara Sparti (Hildesheim, New York: G. Olms, 2004).

TABLE 4: Choreographic sources for dances in Shakespeare's plays.

Column 1: Dance names in bold are as they appear in Shakespeare's plays; alternate (including non-English) dance names are in parentheses.

Columns 2-4: Sources in bold contain the most substantial and/or the clearest descriptions.

COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2	COLUMN 3	COLUMN 4
Dance name	**English sources**	**French sources**	**Italian sources**
Bergomask	–	–	–
Canary (*canaries, canario*)	–	**Arbeau**	**Caroso, Negri, Santucci,** Lupi
Carole	–	–	–
Cinquepace, sink-a-pace (*cinque pas, cinque passi*) see: Galliard			
Coranto (*courante, corrente*)	Inns-of-Court MSS (unclear instructions)	**Arbeau** *De Lauze* (unclear instructions)	**Negri**
Country dances	**Playford**	–	–
French Brawl (*branle*)	–	**Arbeau** *De Lauze*	–
Galliard (*gaillarde, gagliarda*)	Inns-of-Court MSS (notes too brief to reconstruct dance)	**Arbeau** *De Lauze* (unclear instructions)	**Caroso, Negri, Lutij, Compasso, Lupi, Santucci**
Hay (hey)	**Playford** (many hay figures)	Arbeau (hay figure in one dance)	
Jig	–	–	–
Lavolta (volta, *volte*)	–	**Arbeau**	–
Measure (*almain, pavin*)	**Inns-of-Court MSS**	**Arbeau** (*allemande, pavane*)	–
Morris	–	Arbeau (excerpts only)	–
Passy measures pavin (*pavin, passamezzo, passo e mezzo, passe meze*)	**Inns-of-Court MSS** (*pavin*)	**Arbeau** (*pavane*, & brief note re *passe meze*)	**Caroso** (*pavana, passo e mezzo*) **Negri,** Lupi (*passo e mezzo*)
Round, Roundel	–	–	–

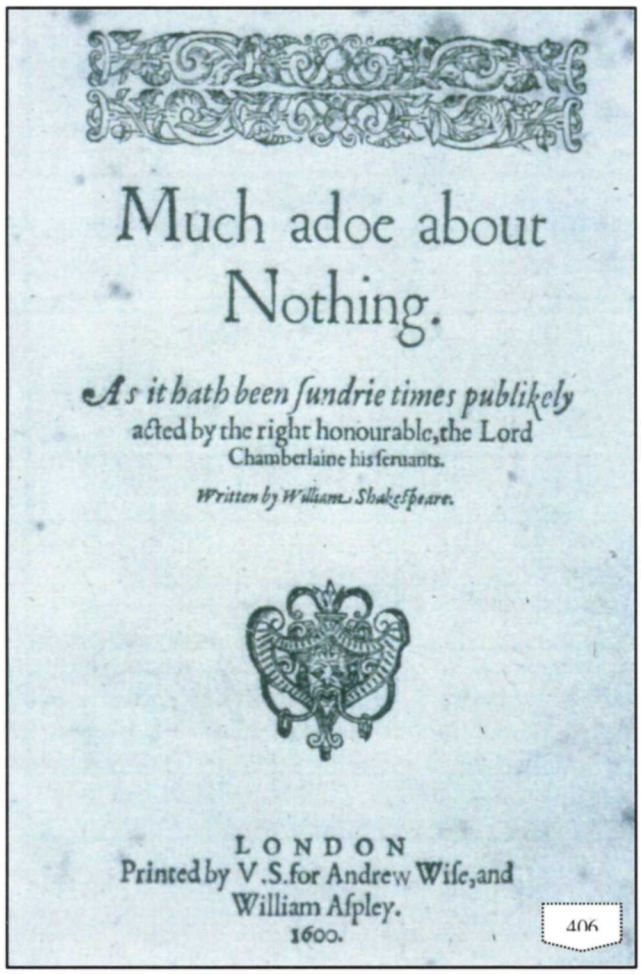
Part II

Much Ado About Nothing: Dancing out the answer.

Some years ago I provided choreography for the Hampshire Shakespeare Company's productions of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Romeo and Juliet.*[353] This company does not always use period staging, or period dancing, but on these two occasions both the directors and I wanted to see how far we could get using only surviving

[353] Hampshire Shakespeare Company, 1998 *Shakespeare Under the Stars* season, Amherst, and Northampton, Massachusetts. *Much Ado About Nothing* was directed by Benjamin Ware; *Romeo and Juliet* was directed by Timothy Holcomb. These productions used the First Folio versions, without cuts. First Folio: http://ise.uvic.ca/Library/facsimile/book/SLNSW_F1/123/?size=small&view_mode=normal&content_type=

choreographies from Shakespeare's time. Table 5 is a description of my staging of the dancing in Act II, Scene I, of *Much Ado About Nothing*. I should emphasize that what follows is merely a report and commentary on one experiment in using primary dance sources, and is in no way intended to be prescriptive. Many different solutions are possible, even if one adheres to the intention of using only primary dance sources. Furthermore, this was not an attempt to reconstruct the dance scenes as they may have been done in Shakespeare's time. Our premise was merely that, given that period choreographies do exist, we wanted to see if we could find appropriate dances that fit the given dialogue and action, or that could be adapted to do so with minimum alteration to the original choreography.


Much adoe about Nothing.

As it hath been ſundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his ſeruants.

Written by William Shakeſpeare.

LONDON
Printed by V.S. for Andrew Wiſe, and William Aſpley.
1600.

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In Act II, Scene I, of *Much Ado*, Beatrice, a young lady who has no desire to marry, is giving advice to her cousin Hero, who is about to become engaged. Beatrice compares the three stages of courtship—the wooing phase, the wedding itself, and the inevitable (in Beatrice's mind) regretting that follows, to a Scotch jig, a *measure*, and a *cinquepace*:

> ***BEATRICE:***
> *The fault will be in the music, cousin, if you be not wooed in good time. If the Prince be too important, tell him there is measure in every thing, and so dance out the answer. For hear me, Hero: wooing, wedding, and repenting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a cinquepace; the first suit is hot and hasty, like a Scotch jig, and full as fantastical; the wedding, mannerly-modest, as a measure, full of state and ancientry; and then comes repentance and, with his bad legs, falls into the cinquepace faster and faster, till he sink into his grave.*[354]

Because today's audiences are unlikely to be familiar with these dances, it seemed appropriate to dance out a little of each dance as it is mentioned. Choreographies exist for the *measure* and the *cinquepace*, so those two dance types could be demonstrated with confidence. There are, however, no conclusive choreographies for a jig from this period. Therefore, because our aim in this production was to use only extant choreographies, I decided against inventing a jig based on incomplete descriptions, or on later sources, but to get around the problem another way. In order to make the flow of the three dance illustrations organic (and to disguise the fact that we were omitting the jig due to insufficient information) we proceeded as follows:

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[354] William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act 2, Scene 1, in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Peter Alexander (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951), 142.

TABLE 5: *Much Ado About Nothing* Choreography.

Spoken text	Accompanying action
BEATRICE: *For hear me, Hero: wooing, wedding, and repenting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a cinquepace;*	
the first suit is hot and hasty, like a Scotch jig, and full as fantastical;	Beatrice illustrates the hot-and-hasty nature of the jig not by means of dance steps but with hand gestures, facial expressions, etc. Hero makes signs of starting to leave, so Beatrice, in order to keep her there, takes her by the hand.
the wedding, mannerly modest, as a measure, full of state and ancientry;	and leads her about in a few steps of a stately measure, both women curtseying on, *ancientry* (Hero taking her cue for the curtsey from Beatrice.)
and then comes repentance, and, with his bad legs, falls into the cinquepace faster and faster, till he sink into his grave.	Now that Beatrice has started dancing she continues to do so: letting go of Hero's hand (who by now is sufficiently amused to remain and observe her cousin's antics), she demonstrates a few steps of the *cinquepace* complete with exaggerated huffing and puffing to show how difficult and strenuous this dance is.

I assumed that, because of the proximity of this dialogue to the ensuing ballroom scene (only three short lines of dialogue separate the two) the audience could be expected to retain enough of Beatrice's demonstrations to recognize the *measure* and *cinquepace* and their stated associations when they are danced soon after by the company. This was further enhanced by having a musician play little snippets of the music for Beatrice as she demonstrated the steps; later on, during the ensuing ball scene, the dance tunes would be heard in full, thus reinforcing the connections. Having a musician (or two) wandering about, as if setting up for the ball, would certainly not be out of place in this scene.[355]

The actual ball setting involves four masked couples: Hero and Don Pedro, Margaret and Balthasar (or at first Benedick and later Balthasar),[356] Ursula and Antonio, Beatrice and Benedick, who converse in turn, or, rather, the impression is that they all converse simultaneously, but the audience only hears one couple at a time. Alan Brissenden, author of *Shakespeare and the Dance*—the seminal book on this topic—suggests that Don Pedro's line to Hero, *Lady, will you walk about with your friend?* is an invitation to dance, noting that to walk about is a just description of a *pavan*, one of dances that he recommends as being suitable for this passage.[357] Although there is no stage direction preceding this line to indicate that music plays—in fact, the direction *Musicke for the dance* does not come until the end of

[355] Additionally, said musician(s) could even practice a little of the dance tunes just before Beatrice speaks, in which case they (the tunes) could appear to be the motivation that prompts her remarks.

[356] Although some editions of this play have Margaret dancing with Balthasar the whole time, the first folio edition has her initially dance with Benedick, until Balthasar cuts in on line 515 with the word, Amen. If this is intentional, and not an error, then Margaret's words just before acquiring a new dance partner (*God match me with a good dancer*) would make sense. Additionally, a change of partner would be the perfect place for a change of dance tune, and so a new measure could begin.

[357] Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*, 49.

Beatrice and Benedick's conversation (where it could signify the beginning of a different dance, as I explain below)—I agree with Brissenden that this whole passage, from Don Pedro's question up to the *exeunt*, can be interpreted as a dance scene, because, as Brissenden notes, the dialogue between the four couples strongly suggests that they are dancing (for example, *God match me with a good dancer...and God keep him out of my sight when the dance is done. I know you by the wagling of your head. Here's his dry hand up and down.*).

Brissenden makes some fitting suggestions for staging this scene in ways that make key lines in the dialogue coincide with appropriate choreographic figures: for example, Hero's *and especially when I walk away* could be spoken as the partners move away from one another, and *I may say so, when I please* as they come together again. Later, as Beatrice and Benedick become engrossed in their verbal skirmish, Brissenden suggests that they stop dancing altogether until Beatrice says *we must follow the leaders,* at which point the dancing could change from a *pavan* to a galliard (*i.e.*, to a *cinquepace*). (Incidentally, that would also explain the direction *Musicke* in the text.)

I used Brissenden's suggestions as a starting point and elaborated on them. Instead of using just one dance, such as a *pavan* or another *measure*, for the entire dialogue of the four couples, I chose three *measures* to be danced in succession, preserving the order in which these dances appear in the Inns-of-Court manuscripts, namely, a *pavan*, followed by the *Earl of Essex Measure*, and ending with the *Black Almain*. If I were doing this today, I would probably increase the number of *measures* to four, to highlight each couple's conversation with a different tune.

My reasons for choosing several, instead of one, of the *measures* had to do with both historical and practical considerations. First, our stage was very small, so, in order to accommodate the sixty or so lines of dialogue, the dancers would need to traverse the same space many times over. If this were all done to the same tune, even with the musicians playing variations, the risk of monotony would be great. Having several shorter dances in succession created variety, both musical and choreographic. Furthermore, we had different combinations of couples dancing, since an opportunity to enter or exit the dancing existed during the change from one *measure* to another. As we saw in some of the Inns-of-Court manuscripts, an *honour* (bow/curtsey) to one's partner occurs at the end of individual *measures*, indicating that there must have been a pause (even if a short one) between each dance, providing an opportunity for couples to exit or enter the dancing.[358]

Additionally, I made the final words of Ursula's speech, *and there's an end*, coincide with the end of a dance. Had I used four *measures* instead of three, I could have done the same for the end of Margaret and Benedick/Balthasar's dialogue. I admit I have no historical evidence either for or against tailoring the music and choreography to the speeches in this way, but I find it intriguing that each of these couples' dialogue ends with a reference to a conclusion of some sort. I felt that this allowed me to justify this approach dramaturgically, without breaking any known historical dance conventions.

Another reason for choosing several *measures* in succession is that in the Inns-of-Court sources the *measures* are done as a group, with the *Black Almain measure* coming last, just before the *cinquepace*. The *Black Almain* proved to be a very happy choice for accompanying Beatrice and Benedick's verbal skirmish. The choreography is the most complicated of all the known *measures*, requiring the partners to move now together, now away from one another, now back again; it includes turns for the men, followed by turns for the women, changes of place and sideways skipping/sliding movements. With the couple arguing while trying to dance all of this, mistakes (whether intentionally staged or otherwise) seem unavoidable, and this dance scene drew much laughter from our audiences. Below is the *Black Almain* choreography as it is described in the Douce *280* manuscript from the Bodleian Library, followed by a summary of the dialogue and action put together.

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[358] Whether it was historically accurate to have couples leaving and joining the dancing during such pauses, I cannot say, but this choice certainly helped solve the problem of staging a long dance scene on a tiny stage. Additionally, if Margaret does indeed dance first with Benedick, then with Balthasar (see note 356), changing partners would be a necessity, since Benedick needs to end up with Beatrice.

Honour. Fowre doubles forward, part hands w[i]th a d[ouble] backe, meete againe with a d[ouble], A d[ouble] on your lefte hand, a nother on your right hand, The man doe[s] 2 S[ingles] & a d[ouble] rounde. The woman as much, take both handes, change places with a double & slide upwardes 4, Into your owne place with a d[ouble], Slyde down 4, backe a d[ouble] one fro[m] another, meet againe The same againe.

TABLE 6: My staging of the *Black Almain* for *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II, Scene I.

Dance choreography	**Dialogue** (and/or reaction)
Start upstage. Several couples, one behind the other, Benedick and Beatrice leading. 4 doubles forward, in a curved path, moving downstage. The 4th double ends with partners face to face.	Beatrice and Benedick converse (inaudibly) during these 4 opening doubles. Just as they are turning face to face at the end of the 4th double Beatrice reacts to something that Benedick has just told her.
As the partners back away from one another, doing 1 double backwards:	**BEATRICE:** ***Will you not tell me who told you so?***
As the partners approach one other doing 1 double forwards:	**BENEDICK:** ***No, you shall pardon me.*** (as in: *Sorry, no time, got to go now,* because they need to move in opposite directions in the next figure.)
The partners immediately part again, moving to their own left side with a left double, *i.e.* men and women move in opposite directions.	(Thus Beatrice gets some time to think, Benedick to smirk.)
The partners return to one another with a right double.	(Since they are now approaching, Beatrice has a good opportunity to scrutinize Benedick, whether in earnest or in jest.)
The next figure is a set-and-turn consisting of 2 sideways single steps (to left and to right) followed by a turning double (4 steps in a small circle around oneself). It is performed first by the men, while the women stand still and watch, then by the women while the men stand still. In accordance with Renaissance dance aesthetics, this kind of figure would have provided an ideal opportunity for the dancers to display themselves in front of their partners. That is, it is a chance for the women to show how attractive they are (meaning how graceful, demure, coy, and delicate they are), and a chance for the men to display their strong physique, good legs, etc. The coupling of Beatrice and Benedick's dialogue with this figure produced some very amusing results.	

Dance choreography	**Dialogue** (and/or reaction)
As the men do their the side-to-side moves (which in Benedick's case can seem fittingly evasive):	**BEATRICE:** ***Nor will you not tell me who you are?***
As the men begin their turn:	**BENEDICK:** ***Not now.*** (As in: *not now, I'm busy showing off!*)
Now it is the women's turn to display their grace, coyness, etc. Yet Beatrice's words are quite negative, creating an amusing juxtaposition, since she is unlikely to remain coy and graceful while speaking them.	
Dance choreography	**Dialogue** (and/or reaction)
Women do their set-and-turn.	**BEATRICE:** ***That I was disdainful, and that I had my good wit out of the "Hundred Merry Tales" etc., etc.***
At this point, as Beatrice and Benedick continue talking, their dancing starts to disintegrate, while the other couples who are in line behind them are diligently performing the correct figures, doing their best to ignore the disruptive couple. The next figure involves partners joining both hands, exchanging places, and then all doing *four French slides* (which can be interpreted as sideways skipping/sliding steps, as what today are called *chassé* steps). Beatrice and Benedick can be late in taking hands and changing places, so that the other couples end up bumping into them with their sideways slides, perhaps even pushing them out of the dance, but they just stand and continue talking, without skipping a beat, as it were, not even aware that the other dancers have moved on (in our case moved off stage, as if the festivities were moving to a different room) until the *Black Almain* music ends. At that point, Beatrice's line *we must follow the leaders* can appear funny, because Beatrice and Benedick WERE the original leaders at the beginning of this dance. Beatrice and Benedick now follow the others off stage as the *cinquepace* music is heard.	

Another reason why I saw the *Black Almain* as an apt choice for Beatrice and Benedick is that, as already noted, in the Inns-of-Court manuscripts it is the last *measure* before the *cinquepace*. Thus *repentance* really does follow Beatrice and Benedick's *measure*. I should note here that the *cinquepace* is a strenuous dance (hence Beatrice's likening it to repentance), and in order to dance it effectively and safely today, the participants need to be fit, coordinated, and also free from any injuries or conditions that could be aggravated by hopping and jumping movements. Additionally the floor needs to be suitable for dancing (for example, a sprung wooden floor, as opposed to a non-resilient surface such as concrete). If the conditions are not optimal for dancing the *cinquepace*, it can still be incorporated into this scene by having the music played off stage after the dancers (except for the arguing couple) have left. Because the *cinquepace* has a very distinctive rhythm, and because the audience had early heard snippets of it during Beatrice's earlier conversation with Hero, and saw her step demonstrations, they would probably recognize it as the *cinquepace*/repentance music. The music could gradually grow fainter (as if everyone were dancing further and further away), and fade away as the next part of the scene, featuring Don John, Borachio, and Claudio begins.

These themes could also be echoed in the dances at the end of the play. For the final dance scene in our production I chose a dance with circular figures in order

to reinforce the idea of (by now achieved) harmony. The music, however, had a very prominent *cinquepace* rhythm, as if to ask the question: will the two couples live happily ever after, or will their married bliss contain just a touch of repentance?

Love's Labour's Lost: making every word count.

My next example is from *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act III, Scene I. There is no dancing in this scene, but several dances are mentioned. The characters involved are Don Adriano De Armado, a caricature figure of an eccentric, bombastic Spaniard, and Moth, his page boy. Armado fancies himself to be in love with a simple French lass, and in this scene Moth questions him about his plans to woo her, launching into one of those lengthy verbal riffs that are characteristic of Shakespeare. In my experience, such verbal pyrotechnics can easily go over the heads of audiences who are not used to hearing Shakespeare. The references to unfamiliar dances go unheeded, and the entire speech can dissolve into a mass of verbiage. Because it is a pity to waste good dialogue in this way, below I offer one possible way of staging this scene that can make the dialogue more intelligible, in this case by building on the dances mentioned by the characters.

> ***MOTH:***
> *Master, will you win your love with a French brawl?*
>
> ***DON ADRIANO DE ARMADO:***
> *How meanest thou? brawling in French?*
>
> ***MOTH:***
> *No, my complete master: but to jig off a tune at the tongue's end, canary to it with your feet, humour it with turning up your eyelids, sigh a note and sing a note, sometime through the throat, as if you swallowed love with singing love, sometime through the nose, as if you snuffed up love by smelling love; with your hat penthouse-like o'er the shop of your eyes; with your arms crossed on your thin-belly doublet like a rabbit on a spit; or your hands in your pocket like a man after the old painting; and keep not too long in one tune, but a snip and away. These are complements, these are humours; these betray nice wenches, that would be betrayed without these; and make them men of note—do you note me?—that most are affected to these.*[359]

A brawl is the English term for a French dance type called *branle*. *Branles* were usually danced by an unlimited number of male-female couples in a circle (closed, or open as in an arc), and they included what may be called folk-like elements, such as stamping, clapping hands, putting one's hands on one's hips, shaking a finger at one's partner as if scolding them, and so on. In other words, a very fitting dance for the wooing of a French country girl.

A canary (*canaries*, *canario*) is believed to be a dance of Spanish origin.[360] The first known references to the dance are Spanish. Arbeau, who presents a short version of it in his manual, writes that while some believe it to have originated in the Canary Islands (which were under Spanish rule), others (including himself) think it was more likely to have been choreographed especially for a theatrical event.[361] The two are not mutually exclusive. The canary dance was regarded as exotic, as is Don Armado himself in this play. The dance mimics a flirtatious wooing ritual, with the partners approaching each other, retreating, and showing-off for each other in turn, and it is characterized by percussive footwork involving stamping and sliding steps. A distinguishing feature, described by the dancing master Caroso as a *pedalogue*—that is, a dialogue made with the feet—involves the man and woman in turn stamping out different rhythmic patterns, making Moth's line *canary to it with your feet* most appropriate in the given situation.[362]

In Table 7 I have rewritten this dialogue interspersing my idea of the characters' possible thoughts and the actions/reactions motivated by these thoughts.

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[359] William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act III, scene 1, in *Shakespeare The Complete Works*, ed., G.B. Harrison (NewYork: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952), 405.

[360] See Sutton, Julia, and Pamela Jones, "Canary" in *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-0317

[361] Arbeau, *Orchesography*, 179.

[362] Caroso, (*Nobiltà*, 114) calls it a *pedalogo*.

TABLE 7: *Love's Labour Lost*, Making Every Word Count

MOTH	Thinks:	I wonder if he even knows how to do a French dance.
	Speaks:	***Master, will you win your love with a French brawl?***
ARMADO	Thinks:	What on earth is he talking about?
	Speaks:	***How meanest thou? Brawling in French?***
MOTH	Thinks:	Okay, I'll make it easier for him to understand...
	Speaks:	***No, my complete master: but to jig off a tune at the tongue's end,***
	Thinks:	Still clueless? I better demonstrate, and with something Spanish…
	Speaks:	[while doing some canary steps] ***canary to it with your feet,***
ARMADO	Thinks:	Ah, now I get it! He means dance!
MOTH	**Speaks:**	***Humour it with turning up your eyelids, sigh a note and sing a note, sometime through the throat, as if you swallowed love with singing love, sometime through the nose, as if you snuffed up love by smelling love; with your hat penthouse-like...***
ARMADO	Thinks:	All right, all RIGHT! Enough! I GET it already!!!

Armado can make signs as if he has heard enough and wants to leave, he could pace around looking exasperated, with Moth not even noticing that Armado has stopped listening until near the end of the speech when he calls Armado back with the words *do you note me?* The audience, thanks to Moth's brief demonstration, will understand that the canary being referred to in this scene is a dance, and thanks to Armado's reactions, will not view Moth's loquaciousness as being gratuitous because it will be seen as providing the motivation for Armado's exasperation and subsequent amusing interactions.[363]

There are many other examples in Shakespeare's plays where even a short, passing remark about a particular dance can be amusing. For example, Sir Toby's line to Sir Andrew Aguecheek in Act I, Scene 3, of *Twelfth Night*, where he asks *why doest thou not go to church in a galliard and come home in a coranto?*, conjures up an image of someone trying to get to a destination doing the most difficult dance of all (with its stop and start actions of four kicks that move forward

[363] In addition to being a bird and a dance, canary was also a wine.

followed by a leap that stays in place) and then returning home in the fastest dance of all, one that consists of light-hearted skipping motions, suggesting a reluctance to go to church and an eagerness to get home, an apt image for an idler like Aguecheek. It is probably impossible to make every reference to dance understood—even if one includes explanations in program notes, which is not always convenient—but I believe it is a worthwhile challenge to try and make at least some of the *dance dialogue come alive and be rendered intelligible, without being pedantic about it,* and I hope that through my examples I have shown some of the ways in which one can approach this challenge. In closing I will note that, *even* when a play is not being staged in period style, there is no reason to cut, or gloss over the dance references (as happens in some productions). One could create new dances that still preserve the individual character (stately, difficult, fast, exotic-looking, etc.) of the original ones.[364] Alternatively, one could just use the original dances—after all, if one can speak Shakespearean dialogue in a modern setting why should one not perform a galliard to rock music?

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Author
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Presented at the Bill and Ida Friday Symposium, *Roanoke Conundrum—Fact and Fiction*
Roanoke Island, NC, October 2012.

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Archaeology of the Carolina Algonkians & Roanoke Island—Edward Clay Swindell

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Archaeology of the Native Americans: The Carolina Algonkians—David S. Phelps

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Figure 211: Theodor de Bry's engraving of a John White lost-original drawing of "The arrival of the Englishemen in Virginia," Dover-Harriot, 45, pl. 2.

Figure 212: The 1608 Zuñiga Map. William P. Cumming, *Mapping the North Carolina Coast, Sixteenth-Century Cartography and the Roanoke Voyages* (Raleigh: Division of Archives & History, 1988), pl. 28.

Figure 213: John Farrar. "A Mapp of Virginia" 1651. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*. Note the two fort-like symbols on *Rolli passa* near the confluence of the Roanoke and Chowan.

Figure 214: Nicholas Comberford. "The South Part of Virginia." 1657 MS. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*.

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Figure 216: Manuscript Sketch Map made post 1664. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Map no. 52.

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Figure 219: Plan of Roanoke. 1716. William Maule. NC State Archives.

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The New Deal Comes to the Outer Banks: Social, Economic and Environmental Transformations—Jim Senter

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Figure 244: Clippings about the storm. Elizabeth City *Daily Advance*, 24 August 1933; Elizabeth City *Independent*.

Figure 245: Globe Fish Company advertisement. The Elizabeth City *Daily Advance*.

Figure 246: Restoration of Old Fort Ralegh. *Emergency Relief in North Carolina, A Record of the Development and the Activities of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1936*.

Figure 247: The Chapel in the Cittie of Ralegh State Park. *Emergency Relief in North Carolina,* 1936.

Figure 248: ERA swamp drainage near Roanoke Island, *Emergency Relief in North Carolina,* 1936.

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Figure 253: Cabins at Cape Hatteras State Park, constructed by CCC Company 3423. NPS-FORA- MRC.

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Figure 270: President Franklin D. Roosevelt's marker noting the spot from which he viewed a performance of *The Lost Colony* on 18 August 1937 in the Waterside Theatre. Photo by Jim Senter.

Image 271: *The Lost Colony's* Eleanor Dare (Marjalene Thomas) holding her baby Virginia. RIHA Archives.

The Waterside Theatre Pictorial Essay—Brandon Smith

Image 272: Aerial view of the Waterside Theatre in the 1930s. RIHA Archives.

Image 273: The entrance gates to the Cittie of Ralegh State Park, 1937. Tom Fearing is standing at the gate. NC Archives & History.

Image 274: *The Lost Colony* Parking lot at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 275: The remodeled 1937 Waterside Theatre Box Office used from 1950 – 1966. RIHA Archives.

Image 276: The 2014 Waterside Theatre Ticket Office constructed in 1994. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 277: Portion of the path that led to Old Fort Ralegh and subsequently used by the state park. Entrance gates, blockhouses—one of which housed the Waterside Theatre Box Office. NC Archives & History.

Image 278: Path from the 2014 Ticket Office to the main entrance of the theatre. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 279: The main gate at the theatre opens on a corridor that extends both right and left. Immediately in front of the main gate is the production booth for *The Lost Colony*. The log structure depicted is the back side of the original 1937 booth. Then as now, the lower floor was used by the house staff for storage, and the top floor for lighting and sound control. The production stage manager who calls-the-show has a position on the top floor. NC Archives & History.

Image 280: The 2014 Production Booth's backside, on view at the Waterside Theatre's entrance gate. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 281: The 2014 House-Right Rain-shelters, occasionally called Breezeways, located off-the entrance corridor. The original theatre included no such conveniences. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 282: Restroom area in the 2014 House-Right Rain-shelter. House Left has similar facilities. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 283: The 2014 House-Left Rain-shelter depicting the entrance back into the theatre. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 284: House view of the 1937 theatre. Note the backless benches for seats and the log structures on the main-stage. This theatre burned during the 1947 season, and a similar one was re-constructed in just 6 days. NC Archives & History.

Image 285: House view of the 2014 Theatre. The logs have been replaced by a wattle-and-daub effect. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 286: The Choir Loft used in the production of *The Lost Colony* underwent several changes from 1937-1963, originally having no bottom border and no top—just benches for the chorus. The location of the area was house right abutting the proscenium wall. NC Archives & History.

Image 287: In 1964 the Choir loft was eliminated, the chorus being integrated in the performance and the space being added to the extant small side stage used primarily for the intimate Queen's Chamber scene as depicted in the 2013 photo by Ray Matthews. RIHA Archives.

Image 288: The original 1937 House-Right light tower used in the production of *The Lost Colony*. NC Archives & History.

Image 289: The House-Left Light Tower in 2014. RIHA Archives.

Image 290: Seating in the Theatre House has changed radically over the years. The original theatre [see Figure 284] had wooden benches without backs. After World War II, backs were added, as depicted in the photo. NC Archives & History.

Image 291: The Waterside Theatre was completely remodeled in 1997 – 1998 and modern stadium seats replaced the wooden benches in the house. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 292: Stage Left, and the Stage-Left Wing leading backstage at the Waterside Theatre. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 293: A view Stage-left backstage at the Waterside Theatre, the corridor between the two dressing room sections used by women. The photo is c. 1950s. RIHA Archives.

Image 294: The 1937 theatre backstage of the main-stage. The railing was used to move the show's largest prop—a ship. NC Archives & History.

Image 295: The 2014 theatre backstage of the main-stage. The ship track, now solid, is sound-side of the hand-railing. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 296: 1938 Stage-Right backstage area showing the Maintenance Building, a section of which was used as the company canteen. Beyond the building on the shore side is the prop ship. The spot light was used for back lighting the ship *en route* to stage left. NC Archives & History.
Image 297: The 2013 ship. Photo by Patrick Schneider. RIHA Archives.

Image 298: Backstage decks were and still are used during the day as work areas for props, sets and costumes. The 1938 photo shows Property Master Bill Long, Sr. working on the show's Indian props. NC Archives & History.

Image 299: A 2013 view of the Stage-Left Prop Cabin and deck work space. A similar area and cabin are located back-Stage-Right. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 300: In the early days of the show, and to some extent even today, railings were used to dry and 'air' costumes used in the show. This photo is from 1938. NC Archives & History.

Image 301: Costume 'airing' in 2013. The modern costume shop is in the left background and the ship on the right. Photo by Christopher Clarens.

Image 302: Inside the costume shop in the 1940s. NC Archives & History.

Image 303: Inside the modern costume shop. RIHA Archives.

Image 304: The last scene in *The Lost Colony* is the Final March of the settlers into the vast unknown. The photo is from 1937. NC Archives & History.

Image 305: *The Lost Colony's* Final March, 2013. Photo by Ray Mathews. RIHA Archives.

Image 306: *The Lost Colony* Logo. RIHA Archives.

Symphonic Drama—The Art Form For Interpreting History—Mark R. Sumner, Jr.

Figure 307: E. Woodward's interpretation of Governor John White's discovery of a clue to the whereabouts of the 1587 colony. https://symonsez.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/croatantree.gif

Figure 308: William Steene's Painting of Virginia Dare's christening, commissioned by the NC Society of Colonial Dames of America. NC Archives & History; on display on the South Wall between the Senate & House Chambers in Raleigh, NC.

Image 309: 1893 Handbill distributed in New Bern, NC promoting the purchase of Old Fort Ralegh. Bassett papers, Ms Department, Duke University Library.

Figure 310: View of the Old Fort Raleigh earthwork with the split-rail fence erected by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Baltimore in 1896. At the time, remnants of the original fortification were still visible inside the fenced area. Aycock Brown Collection. William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved* (Chapel Hill, UNC Press, 1965), 81.

Image 311: Photo of an earthwork with Palisado constructed on the site of the original for the 1921 movie. NC Archives & History.

Figure 312: C. A. Rheims and Red Stapleton of Chicago's Atlas Film Corporation with Miss Elizabeth Grimball—a popular Community Theatre director from New York, filming the 1921 movie about the first English settlements on Roanoke Island. The palisade-crested earthwork in the background was constructed specifically for use in the motion picture. RIHA Archives.

Figure 313: Still from the 1921 movie taken inside the palisade-crested earthwork. Mabel Evans [later Jones] as Eleanor Dare, Ralph Poole as Ananias Dare, and Annie Eloise Emory [later Mrs. J.E. Casper of Elizabeth City, NC] as the infant, Virginia Dare. RIHA Archives.

Figure 314: The 1931 bridge connecting Kitty Hawk [Southern Shores] to the mainland. By the time *The Lost Colony* opened in 1937, a new paved road from the bridge extended the length of the beach to the Nags Head causeway. A short bridge across the Roanoke Sound connected Roanoke Island and its new paved road, making travel easier and faster for residents and visitors. RIHA Archives.

Image 315: Brochure banner published by Dare County in the 1930s. RIHA Archives.

Figure 316: Senator D. Bradford Fearing, the charismatic civic leader and businessman who spearheaded the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo and *The Lost Colony* Production Company. Because of his leadership and tireless efforts, Paul Green's outdoor drama premiered in 1937 as the highlight of the 350th Anniversary Celebration of the birth of Virginia Dare. Mabel Basnight Collection.

Figure 317: W.O. Saunders, controversial newspaper owner/editor of the *Independent* and *The Daily Independent* in Elizabeth City. Saunders was also a history-buff and visionary who founded the Roanoke Island Historical Association in 1932. Photo from Keith Saunders, in Powell, *Paradise Preserved,* 136.

Figure 318: Part of D. Bradford Fearing's 1931 Homecoming Celebration, Exercises at Old Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, Tuesday August 18,

1931, commemorating the first English settlements in the New World and the 344th Anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare on August 18, 1587. Photo by Tidewater Photo Service, Inc., Norfolk, Virginia. Outer Banks History Center.

Figure 319: Entrance gates to the 1934 Cittie of Ralegh State Park on the grounds of what is now Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. RIHA Archives.

Figure 320: The Governor John White Cabin, one of the components in Frank Stick's design for a village representative of the 16th-century English settlement constructed on Roanoke Island. Stick's use of log structures remains controversial. Albert Q. 'Skipper' Bell was the construction designer/supervisor. RIHA Archives.

Figure 321: The Chapel was the centerpiece of the village. Hundreds of couples were married in the structure, among them Andy Griffith and his first wife, Barbara Edwards, who were at the time, portraying the roles of Sir Walter Ralegh and Eleanor Dare in *The Lost Colony* outdoor drama. RIHA Archives.

Figure 322: The Cittie of Ralegh's 'fort'—a planked guardhouse surrounded by a palisade. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Image 323: Armorial shield & motto for Governor John White's colony—*The Cittie of Ralegh in Virginea*—granted in 1586 by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms at the College of Arms in London. The designated mottos is: *Concordia: Parva Crescent*—in harmony, small things prosper. RIHA Archives.

Figure 324: Playbill for 1934 *Pageant of Roanoke*. RIHA Archives.

Figure 325: North Carolina Governor Broughton and male members of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo and *The Lost Colony* Production Company, who met in 1944 after the deaths of RIHA leader W.O. Saunders and *The Lost Colony's* guiding genius, D. Bradford Fearing, to combine the various organizations and establish a plan for the continuity of the production. Members represented are: from left—A.R. Newsome, Horace Dough, J. Kenyon Wilson, Harry McMullan, Roy L. Davis, G.L. Thomasson, Martin Kellogg, Jr., Chauncey S. Meekins, Samuel Selden, Charlie Evans, Paul Green, William D. Carmichael, Josephus Daniels, D. Victor Meekins, Melvin R. Daniels, W.C. Blue, M.W. Manus, John Ferebee, I.P. Davis, J.I. Blackman, R. Bruce Etheridge and Theodore Meekins. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Figure 326: The special Tony Award Honor, presented in 2013 to *The Lost Colony*—a survivor of the WPA Federal Theatre's grassroots community history celebration program. The citation reads: *In celebration of the play by Paul Green that has become a North Carolina institution, entertaining generations of theatergoers by illuminating a notable chapter in our nation's history*. RIHA Archives.

Figure 327: Playwright Paul Green, in the Waterside Theatre observing a rehearsal of his new play, *The Lost Colony*, c. 1938. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Image 328: Brochure banner from The Carolina Playmakers in the 1930s. RIHA Archives.

Figure 329: *The Lost Colony's* first director, Sam Selden (left-center in raincoat). NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Figure 330: The original Waterside Theatre—home of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*—constructed in 1937. Albert Q. 'Skipper' Bell, an architect, gardener, poet, Renaissance-man originally from Yorkshire England, interpreted theatrical needs defined by Fred Koch, Paul Green and Sam Selden, then designed and supervised construction of the structure. He made it of logs to be compatible with the adjacent Cittie of Ralegh State Park. Seating capacity was 3500. During the 1947 season, a fire destroyed more than two thirds of the stage. Under Bell's leadership, the cast, crew and townspeople re-built the theatre in 6 days, re-opening performances on the evening of the seventh day. Disaster struck again in 1960 when Hurricane Donna demolished the main-stage and backstage, but this was off-season, allowing Bell more time to reconstruct. He did this in increments from 1960 -1964, making sure to be ready for each successive season, perfecting his design and structure each year off-season. The re-structured theatre was completely finished in time for the 1964 season—and its new director Joe Layton who completely re-envisioned the production of the play. As usual, Bell stood at the main-gate, collecting tickets from patrons every night of the 1964 run—mid-June through mid-August. He died on 11 September 1964. RIHA Archives.

Figure 331: The Historian's booth [c. 1946-7]—a major part of the setting for *The Lost Colony* from 1937-1963. The actor portraying the role of historian sat in the booth through the performance. Between scenes, the stage went dark and the light came up in the booth where the historian/narrator, in Brechtian manner prepared the audience for the next scene they would watch. His voice was amplified. In 1964, director Layton, had the booth removed. His historian was the first to float in and out of scenes to present the narrative. Notice the difference in the 1946 booth and the 1937 table & chair shown in the picture of the original theatre [fig. 330]. RIHA Archives.

Figure 332: The choir loft in the Waterside Theatre c. 1937. In the 1930s and early 1940s, all choral music was delivered from the choir loft. Thereafter the choir was split for folk-tunes—some choristers remaining in the loft, some donning costume and singing along with the colonists on stage. In 1964, the choir loft was removed, all singers being a part of the action on stage, or as a ghost choir for the prelude and final march. During its tenure the choir loft went through several variations in an attempt to perfect the sound shell. RIHA Archives.

Figure 333: The Light shack at the top of the hill in the original 1937 theatre. This structure contained the dimmers and console that controlled the theatrical lights. Cues were and are communicated from the Light Shack to Stage Managers back stage during the performance. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Image 334: Promotional 'arrow' displayed on telephone poles and fences in the early 1930s. RIHA Archives.

Figure 335: One of the two original light towers in the Waterside Theatre. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Figure 336: 1938, CCC boys in the show. The young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps lived in camps on Roanoke Island, and worked during the day on various conservation projects. Many of them added a night-job as a member of the cast of *The Lost Colony*. The photo shows some in uniform and some dressed for their roles as Indians. NC Archives & History, Con-Dev.

Image 337: Promotion banner for *The Lost Colony* in the 1930s. RIHA Archives.

Figure 338: Roanoke Island's Waterside Theatre, home of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*—an aerial view c. 1950s of a section within Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. Note the recent reconstruction of the earthwork in the left foreground. RIHA Archives.

Figure 339: Photo of *The Lost Colony's* prologue as envisioned by the show's Award-winning Broadway director, Joe Layton. His ghost choir entered from the woods singing, thereby setting the stage for the historian/narrator of the outdoor drama. RIHA Archives.

Figure 340: For the past 77 years, every director has staged the Ralph Lane Scene on the small tree-surrounded side stage located on House Left of the Waterside Theatre. The primary function of a side stage is to provide an environment for an intimate scene. The Ralph Lane scene takes place in King *Wingina's* 16th-century village on Roanoke Island. At the opening of the scene, *Wingina* [center] is unwell and his medicine man *Uppowoc* [left] attempts to soothe and cure him. Shortly, the solemnity is interrupted by English soldiers who behead the Indian King. The forest setting and the juxtaposition of moods amplify the cruelty of the action—an action that in actuality made further English colonization of the site impossible for over 100 years. RIHA Archives.

Figure 341: The intimate Queen's Chamber Scene has always been played on the small side stage located on House Right of the Waterside Theatre. The setting is in Queen Elizabeth's semi-private withdrawing chamber. Use of the side stage is deliberate, in order to amplify the epic tragedy of scene. Governor John White [center] recently returned from Roanoke Island where he left his colony short of food and being threatened by hostile Indians eager to avenge the murder of their King. Sir Walter Ralegh has requested an audience with the Queen to secure permission to send supplies and reinforcements to the fledgling colony in the New World. After considerable debating and consideration of the pros and cons, the Queen relents. Seconds later, she is forced to reverse her decision. A Royal Messenger arrives with news that the Spanish Armada is in the Channel. The double tragedy is of epic proportion—the Queen and England may be destroyed, and England's fate is monitored in the small colony in the wilderness. The side stage provides the intimacy needed to amplify the tragedy. RIHA Archives.

Figure 342: The large main-stage is primarily used for action, spectacle and shifting scenes that develop the story line. For all of Act II, the main-stage functions as the waterfront settlement site. Note the chapel at center and the two side cabins—[camera left] for Eleanor & Ananias Dare; and [camera right] for Father Martin. Theoretically, a palisade surrounds the fortified village. Parapets for guards are structured inside the palisade. The photo depicts the Fishnet Scene—a scene composed of many vignettes and transitions. Center stage provides an area for the colonist women to mend nets—and give some exposition about life in the colony. Other women do mending in the Father Martin cabin, while yet another spins on stage. A guard is on the parapet [camera left] overlooking the ship, while Governor White [seated] and Ananias Dare [standing] wait outside Eleanor's cabin for the birth of her child. The scene ends with the announcement of the birth and shifts to the christening of Virginia Dare—kaleidoscopically bringing all the remaining colonists on stage during the transition. RIHA Archives.

Figure 343: The photo depicts a portion of the last scene in *The Lost Colony*—the Final March. Note that two stages are used concurrently. RIHA Archives.

Figure 344: A photo contest winner c. 1950s of Eleanor Dare [camera left] and Father Martin [camera right] trying to soothe the starving colonists. Barbara Edwards Griffith portrays Eleanor Dare. RIHA Archives.

Figure 345: The Dare County Courthouse [c. 1940s] in downtown Manteo housed *The Lost Colony* Offices from 1936 through the 1940s. RIHA Archives.

Preserving the Past—Archives of RIHA & The Lost Colony—*A Photo Essay*—Barbara Hird

Image 346: Logo of *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Image 347: Still photo from the 1921 movie about Ralegh's settlements on Roanoke Island. The guiding force behind the production, Mabel Evans, is featured in the film as Eleanor Dare. Annie Eloise Emery portrayed the baby Virginia Dare, and Ralph Poole her father Ananias Dare. RIHA Archives.

Image 348: The costume for the Native American Manteo, used in the 1921 movie and in subsequent dramatic productions of the story for annual Virginia Dare Birthday celebrations in the 1920s and early 1930s, was put on exhibit for the 75th Anniversary of *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Image 349: Photo of the June 1947 fire that destroyed most of the stage and backstage of the Waterside Theatre—costume shop, choir loft, mainstage and most of the sets and props. Working 24-hour shifts that began as soon as the ashes cooled, the cast members, technicians and townspeople re-built for six days and re-opened the show on the seventh evening. RIHA Archives.

Image 350: 1960 photo of Hurricane Donna's aftermath—the total destruction of the main and back stage areas. RIHA Archives.

Image 351: 2007 photo of the off-season fire that destroyed the costume shop and all of the show's costumes—except a few pieces that were still at the dry cleaners or on exhibit. RIHA Archives.

Image 352: Photo of *The Lost Colony's* Plymouth scene, ending Act I. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Broadway designer Fred Voelpel opened up the stage settings, enabling director Joe Layton to have more flexibility in blocking, movement and kaleidoscopic set changes. The set change from the Queen's Garden scene to Plymouth harbor was effected using actors and costumed technicians who either walked set components on stage, or turned pieces of the former scene to reveal on the back side a component of new scenery. Many of Voelpel's set designs and hundreds of photos of his sets and costumes are in the archives. RIHA Archives.

Image 353: Photo of the 1937 Queen's Garden Scene showing the original sets and costumes used in *The Lost Colony* production. While a few props from the premier season are in archives, none of the original sets and costumes are. Both sets and costumes were reused annually until they were no longer acceptable, at which time they were either altered to conform to a 'more modern' design or the materials salvaged and used for something entirely different. The archives have one 1938 costume—slightly altered, and numerous costumes from the 1940s. RIHA Archives.

Images 354 – 357: 1930s, 1940s & 1950s Photos of scenes from the show depicting (in order): **354**—Father Martin & Eleanor Dare (Katherine Calé); **355**—Choristers; **356**—John Borden & Eleanor Dare (R.G. Armstrong & Barbara Griffith); **357**—Old Tom (Don Somers) & Agona. RIHA Archives.

Images 358 & 359: Photos of Fred Howard, *The Lost Colony's* first *Uppowoc* in his now famous leap—in performance and in a bronze statue memorializing his style. RIHA Archives.

Image 360: Photo of *The Lost Colony* Choir performing in concert in the Waterside Theatre's Choir Loft, as it was known from 1937 – 1963. Members of the Westminster College Touring Choir performed the vocals for the outdoor drama in the early years, as well as special concerts. RIHA Archives.

Image 361: The musical instrument that dominated *The Lost Colony's* sound through the early years and into the 1970s was the organ. This photo is of the last organ used in the show. The instrument itself is a part of the archives, but currently on display in *The Lost Colony* Building. RIHA Archives.

Images 362 – 367: Costumes constitute the largest section of artifacts in the archives. All the photos, save one, are of costumes which are in the archives, but for the exception, the design is there. In order, the costumes are: **362**—The Queen's costume designed by William Ivey Long and worn in the show by Lynn Redgrave; **363**—The first William Ivey Long Queen costume, worn by Barbara Hird, but destroyed in the 2007 fire; **364**—The Sir Walter Ralegh costume also designed by Long; **365**—The Queen costume designed by Irene Rains; **366**—Male & female colonist depression costumes designed by Fred Voelpel; **367**—The Eleanor Dare costume designed by Irene Rains and worn by Marjalene Thomas. Costume in Image 365—Mabel Basnight Collection; all others RIHA Archives.

Image 368: The 'Snoopy' prop formerly used by *Uppowoc* in *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Image 369: Photo of the Irene Rains male Indian costume and necklace, worn by Edward Greene. Both the necklace and the loincloth escaped the 2007 fire by being in the archives. RIHA Archives.

Image 370: The Madonna prop, designed and painted by William Meade Prince and used in the chapel of the settlement in *The Lost Colony* from the mid-1940s through 1963. RIHA Archives.

Images 371 – 384: A sampling of the thousands of candid photos in the collection covering the first 77 years of the production of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*. Photo identifications in order: **371**—Author Paul Green with D. Bradford Fearing, the production's guiding genius, producer and General Manager, 1937; **372**—William Meade Prince, internationally recognized illustrator who portrayed Ananias Dare in the show, with Costume Designer Irene Rains, c. late 1940s – 1950s; **373**—D. Victor Meekins, charter member of the Roanoke Island Historical Association & Roanoke Colony Memorial Association and one of the major leaders in the preservation and creation of Wright Memorial and Cape Hatteras National Seashore, 1937; **374**—John Lehman, prominent New York & Ralegh dancer and choreographer who performed the role of *Uppowoc* and choreographed the dances in the show, 1950s; **375**—Noted band leader and movie personality Kay Keyser who coordinated guests for celebrity night at *The Lost Colony* during the 1950s; **376**—Mabel Hassell Basnight, one of the founders of *The Lost Colony*, member of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, Bookkeeper for the producing organizations from 1936-1977; Box Office Manger 1937-1992; formidable 'guardian of the dream'; photo c. 1992; **377**—four members of the Long family whose involvement in the production continues in the present, (left to right) Mary, who portrayed the Queen for a record setting 10 years in the 1950s & early 1960s, Robert (sometime RIHA board member and frequent Theatre Consultant for the production), William (six-time Tony winner, currently Production Designer for the show) and William, Sr. whose technical expertise led the production from the late 1930s -1963, the latter of which years he directed the show; **378**—Albert Quentin 'Skipper' Bell, architect, gardener, poet, artist, the Renaissance Englishman who built the Cittie of Ralegh State Park, designed and built the Waterside Theatre and maintained it until his death in 1964, c. 1940s photo; **379**—Joe Layton, the Award winning Broadway director who re-envisioned the production in 1964 and led it to its zenith in 1984, photo c. 1970s; **380**—*The Lost Colony* Box Office in 1937, operated by Mabel Basnight (left) and Levina 'Happy' Midgett (right) as an unknown souvenir program seller stands by, photo 1937; **381**—William Friday, President of the University of North Carolina system, former RIHA chair and constant consultant and crisis solver for the RIHA (left); Emma Neal Morrison, without whom *The Lost Colony* would have continued a slow march to death in the 1950s and early 1960s, RIHA's longest serving chair and Producer, and most generous benefactor; and Andy Griffith who was in the show in the late 1940s and early

1950s and used his stardom and influence to support RIHA and the show all his adult life; **382**—Hettie Westcott (hostess for the show) and Dr. Robert Drane, the first historian of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Baltimore, and of Manteo, photo 1937; **383**—Mark Reese Sumner, former director of the Institute of Outdoor Drama and Producer of *The Lost Colony*, whose leadership in the 1980s and 1990s moved the RIHA a step closer to the dawning of the 21st century; **384**—Ben Dixon MacNeill, charter member of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo, nationally recognized photo-journalist, award winning author whose talents, skill and political influence played a major role in establishing and perpetuating *The Lost Colony* production from 1937 -1941; photo c. 1940s. RIHA Archives.

"The Wooden O"—A Look at the Staging of Historical Plays—Jane McCulloch

Figure 385: English Director, Jane McCulloch, in the Waterside Theatre, working with her actors in The Lost Colony. RIHA Archives.

Figure 386: The New Globe Theatre in London. Jane McCulloch directed the first workshop to be held in the new complex. http://photobucket.com/images/Shakespeare/'s%20Globe%20theater

Figure 387: Hampton Court Gardens. https://www.flickr.com/search/?text=hampton%20court%20gardens

Figure 388: Queen Elizabeth [Lynn Redgrave] in *The Lost Colony's* Queen's Garden Scene, staged by director McCulloch. RIHA Archives.

Figure 389: *The Lost Colony's* Plymouth Scene during which the colonists leave Plymouth, England and set sail for the New World—the end of Act I. RIHA Archives.

Figure 390: Eleanor Dare and John Borden [both center on steps] in *The Lost Colony's* Assembly Scene during which they must decide whether to leave the fort and settle elsewhere, or remain and face the Spanish attack. RIHA Archives.

Image 391: Vintage logo used for the production in the late 1950s and early 1960s. RIHA Archives.

Figure 392: Director McCulloch's friend and professional associate, Barbara Hird, as Queen Elizabeth I, TV actor Jack Parrish as Sir Walter Ralegh [right], and puppeteer/artist B.C. Ellis [kneeling] as Governor White in *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Figure 393: Director McCulloch's friend and professional associate, award-winning actor Lynn Redgrave, as Queen Elizabeth I and NC actor David Jefferson Sorrells as Sir Walter Ralegh in *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Figure 394: Artist conception of Queen Elizabeth I addressing her troupes at Tilbury. houston-Hird Collection, Prints & Drawings.

Figure 395: Sir Winston Churchill, on whom one of the two characters in director/playwright McCulloch's hit West End production is based. Churchill, as Prime Minister, led the British Government during most of WWII. Prior to that, he had spent much of his life in public service—either officially or unofficially. Both he and FDR had been associated with their respective navies and had developed a life-long interest in ships and the sea. http://fanpix.famousfix.com/photo/gallery/winston-churchill-picture-gallery-2.htm

Figure 396: President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on whom one of the two characters in director/playwright McCulloch's hit West End production is based. The photo shows the President conducting one of his popular Fireside-Chats. FDR, elected to the American Presidency for more terms than anyone in history, led the United States during most of WWII.
http://www.sechistorical.org/museum/search/?q=franklin+delano+roosevelt&qop=any&record-type=type%3APhotos&from=&to=&sort=score+desc

O Brave New World: Elizabeth I, Shakespeare—Rosalind Miles

Figure 397: Boudicca, standing near Westminster Pier, London. Statue by Thomas Thornycroft,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boudica#/media/File:Queen_Boudica_by_John_Opie.jpg

Figure 398: Cartimandua. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1342795/Jane-Austen-Elizabeth-I-Ten-greatest-British-women.html.

Figure 399: Matilda. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empress_Matilda#/media/File:MatyldaAnglie.jpg

Figure 400: Mary Tudor. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_I_of_England#/media/File:Mary1_by_Eworth_2.jpg

Figure 401: Queen Elizabeth I. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_Rainbow_Portrait.jpg

Figure 402: The Droehout Portrait of William Shakespeare.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraits_of_Shakespeare#/media/File:Shakespeare_Droeshout_1623.jpg

Figure 403: The English aristocrat and Poet Earl, Henry Howard, The Earl of Surrey, 1517-1547 who invented the iambic pentameter verse line. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Howard,_Earl_of_Surrey#/media/File:Henry_Howard_Earl_of_Surrey_1546.jpg

Figure 404: The Christopher Marlowe portrait hanging at Corpus Christi College.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marlovian_theory_of_Shakespeare_authorship#/media/File:Marlowe-Portrait-1585.jpg

"And So Dance Out the Answer" Interpreting and Staging Dance in Shakespeare's Plays—Nona Monahin

Figure 405: William Ivey Long's original design for the Queen Elizabeth I costume in Act I of *The Lost Colony*, 1988. Photo courtesy of Mr. Long and the houston-Hird Collection, Prints & Drawings.

Image 406: Title page of the quarto for Shakespeare's *Much adoe about Nothing*, 1600.
https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Much_Ado_About_Nothing

Image 407: Elizabethan Dancer. Negri galliard illustration, Western Social Dance. http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/dihtml/diessay4.html Library of Congress Dance Instruction Manual Collection and Reconstruction.

Figure 408: Costumed Pavanne Dancers as they appear in *The Lost Colony*. RIHA Archives.

Image 409: Costumed Pavanne Dancers in *The Lost Colony* production. RIHA Archives.

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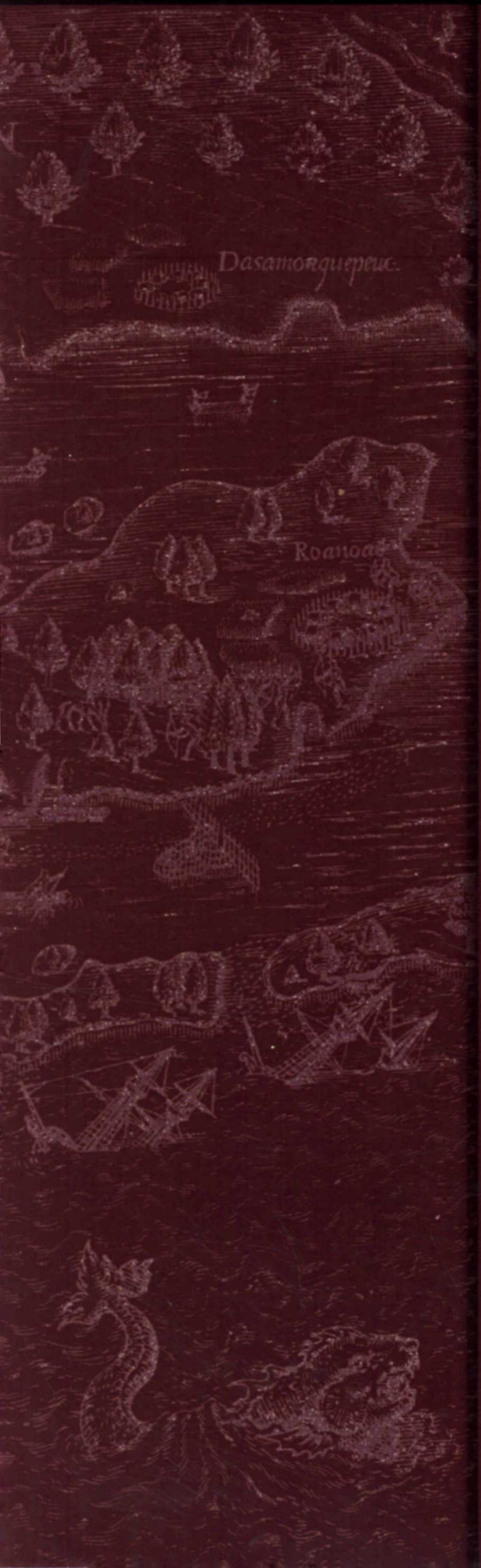
U.S. Department of the Interior

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
North Carolina



***Roanoke Decoded* International Symposium**
Produced in May 1993 under the aegis of the NPS-Cape Hatteras National Seashore, in partnership with Eastern National Park & Monument Association, Roanoke Island Historical Association, Outer Banks History Center and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Bill & Ida Friday International Symposium—
Roanoke Conundrum Fact & Fiction
Produced in October 2012 in celebration of the 75th Anniversary of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*, under the aegis of the Roanoke Island Historical Association in partnership with the First Colony Foundation, Elizabeth R & Company and the NPS—Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, with support from East Carolina University's Thomas Harriot College of Arts & Sciences.

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