

THE ROANOKE  
VOYAGES, 1584-1590  
VOLUME I

David Beers Quinn



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

# The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590

Documents to illustrate the English Voyages to  
North America under the Patent granted to  
Walter Raleigh in 1584.  
Volume I

Edited by  
DAVID BEERS QUINN

ASHGATE

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Published by  
Ashgate Publishing Limited  
Wey Court East  
Union Road  
Farnham  
Surrey, GU9 7PT  
England

Ashgate Publishing Company  
110 Cherry Street  
Suite 3-1  
Burlington  
VT 05401-3818  
USA

[www.ashgate.com](http://www.ashgate.com)

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ISBN 978-1-4094-1470-4 (hbk)

ISBN 978-1-4094-1709-5 (ebk)

Transferred to Digital Printing 2010



Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall.

WORKS ISSUED BY  
**THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY**

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**THE ROANOKE VOYAGES**  
VOL. I

**SECOND SERIES**  
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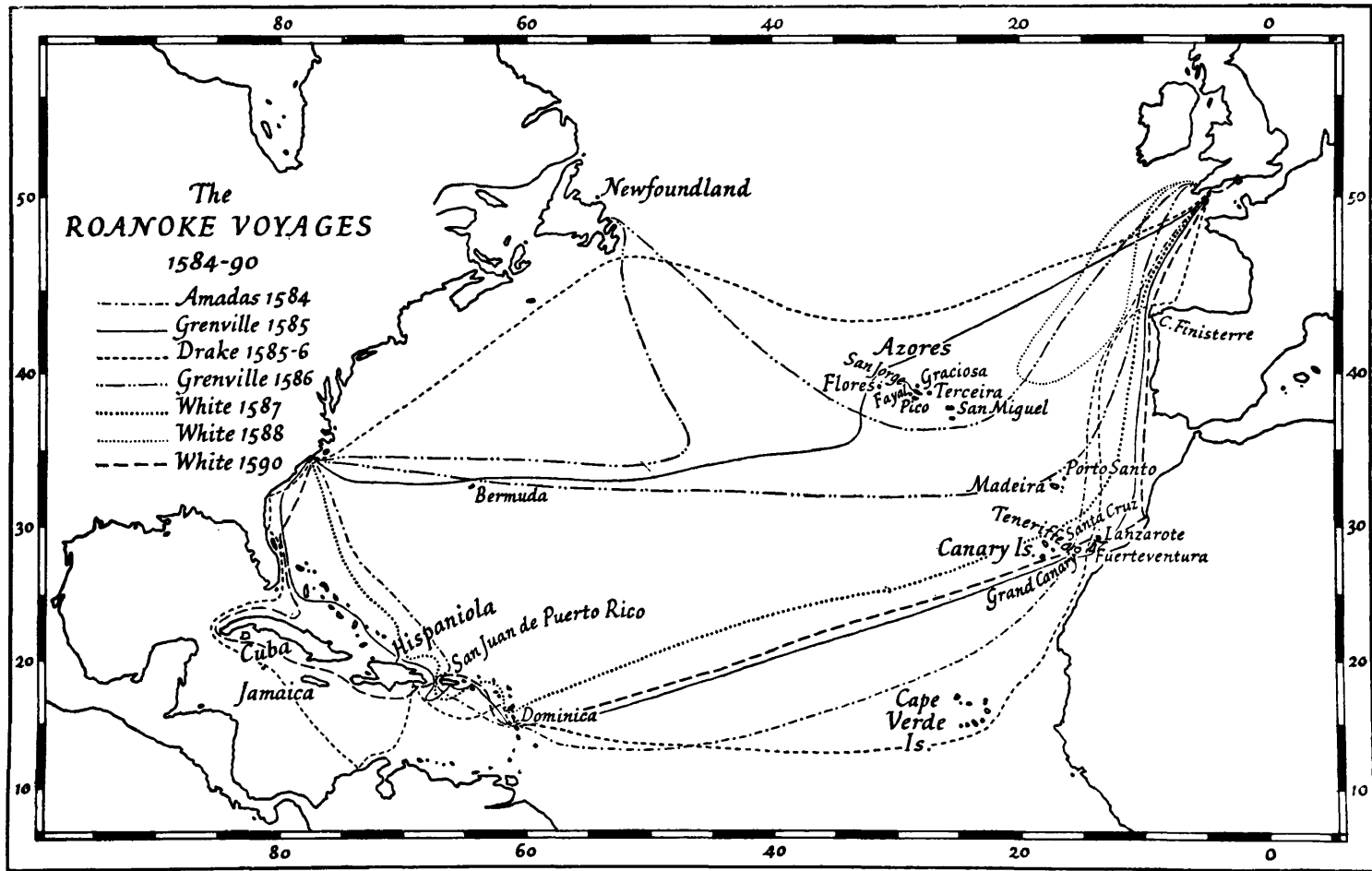
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*The*  
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- · - · - · Drake 1585-6
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Newfoundland

Azores

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Dominica

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THE  
ROANOKE VOYAGES

1584-1590

DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE  
THE ENGLISH VOYAGES TO NORTH AMERICA  
UNDER THE PATENT GRANTED  
TO WALTER RALEIGH  
IN 1584

EDITED BY  
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*Professor of History in the University College of Swansea  
(University of Wales)*

VOLUME I

LONDON  
FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY  
1955

G 161 HIS

(90)

*Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge  
(Brooke Crutchley, University Printer)*

*Collotype illustrations printed by Waterlow & Sons*

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## PREFACE

The voyages to North America made between 1584 and 1590 under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh have been named for convenience 'the Roanoke voyages' since they centred on Roanoke Island in the modern state of North Carolina. Though they lack the world-encompassing novelty of those of Drake and Cavendish, the Roanoke voyages were a significant episode in the sea-war between Elizabethan England and Spain, since it is now clear that their short-term objective was to facilitate privateering by the establishment of a mainland base in North America from which the Spanish Indies and the fleets coming from them might be more effectively attacked. They have, too, some appreciable scientific interest. In the course of them Englishmen for the first time set out seriously to explore, map and survey the natural resources and native society of any part of North America. The methods employed illustrate the process of technical and scientific development in the later sixteenth century, while the results, so far as they became known in Europe, appreciably enlarged and corrected existing knowledge of that part of the New World which was still least known and understood in the Old. The voyages, further, stand at the threshold of the period of English settlement in North America and represent the first English attempts to plant garrisons and enduring communities on North American soil. Though the colonial experiments failed, they are of considerable interest in revealing the economic and social factors involved in overseas settlement, and a study of them should lie at the foundations of any history of the first British empire or of the United States. It is for such reasons that their documentation has been attempted in so great detail in these volumes.

The younger Richard Hakluyt regarded the Roanoke voyages as being of so much promise for the ultimate settlement of North America that he published very full accounts of them in the

## Preface

*Principall navigations* in 1589. These texts, which have not been republished *verbatim* before, together with the items added by him in 1600, form the basis of the present collection. Increase N. Tarbox annotated a number of them in detail in 1884 for his *Sir Walter Raleigh and his colony in America*. This has now been again attempted for all. Through the efforts of Edward Everett Hale, Henry Stevens, Charles Deane and Edward Eggleston additional documents and drawings were brought to light in the nineteenth century, while, in the twentieth, Laurence Binyon, Professor G. B. Parks, Professor E. G. R. Taylor, Dr J. A. Williamson, Randolph G. Adams, and Miss Irene A. Wright have uncovered new material and helped to reinterpret the old. An attempt has now been made to knit together what was already known and to add to it both by the publication of additional documents and of explanatory notes. At the same time, the present collection is not inclusive of all the known materials on the Roanoke voyages. The younger Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse of western planting* (as his 'Particuler discourse' has come to be called), and the elder Richard Hakluyt's 'Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia', are already available in Professor Taylor's collection of Hakluyt material in the Society's publications, as are Miss Wright's most valuable recent additions to the documentation of the Roanoke voyages from Spanish sources, only two of which are duplicated in this collection. There are, besides, many contemporary publications inspired or translated by the Hakluyts which throw some incidental light on the voyages from which only the most strictly relevant extracts are reprinted below. Above all, though a new catalogue of John White's drawings and maps is included, in an attempt to show how they can be used as historical documents, the full facsimile reproduction of the drawings now in preparation will, undoubtedly, add much to the appreciation of the English achievement in the 1585-6 survey, and give as well a vivid visual impression of the America seen by Elizabethan Englishmen. With these exceptions the collection is as comprehensive as it has been

## Preface

possible to make it, although a few documents have been given in summary form rather than in full.

Historical students in the present century have too often assumed that there are no more documents to be found on the Roanoke ventures. This collection should dissipate any such assumptions, even though many of the new additions made here are, individually, of minor significance. It should be stressed, however, that while a fairly wide search has been made for additional material, and the help of many scholars enlisted, there is no reason to believe that the work of collection is finished. Public and private collections in England and Spain alike may still contain important additions to a series of documents which remains, in many respects, tantalizingly incomplete.

The method adopted below is to provide in the introduction a critical discussion of the documents, followed by a chapter-by-chapter presentation of the materials, preceded in each case by a short narrative or other appropriate foreword, with explanatory notes. Special topics are dealt with in a series of appendices. The wide range of the annotation is intended to go some way towards satisfying inquiries of many kinds, but it raises many more questions than it answers and, on account of its range, is specially vulnerable both to error and inadvertence on the part of the editor. The intention of these volumes is to contribute to the full documentation of the English voyages to and colonizing ventures in North America before 1607. They have been preceded by a collection on *The voyages and colonising enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, published by the Society in 1940, and more modestly annotated. It is expected to follow them with a further volume or volumes taking the series down to the foundation of the Virginia Company. This publication will afford an opportunity for collecting and publishing *addenda* and *corrigenda*, and it is earnestly hoped that contributions will be sent to the editor or to the Honorary Secretary of the Society.

These volumes owe much to the help that has been received from many sources. They could not have taken shape without

## *Preface*

the encouragement and assistance of the late Edward Lynam and they would never have appeared if it had not been for the expert advice and hard labour of Mr R. A. Skelton, his successor as Honorary Secretary, who devoted an immense amount of time and skill to their production. Amongst other officers of the Society special thanks are due to Professor E. G. R. Taylor and to Dr Walter Muir Whitehill, the Society's Honorary Secretary in the United States. To Lord Haden Guest and the Leverhulme Fellowships Committee thanks are due for enabling the editor to visit the United States. Dr Carl Bridenbaugh and Professor Douglass Adair provided at the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg an admirable headquarters from which research could be continued. Admiral J. F. Farley, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard, generously made it possible for Dr Bridenbaugh, Mr John Gordon and the editor to use the Coast Guard vessels and stations in a visit to the Carolina Outer Banks. Mr Charles Rush, Director of the University of North Carolina Library, introduced the editor to Chapel Hill where he found so much assistance, while Dr Christopher Crittenden and Mr Harry T. Davis opened the resources of the State institutions at Raleigh to him. Dr Lawrence C. Wroth gave invaluable bibliographical counsel. Other detailed acknowledgements are made elsewhere, but institutional assistance was given with special generosity by the British Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and the British Museum (Natural History). The Rev. James A. Geary has made original linguistic contributions to the appendices which have proved invaluable. Alison Quinn has worked closely on the collection and has had a greater share in its preparation than she would care to admit.

DAVID B. QUINN

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE  
SWANSEA  
*September 1953*

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

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- Brit. Mus. (N.H.) British Museum (Natural History), London, S.W. 7.
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- Harrington, 'Report', II. Typescript report of the excavations at the Fort Raleigh site, 1949-50, lent by Mr J. C. Harrington.
- H.C.A. High Court of Admiralty.
- H.R.T. Information supplied by Professor H. R. Totten, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- H.T.D. Information supplied by Mr Harry T. Davis, Director, State Museum, Raleigh, N.C.

## Abbreviations

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- P.R.O. Public Record Office, London.
- Prospectus. Prospectus of John White, *The pictures of sondry things collected...* 1585, issued by the British Museum in 1936.
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- W.L.H. Information supplied by Mr William L. Hunt, Chapel Hill, N.C.
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## NOTE ON EDITING

Texts printed directly from the manuscripts have been given as nearly as possible as they read, with a minimum of alterations in spelling and punctuation, except that expansions have been expanded and italicized, and a few misprints silently corrected. Elsewhere, italics are used for side notes and for those foreign words which stand in isolation, and italic type from printed texts is, normally, given in roman.

Dates for the day and month are Old Style, as used in England, with New Style (ten days in advance) added for Continental sources. English Style for the beginning of the year was 25 March, but the calendar year, beginning on 1 January, was sometimes used by Englishmen and, invariably, by Europeans represented in these documents.

'Virginia', as referred to in these documents, comprised parts of the modern states of North Carolina and Virginia. It is effectively defined, for the purpose of this collection, in the map at the end of the second volume, and any ambiguity in the use of the name should be resolved by reference to the map, where the relevant parts of the modern states are shown, overprinted with the sixteenth-century coastline and nomenclature.



## INTRODUCTION

Atque his conatibus minus succedentibus, gens nostra nauibus abundans otij impatiens, in alias partes suas navigationes instituerunt. Humfredus Gilbert Eques, Americae oras Hispanis incognitas, magno animo & viribus, successu non aequali nostris aperire conatus est. Id quod tuis postes auspicijs (vir honoratissime) feliciter susceptum est quibus Virginia nobis patefacta est, praefecto classis Richardo Grinuil nobili equite, quam diligentissime lustravit & descripsit Thomas Hariotus.

ROBERT HUBS, dedicatory epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh, in *Tractatus de globis et eorum usu* (1594), sigs. \*\*\* 2-4.



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## A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MATERIAL

ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS ON NORTH AMERICA, 1582-1600

The English progress towards the exploration and settlement of North America was a slow one and it is not until 1582 that propaganda for American colonization becomes overt. So far as printed material is concerned, the younger Richard Hakluyt's *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* is the first major landmark, and this was brought forth largely, if not wholly, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plans for a series of voyages for the detailed exploration and the extensive settlement of eastern North America.<sup>1</sup> The first work specifically to praise Gilbert's project was a rhetorical poem by the Hungarian Stephen Parmenius,<sup>2</sup> but it was not the sort to attract many adventurers. It was followed by Christopher Carleill's *A discourse upon the entended voyage to the hethermoste partes of America: written by Captaine Carleill, for the better inducement to satisfie suche Marchauntes, as in disburcing their money towardes the furniture of the present charge: doe demaunde forthwith a present returne of gaine: albeit their saied perticler disbursements are in such slender sommes, as are not worth the speakyng of*,<sup>3</sup> written in April 1583, which is most specific and practical. Thirdly, there was Sir George Peckham's *A true reporte, of the late discoveries*, with its dedication to Walsingham, dated at Oxford, 12 November 1583,<sup>4</sup> after news of Gilbert's failure

<sup>1</sup> See Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 62-4.

<sup>2</sup> *De navigatione . . . Humfredi Gilberti*. Ap. T. Purfutium, 1582.

<sup>3</sup> The unique copy in the John Carter Brown Library was brought to my attention by Dr Lawrence C. Wroth after my republication of Hakluyt's 1589 text in *Gilbert*, II, 351-64. It has no title-page, and apart from two ornamental initials and a conventional ornament it has nothing by which the printer might be identified. The collation is A<sup>4</sup>-B<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The British Museum copy (with ten preliminary poems) is printed in Quinn, *Gilbert*, II, 435-80, the New York Public Library one (with seven poems) in *Magazine of History*, xvii (1920), while the Britwell Library copy with ten had also 'A duplicate of the sheet containing the 4 leaves of commendatory poems,

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and probable death had reached England. This, combining a highly academic approach with a frank request for subscriptions, probably appeared in December 1583 or January 1584, the object being to fit out an expedition before 20 March 1584. But this was not done.<sup>1</sup>

It is now known that there was also published 'A true discourse of the adventures & travailes of David Ingram being sett on shore with 100 more of his fellowes by Captaine Hawkins in the heathen Countries in 8° 1583', so described in Humphrey Dyson's notebooks in All Souls College, Oxford;<sup>2</sup> no copy of this is now known to exist.<sup>3</sup> It was the first account of exploration of North America by an Englishman, even if the stories he tells are often too tall to be believed. In the autumn of 1582 he had answered various inquiries about his travels made by Gilbert and Sir Francis Walsingham, and it may be that his discourse was published during the calendar year 1583 as propaganda for Gilbert's voyage or for one of those directly connected with it. In the Sloane manuscript,<sup>4</sup> however, Ingram's relation is associated with a tract entitled 'Inducements to the lykinge of the voyadge intended to that parte of America which lyethe betwene 34. and 36. degree of Septentrionall Latytude'.<sup>5</sup> Gilbert's voyage and the plans of most of his associates were directed towards southern New England

but differently printed and omitting one poem' (Sotheby's *Catalogue*, 15-17 Aug. 1916, no. 248). Dr G. B. Parks ('George Peele and his friends as "ghost"-poets', in *Journ. of English and Germanic Philology*, xli (1942), 527-36) argues that Sir George Peckham had a collaborator who wrote, amongst other things, the dedication and the poems, which is probable, but it appears to me more likely that this was George Peckham the younger rather than George Peele, Dr Parks's candidate.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 90-3.

<sup>2</sup> This entry was first published by Dr William A. Jackson, 'Humphrey Dyson's library, or, Some observations on the survival of books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xlix (1949), 285.

<sup>3</sup> It was printed by Hakluyt in 1589 (cp. Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 64-5, II, 283-96), but not reprinted in 1600.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus., Sloane MS 1447, fos. 1-11, used for collation with Hakluyt in *Gilbert*, II, 283-96. The Bodleian Library copy, Tanner MS 79, fo. 172, was published in *Magazine of American History*, IX (1883), 200-8.

<sup>5</sup> Sloane MS 1447, fos. 12-15v., first printed in P. C. G. Weston, *Documents connected with the history of South Carolina* (1856), pp. 20-4.

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in higher latitudes. Professor Taylor sees in its language the expression of the views of both the elder and the younger Hakluyt, and regards it as part of the propaganda of 1584-5 for the 1585 Virginia venture.<sup>1</sup> It may here be suggested tentatively that the 'Inducements' may have been published along with Ingram's relation, bearing the date (English style) 1583, in February or March 1584 as propaganda for the first of Raleigh's Virginia ventures, that led by Amadas and Barlowe.

Thereafter, until 1586, publicity in print for the western ventures languished, 1586-7 sees some direct and indirect propaganda published, and finally between 1588 and 1590 the main bulk of our sources appeared, to be supplemented in certain respects in 1600. Why should this have been so? It may be suggested that the absence at the time of printed publicity for Raleigh's ventures of 1584, 1585 and 1586 was partly due to the ill success of printed matter such as has been noticed for the years 1582-3. It provided too ready a target for criticism: it gave too full and too specific details of what was proposed to be done in circumstances where so much in practice had to be left to improvisation: it was not yet sufficiently authoritative. By the latter part of 1586 enough was known of North American conditions to justify more intelligent publicity, though even then it was used over a somewhat limited field. From 1588 to 1590 the dual motives of stirring up a flagging public to fresh enterprises, and getting the widest publicity for considerable achievements in exploration, if not in settlement, led to very substantial publication of results. Thereafter, the projects flagged. Hakluyt's republication of his earlier material in 1600, together with some additions, was partly due to his hope of reviving the American plantation movement for which economic and social conditions were becoming again more propitious.

Such a case is worth making, but it cannot stand in isolation. With it, though not contrary to it, runs an argument based on political conditions. When Gilbert was projecting his American

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, I, 39. She says it can safely be attributed to the elder.

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colonies between 1578 and 1583 there was little fear of Spanish intervention. Little was known of the Spanish colony in Florida. The main emphasis was on settlement somewhere well to the north of any possible Spanish centres. But during the preparations of 1582-3 it became clear that Spanish hostility might be a factor in wrecking English plans. It certainly played a part in preventing the scheme for enlisting the English Catholic gentry in the colonizing venture from coming to fruition. From the beginning of 1584 the cloud over Anglo-Spanish relations darkened with the expulsion of the Spanish envoy. The Spanish seizure of English shipping in Iberian ports in May 1585 brought a clear break, and began the openly-waged sea war in which English privateers were loosed against Spanish commerce. Drake's West Indian voyage represented a further intensification of the struggle, paralleled at home by the proceedings against Mary, Queen of Scots. By the autumn of 1586 the war, if not official, was quite open, and the Armada was well under way. Right through this phase, from 1584 to 1586, it was in the interests of English security to keep as quiet as possible about the North American plans of Raleigh and his associates. There is a substantial amount of evidence that the Roanoke voyages had as one of their aims the establishment of a strongly-fortified base on the shores of America at which privateers and other shipping operating against the Spanish Indies could assemble and refit, so as to keep up a continuous instead of an intermittent campaign in the west. It was thus essential that Spain should be prevented from finding out where this base was, what strength the English settlement could muster, and what arrangements were made for supplying it with reinforcements and stores. In any event, even if the establishment of a colony with the objective of exploiting local trade and natural resources had been the sole consideration, the Spaniards were, during this period, much more likely to intervene, or were thought more likely to do so, than they had been during the earlier phase. Thus Raleigh had to prepare the first three expeditions with a minimum of publicity which could be useful to the enemy. This is, in my opinion, the

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major reason why there was no printed publicity for the Roanoke ventures during the years 1584-6.

As a result of Grenville's expedition of 1585, however, it was realized that Roanoke Island and the unsatisfactory havens in the Carolina Banks could not serve adequately as such a base. It remained important to keep the site of the colony hidden from the Spaniards, but it was scarcely vital to attempt any longer to keep the colonizing project secret. Hakluyt, therefore, began in 1586 his campaign of assisting the enterprises by publishing or inspiring the publication of foreign texts about North America which usually had dedications containing some praise or propaganda for Raleigh's enterprise in sending out the expeditions. The first of these, Basanier's edition (1 March 1586) of Laudonnière's Florida narrative, with its dedication to Raleigh, gave little away; it had been carefully screened by Hakluyt. His edition of the Spanish text of Espejo's New Mexico expedition, followed by Basanier's French version, did not, he considered, need introductions. By 1587 he felt he could be more open. War with Spain was now in progress, and anything that could be said about English overseas enterprise was good propaganda against Spain abroad and might stimulate continuing interest in the colonies at home. Moreover, as from the beginning of 1587, Raleigh was making assignments to colonists and releasing himself from some of his direct responsibilities for the voyages. He therefore needed all the assistance that could be whipped up by publicity. Hakluyt's dedication (written in February) to the Latin edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* was, therefore, more flamboyant, though it remained discreet about the precise location of the colonies. When he revised his dedication to the English translation in the autumn he felt still freer to express himself and would, indeed, have conveyed some general idea of the location of the settlement or settlements to a Spanish reader, while by this time too there had appeared in the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* several brief factual accounts of the Virginia enterprises. Ortelius, moreover, added the name 'Wingandekoa' to a revised version of his North American map in

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1587, but this, in view of its scale, was unlikely to help the Spaniards to locate the site of the colony.

By 1588 the need for reticence had almost passed. Drake's attack on the Spanish ports in 1587 had damaged the enemy's sea-power: the defeat of the Armada in 1588 had apparently crippled it. The Latin and French editions of the Bigges account of Drake's voyage of 1585-6, therefore, described clearly Drake's removal of the first colony from Roanoke Island in June 1586, though some specific detail was excluded until the English editions appeared in 1589, adding the general map (perhaps suppressed until then for security reasons) to a fuller text. Early in 1588 also, Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and true report* appeared in its first English version. Though it had no maps it contained a detailed picture of the economic resources of the area in which the English had been active, though perhaps one can still sense here and there some reluctance to be specific about places, which may probably be put down to its composition in 1587. Hakluyt had by then made great progress with his collections for the *Principall navigations* which was printing during 1589 and, perhaps, early in 1590. In that volume were almost all the major texts on the Virginia ventures of 1584-9, while at the same time Theodor de Bry was printing at Frankfort editions of Hariot in Latin, English, French and German, together with his notes to the engravings of White's drawings, and a map which was more detailed and more accurate than any that had yet appeared for any part of North America. The site and surroundings of Raleigh's Virginia were no longer a secret. What remained unknown was whether the 1587 colony had survived. The publications on the Virginia voyages down to the end of 1590 demonstrated fully to European readers the capacity of Englishmen to explore and to experiment with colonies in North America, while they gave so much practical and specific detail that little ambiguity was left about the general lines of English enterprise, and the belief was kept current that the 1587 settlers had survived. White's failure to find them in 1590 and the abandonment of the enterprise received no similar publicity,

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though Hakluyt in 1593 had the foresight to obtain from White an account of his last voyage. When he republished his collection he retained the bulk of the Virginia texts of 1589, added some incidental material which threw light on contiguous parts of North America, and rounded the story off with the new material from White, together with a plea for the resumption of the Virginia enterprises. *The principal navigations*, completed in their second edition in 1600, bring to an end the publication of material on the Roanoke ventures down to the nineteenth century.

In all this it is the younger Richard Hakluyt who is the great initiator, selecting for publication texts with a direct or indirect bearing on the Virginia enterprise, carrying through in them both broad and narrowly-based propaganda campaigns, and subjecting them to a detailed, scrupulous editing which is well illustrated in the collated texts which follow. It is to him that we owe the survival of practically everything we know of the voyages themselves. It is difficult to say to what extent he was aided or circumscribed in his choice of documents by Raleigh and, possibly, by Grenville. It is reasonably certain that he owed Arthur Barlowe's account of the 1584 expedition to Raleigh, as he did Lane's account of the 1585-6 colony. The journal of the 1585 voyage may have come from Grenville rather than Raleigh, while White's 1587 and 1588 journals are equally likely to have been given him by Raleigh or by their author, as was that of 1590. We cannot say exactly how Hakluyt pruned and trimmed his material for security purposes or to meet the desires of Raleigh or Grenville. We know that he consulted Raleigh about what he should print in the dedication to Peter Martyr in 1587, and there is also evident in all the material presented in the *Principall navigations* a desire to avoid overt or implied criticism of Raleigh, though the additional White material added in 1600 is not to the same degree inhibited. Moreover, the absence of certain documents, for example, any adequate account of the 1586 voyage or the major Hariot chronicle of the first three expeditions, may be the result of Raleigh withholding material for one reason or another.

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As we survey the field in more detail it is possible to ask a series of questions which point to some degree of suppression within the documents printed by Hakluyt, though whether on his own initiative or at the insistence of Raleigh or Grenville we cannot tell. It is not, of course, always possible to say whether Hakluyt was suppressing evidence because it might still be of special value to Spain, to other foreign or to possible English competitors; or because he considered that it was undesirable to put too much discouragement in the way of later adventurers by stressing the unfavourable as well as the favourable aspects of the expeditions; or, finally, whether some of his presumed excisions were due merely to the desire to cut out detail which he did not consider significant, being unable to anticipate the hunger of subsequent investigators for business and biographical *minutiae*.

It is only now that we are beginning to get an inkling of what we have not hitherto been told about the Roanoke voyages. Materials to supplement the narratives in Hakluyt have been very scanty and they are still inadequate in many respects, but those from Spanish archives printed by Miss Wright and supplemented in these volumes do throw a substantial amount of new light on the ventures, even though they raise at least as many new problems as they solve. On the English side the main handicap is our lack of any of the large collections of private papers made by the main participants—Raleigh (one item only apart from what he gave Hakluyt), Hariot (a few scraps only, but nothing of the natural history and ethnological notes and collections he made or of his chronicle of the voyages from 1584 to 1587), Grenville (nothing of his own), White (no papers; a large and rather tangled collection of his drawings and of copies from them). Even Hakluyt has left us nothing of his own though it is possible that Purchas would have printed something additional from his papers if there had been anything there of outstanding interest. The group of Walsingham papers in the Public Record Office still forms the most valuable addendum to Hakluyt on the achievements of the 1585 expedition, but our knowledge of the business relations of

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Raleigh, Walsingham, William Sanderson and Thomas Smythe is still quite inadequate. Although the memoranda which preceded the 1585 expedition have now been increased in number by one, we have still not a single manuscript set of instructions for any of the voyages, nor any log, journal or narrative which can be checked against Hakluyt's published versions. Yet with scraps from various sources, especially from the records of the High Court of Admiralty, it is possible at least to ask many additional questions, although, of course, any further accession of material, however small, is liable to upset the articulation of what we have already.

With all these qualifications it is perhaps worth while asking a number of questions. Did Hakluyt suppress the unpleasant features of the 1584 voyage so idyllically presented by Arthur Barlowe? Specifically, did the Indians kill and eat some of the sailors? Did the expedition leave two Englishmen behind and did the Indians kill them? Did Hakluyt refrain from any indication that Grenville intended to remain in America in 1585 because it would have meant a critical discussion of the failure to find an adequate harbour? Did he prune the *Tiger* journal of its later entries for this purpose, or was it because he hoped to obtain a fuller account of the expedition's proceedings between June and August 1585 from another source? Why did he omit reference to Raymond's marooning of men on Jamaica and Croatoan, and to Bernard Drake's squadron which was intended to follow Grenville's? Why is there so little reference, and that a one-sided one, to the divisions and quarrels inside the 1585 expedition? Did he omit a section in Lane's account of the 1585-6 colony, dealing with the Chesapeake Bay expedition, in view of Raleigh's desire to keep his precise plans for this region a secret? Did he know anything of Drake's plans, in so far as they involved clearing the Spaniards out of Florida and aiding the Roanoke settlement, before his departure in September 1585? Why did he not publish the agreement of January 1587 setting out the precise terms entered into between Raleigh and White over the City of Raleigh settle-

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ment? Did he suppress the real reasons for the White-Fernandez quarrels on the 1587 expedition and for the dumping of the colonists at Roanoke Island instead of bringing them on to Chesapeake Bay? What were the precise reasons for Hariot's suppression of information on certain natural products of North America? Why did Hakluyt not explain the agreement between White and the merchants in 1589 more fully, and why did he not give an account of their reasons for failing to provide aid in 1589? Why did he not check White's account of the circumstances of the setting out of the 1590 expedition? Is it not likely that Raleigh deliberately did nothing after 1590 to search for the 'lost colony' because its continued presumed existence after that date validated his continued use of his patent? Alternatively, was there anything in what the sailors on the 1590 expedition told the Spaniards about the intention to send out further expeditions so as to revive the 1584-6 project of using a North American base for further attacks on the Spanish Indies?

These are only a selection of the queries which will be found embedded in the notes to the following documents. They may well represent questions which Hakluyt did not feel inclined to ask, or to which he did not know the answers. To ask them here and to suggest that the necessity for asking some of them, at least, arises from suppressions by Hakluyt himself, does not oblige us to devalue the documents which he did preserve. They are in fact quite invaluable. It may indeed be argued that Hakluyt's policy was to let his informants tell their own stories and not always to intrude his own knowledge, even if he knew something which qualified the information they gave.

These general queries, however, pave the way for some more detailed examination of Hakluyt's activities as an editor. In his dealings with documents he was, in many respects, well in advance of his contemporaries. So far as he could conscientiously do so he respected the sanctity of the text he was given and tried to present it 'warts and all'. Yet he was not, of course, an editor with modern criteria. He did some things which would not now be

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considered desirable in an editor, making certain alterations in his texts without indicating that he had done so. There are few manuscripts extant for the texts which he printed and there has not, of course, ever been a critical edition of all his texts. Something can, however, be learnt of his editorial methods by a collation of the two editions of the *Principall navigations*, as is done in these volumes for a particular group of documents, where the 1589 text has been taken as basic. For only two of his documents have we other texts, the patent of 1584, and Hariot's *Briefe and true report*. A comparison with the patent as enrolled (and ignoring passages abbreviated in the enrolment) shows that there are seven instances where there are in Hakluyt changes of order, twenty-four alterations of words, sixteen omissions and eleven additions. Not all of the variations may be due to Hakluyt, some may be due to the transcriber of his copy, some to the vagaries of the clerk who made the enrolment, some to the printer. All are minor matters, though the alteration of 'alliance' into 'allegiance' involves a change of sense, and many are intended to make the formal legal language of the patent a little more readable. The conclusion here would appear to be that Hakluyt respected the sense of his text, but not its precise wording.

In comparing the 1588 Hariot with Hakluyt's versions it is necessary to proceed by two stages, first of all by a comparison with the 1589 text, then with that of 1600. Changes in the order of words can be ignored. Alterations of words are frequent, but they are designed mainly to improve the sense or the grammar; 'venemous' becomes 'venimous beasts'; 'vnknowen' is corrected to 'knowen', though 'Equieres' (correct) becomes 'Esquiers' (incorrect); 'violently' becomes 'vehemently'; 'thrise' becomes 'twise'. There are a few omissions. One is of a paragraph, another of 'in some sixtie' in a list, another of 'salt' in 'of salt waters'; but in 1589 there were no additions. If we carry the comparison on to the 1600 version we find further alterations. There are more changes of words to improve the sense: 'is' to 'are' several times; 'twoes' to 'two dayes'; 'that must' to 'of that which must', and

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some others of the same type. The changing of '1588' into '1587' is more serious, while there is an addition ('Monardes calls these roots Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena') without any indication that it is not in Hariot. If it were not for one other reference this might be taken as misleading evidence about Hariot's use of Monardes's *Joyfull newes*. In 1600 also there are a number of additional marginal notes, five of them containing information or comment of some significance.

It would be unnecessarily tedious to go through the results of the collation of the further eight documents which are contained in both editions of the *Principall navigations*, but the same editorial process is seen to be at work. There are frequent small alterations, a good deal of attention being paid to altering Indian place and personal names, presumably to fit them to the latest versions supplied by Hariot or White. There are occasional omissions, and some additions. Amongst the latter may be noted the addition of a final sentence to Barlowe's narrative of the 1584 expedition, recording the names of the Indians brought home by the explorers, and also the additions made to Lane's letter to the elder Hakluyt in 1585 regarding maize. There are, too, a substantial number of new marginal notes, some of considerable interest. We may then conclude that Hakluyt was a most conscientious editor, that his respect for his texts was great (even though he did not regard them as sacrosanct), and that his respect for his reader was rather greater. The edition of 1600 was not a mere reprint of that of 1589, but a careful revision with a very large number of small alterations the object of which was, in general, to improve the accuracy and readability of the narratives. Hakluyt clearly took down many of the texts which he published from illiterate men, or had to polish the crude versions of the semi-literate. In the documents on the Virginia voyages he was fortunate in having an eloquent Barlowe, an accurate Hariot and a common-sense White to follow. He may have had to doctor the journal of the 1585 voyage to make it read effectively, and it is highly likely that he had to 'improve' Lane, whose style as illustrated in his letters

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was decidedly shaggy. We could do with much more in the way of close study of Hakluyt's editorial methods, but this is not the place for it. Enough has been said to let the sample of Hakluyt's work collated in these volumes speak for itself.

### THE 1584 VOYAGE

The documentation of the Amadas-Barlowe voyage of April-September 1584 remains unfortunately very meagre. Apart from the Chancery Warrant which brings Raleigh's association with the project back to March 16,<sup>1</sup> there are no new documents to add in this collection to those already known.<sup>2</sup> The earliest dateable references to the results of the voyage are the observations of a German traveller, Lupold von Wedel, on 18 October, and the bill for confirming Raleigh's title placed before Parliament in December following.<sup>3</sup> The first published notice appeared in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*,<sup>4</sup> and this may have been by William Camden; it is of some slight independent value.

The main source still remains the discourse written by Arthur Barlowe and first published by Hakluyt in 1589.<sup>5</sup> This has many attractions of style and temper and well deserves its high reputation as one of the clearest contemporary pictures of the contact of Europeans with North American Indians. Its ethnological value is substantial,<sup>6</sup> but for the historian its omissions are exasperating. Of its author we know nothing, except that he is likely to have travelled in the Mediterranean and possibly in eastern Europe.<sup>7</sup> Its defects arise largely from the fact that we have no surviving journal of the expedition. Barlowe had clearly such a journal at his disposal but he omitted the details deliberately as 'unnecessary'.<sup>8</sup> He is concerned with the results and not merely with the incidents of the voyage. In form the document is a 'briefe discourse' addressed to Raleigh as sponsor of the voyage.

<sup>1</sup> P. 82 below.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the Spanish document printed by Miss Wright and discussed below, pp. 80-1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 116, 127 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 3, pp. 90-1 below. <sup>5</sup> Document no. 4, pp. 91-116 below.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. pp. 99-114 below.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. pp. 96-7 below.

<sup>8</sup> P. 92 below.

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In fact, it would appear to be a carefully selective narrative designed to further the passage of the Raleigh bill through parliament in December and to serve as propaganda for the 1585 expedition during the months between December 1584 and February 1585. It puts on record the formal taking of possession of the land discovered but is studiously vague about its location, since it would at that time not suit Raleigh to be too specific about its whereabouts. It gave a glowing account of the natural resources of the land and a careful and perceptive narrative of dealings with the local Indians designed to show that subsequent expeditions would find a ready welcome and ample commerce.

Much of what Barlowe says about the structure of the Indian polity<sup>1</sup> is gained from men who have first-hand knowledge of it. Since there is no evidence that any member of the expedition could speak the southern Algonquian tongues the informants must have been the two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, brought from the Carolina Banks. As they learnt English, or taught the Englishmen their own language, so gradually a body of information was built up which Barlowe incorporated in his discourse. This cannot have happened as soon as the expedition returned in mid-September as it is unlikely that sufficient linguistic progress would by then have been made. The suggestion is made elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that Thomas Hariot was probably given the task of interrogating these Indians and, at the same time, teaching them English and learning some Algonquian. There is evidence that the Indians were used as propagandists for the 1585 enterprise, and this as early as December 1584.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely that Barlowe's discourse is earlier, and it is highly probable that it was circulated in manuscript—or even possibly printed<sup>4</sup>—about this time as part

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 110-14 below in particular.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 37, 119, 368 below.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 127, 232 below.

<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence for this, but the fact that Ingram's account (p. 4 above) was published has only recently been discovered from an incidental reference: the same may possibly be true of Barlowe's. Certainly its form and content would indicate quite clearly to the present editor that it was intended for propaganda purposes.

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of a concerted campaign to whip up support for the second expedition. If this opinion is justified it might be possible to go a little further and to suggest that the discourse was possibly polished by Hariot himself, although many passages in it were clearly the result of direct personal experience. The text which Hakluyt incorporated in his 1589 edition was probably acquired directly from Raleigh but it was an unrevised one. Before reprinting it in 1600 Hakluyt had it carefully revised so that the nomenclature accorded with that established by the colonists of 1585-6. Again the hand of Hariot may possibly be seen, though White or Lane could have given Hakluyt the requisite advice or he may even have derived the alterations from White's maps.

The necessary evidence has not yet been found to prove that Barlowe's narrative suppressed unfavourable incidents of the voyage, but a story told by an English member of the 1585 expedition would indicate that the expedition had made a landing prior to that noted by Barlowe, that it was met with hostility by the Indians, who killed some of its members, and that the ships sailed on to find a more auspicious welcome elsewhere. This was expressed in ambiguous language in Spanish, after an interrogation in which there had been some language difficulties, and in circumstances in which the Englishmen may have given a garbled tale.<sup>1</sup> At the same time it does suggest that Barlowe did not tell the whole story, and it emphasizes our need for a more objective narrative, which we are not at all likely to be able to find.

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1585 EXPEDITION

On the preparation of the most famous of the expeditions sent by Raleigh to North America, that of 1585, the materials vary very much in adequacy. We have substantial works by both Richard Hakluyts, which are deservedly famous, on the more general considerations involved in colonial settlement, and there is a new document, more limited in scope and in value, to add to them.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 174-6; cp. pp. 80-1 below.

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But on the planning of propaganda, the raising of money and of volunteers, the organization of personnel, shipping and supplies, and the detailed programme with which the Grenville expedition embarked, we are still left with a collection of pieces, which together take the story somewhat further than before, but which are still sadly incomplete.<sup>1</sup>

The younger Richard Hakluyt's 'A particular discourse concerning the great necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, Written in the yere 1584. by Richard Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Master Walter Raghley nowe knight, before the commynge home of his Twoo Barkes', best known as *The discourse of western planting*, survives in a manuscript in the New York Public Library,<sup>2</sup> formerly Phillipps MS 14097, the descent of which has not yet been traced back beyond Sir Peter Thomson (d. 1770). As the title contains a reference to Raleigh being knighted, it was written not earlier than January 1585.<sup>3</sup> It has one passage probably inserted after the return of Amadas and Barlowe in mid-September 1584,<sup>4</sup> while the twenty-first chapter, 'A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge'<sup>5</sup> may well also have been a subsequent addition. This strongly suggests that here is a copy of 'the first excription' brought in May 1585 to Walsingham by Hakluyt,<sup>6</sup> who also sent over a list of chapter headings to another gentleman, promising him a full copy later.<sup>7</sup> The significance of this latter information is that this document was not used for public propaganda for the expedition, though it was possibly employed privately in some way by Raleigh who

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary survey of them was given in D. B. Quinn, 'Preparations for the 1585 Virginia voyage', in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., VI (1949), 208-36.

<sup>2</sup> First printed in Charles Deane, *Documentary history of the state of Maine*, II (1877), new edition in Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 211-326.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 145 below.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 279.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* II, 320-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* II, 344, 346; Parks, *Hakluyt*, p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 346.

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is likely to have kept a draft. Hakluyt wrote it, in its unmodified form, as it is now agreed,<sup>1</sup> between July and September 1584, in order to present to the queen as full a statement as possible of Raleigh's case that North American colonization ought to be an affair for the English state and not be left to chartered private enterprise alone. Unfortunately this manuscript is not now extant in the royal collections.

'Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degree of latitude, written 1585. by Master Richard Hakluyt the elder', extant only in the published version of 1602,<sup>2</sup> are more simply and directly aimed at publicity. Covering the arguments of the younger Hakluyt with some variations of emphasis, they were suited to circulation, and may have been used in manuscript, or even printed, form to encourage subscribers and volunteers. A third tract<sup>3</sup> with a very similar title, which is associated in Sloane MS 1447 with David Ingram's 'Relation', is discussed above. If it was not published in 1584 it may well have been used for propaganda for the 1585 venture.

The new document, published below,<sup>4</sup> which belongs with the others of this group is a set of notes headed 'For master Rauleys Viage' and endorsed 'Notes geuen to Master Candishe'. The association of Thomas Cavendish with Raleigh places it as belonging to the 1584-5 preparations while the absence of any recognition of Raleigh's knighthood suggests, though it does not prove, that it is not later than early January 1585. The paper contains advice on what military forces should be taken, the kind of fort which should be built, the choice and duties of officers and specialists, and the outlines on which a code of laws should be based. It is a draft, which may have been elaborated somewhat before it was passed on to Cavendish and Raleigh. Now in the Essex County Record Office, it comes from the papers of John Horace Round

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, I, 34; II, 343-4; Parks, *Hakluyt*, pp. 87, 248.

<sup>2</sup> In John Brereton, *A briefe and true relation* (1602); reprinted Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 327-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 339-43; P. C. G. Weston, *Documents connected with the history of South Carolina* (1856), pp. 20-4.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 8, pp. 130-9 below.

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the historian, who lived at Colchester. Since it was evidently written by a professional soldier and probably one of some seniority, a possible author for it is Sir John Smythe (1534–1607), whose home was at Baddow in Essex and whose papers might have come into Round's possession. In the same file are a number of drafts relating to matters in the Low Countries, particularly the draft of a letter to Leicester of about October 1586, which may well be in the same hand, and which shows the author to have been a strong partizan of Leicester in his quarrels with the Dutch. This, in turn, links up with an endorsement, signed by John Smythe, apparently Sir John, which indicates a similar alignment of views.<sup>1</sup> Sir John was a military writer whose *Certain discourses . . . concerning the formes and effects of divers sorts of weapons* (1590), and *Instructions, observations, and orders myltitarie* (1595) provide many parallel passages to suggestions in the 'Notes'. One or two of these are particularly suggestive as to authorship,<sup>2</sup> as is the high proportion of bowmen included in the list of soldiers,<sup>3</sup> since Smythe was a passionate advocate of archery. Of the possible authors so far investigated Smythe is the most likely, though this is far from saying that his authorship is proved.

Another candidate is Sir Roger Williams (1540?–1595).<sup>4</sup> There are again passages in his *A briefe discourse of warre* (1590) which very closely parallel certain passages in the notes, particularly those regarding fortification. He was, however, anxious to minimize the use of the bow, though perhaps not for American ventures. He was available about the appropriate time, leaving for the Low Countries during 1585. However, the 'Notes' are written in a fairly good hand, though, being hasty and unpolished, some words are difficult to read. Williams speaks in one place of

<sup>1</sup> 'An act of the states generall derogating from the authoritie of his Excellencie / Io. smythe', 30 January 1586–7 (P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, Holland and Flanders, S.P. 84/12, 57 (c)).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. pp. 130–1.

<sup>3</sup> 150 out of 800.

<sup>4</sup> He was first suggested as a possible author by Mr Irvine Gray, formerly of the Essex County Record Office.

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'my foule hand'<sup>1</sup> and he usually employed an amanuensis for his letters.<sup>2</sup>

He may, of course, have been neither of these men. Both advocated the use of large companies of soldiers, for example, whereas in the 'Notes' a large number of small companies is suggested.<sup>3</sup> Again this may have been an adaptation to American conditions. Captain Humphrey Barwick, who, in his *A briefe discourse concerning the force and effect of all manuell weapons of fire* (c. 1591), criticized both Smythe and Williams, declaring that the size of companies should be governed by circumstances,<sup>4</sup> but this alone does not admit him to serious consideration as a possible author of the 'Notes'.

Thomas Digges can also be included as a possible author of the 'Notes'. Associated with John Dee over many years, involved with Grenville in the Terra Australis project in the 'seventies, and knight of the shire (with Sir George Carey) for Hampshire in the 1584 parliament, he was well placed to give advice on the formation of the first North American colony. He had finished and published in 1579 a treatise begun by his father Leonard, *An arithmeticall militare treatise, named Stratioticos*, which covered a number of the military topics touched on in the 'Notes', although his main interests were in navigation and surveying. He was, moreover, involved in Leicester's venture in the Netherlands at a later stage.<sup>5</sup> However, neither his italic<sup>6</sup> nor his secretary hand<sup>7</sup> has any similarity to that of the 'Notes' and his style is much smoother and more polished. At the present stage of our knowledge these considerations do not rule him out, but they place him

<sup>1</sup> *A briefe discourse of warre*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. his letter to Walsingham, 4 September 1584, asking for employment and suggesting an Anglo-Dutch expedition to the West Indies (*Cal. S.P., Foreign*, 1584-5, pp. 50-1).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 32 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *DNB*; Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 95; Taylor, *Tudor geography, 1485-1583*, pp. 42, 91, 97, 104, 124, 152, 154, 263.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 37, fo. 153 (1583).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MSS 19, no. 30 (1574); 72, no. 63 (1592); 73, no. 6 (1593).

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lower on the list of possible authors than his contacts with the organizers of the 1585 expedition would otherwise indicate.

The interest of the document is mainly that it emphasizes the military considerations which lay at the back of the 1585 expedition. There is little doubt that a primary consideration in the plans of Raleigh and Grenville was the creation of a strong military base at a reasonable distance from Spanish Florida, but capable of protecting vessels assembling for raids on the Indies and refitting after their return.<sup>1</sup> The consultation of a military expert by Cavendish on Raleigh's behalf, of which the 'Notes' are evidence, did bear fruit both in the composition of the expedition and in the actions of its members in America, even though the precise prescriptions of the author were not followed in every case.

The remaining sources are miscellaneous in character. They illustrate the proceedings in parliament during the abortive attempt to have Raleigh's acquisition of the new American territories confirmed by a private act.<sup>2</sup> Following that, there is a draft commission for granting him authority to levy men and shipping,<sup>3</sup> and another for the supply of powder from the Tower for his expedition,<sup>4</sup> as well as one for authority to release Ralph Lane from service in Ireland to take part in the voyage.<sup>5</sup> The queen's permission to use the name of 'Virginia' for the new territories is illustrated by Raleigh's seal as Lord and Governor of Virginia.<sup>6</sup> There are glimpses of volunteers coming forward for the venture,<sup>7</sup> and, more significant, of the seizure of foreign shipping and the impressment of foreign seamen.<sup>8</sup> In Cornwall, Sir Richard Grenville is seen making preparations to lead the expedition

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 173-4, 200, 721 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 6, pp. 122-6 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 10, pp. 144-5 below. Signet letters for the implementing of what was probably a subsequent, but similar, commission were issued on June 10 following (Document no. 20, p. 156-7) in connection with the Newfoundland venture (cp. pp. 234-52).

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 13, p. 148 below.      <sup>5</sup> Document no. 14, pp. 149-50 below.

<sup>6</sup> P. 147 below.

<sup>7</sup> Documents nos. 11 and 12, p. 146 below.

<sup>8</sup> Documents nos. 16 and 17, pp. 151-5 below.

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to America,<sup>1</sup> while an incident in the Thames which led to litigation in the High Court of Admiralty throws some light on the preparations which were taking place in the river and on the personality of Captain Philip Amadas.<sup>2</sup> Richard Hakluyt is seen keeping a close watch over the expedition from Paris,<sup>3</sup> while the Spaniards attempt to obtain information there about English preparations.<sup>4</sup> Not all the documents are entirely self-explanatory and some readers may wish to doubt the evidence which links them with the expedition, but in each case the strength and weakness of that evidence is set out in the notes.<sup>5</sup> With what can be gathered, we are still without adequate evidence of how the expedition was financed,<sup>6</sup> of precisely what the queen's adventure was,<sup>7</sup> and how the shipping was collected at London, possibly Bidford, and finally Plymouth for the voyage.<sup>8</sup> Lacking any sailing directions or any general statement of objectives to be achieved, we are left to fill them in from what is known of events on the voyage. Drafts of Raleigh's instructions would, if they were found, clear up many problems.

### THE 1585 VOYAGE

The main authority for the 1585 voyage is the journal printed by Hakluyt.<sup>9</sup> It is by an anonymous member of the *Tiger's* company and, for convenience, is referred to subsequently as the '*Tiger journal*'. No evidence survives to indicate who its author was,<sup>10</sup> nor any information about him except that he was a member of the pro-Grenville and anti-Fernandez faction, and that he sailed back to England with the *Tiger*. It is clearly based on a more detailed journal of the expedition, the official one kept on the

<sup>1</sup> P. 151 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 9, pp. 139-44 below.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. pp. 155-6 below.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. pp. 220-6 below.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 139-44, 151, 173, 178, 728-30.

<sup>9</sup> Document no. 23, pp. 178-93 below.

<sup>10</sup> The suggestion that he may possibly have been Arthur Barlowe (p. 175, n. 2) is not made with any confidence.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 18, p. 155 below.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 146, 153-5 below.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. pp. 148, 178-9, 237 below.

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ship, but the selection of information it contains clearly represents, on the positive side, the interests of the compiler, and, on the negative side, his desire, or that of Raleigh, Grenville, or Hakluyt, to suppress a certain amount of information which it was not desired should be widely known. It is highly probable that, approximately in its present form, it was prepared for Raleigh with the intention of giving him a fairly full picture of happenings in the West Indies, with an outline of other events, shortly after the return of the expedition. It is likely to have been trimmed by or for him shortly afterwards, perhaps with the object of publishing it as publicity for the venture. When and in what circumstances it was turned over to Hakluyt is not known.

While it provides a list of ships, mention of the principal persons in the company is perfunctory, and no clear indication is given of who sailed in which vessel. Nothing is said directly of the circumstances in which the vessels parted company off Portugal, or of what were the arrangements for a rendezvous off the Puerto Rico coast. A fair amount of detail is given of the actions of the *Tiger's* company on Puerto Rico between 11 and 23 May, but again little explanation. We lack precise information on why such elaborate defences were considered necessary. Was it because a holding party was intended to maintain it until Drake's force should have arrived in the West Indies? Or was it merely because, in the interval since 1584, the Spaniards were found to have installed a garrison in nearby San German?<sup>1</sup> No mention is made of the name of Cavendish's ship which joined them on the 19th, nor of the affixing of a message—which the Spaniards removed—giving a note of their arrival and departure.<sup>2</sup> The story from 23 to 29 May, when the ships remained off the south-western end of Puerto Rico, is not told clearly.<sup>3</sup> Possibly it was Hakluyt who suppressed the details about their trade with the Spaniards, including their offer to sell back one of their prizes. Nor is anything said about the quarrel between Lane and Grenville which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 181, 734, 740 below.

<sup>2</sup> P. 183 below.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the English and Spanish evidence, pp. 183-5, 733-43 below.

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arose from the sending of Lane with one of the prizes to take off salt from Cape Rojo.<sup>1</sup> The visit to the north coast of Hispaniola is described with some colourful detail, but no explanation is given of the Englishmen's contacts there which enabled them to trade on such a friendly footing. After leaving there, a Portuguese, not named, is charged with having misled them about salt-ponds on one of the Caicos Islands. There seems little doubt that this was Simon Fernandez, the master and chief pilot, who was Lane's protégé.<sup>2</sup> He is again blamed, this time by name, for the grounding of the *Tiger* at the inlet of Wococon after the ships—the two English vessels, the new pinnace and two prizes—had arrived at the Carolina Banks. From this point onwards the journal gives only a perfunctory record of events. Elsewhere we learn that Grenville met there other vessels from which he had parted in European waters, but we are told that one (the *Lion*) had landed thirty-two men some three weeks before his own arrival and had then departed, while the name of the captain of the fly-boat, presumably the *Roebuck*, appears in a list a little later.<sup>3</sup> No clarity about these arrangements can be obtained. Rather more detail is given about Grenville's expedition to Secotan between 11 and 18 July, which fits in with the sketch-map now identified as showing some of the results of the exploration down to September.<sup>4</sup> It is not explained why Roanoke Island was chosen as a site for the fort or why Grenville did not stay himself, nor is it made clear what vessels remained behind at the *Tiger's* departure on 25 August.<sup>5</sup> Only the outlines of the chase and capture of the *Santa Maria* are given with the dates of the return of the *Tiger* and her prize.<sup>6</sup>

A second account of the expedition was contributed by Abraham Fleming to the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* and published in 1587.<sup>7</sup> He may have had a narrative by Grenville

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 184-5, 228-9 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 188 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. pp. 198-9 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 30, pp. 215-17 below.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 192, 210-11 below.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 192-3 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>7</sup> Document no. 22, pp. 173-8 below.

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himself before him. If so he was rather careless about dates. Otherwise a more coherent story is given—though with less detail—than is provided by the *Tiger* journal. It is this account which supplies, for example, the information that Grenville was to decide, in the light of what he found there, whether to remain himself in America or to return, and the fact that his other vessels were found awaiting him on his arrival at the Carolina Banks. It does not, unfortunately, give additional information on the arrangements made for the conduct of Lane's colony, but little was said on this subject because it was probably thought unwise to publish at this time too specific details about its location and purpose.

What neither narrative discloses is that a second squadron was preparing to follow Grenville, but, in June, was diverted to Newfoundland. The documents from the High Court of Admiralty records which link Bernard Drake's Newfoundland voyage integrally with the Virginia venture are of considerable interest.<sup>1</sup>

For the West Indies part of the expedition there is now available a fair amount of Spanish official correspondence<sup>2</sup> which fills out the *Tiger* journal quite adequately as regards the visits to Puerto Rico and Hispaniola. There is also a report of the interrogation of an English prisoner at Jamaica which raises a number of problems.<sup>3</sup>

John White's drawings of plants, fish and animals which he made in the West Indies, together with his plans of the camps on Puerto Rico, form a valuable supplement to the written evidence for this part of the expedition.<sup>4</sup>

In the Public Record Office there is another valuable group of material, three letters from America by Lane to Sir Francis

<sup>1</sup> Document no. 44, pp. 234-42 below.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 733-43, 747 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 7-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-6; cp. pp. 164-5 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 55, pp. 403-9 below. The descriptions of the picture plans, in particular, fit in with the narrative evidence, while the evidence of the flora and fauna drawn by White is of much incidental significance on the activities of the voyagers.

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Walsingham, and one to Sir Philip Sidney, Walsingham's son-in-law,<sup>1</sup> to which can now be added a sketch-map,<sup>2</sup> formerly misdated, which shows roughly what had been discovered by Grenville and the intending settlers down to early September 1585. These five items are all of the greatest interest since they represent original correspondence from the first English settlement in North America. Lane's letters have all the rough authenticity of the pioneer's hand. The map is crude but effective. Our only regret must be that Lane spent so much of his space in polemic against Grenville and comparatively so little in description of the new land where he was to bear so much responsibility. Yet, merely as sources of information, much can be gleaned from these items. With them belongs a letter to Walsingham from Sir Richard Grenville after his return.<sup>3</sup> This is clearly a group of Walsingham papers kept together by him either because of their intrinsic interest, or on account of the evidence they contained of dissensions on the voyage which he may well have investigated. The depositions made by Lane and his friends and sent to Walsingham<sup>4</sup> might have been expected to appear in this same group, but they have disappeared, although it is not impossible that they may yet be found. Lane's letter to Queen Elizabeth<sup>5</sup> is likewise lost, but Hakluyt preserved one to his elder cousin,<sup>6</sup> and also the valuable list of settlers<sup>7</sup> which he is almost certain to have had from Raleigh. One additional contribution by Lane<sup>8</sup> appears in a later treatise written by him.

The remaining materials are miscellaneous in character. News about the prize;<sup>9</sup> an incidental letter about the distribution of

<sup>1</sup> Documents nos. 25-7, 29, pp. 197-206, 210-14 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 30, pp. 215-17 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 34, pp. 218-21 below.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 212, 214 below.

<sup>5</sup> It is referred to in Document no. 36, pp. 222-3; and Document no. 60, p. 474, is a brief summary of the queen's reply.

<sup>6</sup> Document no. 28, pp. 207-10 below.

<sup>7</sup> Document no. 24, pp. 194-7 below.

<sup>8</sup> Document no. 42 (*a*), pp. 228-9 below.

<sup>9</sup> Documents nos. 33, 35, 37, pp. 218, 221-2 below.

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some of the spoil;<sup>1</sup> a remark that Grenville and Raleigh should not be allowed to retain such a treasure, combined with a fresh suggestion that Elizabeth should take over the responsibility for colonizing the American shore;<sup>2</sup> together with a recollection, not perhaps precisely true, that the queen seized the bulk of the spoil<sup>3</sup>—these make up the bulk of the additional documents. With them are indications of a French pilot being on the voyage;<sup>4</sup> some details<sup>5</sup> about a Danish member of the expedition, Martin Laurentson, who went to learn about maritime warfare and returned to beg his fare home; and, finally, evidence<sup>6</sup> about the circumstances in which the cape merchant of the expedition, Thomas Harvey, came to invest in the venture and to remain in the colony. To them we can add the story of one of the colonists, Darby Glante (or Glavin), told long afterwards to the Spaniards.<sup>7</sup>

What we lack most are a set of instructions for Grenville,<sup>8</sup> an estimate of the strategic and commercial results of the expedition, and an assessment of precisely what the voyage did to encourage or discourage Raleigh and his backers.<sup>9</sup> For example, was Walsingham's apparent withdrawal from the scheme brought about by lack of confidence in its ultimate results, or by the hostility which the members of his household who accompanied Grenville developed towards their commander?<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Document no. 39, p. 224–5 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 40, pp. 225–6 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 42 (*e*), pp. 230–1 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 42 (*b*), p. 229 below.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 41, pp. 226–8 below.

<sup>6</sup> Document no. 43, pp. 232–4 below.

<sup>7</sup> Document no. 158, pp. 834–8 below.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. pp. 51–4 below.

<sup>9</sup> My own opinion is that Raleigh was somewhat disappointed by the failure to find a suitable harbour on which Indies raiders could be based, and was not unduly excited about the specimens and news which Grenville brought of his Virginia, but that he maintained a modest confidence in the project. So far as his associates are concerned they are certain to have made a profit (cp. p. 220), and most of them are likely to have subscribed once more towards the 1586 ventures.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. pp. 197–8, 210–14 below.

For the events of 1585-6 after the departure of the *Roebuck* in September our main, practically our only, source is Lane's account.<sup>1</sup> Written soon after his return to England at the end of July 1586, it is likely to have been somewhat reshaped in detail by Hakluyt or another before it appeared in print in 1589. Lane was an untidy writer and thinker, while the account, though providing some difficulties of interpretation, is in general lucidly expressed. The polishing, however, may not have interfered substantially or at all with its contents. Like Barlowe's before, it was written for Raleigh, though whether for his private consideration or in a form which could be handed round as publicity for further enterprises is not so clear. One thing, however, is certain. It was Lane's apologia for returning when he did, and for his actions during his residence on Roanoke Island. In both respects it carries a reasonable degree of conviction. Lane is, one feels, being honest, even if, in some respects, mistaken. It must be remembered too that many of his men, at the time it was being written,<sup>2</sup> were busily running down Raleigh's Virginia and no doubt also the leadership of the governor.

These circumstances explain what Lane's account is and what it is not. It is not a chronicle of events based closely on journals kept on the spot; some of these had been lost.<sup>3</sup> Hariot was, at the time Lane was writing, composing a history of the voyages since 1584 and doing so, no doubt, with considerable attention to chronology.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Lane assumes in Raleigh so much knowledge of events in the colony that he may have known—or believed—that he already had a journal to hand. Lane is attempting four things: first, to give an account of the layout of the Indian tribes and villages, which he does very perfunctorily,<sup>5</sup> secondly, to state what were the prospects arising out of his visits to the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers,<sup>6</sup> thirdly, to demonstrate the circum-

<sup>1</sup> Document no. 45, pp. 255-94 below.

<sup>3</sup> P. 293 below.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 256-9 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. pp. 232-4, 320-4 below.

<sup>4</sup> P. 387 below.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 259-75 below.

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stances of his final breach with the Roanoke Indians,<sup>1</sup> and, finally, to give a clear idea of why he left with Drake on 18 June.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the second he is led into a narrative of his explorations on the Roanoke River, but his main aim is to point towards the possibilities of a deep-water settlement, evidently on Chesapeake Bay. His elaboration of a plan to reach there overland and his failure to discuss the sea approach adequately, even though he clearly hoped to be able to make one, showed that he retained a very imperfect conception of the topography of the country north of that which he actually visited; this again argues an incomplete understanding of what information had been brought back by the Chesapeake Bay exploring party, to which he pays no adequate attention and for which we are largely dependent on John White's maps.<sup>3</sup> His next main point in this section is that it was reasonable for him to attempt to ascend the Roanoke River since there appeared a good prospect of reaching larger sources of gold or copper in its upper reaches. He is able to show adequate reasons for his failure to carry through his exploration.<sup>4</sup> In the course of these explanations he leaves the chronology in several places in some confusion, and he assumes a knowledge of events which Raleigh may well have had but which we do not possess. It has, however, proved possible to make some sense out of his references. His account of the final clash with Wingina-Pemisapan likewise lacks background. We are not given sufficient information on the relations between the Roanoke Indians and the settlers to be able to estimate judicially to what degree the latter were at fault.<sup>5</sup> Lane's narrative of the plot and counter-plot which led to Pemisapan's death is, however, a well-told and exciting story. Finally, he ends with a full account of his taking off by Drake. He shows that he was prepared to stay and that Drake was ready to make it possible for him to stay until at least his investigation of a deep-water harbour on Chesapeake Bay had been completed.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 275-88 below.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 288-94 below.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 460-2, 854-6 below.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. pp. 266-75 below.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 248-9, cp. pp. 259, 264-6, 276.

## *The First Colony, 1585-6*

The storm which scattered the fleet, he convinces us, made a further stay impossible, unless they were to depend on what may have seemed the forlorn hope of supplies from home.<sup>1</sup> Had Lane been a shade tougher and hung on with a small party of his best men it would have paid very high dividends,<sup>2</sup> but he could not know that, and it must be admitted that he makes his case.

Owing to the limitations of Lane's account we have no full story of the colony and to some extent it has, therefore, to be supplemented by more or less informed speculation. John White's pictures, however, and his maps even more, do enable us to fill out the story,<sup>3</sup> while Hariot's tract is not only a record of a remarkable piece of investigation but also contains, here and there, valuable information on happenings during the course of the year.<sup>4</sup> Darby Glanville's story,<sup>5</sup> told long after, in 1600, gives a few useful sidelights, but also a certain amount of cloudy misinformation. Our greatest lack, which we feel the more as we are told it once existed, is Hariot's chronicle of the events of 1584-7. As his own reference to it is the only surviving record of its existence, speculation about the causes of its disappearance does not take us very far. The simplest explanation is that it went to Raleigh and was lost in the wreck of all but one of his Virginia papers.<sup>6</sup> Why, however, it was not shown to Hakluyt—as I am convinced it was not—and why Hariot failed to publish it, or, perhaps, to get Raleigh's permission to do so, remains very much of a mystery. It is very often unwise to assert that a manuscript is irretrievably lost, but it is difficult to imagine where such a document could still lie buried, without a single reference being made to it for nearly 400 years, and considering the great interest there has been in its field and subject.

<sup>1</sup> The sources for Drake's visit (Documents nos. 46-49, pp. 294-312 below) do not reveal any significant discrepancies from Lane's account and, in general, support it, though his remains the fullest.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. pp. 465-9 below.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 413-62 below.

<sup>4</sup> Note especially incidents on pp. 331-4, 377-9 below.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 158, pp. 834-8 below.

<sup>6</sup> P. 387 and document no. 54, p. 389 below.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

### DRAKE AND THE ROANOKE COLONY

Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage of 1585-6 has now been lavishly and effectively documented from Spanish sources by Miss Wright,<sup>1</sup> so that its significance as one of the major Elizabethan ventures and a prelude to the Armada emerges much more clearly than hitherto. Its full evaluation does not, however, lie to be made here. There are two questions which we may expect our sources to answer. First, how far was Drake committed to visit and assist the colonists before he left England and to what extent, during his Caribbean adventures, did he prepare to do so? And second, what precisely did he do when he eventually found Lane's men on the Carolina Banks in June 1586? It must be admitted that we do not know how far the two ventures were co-ordinated in detail and it would be most valuable if any further material turned up which could settle this point, but there is no doubt that the gradual accumulation of material tends to show that there was some over-all co-ordination between what Francis Drake planned for the Indies, Raleigh and Grenville for Virginia, and Bernard Drake for Virginia and Newfoundland, and that it was this which pushed the Spaniards from what would now be called a policy of containment into one of 'liberation' or aggression.<sup>2</sup> However, Miss Wright's documents do bring out the fascinating story of how, when Drake abandoned his plans for the crossing of the Isthmus, he kept his negroes and Indians for the stocking of the Virginia colony and busily collected at San Agustín all kinds of equipment which might conceivably be useful to the settlers. Unfortunately, our evidence does not go so far as to explain what he did with this material, human and other, when Lane decided to abandon the settlement;<sup>3</sup> English narratives confine themselves to some account of the taking off of Lane's men.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 16-174, 176-228.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. D. B. Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions to Elizabethan colonial enterprises', in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, 5th ser., 1, 8-13; pp. 249-50 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. pp. 251-5 below.

## *Drake and the Roanoke Colony*

No evidence has yet appeared to explain fully why the narrative by Walter Bigges,<sup>1</sup> finished by Lieutenant Crofts and possibly Walter Cates, should have appeared at Leyden in 1588, first in a Latin dress as *Expeditio Francisci Draki* and then in French, before it was published in England. The two issues in 1589 by Richard Field are generally taken to be the first appearances of *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage* in English, but a note to Roger Ward's edition of the same year suggests that it was this edition which first began printing some time before July 1588 and was delayed through accident, being apparently in the meantime forestalled by Field. The desire to publish any available narratives on Drake's successes against the Spaniards, whether in England or on the continent, following his 1587 attack on Spain and at a time when the sailing of the Armada was imminent, is obviously understandable.

What is most interesting for our purpose is that the 1588 publications gave only a brief summary of the removal of the Virginia colonists. Perhaps this was because those who prepared the Latin edition considered the episode one of minor importance, unlikely to interest Dutch and French readers, or it may have been because it was thought to give the Spaniards too precise details about the location and circumstances of the English settlement. By 1589 it could be argued that, once the Armada had been defeated, the chances of publicity injuring the English settlement in North America were much reduced.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the detail published in the English versions was not too specific, apart from the situation of Roanoke Island.<sup>3</sup> The French manuscript account of Drake's voyage<sup>4</sup> is evidently closely associated with the *Expeditio*, even though it has some independent value, but it also regarded the Virginia episode as worthy of only very brief treatment.

<sup>1</sup> See Document no. 46, pp. 294-303 below. The bibliographical detail is outlined on p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. pp. 5-8 above.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 301-3 below.

<sup>4</sup> See Document no. 48, pp. 309-11 below.

## The Roanoke Voyages

More interesting are the map and plans associated with the *Expeditio*.<sup>1</sup> They comprise four town plans illustrating Drake's attacks—Santiago, Cape Verde Islands; Santo Domingo; Cartagena; and San Agustín—and a map.<sup>2</sup> The plans were prepared with Latin inscriptions and appeared in the Leyden editions and subsequently in those of Field and Ward, published in London. The map shows Drake's outward and homeward course, including his call at Virginia, though in doing so it does not add anything to our information. Bearing an inscription in English, it was clearly intended to be used as a separate publication since letterpress was printed, to be attached to it, giving a brief summary of the voyage, including mention of the call at Virginia. It is probable, however, that it was also included with the plans in one or more of the English editions.<sup>3</sup> Like the plans, it was compiled by Baptista Boazio,<sup>4</sup> but it is not known if he was the artist who accompanied Drake and who drew them. The composition of all five is closely associated with the Virginia visit, however, since the *fauna* which adorn them have the closest links with some of John White's drawings.<sup>5</sup> From this we might well conclude that White and the artist travelled together from Virginia to England and collaborated in their preparation of the map and plans on the voyage or subsequently. The alternative explanation

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 294, 311 below.

<sup>2</sup> They are, conveniently, reproduced in Miss Wright's *Further English voyages*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Lawrence C. Wroth and Mr J. C. Wheat do not think this likely, cp. pp. 311–12 below and Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xiii. In view of the close association of all five with Boazio—and with John White—it would appear somewhat surprising if at some point it was not intended to use them together in a single publication. It might tentatively be suggested that the map was not ready by the time the plans were called for at Leyden, and that consequently it was issued in England with the letterpress during 1588 as a preliminary to an English edition of the narrative. If the latter was delayed by accident then it is probable that the map was added to the four plans, but without the letterpress, for either Field's edition or Ward's in order to make the publication as complete as possible. The state of surviving copies does not, in my opinion, provide conclusive evidence either way.

<sup>4</sup> One of his earliest datable productions (cp. Edward Lynam, *The map-maker's art*, p. 75).

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 42, 398, 406–7, 411–12 below.

## *Drake and the Roanoke Colony*

—that White copied the relevant drawings from those made by Drake's artist—is not so likely. But the collaboration completes an association between Drake's expedition and the Virginia settlement on which we could well do with further information.

The final document in the series is the journal kept by an unidentified 'Henrey' in the *Primrose*.<sup>1</sup> This 'Primrose log', as Corbett called it, was not published until 1898.<sup>2</sup> It adds variety and detail to the *Summarie and true discourse*, but its treatment of the Virginia episode is brief. It does, however, add a few points, the most significant being Lane's desertion of three men because they were not on the spot when the colonists decided to go with Drake.<sup>3</sup>

### THOMAS HARIOT AND JOHN WHITE

Two men, Thomas Hariot and John White, occupy a special place in the history of the Roanoke voyages, for between them they compiled the first detailed records to be assembled by Englishmen of the natural relations and resources of any part of North America, and in so doing gave a new content to English overseas discovery. The high degree of objectivity and the painstaking accuracy which they brought to their tasks make their work (though much of it has been lost) a landmark in the history of English cartography and the natural sciences, as well as, almost incidentally, in the development of a native school of water-colour painting. It is these circumstances which call for a rather different treatment here of their work. Something needs to be said about their respective careers and about the problem, in particular, of identifying White, to which no solution has yet been found. Furthermore, something needs to be said about the history and character of White's drawings, no full description of which is readily available. Finally, the work of both needs to be fitted into the contemporary situation in the natural sciences in

<sup>1</sup> See Document no. 47, pp. 303-8 below.

<sup>2</sup> Corbett, *Spanish war*, pp. 1-27, in modernized spelling.

<sup>3</sup> P. 307 below.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

England. To do this adequately would require much more space than is here available, but at least there is enough to state the major problems which arise in connexion with both men.

Thomas Hariot, though we know little of his early life, does not, so far as the outlines of his career are concerned, provide a biographical problem of much magnitude. Born in 1560 in the parish of St Mary, Oxford, nothing appears yet to have been found about his background. At the age of seventeen he entered at St Mary's Hall, at that time very closely associated with Oriel College, and he took his B.A. in 1580. Mr C. S. Emden suggests that Richard Pigot, Fellow of Oriel and Principal of St Mary's Hall, was probably Raleigh's tutor (1572-4), and that it was probably he who recommended Thomas Hariot to Raleigh in 1580 or soon afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Hariot entered Raleigh's household and was well paid to teach him 'the mathematical sciences', chiefly, we may suggest, astronomy and navigation, and also to instruct the sea-captains who later frequented his household and were in his service, so as, in Hakluyt's words, to 'link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results',<sup>2</sup> a most modern scientific (or should it be Marxist?) sequence! It may be suggested that Raleigh's experience at sea in 1578-9 had shown him the need for theoretical and practical seamanship in a captain, even if it were not essential, and that, after he returned from Ireland in December 1581 and began to go into Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plans for further North American ventures, he began his mathematical studies and first employed Hariot, either in 1582 or 1583. It was not until after Gilbert's death that Raleigh took up, independently, plans for American colonies, and though we do not hear of Hariot being employed on the Amadas-Barlowe voyage in 1584, he drew up instructions on navigation for this and the following expeditions. Professor E. G. R. Taylor's recent work on his papers has shown that not only had he worked out a course of

<sup>1</sup> C. S. Emden, *Oriel papers* (1948), pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's dedication to Raleigh of his edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, 1587 (Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 360, 366-7).

### *Thomas Hariot and John White*

navigational instruction by 1584 in his lost book, the 'Arcticon', but that it clearly contained many ideas much in advance of his time.<sup>1</sup>

As Hariot went out in 1585 with special instructions to study the native Indians<sup>2</sup> it appears at least highly probable that when Amadas came home in September 1584 with Manteo and Wanchese he was given the task of teaching them English, learning as much as he could of the local language from them, and interrogating them about the resources, economic and other, of their homeland. They were by December able to give some account of themselves in English and were clearly used to make propaganda for the 1585 expedition.<sup>3</sup> Hariot's task when he sailed with Grenville in April 1585 was to take astronomical observations at sea<sup>4</sup> and to act as a consultant on navigation. Once the North American mainland was reached he was to take on responsibility for studying the Indians and also for supervising the mapping of the new territories, noting natural phenomena such as comets<sup>5</sup> and storms, and above all making a survey, with any assistance he could obtain, of the economic resources of the region—metals, minerals, timber, wild or cultivated plants, and all living creatures likely to affect or be useful to man. How he did this between April 1585 and July 1586 will be discussed below. Once he returned to England his main task was to write up his material (some of which was lost at the hurried departure from Roanoke Island). His interrogation, with Hakluyt, of the Frenchman Nicholas Burgoignon, whom Drake rescued at San Agustín, probably took place soon after his return.<sup>6</sup>

The 1588 quarto Hariot is the most delectable of Americana, but it cannot be said that it now presents any bibliographical problems. The late Randolph G. Adams adequately described all

<sup>1</sup> See E. G. R. Taylor, 'Hariot's instructions for Raleigh's voyage to Guiana, 1595', in *Jnl of the Inst. of Navigation*, v, 345, discussing Brit. Mus., Additional MS 6788, fos. 468-92 (fo. 487 'my Arcticon'); E. G. R. Taylor and D. H. Sadler, "'The Doctrine of Nauticall Triangles Compendious'", *J. Inst. Nav.* vi, 131-4.

<sup>2</sup> P. 321 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. pp. 127, 232.

<sup>4</sup> P. 380 (cp. p. 53).

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 763-6 below.

<sup>6</sup> P. 381 below.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

surviving copies of *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* in 1931, and although some further checking has been done not a single additional copy has appeared, nor is there any technical addition to be made to his work. What is much less clear is when it was written in its present form. The published version gave on the last page its date of completion as February 1588. This was not 1588 English style, i.e. 1589. De Bry and Hakluyt in 1589–90 retained '1588' but in 1600 Hakluyt substituted '1587'. Now the earliest reference to the tract is that by Hakluyt, written either at the beginning of May, if it was in the first draft, or in October, if it was in the final revision, of his introduction to his edition of *Laudonnière*. Internal evidence does not point to a date necessarily later than February 1587. The document is essentially a plea for further support for the Virginia venture and it refers to land grants by Raleigh to White's intending settlers. These derived, however, it would seem, from the missing agreement of 7 January 1587 on the establishment of the City of Raleigh colony. The other evidence is a reference to 'the Gouvernour and assistants of those alreadie transported'. While this might appear to place it later, it is consistent with a date late in February when White had brought some of his squadron out of the Thames, before putting in at Portsmouth, or else with a later date when the tract was under final revision for publication. If this passage is put on one side, however, the tract is entirely appropriate to one written for the encouragement of intending settlers and investors in the 1587 venture. This argument cannot be pressed, but it might be suggested that Hakluyt, who was himself very much addicted to the calendar year, though he did use English style as well, may have put in '1587' in 1600 with the purpose of showing that the tract belongs essentially to the propaganda for the 1587 expedition. The fact that it was not published in 1587 could have been due to a continued reluctance on Raleigh's part to engage on too detailed publicity, or to a number of other reasons, such as the finding of an adequate number of settlers by other means.

## Thomas Hariot and John White

As the tract was, in fact, published in 1588 it is worth asking what purposes it was then intended to serve. Primarily, the encouragement of subscribers and volunteers for a further expedition for 1588, which Grenville was busy assembling in the West Country, though it is likely to have appeared too late to be of any value. It may be noted that Hariot added nothing to suggest that the 1587 colony might possibly be in difficulties and that he does not mention White's return. He concerned himself wholly with explaining the uncalled-for adverse publicity which the return of the 1585 colony had received, and dealing in detail with a number of practical problems: what crops the Indians grew, what wild plants and animals could be utilized for food or commerce, what European crops were likely to flourish, how to build, what the minerals prospects were; and, crudely, how to get on with the Indians. That he did these things with a temper which we can recognize as scientific was incidental to the main purpose of the tract.

After the English edition he was induced by Theodor de Bry and Richard Hakluyt<sup>1</sup> to agree to a multilingual edition of his pamphlet being published in Frankfort; Charles de l'Écluse, the eminent botanist, was to do the Latin translation.<sup>2</sup> Hariot was, himself, induced to supply a rather hasty set of explanatory notes in Latin to the collection of White's Indian drawings which De Bry intended to engrave, and of these Hakluyt did an English translation.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of part i of the *America*, in 1590, in

<sup>1</sup> The precise dates of De Bry's two visits to London remain obscure. The first was in 1587, and the second, when the meetings with Hakluyt, Hariot and White took place, late in 1588 or early in 1589 (cp. A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, I (1952), 22-4, 124-37). Henry Stevens (*Thomas Hariot* (1900), p. 57) maintained that the meeting took place about November 1588, when Hakluyt returned from Paris escorting Lady Sheffield. Dr G. B. Parks (*Hakluyt*, p. 251) will not commit himself to a date for Hakluyt's return beyond saying that it was late in 1588 or early in 1589. De Bry succeeded on the first occasion in obtaining the drawings of French Florida from the widow of Jacques le Moynes de Morgues (*America*, pt. ii (1591), sig. \*\*\*3 v.-4 v., cp. pp. 546-7 below).

<sup>2</sup> P. 401; *America*, pt. i (Lat.), title page: 'nunc...latio donata á C.C.A. [Carolo Clusio Atrebatense].'

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 399-400; *America*, pt. i (Eng.), sig. 3\*4.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

Latin, English, French and German, was a source of pride to Hariot and he noted long after in a list of allusions in print to himself 'My discourse of Virginia in 4 languages'.<sup>1</sup> His later career need not concern us here. Versatility is the keynote of the large number of miscellaneous papers of his which have come down to us,<sup>2</sup> but his primary interests and his main achievements in his later life were in astronomical observation and in mathematics.<sup>3</sup>

The biography of John White, the surveyor and painter of the 1585 expedition and the governor of the 1587 colony, remains largely a series of unresolved questions. If the voyage of 1590 to Virginia was his fifth, as he himself said,<sup>4</sup> then we must take it that he accompanied Amadas and Barlowe in 1584, even though he was not among the ten named participants.<sup>5</sup> We know that he accompanied Grenville in 1585. He is mentioned, though not by name, drawing plants on Puerto Rico in May.<sup>6</sup> He is named, along with Francis Brooke, treasurer of the expedition, as heading the crew of a ship's boat which set out with Grenville from Wococon Island for Pomeiooc, Aquascogoc, and Secoton (on the Pamlico River) on 11 July, returning a week later.<sup>7</sup> The fact that he is included among the ten principal members of this expedition indicates that his standing was a reasonably high one. The sketches of Indian life in the villages visited, on which a number of his drawings were based, were in all probability made then.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petworth House, Leconfield MS no. 241, last folio.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus., Additional MSS 6785-9, Harleian MSS 6001-3; Leconfield MSS 240-1.

<sup>3</sup> A useful brief estimate of his scientific achievement is Frank Vigor Morley, 'Thomas Hariot, 1560-1621', in *Scientific Monthly*, Jan. 1922, pp. 60-6. Dr John W. Shirley's forthcoming study of Hariot will be based on a large amount of new material. An engraving of 1602 (with which can be associated a portrait in Trinity College, Oxford) is believed to be of him (Jean Robertson, 'Some additional poems by George Chapman', in *The Library*, 4th Ser., xxii (1941-2), 168-76).

<sup>4</sup> P. 715 below.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 115-16 below.

<sup>6</sup> P. 742 below.

<sup>7</sup> P. 190. See also the sketch-map (p. 215) and the route of the expedition on the general map at end.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 37-44, in particular (cp. pp. 420-32).

## Thomas Hariot and John White

If White made all the drawings ascribed to him below it would be very difficult for him to have left the Virginia settlement between 25 August and mid-September 1585.<sup>1</sup> If he had a hand in the maps, other than the first preliminary sketch-map,<sup>2</sup> there is no doubt that he stayed with Lane until June 1586. But his name does not appear in the list of the 108 settlers. Simple omission is not impossible.<sup>3</sup> There may be a printer's error in the 'William White' on the list.<sup>4</sup> Or the 'John Twit' or 'Twyt' may be a slip for 'White',<sup>5</sup> as indeed could 'John Wright'.<sup>6</sup>

White next appears in a different guise, as the John White of London, gentleman, who, by the agreement of 7 January 1587, was to be the governor of the City of Raleigh colony on Chesapeake Bay, and to whom a grant of arms was made by the College of Heralds. His quarterings comprise arms of White, Wymarke, Wyat, Kylyowe, Saker, Buddyer and Buttlar,<sup>7</sup> but Mr Anthony R. Wagner, *Richmond Herald*, is not inclined to think that these names throw light on White's place of origin. White brought his settlers, including his son-in-law Ananias Dare and his daughter Elyoner, from Portsmouth to Roanoke Island, not Chesapeake

<sup>1</sup> Professor Wesley Frank Craven first put forward this view tentatively in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, xx, 110-11 (*s.v.* White, John), and makes it more positively in *The southern colonies in the seventeenth century* (1949), p. 52. The Indian drawings would, from their geographical distribution, lend some plausibility to this theory, but the fish and bird drawings, apart from the maps, would explode it since they fit in with Hariot's account of the total achievements of the colonists (*cp.* pp. 358-60). The support, too, which it might gain from the title to the collection of White drawings in the British Museum is not borne out by the contents (*cp.* pp. 391, 398).

<sup>2</sup> The preliminary sketch-map includes the information gathered down to the departure of the last vessels in September 1585 (*cp.* pp. 215-17), the general maps (pp. 460-2) all that collected down to June 1586.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 194-7, more especially likely if White compiled the list himself.

<sup>4</sup> P. 196 below.

<sup>5</sup> De Bry turns 'White' into 'With' (p. 399). Yet Twit, like Withe, was a surname in its own right. Tudor spellings must always leave a margin of doubt, especially where surnames are concerned.

<sup>6</sup> P. 196, though the same name, with John White's, appears on the 1587 list of colonists (p. 541 below).

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 509-10 below.

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Bay, in 1587, returned himself to speed up supplies, and landed in England on 5 November,<sup>1</sup> meeting Raleigh on 20 November.<sup>2</sup> His failure to do more in 1588 than attempt to cross the Atlantic with two small pinnaces, an attempt in which he failed, belongs to the general story of the ventures.<sup>3</sup> In 1589 he found as associates Richard Hakluyt and a number of London merchants who promised to back the settlement,<sup>4</sup> but only one of them, William Sanderson, did anything to help, so far as is known, and that in 1590, when he contributed a ship to John Watts's privateers who brought White with them to search for the colonists at Roanoke Island.<sup>5</sup> The failure of an inconclusive search discouraged White, who went to Ireland and who is last heard of in February 1593, having settled at Newtown, near the modern town of Charleville, in co. Cork.<sup>6</sup> This is all that is positively known, apart from what can be adduced from the drawings, about John White.

One small piece of knowledge already mentioned is that White closely co-operated with the artist of Drake's expedition. His name is not known, but he included fish and amphibians in his drawings, three of which bear such a close resemblance to known drawings by White that there is little doubt about their association. We may suggest that White and the artist travelled from Virginia to England in June and July 1586 on the same ship, and exchanged drawings and natural history notes. Whether all three drawings derived originally from White is not clear, since the copy of one or more may have come to him from the other artist.<sup>7</sup>

John White is a common name and this is the main obstacle to his identification; it led P. Lee Phillips to argue in 1896 that the presumably humble painter was not the same as the presumably important governor of 1587.<sup>8</sup> This argument has been taken

<sup>1</sup> P. 538 below

<sup>2</sup> P. 563 below.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 562-9 below.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 569-78 below.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 704-10 below.

<sup>6</sup> P. 716 below.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. pp. 406-7, 410-13 below. I am much indebted to Mr P. H. Hulton for his assistance in this identification.

<sup>8</sup> 'Virginia cartography', in *Smithsonian Misc. Collns.*, xxxvii (no. 1039), pp. 1-17, adopted by Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish settlements*, 1, 414.

## *Thomas Hariot and John White*

seriously in America<sup>1</sup> though not in England, but there is nothing positive to support it. The main argument against it is that Hakluyt, careful editor that he was, would have almost certainly made the distinction clear.<sup>2</sup> The American argument based on social position has very little to be said for it. The surveyor, which was undoubtedly what White was, was a new kind of technician who might have been of gentle or merchant stock, and who required, as several writers of the time tell us, some education if he was to be efficient.<sup>3</sup> There is, too, White's statement that he had been on all five voyages, his presentation of the drawing of a butterfly to Thomas Penny in 1587,<sup>4</sup> and the mention of his maps and pictures among his damaged possessions which he found on Roanoke Island in 1590<sup>5</sup>—all pointing the other way, while such little evidence as we have about the 1587 settlers points to their being humble people under a simple (though perhaps well-born) leader who intended to lead a primitive, hard-working life in America. For De Bry there was one John White only.<sup>6</sup>

If we leave ourselves with a single John White, how far can conjecture bring us towards an identification? Only so far as to suggest some alternatives which may provide a later searcher with possible clues for linking up one or more of the John Whites mentioned below with John White, surveyor, painter and governor.

The 'John White of London, Gentleman' of the Herald's description would suggest that London would be the first place to look, though the attachment of the same description to the Azorean Portuguese, Simon Fernandez, would indicate that White

<sup>1</sup> Cp. R. G. Adams, 'An attempt to identify John White', in *American Hist. Rev.*, xli (1935-6), pp. 87-91; Craven, *Southern colonies*, pp. 51-2; and W. P. Cumming, 'The identity of John White governor of Roanoke and John White the artist', in *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, xv (1938), 197-203, the last being the best-balanced discussion of the evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. his marginal note to 'Captain Lane' in 1590 (p. 603) making it clear that William, not Ralph, Lane was meant.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. E. G. R. Taylor, 'The surveyor', in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 1st ser., xvii (1947), 121-31.

<sup>4</sup> But see pp. 458-9 below.

<sup>5</sup> P. 615 below.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. p. 399, n. 6.

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was not necessarily a Londoner.<sup>1</sup> There was a John White, fishmonger, of London who in 1591 was named as captain of a ship, the *Balinus*, 40 tons, of London, to which letters of reprisal against the Spaniards were granted, and which subsequently took a prize of wines. Her owner, George Bassett, was also a fishmonger, but neither he nor the master of the vessel, John Graunt, have been found associated with the Virginia ventures.<sup>2</sup> This could represent a final unsuccessful attempt by our John White to get to Roanoke Island on a privateer under his own command, but it is highly probable that he would have mentioned it in his letter of 1593<sup>3</sup> unless it was in some way particularly discreditable to him. Nor does it fit in with his known attitude to privateering.

It would be reasonable to investigate the possible Devonshire origin of John White, since many of the promoters came from the south-west, but no likely candidate has appeared. One of Raleigh's principal agents in the south-west was Martin White of Plymouth,<sup>4</sup> and it is not impossible that John White was his brother. If so, could he have been the John White who was Mayor of Plymouth in 1583-4?<sup>5</sup>

The uncovering of some parts of Sir George Carey's association

<sup>1</sup> P. 508 below. He was not the John White of London who was trading in tin in May 1585 (S.P. 15/29, 17), as he was then in the West Indies.

<sup>2</sup> H.C.A. 14/29, 165 (bis); H.C.A. 25/3, pkt. 9, 8 June 1591 (out of place); Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 142, fo. 109 (these documents being first referred to in K. R. Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 230). Dr Andrews shows that a John White, who may have been the same man, owned the privateer *Fortunatus* (40 tons) of London in 1593 (ibid.; Harleian MS 598). No John White was a member of the Fishmongers' Company in 1600 (W. P. Haskett-Smith, *Lists of apprentices and freemen... of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers* (1916)).

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 712-16, where all the indications are that his voyage of 1590 was his last; but if he went out in 1591, not intending to make the Atlantic crossing, there is no need for him to have mentioned it.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 218, 475; Edwards, *Raleigh*, I, 173; Inq. P.M., Devon, 41 Eliz., C. 142/258, 135 (Martin White having died on 2 November 1598).

<sup>5</sup> R. N. Worth, *Cal. Plymouth municipal records* (1893), p. 125. Mr P. H. Hulton points out to me that the John White, haberdasher, of London who had close associations with Plymouth, and who died in 1584 (ibid., p. 19; *Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, IV (1584-1604), 448), may provide some connexion also.

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with the Roanoke voyages, though we could well do with further information on it, the sailing of the 1587 settlers from Portsmouth, and their call at the Isle of Wight before leaving,<sup>1</sup> might suggest that a search for John White in Hampshire would not be unfruitful. As it happens, John White of Southwick was a prominent figure in the Portsmouth district, but our John White was clearly not he.<sup>2</sup> However, there are two references which might prove fruitful if they could be followed up. On 12 October 1589 John Whyte and Thomas Uvedale sent a report to the privy council<sup>3</sup> about some disturbances between soldiers and townspeople at Portsmouth. And on 18 or 19 January 1590 the privy council instructed Francis Cotton and John White, esquires,<sup>4</sup> to survey and view the queen's storehouses near Portsmouth with a view to putting them in repair. It would thus appear that there was a John White, holding some official position at Portsmouth about this time, who was a surveyor by profession, as our John White almost certainly was. This evidence is, however, quite inconclusive.

Finally, it is perhaps just worth while suggesting that John White may have come of Anglo-Irish stock. A large number of members of this family were tenants of the Butlers, Earls of Ormond,<sup>5</sup> and a John White was acting as seneschal of the Liberty of Tipperary in 1599.<sup>6</sup> The Butler arms on White's coat might conceivably point the same way,<sup>7</sup> while the group of Irish settlers which White had with him in 1587 might also suggest that

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 498-9, 516-17 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *V.C.H. Hants.*, III, 54, 124-5, 163 [etc.]; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1581-90, p. 438 [21 Nov. '87]; R. East, *Extracts from Portsmouth records* (2nd ed., 1891), p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS Comm.*, *Cecil MSS*, XIII, 417.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the privy council, 1589-90*, p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> See *Index Nominum in Calendar of Ormond deeds*, ed. E. Curtis, v (1941), vi (1943).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 111. Mr Gerald Slevin of the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, has found no trace of White in the records there, and considers that, as only one of White's quarterings is typical of Ireland, the chances of his being of Anglo-Irish origin are not great.

<sup>7</sup> P. 510.

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he had Irish connexions.<sup>1</sup> He went to settle very near to the Butler lands in the 1590s. The seignory of 12,000 acres granted to Hugh Cuffe on 14 November 1587 included 'Kylmore alias the Great Woode'<sup>2</sup> within which White's later holding lay. By October 1589 Cuffe had already twenty-one Englishmen on his lands, but he later surrendered some part of his lands,<sup>3</sup> whether that including White's portion or not it has proved impossible to ascertain. At Newtown or Ballynoe in the Barony of Orrery and Kilmore<sup>4</sup> White would have been a freeholder or lease-holder, unlike his neighbour Edmund Spenser, who was an undertaker or chief landlord of a seignory not far away at Kilcolman.

These speculations are far from exhausting the possibilities, yet none of them leaves our feet on firm ground. All that can be claimed is that each has some trace of plausibility about it which may prove stimulating to future searchers. White is, perhaps, most likely to be identified eventually as a member of one of the London companies, but even so his place of origin may have been far from the city.

If we cannot trace White we may record that in 1706 or 1707 Dr Hans Sloane had some contacts with his descendants, and, some time after 1709, acquired from them a volume of drawings,<sup>5</sup> bearing an inscription that they were given to 'my soon Whit' on 11 April 1673, some ninety years after our last direct contact with White. This might well indicate that a son of White, or more likely his grandson, passed on the volume to his son in 1673. But would a man called White refer to his son as 'Whit' or 'White'? It might seem unlikely, but it is not impossible.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 519–20 below.

<sup>2</sup> Fiant 5066 (16th rep. Deputy Keeper of Records, Ire.).

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588–92, pp. 258, 574; Fiant 5535.

<sup>4</sup> For Newtown (alias Ballyno, Ballinoa, Ballynowe), see Fiants 3373, 5330, 5333, 5903 (13th and 16th reps. Deputy Keeper of Records, Ire.); Sir William Petty, Barony Maps of Ireland (Ordnance Survey, 1908), sh. 98 (Orrery and Kilmore); O.S. Ire., 6 in. co. Cork, sh. 2:14. The survey of 1622 (Brit. Mus., Additional MS 4756, fo. 94 v.) does not indicate whether Newtown was within the remaining seignory, then called Cuffes Wood.

<sup>5</sup> This is anticipating the discussion of the evidence on pp. 394–7 below.

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A mother who had married again might well do so, however, and she might therefore be White's daughter or granddaughter. 'Whit' could also, of course, be a Christian name derived from a White surname (cp. White Kennett), in which case the name of the father or mother (or even father-in-law or mother-in-law) who made the gift is impossible to guess. It is to be hoped that Sloane somewhere recorded more about his search for White's drawings and his dealings with White's descendants.

If Hariot was to be the trained mind of the 1585 expedition, John White was to be the practised eye. Whatever else he may have been, there is little reason to doubt that he was a working surveyor, and it is probable that his interest in drawing arose incidentally from the craft of making maps and plans. His hand has not yet been traced in any English surveys of this period, but Edward Lynam had complete confidence that it would eventually be done. From measuring and plotting fields, house-plans and fortifications, it was a short step only towards more general cartography. Closely linked too with map-making was the ability to illustrate maps with drawings of plants and buildings and figures of men and beasts, both for utility, in conventional signs, and for ornament. And there were two particular reasons why the latter skill received encouragement. The first was that overseas expeditions required a pictorial record, as well as specimens, of strange peoples, plants and animals, so that the map-illustrator easily became the equivalent of the modern photographer. The growth of this practice by English explorers is obscure, but it was very well established by 1585. The second reason was that some scientific development of natural history was taking place, and one prerequisite for the accurate classification of plants and animals was the well-preserved specimen and/or the accurate drawing from life or from the specimen which was capable of reproduction by wood-cut or copper-plate engraving. Already at the opening of Elizabeth's reign John Caius (1510-73), one of the pioneers of natural history in England, was congratulated by Konrad Gesner of Zurich (1516-65), whose contribution to the dawning sciences of

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botany and zoology was so influential in England and Europe on the excellent quality of certain drawings he had sent him.<sup>1</sup>

The overseas world, with its apparently inexhaustible range of new plants and animals, provided a continuing stimulus to naturalists in England and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Each of the major figures in English natural history in the sixteenth century—William Turner (d. 1568), the pioneer English botanist, Thomas Penny (d. 1589), a scientific botanist and, in Dr Raven's opinion, the founder of entomology, Thomas Moffet (or Mouffet) (1553–1604), his less able collaborator who prepared Penny's work for publication, and John Gerard (1545–1612), the most voluminous if not the most scientific English publisher of botanical information, James Garet and Hugh Morgan, leading apothecaries, Richard Garth and Walter Cope—had contacts with the pioneers of English overseas enterprise, and we find among their informants men like Drake, Cavendish, Frobisher, William Winter, Sir Robert Dudley and John White.<sup>3</sup>

John White was well equipped by 1585 to act as the surveyor and painter to an expedition. He could make accurate picture plans of forts and towns, he could draw maps which are in some respects superior to most others of their period,<sup>4</sup> he could make scientific drawings of birds, fish, animals and plants, some of which are remarkably fine,<sup>5</sup> and, above all, he could do water-

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Raven, *English naturalists from Neckam to Ray* (1947), pp. 83, 146.

<sup>2</sup> W. Blunt, *The art of botanical illustration* (1950), pp. 60–2; Arber, *Herbals*, pp. 69–70, 85, 105–10.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Raven, *English naturalists*, pp. 168–9, 182–5, 192; T. Moffet, *Theater of insects*, trans. John Rowlands (1658), pp. 951, 953, 978, 998, 1083, 1149, *Health's improvement*, ed. C. Bennet (1655), p. 154, 'Theatrum . . . insectorum', Brit. Mus., Sloane MS 4014, p. 240. Of continental naturalists Charles de l'Écluse was most closely in touch with Englishmen engaged in exploration and those interested in the specimens brought home. His *Rariorum plantarum historia* (1601) and *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605) contain frequent references to his English informants (cp. pp. 329, 339–40, 345–6, 347–8, 353–4 below). For Cope see T. Platter, *Travels*, pp. 171–3.

<sup>4</sup> The merits and defects of the maps are discussed on pp. 460–2, 846–50.

<sup>5</sup> They vary in accuracy, especially the fish (difficult to draw). It is unfortunate that many of the bird and fish drawings survive only in copies (cp. pp. 447–60).

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colour figure drawings of a peculiar freshness and fidelity. White normally used blacklead for the outline of his drawings, sometimes working on a ground of grey, brown or tinted wash, and added brown, red, black and blue body-colours, with gold, silver and white for touching and heightening. Pen work is generally confined to the legends on the drawings and to the maps and plans, but is occasionally used to strengthen the outlines of figure drawings. Technically and in his choice of subject-matter John White belongs to the direct line of sixteenth-century English draughtsmen of topographical and natural history subjects and to a broader European tradition of naturalistic figure-drawing deriving from Dürer. His position as artist-draughtsman to the expedition of 1585 and the colony of 1585-6 allowed him to develop further the naturalistic style which reaches its highest development in the Indian figure drawings. But when he attempted unobserved subjects like the ancient Britons, he tended to use a flamboyant style commonly employed for imaginary or theatrical figures throughout western Europe at this time.<sup>1</sup> It was this which tempted Binyon to say that he had been trained in 'the rhetorical school of the Italianized Flemings',<sup>2</sup> but these few drawings are exceptional rather than typical and tell us nothing about White except that he was versatile.

Much of the impetus to employ such men as Hariot and White in exploring and colonizing ventures came from the emergence of the geographical consultant, men like Richard Eden and the two Richard Hakluyts, who, we might say, ran clearing houses for overseas information derived from oral and literary sources, and who disposed of their information to merchants, speculators, explorers and would-be colonists. Their concern was almost wholly utilitarian, though on the one hand popular love of marvels and novelties stimulated their collecting and publishing

<sup>1</sup> I owe the technical description to Mr P. H. Hulton, but he is not responsible for the way it is expressed.

<sup>2</sup> Laurence Binyon, 'The drawings of John White', in *Walpole Society [Pubns.]*, XIII (1924-5), 19-24.

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activities, and on the other the growing exactness of the questions asked and answered by the naturalists, particularly the botanists, impelled them towards more scientific ways of acquiring and assembling their information. We can trace something of this process in the activities of the Hakluyts. Thus Richard Hakluyt the elder, when briefing the promoters of the North-east Passage expedition of 1580, was admirably specific and practical on the trade goods to be sought for and brought home, but he took a dilettante attitude towards natural history specimens, suggesting that seeds of strange plants be brought home, since they 'comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fancie of many, for the strangenesse and for that the same may grow and continue the delight long time'.<sup>1</sup> Richard Hakluyt, the younger, in listing the known products of North America for the *Divers voyages* in 1582 and helping to conduct the interrogation of witnesses, was more systematic, but still far from scientific<sup>2</sup> (though the newly identified instructions, discussed below, are a different matter). There is a substantial advance in method in the memoranda contributed by way of advice for the organization of the 1585 voyage—the younger Hakluyt's addendum to his *Discourse of western planting*,<sup>3</sup> the elder Hakluyt's 'Inducements',<sup>4</sup> and even the rather rough and ready 'Notes',<sup>5</sup> discussed above. The last of these, amongst recommendations for various specialist inquirers to go to America, included a 'good geographer to make discription of the landes discoverd, and with him an exilent paynter',<sup>6</sup> while the 'Inducements' in a similar, more systematic, list advised that 'A skilful painter is also to be caried with you, which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, townes, &c.',<sup>7</sup> indicating one source for the development of the English practice. Thus the positions which Hariot and

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, I, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 320-6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 336-8.

<sup>6</sup> P. 135.

<sup>2</sup> See Quinn, *Gilbert*, II, 281-313, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 130-9 below.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 338.

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White were to occupy in the 1585 expedition were those which well-informed opinion by that time considered necessary to the effective conduct of any reconnaissance in newly explored territories, whether the objective was trade, mines, or settlement.

When completing the documentation of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyages in 1939 I overlooked the set of instructions (lacking one page) prepared for one of the expeditions planned by Gilbert or his associates to go to sea in 1582. They form the opening pages of a commonplace book of Sir Edward Hoby in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Professor E. G. R. Taylor recently published a most illuminating commentary on them, with special reference to the scientific and technical equipment which they advise should be carried.<sup>2</sup> Professor Taylor considers that William Borough is most likely to have been responsible for their compilation, though, of course, he may have had assistance from others. Because they cover the same route, and the North American mainland (though they were intended for southern New England, not modern North Carolina), they can be used in place of the lost instructions of 1585 to indicate roughly what Hariot and White were asked to do and with what equipment. Those parts which can so be used comprise, first, notes for an observer who corresponds, so far as can be ascertained (since the first page is unfortunately missing), to Hariot, and, secondly, instructions for a certain Thomas Bavin, who corresponds to White as surveyor and painter.

The observer is to make a journal in which all his observations are inserted and he is also to see that their results, so far as possible, are incorporated in the maps which his colleague was to make. Springs, islands, fishes ('bothe shell fishes and other'), 'the resemblances of all sortes of beastes & their differences either in kinde or colour with or from ours', 'the like of birdes

<sup>1</sup> Additional MS 38823, fos. 1-8. It is hoped to print them in a forthcoming volume.

<sup>2</sup> 'Instructions to a colonial surveyor in 1582', in *The Mariner's Mirror*, xxxvii (1951), 48-62.

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Flyes', 'their manner of taking byrdes fowles Fyshes and beastes', soils, trees, fruits, gums, herbs, seed, apothecary drugs, pitch, tar and resin, 'the manner of their planting & manuring of the earthe', all sorts of minerals and sub-minerals were to be noted. Special attention was to be given to the native inhabitants, especially 'the statures Conditions apparell and manner of foode', 'the greatnes and quantetie of euery distinct Kinges Contryes people and forces', 'the dyversitie of their languages and in what places their speache beginnethe to alter. . . And the same man to Carry with him an englishe Dictionarie with the Englishe wordes before therin to sett downe their langage',<sup>1</sup> and to note their kinds of boats.

Just as it is evident that Hariot undertook most of the tasks indicated above, so did White those assigned to Bavin, except that Hariot, not White, is likely to have taken the more delicate observations by instrument, and that the two co-operated very closely on the map. Bavin was expected to equip himself with an array of instruments and materials:

A universal dial.

A cross staff.

A sailing compass.

An instrument for the variation of the compass.

An instrument for the declination of the needle.

Three watch clocks 'which dothe shewe & devide the howers by the minutes'.

*Ephimerides* or some other calculated tables.

A table.

A pair of writing tables.

'all his marckes written in parchment'.

Paper royal.

Quills.

Ink.

Black powder to make ink.

'A pensill with blacke leade'.

Black lead.

'all sortes of colours to drawe all thinges to life'.

A stone to grind colours.

'mouth' glue.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hariot, pp. 370, 389 below.

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Gum.

Two pairs of 'brazen Compasses'.

'other Instrumentes to drawe cardes and plottes'.<sup>1</sup>

On the way across the Atlantic he was to observe the eclipse of the sun which it was calculated would occur at London at 4.5 a.m. on 20 June 1582, and to make an attempt to determine longitude with the help of a time-piece.<sup>2</sup> The eclipse was to be painted, and observations made of 'the elevacion of the pole... variacion of the Compasse & declyning of the nedle'. It is highly probable that Hariot and White were asked to do the same thing during the eclipse calculated to occur on 19 April 1585, the eleventh day out from Plymouth,<sup>3</sup> but no record has survived of the observations, nor are they likely to have been of any value.

In 1582 the surveyor and his associate were to go around attended by men who would carry their writing materials and their instruments so that they should never be unable to make notes, drawings or observations. From the southern tip of Florida northwards they were to make 'cardes', that is maps, composed of four sheets of paper royal according to the size of the plane 'table, marking them in series of letters to avoid confusion. These 'first draftes in paper' were to be 'garnished' with conventional signs, specimens of which are given, but it was stressed that Bavin must 'in the discovery drawe to lief one of each kinde of thing that is strange to vs in England' so that he can make his own signs as he goes along, 'As by the portraiture of one Cedar Tree he may drawe all the woodes of that sorte'. The latitude of every 'Notatious' place was to be entered both in the journal and on the map. A uniform scale was to be maintained at all costs. Distances of capes, headlands and hills, depth and breadth of inlets and rivers, elevations of land, with the variations in vegetation and land-use, location of springs, occurrence of shell-fish (especially

<sup>1</sup> The instruments are fully identified in Professor Taylor's paper. The equipment for drawing and painting may usefully be compared with that listed in John Bate, *The mysteries of nature and art* (1634, 2nd ed. 1635), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, loc. cit., pp. 59-61.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. pp. 380-1 below.

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those with pearls), and the various sorts of trees, were all to be entered both in the journal and on the map.<sup>1</sup>

Two final instructions may be cited in full:

Also drawe to liefie all strange birdes beastes fishes plantes hearbes Trees and fructes and bring home of each sorte as nere as you may.

Also drawe the figures & shapes of men and woemen in their apparell as also of their manner of wepons in every place as you shall finde them differing.

From what evidence we have it seems that Hariot and White did their best to follow some such programme from May 1585 to June 1586. It would appear that Hariot kept a series of notebooks into which he entered information regarding a very wide range of topics, and it is probable that as White made a drawing of a particular specimen or scene, Hariot obtained a copy where it fitted in with his own material. Such a set of illustrated notes appears to lie behind Hariot's *Briefe and true report*. No trace of them appears to have survived; some of the materials collected were lost when the settlers left Roanoke Island hurriedly on 18 June 1586,<sup>2</sup> but it seems likely that these covered only a small part of the collections and may have been confined largely to specimens. Hariot clearly regarded his 1588 pamphlet as merely a preliminary to an elaborate illustrated publication,<sup>3</sup> but the notes which he wrote for De Bry<sup>4</sup> dealt solely with the Indians, and White's drawings engraved with them covered the same field. This is strange, since between them they had made a remarkable collection of pictures and notes on American birds and fish. It is not impossible that the reason for the non-publication of the natural history material is that the botanical notes or drawings, or both, were not regarded as sufficiently comprehensive.<sup>5</sup> What is stranger still is that there is no evidence of Hariot having contributed unpublished information from them to contemporary

<sup>1</sup> Professor Taylor informs me that the amount and range of economic information asked for is unprecedented for its period.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 293, 334.

<sup>3</sup> P. 359.

<sup>4</sup> P. 430.

<sup>5</sup> Which he suggests on p. 359.

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botanists or zoologists.<sup>1</sup> It was White who did a certain amount of this.<sup>2</sup> Hariot's collections, with probably a complete, or almost complete, set of White's drawings, simply disappeared, though there were some of his materials on the Indian languages still extant nearly a century later.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, his history of the voyages from 1584 to 1587 vanished also,<sup>4</sup> and among his surviving manuscripts there is scarcely anything about his overseas activities or interests.<sup>5</sup> Even so, what Hariot provided in his pamphlet is a sufficient earnest of the careful and scientific character of his work on the natural resources of the country, and in it and in his notes he gives an invaluable picture of the economy, society and culture of an Indian group of which almost nothing further is known directly, while he has left the only records of their language and made a sincere attempt to do so systematically.<sup>6</sup>

Much more record of White's work has survived than of Hariot's, and it is of the greatest importance and interest, but, like everything associated with White, it raises many problems of analysis. We catch a glimpse of White through Spanish eyes going about Puerto Rico drawing the local fauna and flora.<sup>7</sup> From then onwards he can never have been far away from Hariot until their return to England.<sup>8</sup> It is highly probable, in fact almost certain, that whenever he gave Hariot a drawing to insert in his collections he kept an example (probably the original) himself, so that his own portfolios grew throughout the expedition. The

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that he was John Gerard's informant on the Milkweed (pp. 444-6). Though L'Écluse translated Hariot's tract for De Bry he makes no reference in his *Exoticorum* to materials or drawings obtained directly from Hariot or White. Instead he depended on roots and fruits sent to him by James Garet, Hugh Morgan and Richard Garth as having come from 'Wingandecaow'. The majority of such specimens as can be identified are West Indian, but could have been brought to England as the result of one of the Roanoke voyages. The herbalists were careless, however (witness Gerard and the potato), and L'Écluse would have done better had he gone direct to Hariot (cp. pp. 339-40, 353-4 below). Cope's specimens were inadequately labelled (Platter, *Travels*, pp. 171-3).

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 397-8.

<sup>3</sup> P. 389.

<sup>4</sup> P. 387.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 388-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. pp. 337-46, 368-82, 389.

<sup>7</sup> P. 742.

<sup>8</sup> They were not in the same boat crossing Pamlico Sound in July 1585 (p. 190 below).

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majority of the plants, fishes and birds were captioned with Spanish or Indian names (the latter in the forms which Hariot had adopted),<sup>1</sup> and sometimes with information as to their size and characteristics. The Indian drawings as they were made were probably very different from any versions we have now. They were probably mainly drawings of individuals and of individual features of Indian life and agriculture.<sup>2</sup> They do not seem to have been too well labelled as a number of discrepancies in the descriptions<sup>3</sup> arose when White made copies and composites, while the more elaborate pictures of villages and ceremonies were composed from a series of drawings of details and individuals, and varied in the composition in detail according to White's purpose in making the picture.<sup>4</sup> Along with these went the many sheets of the maps as surveyed and the rough sketches linking together the surveyed and the roughly examined or unseen portions of the extensive area from Cape Lookout to Chesapeake Bay and behind the coast, which were gradually assimilated into his smaller scale maps.<sup>5</sup>

Nothing of this archetypal collection is now known to be extant, but White's graphic record of the Virginia colonies may be studied in surviving copies and derivatives of his drawings. These are described, and a tentative scheme of their relationship is put forward, in Chapter vi below.<sup>6</sup> It appears likely that a volume of drawings in the British Museum (formerly Sloane MS 5270),<sup>7</sup> by a single copyist, was acquired from White's descendants by Sir Hans Sloane sometime after 1709.<sup>8</sup> They are clearly not from White's hand and they contain, besides many American drawings (a number of which are not otherwise known), other material which cannot at present be linked directly with White, but they may provide us with a direct link with the archetype. White, himself, however, made a number of sets of drawings and copies of individual drawings. The most important of them were

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 406-13, 444-60.      <sup>2</sup> Cp. no. 37 (see pp. 420-3) with the engraving.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. no. 36 (see pp. 319-20).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. pp. 443-4.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 413, 460-2.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 392-8 below.

<sup>7</sup> Now P. & D. 199. a. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. pp. 394-7 below.

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Hariot's set, of which nothing is now known;<sup>1</sup> that in the British Museum, without doubt from White's hand;<sup>2</sup> and the set (no longer extant) made by White for Theodor de Bry in 1588 or 1589, which furnished the originals for the engravings in *America*, pt. i (1590). Copies of his drawings are known to have been given by White to other contemporaries, including Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Penny the entomologist, and possibly John Gerard: a few of these have been preserved in their original form, in copies, or in printed versions.

The editor's object in these volumes has been to include such information as would enable the graphic material collected by John White to be used as a set of historical documents parallel with, and complementary to, Hariot's texts, as was originally intended by him, but which was only incompletely achieved by De Bry. There is little doubt that the result is to extend considerably the documentation of the 1585 voyage and the 1585-6 colony, although White's contribution can only be used with full effect when all the drawings have been published. There is, of course, one objection which can legitimately be brought against this use of White's drawings. If, in fact, he made five voyages to Virginia, why, it may be asked, should we imagine that he made drawings only between April 1585 and July 1586? The only answer is the empirical one that there is good positive evidence that many of these drawings were made in the period specified, while there is a reasonable presumption that others which fit in with Hariot's descriptions also belong there. Thus, if the list includes drawings which were made by White in 1584, 1587 or 1590 they are not likely to be so numerous as to invalidate the more general arguments drawn from the White material. It must not be forgotten that between April 1585 and July 1586 White was employed and paid as a surveyor and painter, which was a substantial incentive to produce a large number of drawings during this period. The Swallow-tail Butterfly<sup>3</sup> may represent a drawing made in 1587; all we know is that he gave Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 392 below.

<sup>2</sup> P. & D. 1906-5-9-1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 458-9 below.

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Penny the drawing in that year, though he may have made it in 1585-6. The revisions in the De Bry map, too, may in one or two cases represent fresh data gathered in 1587.<sup>1</sup> But there is no other positive evidence.

It remains to estimate summarily the effects of the work of Hariot and White on European knowledge of the people, fauna, and flora of the New World. Hariot's pamphlet was the first important original English contribution to the subject, and his comments on plants used by the North Carolina Indians are frequently referred to by European botanists during the following century.<sup>2</sup> The information he gave on the Indians, both there and in the notes to the De Bry engravings, was more detailed and accurate than anything else on the subject to be published within the next quarter of a century, but because it was not followed up quickly by other similar sets of observations it was not perhaps very helpful in leading to a more scientific study of strange peoples, and of the North American Indians in particular. De Bry's engravings of White's drawings, even though they Europeanized the Indians' physical appearance, were the most accurate of any in his great published collections and they were repeatedly copied and re-used as the type-figures of natives of North America throughout the seventeenth century. The map of the North Carolina coastlands, as engraved by De Bry, whatever its defects in detail, was by far the best representation of this part of the eastern North American seaboard, and the only one for a long time to be derived, at least in part, from survey on the ground.<sup>3</sup> Its value was recognized in so far as English, French and Dutch map-makers of the earlier seventeenth century incorporated its findings in the general picture of the North American coastline. It was, however, neglected when fresh exploration of this area began after about 1650.

White's natural history drawings did not have the influence they ought to have had. The drawings of insects which he gave to Thomas Penny, and which are preserved in Sloane MS 4014,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 849-50 below.    <sup>2</sup> E.g. p. 347 below.    <sup>3</sup> Cp. pp. 847-8 below.

### Thomas Hariot and John White

together with the information he gave with them, were generously acknowledged by Thomas Moffet when he put together Penny's collections and they lie behind a small but valuable group of engravings in the *Insectorum . . . theatrum* of 1634 and its translation of 1658.<sup>1</sup> He made, as far as can be ascertained, no contributions to the more-or-less zoological works of Edward Topsell, *The historie of foure-footid beastes* (1607)<sup>2</sup> and *The historie of serpents* (1608). Yet some of his bird-drawings reached Topsell, partly or wholly through the younger Richard Hakluyt, before 1614, but 'The Fowles of Heauen' was never completed and remains unprinted amongst the Ellesmere MSS.<sup>3</sup> There are hints in this that White's bird-drawings may have been in use by natural history collectors and observers in the Jamestown settlement.<sup>4</sup> Although White may have made more plant-drawings in North America than are now extant, the only one to achieve publication and description was the Milkweed (in Gerard's *Herball* (1597)).<sup>5</sup> The fine pictures of fish and birds and reptiles remained—except, through the copies he had, to Sir Hans Sloane—unknown, though they were not, like Hariot's notebooks and chronicle, irrecoverably lost. Had Hariot's heart been in natural history rather than in mathematics, and had White been more persistent in his distribution of the drawings, instead of being involved in the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 406, 457–60.

<sup>2</sup> See M. St Clare Byrne, *The Elizabethan zoo* (1926); Raven, *English naturalists*, pp. 217–26.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington Library, Ellesmere MS 1142. See Bayard Henderson Christy, 'Topsell's "Fowles of Heauen"', in *The Auk. A quarterly Journal of Ornithology*, n.s., I (Lancaster, Pa., 1933), 275–83; J. R. Swanton, 'Newly discovered Powhatan bird names', in *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, xxiv (1934), 96–9; Elsa G. Allen, 'The history of American ornithology before Audubon', in *Trans. American Philosophical Soc.*, n.s., xli, pt. 3 (1951), 447–8.

<sup>4</sup> This is a topic which is very obscure. We have no sets of drawings and natural history notes such as White and Hariot put together. Something is known (Raven, *English naturalists*, and G. R. Gunther, *Early British botanists*, passim) about the transmission of plants and botanical information, but nothing, apparently, about the study of animals and fishes. Mrs Allen (pp. 450–1) is able to add very little about birds for the early seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup> P. 752; cp. pp. 444–6 below.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

colony of 1587 and its disaster, the impact of the Grenville-Lane colony on European knowledge of North America and on the natural sciences might have been much more significant than it was.

### THE VOYAGES OF 1586

The sources for the 1586 ventures cannot be said to be satisfactory although our knowledge has now been greatly strengthened by a Spanish document. Hakluyt, when he came to compile the *Principall navigations*, realized that for once he did not have a first-hand account available of the two voyages made this year, and, clearly not having Hariot's full chronicle before him,<sup>1</sup> he must have found he had no alternative but to compose himself such a linking narrative as would bridge the gaps between his documents on the first colony and that on White's expedition of 1587. There is no proof that he did write the brief document we have,<sup>2</sup> but it seems at least highly probable that he did so, and no name of a possible alternative author can be put in his place. The new information in it is slight, but is such as Hakluyt himself would have had. It is our sole authority for the sending out of Raleigh's ship which brought relief to Roanoke Island only very shortly after Lane had departed with Drake, but it merely paraphrases the information in Lane's narrative and in *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage* on the circumstances which led to the return of the first colony. Further, it is the main English authority for the American activities of Grenville's expedition, which followed the supply ship and arrived still later. So far as it goes it provides an adequate link but it gives no details of either expedition and leaves us very much in the dark on a number of important points.

Hakluyt has now been supplemented in many respects by the deposition made by Pedro Diaz at Havana in March 1589.<sup>3</sup> Diaz

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 387, 477.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 64, pp. 477-80 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 149, pp. 786-92 below, and see p. 774 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 237-41.

## *The Voyages of 1586*

was a pilot on the *Santa Maria* when she was taken by Grenville in 1585. He was kept prisoner and was brought on the 1586 expedition, of which he gives a reasonably full account which adds very substantially to our knowledge. His narrative is not, however, a substitute for a full journal of the voyage. It is the result, somewhat summarized, of an interrogation of Diaz by a Spanish official at Havana. The latter scarcely knew the questions to ask which would most interest us, and Diaz's own further statement, which he doubtless made after his return to Spain,<sup>1</sup> has not yet been found, if indeed it still exists. We are thus left uninformed, for example, about names of ships and their commanders; Diaz was not too precise or too much concerned about dates; and, finally, he was kept on board one of Grenville's ships at Port Ferdinando, so that his information about the situation on Roanoke Island is much less detailed than we would like. Withal, Diaz was an intelligent witness, and his interrogator preserved in his report information which is sufficiently precise to be of the greatest interest both on this and on subsequent ventures.

The remaining documents on the 1586 expeditions are very miscellaneous. We have from Exeter one glimpse of an unsuccessful attempt to collect subscriptions there;<sup>2</sup> evidence that Raleigh's factors were using his requisitioning powers to take supplies without payment from a French ship in port<sup>3</sup>; and a brief note of the queen's reply,<sup>4</sup> probably sent with Raleigh's supply ship, to Lane for his letter of the previous autumn. Philip Wyot's diary supplies some useful evidence about Grenville's attempt to set out on 16 April and also on his return in December,<sup>5</sup> though we could do with more about both episodes. There are a few details about an Indian probably brought back by Grenville.<sup>6</sup> A number of documents from the High Court of Admiralty records provide us with a little evidence on the Bideford-Barn-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 812 below.      <sup>2</sup> Document no. 56, p. 471 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 61, pp. 474-5 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 60, p. 474 below.

<sup>5</sup> Documents nos. 62, 70, pp. 475-6, 494 below.

<sup>6</sup> Document no. 71, p. 495 below.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

staple participation in the voyage, while they provide details (corroborating Diaz) of French and Dutch ships taken on the outward voyage, and illustrate Grenville's determination to take prizes from friend and enemy alike.<sup>1</sup>

Otherwise the documents of this year contain some dedications—by Martin Basanier<sup>2</sup> and John Hooker<sup>3</sup>—which break the silence, so far as publications are concerned, about the Virginia ventures,<sup>4</sup> though without supplying much significant detail; the mention by Hakluyt of another, forthcoming, venture; and some advice which he gave Raleigh about expeditions subsequent to 1586;<sup>5</sup> while, from Antwerp, Ortelius began making inquiries about the geography of the discoveries.<sup>6</sup>

### THE 1587 VOYAGES

The main voyage in 1587 is very much better documented than those of the previous year, since we have John White's journal of his expedition,<sup>7</sup> and this is rather fuller than, for example, the 1585 *Tiger* journal. It records carefully the main incidents of the voyage, but, at the same time, it has some unfortunate omissions which White, as leader of the expedition, could well have supplied. He tells us very little of how the colonists were got together and why they delayed so long before setting out. He does not make clear the names and commanders of his vessels. He gives no explanation of his long wrangle with Simon Fernandez in the course of their passage through the Caribbean. He fails to state precisely where the expedition was bound for after its intended call at Roanoke Island, and he does not convince us why the settlers insisted on his going home or, indeed, why the sailors would not bring them on to Chesapeake Bay. At the

<sup>1</sup> Documents nos. 65-6, pp. 480-8 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 58, pp. 472-3 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 68, pp. 489-93 below.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. pp. 5-6 above.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 69, pp. 493-4 below.

<sup>6</sup> Documents nos. 57, 67, 73, pp. 472, 488, 496 below.

<sup>7</sup> Document no. 77, pp. 515-38 below.

## The 1587 Voyages

same time he is clear about most of the incidents of the voyage and the journal is accompanied by a list of the colonists.<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable that both documents came to Hakluyt, like earlier material, direct from Raleigh as part of the documentation which it was agreed between them should be given to the Virginia ventures in the *Principall navigations*, but they could possibly have come to Hakluyt direct from White.

The only other English document so far found which throws any light on the voyage is the grant of arms made to the City of Raleigh, its governor and assistants, on 7 January.<sup>2</sup> If we had the agreement between Raleigh, White and the assistants on the terms on which the City of Raleigh was to be founded we should know a good deal more about what is after all the most interesting of all the sixteenth-century American colonizing ventures, but it has, unfortunately, not yet been found and is known entirely from references in the grant of arms and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

The dedications to Raleigh with which Hakluyt in this year prefaced his editions of Peter Martyr<sup>4</sup> and Laudonnière<sup>5</sup> respectively are rather more informative about the objectives of the Virginia voyages than those of the previous year, and some of the incidental information they contain is important, as, for example, that which they give on Thomas Hariot.

The most interesting new material concerns a privateering venture sent out by Sir George Carey to the West Indies, which called in at the 'Virginia' shore on its way homewards. English sources merely give us the licence for sending the ships out and very brief notes on their prize.<sup>6</sup> The important source is that in the Spanish archives,<sup>7</sup> again the report of the interrogation of a Spanish seaman, Alonso Ruiz, who was captured in the West

<sup>1</sup> Document no. 78, pp. 539-43 below.

<sup>2</sup> Document no. 74, pp. 506-12 below.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 385, 569-76 below.

<sup>4</sup> See Document no. 76, pp. 513-15 below.

<sup>5</sup> See Document no. 81, pp 545-52 below.

<sup>6</sup> Documents nos. 75, 79, pp. 512, 543 below.

<sup>7</sup> Document no. 147, pp. 781-4 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 233-5.

## *The Roanoke Voyages*

Indies and taken back to England. Unfortunately, he, or his interrogator, is by no means precise about where or in what circumstances the call at the Carolina Banks or Chesapeake Bay was made, and there are even a few tears in the document to make translation more difficult. Piecing together this evidence with a little from Darby Glande<sup>1</sup> we have the first clear indications of a hitherto unknown facet of the Roanoke story. Carey's ships were perhaps carrying settlers and were certainly experimenting in using the American settlement as a port of call for privateers. Somewhere in the High Court of Admiralty records there may well be materials which would give this shadowy picture substance.

### FROM 1587 TO 1589

After John White's return the sources on the events of the next two years, so tragic in their implications for the colony, are meagre. Raleigh's attempt to make it possible for Grenville to sail on his third Virginia expedition failed on account of the Spanish danger.<sup>2</sup> We have then the short, discouraging report<sup>3</sup> of John White's venture in the *Brave* and the *Roe* to bring the colonists at least some token reinforcements and supplies, which ended in the vicinity of the Azores. To White's account Pedro Diaz now adds some further information, as he was with White and succeeded in escaping to tell his story<sup>4</sup> at Havana in March 1589 following. There is nothing further until the agreement of 7 March 1589<sup>5</sup> between White and the assistants of the City of Raleigh colony and a group of men, mostly London merchants, headed by Thomas Smythe, William Sanderson, and Richard Hakluyt, by which the latter underwrote the colony, agreeing to support and supply it, and recording a grant from Raleigh for the furtherance of those ends. Isolated as it is, and not followed by any rescue

<sup>1</sup> P. 836 below.

<sup>2</sup> Documents nos. 82-5, pp. 559-62 below.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 86, pp. 562-9 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 149, pp. 793-5 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 237-41.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 87, pp. 569-76 below.

### From 1587 to 1589

venture in 1589, this document fails to explain fully why nothing was done in what was, surely, a critical time for the colonists. Hakluyt included White's account of the 1588 voyage and the agreement of March 1589 in his *Principall navigations*, not long after the agreement was made,<sup>1</sup> but he omitted them both in 1600, the former, no doubt, for its lack of maritime interest, and the latter because nothing effective had been done to follow it up and White had, in the meantime, written the last chapter in the story of the ventures.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE 1590 VOYAGE

John White's journal<sup>3</sup> of the last of the Roanoke voyages is the best of the three accounts he has left of these ventures. It is fuller than the others; there is less grumbling self-pity (though there is some); the passages in which he describes his last visit to Roanoke Island in search of the colonists have a moving simplicity; and with it we have the covering letter which he wrote to Hakluyt.<sup>4</sup> Now, however, we have much to add to White, mainly about the West Indian part of the venture, and we can see some of his defects as a reporter more clearly. White, we are now aware, was less than completely frank about the circumstances in which he set out in 1590, since he suppressed William Sanderson's part in the venture and gave us no clear impression of what the role of his ship, the *Moonlight*, was intended to be. The new document which has turned up<sup>5</sup> on this episode is not fully self-explanatory, but it shows at least that White's in this respect is not the whole story. Then, too, as regards what happened in the West Indies, we find that while the journal gives an honest story and preserves information which is of very considerable interest, it fails to make clear

<sup>1</sup> It was inserted out of order at pp. 815-17, as having been received, apparently, while the earlier material in this section was at the press. Hakluyt may have received both from either White or Raleigh, or, being a party, he may have had his own copy of the latter document.

<sup>2</sup> Documents nos. 89, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 89, pp. 598-622 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 107, pp. 712-16 below.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 102, pp. 704-10 below.

## The Roanoke Voyages

which ships were doing what. White confuses us among the various *Johns*, he does not give us the name of the *Conclude* and gets her captain's name wrong—though there is an excuse for this in that she was in company with the *Hopewell* only for a short time—and his topographical information is not always impeccable.<sup>1</sup> He also conveys the impression that the sailors in the *Hopewell* regarded him as a useless impediment to their privateering when in fact they went through the West Indies boasting to the Spaniards that they had the governor of the English North American colony on board and that the colony itself was soon to be used as a base against the Spanish Indies.<sup>2</sup> We may find reason also to criticize certain vague statements he made about the lost colonists. He expected to find them on Roanoke Island, yet he had already told us in the 1587 journal<sup>3</sup> that they had intended to move to a place 50 miles away on the mainland, the whereabouts of which he did not specify. He does not give in this 1590 journal an adequate critical discussion of what they planned,<sup>4</sup> and he even seems to blame Captain Spicer for being drowned as this prevented his search of Croatoan.

The journal was clearly based on that kept by White on the voyage, like those for 1587 and 1588, but rewritten at leisure. This time it is clear, however, that he sent it direct to Hakluyt at his request,<sup>5</sup> and that it was not intended for Raleigh and not sent by Raleigh to Hakluyt. White's covering letter to Hakluyt,<sup>6</sup> written on 4 February 1593 gives his version of the circumstances which led to his sailing in 1590, blaming the sailors for most of the mishaps of the voyages, and declaring his intention of giving up the search for the colony. It is not without dignity, but it confirms the impression of his less personal journals that he was a man unfitted for leadership, his *métier* clearly being painting and cartography.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 605–7 (text and footnotes) below.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxix, 244, 251–2, 253–4, 256, 258; p. 799 below.

<sup>3</sup> P. 533 below.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 613–16 below.

<sup>5</sup> P. 712 below.

<sup>6</sup> Document no. 107, pp. 712–16 below.

## *The 1590 Voyage*

To White's letter and journal, long the only sources for the voyage, can now be added a mass of new material, which falls into two groups, the one being the Spanish documents on the passage of the English through the West Indies,<sup>1</sup> affording some glimpses of White and showing the English privateers as their victims saw them, the other a series of documents<sup>2</sup> arising from legal actions in the High Court of Admiralty. The records of the latter, though its written procedure was complex and its surviving records, voluminous though they are, jumbled and incomplete, still provide a remarkable mine of information on maritime affairs which has never been definitively explored.<sup>3</sup> For the Roanoke voyages between 1584 and 1589 the contribution of these records has been mainly in the form of bits and pieces which throw an incidental, rather than a direct, light on the voyages; for the 1590 voyage, however, we have almost too much material, since we are fortunate in having nearly all the documents which can assist us through the maze of procedure to a verdict—a fairly unusual circumstance in such cases.

The High Court of Admiralty cases began on the initiative of the privy council. Thomas Middleton, who with his partners James Bagge and Nicholas Glanville, owned the *Conclude*, petitioned the council that Robert Hallett was trying to defraud them of a prize taken jointly, and on 11 October 1590 the matter was referred to the judge of the admiralty,<sup>4</sup> Dr Julius Caesar, the case being opened on 19 October.<sup>5</sup> Behind Hallett were his employer, John Watts, the most active and successful London merchant<sup>6</sup> in what we may well call the privateering trade, and his partners.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxv–ix, 244–62; Document no. 152, pp. 797–801 below.

<sup>2</sup> Documents nos. 90–106, pp. 623–712 below.

<sup>3</sup> Dr K. R. Andrew's thesis, 'The economic aspects of Elizabethan privateering' (London University, 1951) is the most effective sally so far into the Elizabethan admiralty court material, to which, and to Dr Andrews personally, I am much indebted, both as regards procedure and the documentation of the venture.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 90, p. 623 below.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 92, p. 624 below.

<sup>6</sup> Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 57, 122–3, 242–3.

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Watts was a frequent litigant in the admiralty court and his counsel knew all the legal tricks by which a verdict might be obtained. The libel,<sup>1</sup> the statement of the plaintiffs' case, with the positions he claimed to be able to prove, and the verdict he desired, was answered in an allegation by the defence.<sup>2</sup> This was done on 23 October,<sup>3</sup> Hallett being produced, and four of the plaintiffs' witnesses named, together with three more on the following day.<sup>4</sup> The witnesses were examined during the days following on articles made out by the plaintiffs<sup>5</sup> and cross-examined on interrogatories set down by the defence.<sup>6</sup> The depositions of Henry Millett and John Tayler were made on the 26th,<sup>7</sup> those of Thomas Harding (or Harden), William Davell (or Cable) and John Bedford on the 27th,<sup>8</sup> and those of Henry Swanne and Hugh Hardinge on the 29th.<sup>9</sup> On 3 November the defendant Robert Hallett made his personal answer<sup>10</sup> to articles based on the positions set out in the libel by the plaintiffs. This was paralleled on the same day<sup>11</sup> by the defence bringing forward a *materia*, an additional allegation stating why the libel was legally inapplicable, and setting out articles based on it upon which witnesses could be examined. The names of six witnesses were put in, but we have not the depositions of any of them. The next stage was the intervention of the Lord High Admiral in the case. The prize had been seized under letters of reprisal and the admiralty court had the duty of appraising the prize, proving to its satisfaction that all the prize goods were intact and were all taken from

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 126, fo. 199. For procedure I have relied on Andrews, loc. cit. pp. 380-1; A. A. Ruddock, 'The earliest records of the High Court of Admiralty, 1515-1558', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxiii (1950), 139-51; *Select pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, ed. R. G. Marsden, 2 vols. (1894, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 121, fo. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Document no. 93, pp. 624-5 below.

<sup>4</sup> Document no. 94, p. 625 below.

<sup>5</sup> Document no. 95, pp. 625-46 below. The articles have not been found.

<sup>6</sup> Document no. 96, pp. 647-81 below.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 625-31 below.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 632-40 below.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 640-6 below.

<sup>10</sup> Document no. 98, pp. 682-7 below.

<sup>11</sup> Document no. 97, p. 682 below.