

**Fort Raleigh
National Historic Site
Historic Resource Study**



CONTENTS

Figure Credits	iv
List of Figures	v
Foreword	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Roanoke Colonies and Fort Raleigh, c. 1584-1590	9
Associated Properties	28
Registration Requirements/Integrity	29
Contributing Resources	30
Potentially Eligible Archeological Resources	30
Chapter Two:	
The Settlement and Development of Roanoke Island, c. 1650-1900	31
Associated Properties	54
Registration Requirements/Integrity	55
Noncontributing Resources	57
Potentially Eligible Archeological Resources	57
Chapter Three: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site:	
Preservation and Recognition, c. 1860-1953	59
Associated Properties	91
Registration Requirements/Integrity	93
Contributing Resources	97
Noncontributing Resources	97
Potentially Eligible Archeological Resources	97
Management Recommendations	99
Bibliography	101
Appendix A: Descriptions of Historic Resources	A-1
Appendix B: Property Map/Historical Base Map	B-1
Appendix C: National Register Documentation	C-1
Index	D-1

FIGURE CREDITS

Cover, 15, 17, 22: courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service; pp. 10, 12, 13, 16, 23: Charles W. Porter III, *Adventurers to a New World*; pp. 22, 27: Theodore De Bry, *Thomas Hariot's Virginia*; pp. 35,39,41: courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC; pp. 37, 38: Samuel H. Putnam, *The Story of Company A, Twenty-Fifth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, in the War of the Rebellion*; p. 43: Vincent Colyer, *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina*; pp. 44, 46, 47: Joe A. Mobley, *James City, A Black Community in North Carolina, 1863-1900*; pp. 55, 67, 81: S. Bulter for the National Park Service; pp. 61, 66, 78: William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved, A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association*; pp. 72, 73, 74, 79, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site archives; P. 80: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; p. 81: Steve Harrison for National Park Service; p. 96: Merel S. Sager and others, "Report on Recommendations for Boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore," National Park Service.

FIGURES

FIGURE 1. QUEEN ELIZABETH.....	10
FIGURE 2. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.....	12
FIGURE 3. SIR WALTER RALEIGH.....	13
FIGURE 4. NATIVE AMERICAN VILLAGE OF SECOTAN.....	15
FIGURE 5. NATIVE AMERICAN VILLAGE OF POMEIOOC.....	15
FIGURE 6. SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.....	16
FIGURE 7. FORTIFIED ENCAMPMENT, PUERTO RICO. RALPH LANE’S FORTIFIACION ON ROANOKE ISLAND PROBABLY RESEMBLED THESE EARTHWORKS	17
FIGURE 8. C. 1590 ENGRAVING BY THEODORE DE BRY BASED ON JOHN WHITE’S WATERCOLOR MAP.....	20
FIGURE 9. NATIVE AMERICANS FISHING. C. 1590 THEODORE DE BRY ENGRAVING BASED ON JOHN WHITE’S WATERCOLOR	22
FIGURE 10. NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN AND GIRL WITH ENGLISH DOLL	23
FIGURE 11. C. 1590 ENGRAVING BY THEODORE DE BRY ENTITLED “THE ARRIVAL OF ENGLISHMEN IN VIRGINIA.” BASED ON JOHN WHITE’S WATERCOLOR MAP	27
FIGURE 12. MAP OF ROANOKE ISLAND AND THE CONFEDERATE FORTS.....	35
FIGURE 13. BRIG. GEN. A. E. BURNSIDE.....	37
FIGURE 14. THE UNION FLEET OFF HATTERAS.....	38
FIGURE 15. THE LANDING OF UNION TROOPS.....	38
FIGURE 16. THE CAPTURE OF ROANOKE ISLAND BY UNION FORCES.....	39
FIGURE 17. CONFEDERATE CAMP CAPTURED BY UNION FORCES	41
FIGURE 18. FREEDMEN BUILDING FORTIFICATIONS.....	43
FIGURE 19. “INDUSTRY OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN”.....	43
FIGURE 20. HORACE JAMES.....	44
FIGURE 21. FREEDMEN’S COMMUNITY NEAR NEW BERN	46
FIGURE 22. A TYPICAL SCHOOL ESTABLISHED BY THE FREEDMEN’S BUREAU DURING THE CIVIL WAR	47
FIGURE 23. DOUGH FAMILY CEMETERY.....	55
FIGURE 24. JOHN COLLET MAP OF 1770.....	61
FIGURE 25. LAND SOLD TO THE ROANOKE COLONY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.....	66
FIGURE 26. RALEIGH COLONY/VIRGINIA DARE MONUMENT, 1990	67
FIGURE 27. ENTRANCE TO FORT RALEIGH, JANUARY 1938.....	72
FIGURE 28. CAPT. JEFF HAYMAN, CARETAKER AT FORT RALEIGH, MAY 1938	72
FIGURE 29. WPA-RECONSTRUCTED FORT RALEIGH, JANUARY 1938	73
FIGURE 30. CHAPEL AT FORT RALEIGH, 1938.....	74

FIGURE 31. CHAPEL INTERIOR, 1938	74
FIGURE 32. MUSEUM AT FORT RALEIGH, C. 1937	74
FIGURE 33. CCC CAMP AT FORT RALEIGH	78
FIGURE 34. BUILDING THE WATERSIDE THEATER CONSTRUCTED BY THE WPA. JUNE 1937	79
FIGURE 35. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AT FORT RALEIGH, AUGUST 18, 1937	80
FIGURE 36. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AT THE VIRGINIA DARE CEREMONIES, AUGUST 18, 1937	80
FIGURE 37. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT THEATER MARKER, 1990	81
FIGURE 38. F.D.R. MARKER, 1997	81
FIGURE 39. WATERSIDE THEATER FIRE DAMAGE, JULY 1947	82
FIGURE 40. REBUILDING THE WATERSIDE THEATER, JULY 1947	82
FIGURE 41. DAMAGE TO WATERSIDE THEATER CAUSED BY HURRICANE DONNA, OCTOBER 13, 1960	83
FIGURE 42. DAMAGE TO WATERSIDE THEATER CAUSED BY HURRICANE DONNA, OCTOBER 14, 1960	83
FIGURE 43. REBUILDING THE WATERSIDE THEATER AFTER HURRICANE DONNA, OCTOBER 1961	83
FIGURE 44. RECONSTRUCTING FORT RALEIGH, C. 1950	85
FIGURE 45. RECONSTRUCTING FORT RALEIGH, C. 1950	85
FIGURE 46. RECONSTRUCTED EARTHWORK FORT, LATE 1950s	86
FIGURE 47. FORMER ENTRANCE TO FORT RALEIGH, FEBRUARY 1960	86
FIGURE 48. FORMER ENTRANCE TO FORT RALEIGH, FEBRUARY 1960	87
FIGURE 49. J. C. HARRINGTON WORKING ON EXCAVATIONS AT FORT RALEIGH, OCTOBER 1965	88
FIGURE 50. MISSION 66 PROJECT AT FORT RALEIGH, MARCH 1962	88
FIGURE 51. CAMP WIRTH, C. 1938	96

FOREWORD

We are pleased to make available this historic resource study, part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for all the historic structures and landscapes of National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. Following a field survey of park resources and extensive research, the project team updated the park's List of Classified Structures, developed historic contexts, and prepared new National Register of Historic Places documentation. Many individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. I would particularly like to thank former Cape Hatteras Group Superintendents Russell W. Berry, Jr., and Bob Reynolds, former Assistant Superintendent Mary Collier, and Resource Manager Steve Harrison for their assistance. Much of the research for this study was accomplished pursuant to a cooperative agreement with the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. We hope that this study will prove valuable to park management and others in understanding and interpreting the historical significance of the park's cultural resources.

Kirk A. Cordell
Chief, Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Regional Office
November 1999

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The faculty and graduate students in the School of Environment Design, University of Georgia, first prepared the initial draft of this study under a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service (NPS). The principal investigator and the original author of the report was William Chapman, Ph.D., an anthropologist, historic preservationist, and former faculty member at the University of Georgia, with considerable experience at the local, state, and national level in surveying and evaluating historic structures. He is currently director of the Historic Preservation program and a faculty member in the Department of American Studies, College of Arts and Humanities, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Ian Firth, a faculty member at the University of Georgia, provided assistance with this project, furnishing insight and advice on landscape features in particular. He is a recognized authority on cultural landscapes and a frequent consultant to the National Park Service. The survey team, including Chapman, Firth, and three graduate students, Cathleen Turner, Deborah Ruston, and Scott Butler, photographed and measured each structure in April 1990.

National Park Service staff were extremely helpful throughout the project. Bebe Woody, former Cultural Resources Specialist, Mary Moran, Management Assistant at Fort Raleigh, and Len Brown and Kirk Cordell, of the former Cultural Resources Planning Division in the Southeast Regional Office (SERO) of the National Park Service in Atlanta, all assisted in the production of this study. Basic background information was provided by Kirk Cordell and Len Brown. Cape Hatteras and Fort Raleigh personnel, including Mary Moran, Bebe Woody, Bernie Weisgerber, David Frum, Hugo Desch, and Steve Harrison, gave advice and supplied useful information. Bebe Woody, in particular, was indispensable to the success of this report. She provided both material and insight on the park that added greatly to the understanding of its significance and the importance of its resources. Thomas L. Hartman, former superintendent at Cape Hatteras, was most cooperative and helpful with time and information. Ruthanne Mitchell and Karen Rehm (formerly with the SERO, NPS) provided additional advice on LCS forms and inventory procedures. Christine Trebellas, of the Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, conducted additional research and completed the study by writing the second context and substantially revising the first. Bennie Keel, with the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), National Park Service, and Nicholas M. Lucchetti and William M. Kelso, with the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), provided her with useful information and considerable insight concerning the recent archeological investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. David C. Hasty, a historical landscape architect with the Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, prepared the historical base maps.

INTRODUCTION

Fort Raleigh¹ National Historic Site commemorates the first English attempts at establishing a colony in the New World. Beginning in 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh organized a series of expeditions to North America to explore the coast and search for a suitable location to found a settlement. In 1584 the Amadas and Barlowe expedition discovered Roanoke Island, which became the locale of Ralph Lane's fort in 1585-1586 and the "Cittie of Raleigh," or Roanoke colony of 1587. Although these settlements were ultimately unsuccessful, they set the precedent for future English colonization attempts in North America, including the founding of Jamestown in 1607.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

The national historic site (NHS), which includes a reconstructed fortification and a monument commemorating the Roanoke colonists, is located on the northern end of Roanoke Island. This forested island, now part of Dare County, North Carolina, is located between a series of barrier islands and the mainland of North Carolina. In 1990 the U.S. Congress expanded the historic themes, purpose, and authorized boundary of the park to include a total of 512.93 acres, although only 355.45 acres are federally-owned; the State of North Carolina owns 18.09 acres, and the remaining 139.39 acres are in private hands.² The historic site lies approximately three miles north of the small commercial center of Manteo and eight and a half miles northwest of the town of Wanchese. It is accessible from US 64/264, which intersects the property at the south end. US 64 is the primary road from the mainland to the Outer Banks and, since the 1920s, the principal communication route to Roanoke Island. An access road off of US 64/264

¹A note on the name "Fort Raleigh:" Ralph Lane, governor of the 1585-6 colony, referred to the fortification built by his soldiers on the north end of Roanoke Island as "the new fort in Virginia." The charter for the 1587 colony called the settlement "The Cittie of Raleigh." In the nineteenth century, the fortification on the north end of the island was referred to as "Sir Walter Raleigh's fort," "Lane's fort," "Master Ralph Layne's stronghold and the City of Raleigh," or "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia.'" "Fort Raleigh" is largely a late nineteenth-century designation used to describe this remaining fortification (see Chapter 3).

²"Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, National Park Service, 1994," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 10.

The North Carolina Department of Transportation maintains a small picnic area and rest stop along US 64/264 on the state-owned tract within the park boundary.

leads to the administrative offices, visitor center, and parking lot. A paved pathway steers visitors to the reconstructed fort, an early commemorative marker, and the Waterside Theater. Additional features include a park roadway leading to the maintenance facilities, park quarters, and the Dough cemetery—a graveyard for members of the Dough family who once owned property now included within the historic site.

The Fort Raleigh National Historic Site has an essentially park-like quality, with forest cover, wetlands, and landscaped grounds as well as asphalt drives and parking facilities. The north end of the irregularly shaped site overlooks the Roanoke Sound, whose shoreline is a sandy embankment threatened by severe erosion. Although sandy, the soil is productive in areas where there is a build-up of organic material. The elevation varies from sea level to approximately twenty feet above sea level.³ Most of the NHS is wooded, though there are several open expanses, including highly maintained mowed areas in the vicinity of the Waterside Theater, the visitor center, the reconstructed fort, and the western edge of the park near the Dough cemetery. The additional property acquired in 1990 has not been developed except for clearing an abandoned, unpaved roadway to serve as a visitor’s trail.⁴ Another pedestrian trail, the Thomas Hariot Nature Trail, winds through the wooded area adjacent to the theater and reconstructed fort and is intended to suggest the character of the landscape prior to European colonization. The site also contains a variety of both native and exotic plant specimens, principally live oaks, jack oaks, and other evergreen and deciduous trees and shrubs, including holly, wax myrtle, and wild olive.

Despite several unsuccessful attempts by Sir Walter Raleigh to establish a permanent colony, Roanoke Island remained largely inhabited by the Roanoke Indians until the seventeenth century, when colonists began occupying previously “unsettled” areas of Virginia. In 1654 Francis Yeardley of Virginia arranged with “the great emperor of Rhoanoke [Roanoke]” for the Native American population to move inland and allow Virginians to inhabit the coastal area. Nine years later, in 1663, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina received their royal charter and began granting land in the upper coastal region of present-day North Carolina.⁵

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Lords Proprietors urged their representatives in Carolina to build a town on Roanoke Island. Indeed, in 1676 they wanted the chief town of the colony built on the island because of its proximity to Roanoke

³“Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994,” 8.

⁴Ibid., 9-10.

⁵David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1958), 314.

Inlet, which was used by most vessels entering Carolina at that time. The Lords Proprietors' efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and a real town was not established until Dare County was formed in the late nineteenth century.⁶ Nonetheless, despite the lack of a town, a large portion of Roanoke Island was settled by the nineteenth century. According to the 1850 census, 610 people lived on the island, many of whom were farmers living near communities on the northern or southern end of the island.⁷

Roanoke Island also played an important role during the Civil War. Confederate forces erected extensive fortifications along the northwestern shoreline of the island. Federal troops commanded by General Ambrose Burnside, however, captured the island in 1862, and with it gained control of those areas of eastern North Carolina along the Albemarle Sound. Following the fall of the island, thousands of freed slaves or runaways converged on the area and established a community on the northern end of the island.⁸ Almost fifty years later, Roanoke Island was once again the site of several experiments. Rather than colonization attempts, investigations conducted by Reginald Aubrey Fessenden at the northern end of the island represented important advances in radio technology. The cultural resources associated with these topics, however, are largely archaeological in nature and merit further investigation.⁹

Little attention was paid to the site of the first English settlement in the New World until after the Civil War. In the 1880s and 1890s several local organizations formed to preserve and commemorate the celebrated site of the Roanoke colonies and their associated fortification, by then commonly referred to as Fort Raleigh. The North Carolina Historical Commission took control of the site as a state park in 1934, and began receiving federal funds to commemorate and reconstruct the early English settlement. The federal government increased its commitment to the Fort Raleigh site in 1939, when ownership of the area was transferred to the National Park Service [NPS]. Two years later, the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was established to commemorate Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies and the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America.

In the past decades, Congress has expanded the boundary and legislated purpose of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site to include areas associated with the Civil War, the Freedman's Bureau, and early experiments in radio technology. The park's authorized boundary currently

⁶Ibid., 314-6.

⁷Ibid., 72, 89, 316.

⁸Ibid., 136-48, 315.

⁹"Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 9.

encompasses 512.93 acres; land transfers and purchases, the most recent in 1990, have brought NPS ownership at the site to 355.45 acres. Recognizing the need for further research, the National Park Service has continued to conduct archeological investigations over the years to search for the location of the early English settlement and improve its interpretation.

SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) documents the historic buildings, structures, and other cultural features within the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. The study establishes and documents historic contexts associated with the NHS and evaluates the extent to which the surviving structures represent those contexts. The completed HRS will serve as a tool for future site planning, resource management, and the continuing development of interpretive programs at the park.

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966. National Register documentation for the site was accepted in 1972. Further information and revisions were submitted in 1978. Classified for National Register purposes as a site, only approximately 14 acres of the 512.93-acre NHS are listed. This study evaluates the surviving historic structures according to the established historic contexts and determines which resources are eligible for the National Register. This HRS confirms the eligibility of one structure, the Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort, and identifies three additional National-Register eligible objects, the Roanoke Colony/Virginia Dare Monument, the F.D.R. Marker, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker. The National Register boundary has been expanded to include the Waterside Theater, the historic setting of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker. The Waterside Theater itself lacks sufficient integrity to qualify as a contributing feature.

Conducted in compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and as set out in 36 CFR Parts 63 and 800, the preliminary draft of this study was a product of a cooperative agreement between the University of Georgia Research Foundation and the Southeast Support Office of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior (Cooperative Agreement Number 5000-8-8009, Sub-Agreement Number 5).

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

Survey Methodology

Goals of the historic resource survey of the NHS are to 1) update the List of Classified Structures (LCS) database; 2) prepare a Historic Resource Study for the site; 3) update

National Register documentation; and 4) assemble a comprehensive survey of structures consisting of completed North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) survey forms, and, when applicable, a photographic record of each structure over fifty years of age and considered eligible for the National Register. This will be used in complying with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

The Fort Raleigh historic resource survey concentrated on several sites and structures. The Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort and the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument were considered at various levels of significance. The Dough Cemetery was considered, but the lack of related structures to establish it within a context diminished its significance. The Waterside Theater was generally thought to have some historical interest, although its relatively late date of construction affected its eligibility. Resources associated with the Civil War and the Freedmen's Colony are primarily archeological in nature and warrant further investigation.

The Elizabethan Gardens are excluded from this study because they lie outside of the park's boundary. Although the National Park Service owns the land surrounding the Elizabethan Gardens, the gardens themselves are the property of the Roanoke Island Historical Association. They are, therefore, not included in the documentation of cultural resources on property owned by the National Park Service.

The University of Georgia survey team, composed of William Chapman, Ian Firth, Cathleen Turner, Deborah Ruston, and Scott Butler, examined building files, maintenance records, and maps located at the park headquarters, and reviewed historic research compiled by park staff. A field survey of the park (conducted in 1990) yielded information on the current condition of the historic resources. This field research was supplemented by a review of archival materials at the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service. Research of primary and secondary materials and other published materials was conducted at the University of Georgia libraries as well as at other university libraries. In addition, the survey team photocopied maintenance records, historic photographs, manuscripts, management planning documents, and site plans located at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. They also made blueprints of larger construction drawings and plans, including successive plans for the theater. Overall, this material proved useful in dating properties and developing conceptual and historical frameworks for evaluation. Christine Trebellas, an architectural historian in the NPS Southeast Regional Office (SERO), conducted additional research at university libraries and archives, substantially revised the first context, wrote the second chapter of the study, and made additions and corrections to the third. In consultation with historians and architectural historians in the SERO, she also evaluated the eligibility of historic resources in the park according to the National Register criteria.

Determination of Historic Contexts

This study relies on the context approach to assess and evaluate properties as set out in National Register of Historic Places Bulletins 15 and 16 (now published as Bulletins 16A and 16B). As described in Bulletin 15, “to qualify for the National Register, a property must be significant; that is, it must represent a significant part of the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture of an area, and it must have characteristics that make it a good representative of properties associated with that aspect of the past.”¹⁰ To assess significance, all properties must be judged against already established or newly recognized contexts for the purpose of the report.

Roanoke Island has a rich and diverse past, ranging from its occupation by prehistoric Native American groups, to the founding of the first English colony in the New World, to an early Freedmen’s colony, to Fessenden’s important experiments in radio technology. This HRS recognizes these significant aspects of the island’s development and relies on a variety of new and established contexts. These contexts comprise the following chapters of this study:

Chapter One: The Roanoke Colonies and Fort Raleigh, c. 1584-1590

Chapter Two: The Settlement and Development of Roanoke Island, c. 1650-1900

Chapter Three: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site: Preservation and Recognition, c. 1860-1953

These contexts link the park’s resources with its expanded purpose, which includes the preservation and interpretation of the first English colony in the New World, and the history of Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island. The context approach also allowed for the expansion of the time periods originally conceived for the report and enabled the identification of three more recent resources as significant, and therefore eligible for listing in the National Register. In addition, this technique, especially as applied at the NHS, helped to underscore the overall significance of later, essentially “preservation” contributions to a site originally valued for its association with the early colonization and settlement period in American history. Efforts of national and local organizations, federal programs, and the National Park Service had important, now historic, impacts on the site, which were identified through the context approach. This led to an understanding of the layering of significance, which contributes further to the rich historical associations of the site and its overall significance.

¹⁰*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), 7.

The first chapter addresses the long-recognized context for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, “English Exploration and Settlement on Roanoke Island and the Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1585-1590,” and describes the unsuccessful English colonies on the island. This context is related to the National Park Service theme of Peopling Places, as well as certain aspects of North Carolina history, such as English Exploration and Settlement of the Carolinas. Chapter Two deals with the departure of Native Americans from Roanoke Island and the settlement of European Americans in the area. It also examines the island’s significance during the Civil War—as part of a military campaign and as the site of a Freedmen’s colony. Lastly, the chapter discusses Reginald A. Fessenden’s radio experiments in wireless communication, which led to the development of modern radio transmissions. These contexts contain elements from many themes, including Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, and Expanding Science and Technology. North Carolina themes include Settlement of North Carolina 1660-1776, War in the East: North Carolina, Technology (Engineering and Invention), and The African American Experience in North Carolina 1660-1940. The third chapter addresses the early preservation and commemoration of the Roanoke colonies and the fortification known as Fort Raleigh, as well as its connection to national preservation movements. This context relates to the themes of Creating Social Institutions and Movements and Expressing Cultural Values. It also reflects certain aspects of North Carolina history, such as Historic Preservation and Social and Humanitarian Movements.

HISTORICAL BASE MAP

All properties surveyed as part of this study are indicated on the accompanying base map, which shows existing conditions as well as the locations of extant historic structures and their relationship to other features. A map of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site shows the division of federal, state, and privately owned property within the historic site.

CHAPTER 1: THE ROANOKE COLONIES AND FORT RALEIGH, C. 1584-1590

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site commemorates the first English attempts at establishing a settlement in North America. The present area incorporated within the National Historic Site (NHS) includes a portion, at least, of the celebrated site of the Roanoke colonies, a series of abortive efforts sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh and others to establish a permanent English colony in the New World. The result of early exploratory efforts beginning with the Amadas and Barlowe expedition of 1584, the Roanoke settlement or the “Cittie of Raleigh” was chartered in 1587 and found abandoned in 1590. It included several dwellings, a “science center,” and a fort constructed by colonists and soldiers under the supervision of Ralph Lane, the governor of the 1585-1586 expedition. The fate of the 1587 colonists remains a mystery. When the governor of the 1587 Roanoke colony, John White, returned to the settlement in 1590, all of the settlers were gone, including his granddaughter, Virginia Dare—the first recorded English birth in North America.

EARLY ENGLISH EXPLORATION OF NORTH AMERICA

The early English colonization of Roanoke Island was a significant event in the gradual process of English settlement in the New World—a process that began with the English explorations of the western hemisphere in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹¹ The first English efforts to participate in the European takeover of the New World can be traced to the initiatives of Henry VII. In 1485, he put an end to civil strife in England, unifying the nation and bringing stability to the government. Henry VII then turned his attention to expanding commerce and encouraged English merchants to enter into foreign trade and,

¹¹Robert G. Ferris, ed., *Explorers and Settlers* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1968), 92-9. For additional background information on English colonization of the New World, see Oliver P. Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1931), 9-15, 34-6; John B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933); and Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1491-1783* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 104-51.

consequently, to invest in exploration. He briefly considered supporting Christopher Columbus's first voyage but later provided financial backing for John Cabot, the Italian who first visited the New World in 1496.¹² On Cabot's second voyage in 1497, he planted the first English flag on the North American mainland in what is now Canada. With this act, Cabot established England's claim to territory in the Western Hemisphere.¹³

Henry VII's efforts to encourage English exploration and trade in the New World were not continued under the rule of his son, Henry VIII, who concentrated his energies on building a more European-oriented merchant fleet.¹⁴ However, Cabot's endeavors were championed by Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, who came to the throne in 1558. Elizabeth's goal was to strike a balance of power in Europe and to lessen the threat of Spanish hegemony—a threat most obvious in the newly established Spanish monopoly of trade in the New World.¹⁵ Although many Englishmen (including Walter Raleigh) felt that their presence in America was necessary for the strength of the country and to diminish this danger, the English government did not have the resources to establish a foothold in the New World. As a result, all English enterprises in the Atlantic were to be financed and fostered by private investors who received authorization from the English government.¹⁶



Figure 1. Queen Elizabeth

¹²Ferris, 93-5.

¹³David Stick *Roanoke Island, The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 20.

¹⁴Bolton and Marshall, 104-5; Ferris, 95.

¹⁵For more background information on the diplomatic relations between England and Spain, see Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 312-36.

¹⁶Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke, The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allenheld, 1984), 3.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN

England was a relatively weak nation in the sixteenth century, when France and Spain were the major powers in Europe.¹⁷ As internal conflicts between Catholic and Protestant forces engulfed many nations (including France), Spain, bolstered by the wealth of the New World, began consolidating power and control over Europe. Many Englishmen felt that Spain's goal was to bring their country back under the control of the Catholic Church. Spain's resources in America played a major part in this campaign; the country needed the wealth of the New World to enlarge its boundaries and increase its power. The English government then realized that attacking Spanish treasure ships was an ideal way to fight the enemy.¹⁸ Consequently, Queen Elizabeth encouraged adventurous sailors such as Francis Drake to smuggle goods from Spanish colonies and prey upon Spanish ships. Indeed, Drake was one of a number of English captains who raided and robbed Central American and European islands owned by Spain.¹⁹

By the 1580s, English sea rovers were regularly attacking Spanish vessels in an effort to control their expanding empire. However, in 1584 a major sea war between England and Spain developed when the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, was expelled from England for his involvement in a plot against Queen Elizabeth. In retaliation for this act, King Philip II of Spain called for the seizure of all English ships in Spanish ports. England then sent Sir Francis Drake to raid and plunder Spanish possessions in the West Indies. Moreover, to further recoup the losses suffered by English merchants and shipowners, the English government licensed privateers to attack and plunder Spanish and Portuguese vessels.²⁰ Many of the early privateers in this open sea war with Spain were gentlemen such as Sir Walter Raleigh, who saw the venture as a patriotic act as well as a way to amass large fortunes and relieve themselves of financial difficulties.²¹

¹⁷"Ibid., 4; David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke, Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 14.

¹⁸Kupperman, 5.

¹⁹In 1577 Francis Drake "disappeared" on an overseas voyage, only to reappear three years later with a large amount of goods stolen from Spanish possessions on the Pacific Coast. Drake also formally claimed upper California for England and renamed the area New Albion, thus reasserting England's right to possessions in North America (Quinn 1985, 15).

Both John Hawkins and Francis Drake, two of the most successful rovers, were knighted for their exploits (Ferris, 96-7).

²⁰Quinn 1985, 15-6; Kupperman, 5-7. Privateering originally developed as a way for merchants to recover the value of cargo lost on the high seas. It differed from piracy, in theory, since it had government authorization and was limited to a specific enemy, in this case the Spanish (Kupperman, 7-9).

²¹Kupperman, 5-7.

EARLIEST COLONIZATION EFFORTS AT ROANOKE ISLAND

The first true English colonization efforts, which led to the Roanoke voyages, developed as a way to indirectly attack Spanish possessions during the privateering sea war.²² They also arose from the continuous search for a Northwest Passage to the Orient. Among the first to propose these measures was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh's half-brother. For several years, Gilbert had appealed to Queen Elizabeth to explore the New World and colonize the area. Gilbert first urged the English to explore North America in 1576, when he publicly declared that a passage existed through the American continent to Asia.²³ One year later, in 1577, Gilbert wrote a discourse suggesting that Queen Elizabeth dispatch a fleet of warships as a means of disrupting Spanish commerce with the New World. He also proposed the establishment of a permanent English



Figure 2. Sir Humphrey Gilbert

settlement in America to serve as a base of operations against Spanish shipping. Queen Elizabeth eventually listened to his pleas, and in June 1578 granted Gilbert a charter authorizing him to “discover, search, find out and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or people.”²⁴

With financial backing from a number of influential shareholders, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, and seven ships sailed from Plymouth in November 1578 to establish a colony in Newfoundland.²⁵ Although Raleigh had no previous experience at sea, he commanded the *Falcon*, whose pilot was the Portuguese navigator Simon Fernandes. As Gilbert had proposed

²²For more information on English privateering and the founding of colonies in the New World, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering, English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

²³Kupperman, 10. Another proponent of the Northwest Passage was Martin Frobisher, who made three voyages to the northeast part of North America between 1576 and 1578. In 1578 he led an expedition to Frobisher Bay and intended to establish a settlement there. The founding of the colony was postponed and eventually abandoned when several of the supply ships did not reach the site. John W. Walker and Allen H. Cooper, *Archaeological Testing of Aerial and Soil Resistivity Anomaly FORA A-1, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, 1989), 6-7; Ferris, 97.

²⁴Quoted in Stick 1983, 29.

²⁵Quinn 1985, 5-6; Ferris, 97-8.

earlier, the underlying mission of the expedition was to prey upon Spanish shipping.²⁶ Storms, however, forced Gilbert to abort the mission and return to England. In 1583, Gilbert headed another expedition, which ended in disaster when Gilbert was lost at sea.²⁷



Figure 3. Sir Walter Raleigh

Walter Raleigh, however, did not join the second venture. By this time he had become a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, who forbade him to sail on such a dangerous voyage. As the Queen's favorite, Raleigh received vast estates in Ireland and large holdings in England, as well as the patent on wines and the license to export woolen cloths. Other benefits included the assignment of various government offices. Moreover, in 1584 (a year after Gilbert's death), Queen Elizabeth knighted Raleigh and granted him Gilbert's patent to establish colonies in America.²⁸

Raleigh, like Gilbert, aimed to establish a settlement which would serve as a base for English privateering ventures against Spanish ships. Indeed, privateering considerations dictated the location of the settlement and the nature of the first colonists, as well as the source of income to finance the expedition. Many of the 'colonists' on Raleigh's first voyage were veterans of Irish or European wars, who could theoretically defend the settlement against a Spanish attack. In addition, instead of exploring the northern coast of America like Gilbert, Raleigh directed his efforts farther to the south, purposely venturing into Spanish interests to find a semi-secluded location close to Spanish shipping routes from the West Indies. Spain considered the North American coastline south of the Chesapeake Bay as part of her sphere of influence and had established a series of forts along the coast to defend the territory. Moreover, Spanish forces attacked any other attempted settlements in the region, wiping out the French settlement, Fort Caroline, in 1565.²⁹ By establishing a colony within Spain's purported

²⁶Kupperman, 10. As Kupperman points out, Raleigh's appointment illustrates the Elizabethan principle that social status was more important than skill in commanding missions. This fact would plague many future colonization attempts, where inexperienced leaders would unwisely command colonists.

²⁷Ibid., 10-1.

²⁸Kupperman, 11-2; For more information on Sir Walter Raleigh and his achievements, see David Beers Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London: The English University Press, 1947), 31-2, 35-46.

²⁹Kupperman, 13-5; Charles W. Porter, III, *Adventurers to a New World, The Roanoke Colony, 1585-87* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1972), 2-3.

holdings, and close to their shipping lines, Raleigh was directly confronting Spanish authority in the area.

On April 27, 1584, Raleigh's first expedition left England for the North American coast. Raleigh did not accompany the fleet, and Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe commanded the two ships. Simon Fernandes, whose knowledge of navigation was to make him a key figure in many Roanoke Island enterprises, piloted the vessels.³⁰ The expedition first sailed to the West Indies, and, on July 13, 1584, landed on the present-day North Carolina coast approximately 24 miles north of Roanoke Island.³¹

The expedition made an important contact with local Native Americans, including a well-placed member of a ruling family, Granganimeo. The indigenous population of the area consisted of members of the Algonquian language group, which meant local tribes spoke a dialect based on this common language. The Carolina Algonquians lived in villages of one to two hundred people containing a central open space around which long, barrel-roofed houses were organized. The houses also had walls and roofs of woven mats or bark and sleeping benches.³² The chiefs, or werowances, usually controlled between six and eight villages, although some ruled as many as eighteen and could gather seven to eight hundred warriors. Those governing large groups may have placed relatives in other villages as observers, advisors, or ruling members.³³ Granganimeo, a brother of Wingina (who governed the Roanoke tribe), oversaw the Native American village on the north end of Roanoke Island and would later be a significant figure for the Roanoke colonies³⁴ Barlowe and seven other members of the expedition even visited Granganimeo's pallisaded settlement, which Barlowe described:

[T]he evening following we came to an island, which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a

³⁰Porter 1972, 6.

³¹Ibid.; David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), vol. I, 78-9; and Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 8.

³²Kupperman, 45-6.

³³Ibid., 50-1.

³⁴Ibid., 69-72, 74-5.

turnpike, very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us, very cheerfully and friendly.³⁵

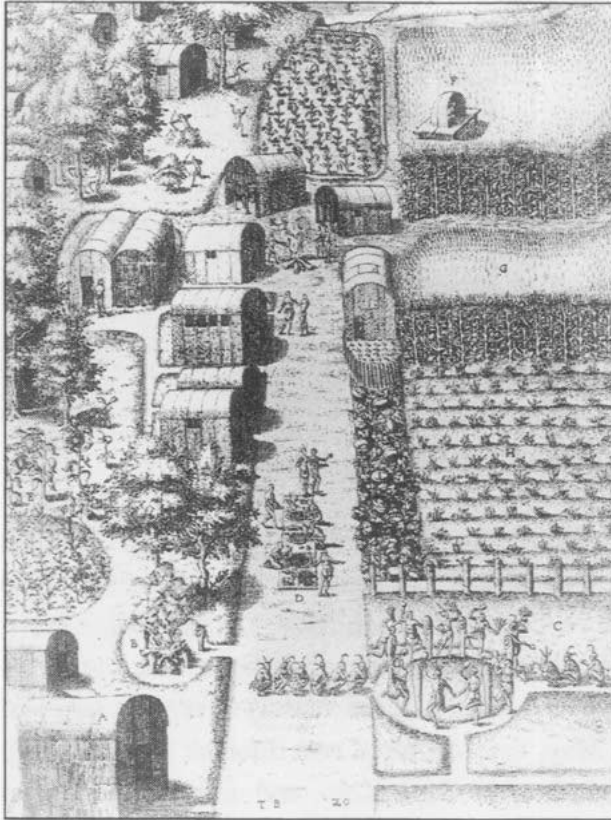


Figure 4. Native American village of Secotan

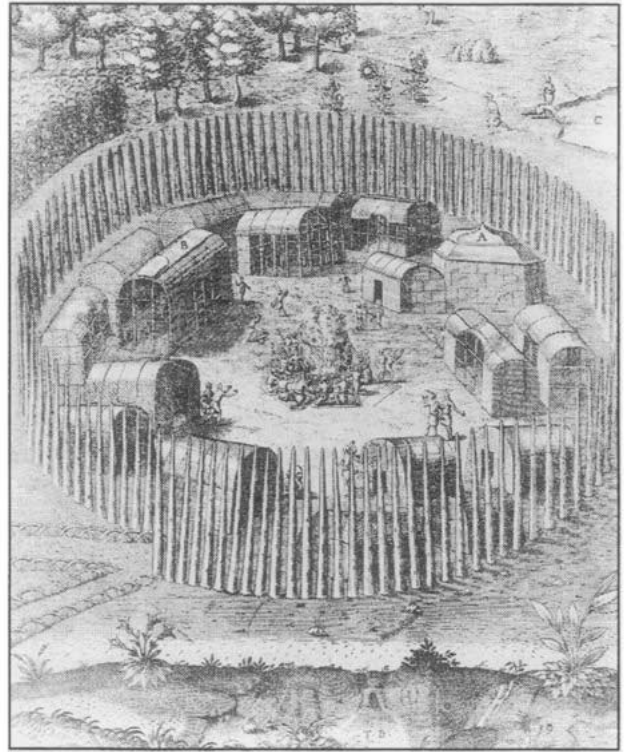


Figure 5. Native American village of Pomeiooc. The Roanoke settlement probably looked similar

Two local Algonquians, Manteo (Croatoan tribe) and Wanchese (Roanoke tribe) returned with the expedition to England with the hopes that they would better describe and help promote the area.³⁶ Amadas and Barlowe left for England in September 1584 and reported favorably on the Outer Banks area, suggesting that it would be an ideal site for a settlement. With Queen

³⁵Richard Hakluyt, *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*, ed. David L. Corbitt (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1948), 19. Archaeologists have made several attempts to locate the remains of this Native American village. There is evidence of Native American occupation on the north end of Roanoke Island, and archeological investigations have uncovered numerous artifacts. For more information concerning these findings, see William G. Haag, *The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 62-4.

³⁶Thomas Hariot, who accompanied the 1585 expedition to Roanoke Island, learned some Algonquian from Manteo and Wanchese. See Kupperman, 16-7.

Elizabeth's permission, Raleigh then christened the new land "Virginia" after her, the Virgin Queen.³⁷

THE FIRST COLONY, 1585-1586

In 1585, Raleigh appointed Sir Richard Grenville, his cousin, to establish a settlement in North America. Grenville, another well-known sea rover or privateer, sailed from England in 1585 with seven vessels and approximately six hundred men, nearly half of them professional soldiers or specialists of some kind.³⁸ Amadas and Fernandes were also part of the expedition, as well as Ralph Lane, a fortifications expert, John White, an artist to record the landscape and flora and fauna, Thomas Hariot, a scientist to collect samples, and Joachim Gans, a metallurgist to assess the commercial potential of the land. The two Native Americans, Manteo and Wanchese, also returned to America on this voyage.³⁹



Figure 6. Sir Richard Grenville

This expedition, like earlier ones, had an underlying mission of preying upon Spanish shipping. The route Grenville chose, via the Canaries and the Spanish West Indies, placed them in Spanish waters. The expedition arrived in Puerto Rico on May 12, and Ralph Lane immediately began erecting a fortified encampment to protect their operations. The explorers also set up a forge to make nails and built a pinnace (a small, sailed vessel) to replace one lost at sea. Before leaving Puerto Rico at the end of May, they captured two Spanish frigates, built a temporary fortification enclosing two salt mounds near Cape Rojo, and seized a supply of salt from the Spanish.⁴⁰

Grenville's expedition landed on the Outer Banks of North Carolina on June 26. After a brief exploration of the Outer Banks and Roanoke Island and contacts with the Native American inhabitants,⁴¹ Grenville returned to England, leaving Ralph Lane in charge of a colony of 107

³⁷Porter 1972, 9; David Beers Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, eds., *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1982), xxi.

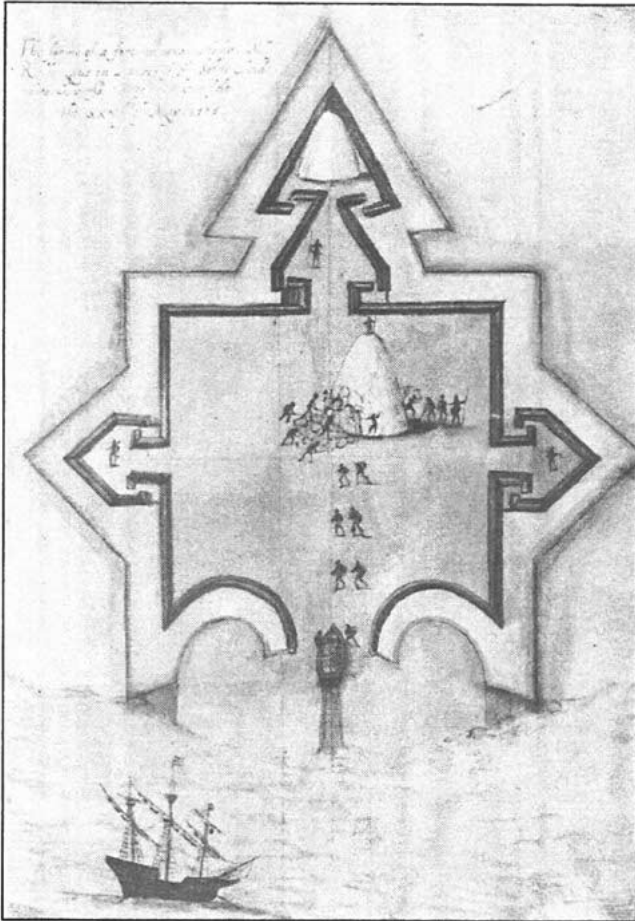
³⁸Quinn, 1955, vol. I, 121-2; Kupperman, 18, 20.

³⁹Porter, 1972, 10.

⁴⁰Ibid., 10-1, 50.

⁴¹Ibid., 11.

men on Roanoke Island.⁴² Since the site was too shallow for a privateering base, Ralph Lane was to use Roanoke as a base to search for a more suitable harbor site. Lane then designed and supervised the construction of a fort at the north end of Roanoke Island.⁴³ Recent scholarship



suggests the fort had palisaded walls with bulwarks on the comers. It was quickly completed, for by September 1585, Lane was writing from “the new Fort in Virginia.”⁴⁴

Ralph Lane’s men also erected a “science center” on the north end of the island to assess the area’s resources and commercial potential. The center probably -contained a metallurgical and/or distilling furnace and a laboratory with needed instruments such as metallurgical crucibles, scales, ointment pots, bottles, distilling flasks, and other glass ware.⁴⁵ Thomas Hariot, a prominent astronomer, mathematician, surveyor, and scientist of the period, and Joachim Gans, a Jewish metallurgist from Prague who went to England in 1581 to help improve its outmoded copper smelting industry, most likely headed the science center, testing ore samples to determine their quality and

Figure 7. Fortified encampment, Puerto Rico. Ralph examining botanical specimens.⁴⁶ As Lane’s fortification on **Roanoke Island probably** Thomas Hariot reported in *A Brief and resembled these earthworks.*

⁴²Quinn and Quinn, xxi.

⁴³Kupperman, 23-4; Jean C. Harrington, *Archaeology and the Enigma of Fort Raleigh* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), 7.

⁴⁴Quinn 1955, 168.

⁴⁵Ivor Noel Hume, “First and Lost: In Search of America’s First English Settlement, Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, 1991-3” Draft Report on file at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina, 63-4.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 72-4, 82; Ivor Noel Hume, “Roanoke Island: America’s First Science Center,” *The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, vol. XVI, no. 3 (Spring 1994); reprint, 7.

True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia:

In two places of the country especially, one about fourscore, and the other sixscore miles from the fort or the place where we dwelt, we found near the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral man was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country. I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labor and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and dearness thereof in England and the necessity of ballasting of ships.⁴⁷

Other improvements built by the Roanoke colonists included a separate village on the north end of Roanoke Island containing one-and-a-half- and two-story residences with thatched roofs and several other structures. Although some of the soldiers were stationed at the fort, Ralph Lane and several of the gentlemen on the expedition resided in the village. As Ralph Lane reported when uncovering a Native American plot to kill members of the Roanoke colony:

In the dead of night they [several hostile Native Americans] would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds that the same was covered with; meaning, (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The same order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Hariot, so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the town.⁴⁸

The following year, Lane and several members of the colony explored the mainland and surrounding area as far north as the Chesapeake. In the course of these explorations, Lane and his men succeeded in alienating a large portion of the Native American population, resulting in hostile relations between the two. Eventually, Lane and the other explorers abandoned their short-lived and dissension-ridden colony in June 1586.⁴⁹ With the delay in the arrival of

⁴⁷Hakluyt, 67-8.

⁴⁸Ibid., 50-1.

⁴⁹Louis Torres, *Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore* (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d.), 24.

supplies from Grenville, the colonists grew impatient as provisions ran out and relations with the indigenous population continued to deteriorate. Fortunately, Sir Francis Drake stopped at the colony on a return trip after a successful raid in the West Indies.⁵⁰ Drake offered to resupply the colony and provide them with a ship, or let them return with him to England. A severe storm, however, scattered several of Drake's ships, including the one intended for the colony. The members of Ralph Lane's expedition then accepted Drake's offer to remove them,⁵¹ thereby missing one of Grenville's supply ships by only a short time.⁵² Grenville himself arrived with several ships and relief stores in August and was disappointed to see the colony abandoned. He did not want to lose possession of the settled area and left a holding group of fifteen men with four cannons and supplies for two years to reoccupy Lane's fort.⁵³ According to one account:

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world the ship above mentioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his discretion, arrived at Hatorask, who after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provisions into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Grenville, General of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there, who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated,...and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held,

⁵⁰Ibid., 24-5.

⁵¹Quinn and Quinn, 80-1. Walter Briggs, a member of Sir Francis Drake's fleet, wrote:

The ninth of June upon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countrey men (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Raleigh) and brought them aboard; by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the general wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being governour of those English in Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an Island which they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of, by those he had first talked withall (Quinn and Quinn, 80).

⁵²David N. Durant, *Raleigh's Lost Colony* (New York: Athenaeum, 1981), 94-5.

⁵³Ibid., 96-7.

after good deliberation, he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country, whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully, with all manner of provisions for two years, and so departed for England.⁵⁴

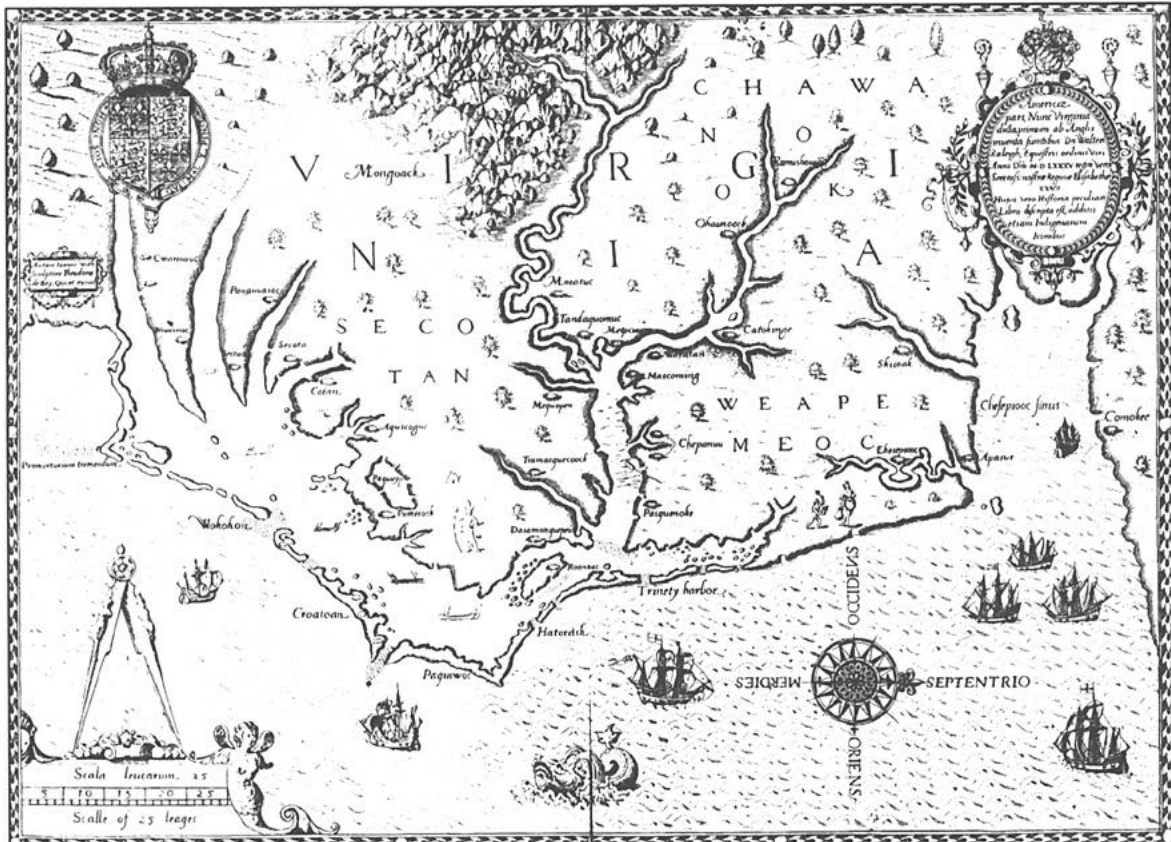


Figure 8. C. 1590 engraving by Theodore De Bry based on John White's watercolor map.

THE LOST COLONY, 1587

The following year, Sir Walter Raleigh organized another expedition to Virginia under the leadership of John White, who had accompanied Grenville on an earlier voyage.⁵⁵ As opposed to previous ventures, this colony was less military and more civilian in nature. Indeed, of the 150 people John White assembled for the voyage, eighty-four men referred to as “planters”, seventeen women, and nine children arrived safely in Virginia and settled there. Moreover,

⁵⁴Hakluyt, 59-60.

⁵⁵For examples of White's artwork from his voyages to North America, see Paul Hutton and David Beers Quinn, eds., *The American Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

rather than having a military government, the colony was organized as a corporation under the direction of Governor John White and his twelve assistants, who served as a board of directors. John White and his twelve assistants were to establish “The Cittie of Raleigh” in Virginia, and Queen Elizabeth granted them and the city arms, or “Ensigns of honor.”⁵⁶ The gentlemen soldiers of Lane’s venture were replaced by simple yeomen, elevated through Raleigh’s intervention to a higher social standing than possible in England. In addition, the colonists themselves took a leading role in the corporation, and could therefore profit from their own efforts.⁵⁷

In many respects, this undertaking set the pattern for later successful English colonization attempts in North America. The fact that this venture was more of a corporate or business enterprise organized by several people prefigured the later English companies that founded successful colonies in North America. In addition, the chosen location for the colony, the Chesapeake Bay area, anticipated the locale of the future Jamestown settlement. Raleigh had intended for John White’s colony to settle in the Chesapeake Bay area, where a better port could be established and conditions for settlement were more favorable.⁵⁸ Ralph Lane had explored the region two years earlier, and it is possible that White was present on that expedition and knew of the area personally.⁵⁹

According to the surnames, it appears that White’s colony included fourteen different families. Four of the families contained a mother, father, and child. Six were unmarried couples. The four others were fathers and sons, who perhaps planned to have their families join them later. In all there were nine children and seventeen women, including John White’s daughter, Eleanor Dare. Seven of the women and three of the boys came without family attachments and were probably servants. The remainder of the 110 colonists were men. The two Native Americans, Manteo and Towaye, returned to Roanoke Island on this expedition as well.⁶⁰

John White and the colonists met in London in early spring 1587. They departed in three small ships, sailing by Portsmouth and Plymouth before finally leaving for North America on May

⁵⁶Quinn and Quinn, 506-9.

⁵⁷Kupperman, 107-8.

⁵⁸Ibid., 107; Porter 1972, 35.

⁵⁹Kupperman, 107.

⁶⁰Ibid., 108-9. See also Hakluyt, 108-9.

8.⁶¹ White kept a journal of the expedition, describing the trip from England to the West Indies, where two of the three ships arrived on June 22.⁶² The third ship became separated from the others in a storm off Portugal but joined them later. Stopping at Saint Croix for three days, the travelers moved on to Puerto Rico, where they took on water and attempted unsuccessfully to resupply their stores.⁶³ Despite White's deteriorating relationship with the Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandes, the little fleet finally arrived off the Outer Banks on July 16.⁶⁴

On July 22 White and a group of forty colonists went to Roanoke Island to confer with the fifteen men left by Grenville the preceding year. White hoped to learn about the area and their relations with the Indians, and then return to the ships to sail to the intended site of his colony, the Chesapeake Bay area.⁶⁵ White and his colonists, however, discovered Lane's former fort abandoned and Grenville's holding party missing. According to White:

The three and twentieth of July the governor with divers of his company walked to the north end of the island, where Master Ralph Lane had his fort, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the year

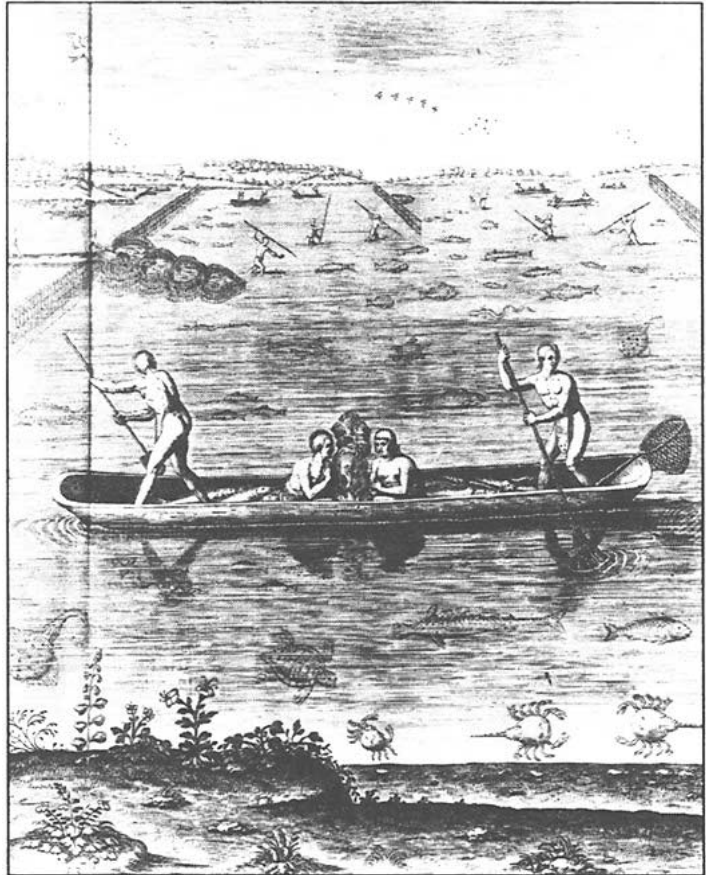


Figure 9. Native Americans fishing. C. 1590 Theodore De Bry engraving based on John White's watercolor.

⁶¹Kupperman, 109.

⁶²For John White's complete account of the journey, see Hakluyt, 94-109.

⁶³Kupperman, 111-2.

⁶⁴Ibid., 112.

⁶⁵Ibid., 112-3.



Figure 10. Native American woman and girl with English doll.

before, where we hoped to find some signs, or certain knowledge of our fifteen men.

When we came thither, we found the fort razed down, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather rooms of them, and also of the fort, were overgrown with melons of divers sorts, and deer within them feeding on those melons; so we returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing-any of the fifteen men living.⁶⁶

For reasons unclear, Fernandes did not continue the voyage to the Chesapeake Bay and left White and 110 colonists on Roanoke Island.⁶⁷

Upon discovering the fort overgrown and abandoned, White immediately ordered the members of the colony to refurbish Lane's former settlement. According to his account of the expedition, "the same day [July 23] order was given that every man should be employed in the repairing of those houses, which we found standing, and also to make other new

cottages, for such as should need."⁶⁸ White and his colony began their work optimistically; they cleaned and repaired the existing dwellings and built additional shelters, for each family was to have its own residence. The missing ship arrived on July 25, further encouraging the small group.⁶⁹ This settlement was in essence "The Cittie of Raleigh," the community John

⁶⁶Hakluyt, 99.

⁶⁷Quinn 1985, 279-82.

⁶⁸Hakluyt, 99.

⁶⁹Kupperman, 114.

White and his twelve assistants were directed to establish in Virginia.⁷⁰

This initial optimism was checked within a few days of their arrival when one of the colonists, George Howe, was killed by an unidentified party of Native Americans. However, his isolation at the time of his murder suggests that the colonists had not taken precautions, despite the fact that none of the members of Grenville's holding party were found. There were also indications that most may have been murdered, for when White and the group of colonists first landed on Roanoke Island, they discovered the bones of one of Grenville's men, who had long since been slain.⁷¹ White nonetheless placed his hopes (in part) on his ability to reestablish good relations with the Algonquian residents. He was helped in this by Manteo, the Croatoan who had traveled a second time to England with Lane and returned with White.⁷²

One major problem for the settlement was the lack of supplies. The arrival of the colonists late in the planting season resulted in inadequate stores for the winter. The local inhabitants had little to share, and this scarcity created tension. White soon learned of the fate of the Grenville holding party and began to sense the growing unease among the various local groups. Shortly after Howe's death, White and the colonists discovered that three settlements of Native Americans had joined together and attacked eleven of Grenville's men. The soldiers who survived the assault fled by boat, picked up the remaining four men, and disappeared.⁷³ As a gesture of strength, White undertook a punitive expedition to avenge these deaths, raiding one inland settlement without warning and killing at least one. Unfortunately, the group that White's colonists attacked was unconnected with Howe's death, and even the remaining friendly Native American groups began to become wary of this second colony.⁷⁴

Several events in the beginning of August, however, cheered the colonists. On August 13, following Sir Walter Raleigh's orders, Manteo was christened and given the title of Lord of Dasamonguepeuc for his faithful service to the English. Five days later, Eleanor Dare, daughter of John White and wife of Ananias Dare, gave birth to a daughter. Because she was

⁷⁰It should be remembered that Raleigh originally planned for John White to settle "The Cittie of Raleigh" as a separate venture from Roanoke Island on the Chesapeake Bay. Archaeologists are still searching for the habitation site of the colony on Roanoke Island. See Porter 1972, 47-53; and Harrington 1962.

⁷¹Hakluyt, 99.

⁷²Kupperman, 114-5.

⁷³For John White's account of this event, see Hakluyt, 101-2.

⁷⁴Kupperman, 116-7.

the first child born to English parents in America and the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia.⁷⁵ Although another child was born to Dynois and Margery Harvie shortly thereafter, Virginia Dare's birth was to assume great significance, especially during the later "preservation" period in the history of Fort Raleigh.⁷⁶

Having delivered the colonists, the fleet was scheduled to leave in August. The colonists wanted at least two of the twelve assistants to return, secure more supplies, and recruit more members. Three of the original directors were still in England, presumably working on the colonists' behalf. Finally, the men approached White, asking him to act for them. Not trusting the colonists, and fearful of his position (as well as the safety of his own daughter and granddaughter), White was reluctant to play the part of emissary. With further pressure from the colonists, White finally agreed to return.⁷⁷

White sailed for England on August 27 with all three vessels to obtain the needed supplies. Before departing, he arranged for the colonists to leave an appropriate sign if they moved the settlement. In October 1587, White finally arrived in England. His efforts to obtain support, however, were impeded by the Spanish Armada's attempted invasion of England as well as the subsequent sea war between the two countries. Spain not only raided English ships, she also sought to destroy the English colony in North America. In June of 1588 the Spanish governor at St. Augustine sent a ship northward to find the English settlement and prepare to attack it. After locating Roanoke colony and discovering its weakness, the Spanish considered the assault unnecessary and postponed it.⁷⁸

It was nearly three years before the threat of a Spanish attack had subsided and John White could return to Roanoke. In March 1590, White sailed as a passenger on a ship commanded by the privateer John Watts.⁷⁹ White finally reached the Outer Banks in August 1590, and found that the colony had been abandoned for some time. According to the arrangement between White and the colonists, the word "C-R-O-A-T-O-A-N" was inscribed on a tree, indicating a

⁷⁵Porter 1972, 37.

⁷⁶See William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 52-62.

⁷⁷Kupperman, 119-20.

⁷⁸Porter 1972, 39-41.

⁷⁹Kupperman, 127-8.

native group or village on what is now Hatteras Island.⁸⁰ Although White could not locate the colonists, he was relieved to discover a sign of their safety and noted:

as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C-R-O: which letters we presently knew to signify the place, where I should find the planters seated according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place 'where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross + in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with curtains and flankers, very fort-like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off and five foot from the ground in fair capital letters, was graven C-R-O-A-T-O-A-N, without any cross or sign of distress; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron two pigs of lead four iron fowlers, iron locker shot, and such like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds.... I greatly enjoyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the islands our friends.⁸¹

Because of stormy weather and John Watt's impatience, White was unable to continue the search for the missing colonists on the Outer Banks and returned to England. White could not afford to finance another expedition to North America, and eventually accepted the loss of his family and the Roanoke colony several years later. Raleigh, however, made one more attempt to locate the settlement. As late as 1602, Raleigh sent an expedition to North America under the command of Samuel Mace to find the colonists. The group did not search very diligently and never found these early settlers. After the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, the Virginia colonists attempted to locate their lost countrymen. Although they heard many rumors

⁸⁰Stick 1983, 209-10; Kupperman, 130-1.

⁸¹Hakluyt, 122-3.

as to their whereabouts, the search was unsuccessful.⁸² Many scholars have since proposed numerous theories as to what happened to the Roanoke colonists, but their fate still remains a mystery.⁸³



Figure 11. C. 1590 engraving by Theodore De Bry entitled "The arrival of Englishmen in Virginia." Based on John White's watercolor map.

LATER ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA

The Roanoke Island colony, while never successful, set the precedent for future English colonization efforts in the New World. Between 1602 and 1605, Bartholemew Gosnold and George Weymouth made reconnaissance voyages along the Atlantic coast.⁸⁴ Joint-stock companies underwrote further efforts over the rest of the decade. George Popham, representing

⁸²Porter 1972, 44-5.

⁸³For various conjectures as to the possible fate of the Roanoke colonists, see Stick 1983, 225-46; Quinn 1985, 341-77; Quinn and Quinn 1983, x-xi; and Kupperman, 137-41.

⁸⁴Ferris, 100.

the Plymouth Company, established a temporary colony in 1607 on the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine.⁸⁵ Beginning in 1606, the southern counterpart to the Plymouth Company, the London Company (later known as the Virginia Company), sponsored a colonizing expedition to Virginia.⁸⁶ This group of 145 men, mostly professional soldiers, arrived at Cape Henry on April 26, 1607. On May 13, they established a site for the colony along the James River, naming it James Forte or Jamestowne, after King James. Although it was a swampy area about thirty miles from the sea, the site provided good docking facilities and was strategically well situated for defense against the indigenous inhabitants. This would be the beginning of the first successful English colony in the New World.⁸⁷ While the colony's existence remained precarious for many years, its eventual success encouraged further English settlement of North America. The English colonies that would later flourish along the eastern seaboard included Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620), New Jersey (1629), Connecticut (1633), Rhode Island (1636), New Haven (1637), Maryland (1637), and Delaware (1638).⁸⁸

The short settlement period of Roanoke Island represented the first attempt at English colonization in the New World. Colored in part by continuing interests in privateering and in merely harassing Spanish concerns in the New World, the Roanoke colonization efforts marked the transition from a military outpost to a settlement of both men and women attempting to establish a permanent foothold in North America. Followed by the successful colony at Jamestown, the early colonizing efforts on Roanoke Island set the precedent for what would eventually become the English dominance of much of North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

The Fort Raleigh National Historic Site preserves the location of the science center associated with Ralph Lane's 1585-1586 colony and commemorates the first English attempts at establishing a colony in North America. The site of the center, presumably supervised by Thomas Hariot, a prominent scientist of the period, and Joachim Gans, a Jewish metallurgist from Prague, is one of the few positively identified archeological resources within the historic site associated with this significant event in American history. In the late sixteenth century the

⁸⁵Ibid.; Chitwood 63-5.

⁸⁶Marshall and Bolton, 116-7.

⁸⁷Ferris, 100-5. For more information on the founding of Jamestown and its relationship to the Roanoke colonies, see Ivor Noel Hume, *The Virginia Adventure, Roanoke to Jamestown: An Archeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

⁸⁸Ibid., 115.

north end of Roanoke Island also contained the settlement site of the Roanoke colonists, a fortification built by Ralph Lane's soldiers, and a Native American village. However, no archeological findings from these important sites have been uncovered, and structures or remains may have long since eroded into the sound as the coast line changed over the years. Nonetheless, these important resources could still be located within the park's boundary. More archaeological research is needed to determine the location of Ralph Lane's fortification and the habitation site of the Roanoke colonists, referred to by some as the "Cittie of Raleigh." Further archeological investigations could provide some information on the Native American village of "Roanoac" as well.

Associative Characteristics/Significance

The site of the science center associated with the Roanoke colonies has national significance under National Register Criterion D (Information Potential). It represents the only tangible evidence of the Elizabethan age in North America and marks the site of the first English colonizing efforts, which led the way for future successful English colonies in the New World. The science center site is nationally significant under National Register (NR) Criterion D for the proven potential of its archeological resources to yield information on the first English settlement in North America. Although there are no extant structures, and the settlement site and fortification have yet to be located, the archeological findings over the last fifty years document the establishment of a sixteenth-century science center within the NHS boundary which is eligible for the National Register.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

For a property to be eligible for the National Register, it must not only be significant under the NR criteria, but it must also have integrity, or the ability of a property to convey its significance. Although the evaluation of integrity can be subjective, it is grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. To retain historic integrity, a property must possess several of the aspects of integrity, which are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The National Register site within the park retains integrity of location and setting since archaeological evidence has proven that the area contains the site of a science center associated with the 1585-1586 colony. The area, however, does not retain integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or association since none of the structures built by the Roanoke colonists have survived. As such, the property is not considered eligible under Criteria A (Event), B (Person), or C (Design) since there are no remains which cogently reflect the colonies' layout, architecture, or structure, or the people associated with it.

The site, nonetheless, does have the potential to yield important information concerning the first English colonists to North America. Archaeological investigations conducted in 1947-8, 1950, 1964, 1982-3, 1991-3, and 1994-5 have uncovered numerous European artifacts which date the site to the sixteenth century. In addition, these excavations have unearthed a science center related to Ralph Lane's colony of 1585-1586. Continued research may reveal the location of the associated settlements, Ralph Lane's fortification, as well as the site of the Native American village. The site, therefore, is eligible for the National Register under Criterion D, Information Potential.

In recent years, the U. S. Congress has expanded the park's authorized boundary to 512.93 acres, and the NPS now owns 355.45 acres on the north end of Roanoke Island. This new property, however, does not contain any historic structures or known sixteenth-century archeological remains. Archeologists should survey the new area to determine if the site of the Native American village, Ralph Lane's fortification, and the habitation site of the Roanoke colonists could be in this newly acquired territory. With these possible finds, this new park land is considered potentially eligible for the National Register until a comprehensive archeological survey can accurately evaluate the area. These investigations must be completed before the park service develops any portions of this new NPS property.

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

"science center" (c. 1585-6), contributing as an archaeological site of national significance.

POTENTIALLY ELIGIBLE ARCHEOLOGICAL(UNLOCATED)RESOURCES

"Cittie of Raleigh," settlement site of the Roanoke colonists (c. 1585-1590).

"Roanoac," Native American settlement site.

"Ralph Lane's New Fort in Virginia," fortification of the Roanoke colonists (c. 1585-1590)

CHAPTER 2: THE SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ROANOKE ISLAND, C. 1650-1900

On April 20, 1606, the Virginia Company received a charter granting it land in North America from Cape Fear, North Carolina, to Bangor, Maine. The company established a permanent colony in Jamestown in 1607, and shortly thereafter expeditions began to explore the land to the south.⁸⁹ Although Roanoke Island remained inhabited by the Roanoke Indians for some time, by the mid-seventeenth century colonists began to occupy these previously “unsettled” areas of Virginia. In 1654, Francis Yeardley of Virginia arranged with “the great emperor of Rhoanoke[sic]” for the Native American population to move inland and allow British colonists to inhabit the coastal area.⁹⁰ A number of Virginians then migrated south, establishing homesteads and raising cattle and tobacco. As John Lawson noted during his journey through the Carolinas:

A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago [c. 1650], in that part we now call Albemarl-County, and chiefly in Chuwan Precinct, by several substantial Planters, from Virginia, and other Plantations;...the Fame of this new-discover'd Summer-Country spread thro' the neighboring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable number of Families, thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in, (had they been many Thousands more) and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure.⁹¹

⁸⁹Lefler, Hugh T. and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina-A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 29.

⁹⁰Quoted in Stick 1958, 314.

⁹¹John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London: 1709; reprint, Readex Microprint Corporation, 1966), 62-3 (page references are to reprint edition).

In 1663 King Charles II issued the Carolina Charter, forming a new province out of land south of the more settled areas of Virginia. Charles II named the new province Carolina, appointed eight men to serve as Lord Proprietors, and authorized them to colonize the vast area between Spanish Florida and Virginia.⁹² Shortly thereafter, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina began granting land along the coast of present-day North Carolina. For example, in 1669 Samuel Stephen, governor of Carolina, received a land grant to Roanoke Island and began raising cattle on the island.⁹³

Since Roanoke Inlet was the main port of entry to the Albemarle Sound area at the time, most vessels traveling to and from Albemarle passed the northern end of Roanoke Island. Consequently, in 1676 the Lord Proprietors ordered their Carolina representatives to establish the principal town of the colony on Roanoke Island. Although no town was built at this time, traffic along the inlet continued to increase, and greater numbers of permanent settlers began to appear. These early settlers consisted of pilots and boatmen, who guided vessels through the ever-changing inlets and sounds, and stockmen, who were attracted to the area since the islands required no fencing for their cattle, hogs, and sheep.⁹⁴

Although settlers from Virginia inhabited the area, a large portion of Roanoke Island was originally owned by a few families. Upon Governor Stephen's death in 1670, the island passed to his widow, who later married Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia and a Lord Proprietor of Carolina. In 1676 the Berkeleys sold the island to Joshua Lamb, a New England merchant, for 100 pounds. One year later, Lamb sold a half interest in the island to Nicholas Paige of Boston for 150 pounds, and later sold a quarter interest in the island to George Patridge [Pordage]. Many of these absentee landowners hired families of settlers to tend their livestock on the island. For example, George Pordage employed a caretaker to manage his cattle interests on the island, while a William Daniels looked after Dr. Belcher Noyes's livestock.⁹⁵

The Lord Proprietors of Carolina continued to recommend that the inhabitants of Roanoke Island build a port town. However, their 1715 and 1723 efforts to establish a harbor both

⁹²David Stick, *Dare County: A History* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), 8-9.

⁹³Stick 1970, 9.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 10; Dunbar, 18-24.

⁹⁵Stick 1970, 10-1; Powell 1965, 19.

failed, due in part to the changing landscape.⁹⁶ By 1700 the Roanoke Inlet had begun to shoal badly, and it was difficult to find a sufficiently deep channel for boat traffic. Ocean currents continued to change so that by 1730 there was not a direct, reliable outlet through the Outer Banks from Roanoke Island. The inlet finally closed altogether sometime between 1780 and 1810. With the Roanoke Inlet gone, there was no need to establish a port town on the island, and a real city was not established on Roanoke Island until the late nineteenth century.⁹⁷

The end of the colonial period also marked the demise of the area's Native American population. In 1711 and 1713 Native Americans from the mainland, possibly remnants of the former Roanoke Indians, attacked the settlers on Roanoke Island. Most of the indigenous population was then killed in retaliatory assaults by these colonists. Disease greatly reduced the number of the remaining Native Americans, so that by the end of the colonial period the indigenous population of the area had virtually disappeared.⁹⁸

Life on Roanoke Island during the Revolutionary War remained relatively peaceful. Although the British conducted foraging raids for livestock and other provisions, there were no major land or naval battles in the area during the war. In addition, the British forays caused no noticeable reduction in the number of cattle, sheep, or hogs on Roanoke Island.⁹⁹ However, significant changes did occur on the island after the Revolutionary War. Land previously owned by the British government and its representatives reverted to the state of North Carolina, and any citizen of the state could apply for a land grant for these properties. In addition, many large property owners began to sell small parcels of land to people who were moving to or had already settled in the area.¹⁰⁰ Land on the northern end of Roanoke Island was parceled out to many families, none of whom had clear title to their property. Consequently, it became standard for a land owner to obtain a new grant from the state for the tract which his family occupied. Many families living on Roanoke Island in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries filed for deeds or land grants.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶Powell 1965, 22.

⁹⁷Stick 1970, 12-3; Stick 1958, 9.

⁹⁸Stick 1970, 13-4.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 14-6.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 16-7. This was to their best advantage, for squatter's rights allowed settlers to establish claims to the property they inhabited.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 17; Powell 1965, 21-5. For example, Thomas A. Dough, whose family lived on the north end of Roanoke Island since the early nineteenth century, entered a claim for 240 acres of land along the Croatan Sound which

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the inhabitants of Roanoke Island, like those of the rest of the Outer Banks, continued to maintain a degree of self-sufficiency. Although most of the inhabitants of Roanoke Island considered themselves farmers or planters, they developed other skills necessary to survive in this isolated area. By 1850, the island's total population was only 610, with a little more than 140 slaves. The conditions in the area and the needs of the people also created distinctive building forms. According to David Stick, a two-story, single-pile house type developed which included a breezeway and a detached kitchen.¹⁰²

THE CIVIL WAR: THE BATTLE FOR ROANOKE ISLAND

Both Union and Confederate leaders quickly realized the military importance of Roanoke Island, for control of the Outer Banks and Roanoke Island meant command of the sounds and, thus, most of coastal North Carolina. Shortly after the Civil War began, Confederate forces strengthened their defenses on the Outer Banks by building two earthen fortifications to secure the Hatteras inlet. These two forts, Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark, consisted of sand sheathed with two-inch thick planks covered with a layer of marsh grass and earth. A smaller fortification, Fort Oregon, was built along the south side of the Oregon Inlet while Fort Ocracoke (Fort Morgan) was erected just inside the Ocracoke inlet on Beacon Island.¹⁰³ Several detachments of North Carolina troops were then sent to the Oregon, Ocracoke, and Hatteras Inlets to defend these positions. However, because Confederate priorities were elsewhere, only 350 soldiers manned Fort Hatteras, while 230 men were distributed among Forts Clark, Oregon, and Ocracoke. Later, a reinforcement of 365 men was sent to help defend Fort Hatteras.¹⁰⁴

In fall 1861, Union forces organized a joint Army-Navy campaign to cut off Confederate supply routes from the sounds to the interior and to end privateering raids on Union vessels in the area. With a combined force of 880 men, General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the army troops, and Commodore Silas H. Strigham, in charge of the naval forces, set sail for Cape Hatteras on August 26, 1861. Shortly thereafter, the fleet arrived at Cape Hatteras and began bombarding Forts Hatteras and Clark. About 350 Union troops landed on the Outer

his family occupied. Other people living on Roanoke Island at this time included members of the Pain, Daniels, Mann, Nash, Etheridge, and Baum families.

¹⁰²Stick 1970, 18.

¹⁰³Ibid., 20-1; Stick 1958, 118-9.

¹⁰⁴Torres, 101.

Banks approximately three miles northeast of Fort Clark, marched down the bank, and took control of the fort after Confederate forces had abandoned it. A few days later, on August 29, Fort Hatteras surrendered. More than 700 Confederate troops were captured along with twenty-five pieces of artillery, 1,000 arms, and a large amount of ordnance stores.” Instead of following his initial orders and sinking vessels to block the inlet, Butler received permission to occupy the two forts and maintain their position on the Outer Banks. Butler and other military leaders saw this as a way to obtain control of the area surrounding the sound as well as a large portion of the state.¹⁰⁶

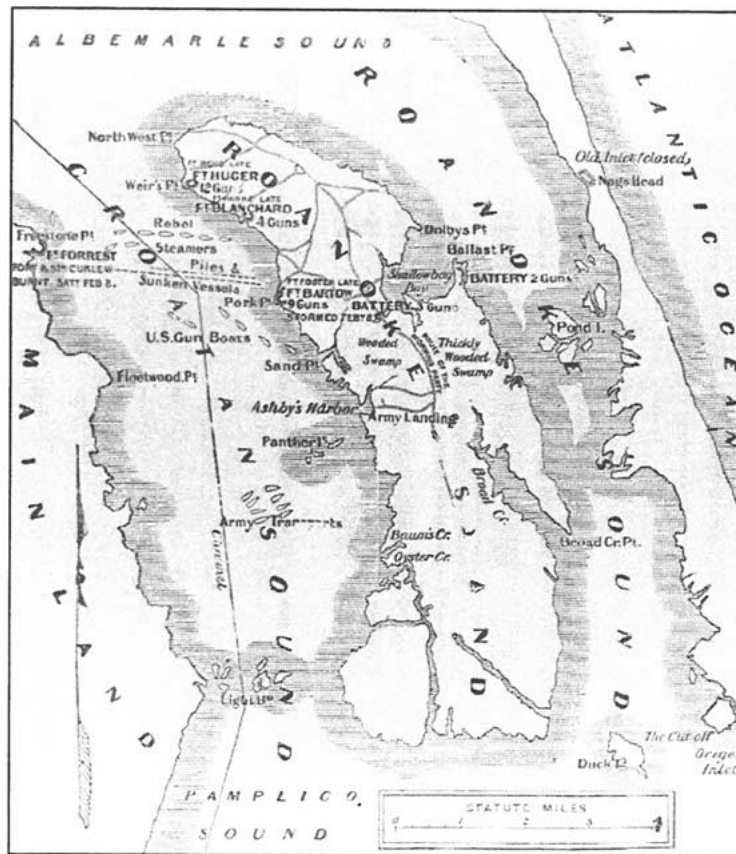


Figure 12. Map of Roanoke Island and the Confederate Forts

Consequently, Confederate forces, anticipating an attack on Roanoke Island after the fail of Hatteras Inlet, began fortifying the island. They created an artificial bottleneck near the northern end of the Croatan Sound by driving pilings across the sound and sinking old vessels filled with sand. A battery, Fort Forrest, was created at the western end of the bottleneck by sinking an old canal boat and mounting eight guns on its deck. The object of this obstruction and battery was to drive Union vessels passing along the west side of the island closer to the shore batteries on Roanoke Island.¹⁰⁷

To further fortify the area, Confederate troops from North Carolina and Georgia, reinforced by members of Wise's Legion from

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 101-2; Stick 1958, 121-7.

¹⁰⁶Torres, 102; Stick 1958, 128-9.

¹⁰⁷Stick 1958, 137; Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, Roanoke Island Investigation Committee, Report of the Roanoke Island Investigation Committee (Richmond: Enquirer Book and Job Press, Tyler, Wise, Allegre & Smith, 1862; reprint, Louisville: Lost Cause Press, 1972, text-fiche), 4 (page references are to original edition).

Virginia, constructed three forts on the northern end of Roanoke Island overlooking the Croatan Sound. Fort Huger, the northernmost defense on the island, was slightly north of the line of pilings and sunken vessels on the west side of Roanoke Island.¹⁰⁸ It consisted of a turfed sand fort running along the coast and contained twelve guns: eight thirty-two-pounder guns in embrasure, two rifled thirty-two pounders en barbette, and two small thirty-two pounders en barbette on the right. A low breastwork with a banquettes for the infantry enclosed the rear of the fort. Located twelve hundred yards south of Fort Huger, Fort Blanchard consisted of a semicircular, turfed, sand fortification with four thirty-two pounder guns en barbette. Fort Bartow, the southernmost defense on the west side of the island, was approximately two and a half miles south of Fort Blanchard. Like the others, it consisted of a sand fort covered with turf. Fort Bartow also contained six thirty-two pounder guns in embrasure and three thirty-two pounders en barbette.¹⁰⁹

In addition to these defenses, Confederate forces built two smaller fortifications. To defend the island from an attack from the east, Confederate troops erected a small battery of two thirty-two pounder guns en barbette. Located approximately three miles below Fort Bartow on the east side of Roanoke Island at Midgett's Hammock, the battery stood just below Ballast Point on the south side of Shallowbag Bay.¹¹⁰ Fort Russell, a redoubt or breastwork built in the center of the island, was approximately two miles from Fort Bartow and one mile from Midgett's Hammock. Erected across the road which connected the north end of the island with the south, the fort was approximately seventy or eighty feet long and had embrasures for three guns. It faced south, stretching from the marsh on its east to the swamp on its west.¹¹¹

Meanwhile, several months after the capture of Hatteras Inlet, Union forces began gathering another fleet for an attack on Roanoke Island. General Ambrose Burnside, commander of the Union forces, assembled a fleet of light-draft steamers, sailing vessels, and barges. He strengthened the vessels, supplied them with guns, and then outfitted them with men from the northern seacoast, assuming that these men would be familiar with the coasting trade. On January 9, 1862, the Burnside Expedition, another joint Army-Navy campaign which consisted of over eighty vessels and approximately 13,000 men, assembled in Annapolis and set sail.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Stick 1970,22-3; Stick 1958, 137.

¹⁰⁹Stick 1958, 137; Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, 1862, 4.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Stick 1970,23-5; Stick 1958, 138-9; See also Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative, vol. 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958, renewed 1986), 227-30.

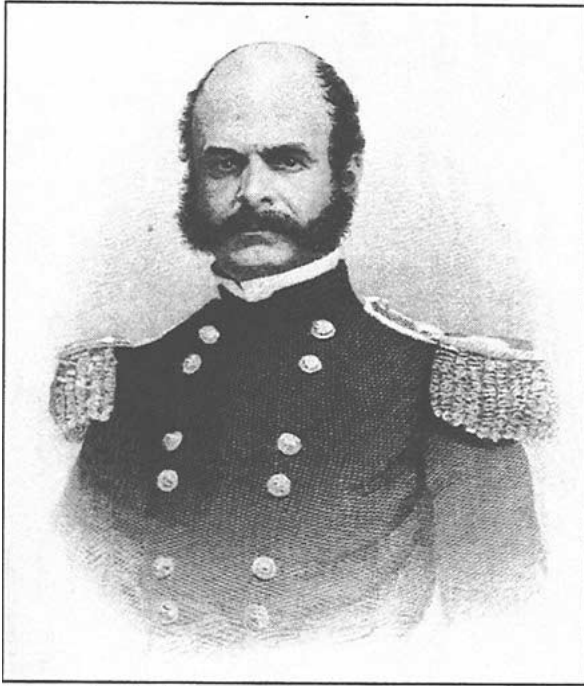


Figure 13. Brig. Gen. A. E. Burnside

After nearly a month at sea, Federal vessels arrived off Roanoke Island and began firing on the Confederate defenses on February 10, 1862. Later that evening, Federal troops landed at Ashby's Harbor (north of present-day Wanchese) on the west side of Roanoke Island. The following day, February 11, a force of 7,500 Union troops marched up the road in the center of the island for a frontal assault on Fort Russell, the redoubt with three field pieces erected to defend the causeway.¹¹³ Burnside then divided his troops into three divisions: five regiments under the command of Brigadier General John G. Foster advanced along the exposed road, supported from the rear by six field howitzers. Four regiments of Union troops under Brigadier General Jesse L. Reno left the

main force to assault the fort on the left, while four regiments under Brigadier General John C. Parke made a similar approach through the marshes on the right. The outnumbered Confederate forces defending the fort were eventually outflanked and overwhelmed by the Union troops. They abandoned the redoubt and retreated toward the north end of the island.¹¹⁴

After the fall of Fort Russell, Colonel H. M. Shaw, commander of the Confederate troops on Roanoke Island, quickly understood their desperate situation. Having been informed that the land defenses had been forced and the position of the forts turned, he ordered Forts Bartow, Blanchard, and Huger abandoned, their guns disabled, and their ammunition destroyed; their troops retreated to Camp Raleigh, the large Confederate encampment on the north end of Roanoke Island. No transports were available to evacuate the Confederate troops, and Shaw saw no other option than to surrender.¹¹⁵ Although a few Confederate soldiers escaped in small boats, approximately 2,675 officers and men were captured by the Union forces.¹¹⁶ As Brig. Gen. Foster (Union) noted in his report:

¹¹³Stick 1970, 25.

¹¹⁴Ibid.; Stick 1958, 146-7.

¹¹⁵Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives 1862, 7.

¹¹⁶Stick 1970, 25; Stick 1958, 147-8.

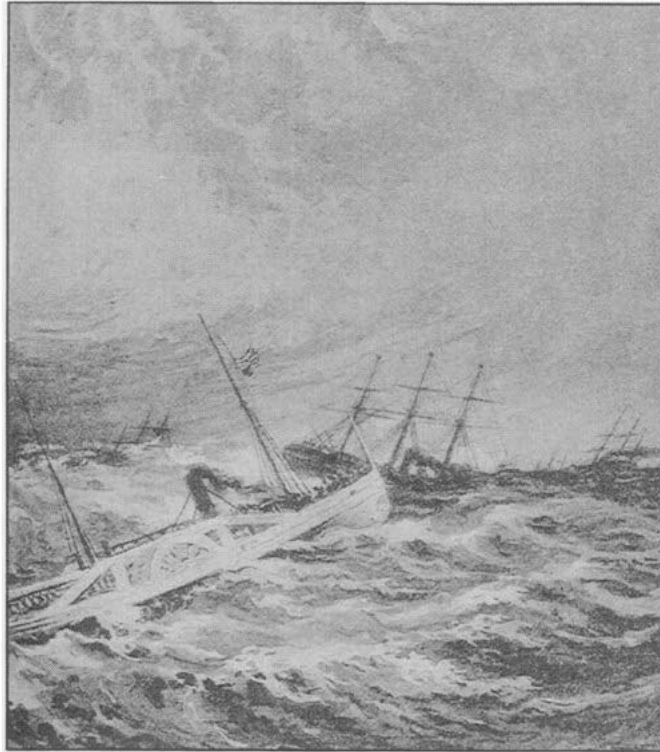


Figure 14. The Union Fleet off Hatteras

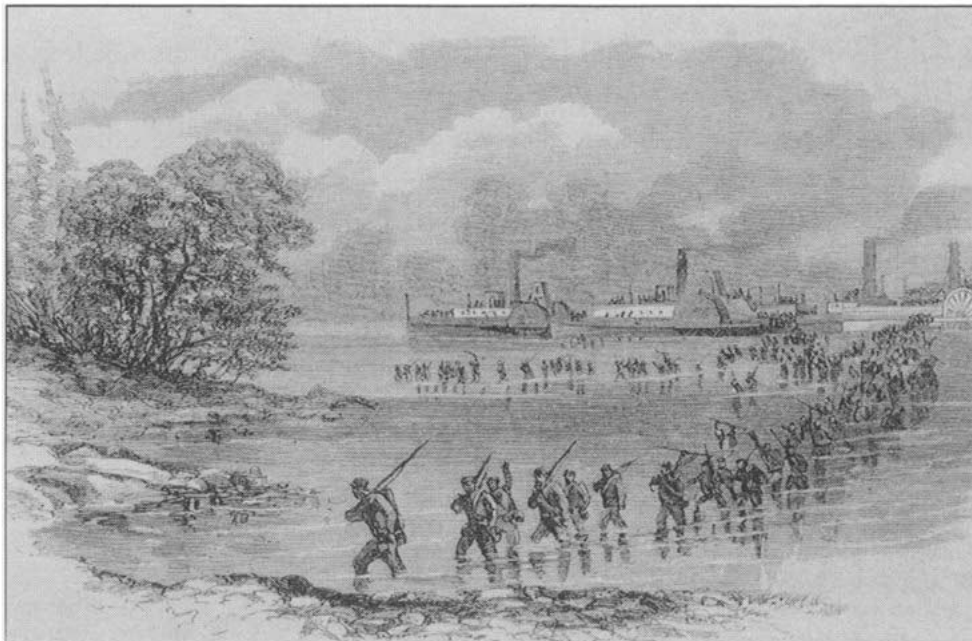


Figure 15. The Landing of Union Troops



Figure 16. The capture of Roanoke Island by Union forces

Just before reaching the fort on the upper extremity of the island I was met by a flag of truce, borne by Lieutenant-Colonel Fowle, of the Thirty-First North Carolina Volunteers, who came from Col. H. M. Shaw, of the Eighth North Carolina Volunteers, commanding the enemy's forces on the island to ask what terms of surrender would be granted. I replied, none but those of unconditional surrender....I then marched into the main camp and received the surrender of Colonel Shaw as commander of the enemy's forces on the island with all his forces. I immediately ordered Colonel Kurtz, with the Twenty-Third Massachusetts, to advance and secure the camp of the Thirty-First North Carolina Volunteers, nearby, but his arrival was anticipated by General Reno, who had already secured the camp, with the regiment it contained. The camps consisted of well-built quarters, store-houses, and hospitals, all newly built. The forces surrendered numbered in all about 3,000.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷Report of Brigadier General John G. Foster, U.S. Army, Commanding First Brigade, Roanoke Island, February 9, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. IX (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883) 87-8.

With the fall of Roanoke Island, a large portion of eastern North Carolina was now open to Union attack. After the capture of Elizabeth City and New Bern, the Union had complete control of the sounds and a substantial portion of eastern North Carolina. They were able to maintain and use this position to their advantage throughout the rest of the Civil War.¹¹⁸

In addition to capturing almost 3,000 prisoners, several forts, provisions, and a large number of weapons, Union forces also secured the Confederate camps on the north end of Roanoke Island.¹¹⁹ These compounds were then renamed after Union military leaders (Camp Foster/Camp Reno) and occupied by their troops. Several Union soldiers described the former Confederate quarters as being newly built, comfortable, and large enough to accommodate almost all of the conquering Union troops. As one soldier in the Twenty-First Massachusetts Volunteers remembered:

*We found spacious new wooden barracks and other buildings, and plenty of commissary supplies. The wounded men were at once housed in a comfortable hospital; the three thousand rebel prisoners were packed snugly away, and placed under close guard; and before night the weary 21st were taking their ease in warm and comfortable quarters, with all the rations they wanted.*¹²⁰

Another soldier described one of the former Confederate camps as containing approximately fifty buildings, including officer's quarters, barracks, stables, cookhouses, and other structures.¹²¹ Other reports described a camp with seventy-five to eighty wood buildings with

¹¹⁸Dunbar, 43.

¹¹⁹Augustus Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps* (Providence, RI: Sidney S. Rider & Brother, 1867), 45. According to Burnside's report, Union troops seized a variety of buildings and equipment:

The fruits of this splendid achievement, besides the prisoners captured, were "five forts, mounting thirty-two guns, winter quarters for some four thousand troops, three thousand stand of small arms, large hospital buildings, with a large amount of lumber, wheel barrows, scows, pile drivers, a mud dredge, ladders, and various other appurtenances for military service."

¹²⁰Charles F. Walcott, *History of the Twenty-First Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882),37.

¹²¹Alfred S. Roe, *The Twenty-Fourth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers 1861-1866* (Worcester, MA: The Twenty-Fourth Veteran Association, 1907), 63-4. In a letter dated February 16, 1862; Private Lyon described the camp:

We are pleasantly situated in one of the rebel camps; there are two near each other.... There are about fifty buildings in all, in this camp, including the officer's quarters, barracks, stables, cookhouses, etc. The other camp is about as large with 800 prisoners in it. We have in our camp 3000 prisoners. There are about 200 families on the island but most of the men folks are taken

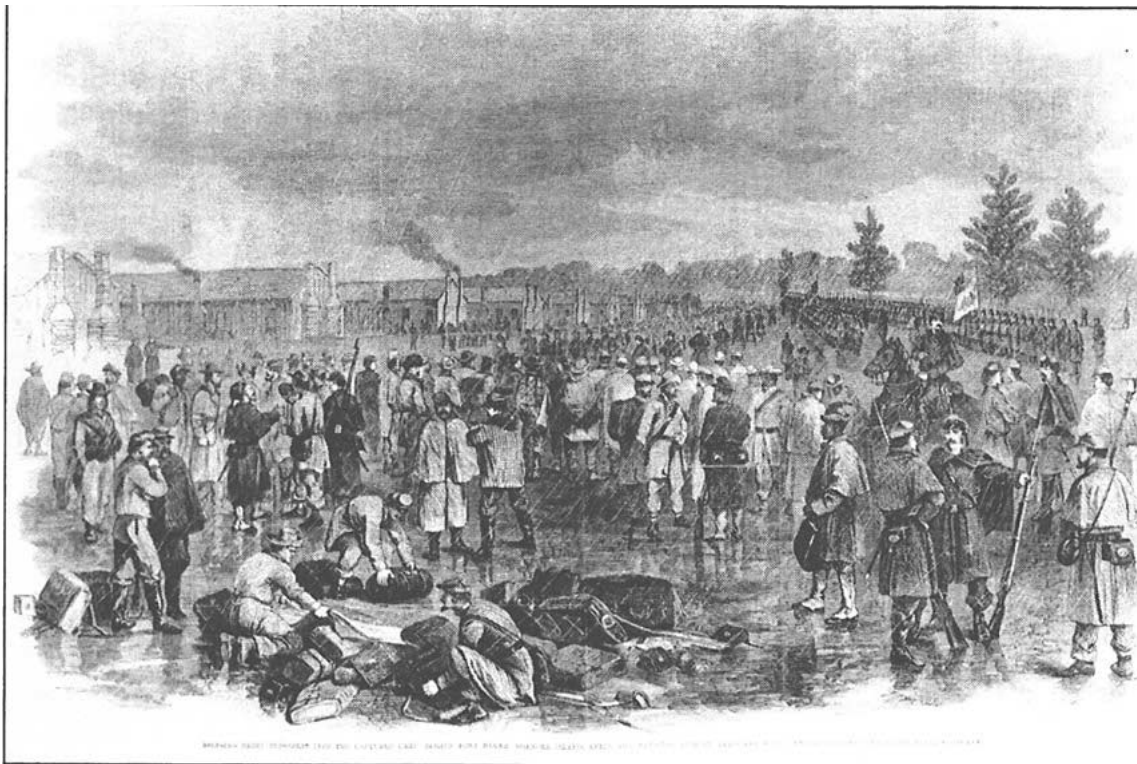


Figure 17. Confederate camp captured by Union forces

floors, fireplaces, and shingle roofs. The barracks were arranged in rows and were separated from one another by wide company streets. Twenty-five or thirty of the buildings were approximately 100' x 50' and were divided into smaller rooms with fireplaces for companies and squads.¹²² George Whitman, a Union soldier stationed on Roanoke Island, described the former Confederate camp as follows:

they numbered about 1600 men [Confederate Prisoners] and had cleared a space of a couple of hundred acres of land in the woods and erected splendid barracks for I should think 20,000 men the buildings have floors and fire places and shingle roofs I have not counted the buildings but should think there was 75 or 80 some 25 or 30 of which are about 100 feet by 50 and a

prisoners; most of the Prisoners are North Carolina men.

¹²²Matthew J. Graham, *The Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers (Hawkins Zouaves)* (New York: By the Author, 1900), 165-6.

good many first rate log houses and a large hospital Building... prisoners have been comeing[sic] in and giving themselves up and squads of them have been taken by our pickets all day so that we must have some 2500 to night...they have been working here the prisoners say for the last 5 months putting up these buildings and I give them credit for haveing[sic] built tip top quarters¹²³

While Federal forces held Roanoke Island, they instituted several programs and provided services to help their troops deal with the boredom of military camp life. A reading-room, post office, and theater which could accommodate 500 people were established. Several clubs were organized as well, including baseball teams, a debating club, and a theater troupe. In addition, some companies even erected gymnastic equipment and held competitions or matches to entertain fellow soldiers.¹²⁴

THE FREEDMEN'S COLONY ON ROANOKE ISLAND, 1862-1866

After Union troops captured Roanoke Island, many slaves on the island and from the surrounding area sought refuge on the island in an attempt to gain their freedom. Before the fall of Roanoke Island, Confederate forces sent a large number of slaves (and possibly some freedmen) to build the earthworks adjacent to the Oregon Inlet.¹²⁵ Soon after the battle, the first group of slaves in the vicinity arrived, consisting of fifteen or twenty men, women, and children who escaped down the Chowan River. Many others followed shortly thereafter, and, on March 30, 1862, General Burnside appointed Vincent Colyer as the regional Superintendent of the Poor to look after the indigent families and freedmen in the area.¹²⁶

Union soldiers at Camp Foster hired the first freedmen that came to Roanoke Island as porters, cooks, and servants. Colonel Rush Hawkins, commander of the Ninth New York Volunteers which occupied the island after the battle, set the standard wages. Men were paid \$10 a month, clothes, and rations. Women and children, who washed, ironed, and cooked for the troops,

¹²³George Washington Whitman, Roanoke Island, to Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, 9 February 1862, *Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman*, edited by Jerome M. Loving (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1975), 43-4.

¹²⁴Graham, 193-4.

¹²⁵Loretta Lautzenheiser and Thomas Hargrove, "'... The Bright Glittering Sand,' Archeological Survey and Test Excavations, Site 31DR61, Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina," prepared for Rial Corporation/W.M. Meekins Jr. (Tarboro, NC: Coastal Carolina Research, Inc., June 1991), 49-50.

¹²⁶Vincent Colyer *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina* (New York: By the author, 1864), 5-6.



Figure 18. Freedmen building fortifications



Figure 19. "Industry of the Women and Children"

received only \$4 a month, clothes, and rations. Provisions included pork or bacon, 16 oz. of flour and soft bread twice a week or 12 oz. of hard bread, and 16 oz. of corn meal five times a week. The freedmen also received 10 lbs. of beans, peas, or hominy, 8 lbs. of sugar, 2 quarts of vinegar, 8 lbs. of candles, and 2 oz. of pepper distributed among 100 people. 10 lbs. of rye coffee or 15 lbs. of tea was rationed among 100 women and children as well.¹²⁷

One of Vincent Colyer's first duties as Superintendent of the Poor was to employ as many freedmen as possible to help build forts along the coast of North Carolina. He was authorized to hire up to 5,000 men and pay them eight dollars a day, clothing, and rations.¹²⁸ Although the freedmen population of Roanoke Island continued to increase, so that by summer 1862, the number reached 1,000, only one-quarter of the population consisted of able-bodied men. Indeed, Vincent Colyer noted that at the time of his departure from his post, there were no more than 2,500 able-bodied freedmen within Union lines.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, he was able to recruit a sufficient number of freedmen, and the forts at New Bern, Washington (North Carolina), and Roanoke Island were completed within four months of his appointment. Freedmen built the new docks at Roanoke Island during this time as well.¹³⁰

Maj. Gen. Foster appointed Massachusetts Army chaplain Rev. Horace James as Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina in May 1863. Foster then ordered James to establish a colony for former slaves on the northern end of Roanoke Island. According to Horace James:

*It was General Foster's purpose to settle colored people on the unoccupied lands, and give them agricultural implements and mechanical tools to begin with, and to train and educate them for a free and independent community. It was also part of his plan to drill them for self-defense.*¹³¹



Figure 20. Horace James

¹²⁷Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 50.

¹²⁸Colyer, 6.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 50.

¹³¹ Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 1864 (Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., Printers, 1865), 21-2.

In June 1863, James journeyed to the North to acquire the necessary materials and implements to help build the colony. After a few weeks in New England and New York, he had raised between \$8,000 and \$9,000, most of which was donated by Freedmen's Associations in Boston and New York. While James was canvassing for funds, Gen. Foster ordered General E. A. Wild to obtain unoccupied and unimproved lands, divide them into lots, and then assign these plots to freedmen families. George O. Sanderson of the Forty-third Massachusetts, who was the Assistant Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, began the preliminary surveys of Roanoke Island and planned the first avenues of the new town while James traveled through the North raising funds.¹³²

Horace James returned to Roanoke Island in July 1863, with supplies for the colony. Work on the town now began in earnest, and one-acre lots on the northern end of the island were delineated and cleared. As James remembers:

*The work was now prosecuted with vigor, though with little outside aid for sometime. With compass, chart, and chain, and a gang of choppers, the old groves of pine, gum, holly and cypress, were penetrated crossed and re-crossed, and the upper, or northern, end of the island was laid out in acre lots, and at once assigned to families.*¹³³

Families of African-American troops or other freedmen employed by the Union government were eligible to receive these lots, as were the elderly and invalids. Horace James was authorized to assign these plots of land to qualified freedmen, who would enjoy full possession of the property until the government or due process of the law annulled this right.¹³⁴ Each family unit received a one-acre lot, which they were to improve by building a house, cultivating a garden, raising small crops, etc. James could not assign plots larger than one acre, for the land on the island was not rich enough, nor the island large enough, to provide the freedmen with sizable farms. In addition, the number of able-bodied men on the island needed to prepare and raise farm crops continued to decline as the Union recruited more African-American troops. As James explained:

¹³²James, 23.

¹³³Ibid., 24.

¹³⁴Ibid.

It was never intended to give these people farms at Roanoke, but only a homestead and a garden spot for each family. There are sufficient reasons for this, in that the island is not large enough to divide into farms for any considerable number of people. The land is not rich enough for profitable farming, though it will produce vegetables, grapes, and other fruit, in abundance and variety. And again, invalids, aged people, and soldiers' wives and children, could not be expected to improve more than a single acre.¹³⁵



Figure 21. Freedmen's community near New Bern. The dwellings on Roanoke Island were similar.

James and Sanderson laid out the city using a grid system, with broad, straight avenues approximately 1,200 feet apart and parallel to the shores of the island. These parallel avenues were named after the area, such as "Roanoke Avenue," or after Union leaders, including "Lincoln Avenue" and "Burnside Avenue." Smaller, narrower streets approximately 400 feet apart ran perpendicular to these broad avenues and were designated "First Street," "Second Street," "A Street," "B Street," etc. This arrangement divided the northern end of the island

¹³⁵Ibid., 24-5.

into large quadrangles containing twelve one-acre plots for freedmen families to improve with small houses and gardens. The lots were neatly enclosed, and the houses stood a uniform distance from the street.¹³⁶ Hand-split logs and boards or salvaged lumber were used as building materials, while the chimneys were made of wattle and daub. Sawn boards obtained from the mainland or the Outer Banks were used for finer woodwork, such as in the doors and windows and their surrounds. According to one description, the average house consisted of a one-story, one-room dwelling made of ¾" pine boards split by hand from 8'-long logs. The arrival of a steam-powered saw mill in spring 1864 greatly facilitated the construction of the new town. By January 1, 1865, the colony had at least 591 houses and more than 3,000 residents.¹³⁷

In addition to small dwellings, the freedmen's community also contained a church, several schools, teachers' residences, a smallpox hospital, sundry storehouses, and a steam-powered saw and grist mill. According to Vincent Colyer, the first church on the island consisted of a meeting place featuring pine logs for seats, pine branches for a canopy, and a pulpit made of discarded quartermaster's boxes.¹³⁸ Later, in 1864, a simple structure with a dirt floor and no windows was built to house church services.¹³⁹

In October 1863, Elizabeth James, sent by the American Missionary Association, became the first teacher in the freedmen's community on Roanoke Island. She spent her first months on the island living in a log cabin and teaching out of another. Shortly thereafter, in winter 1864, three other instructors (Ella Roper, S. S. Nickerson, and Mary Burnap) joined her. Even though the fledgling school had seven teachers by fall 1864, the colony still needed more educators to meet demands. The town had 1,297 children under fourteen years of age, as well as many adults who wanted to learn to read



Figure 22. A typical school established by the Freedmen's Bureau during the Civil War

¹³⁶Ibid., 25.

¹³⁷James, 25,26,52; Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 52.

¹³⁸Colyer, 36.

¹³⁹Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 52.

and write.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, the colony began building more suitable structures to accommodate both the teachers and the pupils. As Horace James noted:

*The colony would have been more promptly supplied with schools but for the want of suitable school rooms and quarters for teachers. The only abandoned house on the island was fitted up for a teacher's home, and will accommodate five or six. Its former occupant is in the rebel army. Since the mill began to produce lumber, school-houses and teachers' quarters have been, or are being, erected, sufficient for all our purposes.*¹⁴¹

The freedmen's colony also made several attempts to establish local industries to stimulate the economy. Horace James promoted spinning and weaving, as well as willow-working as possible occupations for the women of the colony. He felt that:

*If remunerative employment could be given to the women and older children, it would be a blessing to them. Household chores do not sit heavily upon people who live in almost primitive simplicity.*¹⁴²

For the men, James pursued local activities such as shoemaking, barrel-making, and fishing. A storehouse for fish was built, and Holland Streeter, who was in charge of the fishing industry, reported that revenue from the fishery reached \$1,404.27 in January 1864.¹⁴³ In addition, many of the men from the colony worked for the Union forces in the Quartermaster or Commissary Corps. Others completed Union fortifications on the island.¹⁴⁴ The grist and saw mill also provided an important source of income for members of the freedmen's colony. Located near Union military headquarters on the north end of the island, the structure contained a seventy-horsepower engine, several circular saws, a turning lathe, and a grist mill. The mill not only produced various styles of lumber and woodwork for construction purposes, but also ground grain for locals. As Horace James noted, the mill made "a positive addition to the wealth and

¹⁴⁰James, 29.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²James, 26.

¹⁴³Ibid., 28, 52.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 27-8. As Horace James noted, "About one hundred of the most active men on the island are employed in Government work, by the Quartermaster and Commissary of the Post. Some two hundred more have been kept at work a large portion of the year upon the fortifications of the island."

resources of the island.”¹⁴⁵ James also made plans for an industrial school and orphan asylum for the island.¹⁴⁶ It is unclear, however, whether such an establishment was ever built.

The freedmen’s colony also experimented with self-government. A council of fifteen leading colonists was appointed, and they were to meet periodically and work for the common welfare of the freedmen. Ideally, they would help govern the colony and communicate and enforce the orders of the federal government as well as those of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs. The council, however, was almost completely ineffective. James blamed this failure on the freedmen’s lack of education and felt that education was the prime necessity to prepare the colony for self-government.¹⁴⁷

Ultimately, the freedmen’s colony on Roanoke Island was not a success. The colony never became self-sufficient as its planners had hoped. Its isolated position, lack of resources and economic base, as well as the enlistment of many of its young, able-bodied men into the Union army, made many of the remaining residents dependent upon the federal government for subsidies. Most of the population of the colony consisted of women, children, the elderly, and the infirm. As Horace James noted:

*Its insular and isolated position, far removed from any centre [sic] of population, the necessity of clearing the lots assigned, which were all wild land the smallness of the garrison, furnishing but little employment to the people as laundresses, cooks, and servants, the partial failure of the shad fisheries, and above all, the transfer into the army of the laboring men, have made it necessary to feed the larger portion of the colonists at the expense of the Government.*¹⁴⁸

Moreover, many of the freedmen employed by the federal government never received their promised wages. Union agencies and soldiers either neglected or refused to compensate the freedmen, or paid them in rations or worthless vouchers. In addition, the constant transfer of Union troops to and from the island made the settling of accounts difficult. According to the calculations of Horace James, the government owed the freedmen of Roanoke Island more

¹⁴⁵James, 28.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁴⁷James, 30; See also Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 53.

¹⁴⁸James, 31.

than \$18,500 in unpaid wages, which could help stimulate the economy of the colony if ever paid.¹⁴⁹ The constant influx of former slaves also created further problems for the colony's economy.¹⁵⁰

The end of the Civil War brought about the demise of the freedmen's colony on Roanoke Island. By June 1865 (shortly after the end of the war), the Roanoke Island colony numbered 3,500, with approximately 2,700 of its members receiving rations from the U.S. government. With the war over, the army cut the freedmen's rations and discharged workers, who were paid in worthless vouchers instead of currency. In addition, the island's prewar residents returned, pledged an oath of allegiance to the Union, and reclaimed their land. The colony's population declined by half between 1865 and 1866, so that by November 1866, only 1,700 residents of the colony remained. That same month, the Freedmen's Bureau suspended the allotment of rations and recommended that all of Roanoke Island be returned to its prewar owners.¹⁵¹ The bureau felt that this would help induce the freedmen to leave the island to seek more favorable employment and better farmland elsewhere. As Major General John C. Robinson, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs in North Carolina, explained:

*The place is barren, and there is every appearance of great destitution during the coming winter. To remedy this the superintendent of the eastern district and the assistant superintendent on the island recommend that the land be restored to the original owners, so as to compel the freedmen to remove to other points, where they can procure employment. I have made arrangements for the transportation of these people from the island, and have reason to believe that great numbers of them will be induced to leave during this month.*¹⁵²

In addition, many of the school teachers left the island in fall 1866, after northern missionary societies began limiting funding. The harsh winter of 1866/1867 further encouraged the former slaves to leave the area. Consequently, by February 1867, the colony had virtually dispersed.¹⁵³

After the Civil War and the demise of the freedmen colony, the population of Roanoke Island

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 32-3.

¹⁵⁰Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 53.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 53-4.

¹⁵²Quoted in Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 54.

¹⁵³Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 54. This winter was so severe that the sound froze over.

stabilized at around 1,000. The number of inhabitants grew slowly until it reached 3,000 around the turn of the century. With this increase in residents, a new county, Dare County, was created out of parts of Currituck, Hyde, and Tyrell Counties. Manteo, on Roanoke Island, served as the county seat. The town grew into the area's commercial center and became incorporated in 1899.¹⁵⁴

FESSENDEN'S EARLY RADIO EXPERIMENTS, 1901-2

In the early twentieth century, the northern end of Roanoke Island became the site of several experiments once again. Rather than attempts to establish another colony, these investigations were in the field of radio technology. Between January 1901 and September 1902, Reginald Aubrey Fessenden conducted several radio transmitting and receiving experiments between the north end of Roanoke Island and Cape Hatteras. Many of Fessenden's most significant discoveries in this field were made during his twenty-month stay on the island.

Reginald A. Fessenden, the son of an Episcopal rector, was born on October 6, 1866, in Quebec, Canada. In 1877 he enrolled in Trinity College School at Port Hope, Ontario, and taught classes while attending college courses. After several positions in Canada and Bermuda teaching mathematics, Fessenden left for New York City in 1886 and eventually got a job with Thomas A. Edison and the Edison Machine Works. He first worked as an assistant tester, which involved scraping insulation off of conductors so the tester could check for ground faults. Before his section of the project was completed, Fessenden was promoted to tester, then chief tester, and finally, inspecting engineer.¹⁵⁵

After his project was completed, Fessenden chose to work as one of Edison's assistants at the new Llewellyn Park laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey. He stayed with Edison for a little over three years, working on new insulating materials for cables and new lacquers for dynamo wirings. While at Llewellyn Park, Fessenden not only got the chance to observe Edison's methods firsthand, but he also had access to the laboratory's library. In addition, Fessenden developed an interest in high frequency alternating currents during this period, which later led to his developments in radio technology.¹⁵⁶

After leaving Edison's laboratory, Fessenden went through a series of appointments, working

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Hugh G. T. Aitken, *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900-1932* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 41-4.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 44-5.

briefly for a subsidiary of Westinghouse and then at the Western University of Pennsylvania (later to become the University of Pittsburgh), until he accepted a job with the Weather Bureau in 1900. The bureau hoped he could develop a method of wireless communication by which weather data could be transmitted along the East Coast. This position promised Fessenden greater research resources, a better location for wireless experiments, and greater freedom in developing the system. His first success was the transmission of a voice for one mile on Cobb Island, Maryland. After this accomplishment, he moved with his wife, Helen, to Manteo, North Carolina, and established his main experimental station on the north end of Roanoke Island. Another station was set up on Hatteras Island, and he also had an additional antenna at Cape Henry, Virginia Beach.¹⁵⁷

Fessenden continued his refinements on wireless technology and strove to improve on the Marconi system, which was not suitable for the transmission of human voices. He also searched for a better apparatus to receive waves, as well as a way to transmit audible sounds. While on Roanoke Island, Fessenden made several breakthroughs in these areas. He improved upon the contemporary receivers, and in March 1902, Fessenden wrote his patent attorney from Roanoke Island explaining his new discovery:

*What do you say to a receiver which gives telegrams at the rate of a thousand words per minute and is so sensitive that it is perfectly positive and gives these results in its very crudest form and on the very first trial. Well, that is what I have now.*¹⁵⁸

One month later, Louis Dorman, an official observer for the Weather Bureau, reported to his employers on the success of the new receiver. According to Dorman:

*The receiver is positive in its action, and entirely and absolutely reliable. It is different in nature and action from the coherer, and gives no false signals like the later does. I could hear every single dot and dash made at Hatteras, with the utmost clearness. . . It is possible for any expert telegrapher to receive it as fast as the key can be handled*¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷Aitken, 51, 55; Patrick K. Lackey, "The Coast," part of *The Virginian-Pilot* [Norfolk, VA], 13 September 1992.

¹⁵⁸Aitken, 55.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 55-6.

Fessenden also developed a way to transmit audible sounds while on Roanoke Island. In April 1902, Fessenden once again wrote to his patent attorney concerning the success of his new experiments:

I have more good news for you. You remember I telephoned about one mile in 1900 (on Cobb Island in the Potomac River)-but I thought it would take too much power to telephone across the Atlantic. Well I can now telephone as far as I can telegraph, which is across the Pacific Ocean if desired. I have sent various musical notes from Hatteras and received them here [Roanoke Island] with but 3 watts of energy, and they are very loud and plain, i.e., as loud as in an ordinary telephone.¹⁶⁰

While on Roanoke Island, Fessenden discovered a way to piggyback voice and music onto continuous waves and invented a sensitive method for detecting and receiving the waves when they arrived, similar to today's radio or television tunings.¹⁶¹ His activities constituted the first practical application of a successful, commercially adaptable technique of radio communications in North America.¹⁶²

In fall 1902, Fessenden terminated his radio experiments on the north end of Roanoke Island. After several disputes with his employer, Fessenden quit the Weather Bureau in September 1902, and moved to Norfolk, Virginia. Nonetheless, his experience on Roanoke Island became the basis for his subsequent career in radio communications. Fessenden later established the first commercial trans-Atlantic two-way radio-telegraph service (1905) and was responsible for the first trans-Atlantic radio telephone transmissions (1906). He conducted experiments in numerous related areas, and went on to develop the sonic depth finder, SONAR, the aircraft radio altimeter, and the turbo-electric drive for battleships and other large vessels.¹⁶³ However, only a few signs of his accomplishments on Roanoke Island remain. A historical marker on North Carolina Route 12 in Buxton commemorates Fessenden's transmission of musical notes in 1902. The only other reminder of Fessenden's work is a concrete slab visible at low tide in the Croatan Sound about 300 yards off the northwest shore of Roanoke Island.¹⁶⁴ The slab once

¹⁶⁰Lackey.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Michael L. Everette, "The Fessenden Story. . .," (pamphlet) 1983.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Although this slab is located near the park's new boundary, it is not on National Park Service property.

held the boiler used to power the transmitters for the radio experiments.¹⁶⁵

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

Few standing structures associated with this context have survived within the confines of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. Nevertheless, documentary evidence indicates that a number of archeological resources may be present within the historic site on the north end of Roanoke Island. Although not on park land, the remains of a boiler which powered Fessenden's radio transmitters can be seen off the northwestern shore of Roanoke Island. However, the exact whereabouts of Fessenden's equipment, including the transmitting/receiving towers on the northwest side of the island, has not been found. Possible locations include new park property near Weir Point, on the northwestern shore of Roanoke Island. This site should not be ruled out until more research is conducted.

In addition, archeologists have uncovered some Civil War-related resources on the north end of Roanoke Island. Portions of a former Confederate fortification are located near the intersection of US 64 and NC 345 (which is not within the site's boundary). However, the precise location of Fort Huger, Fort Blanchard, Fort Bartow, Camp Raleigh, Camp Foster, and other features associated with the Civil War and the battle of Roanoke Island remain unknown. These fortifications were constructed on the northern end of the island as part of its defenses, and could be located on park service land. Archeological investigations, conducted in 1989 and 1991 on privately owned land within the park's new boundary, have uncovered a large number of Civil War-era artifacts despite the disruption caused by relic hunters. These finds could indicate the site of the Confederate compound or the Union camp (or even the Freedmen's colony).¹⁶⁶ Nonetheless, more archeological research is needed to determine whether any of these Civil War sites are indeed archeological resources located within the park's boundary.

The site of the Freedmen's colony on the northern end of Roanoke Island is also a matter of speculation. Although the community consisted of schools, storehouses, hospitals, and approximately 590 dwellings, and contained over 3,000 inhabitants, no standing structures remain. However, archeological investigations have uncovered some finds which could be related to the colony.¹⁶⁷ Further archeological research is needed to determine whether or not

¹⁶⁵Lackey.

¹⁶⁶For the results of these archeological investigations, see Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, as well as Thomas Hargrove, "An Archeological Survey of the Manteo Wastewater Treatment Plant, Dare County, North Carolina," Prepared for F. T. Green & Associates (Raleigh, NC: Robert J. Goldstein and Associates, September 1989).

¹⁶⁷Lautzenheiser and Hargrove; Hargrove.

the site of the Freedmen's colony lies within the confines of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, especially within the newly acquired land.

The only resource remaining from the time period discussed in this chapter is the Dough family cemetery. The Doughs probably moved to Roanoke Island in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century; the 1790 census records a number of families by the name of Dough living in the area, and an 1820 map notes that a branch of the family lived on the north end of Roanoke Island.¹⁶⁸ In 1849 Thomas A. Dough obtained a land grant from the state for his family's acreage on the north end of the island, making their ownership of the property official. The family homestead included a house, which was probably built sometime in the early nineteenth century, several outbuildings, many acres of farmland, and a cemetery. In 1894 the Roanoke Island Memorial Association purchased the Dough homestead (containing approximately 250 acres) for \$1,300. For another \$200, W. T. Dough and his wife sold the association the ten acres of farmland on the north end of the island containing the "Old Fort Raleigh tract."¹⁶⁹

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

Several resources associated with this context have not been located, and their eligibility as archeological sites cannot be properly evaluated. As such, they do not qualify as contributing resources, nor can they be listed on the National Register. These unlocated resources include Forts Huger, Bartow, and Blanchard, as well as Camp Raleigh, Camp Foster, and the Freedmen's colony. However, these sites are potentially eligible; if their locations are discovered, and their remains retain a high level of integrity and yield important information, they may be eligible under this context.

The remaining elements of the Dough farmstead (mainly the cemetery) may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A, Event, as representative of a typical nineteenth century farmstead of the area. Unfortunately, few resources associated with the Dough family



Figure 23. Dough Family Cemetery

¹⁶⁸Powell 1965, 25.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 75.

homestead have survived. The main house was situated where the southern portion of the “Lost Colony” parking lot is today, and was moved c. 1964 when the National Park Service obtained part of the Dough property.¹⁷⁰ The only existing remnant of the Dough farm is the family cemetery, which is located off the maintenance road leading to the northwestern portion of the park near employee housing and the edge of the sound. The park service still maintains the graveyard, allows access to it for members of the family, and permits burials of the descendants of C. J. Dough in the one-acre cemetery.¹⁷¹ While the Dough family cemetery is a typical rural family graveyard that was associated with the family’s holdings on the north end of Roanoke Island, other elements of the homestead, such as the house, related outbuildings, farmland, and field patterns no longer remain. Therefore, although the cemetery could be considered a contributing element to the Dough family homestead, the lack of associated structures and features makes the farm ineligible under Criterion A. Criterion D, information potential, has yet to be fully addressed. In fall 1963, the NPS surveyed portions of the Dough property as part of a construction project to build an entrance road/parking area at the site. The archeological report stated that since no evidence of the sixteenth-century settlement was found, further testing was unnecessary and the area could be developed.¹⁷² Although the main house, wash house, and other outbuildings associated with the Doughs were removed and the area developed for the Waterside Theater parking lot, potential archeological resources could still remain. Before the area is re-developed, a comprehensive archeological survey should be conducted to locate any resources and evaluate their National Register eligibility.

To be individually eligible for the National Register, the Dough Family Cemetery must meet one of the four National Register criteria as well as Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries. However, the lack of associated structures, significant design features, and historic events connected to the Dough family, led to the conclusion that the site is ineligible for the National Register under these criteria. In addition, Criteria Consideration D states that a cemetery is eligible if it “derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendental importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.”¹⁷³ The cemetery in question contains eight known graves, with the dates of death on the stone markers ranging from 1866 to 1906. One of the grave sites includes a raised brick

¹⁷⁰Walker and Cooper, 133-4.

¹⁷¹“Revised Statement for Management for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994.” No interments have occurred in recent years, and the list of eligible people is dwindling.

¹⁷²J. C. Harrington, “Report of Archeological Testing at Fort Raleigh,” Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, September 9, 1963, TMs, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

¹⁷³*National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, 34-6.*

table inset with a marble plaque and an upright headstone. The other graves contain footmarkers and headstones, usually limestone or marble and inscribed with the family member's name, and date of birth and death. Some contain sentiments or decorative features, such carved leaves or roses. These elements, however, are not unusual in their age or design. Nor are the graves associated with historic events or significant people. As such, the cemetery is not eligible for listing on the National Register at this time. Nonetheless, even though the cemetery is not eligible, the park service still maintains and manages it as a cultural resource.

U.S. Congress recently expanded the boundary and legislative purpose of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site to include areas associated with the Civil War, the Freedman's Bureau, and Reginald A. Fessenden. The park's authorized boundary currently encompasses 512.93 acres, of which the NPS owns 355.45 acres. Although the new NPS property contains no standing structures and no known archeological remains, documentary evidence suggests that there may be several potential archeological sites associated with the Civil War and a Freedman's colony. As such, the area is potentially eligible for the National Register. The new land must be systematically surveyed and any archeological remains must be assessed and evaluated for integrity. If research reveals significant findings eligible for the National Register, Fort Raleigh's NR boundary should be expanded to include these sites. These extensive archeological investigations need to be conducted before this area is ever developed.

NONELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Dough Family Cemetery (c. 1850-1906)

POTENTIALLY ELIGIBLE ARCHEOLOGICAL(UNLOCATED)RESOURCES

Dough Family house and farm (c. 1850-1960)

Archeological resources associated with the Civil War, including Fort Huger (c. 1861-2), Fort Blanchard (c. 1861-2), Fort Bartow (c. 1861-2), Camp Raleigh (c. 1861-2), Camp Foster/Camp Reno (c. 1862-5), and the Freedmen's Colony (c. 1862-6)
Fessenden's Transmitting and Receiving Equipment/Station (c. 1901-2)

CHAPTER 3:

FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE:

PRESERVATION AND RECOGNITION, C. 1860-1953

Preservation and commemoration efforts on Roanoke Island were part of a growing national interest in recognizing and honoring significant historic events and individuals in American history. This movement first gathered momentum in the late nineteenth century in the aftermath of the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia.¹⁷⁴ Regional pride, patriotism, and antiquarian interests (and to some degree, xenophobia in response to a rising number of “non-English” immigrants) coalesced to create a new sense of historical awareness in the country. Small house museums and commemorative sites such as battlefields or homes of patriotic heroes were all given new attention during this period. The preservation and commemorative efforts on the Outer Banks closely paralleled several other enterprises. These early preservation ventures included: the 1881 founding of the Yorktown Centennial Association; the organization of the Old South Society in Boston in 1877; the efforts of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), founded in 1888; the Save the Mary Washington Cottage movement in Fredericksburg, Virginia; the founding in 1892 of the Memorial Association of the District of Columbia; and countless efforts of organizations such as the Sons or Daughters of the American Revolution or regional groups such as the Society for the Protection of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), to save and protect various vestiges of American history in the face of a fast-changing world.¹⁷⁵

Probably the closest parallel to the efforts that eventually focused on the Outer Banks was the attempt by the APVA to save remaining elements at Jamestown, Virginia, the site of the first successful English colony in the New World. The APVA’s focus was to protect Jamestown

¹⁷⁴For more information on early preservation efforts in the United States, see Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1965) and William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Presentation in America* (Pittstown, NJ: Mainstreet Press, 1988).

¹⁷⁵Hosmer 1965, 11-2, 65-6, 73.

from the threat of erosion, and a great emphasis was placed on building a retaining wall.¹⁷⁶ In 1893, the organization managed to acquire approximately twenty-two acres of land on Jamestown Island, including a section of the original site containing the remnants of the tower and the foundations of the 1639 church traditionally associated with the site of the Jamestown settlement.¹⁷⁷ Similar efforts were mounted in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and, years later, in early Spanish settlements such as Saint Augustine, Florida.¹⁷⁸

The historic preservation movement became increasingly popular in the early twentieth century. Efforts in New England by organizations such as the SPNEA and by other more local groups and individuals helped spark the preservation of towns such as Deerfield, Massachusetts (1877), and Newport, Rhode Island (1880s).¹⁷⁹ Added to this list in the twentieth century were Mystic, Connecticut (1920s); Portsmouth, New Hampshire (1930s); and the most important national model, the extensive “restoration” of Williamsburg, Virginia, underwritten by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and spearheaded by the outspoken Episcopal clergyman William A. R. Goodwin, during the late 1920s and early 1930s.¹⁸⁰ In North Carolina, pioneering preservation efforts ranged from preserving the remains of the Moravian community in Winston-Salem in 1932,¹⁸¹ to the photographic documentary work of Frances Benjamin Johnston in the 1930s.¹⁸²

EARLY EFFORTS TO LOCATE AND PRESERVE “LANE’S FORT” AND THE “CITTIE OF RALEGH”

The site of the unsuccessful Roanoke colonies remained a place of incidental interest throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and into the nineteenth century. Waves of (mostly English) immigrants, many from Virginia, began to successfully settle the area. Many of these

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 66.

¹⁷⁷Irving Haas, *America’s Historic Houses and Restorations* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966), 200-1.

¹⁷⁸Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* 2 Vols. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1981), I, 312-22, 350-1.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 121-9, 351-60; Hosmer 1965, 107-9.

¹⁸⁰Hosmer 1981, 11-73, 129, 332-40; Murtagh, 35-6.

¹⁸¹Hosmer 1981, 363-5.

¹⁸²For examples of Johnston’s work in North Carolina, See Frances Benjamin Johnston and Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941). For more information on Johnston, see Ann E. Peterson, “Frances B. Johnston, The Crusader with a Camera,” *Historic Preservation Magazine* 32 (1980): 17-20.

explorers and settlers, however, still noted the location of an old fort, which they associated with Raleigh's colonization efforts. In September 1653, a young trader and three companions visited Roanoke Island, where a Native American "received them civilly and showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort."¹⁸³ Almost fifty years later, the traveler John Lawson recognized the ruins of a fortification on the north end of the island. As John Lawson noted during his trip through Carolina in 1700:

*The first Discovery and Settlement of this Country was by the Procurement of Sir Walter Raleigh, in Conjunction with some publick-spirited Gentlemen of that Age, under the Protection of Queen Elizabeth; for which Reason it was then named Virginia, being begun on that Part called Ronoak-Island, where the ruins of a Fort are to be seen at this day, as well as some old English Coins which' have been lately found; and a Brass-Gun, a Powder-Horn, and one small Quarter deck-Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop 'd with the same Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies.*¹⁸⁴

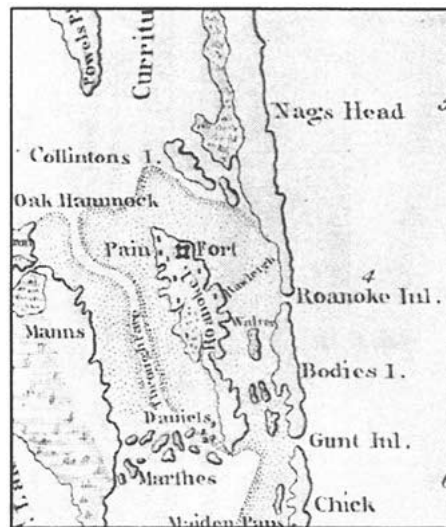


Figure 24. John Collet map of 1770

¹⁸³Quoted in Porter 1972, 46.

¹⁸⁴Lawson, 62. Lawson also discussed the probable fate of these early settlers and stated:

A farther Confirmation of this we have from the Hateras Indians, who either then lived on Ronoak-Island, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly Offices. It is probable, that this settlement miscarry'd for want of timely supplies from England; or thro' the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them, for Relief and Conversation; and that in process of Time, they conform 'd themselves to the Manners of their Indian Relations. And thus we see, how apt Human Nature is to degenerate.

I cannot forbear inserting here, a pleasant Story that passes for an uncontested Truth amongst the Inhabitants of this Place; which is, that the Ship which brought the first Colonies, does often appear amongst them, under Sail, in a gallant Posture, which they call Sir Walter Raleigh's Ship, And the truth of this has been affirm'd to me, by Men of the best Credit in the Country.

Over the years, Roanoke Island was parceled out to several property owners, including the Pain and Daniels families. In 1770, John Collet published a map of the area, noting the location of a fort on the north end of Roanoke Island and the seats of these families. In addition, his map contains a square mark with rounded corners, designated as a “fort,” corresponding to the location of the present reconstructed fort.¹⁸⁵

Throughout the nineteenth century, the site gained a romantic reputation, largely as a result of its mysterious abandonment and association with Virginia Dare, a figure who assumed increasing significance as a symbol of early English ties in North America. In 1819 James Monroe visited the site and was shown “the remains of the Fort, the traces of which are still distinctly visible, which is said to have been erected by the first colony of sir Walter Raleigh.”¹⁸⁶ At mid-century, George Higby Throop and Benson J. Lossing both claimed to detect the much eroded remains of the fort.¹⁸⁷

However, the first major published work on the fort and settlement and the first clear call for their preservation are found in an article by Edward C. Bruce printed in a *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* of 1860.¹⁸⁸ Visiting the north end of Roanoke Island, Bruce wrote that he could distinguish trenches, a small bastion, and other traces of the old fort.¹⁸⁹ According to

¹⁸⁵John Collet, Map of North Carolina (London 1770), Copy of the map in Powell 1965, 24.

¹⁸⁶Quoted in Powell 1965, 23.

¹⁸⁷Throop wrote that “the remains of the fort, glass globes, containing quicksilver, and hermetically sealed and other relics occasionally discovered there, give rise to a thousand conjectures destined never to be solved.” Gregory Seaworthy [George Higby Troop], *Nag’s Head: or Two Months Among the “Bankers”* (Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1850), 126.

According to Lossing, who visited Roanoke Island in the 1850s, the island was “uninhabited, except by a few wreckers and pilots. Slight traces of Lane’s Fort may be seen near the north end.” Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1852), 450.

¹⁸⁸Powell 1965, 27-8; Edward C. Bruce, “Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 20 no. 120 (May 1860): 721-36.

¹⁸⁹Bruce described the remains of the fort and wrote:

A short trudge brought us to the site of Master Ralph Layne’s stronghold and the City of Raleigh. Of its locality there can be no reasonable doubt. The tradition of the spot has always been kept up, and every body on the island is familiar with it... The entrenchment’s speak a mute testimony of their own. The island contains nothing else of the sort, and the records of the voyagers fix the situation of the village to within a mile or less... The trench is clearly traceable in a square of about forty yards each way. Midway of one side—that crossing the foreground of our sketch—another trench, perhaps flanking the gate-way, runs in some fifteen or twenty feet. This is shown. And on the right of the same face of the enclosure, the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible. The whole site is overgrown with pine, live-oak

local tradition, enough of the fort was still visible during the period of the Federal army's occupation of the island to cause Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Union forces, to declare the site off-limits to souvenir-scavenging soldiers.¹⁹⁰

The site of the unsuccessful colony received new attention in the 1880s. Edward Eggleston's article in *The Century Magazine* of 1882, illustrated by seven of John White's famous drawings and entitled "The Beginning of a Nation," helped to focus new attention on the site.¹⁹¹ A more scholarly treatment was offered by the North Carolina historian Stephen B. Weeks in the December 1890 issue of *the Magazine of American History*, a publication of the American Historical Association. Weeks described the history behind the Roanoke expeditions and the "Lost Colony," and attempted to explain their possible fate.¹⁹² In 1893, the same journal followed up with another article on the site, Edward Graham Daves's "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia'--1585".¹⁹³ Daves, who was to become increasingly important in efforts to preserve the site, complained that the site was still unrecognized by historians and little commemorated, especially when compared to Saint Augustine, Jamestown, and Plymouth. He also suggested that the United States owed more to English exploration and civilization than to Columbus, whose discovery of America was being celebrated at Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, and wrote "No spot in the country should be dearer or more sacred to us than that which was marked by the first footprints of the English race in America."¹⁹⁴ Daves's historical efforts were soon reinforced by the Washington, DC, archeologist Talcott Williams, who conducted a partial investigation of the site and reported on

vines, and a variety of other plants, high and low. A flourishing live-oak, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the centre. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the city of Raleigh. (Bruce, 733-5.)

¹⁹⁰Powell 1965, 30.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 31. Eggleston's article, which was about the European discovery of North America and its settlement, contained a section on Sir Walter Raleigh and the Roanoke colonies. Illustrations included John White's map of the southern coast of North America, his map of the region explored by members of an expedition, as well as several of his drawings of Native Americans. See Edward Eggleston, "The Beginning of a Nation," *Century* 25 no. 1 (November 1882): 61-83.

¹⁹²Powell 1965, 31; Stephen B. Weeks, "Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island: An Historical Survival," *Magazine of American History* 25 (January/June 1891): 127-39.

¹⁹³Powell 1965, 32; Edward Graham Daves, "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia'-1585" *Magazine of American History* 29 (May/June 1893): 470-81.

¹⁹⁴Daves, 470.

it in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*.¹⁹⁵

POLITICAL AND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR RECOGNITION

The idea of physically commemorating the site or otherwise recognizing the early colonization efforts in North Carolina gained increasing popularity and political support after 1880. In 1884, North Carolina Senator Zebulon B. Vance called for congressional recognition of North Carolina's place in America's history. He asked for \$30,000 to erect a monument and hold a ceremony to mark the three hundredth anniversary of the Amadas and Barlowe Expedition that had led to the first colony in 1584.¹⁹⁶ Not surprisingly, his efforts were given strong support by local newspapers and North Carolina citizens. The *Raleigh News and Observer* commented in 1884 that on Roanoke Island "the seed [of English settlement] was planted which germinated and after experiencing many vicissitudes grew and expanded until the vast continent of America has been brought under its benign influences."¹⁹⁷ Vance's proposal, however, died in committee.¹⁹⁸

THE VIRGINIA DARE AND ROANOKE COLONY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

While national recognition was slow to gain acceptance, locally oriented organizations did begin to make some progress toward recognizing and commemorating the site of the Roanoke colonies. Much of the early effort was spearheaded by the North Carolina writer and amateur historian, Sallie Southall Cotten. She had become interested in North Carolina history sometime in the 1880s, and in the 1890s her attention centered on Virginia Dare. Indeed, Cotten was instrumental in incorporating the Virginia Dare Columbia Memorial Association on August 18, 1892, whose objectives were "to perpetuate the memory of Virginia Dare, the first white child born on American soil, to erect a memorial to her in North Carolina and to aid in the construction of a building for the State of North Carolina at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵Powell 1965, 33; Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 47-61.

¹⁹⁶Congressional Record, 48th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1884), 15, 4097-8; quoted in Powell 1965, 40, 44-5.

¹⁹⁷Quoted in Powell 1965, 42.

¹⁹⁸Powell 1965, 51. Powell has suggested that Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas (a native of Massachusetts) intentionally allowed Vance's bill to die for fear that the North Carolina efforts would deflect attention away from the long-recognized Plymouth colony.

¹⁹⁹Quoted in Powell 1965, 52.

To accomplish this, Sallie Cotten and the rest of the association first published several pamphlets on North Carolina history and planned the construction of a building at the exposition to house an exhibit on both Virginia Dare and the early North Carolina settlement. Sallie Cotten was scheduled to be a “Lady Manager,” or hostess, representing North Carolina at the exposition and stressing the state’s role in the colonization of the New World. Cotten also wrote a seven-page pamphlet entitled “The Women of North Carolina to the Women of America,” which repeated much of the information in the earlier pamphlets and underscored the contribution of women to the American colonization effort.²⁰⁰

Cotten’s proposals languished, however, and she failed to gain either state or national support. The association did not achieve all of its goals, including erecting a state building for the exposition and establishing the Virginia Dare Memorial School.²⁰¹ Nonetheless, Cotton continued to work on behalf of memorializing Virginia Dare and all that she symbolized for her. In the late 1890s she gave her support to other organizations and published works commemorating Virginia Dare, including *The white Doe*, *The Fate of Virginia Dare*, *An Indian Legend*.²⁰²

In the 1890s, Sallie Cotten’s efforts were aided by a complementary organization, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, chartered in 1894—two years after the Virginia Dare Memorial Association’s establishment. The association’s founding members included Professor Edward Graham Daves (who was to become the most active member), Francis White, William Shepard Bryan, A. Marshall Elliot, Bartlett S. Johnston, and Thomas J. Boykin. All had North Carolina connections, though ironically the main organizers lived in Baltimore, Maryland. Represented in this group were two teachers, a judge in the State Supreme Court, two active businessmen, and the treasurer of John Hopkins University.²⁰³ A three-page prospectus was prepared, and general principles and an organizational charter were accepted.²⁰⁴

The association’s principal aim, as set out in its prospectus, was to acquire and preserve the

²⁰⁰Powell 1965, 52-5.

²⁰¹Ibid., 55-7.

²⁰²Ibid., 59-62. See Sallie Southall Cotten, *The White Doe, The Fate of Virginia Dare, An Indian Legend* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1901).

²⁰³Ibid., 64-7.

²⁰⁴Interestingly, the Cape Cod Pilgrim Association of Provincetown, Massachusetts, may have served as a model for forming the organizational structure of this association. See Powell 1965, 72.

site of the “fort” associated with the Roanoke expeditions of 1584-1590. The plan was to issue two hundred shares of stock at \$25 each to purchase the property from the owners. The prospectus, entitled “Raleigh’s Colony on Roanoke Island, 1584-1590,” emphasized the recreational potential of the property as well, especially for hunting and fishing. It also suggested that portions of the property without historic value could be sold for additional funds.²⁰⁵

Articles of incorporation were finally drawn up in Baltimore on March 4, 1894, almost marking the 310th anniversary of the Barlowe expedition. The articles, signed in Baltimore and in Edenton, North Carolina, stated that the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was “organized for the benevolent and patriotic purpose of reclaiming, preserving, and adorning Old Fort Raleigh, built in 1585...and also to erect monuments and suitable memorials to commemorate these and other historical events in North Carolina.”²⁰⁶ The office was established in Edenton, and ten thousand shares of stock were offered at \$10 each. The first subscribers included Francis White, Sallie Cotten’s Virginia Dare Memorial Association, Edward Graham Daves, Theodore Lyman, R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Bartlett S. Johnston, Julian S. Carr, and W. D. Pruden. Other subscribers purchased shares in succeeding months, bringing the total number of shareholders to 156 by October 1894.²⁰⁷

Shortly after its organization, the association acquired 250 acres belonging to the members of the Dough family at a cost of \$1,300. An additional \$200 was paid to W. T. Dough for “the Old Fort Raleigh tract containing 10 acres more or less” cut out of the north end of the Dough farm.²⁰⁸ The organization held its first meeting on May 22, 1894, in Daves’s house in Baltimore. Daves was elected president; W. D. Pruden was vice-president. Sir Walter Raleigh’s Coat of Arms was adopted as the

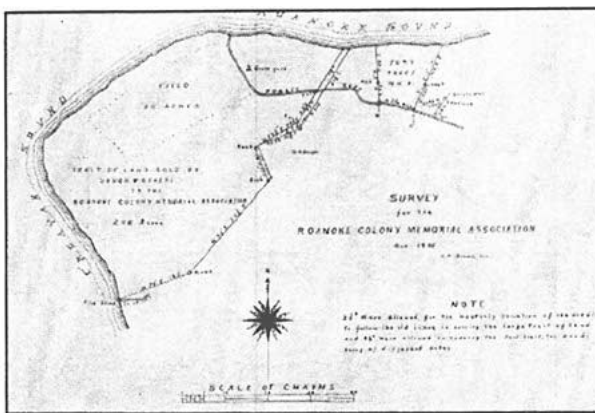


Figure 25. Land sold to the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association

²⁰⁵Powell 1965, 67-9.

²⁰⁶Quoted in Powell 1965, 73.

²⁰⁷Powell 1965, 73-6.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 75.

association's seal. Another meeting was scheduled to be held at the Fort Raleigh site in August.²⁰⁹

The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association met as planned but without their president, who had died on August 1, approximately two weeks before the planned meeting. Those attending the meeting agreed that the fort's boundaries should be marked, a memorial erected, and the fort ditch excavated.²¹⁰ To ensure the accuracy of this effort, Talcott Williams, an archeologist, was invited to visit the site.²¹¹ In the early part of 1895, Williams undertook a series of test excavations, including a trench across the site, to verify the fort's location. He also confirmed the presence of artifacts and other indications of habitation.²¹²

With all doubt erased, the group moved quickly to commemorate the site. Major Graham Daves, Edward Daves's brother and his successor as president of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, made arrangements for the erection of a granite monument and an enclosure to protect the site. In a letter to John S. Bassett, a charter member of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association and its Secretary/Treasurer, Daves states:

I have contracted for a handsome memorial stone to mark the site of Fort Raleigh, with an appropriate inscription telling the story of the attempted settlements and the fate of the Colonists etc. This will cost, delivered in New Bern[,] \$150. It will be properly of N.C. & Va. Granite. I will give a full description of it when completed. The fort-l shall have securely fenced to prevent damage and further depredations, and hope to go there myself some time next month, preferably on the 18th to place the stone and to complete operations as far as our present means will admit.²¹³



Figure 26. Raleigh Colony/
Virginia Dare Monument,
1990

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 75-6.

²¹¹ Powell 1965, 79; Williams 1896, 58-9.

²¹² Williams 1896, 59-60.

²¹³ Graham Daves, Wilmington, NC, to John S. Bassett, Durham, NC, 2 July 1896, John S. Bassett Papers, Duke University Archives, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, Copy on file at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina. See also Powell 1965, 72, 75, 79-80.

Daves apparently negotiated with H. A. Tucker & Brothers of the Wilmington Granite and Marble Works in Wilmington, NC, to fabricate the memorial, which included a base and sub-base of North Carolina granite surmounted by a gray Virginia granite tablet. When completed, the monument was installed in the fort enclosure, and granite posts marked the angles of the fort. On November 24, 1896, the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument was officially dedicated,²¹⁴ the inscription on the tablet reading:

ON THIS SITE, IN JULY-AUGUST 1585,
(O.S.) COLONISTS, SET OUT FROM ENGLAND
BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH, BUILT A FORT, CALL-
ED BY THEM

“THE NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA”

THESE COLONISTS WERE THE FIRST SET-
TLERS OF THE ENGLISH RACE IN AMERICA.
THEY RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN JULY, 1586,
WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

NEAR THIS PLACE WAS BORN, ON THE 18TH
OF AUGUST, 1587,

VIRGINIA DARE

THE FIRST CHILD OF ENGLISH PARENTS BORN
IN AMERICA--DAUGHTER OF ANANIAS DARE
AND ELEANOR WHITE, HIS WIFE, MEMBERS OF
ANOTHER BAND OF COLONISTS SENT OUT BY
SIR WALTER RALEIGH IN 1587.

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1587, VIR-
GINIA DARE WAS BAPTIZED. MANTEO, THE
FRIENDLY CHIEF OF THE HATTERAS INDIANS,
HAD BEEN BAPTIZED ON THE SUNDAY PRE-
CEDING. THESE BAPTISMS ARE THE FIRST
KNOWN CELEBRATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN SAC-
RAMENT IN THE TERRITORY OF THE THIR-
TEEN ORIGINAL UNITED STATES.

1896

²¹⁴Powell 1965, 80.

With the dedication of the memorial, most of the objectives of the association had been accomplished. The fort was protected and marked, a road provided access to the site for visitors, and a split-rail fence had been placed around the site to set it off from its surroundings. In 1898, the organization added a further inscription to the back of the memorial, recognizing and honoring its first president:

IN MEMORY, TOO,
OF OUR FOUNDER
AND FIRST PRESIDENT
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES
ERECTED BY THE ROANOKE
COLONY MEMORIAL ASSOCI[ATION]
NOV. 24 1896
GRAHAM DAVES
PRESIDENT
JOHN S. BASSETT
SEC'TY AND TREAS.²¹⁵

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

During the early part of the twentieth century, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association continued its role as caretaker of the site. In 1910, the association sold off the Dough homestead section of its property to William J. Griffin. The \$1500 realized from the sale helped solve the association's financial problems, though the full debt carried by the association was not paid off until 1937.²¹⁶ The group met periodically and generally supervised basic maintenance of the site. It also did what it could to promote the site and help commemorate the early settlement; the organization collaborated with the Roanoke Island Celebration Company, and together they planned an exposition in 1902. The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association also worked on its continuing efforts to celebrate the birth of Virginia Dare on August 18 of each year.²¹⁷ In 1907 one member of the group participated in the Jamestown Exposition, contributing copies of the John White watercolors for a special exhibit.²¹⁸

²¹⁵Cited in Powell 1965, 80-1.

²¹⁶Powell 1965, 83-4.

²¹⁷Ibid., 84.

²¹⁸Ibid.; See Mary Hilliard Hinton, *The North Carolina Historical Exhibit at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, Norfolk, Virginia, April 26-December 1, 1907* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1908).

Nonetheless, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association continued to face numerous difficulties; the most important remained a lack of funds. The association still hoped to build a proper gateway to the fort and procure federal funds for a separate memorial to Virginia Dare.²¹⁹ Finally, in the 1920s, it began a major campaign to accomplish some of its goals. In 1926 Congressman Lindsay Warren successfully sponsored a bill to authorize \$2,500 to erect “a tablet or marker at Sir Walter Raleigh Fort on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, in memory of Virginia Dare, who was born there on August 18, 1587, and who was the first child of English parentage to be born in America.”²²⁰ After much delay, a decision was reached to erect two gateway pillars with commemorative plaques on them at the public road entrance to the property.²²¹ A major celebration, continuing in the spirit of earlier Virginia Dare commemorations, was planned and finally held in 1926 as well. This event, held on the anniversary of Virginia Dare’s birth, attracted a number of congressmen from North Carolina and Virginia, as well as a large crowd of enthusiastic supporters. Sir Esme Howard, the British ambassador to the United States, was the keynote speaker, and President Calvin Coolidge sent a congratulatory message.²²² These events were in many ways the high point for the association, which had come closer to achieving its goals of thirty years before.

THE RECONSTRUCTED VILLAGE

One of the main ambitions of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was to preserve and promote wider recognition of the Fort Raleigh site. This hope was becoming more of a possibility after the 1920s with the construction of improved roads and bridges to the mainland.²²³ The completion of the entry gate in 1930 was a first step in helping to promote the site. However, many of the group’s members, as well as local residents and especially members of the newly formed Roanoke Island Historical Association (incorporated in 1932), felt that a more tangible exhibit was needed in order to better capture the public’s imagination and properly celebrate the 350th anniversary of the first Roanoke expedition (1934) and the birth of Virginia Dare (1937).

²¹⁹Powell 1965, 84-6,

²²⁰Quoted in Powell 1965, 91.

²²¹Powell 1965, 91.

²²²Ibid., 89-92.

²²³Stick, 1958, 243-6.

These groups, like the earlier Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, turned to the federal government for funding. Busy with urgent recovery legislation to combat the depression, the U.S. Congress was unable to authorize appropriations, and the Roanoke Island Historical Association gave up its plans to celebrate the 1934 anniversary.²²⁴ Nonetheless, after Franklin D. Roosevelt's Emergency Relief Act passed in 1933, an increasing amount of money became available to local communities for state park and recreation projects.²²⁵ On January 10, 1934, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association transferred the 16.45-acre Fort Raleigh site to the North Carolina Historical Commission, which later became the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.²²⁶ As a park owned by the State of North Carolina, the fort and surrounding acreage became eligible candidates for Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds. A number of local residents and entrepreneurs saw in the New Deal programs an opportunity to help preserve a piece of early American history and to enhance the interpretive potential of the Fort Raleigh site.²²⁷

Prime movers behind this ambitious development of the site were the artist Frank Stick of Elizabeth City, J. B. Jeffreys of the State Highway Commission, and Bruce Etheridge, a Roanoke Island native and head of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development.²²⁸ The governor appointed these three men to a commission to supervise the development of the site, and Frank Stick conducted the background research and planned the general design of the site. On the basis of his study, the commission decided to build a community representative of what the Roanoke colonists would have built at such a site and consisting of dwellings, related buildings, and a church. National emergency agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Civil Works Administration, and later the Works

²²⁴Powell 1965, 141.

²²⁵For more information on New Deal programs to combat the depression, in particular the founding of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), see John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942, An Administrative History* (Washington DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985), and Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: The Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 1983), 75-105.

²²⁶Powell 1965, 95, 145. The same year the association also donated its assets to the University of North Carolina to purchase and preserve books, pamphlets, and manuscripts relating to Sir Walter Raleigh and the Roanoke expeditions.

²²⁷David Stick, "A Half-Century of Observation, n.d." Unedited manuscript, I, 11-5, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

²²⁸Powell 1965, 142-3.

Progress Administration (WPA) provided labor as well as funds for equipment and material to construct the Village.²²⁹

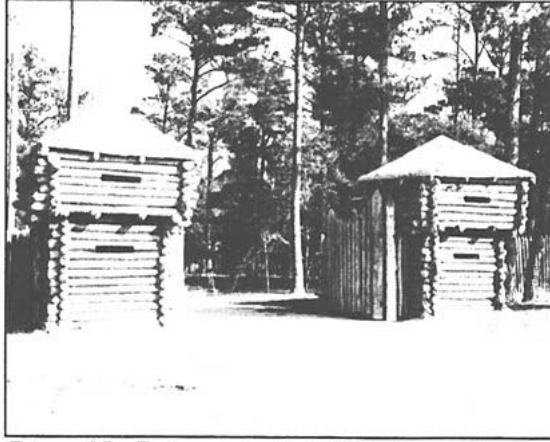


Figure 27. Entrance to Fort Raleigh, January 1938



Figure 28. Capt. Jeff Hayman, caretaker at Fort Raleigh, May 1938

Supervised by Albert Quentin Bell, work on the village began in 1934 with the help of WPA funds. Men from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) stationed on Roanoke Island, as well as locals, helped in the construction.²³⁰ The representative settlement included a chapel, the Ananias Dare Cabin, the John White House, and several other structures composed of hand-hewn native juniper logs, stone foundations and chimneys, and thatched roofs.²³¹ Two log guardhouses concealed the 1930 brick and limestone gateposts at the entrance to the site. The Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument erected by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was moved outside the fort compound, and the split rail fence surrounding it was taken down.²³² The centerpiece of the project was a reconstructed blockhouse (storehouse) in the middle of the fort, which was completed with a palisade of upright juniper logs. The blockhouse contained stone foundations, hewn logs, an overhanging second story, and a roof of rough planks. A palisade of juniper logs enclosed the entire area of the recreated village and fort complex while a museum building with glass windows and a substantial floor was built to

²²⁹Ibid.

²³⁰Ibid., 142; Stick 1958, 249.

²³¹“History of the Production, n.d.,” TMs, p. 23, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

²³²Harrington 1984, 5; Powell 1965, 81.

the northwest of the fort.²³³

This newly constructed “Cittie of Raleigh” was an immediate success with the public, including the local residents and an increasing number of tourists. Unfortunately, the reconstruction was not at all accurate, and scholarship had shown—and was to demonstrate increasingly in the future—that log structures of this type were not commonly used by English settlers of this period. The reconstruction of the fort and village, nonetheless, played an important role in local life, and many local residents had a great affection for this development that had helped to bring both recognition and tourist dollars to their area. The chapel soon became a popular spot for local weddings, and many native islanders still speak fondly of the “old chapel” that they had embraced as their own.²³⁴

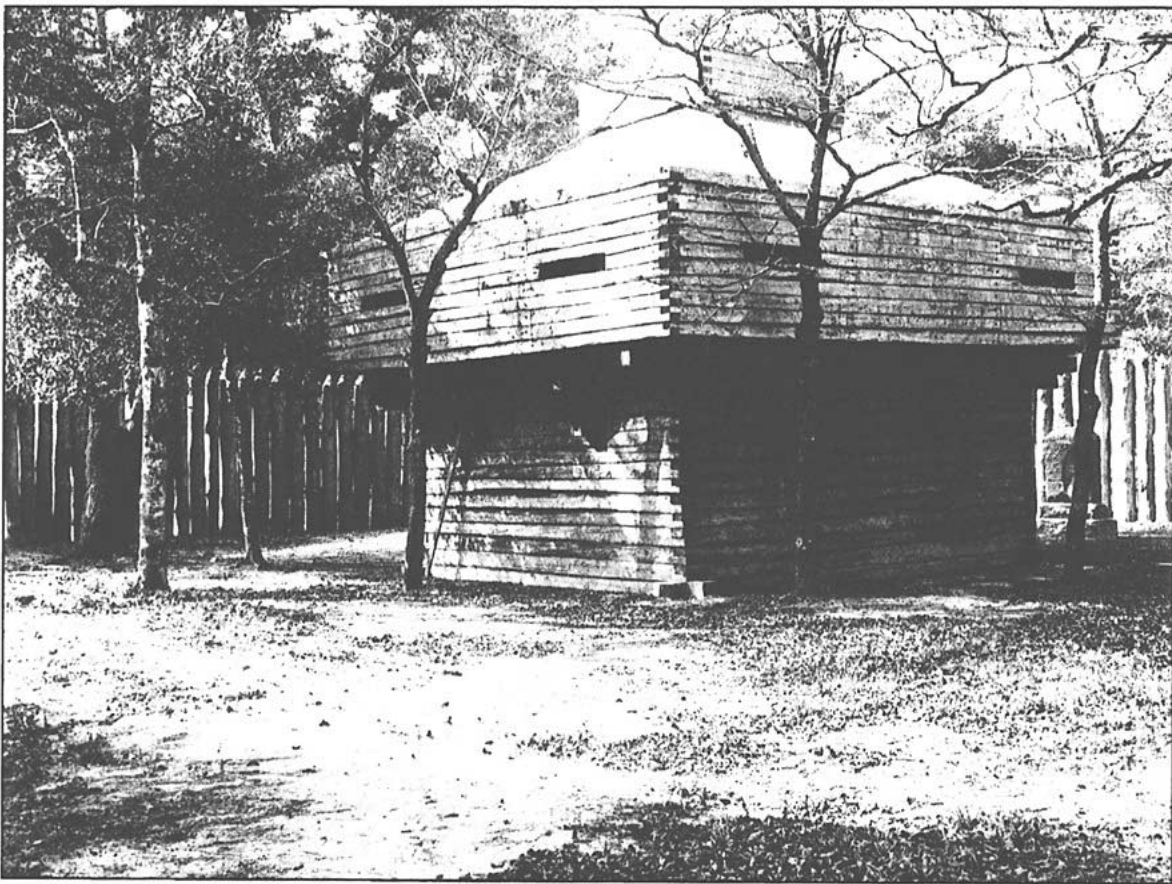


Figure 29. WPA-reconstructed Fort Raleigh, January 1938

²³³Powell 1965, 143-4.

²³⁴Bebe Woody, Personal Communication, 4 April 1990.



Figure 30. Chapel at Fort Raleigh, 1938

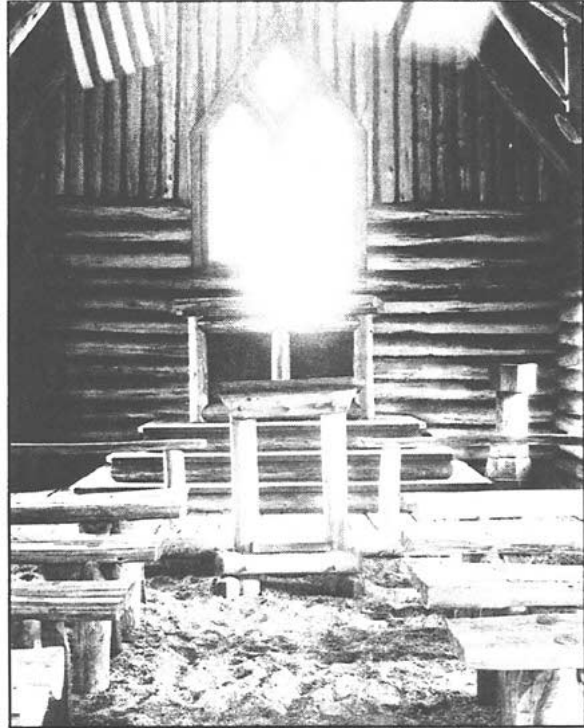


Figure 31. Chapel Interior, 1938

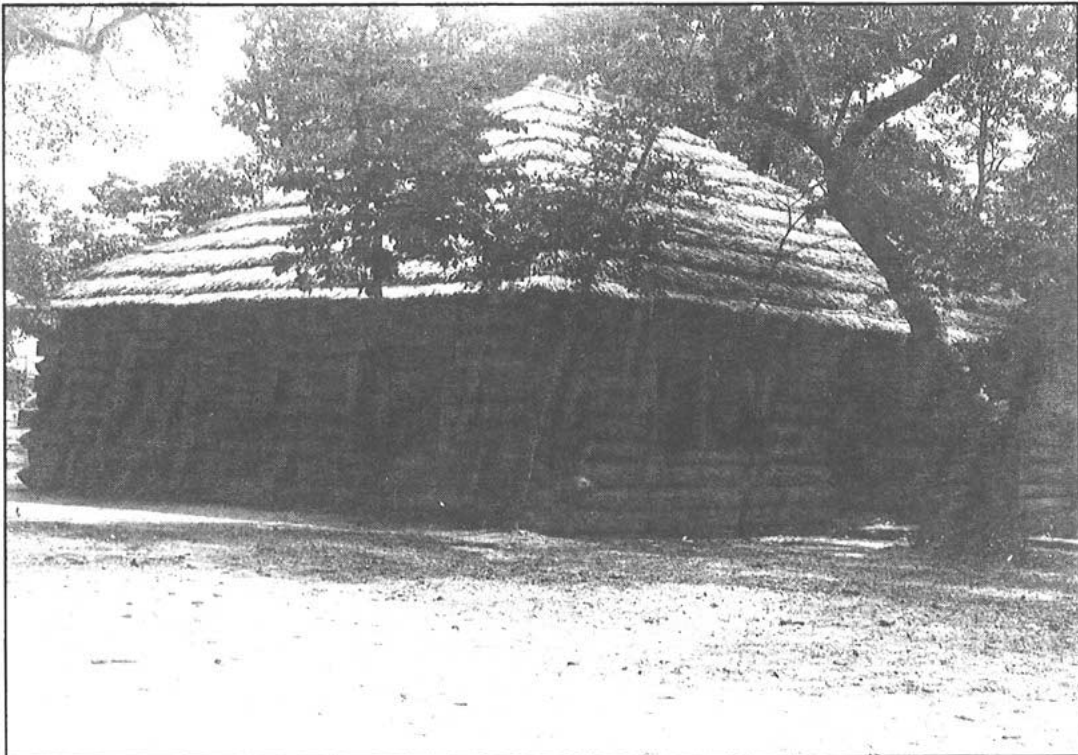


Figure 32. Museum at Fort Raleigh, c. 1937

The Roanoke Island Historical Association pressed on with its development plans throughout the 1930s. Several members wished “to establish and maintain a museum of Indian and early colonial antiquities.”²³⁵ The North Carolina Historical Commission gave support to the idea, and used one of the recreated cottages near the fort as a museum. The exhibits utilized pictures, maps, books, archeological findings, and Native American artifacts to describe the Roanoke expeditions and the lives of the colonists. In 1940 Caroline Stringfield was appointed as a curator to manage the small collection of mostly donated materials.²³⁶

THE ROANOKE COLONY PAGEANTS AND “THE LOST COLONY” PRODUCTION

The commemorative efforts of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association were closely tied to a tradition of pageantry centering on the Fort Raleigh site. Celebrations of Virginia Dare’s birth had been held since the 1890s, when Sallie Southall Cotten first began to press for recognition of the woman’s role in American colonization.²³⁷ Indeed, one of the goals of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was to observe Virginia Dare’s birthday, and at their first meeting on August 18, 1894, they held such a celebration.²³⁸ In 1902, this modest tradition expanded to the level of a conference, sponsored originally by the Roanoke Island Celebration Committee, an arm of the State Literary and Historical Association. The committee later became known as the Roanoke Island Celebration Company, and plans were made for a major exposition in 1905.²³⁹ These proposals fell through, leaving the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association with the responsibility to continue to carry on the campaign to celebrate the colony’s founding and Virginia Dare’s birthday.

In addition to speeches, conferences, and dedication ceremonies, an important local tradition of dramatic celebrations centering on the fort site emerged. S. Weir Mitchell’s dramatic poem, “Francis Drake, A Tragedy of the Sea,” was presented publicly by the author in 1893 to raise money for the purchase of the Fort Raleigh site. Fifteen years later, Frederick Koch wrote a play entitled “Raleigh, the Shepherd of the Ocean,” which included the characters of Sir Walter Raleigh, John White, Manteo, and Wanchese, as well as references to Roanoke Island and the “Lost Colony.”²⁴⁰ Intended for production in 1918, but canceled due to the influenza

²³⁵Quoted in Powell 1965, 160.

²³⁶Powell 1965, 160.

²³⁷Ibid., 52-6.

²³⁸Ibid., 86.

²³⁹Ibid., 84, 105.

²⁴⁰Ibid., 113; “History of the Production,” n.d., 1-2.

epidemic of that year, Koch's play was finally performed in autumn 1920, when it was favorably received at the State Fair in Raleigh. Elizabeth Grimball of New York directed the actors from Raleigh and the 345-voice choir from Meredith College (in Raleigh as well). The Raleigh News *and Observer* praised the drama as "the first example of the community drama ever to have been given in this vicinity."²⁴¹

The success of Koch's play probably led to an educational film made on the Fort Raleigh site in 1921. Sponsored by the Bureau of Community Service of the North Carolina Board of Education, the film was directed by Elizabeth Grimball and produced by the Atlas Film Corporation of Chicago. The production used local residents, as well as people from Elizabeth City and Edenton, as principal players and for smaller roles. Mabel Evans [Jones], Superintendent of Schools in Dare County, completed the script, based on a series of pamphlets produced by the state historical commission containing reprints of accounts of the Roanoke expeditions.²⁴² The final product was a five-reel film, with an accompanying eleven-page pamphlet issued by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Both were distributed around the state for showings.²⁴³

The Raleigh Colony film encouraged further and more elaborate pageantry. In 1925, Virginia Dare's birthday was celebrated as an outdoor pageant, with many of the same people acting the parts they played in the film. Mabel Evans once again wrote the script, and the drama was produced in a ravine on the north end of Roanoke Island.²⁴⁴ The idea of an annual pageant was embraced, and some form of the drama was presented in the following years. In 1933, Mabel Evans wrote a new script called "America Dawning." Produced at a district meeting of the American Legion Auxiliary held in Columbia, South Carolina, the script encouraged the idea of a more permanent and regular production and laid the basis for future performances.²⁴⁵

The theatrical productions and the annual celebrations began to finally coalesce in the early 1930s. Since the 1920s, W. O. Saunders, the editor of the *Elizabeth City Independent*, had been

²⁴¹Quoted in Powell 1965, 113-4.

²⁴²Powell 1965, 115-6; "History of the Production," 2-4. Evans also played the part of Eleanor Dare in the film production.

²⁴³Powell 1965, 120, 123. According to Steve Harrison at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, the park has a copy of the original film on video tape.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 123.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 124-5; "History of the Production," 4-5.

promoting the idea of a major celebration for 1934 to mark the 350th anniversary of the Amadas and Barlowe Expedition of 1584.²⁴⁶ Incorporated in 1932, the Roanoke Island Historical Association, was organized (in part) in preparation for this event and to “celebrate and depict by exhibitions, pageants, reproductions, and by broadcasting and publishing historic narratives and records, the birth of English-speaking civilization on Roanoke Island.”²⁴⁷ While the economic situation of the country discouraged the major exposition that the group intended, the local chamber of commerce continued with its own plans for a “Dare County Homecoming,” which included a professionally produced pageant and other events celebrating the early settlement.²⁴⁸

The pageant-organizing services of the Harrington-Russell Festivals Company in Asheville were engaged, and in August 1934, the event was finally held-supported, primarily, by the local chamber of commerce.²⁴⁹ The celebration included baseball games, bands, cake sales, etc., as well as numerous speeches by local dignitaries and esteemed visitors. President Franklin Roosevelt sent a message of felicitation.²⁵⁰ The main event, however, was the production of a new play concerning the Amadas and Barlowe expedition, Ralph Lane, and the Lost Colony. Written by Edith Russell, the play followed in the tradition of earlier plays by Mabel Evans. Called “O Brave New World,” the play was presented on an outdoor stage at the north end of the island-on the site of the present Waterside Theater. Unlike earlier dramas, this production was performed at night, and electric lights were strung from the fort and the reconstructed village to the site.²⁵¹ The pageant and the event were a great success, and together with the gradual restoration of the fort site and the recreated village beginning in 1934, they helped to set the precedent for a more permanent drama.

“The Lost Colony” production of the late 1930s would in large part grow out of the 1934 “Homecoming” pageant. The first efforts in organizing this performance were undertaken by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, which almost immediately after the 1934 production began to plan for a celebration in 1937 marking the 350th anniversary of the John

²⁴⁶Powell 1965, 125; Keith Saunders, *The Independent Man* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1962), 205-8.

²⁴⁷The Roanoke Island Historical Association’s Charter, Quoted in Powell 1965, 135.

²⁴⁸Powell 1965, 125.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 126-7.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 126.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, 127; “History of the Production,” 5, 8.

White colony and the birth of Virginia Dare. The North Carolina playwright Paul Green, who had studied under Frederick Koch at the University of North Carolina, was invited by the organization to give his ideas on the production. Already famous for his Pulitzer Prize-winning play “In Abraham’s Bosom,” produced in New York in 1926-7, Green agreed to write a new version of the colonization story for the 1937 season.²⁵² However, because of the Roanoke Island Historical Association’s hesitation, a new temporary organization, known as the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo and spearheaded by local businessman Bradford Fearing, was organized.²⁵³ As a result, Paul Green signed a contract with this new group on January 18, 1937, to produce the play for \$1 500.²⁵⁴

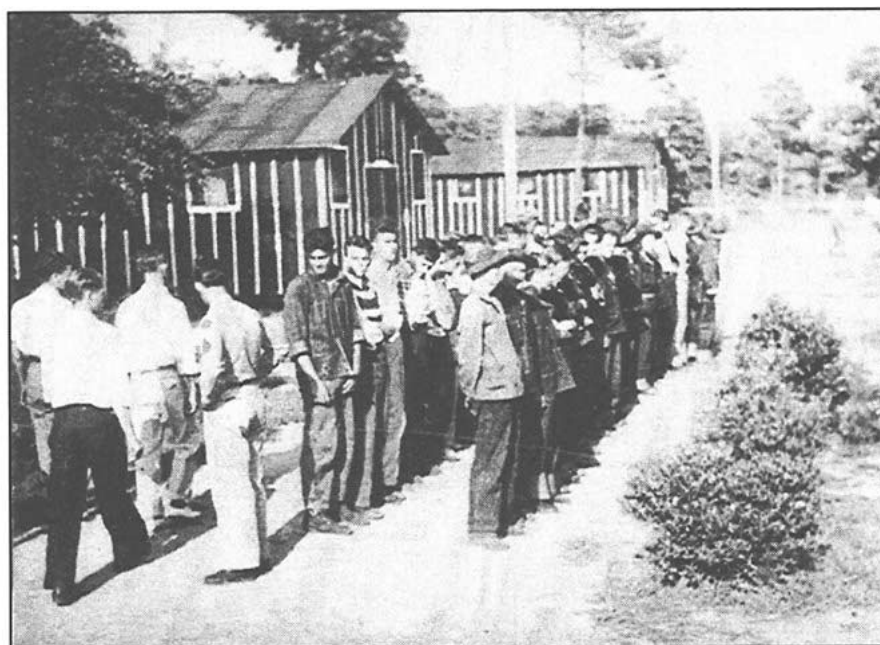


Figure 33. CCC camp at Fort Raleigh

During the early part of 1937, the local community began a major campaign to prepare for the summer’s anniversary celebration. Much of the work on the “restored” village had been completed by local laborers and (after 1934) with the help of Civilian Conservation Corps

²⁵²Powell 1965, 146-7; “History of the Production,” 9. For more information on Paul Green and his work, see Vincent S. Kenny, *Paul Green* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971) and William J. Free and Charles B. Lower, *History into Drama: A Source Book on Symphonic Drama, Including the Complete Text of Paul Green’s “The Lost Colony”* (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1963).

²⁵³“History of the Production,” 8.

²⁵⁴Powell 1965, 147-8. By this time, Green had already completed part of the play.

enrollees.²⁵⁵ In 1937, young men from the same program were put to work laying out a new outdoor theater on the site used for the 1934 production. Albert Quentin “Skipper” Bell, who with Frank Stick had been responsible for the construction of the village, designed and supervised the building of the amphitheater, which was completed only a few hours before the play began.²⁵⁶

Assistance for the production was given by the North Carolina Historical Commission and by private donors, including the Rockefeller Foundation, which furnished an electric organ. Federal programs, the University of North Carolina, Dare County Commissioners, and the Dare Chamber of Commerce provided funds as well as logistical and moral support. Through the resources of the Federal Theatre Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), professional actors were employed to play the principal roles and paid Federal Theatre wages. Civilian Conservation Corps workers served as extras, particularly as Native Americans. In addition, many local citizens were enlisted to perform in minor parts.²⁵⁷ Congressman Warren

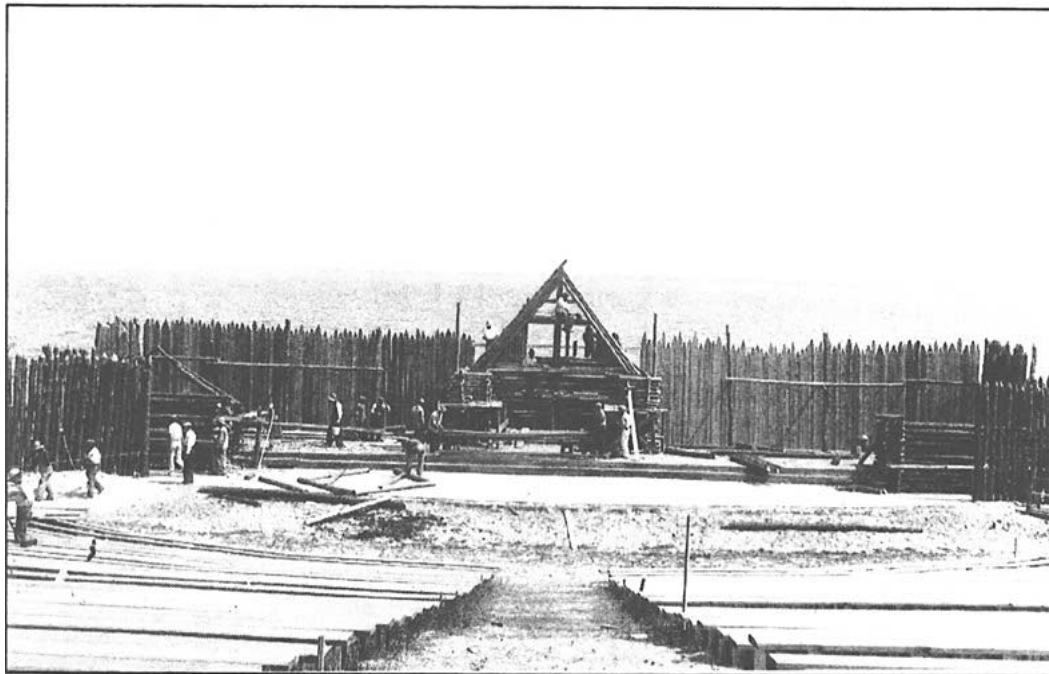


Figure 34. Building the Waterside Theater. Constructed by the WPA. June 1937

²⁵⁵Stick 1958, 248-9; Powell 1965, 142.

²⁵⁶Powell 1965, 151-2; “History of the Production,” 9-10.

²⁵⁷Powell 1965, 152.

was again a staunch advocate and invited President Roosevelt to attend the anniversary performance celebrating Virginia Dare's birth.²⁵⁸

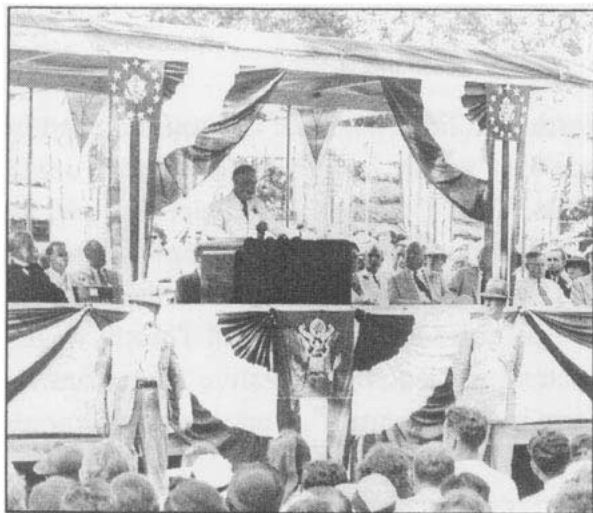


Figure 35. Franklin D. Roosevelt at Fort Raleigh, August 18, 1937

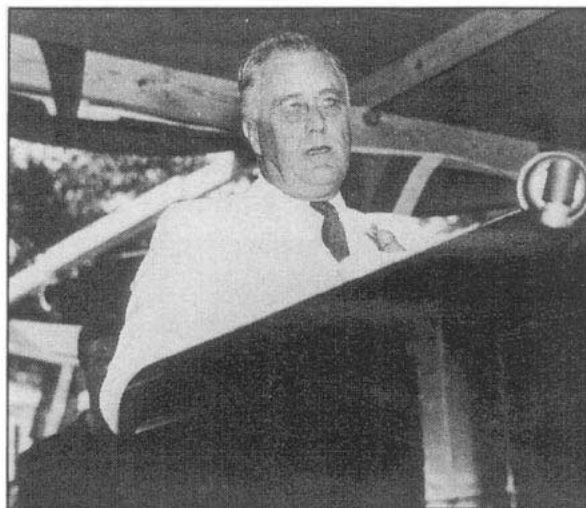


Figure 36. Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Virginia Dare ceremonies, August 18, 1937

“The Lost Colony” production opened on July 4, 1937, to an enthusiastic response. It received national coverage; *The New York Times* critic Brooks Atkinson viewed the play on August 15, 1937, and reported favorably on the drama. Three days later, on August 18, President Franklin D. Roosevelt attended the Virginia Dare ceremonies on Roanoke Island and witnessed a performance of “The Lost Colony.”²⁵⁹ Roosevelt also signed a birth certificate for Virginia Dare, further honoring the event.²⁶⁰ His address, entitled “Majority Rule Must be Preserved as the Safeguard of Both Liberty and Civilization,” was well received, and sometime thereafter a small, flat concrete slab was placed between the earthen fort and the theater to commemorate the event and mark the spot from which President Roosevelt spoke. The rough inscription on the one-foot square marker reads “SPOKE F.D.R. 8/18/37.” A small, polished granite marker was also placed in the theater to honor Roosevelt’s presence at the twenty-third performance of “The Lost Colony” on the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare’s birth. The simple 22.25” by 17.5” plaque reads:

²⁵⁸Ibid., 149, 151-2.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 154; “History of the Production,” 10-1.

²⁶⁰David Brook, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Raleigh, North Carolina, to Robert W. Blythe, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia, 25 August 1997.

On This Spot
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Witnessed the
23rd Performance of
“THE LOST COLONY”
August 18, 1937



Figure 37. Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker, 1990



Figure 38. F.D.R. Marker, 1997

With both a favorable review and the president’s visit, “The Lost Colony” attracted numerous visitors to the site. Soon it was clear that the production must continue and become a more permanent feature of the Fort Raleigh site. After much discussion, it was determined that the Roanoke Island Historical Association would assume production of the drama. A few years later, the National Park Service, in its negotiations with the North Carolina Historical Commission and the Roanoke Island Historical Association, agreed that the association could continue “The Lost Colony” productions when the NPS assumed ownership of the site in 1939.²⁶¹

The 1939 production season was successful, and in summer 1940, the decision was made to henceforth present the drama every summer. The press release stated that “the decision to make the drama a permanent summer attraction attests to the rising popularity and nationwide interest in the pageant dramatizing one of the most intriguing mysteries in early American history.”²⁶² Interrupted by World War II in 1942, “The Lost Colony” was revived in 1946.

²⁶¹Powell 1965, 162-6; “Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994,” 6.

²⁶²Quoted in Powell 1965, 166.

Although the production has continued over the years, the Waterside Theater and stage settings have changed. On July 24, 1947, a fire almost completely destroyed the theater. It damaged the sets, props, and most of the main stage, including the stockade, the chapel, and two cabins. It also destroyed the whole left stage containing the shop, the scenery docks, and the dressing rooms. In addition, the choir stall, the electric organ, and all the supplies, records, and tools were lost. Nonetheless, Albert Q. Bell, who designed the original Waterside Theater, believed that they could rebuild it within six days. With the support of the staff and locals, this goal was achieved just in time to resume performances for that year.²⁶³



Figure 39. Waterside Theater fire damage, July 1947

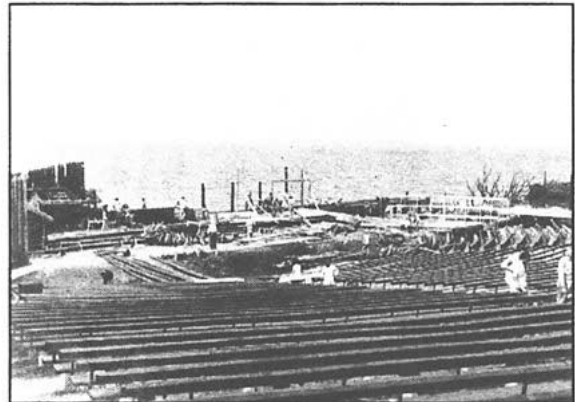


Figure 40. Rebuilding the Waterside Theater, July 1947

The Waterside Theater was seriously damaged again when Hurricane Donna struck the Outer Banks on September 11, 1960. Over 10,000 square feet of the theater was destroyed, and the house, stationary set, scenery, and props were ruined. Although the costumes were saved, it cost almost \$50,000 to repair the damage and another \$50,000 to remodel the entire theater.²⁶⁴ However, the National Park Service was in the process of reformulating the interpretive program at Fort Raleigh and questioned the authenticity of the log-cabin construction of the theater and village. Consequently, the Waterside Theater was rebuilt according to new scholarship; the exteriors of the structures were converted to wattle and daub, and the roofs were stripped of thatch and shingled. In addition, changes were made to modernize the facility. To accomplish this, the designers added a second scene dock, moved the costume shop, widened the center backstage area, relocated the fireworks pier, and redesigned the ship's

²⁶³“History of the Production,” 18-9; Powell 1965, 193-5.

²⁶⁴Powell 1965, 196.

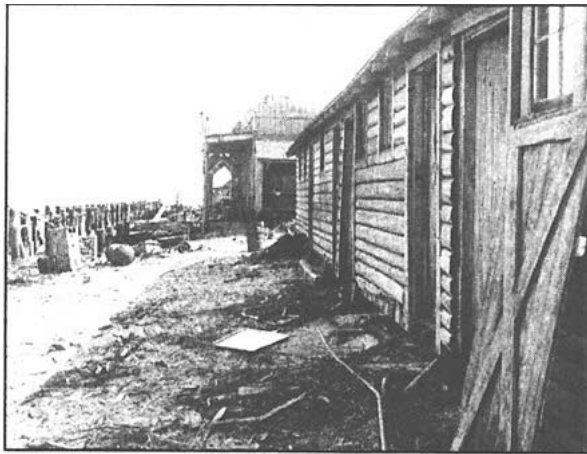


Figure 41. Damage to Waterside Theater caused by Hurricane Donna, October 13, 1960



Figure 42. Damage to Waterside Theater caused by Hurricane Donna, October 14, 1960

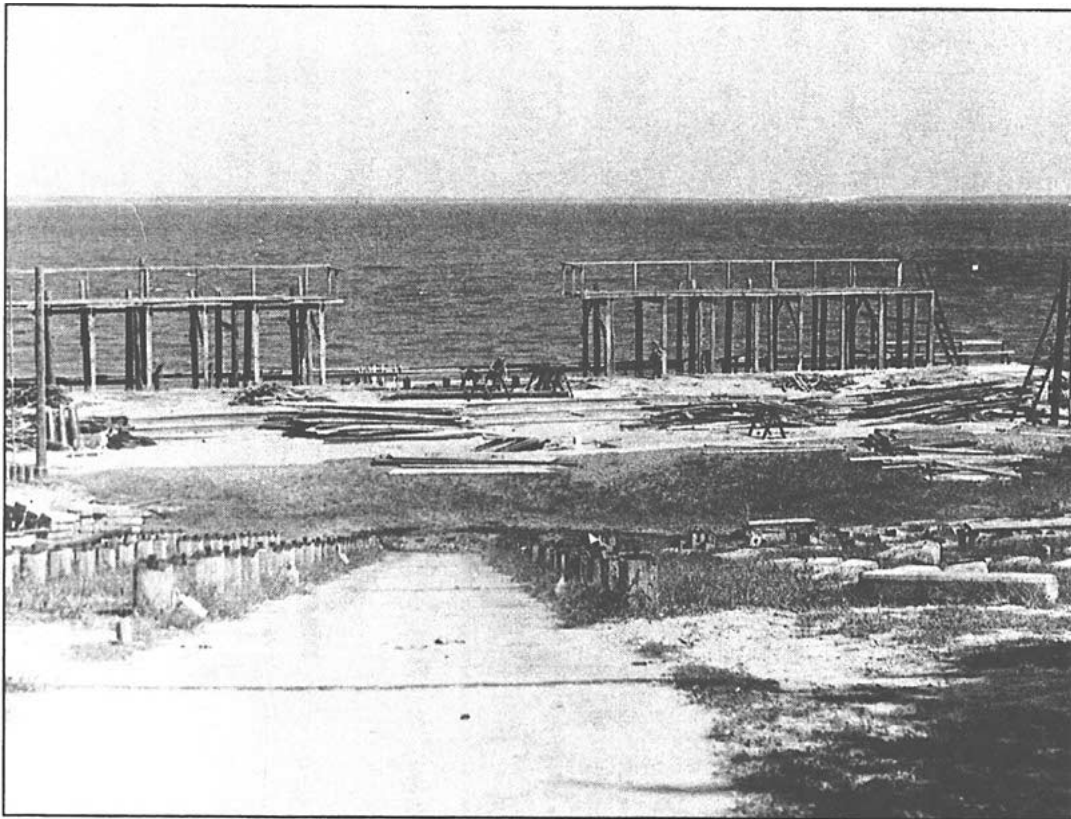


Figure 43. Rebuilding the Waterside Theater after Hurricane Donna, October 1961

track.²⁶⁵ The basically new theater was dedicated on July 14, 1962,²⁶⁶ and has continued in use every summer since that time.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE EFFORTS

In May 1936, members of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association joined North Carolina Congressman Lindsay C. Warren in requesting that the federal government assume ownership of the Fort Raleigh property. The National Park Service (NPS) hired Dr. Frederick Tilberg to conduct a preliminary study utilizing historical documents to determine the authenticity of the site. The NPS then accepted ownership of the site based on Tilberg's findings.²⁶⁷ On March 29, 1939, Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and D. Bradford Fearing, President of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, signed an agreement in which the NPS would assume ownership of the site and the association would continue production of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony." Several months later, on July 14, 1939, the State of North Carolina officially transferred the historic site, including approximately 16.45 acres, to the National Park Service.²⁶⁸ The federal government then established the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site by Secretarial Order (9 FR 244) on April 5, 1941, to preserve lands declared "to be of national significance as a portion of the colonial settlement or settlements established in America by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1585-1587."²⁶⁹ The order also recognized the agreement made with the Roanoke Island Historical Association for the annual presentation of "The Lost Colony" drama at the Waterside Theater.²⁷⁰

The NPS performed essentially a caretaker role during the World War II years, but after 1946, with the revival of "The Lost Colony" production, it began to take more positive steps to develop the historic site. In 1947 and 1948, Jean C. "Pinky" Harrington, an NPS archeologist with experience at Yorktown and Jamestown, began a systematic survey of the fort site. The investigations revealed the identity, type of construction, and basic plan of a fortification

²⁶⁵"History of the Production," 23-4.

²⁶⁶Powell 1965, 196.

²⁶⁷Ibid., 162. See Frederick Tilberg, "Preliminary Study Relative to the Location and Manner of Construction of the Original Fort Raleigh, 1937," TMs, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia, and Frederick Tilberg, "Report on the Fort Site Known as Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, NC, October 1936," TMs, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁶⁸Powell 1965, 164-6.

²⁶⁹Quoted in "Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 2, 6.

²⁷⁰Ibid., 6.

believed to be associated with Ralph Lane's colony of 1585-6. Harrington also conducted routine testing of other areas in the vicinity of the fort to attempt to locate the settlement site. Although unsuccessful, he concluded that the "village" may have been in the area immediately to the west of the fort.²⁷¹

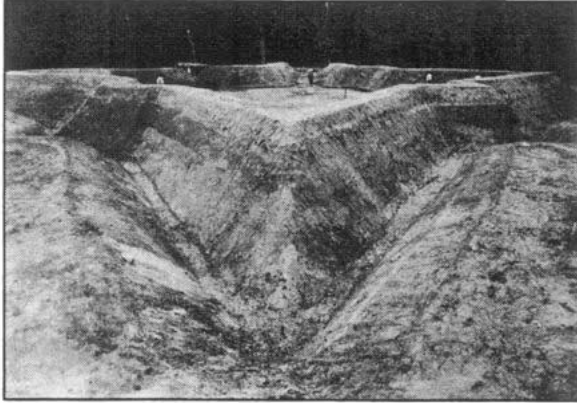


Figure 44. Reconstructing Fort Raleigh, c. 1950



Figure 45. Reconstructing Fort Raleigh, c. 1950

Harrington's work, combined with new scholarship (in particular that of British historian David Quinn), resulted in a radical reformulation of the interpretive program at Fort Raleigh.²⁷² Beginning in 1950, many of the 1930s and earlier changes to the site were reversed based on new archeological evidence. In 1950, Harrington renewed his investigations at the historic site. The objectives of this inquiry were to completely excavate the remainder of the fort site and to reconstruct the fort and stabilize it as a park exhibit. Although no major discoveries were made, a second entrance to the fort was unearthed, a feature which may have been one long structure (35' x 10') or two smaller ones (15' x 10') was detected, and several artifacts, including Native American objects, Spanish olive jars, lead musket balls, a small iron sickle, and several unidentified iron objects, were found.²⁷³ Following the completion of the

²⁷¹Harrington 1984, 6-8; Jean C. Harrington, "Archeological Explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, August 1948," TMs, p 30, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia. The shape of the earthwork fort on Roanoke Island resembles the small earthwork erected by Ralph Lane in Puerto Rico on the way to the Outer Banks.

²⁷²See Quinn 1955; and Charles W. Porter, III, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," *North Carolina Historical Review* 20: 22-42.

²⁷³Jean C. Harrington, "Preliminary Report, Archeological Explorations, Reconstruction, and Stabilization of Fort Raleigh, 1950 Season," TMs, p. 1-8, Cultural Resource Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia. See Jean C. Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh: Archaeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1962), 12-23, 40-6. The excavations confirmed that the shape of the fort was similar to the one built by Ralph

archeological investigations, reconstruction of the earthwork fort was begun. Since the precise amount of earth necessary for reconstructing the parapet was known, as well as its width, little conjecture was involved. In addition, descriptions of and instructions for building earthworks of the period, including John White's drawings of similar structures, survived to provide further reference. However, no serious thought was given to recreating the structure(s) in the interior of the fort or the devices for protecting the two entrances.²⁷⁴



Figure 46. Reconstructed earthwork fort, late 1950s

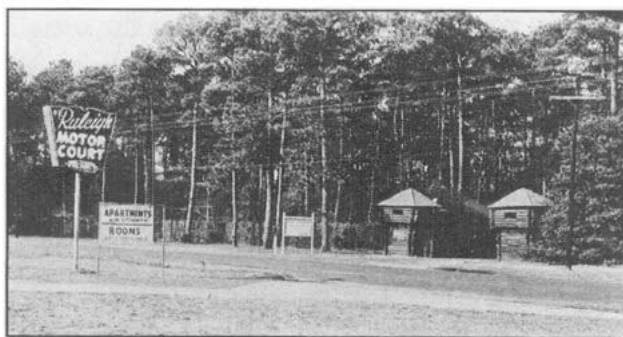


Figure 47. Former entrance to Fort Raleigh, February 1960

Lane during the expedition's stop in Puerto Rico. It also determined that the south bastion was hexagonal, and not circular, in shape. This hexagonal bastion is suggestive of one at Fort St. George, the Popham settlement of 1607 in Maine (Harrington 1950, 4).

²⁷⁴Harrington 1984, 14-5.

As built, the reconstructed earthwork fort is a fairly typical, smaller artillery and musketry fortification of the late sixteenth century. Measuring approximately seventy feet square between bastion points, the structure consists of earthen walls extending approximately five feet above grade, surrounded by a perimeter ditch. There are two triangular earthen bastions on the east and north sides and an octagonal bastion on the south. The entrance is through the fourth, “broken,” bastion on the west. A firing banquette runs along the inner perimeter of the parapet walls. The structure is situated in an open area, approximately four hundred feet east of the Fort Raleigh visitor center. It is surrounded by woods on the east and north and by a natural area and the Waterside Theater on the west and northwest. The site is sodded to prevent erosion and identified by a marker for park visitors.

As part of the new interpretive program and the reconstruction of the earthwork fort, the remaining pieces of the 1934-period log palisade (stockade) and log blockhouse were dismantled.²⁷⁵ Both the original stone gates and later log gates to the site were removed and replaced by a new entrance way and sign. The reconstructed village buildings, including the chapel and the “John White Cottage,” were allowed to fall into disrepair and eventually razed because they were an inaccurate portrayal of sixteenth-century English building types.²⁷⁶ Ironically, the chapel had acquired considerable sentimental significance by this time, and many local residents regretted, and to some degree resented, the NPS’s removal of the building.²⁷⁷

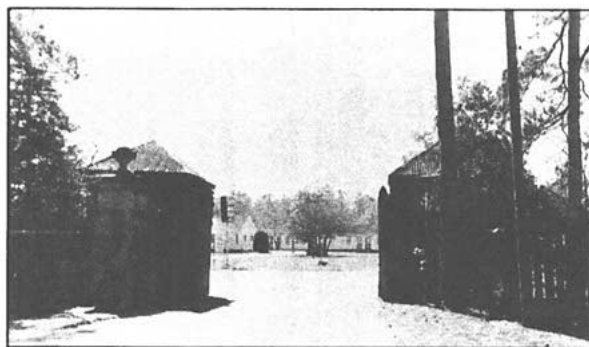


Figure 48. Former entrance to Fort Raleigh, February 1960

²⁷⁵Harrington, “Archeological Explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, August 1948,” 5.

²⁷⁶“History of the Production,” 23; Robert Atkinson, “Report on the Operations of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., April 19, 1950,” TMs, p. 6, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁷⁷Bebe Woody, Personal Communication, 16 April 1991; Robert H. Atkinson, “Report on the Operations of the Roanoke Historical Association, Inc., April 1948,” TMs, P. 6, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia. According to Atkinson, many local residents were upset that the NPS allowed the building to disintegrate and then dismantled it. Atkinson’s report stated “Because of the many christenings and weddings that have been performed in the chapel, there is quite a sentiment attached to it; and for the Service to raze it would be inviting ill-feeling toward the Service among local people. Even now, there is criticism concerning the neglected repairs.”

Although the reconstructed fort was complete, the National Park Service continued to conduct archeological investigations to locate the settlement site of the Roanoke colonists. In summer 1953, limited archeological explorations were conducted in the area immediately to the west of the site before the construction of the Elizabethan Gardens near the park's boundary. No significant findings were encountered, and no evidence as to the location of the habitation site was unearthed.²⁷⁸

In 1964 and 1965, further study uncovered a feature which presumably had a military function and was described as an outwork. Located slightly to the northwest of the fort site, the feature included a sunken square, wedged logs, an outer ditch, and artifacts such as Native American pottery sherds, part of a ceramic bottle, bricks, and fragments of roofing tiles.²⁷⁹

In addition to exploring the site's archeological resources, the National Park Service began a more systematic program of interpretation during the 1950s and 1960s. This included the removal of the old museum, the erection of new signs and markers, and the construction of new pathways,



Figure 49. J. C. Harrington working on excavations at Fort Raleigh, October 1965

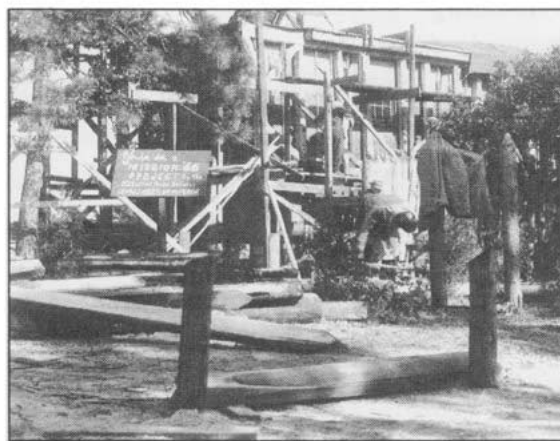


Figure 50. Mission 66 project at Fort Raleigh, March 1962

²⁷⁸Harrington 1962, 5; Jean C. Harrington, "Report on the Archeological Explorations in Elizabethan Gardens Area, 1953," TMs, p.2-3, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁷⁹Jean Carl Harrington, "The 1965 Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," TMs, p. 9, 18-30, Cultural Resource Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia; Jean Carl Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1966), 11, 16, 19.

Years later, Ehrenhard, Athens, and Komara attributed this feature to subsequent colonial fortification activities. See John E. Ehrenhard, William P. Athens, and Gregory L. Komara, "Remote Sensing Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, 1983," TMs, p. 6, 19,25, Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida, copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

parking lots, and visitor facilities. The park's boundary was increased as well.²⁸⁰ In January 1965, construction on a new visitor's center near the former stockade entrance was begun. This new building contained exhibits describing expeditions to the New World, the Roanoke Island voyages, the life of the colonists, the fort and its significance, and later English colonization of America. It also included a room with oak paneling from an English Elizabethan house, meant to depict life in sixteenth-century England. An administrative building for all park service activities in the area and other structures were also added,²⁸¹ mainly between 1963 and 1966, as a part of the Mission 66 program to accommodate the growing number of visitors.

In the 1980s the National Park Service conducted several (largely inconclusive) archeological investigations to once again attempt to locate the habitation site. The remote sensing investigations carried out in 1982 to the west of the reconstructed fort suggest that some type of undated structure and activity occurred in the area.²⁸² The following year, the NPS completed additional resistivity surveys at Fort Raleigh to test a feature uncovered by aerial photography to the south of the reconstructed earthwork fort. The results of the survey revealed several anomalies which may relate to the English attempts to colonize the area or indicate that the fort was larger than archeologists assumed.²⁸³ In summer, 1983, the NPS conducted additional research to determine whether or not the recorded features and anomalies were associated with the Roanoke colonies. These archeological investigations were largely inconclusive and revealed data which archeologists "think can be interpreted as relating to colonial activity."²⁸⁴ Two years later, the NPS again explored an unidentified anomaly, hoping it would provide some insight into the location of the settlement site. These unusual features, however, were caused by recent events, and included a ditch dug and refilled in the 1920s and a trash pit dating to the 1960 park construction projects.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰Both the Secretarial Order of January 3, 1952, and the Act of August 17, 1961, expanded the authorized boundary of the historic site. See "Revised Statement for Management Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 2.

²⁸¹Powell 1965, 199-201.

²⁸²Ehrenhard, Athens, and Komara 1983, 1, 62-6.

²⁸³William P. Athens, "Soil Resistivity Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1984," TMs, p. 1, 7-12, Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, Florida, copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁸⁴John E. Ehrenhard and Gregory L. Komara, "Archeological Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Season 2, 1983 (February 1984)," TMs, p. 1-2, Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, Florida, copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁸⁵Walker and Cooper 1989, i.

More recently, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site has undergone another series of changes in the 1990s. On November 16, 1990, President Bush signed an act (P.L. 101-603) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire approximately 335 acres on the north end of Roanoke Island as additions to the park. The act also redefined the purpose of the park to include the preservation and interpretation of the first English colony in the New World, as well as the history of Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island.²⁸⁶ The NHS's authorized boundary now contains 512.93 acres, with approximately 355.45 acres owned by the park, 18.09 acres retained by the State of North Carolina, and 139.39 acres in private hands.²⁸⁷

After the addition of this new land, the NPS collaborated on a series of archeological digs in an attempt to uncover more information concerning the Roanoke colonies. Between 1991 and 1993, the Virginia Company Foundation (VCF) reviewed artifacts and field notes from earlier digs and focused their excavations on an area located to the west of the reconstructed fort, presumably associated with the 1585-6 colony of Ralph Lane. First discovered by Harrington in the 1950s and referred to as an "outwork," the site held artifacts indicating that it was a science center used by the 1585-6 colony to assess the commercial potential of the land. Ivor Noel Hume, director of the VCF's investigations, examined earlier findings from the site and determined that they were all associated with the metallurgical and distilling operations of the center. He concluded that the rounded bricks uncovered by Harrington were really deliberately shaped to provide the round openings for a metallurgical and distilling furnace, while the pieces of pottery were actually from metallurgical crucibles, bottles, flasks, and ointment pots used by apothecaries.²⁸⁸ The pieces of copper and iron that Harrington discovered in the 1950s could also be associated with the science center operations. However, based on Harrington's find of two pieces of metal beneath the remaining earthworks, Noel Hume has argued that the fortification is of a later date than the science center, perhaps even dating to the eighteenth century.²⁸⁹

In 1994 and 1995, the VCF led a series of digs near the reconstructed fort to reexamine features recorded by Harrington in his earlier investigations and to study a previously

²⁸⁶Revised Statement for Management Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. 1994," 2.

²⁸⁷Ibid., 10. Rial Corporation is in the process of developing their 91.87-acre tract, and the property of the Harvey family, a 46.55-acre tract near Weir Point, may also be developed.

²⁸⁸Noel Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," 7.

²⁸⁹Ibid., 14.

unexplored area away from the fort and toward the Thomas Hariot Nature Trail. Although the study did unearth several European artifacts dating to the sixteenth century, no features were discovered.²⁹⁰ Nonetheless, based on recent scholarship and findings, several archeologists believe that the reconstructed fort is not “Ralph Lane’s fort” or a later fortification, but an earthen fort erected by Lane’s soldiers to defend the science center, much like the earthwork they built to protect the salt mounds in Puerto Rico. This possibility gains plausibility given that tensions with the Native American population grew as the year progressed. If this science center is separate from the fort and settlement sites, then the remains of the Roanoke colonies are not necessarily in the area investigated by previous archeological excavations.²⁹¹

The National Park Service’s period of development of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site marked a transition from locally supported commemorative efforts to recognition on a national level. The NPS introduced greater accuracy in exhibits, including the reconstructed fort, and also encouraged more authentic presentations of sixteenth-century English life in its lectures and publications. The NPS continues to operate the historic site and conduct archeological investigations to learn more about the Roanoke colonies. It has also maintained special use agreements with the Roanoke Island Historical Association, which manages “The Lost Colony” productions.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

Most of the resources associated with this context represent the commemorative efforts centered on Fort Raleigh, a site related to the first English attempts to establish a colony on the north end of Roanoke Island. The Roanoke Colony/Virginia Dare Monument was one of the first markers erected to honor this site and the birth of the first child of English parentage in North America, Virginia Dare. Placed in 1896, the monument was moved in the 1930s when several groups and individuals joined to further revere the site and create a larger, more elaborate commemorative program to interpret it. Although no structures remain on NPS properties, this project included creating a representative village of cottages, a chapel, and associated buildings in the vicinity of the fort. The village was built by local labor and men from the CCC, who may have been stationed at Camp Wirth (presumably named after Conrad L. Wirth, the landscape architect and planner who led the NPS’s CCC programs in the state

²⁹⁰The Virginia Company Foundation, “Virginia Company Foundation Fort Raleigh Archeological Project 1994 & 1995” TMs, copy on file at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina. For more information on the 1994-1995 archeological investigations, see Nicholas M. Lucchetti, *Fort Raleigh Archeological Project, 1994/1995 Survey Report* (Jamestown, VA: Virginia Company Foundation and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, December 1996).

²⁹¹The Virginia Company Foundation, 33-4.

parks and who later became NPS director). However, all that remains of Camp Wirth, a WPA camp for workers employed in New Deal activities on the Outer Banks, are some septic tanks and a few concrete foundations just west of the Dough cemetery.

Part of the commemorative efforts centered on the site and the history of the Roanoke expeditions include the production of Paul Green's drama, "The Lost Colony." The Waterside Theater, built in 1937 for its first performance, continues to present the show. Also associated with this event and the celebration of Virginia Dare's birth are two small markers commemorating Franklin D. Roosevelt's attendance at the August 18, 1937, production honoring Virginia Dare.

The reconstructed earthwork fort is perhaps the most noticeable resource representing the efforts to depict and interpret the site. Completed in the 1950s, the fort stands on the north end of Roanoke Island on the site traditionally associated with and known since the nineteenth century as Fort Raleigh, a fortification built by members of Ralph Lane's colony. The reconstruction of this fort was part of a radical reformulation of the interpretive program of the site by the National Park Service in the 1950s. Based on new scholarship and new archeological evidence, the NPS encouraged greater accuracy in the exhibits, removed the 1930s additions to the site, and rebuilt the fortification. More recent archeological findings suggest that the earthen fort may have been a redoubt to protect the neighboring science center's operations.²⁹²

Associative Characteristics/Significance

While the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site is nationally significant for its association with early English colonization efforts in North America (see Chapter 1), the preservation and commemoration efforts of the site for more than 135 years represent an additional area of significance. The site is exceptional for the degree of local and state attention and for the richness of its historical associations. Both the Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort and the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument are significant for their connection with successive efforts to preserve evidence of, recognize, and celebrate early English exploration and settlement in the New World. Specifically, they were intended to underline the unsuccessful colonization of what was then known as Virginia in the period between 1584 and 1590, when the English first discovered Roanoke Island, sent settlers there, and then found the colony abandoned. They therefore relate to the "broad patterns" of American history (National Register Criterion A). They are significant at the state and local levels as representative of

²⁹²Ivor Noel Hume, however, suggests that the fortification is of a later date, perhaps as late as the eighteenth century.

early preservation efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when antiquarian and patriotic groups first began to systematically recognize, commemorate, and protect buildings and sites of historic significance.

The Waterside Theater is associated with the North Carolina playwright Paul Green and “The Lost Colony” production, an important part of commemorative efforts at the site. It also reflects the efforts to recognize and celebrate early English exploration and settlement in the New World, especially the Roanoke colonies. In addition, the theater is linked with the Federal Theater Project and other New Deal programs. Camp Wirth and the Franklin D. Roosevelt markers are also associated with these important events. Camp Wirth may be significant for the information it may provide concerning New Deal programs on the Outer Banks of North Carolina (Criterion D). The Franklin D. Roosevelt markers, on the other hand, reflect local and state efforts to commemorate the site of the Roanoke colonies and Virginia Dare on the 350th anniversary of her birth. In addition, they mark President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s attendance at this event and its importance to area residents. As such, the two markers may be locally significant under this context (Criterion A).

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS /CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS /INTEGRITY

For a property to be eligible for the National Register (NR), it must satisfy one of the NR criteria and retain integrity, or the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. To maintain integrity, a property must possess several, if not most, of the aspects of integrity, which include location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort was initially documented in the park’s National Register listing in 1972, with additional documentation and revisions submitted in 1978. This Historic Resource Study, however, reevaluates earlier research. To be eligible, the reconstructed earthwork fort must meet one of the four NR criteria as well as Criteria Consideration E, Reconstructed Properties. A reconstructed property is eligible for the National Register when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived.²⁹³ As part of the NPS’s interpretive plan for the site, the fort is an accurate reconstruction of the original structure based on archeological investigations and historical research. Moreover, the reconstruction used materials similar to the original earthen materials and was built on the original site of a fortification believed to be associated with the Ralph Lane colony. It is also one of the few structures that reflects the

²⁹³*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 37.

importance of the site, the first English settlement in North America, and is significant under Criterion A (Event). As such, the reconstructed fort is currently eligible for the National Register under Criteria Consideration E. However, if further research should reveal that the fortification postdates the period of sixteenth-century English colonization, then the reconstruction's National-Register eligibility and interpretation should be reconsidered.

In addition, the reconstructed fort has retained the necessary integrity to be listed on the register. The location and design of the reconstructed fort have not changed, and archeological and historical findings still maintain that this reconstruction is accurate. Although the setting has been altered since the settlement period, some sense of the original condition of the property is still conveyed by the site, and few changes have been made since the completion of the reconstruction. Materials are not only original to the reconstruction, but are also similar to the earthen materials of the early fortification. Indeed, the reconstruction entailed the "reuse" of original fill, which had eroded. Workmanship is not an applicable category in this instance for the evaluation of integrity because of the construction materials. As such, the rebuilt fortification possesses integrity of location, design, setting, materials, feeling, and association, and maintains the necessary integrity for listing.

The Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument, by location and inference, was included within the "historic zone" described in the earlier National Register documentation, but was not specifically described as an eligible contributing structure. The monument is significant under NR Criterion A, and must be evaluated under Criteria Consideration F, Commemorative Properties, as well. To be eligible as a commemorative property, the resource's design, age, tradition, or symbolic value must invest it with its own historical significance. The monument has achieved significance in its own right as the original commemorative effort by local and state groups. Although the structure was moved from its original location during the 1930s additions to the site, and again c. 1950 during the fort's reconstruction, its relocation was part of a preservation/restoration plan and later efforts to commemorate the site. In addition, the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument still possesses full integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The monument's surroundings basically remained the same even after its move. Consequently, it retains an overall integrity of setting, though losing integrity for original location. Furthermore, the move occurred during a recognized late phase of the history of the development and preservation of the site by the National Park Service. As such, the structure maintains an adequate level of integrity and is still eligible for the National Register under Criteria Consideration F.

Although the F. D. R. Marker is locally significant under NR Criterion A for its association with the ongoing commemoration of colonization efforts at Roanoke Island, the marker must

also meet the requirements for Criteria Consideration F, Commemorative Properties. The small marker continues the tradition of honoring the Roanoke colonists by noting the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth and Franklin D. Roosevelt's presence at this important local event. Presumably, it was placed shortly after the president's visit to Dare County and his speech extolling the fortitude and courage of early pioneers such as Ananias and Eleanor Dare, the parents of Virginia Dare. The period in which it was probably placed, the late 1930s, was an important era in the history of preservation and recognition of Fort Raleigh, the celebrated site of the Roanoke colonies of 1584-7. Many local individuals may have felt that with the president's visit and the anniversary celebration, their efforts to gain national recognition for the site were finally realized. Thus, the marker has obtained significance in its own right as a commemorative effort by a local group and their continuous efforts to achieve recognition for the site. In addition, the small plaque still marks the spot from which President Roosevelt spoke, and maintains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. Consequently, the F. D. R. marker is considered a contributing resource to the historic site.

Like the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument and the F. D. R. Marker, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker is locally significant under Criterion A for its association with the ongoing commemoration of the Roanoke colonies and Virginia Dare. The theater marker honors President Roosevelt's presence at "The Lost Colony" production celebrating the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth. Presumably, local individuals placed the commemorative plaque in the late 1930s shortly after this meaningful event and during an important era in the history of the preservation and recognition of the Fort Raleigh site. Like all National-Register-eligible commemorative properties, the theater marker's significance then comes from its value as a cultural expression from the date of its creation. Local individuals not only continued the tradition of celebrating the site (which began in 1896 with the Roanoke Colony/Virginia Dare Monument), but also expressed the renewed importance of the site in the late 1930s. Although its setting has undergone a few changes, the theater marker still lays in the Waterside Theater and retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As such, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Marker is a contributing resource to the National Register site, whose boundaries have been expanded to include the theater marker.

Integrity issues for the Waterside Theater appear to be more problematic and determine the final evaluation of its significance. The Waterside Theater was first constructed in 1937 on a site used for local performances as early as 1934. However, the theater was substantially altered after a fire in 1947, and again between 1960 and 1962 because of further damage caused by Hurricane Donna. The 1960-62 rebuilding resulted in a replacement of stage sets, seating, mechanical and maintenance equipment, buildings, and other features to better accommodate the expanding needs of the production. Further changes in the 1970s included

additional seating and the replacement of other original features. Currently, the theater possesses integrity of location and setting, with little integrity of design, feeling, workmanship, materials, or association with the 1937 period. Because the significance of the structure is its association with the North Carolina playwright Paul Green, the Federal Theatre Project and other New Deal programs, and efforts to recognize and celebrate the Roanoke expeditions, the absence of features dating to this early period argues against its listing as a contributing feature. Other extant structures in the area and throughout the country better reflect their association with these persons and events and maintain a higher level of integrity. Consequently, the theater is currently a non-contributing resource within the National Register site.

Because there are no standing remains associated with Camp Wirth, the property is not eligible for the National Register under Criteria A or C. Criterion D, Information Potential, has yet to be fully addressed. Archeological investigations could potentially uncover findings which may provide important information concerning the design, structure, spatial relationships, social dynamics, etc., of WPA work camps and the men involved in New Deal programs. Consultation with archeologists might determine whether archeological investigations of the camp site are worth undertaking to evaluate its potential to yield information (Criterion D). The site is potentially eligible for the National Register until a comprehensive survey is conducted and a final determination can be made.

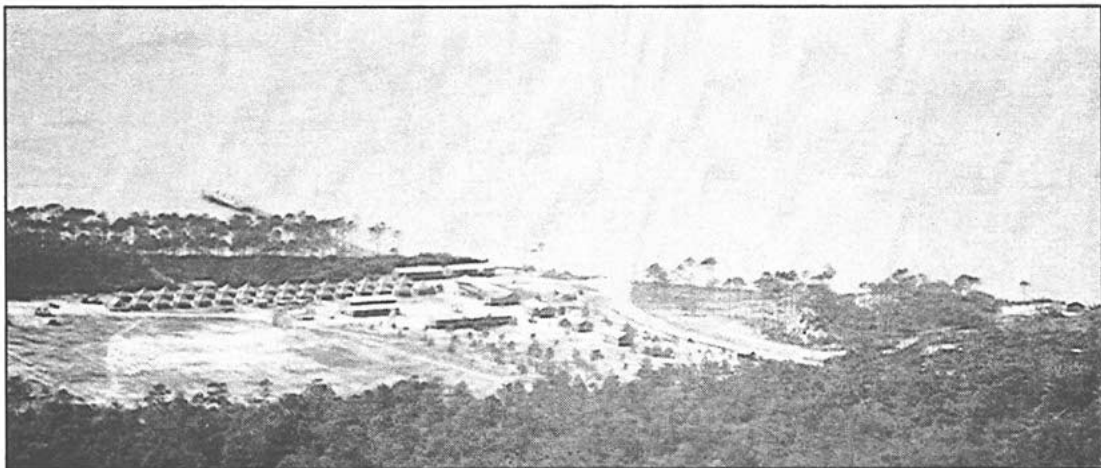


Figure 51. Camp Wirth, c. 1938

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES /CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort (1947-1953)

Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument (1896, relocated in the 1930s moved again c. 1950),
contributing as a commemorative property

F.D.R. Marker (1937?), contributing as a commemorative property

Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker (1937?), contributing as a commemorative property

NONELIGIBLE PROPERTIES /NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Waterside Theater (1937, 1947, 1960-62, 1970s)

POTENTIALLY ELIGIBLE ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Camp Wirth (1930s-?)

MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The following management recommendations are offered to help resource managers identify areas for further research, expand existing interpretive programs, and maintain records related to historic cultural resources. These management recommendations are a direct result of the program to update the List of Classified Structures (LCS) and to initiate the Cultural Landscape Inventory-Level I (CLI-Level I). Included are some preliminary recommendations for the management and treatment of cultural resources that may require additional funding and should be incorporated into the Park's Resource Management Plan (RMP).

The November 16, 1990 act authorizing the NHS's boundary expansion also redefined its purpose to include the preservation and interpretation of the first English colony in the New World, as well as the history of the Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans on Roanoke Island. The act also required that "the Secretary [of the Interior], in conjunction with scholarly and other historic organizations, shall undertake research on the history and archeology of the historic site, and the associated peoples and events."²⁹⁴ To date, little has been done to address the new broad purpose of the park and its history. The area surrounding Fort Raleigh was the site of many important events and activities, including Native American habitation, the first attempt by the English to establish a permanent settlement in North America, Civil War actions, a Freedmen's community, pioneer radio experiments by Reginald Fessenden, and the production of one of the nation's first outdoor symphonic dramas, "The Lost Colony." Currently, only the reconstructed earthwork fort and exhibits in the visitor's center focusing on Elizabethan life and colonization of the New World interpret these park resources. There is little acknowledgment of these other, important events and the resources associated with them. With few exceptions, no current activities, exhibits, or presentations depict life on Roanoke Island during its later settlement, the Civil War years, or the turn of the century, when technology greatly changed the lives of its inhabitants. Nor are the efforts to preserve and commemorate the site acknowledged by the National Park Service's current interpretive program. The scheduled development of a comprehensive interpretive plan should help shape a more extensive program and address these needs.

In addition, when resources become available, more should be done to address the site's history beyond its initial significance as the site of the first English colony in the New World. Systematic subsurface archeological survey and testing would help provide information regarding the area's Native American and Civil War activities. Additional historical research at

²⁹⁴Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 6.

national, state, and local archives needs to be conducted as well. With the data obtained from a review of existing archeological studies and additional archeological and historic studies, an expanded interpretation of the site's many themes can be undertaken. New programs to better illustrate the site's rich history can be developed. Future archeological studies may also permit additional resources to be documented for the National Register under Criterion D. All archeological research must be done in consultation with SEAC (Southeast Archeological Center) and with the appropriate ARPA (Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979) permits.

Other research concerning Fort Raleigh's identified resources should be conducted as well. Although most of the standing structures are well documented, more information on the FDR and Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater markers is needed. It is not clear exactly when the markers were placed, who made them, or who placed them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aitken, Hugh G. T. 1985. *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900-1932*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Andrews, Kenneth R. 1964. *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arthur, Robert. 1929. "Colonial Coast Forts on the South Atlantic." *The Coast Artillery Journal* 70: 41-62.

Ashe, Samuel A'Court. 1908. *History of North Carolina*. 2 Vols. Greensboro, North Carolina: Charles L. Van Noppen.

Athens, William P. 1984. "Soil Resistivity Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Sites, 1984." TMs. Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida. Copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

Atkinson, Robert. 1950. "Report on the Operations of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., April 19, 1950." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

Barret, John Gilchrist. 1987. *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground, 1861-1865*. Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic Years 1918-1919 and 1919-1920. 1921. Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton.

Bolton, Herbert E. and Thomas M. Marshall. 1920. *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*. New York: The MacMillan Company.

Brebner, John B. 1933. *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806*. New York: The MacMillan Company.

Brown, Lorraine. 1986. "Introduction: The Federal Theater Project and Research Collection."

The Federal Theater Project: A Catalog-Calendar of Productions. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bruce, Edward C. 1860. "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. 20, no. 120 (May 1860): 721-36.

Buttitta, Tony and Barry Witham. 1982. *Uncle Sam Presents: A Memoir of the Federal Theatre, 1935-1939.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William Kelso and others. 1981. "Impermanent Architecture in Southern American Colonies." *Winterthur Portfolio* 16: 135-196.

Cheeseman, Bruce S. 1982. *Four Centuries and Roanoke Island: A Legacy of Geographical Change.* Raleigh, North Carolina.

Chitwood, Oliver P. 1931. *A History of Colonial America.* New York: Harper Brothers.

Colyer, Vincent. 1864. *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina.* New York: By the Author.

Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, Roanoke Island Investigation Committee. 1862, reprint 1972. *Report of the Roanoke Island Investigation Committee.* Richmond, VA: Enquirer Book and Job Press, Tyler, Wise, Allegre & Smith, reprint, Louisville: Lost Cause Press, text-fiche.

Copeland, George H. 1940. "The Graveyard of the Atlantic." *Travel*, 75,5: 14-18.

Cotten, Sallie Southall. 1901. *The White Doe, The Fate of Virginia Dare, An Indian Legend.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

Craven, Wesley Frank. 1949. *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century 1607-1689.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Cumming, W. P., R. A. Skelton, and D. B. Quinn. 1971. *The Discovery of North America.* New York: American Heritage Press.

Cumming, William P. 1966. *North Carolina in Maps.* Raleigh, North Carolina: Department of Archives and History, State of North Carolina.

- Daves, Edward Graham. 1893. "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia' - 1585." *Magazine of American History* 29 (May/June 1893): 470-81.
- Dean, G. E. 1937. "Restoration of Old Fort Raleigh." *The Southern Magazine* 4: 8-12.
- De Bry, Theodore. 1590. *Thomas Hariot's Virginia*. reprint, Readex Mircoprint Corporation, 1966.
- Division of Archives and History, State of North Carolina. n.d. "Archaeological and Historical Contexts for North Carolina Comprehensive Planning." TS. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, State of North Carolina.
- Dunbar, Gary S. 1958. *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Durant, David N. 1981. *Raleigh's Lost Colony*. New York: Athenaeum.
- Eggleston, Edward. 1882. "The Beginning of a Nation." *Century* 25, no. 1 (November 1882): 61-83.
- Ehrenhard, John E., William P. Athens, and Gregory L. Komara. 1983. "Remote Sensing Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, 1983." TMs. Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida. Copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Ehrenhard, John E., and Gregory L. Komara. 1984. "Archeological Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Season 2, 1983 (February 1984)." TMs. Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, Florida. Copy on file at the Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Emmerton, James A. *A Record of the Twenty-Third Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865*. 1886. Boston: William Ware & Co.
- Everette, Michael L. 1983. "The Fessenden Story...." (pamphlet).
- Everhardt, William C. 1972. *The National Park Service*. New York: Praeger.

- Ferris, Robert G. 1968. *Explorers and Settlers*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- Fitch, James Marston. 1982. *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Foote, Shelby. 1958, renewed 1986. *The Civil War, A Narrative*. 3 Vols. New York: Vintage Books.
- Free, William J. and Charles B. Lower. 1963. *History into Drama: A Source Book on Symphonic Drama, Including the Complete Text of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony"*. New York: Odyssey Press.
- Graham, Matthew J. 1900. *The Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers (Hawkins Zouaves)*. New York: By the Author.
- Greenblatt, Stephen J. 1937. *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Haag, William G. 1958. *The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Haas, Irving. 1966. *America's Historic Houses and Restorations*. New York: Castle Books.
- Hakluyt, Richard. reprint 1948. *Exploration, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*. Edited by David Leroy Corbitt. Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History.
- Hargrove, Thomas. 1989. "An Archeological Survey of the Manteo Wastewater Treatment Plant, Dare County, North Carolina." Prepared for F. T. Green & Associates. Raleigh, NC: Robert J. Goldstein and Associates.
- Harrington, Jean Carl. 1948. "Archeological Explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, August 1948." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- _____. 1950. "Preliminary Report, Archeological Explorations, Reconstruction, and Stabilization of Fort Raleigh, 1950 Season." TMs. Cultural Resources Library,

Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

- _____. 1953. "Report on the Archeological Explorations in the Elizabethan Gardens Area, 1953." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- _____. 1962. *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh: Archaeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historical Site, North Carolina*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- _____. 1965. "The 1965 Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- _____. 1966. *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh: Further Archaeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina*. Philadelphia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association.
- _____. 1967. "Manufacture and Use of Bricks at the Raleigh Settlement on Roanoke Island." *North Carolina Historical Review* 44: 1-17.
- _____. 1984. *Archaeology and the Enigma of Fort Raleigh*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.
- Hayes, D. R. nd. *An Economic Study of Dare County, North Carolina*. Raleigh: North Carolina State University.
- Hill, Daniel H. 1926. *Bethel to Sharpsburg: A History of North Carolina in the War Between the States*. 2 vols. Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton.
- Hinton, Mary Hilliard. 1908. *The North Carolina Historical Exhibit at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, Norfolk, Virginia, April 26 - December 1, 1907*. Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission.
- History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program*. 1987. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

“History of the Production.” n.d. TMs at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site.

Hosmer, Charles B., Jr. 1965. *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons.

_____. 1981. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*. 2 Vols. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Humber, John L. 1986. *Backgrounds and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Hutton, Paul and David B. Quinn, eds. 1964. *The American Drawings of John White*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

James, Horace. 1865. *Annual Report for the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*. Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., Printers.

Johnson, Charles F. 1911. *The Long Roll: Being a Journal of the Civil War, as set down during the years 1861-1863 by Charles F. Johnson sometime of Hawkins Zouaves*. East Aurora, NY: Roycrafters.

Johnston, Frances B. and Thomas T. Waterman. 1941. *The Early Architecture of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Jones, Gordon C. 1977. *Abstracts of Wills and Other Records, Currituck and Dare Counties, North Carolina (1663-1850)*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company.

Kenny, Vincent. 1971. *Paul Green*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Koch, Frederic. 1920. *Raleigh, The Shepherd of the Ocean*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton Company.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. 1984. *Roanoke, The Abandoned Colony*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allenheld.

Lackey, Patrick K. 13 September 1992. “The Coast.” Part of *The Virginian-Pilot* [Norfolk, VA].

- Lautzenheiser, Loretta, and Thomas Hargrove. June 1991. "...The Bright Glittering Sand,' Archeological Survey and Test Excavations, Site 31DR61, Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina." Prepared for Rial Corporation/W. M. Meekins Jr. Tarboro, NC: Coastal Carolina Research, Inc.
- Lawson, John. 1709, reprint 1966. *A New Voyage to Carolina*. London: reprint, Readex Microprint Corporation.
- Lefler, Hugh T. and Albert R. Newsome. 1973. *The History of a Southern State: North Carolina*. 3rd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lefler, Hugh T. and William S. Powell. 1973. *Colonial North Carolina: A History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Lindsey, Edwin S. 1959. "Outdoor Historical Dramas of Paul Green and Kermit Hunter." MS presented at the Tennessee Philological Association, February 20, 1959.
- Lossing, Benson J. 1851-52. *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Loving, Jerome M., ed. 1975. *Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lucchetti, Nicholas M. December 1996. *Fort Raleigh Archeological Project, 1994/1995 Survey Report*. Jamestown, VA: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.
- MacCaffrey, Wallace T. 1981. *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Martin, F.X. 1829. *The History of North Carolina from the Earliest Period*. 2 vols. New Orleans: A. T. Pennimant and Co.
- Mathews, Jane DeHart. 1967 *The Federal Theatre, 1935-1939: Plays, Relief and Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McKenzie, Richard D. 1973. *The New Deal for Artists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mitchell, S. Weir. 1893. *Francis Drake, A Tragedy of the Sea*. Boston: Hufton Mifflin.

Mobley, Joe A. 1981. *James City, A Black Community in North Carolina, 1863-1900*. Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Murtagh, William. 1988. *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*. Pittstown, NJ: Mainstreet Press.

National Park Service. [1991]. *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

_____. [1991]. *National Register Bulletin 16: Guidelines for Completing National Register Nominations*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

_____. n.d. *National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

_____. n.d. *National Register Bulletin 21: How to Establish Boundary to National Register Properties*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Noel Hume, Ivor. 1994 "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center." *Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. Vol. XVI, no. 3 (Spring 1994); reprint.

_____. 1994. *The Virginia Adventure, Roanoke to James Towne: An Archeological and Historical Odyssey*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Paige, John C. 1985. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Peterson, Ann E. 1980. "Frances B. Johnston, The Crusader with a Camera." *Historic Preservation Magazine* 32: 17-20.

Pilkey, Orin H. Sr. and William J. Neal. c. 1978. *From Currituck to Calabash: Living with North Carolina's Barrier Islands*. Research Triangle Park, NC: North Carolina Science and Technology Research Center.

Porter, Charles W., III. 1943. "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the

- Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587." *North Carolina Historical Review* 20: 22-42.
- _____. 1956. *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- _____. 1972. *Adventures to a New World The Roanoke Colony, 1585-87*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- Powell, William S. 1965. *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Quinn, David Beers. 1947. *Raleigh and the British Empire*. London: The English -University Press.
- _____, ed. 1955. *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*. 2 Vols. London: Hakluyt Society.
- _____. 1985. *Set Fair for Roanoke, Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Quinn, David Beers and Alison M. Quinn, eds. 1982 (second printing, 1985). *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.
- "Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994." National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- Roe, Alfred S. 1907. *The Twenty-Fourth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861 -1866*. Worcester, MA: The Twenty-Fourth Veteran Association.
- Ruffin, Edmund. 1861. *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina, and the Similar Adjacent Lands*. Raleigh: Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind.
- Sager, Mere1 S., A. E. Trager, E. F. Preece, J. D. Coffman, H. T. Thompson, Victor M. Cahalane, and W. J. Endersbee. January 1938. "Report on Recommendations for Boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore." TMs. Cultural Resources

Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

Salmond, John A. 1967. *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Saunders, Keith. 1962. *The Independent Man*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton.

Seaworthy, Gregory pseud. [Throop, George Higby]. 1850. *Nag's Head: or Two Months Among "The Bankers "*. Philadelphia: A. Hart.

State Superintendent of Public Instruction. [1922]. *The Earliest English Expedition and Attempted Settlements in Territory Now the United States, 1584-91*. Pamphlet, Education Publication No. 40. Raleigh, NC: State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Stick, David. 1949. *Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County Past and Present*. Kitty Hawk, NC: The Dare Press.

_____. 1958. *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

_____. 1970. *Dare County: A History*. Raleigh: Department of Archives and History, State of North Carolina.

_____. 1983. *Roanoke Island, The Beginnings of English America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

n.d. "A Half-century of Observations." Unedited manuscript at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

Stick, Frank. 1935. "Restoration of Fort Raleigh." *The Southern Magazine*: 25-7.

_____. 1937 "Cittie of Raleigh, The Lost Colony Official Souvenir Program." Manteo, NC: Roanoke Island Historical Foundation.

Tilberg, Frederick. 1936. "Report on the Fort Site Known as Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, NC, October 1936." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

- _____. 1937. "Preliminary Study Relative to the Location and Manner of Construction of the Original Fort Raleigh, 1937." TMs. Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Torres, Louis. n.d. *Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore*. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- United States Bureau of the Census 1790-1950*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Unrau, Harlan D. and G. Frank Williss. September 1983. *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- The Virginia Company Foundation. 1995. "Virginia Company Foundation, Fort Raleigh Archeological Project, 1994 & 1995." TMs. Copy on file at the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina.
- Walcott, Charles F. 1882. *History of the Twenty-First Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.
- Walker, John W. and Allen H. Cooper. 1989. *Archeological Testing of Aerial and Soil Resistivity Anomaly FORA A-1, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina*. Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service.
- The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. IX. 1883. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Weeks, Stephen B. 1891. "Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island: An Historical Survival." *Magazine of American History* 25 (January/June 1891): 127-39.
- Williams, Talcott. 1896. "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony." *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Woodbury, Augustus. 1867. *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corp*. Providence, RI: Sidney S. Rider & Brother.

Yeans, W. Buck, and John G. Barrett, eds. *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*. 1980. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Additional Sources:

In addition to cited references, research has included reference to the following newspapers:

Durham Morning Herald
Raleigh News and Observer
Elizabeth City Independent
New York Times

This study also includes references to mainly uncatalogued drawings, inventories, photographs, and maintenance records held at Fort Raleigh. Bebe Woody at Fort Raleigh, Barbara Meek of the Garden Club of North Carolina, and John Flowers, a North Carolina garden historian, and Steve Harrison at Cape Hatteras provided much useful information.

APPENDIX A
DESCRIPTIONS OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

Contributing Resources

"science center, " c. 1585-1 590:

This important archeological site is located on the north end of Roanoke Island. Although the area has been disturbed by a number of construction projects over the years, archeological investigations have uncovered numerous European artifacts dating to the sixteenth century. These findings include pieces of laboratory equipment such as crucibles, ointment pots, distilling flasks, weights, and glassware, and possibly a fortification associated with Ralph Lane's colony of 1585-6. Members of Ralph Lane's party included Thomas Hariot, a prominent scientist of the period, and Joachim Gans, a Jewish metallurgist from Prague, both of whom probably oversaw operations at the science center. Some archeologists speculate that the neighboring fortification may be a redoubt built to protect the colony's metallurgical and science experiments.

Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument, 1896,. relocated c. 1934-7, moved again c. 1950, (IDLCS 90001):

Built by H. A. Tucker & Brothers of the Wilmington Granite and Marble Works in Wilmington, NC, the monument consists of a 41" x 22" base and sub-base of North Carolina granite topped by a gray Virginia granite tablet. The top, left side of the sub-base contains the inscription "Tucker Bros. Wil. N.C." The monument is approximately 5' high. The front is polished, while the sides and rear are quarry faced. The inscription on the front of the tablet reads:

ON THIS SITE, IN JULY-AUGUST 1585,
(O.S.) COLONISTS, SET OUT FROM ENGLAND
BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH, BUILT A FORT, CALL-
ED BY THEM
"THE NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA"
THESE COLONISTS WERE THE FIRST SET-
TLERS OF THE ENGLISH RACE IN AMERICA.
THEY RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN JULY, 1586,
WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.
NEAR THIS PLACE WAS BORN, ON THE 18TH
OF AUGUST, 1587,
VIRGINIA DARE
THE FIRST CHILD OF ENGLISH PARENTS BORN
IN AMERICA—DAUGHTER OF ANANIAS DARE
AND ELEANOR WHITE, HIS WIFE, MEMBERS OF
ANOTHER BAND OF COLONISTS SENT OUT BY

SIR WALTER RALEIGH IN 1587.
 ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1587, VIR-
 GINIA DARE WAS BAPTIZED. MANTEO, THE
 FRIENDLY CHIEF OF THE HATTERAS INDIANS,
 HAD BEEN BAPTIZED ON THE SUNDAY PRE-
 CEDING. THESE BAPTISMS ARE THE FIRST
 KNOWN CELEBRATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN SAC-
 RAMENT IN THE TERRITORY OF THE THIR-
 TEEN ORIGINAL UNITED STATES.

1 8 9 6

The inscription on the rear of the monument reads:

IN MEMORY, TOO,
 OF OUR FOUNDER
 AND FIRST PRESIDENT
 EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES
 ERECTED BY THE ROANOKE
 COLONY MEMORIAL ASSOCI[ATION]
 NOV. 24 1896
 GRAHAM DAVES
 PRESIDENT
 JOHN S. BASSETT
 SEC'TY AND TREAS.

F. D. R. Marker, (1937?), (LCS 91646):

A one foot square concrete slab at grade located between the Waterside Theater and the Reconstructed Earthwork Fort. The small marker reads "SPOKE F.D.R. 8/18/37."

Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker, (1937?), (LCS 91647):

A 22¼ foot by 17½ foot polished granite plaque located in the entry area of the Waterside Theater to commemorate President Roosevelt's attendance at the 23rd performance of "The Lost Colony." The inscription on the marker reads:

On This Spot
 Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Witnesses the
 23rd Performance of
The Lost Colony
 August 18, 1937

Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort, 1947-53, (IDLCS 00370):

The reconstructed earthwork fort is a fairly typical, smaller artillery and musketry fortification of the late sixteenth century. Measuring approximately seventy feet square between bastion points, the structure consists of earthen walls extending approximately five feet above grade, surrounded by a perimeter ditch. The square earthen fort was modified to a star shape by triangular bastions on the north and east sides and an octagonal bastion on the south. The entrance is through the fourth, “broken,” bastion on the west. A firing banquette runs along the inner perimeter of the parapet walls.

Noncontributing Properties

Dough Family Cemetery, c. 1850-1906, (LCS 90000):

The small family cemetery plot measures approximately 82’ x 64’. It contains eight known graves, with the dates of death on the eight stone markers ranging from 1866 to 1906. One of the grave sites includes a raised brick table inset with a marble plaque and an upright headstone. The other graves contain footmarkers and headstones, usually limestone or marble and inscribed with the family member’s name, and date of birth and death. Some contain sentiments or decorative features, such as carved leaves or roses.

Waterside Theater, 1937, 1947, 1960-62 :

Originally designed by Albert Quentin “Skipper” Bell, the Waterside Theater contained approximately 3,500 seats, a lower section, an upper area, two radiating aisles, and a center aisle. Additional structures included a control room, two square-logged light towers, storage and dressing areas, and a stage which was elevated approximately 2’ above the lower tier of seats. The stage had a log chapel, several log buildings, and a log palisade as a backdrop. The theater currently measures approximately 130’ across the upper level and 70’ wide at the stage. Its length is approximately 150’ from the rear of the stage to the control building at the rear. The total seating capacity is 1,780, and access to it is provided by four aisles in the upper and lower tiers. The stage includes a 12’ x 24’ gable-fronted chapel, two 5’ x 13’ open-sided buildings, two shingle-roofed structures reminiscent of Elizabethan-era dwellings, a rear parapet, and a log palisade.

Potentially Eligible Archeological Resources

Archeological resources associated with the “*Cittie of Raleigh*” (settlement site of the Roanoke colonists, c. 1585-1590), “*Roanoac*” (Native American settlement site), and “*Ralph Lane’s New Fort in Virginia*” (fortification of the Roanoke colonists, c. 1585-1590)

Archeological Resources associated with the Civil War (*Fort Huger, Fort Blanchard, Fort Bartow, Camp Raleigh, Camp Foster*)

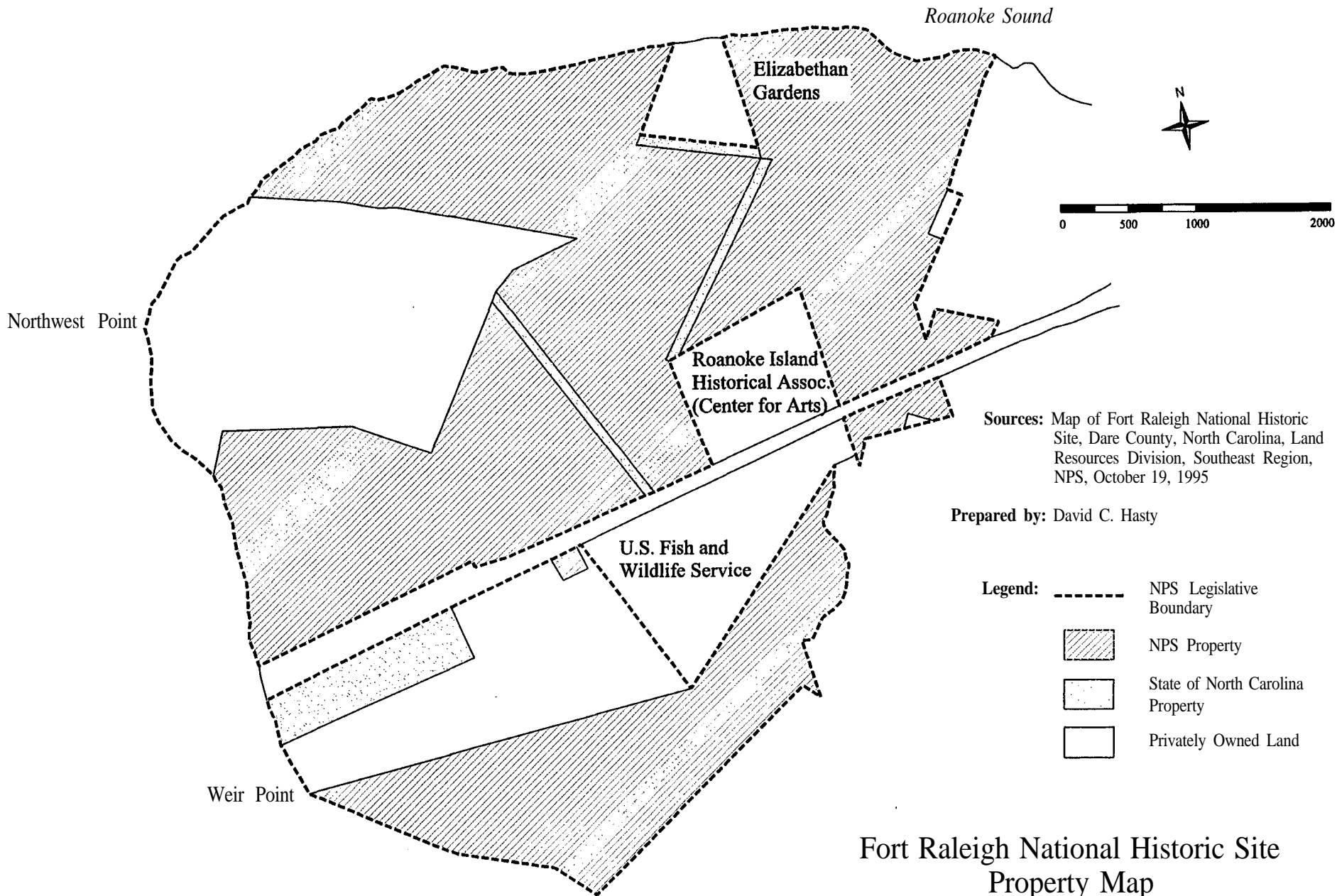
Archeological Resources associated with the Freedmen’s Community

Dough Family house and farm (c. 1850-1960)

Camp Wirth, (c. 1930s):

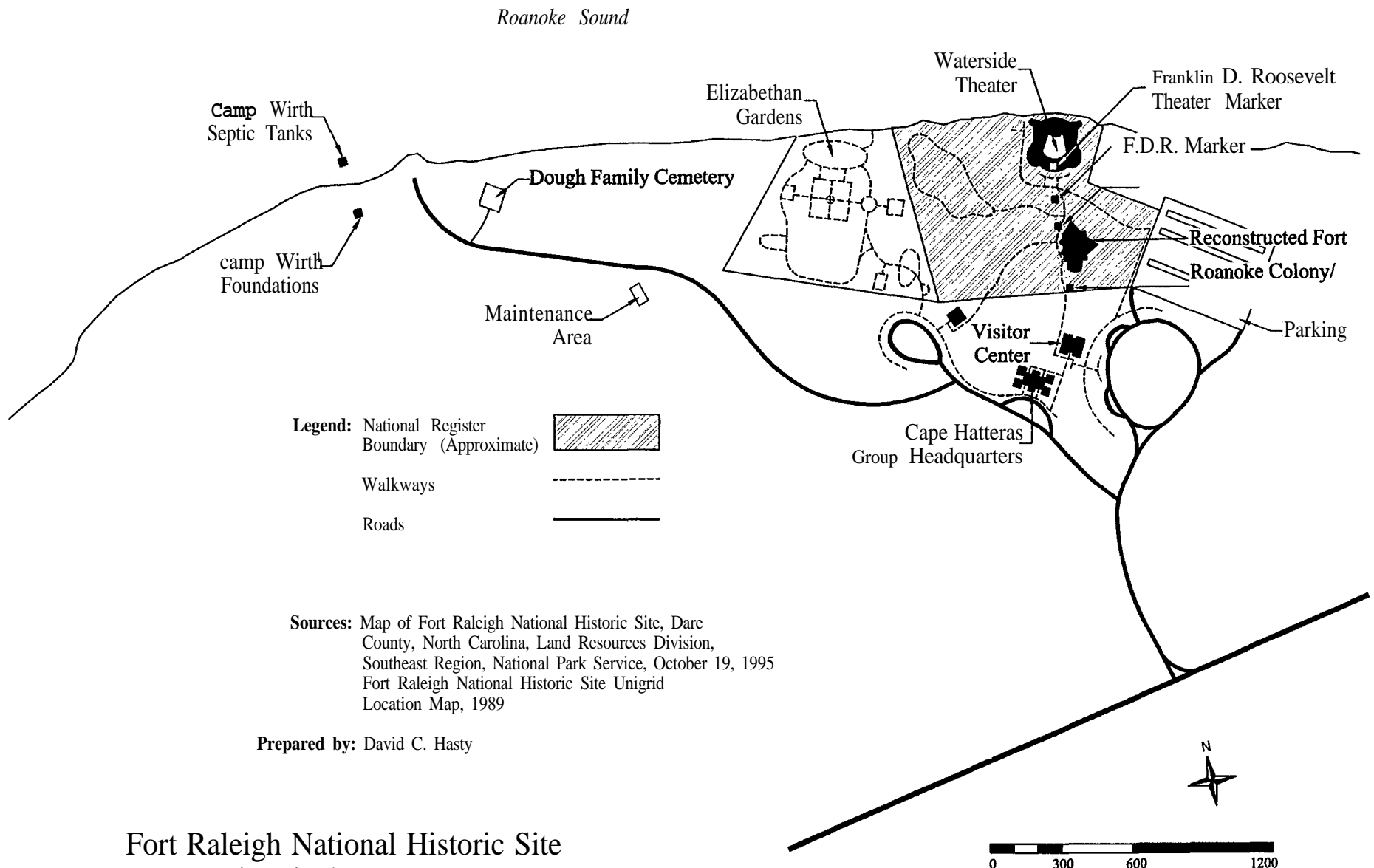
No standing structures. Remnants of foundations near the Dough Family cemetery and septic tanks on the shore and in the sound.

**APPENDIX B: PROPERTY MAP
HISTORICAL BASE MAP**



Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Property Map

Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina



Sources: Map of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Dare County, North Carolina, Land Resources Division, Southeast Region, National Park Service, October 19, 1995
 Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Unigrd Location Map, 1989

Prepared by: David C. Hasty

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historical Base Map

Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL REGISTER DOCUMENTATION

NPS Form 10-900
(Rev. 10-90)

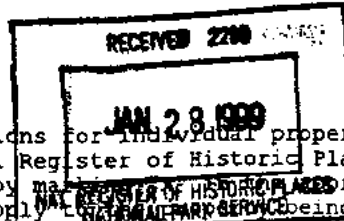
OMB No. 1024-0018

66007172

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

AD

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking the appropriate box or entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

other names site number _____

2. Location

street & number _____

city or town Manteo not for publication
state North Carolina code NC county DARE vicinity X
zip code 27954 code 055

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this _____ nomination _____ request for **determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering** properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant _____ nationally _____ Statewide _____ locally. (_____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Ronald M. Lumbert 1-25-99
Signature of certifying official Date
National Park Service

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register criteria. _____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official _____ Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register See continuation sheet. Mej M. King 3/5/99
- determined eligible for the National Register See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain): additional documentation

Mej M. King signature of Keeper Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed properties in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	buildings
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	sites
<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	structures
		objects
		Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
 (Enter categories from instructions)
DEFENSE/fortification
RECREATION AND CULTURE/theater,
monument/marker, outdoor
recreation
INDUSTRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION

Current Functions
 (Enter categories from instructions)
RECREATION AND CULTURE/theater
monument/marker
outdoor recreation

7. Description

Architectural Classification
 (Enter categories from instructions)
N A

Materials
 (Enter categories from instructions)
 foundation: earth wood stone
 walls: earth, wood, concrete, plaster
 roof: as halt
 other: ranite concrete stone
brick marble

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of 'a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or a grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
 (Enter categories from instructions)
ARCHEOLOGY, HISTORIC--
NON-ABORIGINAL
EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT
CONSERVATION

Period of Significance
c. 1584-1590, c. 1860-1953

Significant Dates
1584, 1585-6, 1587, 1590,
1896, 1930s, 1947-53

Significant Person
 (Complete if Criterion B is marked above)
N/A

Cultural Affiliation
EUROPEAN

Architect/Builder
Unknown
A. O. Bell/ J. C. Harrington/NPS

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the Significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form

9. Major Bibliographical References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

___ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

previously listed in the National Register previously determined eligible by the National Register ___ designated a National Historic Landmark

recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # NC 389, NC 389 A-D ___ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

- ___ State Historic Preservation Office
- ___ Other State agency
- Federal agency
- ___ Local government
- ___ University
- ___ Other

Name of repository: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
Manteo Dare Count NC

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 16 +/-

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	18	436060	3977270	D	18	436100 3977040
B	18	436060	3977160	E	18	435830 3977040
C	18	436130	3977130	F	18	435790 3977260
	___ See continuation sheet.					

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form

Page 6

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Christine Trebellas Architectural Historian
William Chapman. Preservation Program Dir.. University of Hawaii
 organization National Park Service. Southeast Support Office
 date November 1998
 street & number 100 Alabama Street. S.W. telephone (404) 562-3117
 city or town Atlanta state GA zip code 30303

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the Property's location.
 A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage
 or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner (Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name National Park Service
 street & number P.O. Box 37127 telephone _____
 city or town Washington state DC zip code 20013-7127

NPS Form 10-900-a (8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceFort Raleigh
National Historic Site
*name of property*NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEETDare County, North Carolina
*county and State**Section 10**Page 1***Geographical Data**

With the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. National Register documentation for the site was submitted in 1972, and further information and revisions were accepted on November 16, 1978. This additional documentation nominated the reconstructed earthwork fort and approximately 14 acres of the surrounding landscape for their association with the first English colony in the New World. This amendment reevaluates earlier research and considers new findings concerning the NHS and its resources. Although most new contributing resources are within the former NR boundary, one object, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker, is not. Consequently, the National Register boundary has been expanded to include this contributing resource to the historic site. The new NR boundary includes property formerly nominated in the previous documentation as well as the Waterside Theater, the historic setting of the theater marker which contributes to its ability to convey its significance. As noted in Section 8, the Waterside Theater itself lacks sufficient integrity to qualify as a contributing feature. U.S. Congress has recently expanded the park's authorized boundary to 512.93 acres, of which the NPS owns 355.45 acres. This new property, however, does not contain any historic structures or known archeological remains. As such, it is not included in the new National Register boundary.

Verbal Boundary Description

As shown on the enclosed map, the nominated property is bounded by a series of landscape features and imaginary lines that intersect to form a polygon around the area containing the contributing historic resources. Beginning at the Roanoke Sound, the boundary runs south and east along the eastern edge of the Elizabethan Gardens for approximately 800 feet. It then runs east for approximately 850 feet to the southwestern corner of the Waterside Theater parking lot. The boundary follows the edge of the parking lot north and east for approximately 300 feet to the trail leading from the parking lot to the Waterside Theater. It then runs along this trail for approximately 350 feet and turns north and east along the edge of the Waterside Theater for almost 325 feet. The boundary then follows the edge of the Roanoke Sound to the beginning.

Boundary Justification

This boundary includes all the property formerly nominated in the previous documentation, as well as the historic setting of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker (the Waterside Theater) and the property associated with the marker. The park's newly acquired land is not included within the National Register boundary because it contains no historic structures or known archeological resources. Extensive archeological investigations should be conducted before the area is developed, and if research reveals a number of significant archeological remains, the area's NR status should be reconsidered.

INDEX

References to illustrations are italicized

- Amadas, Philip
1584 expedition, 14, 15
1585 expedition, 16
See also Roanoke colonies
- Barlowe, Arthur
1584 expedition, 14, 15
on the Native American village of Roanoke, 14-5
See also Roanoke colonies
- Bell, Albert Quentin
designs Waterside Theater, 79
rebuilds Waterside Theater, 82
and the reconstructed village, 72
- Bruce, Edward C., 62-3
See also Lane's fort
- Burnside, Ambrose E.
appoints Vincent Colyer Superintendent of the Poor, 42
prepares to attack Roanoke Island, 36
protects Lane's fort, 63
- Camp Foster/Camp Reno, 40, 42
See also Camp Raleigh
- Camp Raleigh, 41
captured by Union forces, 37-9
description of, 40-2
renamed Camp Foster/Camp Reno, 40
"Cittie of Raleigh" (City of Raleigh), 21, 23-4
described by Edward C. Bruce, 62-3
efforts to locate and preserve, 60-4
reconstructed, 73
See also Roanoke colonies
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
constructs the theater, 79
constructs the village, 72, 78-9
and *The Lost Colony*, 79
- Collet, John, map by, 61, 62
- Colyer, Vincent, 47
appointed Superintendent of the Poor, 42
employs freedmen, 44
- Cotten, Sallie Southall
author of *The White Doe*, 65
commemorates Virginia Dare, 64-5
- Dare, Virginia
associated with Lane's fort, 62
birth of, 24-5
commemoration of, 64-9, 70, 75, 76
- Daves, Edward Graham
death of, 67
honored, 69
and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, 65, 66
on "Sir Walter Raleigh's fort," 63
- Daves, Graham
erects monument, 67-9
on the Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare monument, 67
and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, 67
- Drake, Sir Francis
and privateering, 11
removes 1585 colonists, 19; *See also* Roanoke colonies
subject of S. Weir Mitchell's poem, 75
- Eggleston, Edward, 63
See also Lane's fort
- Elizabeth I (queen of England), 10, 21
supports exploration of the New World, 10, 12
and Sir Walter Raleigh, 13, 15-6
- England
colonization of the New World, 9-10, 12-3
sea war with Spain, 11, 13-4, 25
successful colonization of North America, 21, 27-8
- F.D.R. Marker, 80, 81
- Fernandes, Simon
1578 expedition to Newfoundland, 12
1584 expedition to Roanoke Island, 14
1585 expedition, 16
1587 expedition, 22, 23
See also Roanoke colonies
- Fessenden, Reginald Aubrey, 51-3
on his receiver improvements, 52
on his sound transmissions, 53
- Fort Bartow, 36, 37
Fort Blanchard, 36, 37
Fort Clark, 34-5
Fort Forrest, 35
Fort Hatteras, 34-5
Fort Huger, 36, 37
Fort Ocracoke, 34
Fort Oregon, 34

- Fort Raleigh
 archeological investigations at, 63-4, 67, 84
 development plans, 71
 explanation of nomenclature, 1
 ownership of, 66, 71, 84
 reconstructed, 85-6
See also Lane's fort
- Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA)
 archeological investigations, 84-6, 88-9, 90
 authorized boundary, 1, 3-4, 90
 description of, 1-2
 established, 84
 National Register of Historic Places
 documentation, 4, Appendix C
 purpose, 1, 3, 9
- Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Earthwork Fort, 86
 built, 86
 description of, 87
- Fort Russell, 36, 37
- Foster, John G., 37
 appoints Horace James, 44
 on Union capture of Roanoke Island, 37-9
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker, 80-1, 81
- Freedmen
 arrival of, on Roanoke Island, 42
 assist Union army, 42, 43
 build forts in eastern North Carolina, 43, 44
 wages and rations, 42-4
- Freedmen's Colony (Roanoke Island, NC)
 demise of, 49-50
 description of, 46-7
 laid out, 45-7
 local government of, 49
 local industry of, 48-9
 school, 47-8
- Gans, Joachim, 16, 17
See also Roanoke colonies, 1585 colony
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 12
 death of, 13
 promoter of colonization, 12-3
- Granganimeo, 14; *See also* Native Americans
- Green, Paul, 78
- Grenville, Sir Richard, 16
 1585 expedition, 16-7
 discovers 1585 colony abandoned, 19-20
See also Roanoke colonies, 1585 colony
- Hariot, Thomas, 16, 17
 on the economic potential of North America, 17-8
See also Roanoke colonies, 1585 colony
- Harrington, Jean C.
 archeological surveys, 84-5, 85-6
- Indians, *See* Native Americans
- James, Horace, 44, 44-50
 appointed Superintendent of Negro Affairs, 44
 on the demise of the Freedmen's colony, 49
 on the establishment of the Freedmen's colony, 44-6
 on the Freedmen's school, 48
 on the industry of the Freedmen's colony, 48-9
- Jamestown (Virginia), 21, 26, 28
 preservation efforts, 59-60
- Lane, Ralph
 1585 colony, 16-9
 builds fort in Puerto Rico, 16, 17
 constructs fort on Roanoke Island (Lane's fort), 17
 on his relationship with Native Americans, 18
See also Roanoke colonies, 1585 colony
- Lane's fort, *See also* Fort Raleigh
 described by: Edward C. Bruce, 62-3; Benson J. Lossing, 62; George Higby Throop, 62
 efforts to locate and preserve, 60-4
 protected, 63
- Lawson, John
 describes early settlement of Roanoke Island, 31
 describes "Sir Walter Raleigh's fort," 61
- Lossing, Benson J., 62; *See also* Lane's fort
- Lost Colony, *See* Roanoke colonies, 1587 colony
The Lost Colony, 81, 84
 opening day, 80
 written by Paul Green, 77-8
- Manteo (Native American), 15, 16, 21, 75
 christened, 24
 helps 1587 colonists, 24
- Monroe, James, 62
- National Park Service (NPS)
 acquires Fort Raleigh, 84
 conducts archeological investigations, 84-6, 88-90

- National Park Service (*continued*)
 reconstructs Fort Raleigh, 85-6
 reformulates interpretive program, 85-6, 87, 88-9
 removes reconstructed village, 87
- Native American villages
 description of, 14
 Pomeiooc, 15
 Roanoke (Roanoac), description of, 14-5
 Secotan, 15
- Native Americans
 contact with the English, 14-5, 16, 18, 24
 demise of population on Roanoke Island, 33
 description of, 14
- Outer Banks (North Carolina), 15, 16, 22, 25, 26, 33, 34
 during the Civil War, 34-5
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 13, 14, 16, 20, 26
 and privateering, 11
 promoter of colonization, 12-4
 rise to power, 13
 subject of Frederick Koch's play, 75-6
- Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare monument, 67, 67-9, 72
- Reconstructed village, 78
 built, 71-3
 description of, 72-3
 dismantled, 87
 public reaction to, 73
- Resources, Cultural, Appendix A
 associated with the Civil War, 54-57
 associated with the commemoration of the Roanoke colonies, 91-97
 associated with the Roanoke colonies, 28-30
- Roanoke colonies
 1584 expedition, 14-6
 1585 colony, 16-20
 1587 colony (the Lost Colony), 20-25
 1590 expedition, 25-27
 archeological investigations, 63-4, 67
 support for recognition, 63, 64, 64-9, 75-81
- Roanoke Colony Memorial Association
 acquires Fort Raleigh tract, 66; *See also* Fort Raleigh
 builds entrance gate, 70
 celebrates Virginia Dare's birth, 75
 erects Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare monument, 67-9
- Roanoke Colony Memorial Association (*continued*)
 established, 65-66
 promotes fort site, 69-70
 purpose, 66
 transfers Fort Raleigh property, 71; *See also* Fort Raleigh
- Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo, 78
- Roanoke Island
 discovered by the English, 14
 during the Civil war, 35-50
 during the Revolutionary War, 33
 early settlers, 31-4
- Roanoke Island Historical Association, 84
 assumes production of *The Lost Colony*, 81
 celebrates 1584 expedition, 77
 celebrates 1587 colony, 77-8
 establishes museum, 75
 purpose, 70
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 80
 attends *The Lost Colony*, 80-1
 celebrates Virginia Dare's birth, 80-1
 sends message, 77
- "science center," 17
 uncovered, 90
See also Roanoke colonies, 1585 colony
- "Sir Walter Raleigh's fort"
 associated with Virginia Dare, 62
 described by: Edward G. Daves, 63; John Lawson, 61
 visited by James Monroe, 62
See also Fort Raleigh
- Spain
 attacks Fort Caroline, 13
 seeks to destroy Roanoke colonies, 25,
- Stick, Frank, 71, 79
See also Fort Raleigh
- Throop, George Higby, 62
- Tilberg, Dr. Frederick, 84
See also Fort Raleigh, archeological investigations
- Towaye (Native American), 21
- Vance, Zebulon B., 64
See also Roanoke colonies, support for recognition
- Virginia Company Foundation (VCF)
 collaborates with the NPS, 90
 conducts archeological surveys, 90-1

- Virginia Company Foundation (*continued*)
uncovers the “science center,” 90
- Virginia Dare (Columbia) Memorial Association
joins the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, 66
memorializes Virginia Dare, 64-5
- Wanchese (Native American), 15, 16, 75
- Waterside Theater
built, 79, 79
damaged by fire, 82, 82
damaged by hurricane, 82, 83
rebuilt, 82, 83, 82-4
- Watts, John, 25, 26
- Weeks, Stephen B., 63
See also Lane’s fort
- White, John
1585 expedition, 16
1587 colony, 20-5
on the disappearance of the 1585 colony, 22-3
on discovering the 1587 colony abandoned, 26
drawings by, 17, 23, 69
refurbishes 1585 settlement, 23-4
searches for colonists, 25-6
See also Roanoke colonies
- Williams, Talcott, 63-4, 67

