

Roanoke and Jamestown:
A Comparative Analysis

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Seminar Paper
Presented to the Department of History
Western Oregon University
in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts in History

Spring 2009

Approved _____ Date _____

Approved _____ Date _____

HST 499: Prof. Max Geier & Prof. Narasingha Sil

On the eve of Sir Walter Raleigh's first voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in 1584, England was on the verge of waging a sea war with Spain. Tension between the two countries had been growing since the 1570's when both England and Spain began stealing from each other on the high seas. Raleigh was granted his charter in 1584, giving him permission to take a privately funded expedition across the Atlantic. While Raleigh's expedition, under the guidance of Captain Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas, was away the Anglo-Spanish War began on the sea. Due to one of Raleigh's ships running aground, a good portion of the food stores within it, and due to the need for more support from England, in 1586 several men returned to England with the fleet, leaving behind some people to hold an island later named Roanoke, in the name of England. Later that year, those left behind, starving and confused, gained passage with Sir Francis Drake, who was returning to England after a raid on Spanish holdings in the West Indies. In 1587, White, and those who had left the original party, returned to Roanoke with 117 more people and found those who had been left behind were gone. Within a few months, White left those 117 people on Roanoke Island and returned to England, pleading his case to anyone who would listen. In the process, found he was unable to return to Roanoke as this time period was at the height of the Anglo-Spanish War. In late 1590, when White returned to the island he found those 117 people he had left there in 1587 completely gone, with no trace whatsoever of their whereabouts and no indication of whether or not they were even alive. White made an about face, returned to England and abandoned the idea of any form of settlement on the island of Roanoke. The fate of those 117 people remains a mystery to this day.¹

Many historians have written on the topic of Roanoke. Most scholarship written on the topic has addressed the various aspects involved; the timing, the people, the natives, etc. New

¹ Max Savelle *The Foundations of American Civilization* (Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1942), 84.

light was shed on the underlying causes of the settlement in 1975 when Edmund Morgan wrote his book, American Slavery, American Freedom. In this book, Morgan paid special attention to the topic of Roanoke in a chapter entitled, “The Lost Colony”. Morgan wrote in detail about the relationship between the English and Spanish governments during this time period. Addressing Roanoke as an attempted settlement, Morgan stated the various reasons why a settlement would be needed in the area of present day Virginia, given the world context during which Raleigh was sailing. At the time of Raleigh’s first voyage in 1584, Spain and England were at the height of tension preceding the Anglo-Spanish War. Previous to any of the planning that took place regarding Roanoke, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had suggested a colony in Ireland that would bring peace and prosperity to the land by replacing the rebellious Irish with Englishmen. He later transferred his interest in colonization from Ireland to the New World but was unable to see the actualization of his careful planning for a location for military outpost in North America. His ship sunk in 1583 and the project was temporarily abandoned.² Instead, his half brother, Raleigh followed in his footsteps. After Raleigh rose to favor with the Queen of England, he used that favor to guarantee himself a charter much like the one bestowed upon his younger brother, Gilbert years earlier.³

In obtaining this charter, Raleigh used the height of pre-war tension to convince the Queen that her participation and sponsorship of a colony on the Atlantic coast of North America would be very beneficial for England. A colony in this area could be used to deliver a blow to Spain which would not only benefit England but Europe at large, as Spain was infecting the globe with the Catholicism that England despised.⁴ Richard Hakluyt was responsible for making

² Edmund S. Morgan *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (USA: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 24.

³ Morgan, 25-43.

⁴ Morgan, 36.

the main argument that a colony in North America would be a beginning in the effort to turn all societies under Spanish dominion against their captors.

These military endeavors called for militarily minded individuals and that is who staffed the voyage to North America. This caused several problems with the natives, mostly over food. The English come head to head with natives in their first encounters with the New World, and did not handle that well. Roanoke was meant to be a settlement from which to launch attacks on the Spanish, and the people who landed with the original voyage were less than desirable. Morgan argues that Roanoke was the beginning of England's plans and hopes for America, but that it ran up against encounters with the native peoples in which both the Englishmen and the Native Americans accomplished less than expected of them. Although expectations from both parties were too high for each to meet, Roanoke was only the beginning of both peoples falling short.⁵ Morgan's overwhelming point with this chapter is that Roanoke was a failed attempt by the English at settlement in the New World. The deeper analysis of privateering and the relationship of the English and Spanish during this time period comes with those who follow his work.

In the year of the 400 year anniversary of the first voyage to Roanoke (1984) many historians attempted to shed new light on the topic through a more in-depth analysis of archeological findings and further exploration of the writings available from this time period. Karen O. Kupperman and David Stick are two such historians who have, since the time of their work, been hailed as leading historians on the topic of the Roanoke voyages and the people inhabiting Roanoke at the time. Kupperman, in her work, Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony (1984) discusses in depth the idea behind European colonization. She pays special attention in her writings to England and Spain and their colonial desires in the New World. In the first third

⁵ Morgan, 42.

of her book, Kupperman lays out in detail the background of the conflict between Spain and England as one that is colonial in nature. This conflict spurred a rivalry in the New World that each felt compelled to build upon. She pays attention to and recognizes the relationship of the world context during which these voyages are going on and the effect on the voyages themselves, but overall, her book analyzes each separate voyage as different and unique. Because they are analyzed as separate voyages, all landing in the same general location, they are each viewed as voyages for different reasons. The first voyage is addressed as military and the second as intended for settlement. She also addresses all factors plaguing the Englishmen who landed at Roanoke, such as their relationship with the Indians of the area.⁶

David Stick, Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America details more of the day-to-day perils and conflicts of the English while in the New World. Stick refers to Roanoke in terms of an attempt at colonization and mentions the Spanish Armada and the Anglo-Spanish War as a chapter in the middle somewhere. The idea of military efforts as the goal behind Roanoke is a side note in Stick's piece as he focuses more on the life of the English people and the search for them when it was all over.

In the last ten years, such authors as Laurie Langbauer, Thomas C. Parramore and many others have written small articles about Roanoke and the whereabouts of its last inhabitants. Through scanning the articles written in major newspapers and magazines over the last ten years, readers can see that not much thought has been given to the ideas proposed by Karen Kupperman at the 400 year anniversary regarding the military necessity of an outpost on the Atlantic Ocean side of North America. Most, if not all scholarship written in the last decade regarding Roanoke is devoted to an analysis of what happened to the 117 people who were left behind on the island

⁶ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1984), 15-27.

in 1587. Although Kupperman overview's the need for military intervention by the English at sea, no other authors within the last decade have taken that idea and run with its possibilities regarding the nature of Englishmen on Roanoke Island as a whole. This is where the historiographic problem lies regarding the nature of English travel to Roanoke. Considering the world context of the 1580's and 1590's, there is enough evidence to regard Roanoke Island as a military outpost that meant nothing more to the English than something temporary. This avenue of research is seriously lacking in further exploration beyond the groundwork laid by Karen Kupperman and David Stick in 1984. Further research, however, suggests that the English government intended for Roanoke to serve a purpose temporary in nature and nothing more than that. Through analysis of English foreign policy and privateering traditions in the area, it can be seen that Roanoke was meant to serve as a base of operations for missions which would eventually lead to the Anglo-Spanish War. The same basic goal of temporary settlement was reflected in the people who were taken on the expeditions, the type of charter that was given and support that was granted, both from the government and from private entities. If the English government had intended permanent settlement and colonization from the beginning, the first expedition to Roanoke in 1584 would have been set up and functioned a lot like the outfit that was sent out in 1606 by England and the Virginia Company.

As Kupperman stated in her analysis of England's bid for colonial greatness; "The desire to establish colonies in America was inseparable in these early years from involvement in privateering."⁷ What led to these overwhelming desires to steal on the high seas began between England and Spain in the 1570's. Since each country rose to European power, they quarrelled over religion and politics. Each side disagreed with the other over the most fundamental issues and each harbored a profound moral abhorrence for the other. For example, King Philip of Spain

⁷Kupperman, 13.

was very indifferent to the Queen of England's advances in policy. He asked that one of Elizabeth's councilors, Thomas Wilkes, be sent home before he committed some "...indiscretion which would force us to burn him."⁸ Various agents dispatched to Spain for foreign policy sake only, found their reception in Spain chilly and every proposal carried to the King was almost always coldly and contemptuously rejected. Other reasons for hostility among the nations included claiming land beyond the sea. Both countries were at the height of expansionist desires and each wanted to explore their mercantile endeavors outside their own boundaries. This goal coincided with exploration, which was a major goal of any nation moving along the high seas.⁹

The major reason for animosity between these two countries was religious aggression. Queen Elizabeth was seen in England as the champion of the Protestant religion after her sister Queen Mary worked to eliminate Protestant followers from England. Mary was a strong believer in Catholicism whereas Elizabeth was not. This is where England and Spain differed because Spain recognized Catholicism as its state religion and promoted it and its followers. Over the decades, each country disagreed on their respective fundamental beliefs and that difference fueled much aggression into the seventeenth century. English authority felt that they stood alone in defending Europe from the evils of Spain and Catholicism. After a failed attempt to bring France into the "fight" on their side, England's only allies were the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Each of these areas was ruined and wracked with their own problems, not looking for a costly war.¹⁰

It was religion that sparked English privateering against the Spanish in 1568 when there was bloodshed between the two countries because of the connections of English ports to the Low

⁸ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy: 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 313.

⁹ Kenneth Andrews *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1964), 18.

¹⁰ MacCaffrey, 3.

Countries and La Rochelle, both areas in deep conflict over religious differences. In 1569, John Hawkins demanded revenge for the lives lost in the Low Countries and La Rochelle, causing the French Huguenots and Dutch sea beggars to swarm French and Spanish Catholic shipping. This unrest completely halted trade between Spain and England, with sailors needing no reason to join the plunder. The political crisis that followed after this, until 1572, brought the first division in opinion between the drive for trade with Spain and the drive for spoils in privateering. The Hawkins, Fenner, and Winters families wasted no time in funding voyages to encourage privateering in American waters while others channeled their voyages to launching oceanic travels.¹¹ Captain Arthur Barlowe also sent back word that, "...have presumed to present you this brief discourse, by which you may indulge how profitable this land is likely to succeed..."¹²

This factor also influenced the voyages of Sir Francis Drake. From 1570-1572, Drake's voyages in the Atlantic were sponsored by the Hawkins family. Drake used these voyages to raid the Caribbean in the name of Hawkins and England. By the end of 1572, voyages continued in full force despite efforts from the Queen to keep her seamen at heel in home waters.¹³ Drake continued to take voyages funded by the Hawkins family, and later the Queen, for a variety of reasons including trade exploration, general mapping and exploration, and to plunder. His 1577 trip heightened tensions between the Spanish and English because it coincided with the founding of the Spanish Company. Upon his return in 1580, Drake found Spain and Portugal very hostile toward the English exploration and privateering in waters assumed to be owned by the Spanish Empire. At the same time, England reciprocated the hostility when King Philip assumed the

¹¹ Andrews, 17-18.

¹² Arthur Barlowe's Discourse of the First Voyage, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 92.

¹³ Andrews, 13.

Portugese thrown making him more dangerous to the English.¹⁴ The voyages that took place in between 1577-1580, not only by Drake, but also by others, escalated the minor harassments that had taken place between each country's sailors in the Spanish Indies prior to this time.¹⁵

Along with a resurgence of privateering, this time also brought about the split between those who envisioned a privateering military base and Iberian interests. Private English families like the Fenners, Hawkins, and Winters funded their own private interests while merchants pursued the preservation of amity between the English government and Spain. They were willing to give up the Americas and Africa for trade with Spain and Portugal. Until this point, trade had been focused on Iberia and Antwerp but with the split and political problems in the Netherlands, Antwerp became less and less attractive. In this time period, overseas trade expanded in the Atlantic Islands and Brazil as well as Marseilles, Venice and Morocco.¹⁶

While those interested in maintaining trade relations with Spain continued to attempt to hold onto those ties, the private families funding their private ventures took matters into their own hands. Most privateers of the time envisioned holding some sort of privateering and military base on the Iberian coast to completely disrupt Spanish commerce in the area. For something like this, in the immediate danger of Spanish aggression, England would need more money and a stronger military. More alluring was the idea of a base in the Spanish Indies, however, this would more than likely provoke open war and Elizabeth did not share the same outlook as Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh in this regard. There is much evidence that these men would have loved to change England's sea effort into a bid for Atlantic power, cutting off the supply of treasure that King Philip received from the Spanish Indies; however, there is no real direct statement of this purpose because these men were the Queens subjects, not her masters. Elizabeth was not

¹⁴ Andrews, 15.

¹⁵ MacCaffrey, 302.

¹⁶ Andrews, 13.

militarily or financially prepared to wage a full scale war with Spain. Instead, with the private backing of the Hawkins family, Sir Humphrey Gilbert launched a venture in 1578 aimed at establishing a North American base for raiding Spanish ships.¹⁷

In May of 1585, English ships were arrested in Spanish Harbors and their crews and cargo were taken into custody. There was a huge outcry from the English people and on July 7 of the same year the government told the Lord Admiral to issue reprisals to the people who had lost money, cargo, or time by being taken into custody if they could prove it. From this event on, it became evident to the world and to Queen Elizabeth that war was inevitable and because of this, Spanish ships and goods became fair game. In the summer of 1585, the first host of voluntary sailors taking to the sea varied from genuine reprisal for the events earlier in May. Private men-of-war equipped by gentlemen who had admirable intentions on the high seas, taking only what they felt belonged to them and pirates.¹⁸

With the coming of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth was forced to recognize the existence of war and its inevitability. Previous to these events, private ventures in privateering were not considered matters of state and Elizabeth did her best to avoid them as it would provoke a war she did not want. Elizabeth was adamantly against an acknowledged and formal war with Spain because England did not have finances substantial enough to provide for a continental army as well as a sea defense. Instead of waging an offensive and defensive attack, Elizabeth focused her main objectives of an at sea with an improvisational war based on the threat of immediate danger. Thus, her foreign goals during the war were to protect English shores, maintain communication and supply lines between allies, and to deny Spain the use of Western European

¹⁷ Andrews, 18.

¹⁸ Andrews, 3-4.

waters.¹⁹ Well over 200 vessels made reprisal and privateering voyages between 1589 and 1591. The most voyages took place in 1599, five years before the Anglo-Spanish War ended. By this time reprisal and privateering were very common.²⁰ England was working hard to deny Spain of Western European waters and a military outpost in North America would only aid in the accomplishment of this goal.

The east coast of North America was very attractive to the English during this time period for a variety of reasons. All of the cargo coming from the West Indies had a very high profit rate and the English government was struggling to provide for adequate defense both at home and abroad. Denying Spain access to Western European waters would prohibit them from moving goods and money in between the Indies and Spain. One of England's main goals was to protect their western shore from ships traveling to Spain from the West Indies. Roanoke is beneficial in this aspect because it could serve as a stopping point between the West Indies and England as a spot where privateering ships could refuel and restock on food before making the rest of the return voyage home. Roanoke was also a perfect defensive location because it was semi-hidden in the inner banks of the bay and was not vulnerable to attacks from Spanish ships. It was also a perfect offensive location as it was in close proximity to St. Augustine and St. Helena Florida which were two of the first Spanish settlements in North America.²¹ The land itself could also be beneficial to the English as they engaged not only in privateering, but a competition between England and Spain for monopoly over financially rich investments. A letter between Ralph Lane and Richard Hakluyt indicates that, "...sundry other rich commodities that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here we find in great abundance of." They also found that the things being provided to them from Spain, France and Italy, "...or the

¹⁹ Andrews, 10.

²⁰ Andrews, 4-5.

²¹ Morgan, 27.

East parts... in wines of all sorts, in oils, in flax, in rosins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars and such like, these parts do abound with growth of them all...”²² Not only were the English recognizing that a location in the New World could be beneficial militarily, they were also seeing that some financial gain could be made off the land and monopolies could be developed to rival or even beat those held by the Spanish on certain goods.

Aside from what is happening in the world at this time, there is a significant amount of evidence from within England to support the idea of a need and desire for military type stations in North America. Roman law, which was carried down throughout the decades, has dictated that physical presence and intention to hold the territory have meant that the group doing so has possession of the land. Both of these things are done to ensure that any wealth that could come from the land would be secured by the group claiming possession.²³ Spain and England have very different ideas about legally claiming land. Spain secures possession only after landing in an area and then returning to Spain. England on the other hand possessed land through letters of patent which were enacted upon arrival in a new location and staked claim in the land.²⁴ The charter issued to Sir Walter Raleigh from the Queen of England basically gave Raleigh and his heirs free reign to establish a post or settlement and come and go as they please. It came to him with the authority of the crown and the inherently eminent domain of a “Christian prince” which the English believe gave them valid reason to hold authority over the heathen lands they discovered.²⁵ The main idea of this charter was for Raleigh to explore at will. He could come and go as he and his posterity please, without a specific and designated destination. With no specific

²² An Extract of Master Ralph Lane’s Letter to M(aster) Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, and Another Gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia, *Hakluyt’s Voyages to the New World*, ed. David Freeman Hawke (United States of America: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972), 91.

²³ Patricia Seed. *Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires*, ed. Stanley Katz, John M. Murrin, Douglas Greenberg, (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2001), 22.

²⁴ Seed, 26.

²⁵ Seed, 24.

outline of location or length of stay, it is obvious that the English government had no idea what was over there and whether or not a settlement of some kind in North America could turn into a long term investment. In 1584 there had been few attempts at anything longer term in North America and being on the eve of war with Spain, England was looking for a location they were not sure of, which would be used for however long the war would dictate.

The charter issued from the Queen also gave them free reign to occupy and discover all land not possessed by a Christian prince. Specifically, the charter gave Raleigh and his heirs permission to hold lands not possessed by any Christian prince or inhabited by Christian people.²⁶ With the religious animosity discussed earlier, England viewed Spain and Catholicism as heathen people and a heathen religion. This portion of the charter granted Raleigh permission to basically take land from people who were not Christian and as a direct instruction from the crown that Raleigh should disregard all land and territorial claims held by the Spanish if they were in the area. This right to hold heathen lands is backed up in the charter by the Queen granting permission to Raleigh and his voyagers to defend, expulse, or repel by sea or land, any people who try to inhabit the land Raleigh has claimed for England.²⁷ This comes with the stipulation that if these people who try to possess land already claimed by Raleigh's voyage were the subjects of a Christian prince or their native countries are allies and have friendly relations with England; Raleigh is not to expulse them from the land.

Finally, in regards to Spain, the charter granted from the Queen gave permission to take by surprise all persons, ships, vessels and goods not in Raleigh's voyage who were found

²⁶ Letter of Patent to Walter Raleigh, March 25, 1584, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, ed. David Beers Quinn (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 82.

²⁷ Savelle, 85.

trafficking in the area Raleigh staked out as English territory.²⁸ This portion of the charter is basically open invitations from the Queen to privateer any ships, vessels or people who may be Spanish and who happen upon Raleigh and his group. With war on the horizon this granted Raleigh permission to take ships and supplies of peoples who land in the wrong place at the wrong time as plunder in the name of England. As discussed previously, privateering was a huge reason for war as well as a big part of the war and this provision in Raleigh's charter allowed for him to take part in that privateering while at the same time establish a base in North America for other privateers to stop and refuel at. This provision also demonstrates the Queen's support for privateering and her willingness to allow her subjects to plunder her enemies ships.²⁹

The charter also provided for and told Raleigh to exploit silver and gold mines that can be found in the area with the provision that one fifth of the proceeds be paid to the royal crown.³⁰ If gold and silver were found in the area, having a base in North America could serve an Anglo-Spanish war in two capacities; as a base for privateering ships and as funding for a more extensive navy and ground defense. The provision for one fifth to be sent to England was a safe guard for Elizabeth so she would have funding for war when the time came. As previously discussed, England was not in a good financial situation. The English government was having a very difficult time funding a naval war as well as providing financial backing for their other projects and conquests. The financial gain that could be acquired if silver and gold mines were to be found in the New World would be greatly beneficial to the English government.

Raleigh received funding for his voyagers in a variety of ways. No aid was offered from the Queen other than royal sanction, which came by way of charter so other means were needed to find funding. The English government, as well as the Queen, avoided openly supporting and

²⁸ Letter of Patent to Walter Raleigh, March 25, 1584, 84-85.

²⁹ Andrews, 5.

³⁰ Letter of Patent to Walter Raleigh, March 25, 1584, 84.

funding voyages that could be conceived as privateering because the Queen wanted to avoid war. In regards to money, among other reasons, the Queen did not have the funding or the man power to support a full scale war. She did, however, give out royal sanctions and charters like the ones Raleigh received, and she privately supported voyages. For example, the Tiger, one of the main ships in the first fleet sent across the Atlantic was a ship from the Queen's private fleet, its use given to Raleigh as private support for the expedition. Raleigh supported the rest of the funding by hiring on adventurers who funded their own way, as well as by other private means.³¹

Grenville's specific instructions from Raleigh were to locate an appropriate base on the fringe of Spanish Florida. He was then instructed after securing a location, to build a fort and to establish a colony in the area. The fort building was constructed first as a defense mechanism both against the Native Americans in the area and the Spanish. In 1585, a seven vessel fleet, commanded by Grenville, landed in the outer bank and made their way to Roanoke.³² This convoy was military in nature and with good reason. The types of people who were recruited and brought along on this voyage can be categorized into two main types; those who were soldiers hired by Raleigh and were being paid to do a job, and those who were adventurers looking for a return on the personal investment they had made to be there. The adventurers saw a lack in amenities and therefore a lack of desire to settle the area long term. Their original intent was to find some sort of precious metal or stone and gain a substantial return on the investment they had made to make the voyage. A monetary return could only be made if the precious metals and

³¹ Lawrence Leder. *America – 1603-1789*. (USA: Burgess Publishing Company, 1978), 35.

³² David Stick. *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 63.

stones were returned to England and sold signifying that the adventurer portion of the men traveling with Grenville intended to return to England as soon as a return could be made.³³

The other category of voyagers; the soldiers, were mainly hired by Raleigh. They were being paid by Raleigh to fulfill a commitment, and with their military backgrounds, they were hired to protect the areas claimed by Grenville as well as provide a defense for the English should the coming Anglo-Spanish War create a need for one. They would also provide the military backing necessary for an outpost in the area for privateers to stop at passing between the Spanish West Indies and England. Ralph Lane served as Raleigh's lieutenant colonel for the voyage. He was a professional soldier who usually fell back on the use of force rather than diplomacy; just the type of response that would be needed should war come close to Roanoke. Most of the main commanders and sub-commanders were hired because they worked with Lane during conflicts in Ireland. They came with Lane from Ireland and would serve as good back up support to Lane during the voyages and the establishment of an outpost.³⁴

There were some gentlemen, not of military background, who were brought along with the voyage, and this was necessary for the military goal of the voyage. Gentlemen served to stiffen the military ranks and through the respect they engendered, the rank served more effectively during war time. Having gentlemen within the ranks created pressure for the soldier to behave a certain way and act with respect to the gentlemen in the ranks. With inevitable war on the horizon, anything that would ensure effective military ranks and cooperation was given attention to, thus, these gentlemen (named "masters") were brought along, not so much to establish long term settlement as to ensure effective military operation.³⁵

³³ David B. Quinn *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies 1584-1606* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 88-89.

³⁴ Quinn, 87 & 90.

³⁵ Quinn, 89.

Richard Hakluyt was one of the main planners for the voyage and had several very important contributions he felt should be made to the voyage at large. His ideal voyage would have 800 armed men in it. They would serve as the base for the outpost and future colony. Half of the 800 soldier-colonists as he called them, would be armed at all times. 150 would be armed with long bows, 100 with swords, 100 with pikes and the remaining fifty with heavy armor and axes. As soon as an adequate site was chosen, 200 would be divided into groups and sent out on eight to ten day trips to explore the surrounding country for dangers as well as potential. The remaining 600 would begin immediate work on a fort. 500 would work on the fort and 100 would stand guard in the surrounding area at all times. What actually happened was Grenville set sail in 1584 with 600 men, half of them soldier-colonists and the other half mariners and adventurers, as previously discussed. None of Hakluyt's tactical or man power ideas were used by Grenville.³⁶

There were a certain number of people taken along among the 600 with specialties necessary to the voyage. A smith, carpenter, gunsmith, armorer, cook, baker and brewer are known to be among those taken as well as possibly a shoe and basket maker.³⁷ An engineer, geographer, painter, surveyor, apothecary and alchemist were taken along as well as a lapidary, which is someone who specializes in precious stones.³⁸ A metallurgist was added to the list to serve as the expert in finding copper mines and minerals.³⁹ Hakluyt also suggested that a back up to military force be brought along to supplement the military aspect of the voyage. These people included those trained to make gunpowder, salt peter, light shields, spades and shovels. Along

³⁶ Stick, 63-64.

³⁷ Quinn, 90.

³⁸ Stick, 65.

³⁹ Quinn, 92.

with these experts, Hakluyt also felt the need to include those skilled in building fast boats and barges. This request was not followed, as the others were.⁴⁰

The desire and eventual following of instructions to include soldier-colonists as well as those skilled in the making of weapons, gunpowder, and shields demonstrates how everyone involved felt the coming of war was. Military based personal backed up by some support staff specific to military and wartime needs shows that the voyage to Roanoke was not specific to colonization in its intent. Long term colonization had been a main goal of Raleigh and Grenville from the voyages inception. Women and children would have been included in those recruited to go to the New World. Military based colonists and skilled labor would not have been such a fore thought and the basis of planning if war had not been on every one's mind. Along with the placement of Roanoke and the instructions given from the thrown and Raleigh, the people chosen to go on this voyage were chosen from a defensive stand point. Soldiers and adventurers were chosen over people looking for land because soldiers could defend and adventurers were looking for some way to make a return on the investment they made in going on the voyage. The charter ensured that one fifth of all proceeds went to the crown. The Queen, as well as Raleigh, wanted people who were just as interested in capital as they were at the time.

The Anglo-Spanish War raged on until 1588, when the Spanish Armada was badly beaten, crippling the morale of the Spanish navy and leading it in a downward spiral until 1604.⁴¹ When Elizabeth died in 1603 and James took the English throne, foreign policy regarding Spain became very different. James saw the Anglo-Spanish War as the waging of a personal vendetta between Elizabeth and the Spanish King Philip. Eager to bring the war to a close, James was quick to form a peace agreement between England and Spain, wrapping up the

⁴⁰ Stick, 65.

⁴¹ Savelle, 65.

Anglo-Spanish War as soon as possible. The treaty of London was signed in 1604 and the Anglo-Spanish War was brought to a close.⁴² The English interpretation of the treaty gave Englishmen the right to travel to the Indies. The Spanish however, felt that the treaty recognized England's lack of right to go to the New World and this exclusion was included in the treaty. The English recognized that any colony in the area would be sabotaged by the Spanish, however those willing to invest in it were willing to take the risk.⁴³ Now that there was no longer the threat of war, explorers gained an interest in the discovery of a Northwest Passage which would allow voyagers from Western Europe to cut across North America from the West and arrive in the East Indies to trade at a much faster rate. The quest for a Northwest Passage would continue long into the nineteenth century.

In 1606, the English crown sponsored the Virginia Company. By sponsoring this company, the crown lost nothing of immediate value and at the same time sponsored and encouraged exploration and discovery of the New World.⁴⁴ The Jamestown expedition was funded and sponsored by the Virginia Company. The company was founded under a charter given to Richard Hakluyt and Thomas Smith in 1606. Smith was one of the sons of Raleigh's backers for Roanoke and served as the treasurer of the new company. The Virginia Company was a joint stock company and its investors were hoping for a return just like those who invested in Roanoke. The difference in this case is that the quick return made from ships and vessels taken from the Spanish could no longer yield the same fast return to the Virginia Company investors. As previously discussed, James I and Philip had come to peace and using Jamestown as a cover for subversive action against the Spanish or as a base for more privateering ventures would not work out in their favor. Most investors however, had to look to legitimate profits instead of

⁴² Savelle, 56.

⁴³ Savelle, 87.

⁴⁴ Leder, 37.

privateering ventures. They mostly hoped for the discovery of some sort of precious metal or a viable plant option. They were also in search of a Northwest Passage, a quest that would prove captivating for centuries to come.⁴⁵

The company's original plan was to send over settlers to pool their labor and produce whatever proved feasible. As the ship loads of valuable crops or precious metals poured into England, the company would send back unemployed laborers as well as skilled specialists. With the money they made from various enterprises pursued in Jamestown they paid their investors on whatever shares of the company they owned. People could buy shares of the Virginia Company or they could go along with the company as a servant of the company for seven years in return for their passage across the Atlantic. They could then work as a free agent, keeping whatever riches they made.⁴⁶ It was this long term arrangement that drew in workers and provided for a more long term settlement. The original intent of the company was for the colony to benefit the settlers and that benefit to match the benefits for the natives. The English believed that the Spanish had planted their "Godless religion" in the South but the Northern lands had been reserved for "English freedom and true religion." King James I retained full control of the company and colony, giving guidance and direction through a council in Virginia.⁴⁷

In December of 1606, three vessels, the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed* and the *Discovery* with 144 settlers (140 men and 4 boys) left England under the command of Captain Christopher Newport.⁴⁸ After a hard voyage they landed at present day Virginia in April of 1607 with 105 settlers. They were all men and boys who landed with the original party. Women came over a

⁴⁵ Morgan, 45.

⁴⁶ Morgan, 46.

⁴⁷ Morgan, 46.

⁴⁸ Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr. *Colonial America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), 39.

year later, in September, 1608.⁴⁹ They were in search of gold, plunder and easy wealth; all things that would not come to them easily. The ships reached the West Indies on March 23, 1607 to refuel and replenish food and water supplies. From there they island hopped for eight days until they finally set course for the final leg of their voyage, the 1,500 miles to present day Virginia.⁵⁰

After arriving at Jamestown in 1607 they opened the sealed box given to them by their sponsors, the Virginia Company. The captains of each ship gathered to open the box and inside was a list of the seven men who would make up the governing body of the colony's ruling council. Next, the group read the detailed instructions left to them from the company. Most importantly, the company suggested the careful selection of a site. They suggested the area not be too wooded as the group did not have enough man power to clear it. They also advised that the *Discovery* be used as a ship to explore the inland with and that it be tied close and anchored down when not being used. Finally, the company cautioned the settlers against offending the natives. They were very distrusting of the natives and advised severe caution when interacting with them. Natives of the area had the potential to be allies of the Spanish, along with being viewed as savages. Once a site was chosen, the leaders were to immediately start looking for a return for investors.⁵¹

One of the leaders of the group picked a site, they started exploring the surrounding area for the return the Virginia Company was looking for. They also began to work immediately on building a fort, storehouse, church and houses after the English style.⁵² Those who were named as being in charge were given specific instructions that were only partially executed. They were to have one group work on fortifications, another plant crops and the third was to devote two

⁴⁹ Savelle, 65.

⁵⁰ David Price. *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas and the Start of a New Nation*. (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 24.

⁵¹ Price, 30-32.

⁵² Savelle, 67.

months to discovery of the surrounding area. Some crops were planted but the majority of time was spent in search of gold. Captain Newport took a crew up the James River to the “Falls” at present day Richmond where they interacted with the Powhatan Indians.⁵³

After this initial landing and colonial establishment, Jamestown and its settlers did have some problems. Interaction with the natives of the area was not always beneficial to the settlers as they were often hostile toward them. This hostility created a lack of desire to openly trade native food stores and at times provisions ran really low. The only reason the colonists did not return home in 1608 was because of the arrival of a shipment from England with more supplies and more colonists. What distinguishes Jamestown from Roanoke is the time period in which it took place and the amount of planning that went into a sustainable, long term colony.

Roanoke could not have happened at a worse time in regards to colonization. England was in no shape to fund a colony and the rest of the nation was focused on a sea war that would become the Anglo-Spanish War the same year the voyage left England. The development of this conflict into a full-fledged war does lead to the conclusion that Roanoke was meant to be a military outpost and support, rather than a long term English settlement. Privateering was a main source of income as well as conflict during this time period and the location of the Roanoke area in relation to the Spanish West Indies and England made it the perfect location for privateers to dock and refuel on their way to England from the Indies. With privateering being as important as it was to this time period, and animosity between the two countries being as high as it was, Roanoke makes sense as a military expenditure.

Comparatively speaking, the voyage to Roanoke was ill equipped to sustain long term colonization. The people they took with them were military based in background or private adventurers looking to make acquire something to make their travels worthwhile and return to

⁵³ Barck, 40-41.

England to capitalize on it. Raleigh hired specialty people but their crafts were military related or merely for sustaining survival of those who went along on the trip. They took supplies with them but they were had military connotations and defense was their primary goal, with survival as a secondary necessity.

Viewing Roanoke as a failed attempt at colonization is simply inaccurate. When viewed within the world context and extensive examination of the workings of the voyage and temporary settlement it is obvious Roanoke was meant to serve a purpose military in nature and there was no significant preparation made by Raleigh or the English crown for anything long term in North America. When comparing the world context and basic preparation, Roanoke would have been timed and equipped almost identically to Jamestown had the English meant for a stay on the island to be permanent.

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