

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

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 "x" in 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city or town Manteo not for publication   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   
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.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of certifying official Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
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

**4. National Park Service Certification**

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register \_\_\_\_\_
- See continuation sheet.
- 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

\_\_\_\_\_  
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: asphalt,
other: granite, 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)

- X 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.
X D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

**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. Q. Bell/ J. C. Harrington/NPS

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



**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 County, 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	436160	3977330	D	18	435770 3977335
B	18	436160	3977000	F	_____	_____
C	18	435770	3977000	F	_____	_____
	____ 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.)

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**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 January 1998

street & number 100 Alabama Street, S.W.

telephone (404) 562-3117

city or town Atlanta state GA zip code 30303

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**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)

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**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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 7*

*Page 1*

**National Register of Historic Places  
Additional Documentation for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site**

**Description of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site<sup>1</sup>**

Fort Raleigh 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.

The national historic site (NHS), which includes a reconstructed fortification and a monument commemorating the Roanoke colonists, is located on the north 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 site 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.<sup>2</sup> The 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 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

<sup>1</sup>A note on the name "Fort Raleigh": Ralph Lane, governor of the 1585-6 colony, referred to the fortification built by his men 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 mid- to late-nineteenth century, the fortification on the north end of the island was referred to as "Lane's fort," "Master Ralph Lane'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).

<sup>2</sup>"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 boundaries.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 7

Page 2

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 visitors 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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 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

<sup>3</sup>"Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 9-10.

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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 7

Page 3

County was formed in the late nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> Almost fifty years later, Roanoke Island was once again the site of several experiments. Rather than colonization attempts, investigations at the northern end of the island conducted by Reginald Aubrey Fessenden represented important advances in radio technology.<sup>9</sup>

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. Part of the NHS 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 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 and the first English child born in North America.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 314-6.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 72, 89, 316.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 136-48, 315.

<sup>9</sup>The cultural resources associated with these topics, however, are largely archaeological in nature and merit further investigation. See "Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 9.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 7

Page 4

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 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. This National Register amendment reevaluates earlier research and considers new findings concerning the NHS and its resources. Consequently, the National Register boundary has been expanded to include new contributing historic resources which were previously considered ineligible.

#### **Description of Historic Resources**

##### *Previously Listed Contributing Resources:*

##### **Reconstructed Earthwork Fort, 1947-53:**

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. (Structure: IDLCS 00370)

##### *New Contributing Resources:*

##### **"science center," c. 1585-6:**

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 related to 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. (Site)

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 7

Page 5

**Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument, 1896, relocated c. 1934-7, moved again c. 1950:**

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. (Object: IDLCS 90001)

**F.D.R. Marker, c. 1937:**

A one-foot square concrete slab at grade located between the Waterside Theater and the Reconstructed Fort. The marker reads "SPOKE F.D.R. 8/18/37." (Object: IDLSC 91646)

**Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker, c. 1937:**

A 22  $\frac{1}{4}$ ' by 17  $\frac{1}{2}$ ' polished granite plaque located near the entry area of the Waterside Theater to commemorate President Roosevelt's attendance at the 23<sup>rd</sup> performance of the "Lost Colony." The inscription on the marker reads: "On This Spot FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT Witnessed the 23<sup>rd</sup> Performance of THE LOST COLONY August 18, 1937." (Object: IDLSC: 91647)

*Noncontributing Properties:*

**Dough Family Cemetery, c. 1850-1906:**

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. (Site: IDLCS 90000)

**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. (Structure)

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 7*

*Page 6*

**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. (Site)



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 8*

*Page 1*

### Statement of Significance

This additional documentation assesses the eligibility and evaluates the integrity of the site's cultural resources within two contexts. These contexts relate to historic themes identified by the National Park Service and the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). The following contexts have been developed for this amendment:

- A. The Roanoke Colonies and Fort Raleigh, c. 1584-1590
- B. Fort Raleigh National Historic Site: Preservation and Recognition, c. 1860-1953

Context A, "The Roanoke Colonies and Fort Raleigh," addresses the long-recognized context for the 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 (NPS) theme of Peopling Places, as well as certain aspects of North Carolina history, such as English Exploration and Settlement of the Carolinas.

Context B, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site: Preservation and Recognition," outlines 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.

- A. The Roanoke Colonies and Fort Raleigh, c. 1584-1590

#### 1. Context Narrative

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 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 2

### 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.<sup>10</sup> 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, 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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 efforts on building a more European-oriented merchant fleet.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>10</sup>Robert 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.

<sup>11</sup>Ferris, 93-5.

<sup>12</sup>David Stick, *Roanoke Island, The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 20.

<sup>13</sup>Bolton and Marshall, 104-5; Ferris, 95.

<sup>14</sup>For 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 3

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.<sup>15</sup>

#### 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> Many of the early privateers in this open sea war with Spain were

<sup>15</sup>Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke, The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allenheld, 1984), 3.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 4; David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke, Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 14.

<sup>17</sup>Kupperman, 5.

<sup>18</sup>In 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).

<sup>19</sup>Quinn 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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 4

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.<sup>20</sup>

#### **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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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 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."<sup>23</sup>

With financial backing from a number of influential shareholders, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, and seven ships sailed from Plymouth in November 1578

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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).

<sup>20</sup>Kupperman, 5-7.

<sup>21</sup>For 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).

<sup>22</sup>Kupperman, 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.

<sup>23</sup>Quoted in Stick 1983, 29.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 5

to establish a colony in Newfoundland.<sup>24</sup> Although Raleigh had no previous experience at sea, he commanded the *Falcon*, whose pilot was the Portuguese navigator Simon Fernandes. As Gilbert had proposed earlier, the underlying mission of the expedition was to prey upon Spanish shipping.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> By

<sup>24</sup>Quinn 1985, 5-6; Ferris, 97-8.

<sup>25</sup>Kupperman, 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.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 10-1.

<sup>27</sup>Kupperman, 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.

<sup>28</sup>Kupperman, 13-5; Charles W. Porter, III, *Adventurers to a New World, The Roanoke Colony, 1585-87* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 6

establishing a colony within Spain's purported 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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 the long, barrel-roofed houses were organized. The houses also had walls and roofs of woven mats or bark and sleeping benches.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 colonies.<sup>33</sup> 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

of the Interior, 1972), 2-3.

<sup>29</sup>Porter 1972, 6.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.; 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.

<sup>31</sup>Kupperman, 45-6.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 50-1.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 69-72, 74-5.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 7

enemies, and the entrance into it made like a 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.<sup>34</sup>

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.<sup>35</sup> 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 Elizabeth's permission, Raleigh then christened the new land "Virginia" after her, the Virgin Queen.<sup>36</sup>

**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.<sup>37</sup> 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, and Thomas Hariot, a scientist to collect samples. The two Native Americans, Manteo and Wanchese, also returned to America on this voyage.<sup>38</sup>

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

<sup>34</sup>Richard 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.

<sup>35</sup>Thomas Hariot, who accompanied the 1585 expedition to Roanoke Island, learned some Algonquian from Manteo and Wanchese. See Kupperman, 16-7.

<sup>36</sup>Porter 1972, 9.

<sup>37</sup>Quinn, 1955, vol. I, 121-2; Kupperman, 18, 20.

<sup>38</sup>Porter, 1972, 10.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 8

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.<sup>39</sup>

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,<sup>40</sup> Grenville returned to England, leaving Ralph Lane in charge of a colony of 107 men on Roanoke Island.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> Recent scholarship suggests that it had palisaded walls with bulwarks on the corners. The structure was quickly completed, for by September 1585, Lane was writing from "the new Fort in Virginia."<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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 examining botanical specimens.<sup>45</sup> As Thomas Hariot reported in *A Brief and True Report of the New*

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 10-1, 50.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 11.

<sup>41</sup>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.

<sup>42</sup>Kupperman, 23-4; Jean C. Harrington, *Archaeology and the Enigma of Fort Raleigh* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), 7.

<sup>43</sup>Quinn 1955, 168.

<sup>44</sup>Ivor 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.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 72-4, 82; Ivor Noel Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," (*The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, Spring 1994, vol. XVI, no. 3; reprint), 7.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 9

*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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> With the delay in the arrival of 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

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<sup>46</sup>Hakluyt, 67-8.

<sup>47</sup>Hakluyt, 50-1.

<sup>48</sup>Louis 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 10

successful raid in the West Indies.<sup>49</sup> 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,<sup>50</sup> thereby missing one of Grenville's supply ships by only a short time.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 24-5.

<sup>50</sup>Quinn 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 brough 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).

<sup>51</sup>David N. Durant, *Raleigh's Lost Colony* (New York: Athenaeum, 1981), 94-5.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 96-7.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 11

seated, . . . and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held, 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.<sup>53</sup>

### **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.<sup>54</sup> 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, 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. They were to establish "The Cittie of Ralegh" in Virginia, and Queen Elizabeth granted them and the city arms, or "Ensigns of honor."<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup> 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

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<sup>53</sup>Hakluyt, 59-60.

<sup>54</sup>For 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).

<sup>55</sup>Quinn and Quinn, 506-9.

<sup>56</sup>Kupperman, 107-8.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 107; Porter 1972, 35.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 12

personally.<sup>58</sup>

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.<sup>59</sup>

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 8.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> The third ship became separated 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.<sup>62</sup> Despite White's deteriorating relationship with the Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandes, the little fleet finally arrived off the Outer Banks on July 16.<sup>63</sup>

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.<sup>64</sup> 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,

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<sup>58</sup>Kupperman, 107.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 108-9. See also Hakluyt, 108-9.

<sup>60</sup>Kupperman, 109.

<sup>61</sup>For John White's complete account of the journey, see Hakluyt, 94-109.

<sup>62</sup>Kupperman, 111-2.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 112.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 112-3.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 13

made by his men about it the year 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.<sup>65</sup>

For reasons unclear, Fernandes did not continue the voyage to the Chesapeake Bay and left White and 110 colonists on Roanoke Island.<sup>66</sup> 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."<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> This settlement was in essence "The Cittie of Raleigh," the community John White and his twelve assistants were directed to establish in Virginia.<sup>69</sup>

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 Lane's holding party were alive. 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.<sup>70</sup> 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

<sup>65</sup>Hakluyt, 99.

<sup>66</sup>Quinn 1985, 279-282.

<sup>67</sup>Hakluyt, 99.

<sup>68</sup>Kupperman, 114.

<sup>69</sup>It 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. Archeologists are still searching for the habitation site of the colony on the Roanoke Island. See Porter 1972, 47-53; and Harrington 1965.

<sup>70</sup>Hakluyt, 99.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 14

Lane and returned with White.<sup>71</sup>

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.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup>

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 the first child born to English parents in America and the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup>

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

<sup>71</sup>Kupperman, 114-15.

<sup>72</sup>For John White's account of this event, see Hakluyt, 101-2.

<sup>73</sup>Kupperman, 116-7.

<sup>74</sup>Porter 1972, 37.

<sup>75</sup>See William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 52-62.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 15

pressure from the colonists, White finally agreed to return.<sup>76</sup>

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.<sup>77</sup>

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.<sup>78</sup> 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 native group or village on what is now Hatteras Island.<sup>79</sup> 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,

<sup>76</sup>Kupperman, 119-20.

<sup>77</sup>Porter 1972, 39-41.

<sup>78</sup>Kupperman, 127-8.

<sup>79</sup>Stick 1983, 209-10; Kupperman, 130-1.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 16

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.<sup>80</sup>

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 as to their whereabouts, the search was unsuccessful.<sup>81</sup> Many scholars have since proposed numerous theories as to what happened to the Roanoke colonists, but their fate still remains a mystery.<sup>82</sup>

#### 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.<sup>83</sup> Joint-stock companies underwrote further efforts over the rest of the decade. George Popham, representing the Plymouth Company, established a temporary colony in 1607 on the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine.<sup>84</sup> Beginning in 1606, the southern counterpart to the Plymouth Company, the London Company (later known as the Virginia Company), sponsored a

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<sup>80</sup>Hakluyt, 122-3.

<sup>81</sup>Porter 1972, 44-45.

<sup>82</sup>For 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.

<sup>83</sup>Ferris, 100.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.; Chitwood 63-5.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 17

colonizing expedition to Virginia.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> 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 (1632), and Delaware (1638).<sup>87</sup>

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.

## 2. Significance

The site of the science center associated with the Roanoke colonies has national significance under National Register (NR) 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 is nationally significant under 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.

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<sup>85</sup>Marshall and Bolton, 116-7.

<sup>86</sup>Ferris, 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 James Towne: An Archeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 115.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 18

### 3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

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.

### 4. Contributing Properties under Context A

"science center" (c. 1585-6)

B. Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Preservation and Recognition, c. 1860-1953

#### 1. Context Narrative

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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 19

in Philadelphia.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup>

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 from the threat of erosion, and a great emphasis was placed on building a retaining wall.<sup>90</sup> In 1893, the organization managed to acquire approximately twenty-two acres of land on Jamestown Island, including a section of the original site containing a standing tower and foundations of a 1639 church which was traditionally associated with the settlement.<sup>91</sup> Similar efforts were mounted in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and, years later, in early Spanish settlements such as Saint Augustine, Florida.<sup>92</sup>

The historic preservation movement became increasingly popular in the early

<sup>88</sup>For 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 Preservation in America* (Pittstown, NJ: Mainstreet Press, 1988).

<sup>89</sup>Hosmer 1965, 11-2, 65-6, 73.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 66.

<sup>91</sup>Irving Haas, *America's Historic Houses and Restorations* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966), 200-1.

<sup>92</sup>Charles 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 20

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).<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> In North Carolina, pioneering preservation efforts ranged from preserving the remains of the Moravian community in Winston-Salem in 1932,<sup>95</sup> to the photographic documentary work of Frances Benjamin Johnston in the 1930s.<sup>96</sup>

#### Early Efforts to Locate and Preserve "Lane's Fort" and the "Cittie of Raleigh"

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 explorers and settlers, however, still noted the location 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 Indian "received them civilly and showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort."<sup>97</sup> 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

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 121-9, 351-60; Hosmer 1965, 107-9.

<sup>94</sup>Hosmer 1981, 11-73, 129, 332-40; Murtagh, 35-6.

<sup>95</sup>Hosmer 1981, 363-5.

<sup>96</sup>For 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.

<sup>97</sup>Quoted in Porter 1972, 46.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 21

Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies.<sup>98</sup>

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.<sup>99</sup>

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."<sup>100</sup> At mid-century, George Higby Throop and Benson J. Lossing both claimed to detect the much eroded remains of the fort.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Lawson, 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.

<sup>99</sup>John Collet, *Map of North Carolina* (London 1770), Copy of the map in Powell 1965, 24.

<sup>100</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 23.

<sup>101</sup>Throop wrote that "the remains of the fort, glass globes, containing

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 22

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.<sup>102</sup> Visiting the north end of Roanoke Island, Bruce wrote that he could distinguish trenches, a small bastion, and other traces of the old fort.<sup>103</sup> According to 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.<sup>104</sup>

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.

<sup>102</sup>Powell 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.

<sup>103</sup>Bruce 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, 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.)

<sup>104</sup>Powell 1965, 30.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 23

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.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup> In 1893, the same journal followed up with another article on the site, Edward Graham Daves's "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia'--1585".<sup>107</sup> 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."<sup>108</sup> 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 it in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*.<sup>109</sup>

#### Political and Popular Support for Recognition

The idea of physically commemorating the site or otherwise recognizing the

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., 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.

<sup>106</sup>Powell 1965, 31; Stephen B. Weeks, "Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island: An Historical Survival," *Magazine of American History* 25 (January/June 1891): 127-139.

<sup>107</sup>Powell 1965, 32; Edward Graham Daves, "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia'—1585" *Magazine of American History* 29 (May/June 1893): 470-81.

<sup>108</sup>Daves, 470.

<sup>109</sup>Powell 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 24

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.<sup>110</sup> 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 settlements] 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."<sup>111</sup> Vance's proposal, however, died in committee.<sup>112</sup>

#### 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."<sup>113</sup>

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

<sup>110</sup>Congressional Record, 48th Congress, 1st Session (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1884), 15, 4097-8; Quoted in Powell 1965, 40, 44-5.

<sup>111</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 42.

<sup>112</sup>Powell 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.

<sup>113</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 52.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 25

colonization effort.<sup>114</sup>

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.<sup>115</sup> 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*.<sup>116</sup>

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.<sup>117</sup> A three-page prospectus was prepared, and general principles and an organizational charter were accepted.<sup>118</sup>

The association's principal aim, as set out in its prospectus, was to acquire and preserve the 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.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>114</sup>Powell 1965, 52-5.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., 55-7.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 59-62. See Sallie Southall Cotten, *The White Doe, The Fate of Virginia Dare, An Indian Legend* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1901).

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 64-7.

<sup>118</sup>Interestingly, 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.

<sup>119</sup>Powell 1965, 67-9.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 26

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."<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup>

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.<sup>122</sup> 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 association's seal. Another meeting was scheduled to be held at the Fort Raleigh site in August.<sup>123</sup>

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.<sup>124</sup> To ensure the accuracy of this effort, Talcott Williams, an archeologist, was invited to visit the site.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>120</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 73.

<sup>121</sup>Powell 1965, 73-6.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 75.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 75-6.

<sup>125</sup>Powell 1965, 79; Williams 1896, 58-9.

<sup>126</sup>Williams 1896, 59-60.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 27

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-I shall have securely fenced to prevent damage and further depredations, and hope to go there myself some time next month, preferably on the 18<sup>th</sup> to place the stone and to complete operations as far as our present means will admit.<sup>127</sup>

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,<sup>128</sup> 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 18<sup>TH</sup>  
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

<sup>127</sup>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.

<sup>128</sup>Powell 1965, 80.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 28

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

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.<sup>129</sup>

### 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 the 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.<sup>130</sup> 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

<sup>129</sup>Cited in Powell 1965, 80-1.

<sup>130</sup>Powell 1965, 83-4.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 29

efforts to celebrate the birth of Virginia Dare on August 18 of each year.<sup>131</sup> In 1907 one member of the group participated in the Jamestown Exposition, contributing copies of the John White watercolors for a special exhibit.<sup>132</sup>

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.<sup>133</sup> 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."<sup>134</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> 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.<sup>137</sup> 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

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 84.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid.; 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).

<sup>133</sup>Powell 1965, 84-6,

<sup>134</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 91.

<sup>135</sup>Powell 1965, 91.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 89-92.

<sup>137</sup>Stick, 1958, 243-6.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 30

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 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first Roanoke expedition (1934) and the birth of Virginia Dare (1937).

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.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup>

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.<sup>142</sup> The governor appointed these

<sup>138</sup>Powell 1965, 141.

<sup>139</sup>For 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.

<sup>140</sup>Powell 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.

<sup>141</sup>David Stick, "A Half-Century of Observation, n.d." Unedited manuscript, I, 11-5, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

<sup>142</sup>Powell 1965, 142-3.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 31

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 Progress Administration (WPA) provided labor as well as funds for equipment and material to construct the village.<sup>143</sup>

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.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> 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.<sup>146</sup> 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 the northwest of the fort.<sup>147</sup>

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

<sup>143</sup>Ibid.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 142; Stick 1958, 249.

<sup>145</sup>"History of the Production, n.d.," TMs, p. 23, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

<sup>146</sup>Harrington 1984, 5; Powell 1965, 81.

<sup>147</sup>Powell 1965, 143-4.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 32

native islanders still speak fondly of the "old chapel" that they had embraced as their own.<sup>148</sup>

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."<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup>

#### **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.<sup>151</sup> 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.<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup> 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

<sup>148</sup>Bebe Woody, Personal Communication, 4 April 1990.

<sup>149</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 160.

<sup>150</sup>Powell 1965, 160.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., 52-6.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., 86.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., 84, 105.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 33

Walter Raleigh, John White, Manteo, and Wanchese, as well as references to Roanoke Island and the "Lost Colony."<sup>154</sup> Intended for production in 1918, but canceled due to the influenza 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."<sup>155</sup>

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.<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup>

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.<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup>

The theatrical productions and the annual celebrations began to finally

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., 113; "History of the Production, n.d.," 1-2.

<sup>155</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 113-4.

<sup>156</sup>Powell 1965, 115-6; "History of the Production," 2-4. Evans also played the part of Eleanor Dare in the film production.

<sup>157</sup>Powell 1965, 120, 123. According to Steve Harrison at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, the park has a copy of the original film on video tape.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., 123.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., 124-5; "History of the Production," 4-5.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 34

coalesce in the early 1930s. Since the 1920s, W. O. Saunders, the editor of the *Elizabeth City Independent*, had been promoting the idea of a major celebration for 1934 to mark the 350th anniversary of the Amadas and Barlowe Expedition of 1584.<sup>160</sup> 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."<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup>

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.<sup>163</sup> 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.<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup> 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

<sup>160</sup>Powell 1965, 125; Keith Saunders, *The Independent Man* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1962), 205-8.

<sup>161</sup>The Roanoke Island Historical Association's Charter, Quoted in Powell 1965, 135.

<sup>162</sup>Powell 1965, 125.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., 126-7.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., 126.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., 127; "History of the Production," 5, 8.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 35

almost immediately after the 1934 production began to plan for a celebration in 1937 marking the 350th anniversary of the John 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.<sup>166</sup> 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.<sup>167</sup> As a result, Paul Green signed a contract with this new group on January 18, 1937, to produce the play for \$1,500.<sup>168</sup>

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 enrollees.<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup>

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

<sup>166</sup>Powell 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).

<sup>167</sup>"History of the Production," 8.

<sup>168</sup>Powell 1965, 147-8. By this time, Green had already completed part of the play.

<sup>169</sup>Stick 1958, 248-9; Powell 1965, 142.

<sup>170</sup>Powell 1965, 151-2; "History of the Production," 9-10.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
county and State

Section 8

Page 36

enlisted to perform in minor parts.<sup>171</sup> Congressman Warren was again a staunch advocate and invited President Roosevelt to attend the anniversary performance celebrating Virginia Dare's birth.<sup>172</sup>

"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 Roosevelt attended the Virginia Dare ceremonies on Roanoke Island and witnessed a performance of "The Lost Colony."<sup>173</sup> His address, entitled "Majority Rule Must be Preserved as the Safeguard of Both Liberty and Civilization," was well received, and sometime later 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." Another small granite marker was placed in the theater to honor Roosevelt's presence at the twenty-third performance of "The Lost Colony" on the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth. The 22  $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 17  $\frac{1}{2}$ " plaque reads:

On this Spot  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
Witnessed the  
23<sup>rd</sup> Performance of  
THE LOST COLONY  
August 18, 1937

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.<sup>174</sup>

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

<sup>171</sup>Powell 1965, 152.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., 149, 151-2.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., 154; "History of the Production," 10-1.

<sup>174</sup>Powell 1965, 162-6; "Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 6.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 37

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."<sup>175</sup> Interrupted by World War II in 1942, "The Lost Colony" was revived in 1946. 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.<sup>176</sup>

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.<sup>177</sup> 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 track.<sup>178</sup> The basically new theater was dedicated on July 14, 1962,<sup>179</sup> 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

<sup>175</sup>Quoted in Powell 1965, 166.

<sup>176</sup>"History of the Production," 18-9; Powell 1965, 193-5.

<sup>177</sup>Powell 1965, 196.

<sup>178</sup>"History of the Production," 23-4.

<sup>179</sup>Powell 1965, 196.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 38

NPS then accepted ownership of the site based on Tilberg's findings.<sup>180</sup> 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 157 acres, to the National Park Service.<sup>181</sup> 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."<sup>182</sup> 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.<sup>183</sup>

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 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.<sup>184</sup>

Harrington's work, combined with new scholarship (in particular that of British

<sup>180</sup>Ibid., 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.

<sup>181</sup>Powell 1965, 164-6.

<sup>182</sup>Quoted in "Revised Statement for Management, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994," 2, 6.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>184</sup>Harrington 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 Lane in Puerto Rico on the way to the Outer Banks.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 39

historian David Quinn), resulted in a radical reformulation of the interpretive program at Fort Raleigh.<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup> Following the completion of the 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.<sup>187</sup>

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

<sup>185</sup>See 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.

<sup>186</sup>Jean C. Harrington, "Preliminary Report, Archeological Explorations, Reconstruction, and Stabilization of Fort Raleigh, 1950 Season," TMs, p. 1-8, Cultural Resources 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 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).

<sup>187</sup>Harrington 1984, 14-5.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 40

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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup> 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.<sup>190</sup>

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 boundaries. No significant findings were encountered, and no evidence as to the location of the habitation site was unearthed.<sup>191</sup> In 1964 and 1965, further study uncovered a feature which presumably had a military function and was described as an

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<sup>188</sup>Harrington, "Archeological Explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, August 1948," 5.

<sup>189</sup>"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.

<sup>190</sup>Bebe 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."

<sup>191</sup>Harrington 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 41

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.<sup>192</sup>

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, parking lots, and visitor facilities. The park's boundary was increased as well.<sup>193</sup> 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 removed 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,<sup>194</sup> 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.<sup>195</sup> The following year, the NPS completed additional resistivity surveys at Fort Raleigh to test a feature uncovered by

<sup>192</sup>Jean Carl Harrington, "The 1965 Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," TMs, p. 9, 18-30, Cultural Resources Library, Southeast Support Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia; Jean Carl Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh* (Philadelphia, PA: 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.

<sup>193</sup>Both 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.

<sup>194</sup>Powell 1965, 199-201.

<sup>195</sup>Ehrenhard, Athens, and Komara 1983, 1, 62-6.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 42

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.<sup>196</sup> 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."<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup>

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.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup>

After the addition of this new land, the NPS collaborated in a series of

<sup>196</sup>William 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.

<sup>197</sup>John 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.

<sup>198</sup>Walker and Cooper 1989, i.

<sup>199</sup>"Revised Statement for Management Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. 1994," 2.

<sup>200</sup>Ibid., 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.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 43

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.<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup>

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 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.<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup>

The National Park Service's period of development of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site marked a transition from locally supported commemorative efforts

<sup>201</sup>Noel Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," 7.

<sup>202</sup>Ibid., 14.

<sup>203</sup>The 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.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid., 33-4.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 8*

*Page 44*

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.

## 2. Significance

While the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site is nationally significant for its association with early English colonization efforts in North America (see context A), 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 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 the commemorative efforts at the site. It also reflects the efforts to recognize and celebrate the 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 Roosevelt markers, on the other hand, reflect local and state efforts to commemorate the site of the Roanoke colonies and Virginia Dare on the 350<sup>th</sup> 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 markers may be locally significant under this context (Criterion A).

Another resource from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 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



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 45

branch of the family lived on the north end of Roanoke Island.<sup>205</sup> 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 acres of farmland, and a cemetery. In 1894 the Roanoke Colony 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 farm land on the north end of the island containing the "Old Fort Raleigh tract."<sup>206</sup> The remaining elements of the Dough farmstead (mainly the cemetery) may be eligible under Criterion A, Event, as representative of a typical nineteenth century farmstead of the area.

### 3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

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 National Register amendment, 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.<sup>207</sup> 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. In addition, 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 importance of the site, the first English settlement in North America, and is significant under Criterion A (Event). As such, the reconstructed fort is 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

<sup>205</sup>Powell 1965, 25.

<sup>206</sup>Ibid., 75.

<sup>207</sup>National Register 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria, 37.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 8*

*Page 46*

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 350<sup>th</sup> 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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 47

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 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, demonstrating their continuous efforts to achieve recognition for the site. While other resources from the 1930s have been destroyed by natural disasters or reinterpretation, the location of the small plaque has remained the same. As such, it 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 350<sup>th</sup> 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. The marker then satisfies National Register Criteria Consideration F, Commemorative Properties. Although its setting has undergone a few changes, the theater marker still lies in the Waterside Theater and retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As such, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker is a contributing resource to the National Register site, whose boundaries have been expanded to include the 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 the replacement of additional seating and 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

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

*Section 8*

*Page 48*

Theater 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 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. Although unlikely, archeological investigations could 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).

Few standing structures associated with the Dough family homestead remain as well. The main house was situated where the southern portion of the "Lost Colony" parking lot is today, and was moved in 1964 when the National Park Service obtained another part of the Dough property.<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> 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 and cemetery ineligible under Criterion A.

For the Dough Family Cemetery to be nominated individually for the National Register, it 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, great age, and historic events connected to the Dough family, led to the conclusion that the site is ineligible for the National Register. Criteria Consideration D states that a cemetery is eligible if it "derives its primary significance from graves of

<sup>208</sup>Walker and Cooper, 133-4.

<sup>209</sup>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. No interments have occurred in recent years, and the list of eligible people is dwindling. "Revised Statement for Management for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1994."

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 8

Page 49

persons of transcendental importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events."<sup>210</sup> 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 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. 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.

#### 4. Contributing Properties under Context B

Fort Raleigh Reconstructed Fort (1947-1953)  
Raleigh Colony/Virginia Dare Monument (1896, relocated in the 1930s, moved again c. 1950)  
FDR Marker (c. 1937)  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker (c. 1937)

#### 5. Noncontributing Properties

Waterside Theater (1937, 1947, 1960-62)  
Camp Wirth (1930s)  
Dough Family Cemetery (c. 1850-1906)

<sup>210</sup>National Register Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 34-6.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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county and State

Section 9

Page 1

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National Park Service

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name of property

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Fort Raleigh  
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name of property

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county and State

Section 9

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National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
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name of property

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Fort Raleigh  
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National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
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name of property

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Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
name of property

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United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
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*county and State*

Section 9

Page 10

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United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

Fort Raleigh  
National Historic Site  
*name of property*

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Dare County, North Carolina  
*county and State*

Section 10

Page 1

### Geographical Data

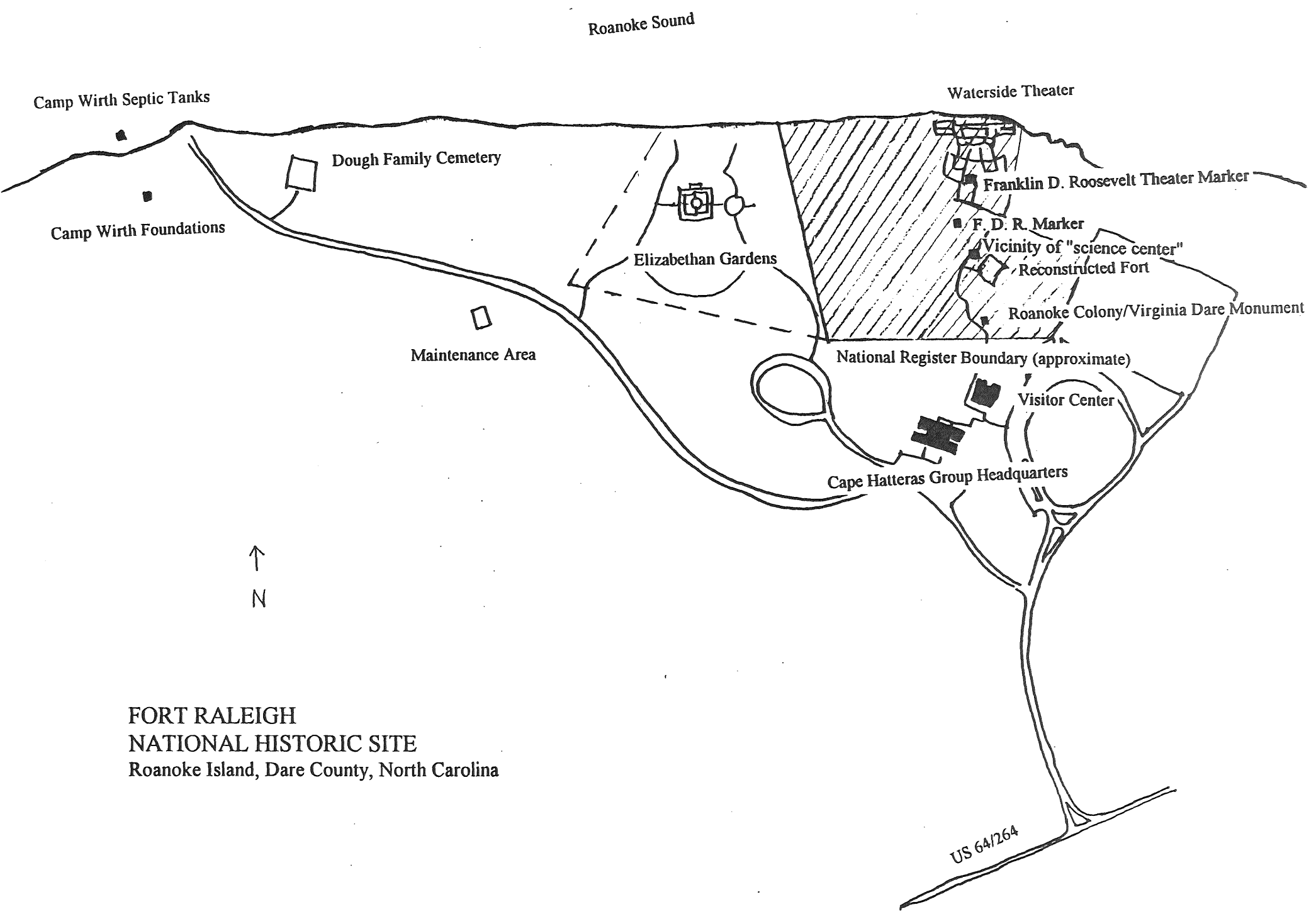
With the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. National Register documentation for the site was submitted in 1972, and further information and revisions were accepted on November 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 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 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.

### 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.



Roanoke Sound

Camp Wirth Septic Tanks

Waterside Theater

Dough Family Cemetery

Franklin D. Roosevelt Theater Marker

Camp Wirth Foundations

F. D. R. Marker

Elizabethan Gardens

Vicinity of "science center"

Reconstructed Fort

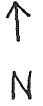
Maintenance Area

Roanoke Colony/Virginia Dare Monument

National Register Boundary (approximate)

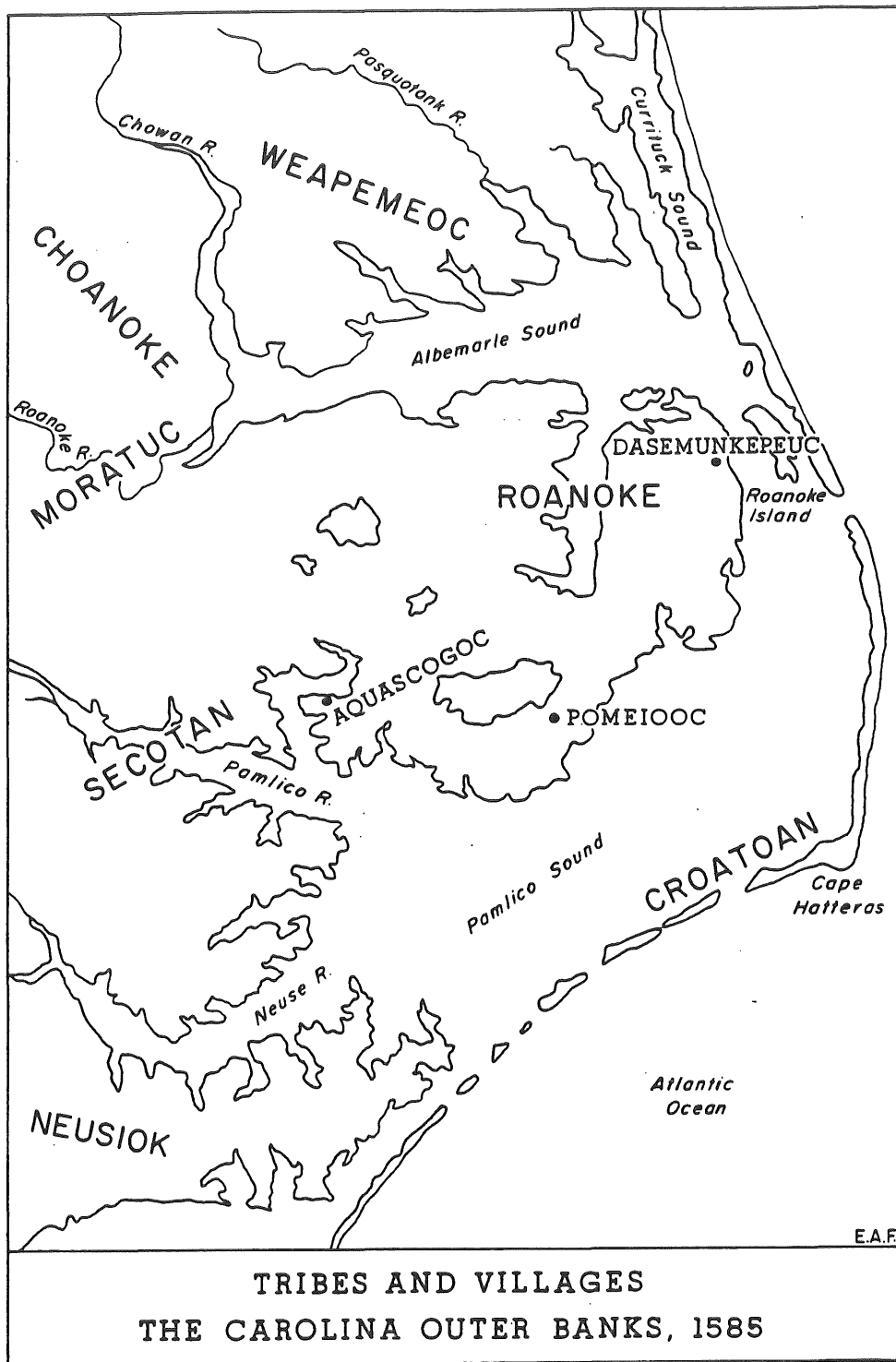
Visitor Center

Cape Hatteras Group Headquarters



FORT RALEIGH  
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE  
Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina

US 64/264



Source: Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke, The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, NJ: Rowan and Allanheld Publishers, 1984).

**Manteo Quadrangle**  
North Carolina—Dare County  
7.5 Minute Series

Scale 1:24000

UTM References (from former National Register Documentation)

- A. 18/436160/3977330
- B. 18/436160/3977000
- C. 18/435770/3977000
- D. 18/435770/3977335

