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Expedient Truths:
Aspects of Narrative Representation in Elizabethan Voyage Literature.

by

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B.A., University of Birmingham, 1983

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the Department of English

We accept this dissertation as conforming to the required standard

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Abstract

In the following dissertation, I investigate how the reports of Raleigh's Roanoke adventures, 1584-90, interpret Virginia. Other scholarly writers have considered these reports in the context of broader studies, but the reports have not been analysed together as a body of literature that presents a shared experience, nor have their impacts upon each other and on Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the large, rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596) been the main focus of an investigation. I argue that the initial reports projected an optimistic tone about Virginia that became increasingly suspect as alternative reports concerning Raleigh's attempt to establish a colony entered circulation. Furthermore, I believe that the reports written about Raleigh's colonial adventures in Virginia and his own report, the *Discoverie*, contain significant common features, and that a hitherto unanalysed intertextuality exists among them.

The reports are strongly influenced by the need to present the discovered land in its best light and the need to present the authors' actions as laudable and fully in support of the enterprise in hand. With this in mind, I identify in the reports a pervasive equivocation, especially based on the fact that in encouraging expansion they also attempt to make a virtue of failure. Thus, profound setbacks are explained without admitting excessive discouragement, and one result is a rhetoric wherein rumour, second-hand evidence, hearsay, and the suppression of inauspicious information are extensively deployed. What emerges is a highly equivocal mixture of revelation and concealment which provides a constantly shifting set of perspectives against which the voyagers' experiences can be interpreted.

This complex rhetoric is simultaneously fascinating and elusive, as the explorers attempt to maintain a sometimes perilous balance between their optimistically expansionist aspirations and the containment of refractory experiences of various kinds. No extended study has been made of the rhetorical strategies developed to negotiate such contradictions, or of the intertextuality among the accounts of the voyages with which I deal. In short, these documents show how a putatively historical narrative engages with uncomfortable contingency, political aspiration, fanciful escapism and inventiveness designed to save appearances, producing a literature that is often more than the sum of its eclectic influences, and which tells us much about our perennial search through history for meaning and stability.

The intertextuality of the reports is a fundamental, though unexamined (and generally unrecognised), feature of the Elizabethan experience of America. Although each writer espouses a different view of the new found land, significant common material and shared motifs combine to create a coherent, if complex, Elizabethan English interpretation of America. My analysis of the inter-relationships among the Roanoke reports and my subsequent suggestions about their development in Raleigh's *Discoverie* are offered here as original contributions to scholarship about Elizabethan English voyage literature.

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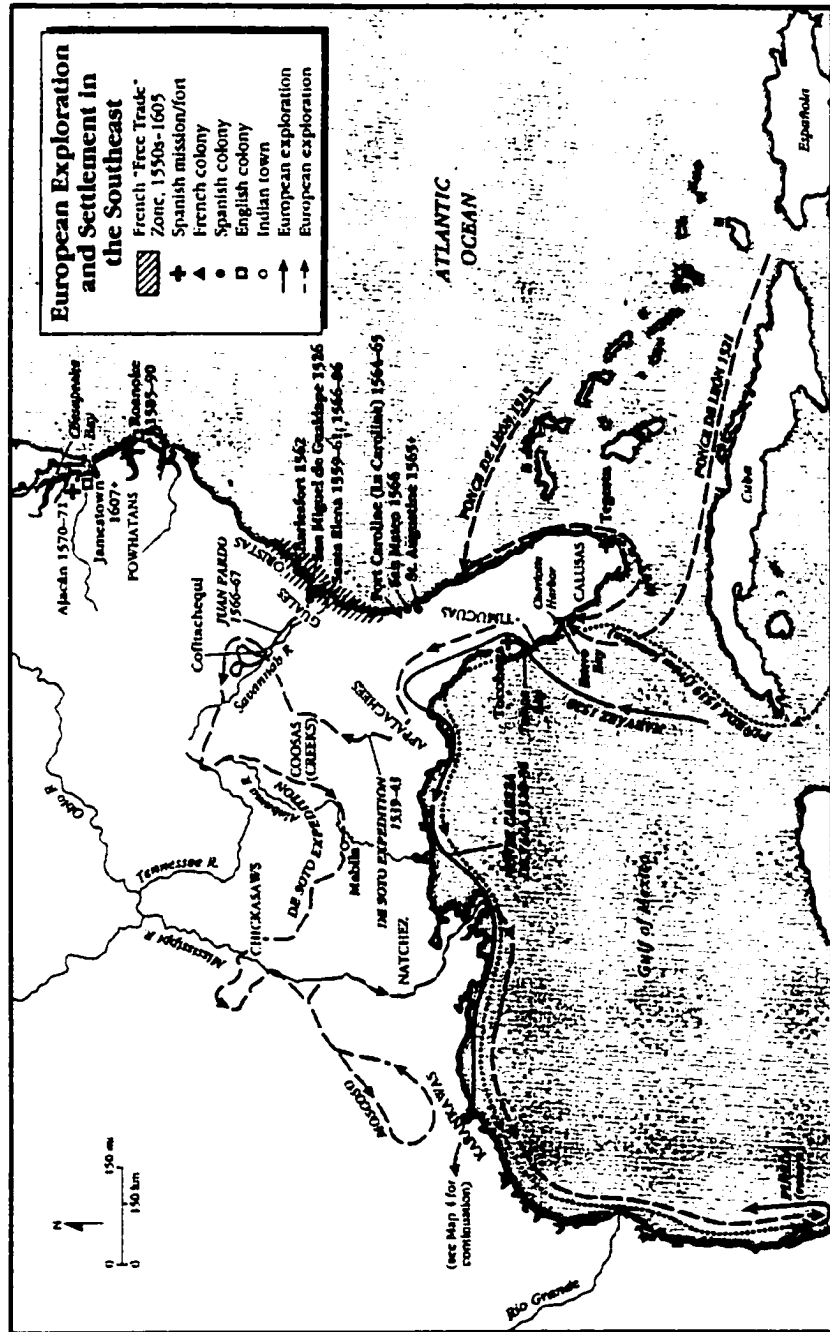
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Map 1
 "European Exploration and Settlement in the Southeast."

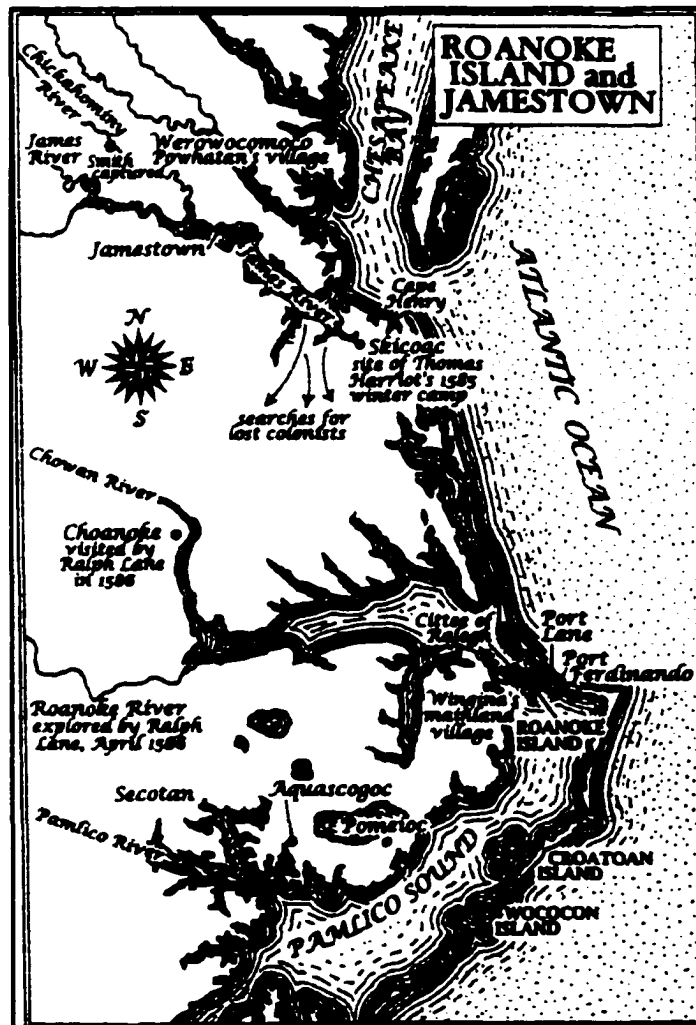
(Trigger, Bruce G. and William R. Swagerty. "Entertaining Strangers: North America in the Sixteenth Century." *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. 1: North America. Part 1. Ed. Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. 346).



Map 2
"Roanoke Island and Jamestown."

Milton, Giles. *Big Chief Elizabeth: How England's Adventurers Gambled and Won in the New World*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000. 119.

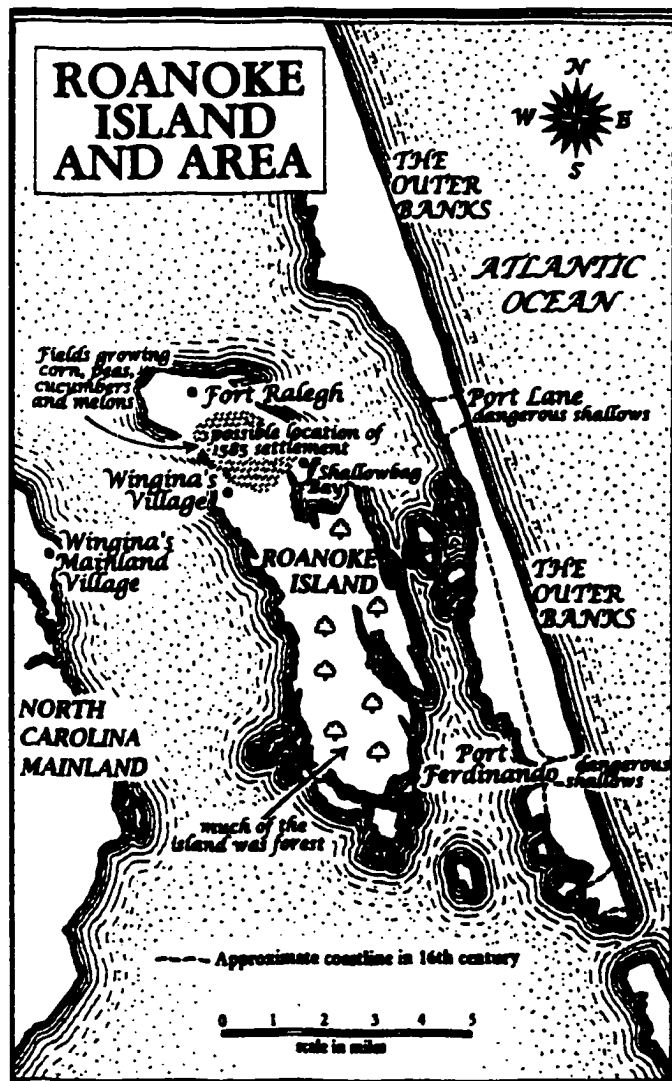
Details concerning Ralph Lane's and Thomas Harriot's journeys and the locations of settlements are based upon Milton's interpretations and extrapolations of the original reports and maps, and secondary materials.



Map 3
 "Roanoke Island and Area."

Milton, Giles. *Big Chief Elizabeth: How England's Adventurers Gambled and Won in the New World*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000. 141.

Details concerning the locations of settlements are based upon Milton's interpretations and extrapolations of the original reports and maps, and secondary materials.



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Cambridge University Press kindly granted permission to use the map of “European Expansion and Settlement in the Southeast” from Volume One of *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*.

The maps titled “Roanoke Island and Jamestown” and “Roanoke Island and Area” are reproduced by permission of Hodder and Stoughton Limited from Giles Norton’s *Big Chief Elizabeth: How England’s Adventurers Gambled and Won in the New World*.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to Claire, whose hard work and support helped to make it possible, and Alexander and Rhiannon, without whom it would have been finished much more quickly.

Chapter One: Introduction

In the following dissertation, I address some literary aspects of the reports of Raleigh's Roanoke adventures, 1584-90. In particular, I investigate how these reports interpret Virginia expediently, as the authors attempt, sometimes by dubious means, to promote their own interests, while at the same time realizing that they must do so without losing credibility. Other scholarly writers have considered various aspects of these reports in the context of broader studies, but the reports have not been analysed together as a body of literature that presents a shared experience, nor have their impacts upon each other and on Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the large, rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596) been the main focus of an investigation.¹

The four principal Elizabethan authors with whom I am concerned are Arthur Barlowe, Thomas Harriot,² Ralph Lane, and John White.³ Harriot's *Brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (first ed. 1588) was the first account of the English in Virginia made available to the reading public.⁴ I argue that Harriot's text projected an optimistic tone about Virginia that became increasingly suspect as alternative reports concerning Raleigh's attempt to establish a colony entered circulation.⁵ Furthermore, I believe that the reports written about Raleigh's colonial adventures in Virginia and his own report, the *Discoverie*, contain significant common features, and that a hitherto unanalysed intertextuality exists among them.

The voyage reports themselves arise directly from the authors' experiences, filtered subsequently through a mixture of genres and sources. The Bible, pastoral literature, classical literature, and the records of other Europeans' contacts with the New World influence the English writers to varying degrees.⁶ Literature and legends about European (mainly Spanish) exploration and discovery impinge on the English texts, sometimes acknowledged or quoted, and sometimes present in unacknowledged echoes and parallels. Likewise, biblical and classical narratives affect the accounts by adding, or at the least suggesting, interpretations that create a sense of events and influences beyond the immediate action. Most significantly, the often silent but nevertheless overarching desire for profit is in conflict with other, less worldly aspirations, and that conflict also influences the writers' approaches and agendas. These sources, influences and references are not always present in the texts as a result of conscious planning; often they are echoes

of widespread and pervasive contemporary outlooks, some of which are even explicitly rejected by the authors.⁷ For instance, the notion that Englishmen would behave like the demonized Spaniards is hotly rejected, while at the same time Spanish achievements are praised and presented as implicit and explicit models for future English expansion. In some cases the reporters of “real” voyages consciously use allusions to fictional voyages to help their readers to gain some perception of what they are describing. In the *Discoverie* Raleigh refers openly to the writings of Mandeville when he refers to the “Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts. . . . Such a nation was written of by Mandevile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible” (Hakluyt, *Principal* 10: 406). Similar reflections can be found in Florio’s translation of Montaigne where he considers the possibility of the limits of discoveries: “Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant us whether it be the last of his brethren . . .)” (*Essayes* 821).⁸ The need to validate personal reports through the use of authorities is noted by Stephen Greenblatt in his introduction to Frank Lestringant’s *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*: “In the wake of the mingled skepticism and belief, the cross-currents of empiricism and imagination, we glimpse one of the key principles of the Renaissance geographical imagination: eye-witness testimony, for all its vaunted importance, sits as a very small edifice on top of an enormous mountain of hearsay, rumour, convention and endlessly recycled fable” (xi). However, the “hearsay, rumour, convention and endlessly recycled fable” within the Roanoke reports derive not so much from romance and overtly fictional literature as from what will be shown to be alleged encounters and subsequently discovered information which the authors combine with reports from other sources to create evidence -- often expediently -- to support the viability of the adventures. Such allusions and references reveal the existence of background assumptions or unwritten agendas that are key features of the texts under discussion.⁹

The reports are strongly influenced by the need to present the new found land in its best light and the need to present the authors’ actions as laudable and fully in support of

the enterprise in hand. With this in mind, I identify in the reports a pervasive equivocation, especially based on the fact that in encouraging expansion they also attempt to make a virtue of failure. Thus, profound setbacks are explained without admitting excessive discouragement, and one result is a rhetoric wherein rumour, second-hand evidence, hearsay, and the suppression of inauspicious information are extensively deployed. What emerges is a highly equivocal mixture of revelation and concealment which provides a constantly shifting set of perspectives against which the voyagers' experiences can be interpreted.

This complex rhetoric is simultaneously fascinating and elusive, as the explorers attempt to maintain a sometimes perilous balance between their optimistically expansionist aspirations and the containment of refractory experiences of various kinds. No extended study has been made of the rhetorical strategies developed to negotiate such contradictions, or of the intertextuality among the accounts of the voyages with which I deal. In short, these documents show how a putatively historical narrative engages with uncomfortable contingency, political aspiration, fanciful escapism and inventiveness designed to save appearances, producing a literature that is often more than the sum of its eclectic influences, and which tells us much about our perennial search through history for meaning and stability.

English voyages to the east coast of North America in the sixteenth century may be seen to fall into two main phases.¹⁰ The second phase begins with the 1584 voyage of Amadas and Barlowe under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh. This voyage marked the end of brief contacts and the beginning of "the first concerted [English] attempt at settlement" on the North American continent (Bitterli 110).

English involvement with the European exploration and exploitation of North America began during the period of the famous first contacts with the "New World." Contemporaries such as Dr John Dee and the Hakluyts looked back to the legendary voyages of Madoc, King Arthur and figures from the Bible and Classical mythology when they attempted to support England's right to occupy American land (Wallis 34; Quinn, *North America* 20-21). Leaving such voyages aside, however, Quinn suggests that English contacts with the coasts of Newfoundland may have begun "as early as the

1480s, and John Cabot clearly delineated Newfoundland . . . in 1497” (*Set Fair* 12). English cod fishery off the Newfoundland coast began around 1502. Approximately a quarter of a century later “an English ship sailed along the coast from Labrador to Florida, but nothing [in terms of attempts to explore further or colonise the coast] followed” (13). In 1546, an English ship may have been forced to shelter in Chesapeake Bay, but the details are sketchy and the area was not explored (Rountree, *Pocahontas* 15). Such sporadic and random contacts with the peoples of the eastern coast were characteristic of recorded English voyages prior to Raleigh’s organization of the expeditions to the Carolina Grand Banks on the coast of the territory he called Virginia.

Scholars generally agree that, while English activity along the east coast of North America was limited, other European nations were exploring the area actively and encountering the native peoples. Portuguese and Basque boats fished off the coast of modern Maine and north to Labrador from the end of the 1400s. The Basques pioneered the exploitation of the fish stocks, especially cod, off the coast of North America. Their impact on the area is indicated by the alleged use of Basque words by native peoples in the St Lawrence and Maine areas recorded by European explorers in the early 1500s (Brasser 78-81; Washburn 69-70; Dickason, *First Nations* 11-12).

French activity tended to focus on the area around the St Lawrence. However, a French Protestant colony led by Jean Ribault overwintered in South Carolina in 1562. Rene Laudonnière took another group to Florida in 1564, where they settled “at Fort Caroline on the St John’s River (now South Carolina)” (Wallis 27). This second group came to a bloody end in September 1565. Acting to remove the perceived threat to Spanish interests in Mexico and Florida posed by Laudonnière’s people, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (*adelantado* [“licensed conqueror”] of Florida 1565-74) “annihilated the French in a style long remembered, a St. Bartholomew massacre in the New World” (Quinn, *North America* 104; Davies 7).¹¹ Menéndez then established “the first Spanish settlement on the east coast of North America” at Saint Augustine, Florida, in the same year (Wallis 27). Subsequently, “a French Catholic soldier, Dominique de Gourgues” attacked a series of outlying Spanish forts around Saint Augustine in 1568 to avenge the deaths of Laudonnière’s followers. Working with the support of the local Tacatacum

people, the French razed the forts and then systematically killed “several hundred men . . . with the same brutality that Menéndez had shown in 1565” (Quinn, *North America* 277-78). Knowledge of these acts affected English defensive plans during the Roanoke colonies, as I note in Chapter Four, below.

According to T. J. Brassler, the Spanish made slave raids along the coast of what is now South Carolina “after 1520.” They carried off “about 150 Indians and shipped them to the West Indies.” While Brassler admits to there being no certain evidence about the northern limit of the raids, he speculates that “news of these excursions doubtless spread far and wide among the coastal tribes” (80). He also notes that the Spanish attempted to found a colony in the Cape Fear area (south of Roanoke) in 1526, but it failed within a year. Barlowe’s report from 1584 contains a record of the rescue and succour of shipwrecked sailors – who were probably Spanish – by the people of Secotan c.1558 (Feest, “North Carolina Algonquians” 271; *Roanoke* 111).

In 1561, the Spanish visited the Carolina Grand Banks (part of Raleigh’s Virginia) and Chesapeake Bay where they kidnapped a boy who was “almost certainly a relative of Powhatan.” The boy was taken to Havana and subsequently baptised Don Luis. Five years later, the Spanish returned briefly to the Grand Banks area. At the same time, a group of Jesuits attempted to establish a mission on Chesapeake Bay (known to them as Bahia de Santa Maria) using Don Luis as a guide, but they failed to find the entrance to the bay (Quinn, *North America* 270). With the continued assistance of Don Luis, the Jesuits eventually established a mission on Chesapeake Bay in 1570. Almost immediately, however, “he ran away, took several wives Indian-style, and led the killing of the Jesuit missionaries” (Axtell 103-104). The Spanish avenged the priests by delivering a devastating punitive raid against nearby settlements in 1572. Menéndez led the raid. It was possibly the last contact with Europeans experienced by the Algonquian peoples who lived in what is now North Carolina and Virginia before the arrival of the Roanoke explorers in 1584, so its impact should not be underestimated, nor should the recorded hostility of Don Luis. Indeed, both these factors may have influenced the hostile reception accorded to English vessels in Chesapeake Bay during the exploratory voyages (1602-1607) that preceded the establishment of the Jamestown settlement in

1607, especially when one remembers Quinn's speculation about Don Luis' kinship with Powhatan, the leader of the native groups in the area (*Set Fair* 13; Rountree, *Pocahontas* 15-18; Brassler 80). Quinn's notes concerning evidence for English conflict with coastal peoples just before their landfall at Roanoke in 1584 may also reveal a link joining Menéndez's actions and the hostility of Don Luis to a suppressed report of the hostile nature of the people living on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay area (*Roanoke* 81). Thus, although the Spanish never managed to locate the occupied site at Roanoke, their actions in the general area may still have had an adverse impact on the English attempt to establish a colony in North America.

From the 1550s to the period under consideration, English attention focussed on establishing colonies in Ireland to subdue the rebellious inhabitants of the island rather than setting up colonies in America. English commercial interest in America tended to be directed towards the discovery of new trading routes to the East (Washburn 69-70). Frobisher's voyages in search of the North West Passage (1576-78) resulted in little more than the farcical discovery and transportation of worthless ore (Quinn, *Set Fair* 13-14). The subsequent disappointment of the investors did little to encourage the exploration of North America. It did not stifle interest, however, especially in people who were becoming alert to the potential that America offered for the expansion of English commerce through opportunities for the exploitation of natural resources and the potential trade with the indigenous peoples (*Discourse* xvi; Rowse, *Elizabethans* 23-25).

One such person was Richard Hakluyt the elder, a lawyer of the Middle Temple. According to the more famous Reverend Richard Hakluyt (the younger Hakluyt), it was his elder namesake's interest in overseas projects that ignited the obsession that resulted in the compilation and publication of many series of documents relating to English voyages. The Reverend Richard Hakluyt initially focussed on the voyages to America, but eventually extended his attention to all voyages to distant shores, north, south, east and west.¹² The elder Hakluyt's influence reached beyond his family, however; it attracted the interest of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and, more significantly, the young Walter Raleigh. These men changed the nature of English involvement in the exploration and

exploitation of America and, if Quinn's enthusiasms are accepted, their activities led to the foundation of the British Empire.

Raleigh's mother was the widow of Otho Gilbert with whom she had three sons: John Gilbert, subsequent vice-admiral of Devon, Humphrey Gilbert, the inspiration for Raleigh's American colonial project, and Adrian Gilbert, who also planned voyages. After her first husband's death (1547), she married Raleigh's father (also named Walter) who "made money from piracy and privateering and settled in Exeter in the 1560s" (Quinn, *Set Fair* 4). Their son left England to fight in France for the Huguenot cause around 1568. When Raleigh returned, possibly enriched by plunder from the war, he studied at Oxford, then entered the Middle Temple before he joined the Court in 1578, probably as a result of the patronage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother, "who had been knighted for military service in Ireland" (4). Quinn suggests that Raleigh could have met the elder Hakluyt in the Middle Temple before Raleigh's entry into the Court. The lawyer may have influenced Raleigh's interest in North America during such putative contacts. Certainly, by 1578, the elder Hakluyt had formed the opinion that North America "was the most promising field for English intervention" (4). Sir Humphrey Gilbert shared that opinion and had, in Quinn's words, "become fanatical about it" (5).

Gilbert's enthusiasm began the English attempt to found an American colony. During 1578, the elder Hakluyt was helping Gilbert to plan a colony in Newfoundland (*Discourse* xvi). In June of that year, Gilbert received his patent to found colonies from the Queen. "Courtiers . . . West Country gentlemen, and . . . piratical sea captains" supported his enterprise. He also involved Raleigh in his scheme to the extent that Raleigh captained the *Falcon* as part of Gilbert's fleet. The expedition met with failure. It sailed on 19 November, 1578. Most ships, including Gilbert's, had to turn back soon after reaching the Scilly Isles. However, despite having a boat that became "increasingly unseaworthy," Raleigh stayed at sea until May 1579, possibly travelling as far as the Cape Verdes, though the full extent of his voyage is unknown (Quinn, *Set Fair* 6). This was his last voyage towards America before the fateful expedition to Guiana, some fifteen years later.

Despite the setbacks, Gilbert's enthusiasm remained undimmed. In 1580, he was selling the rights to land in America to finance his next expedition, whose possible target was "Norumbega (modern New England)" (Quinn, *Set Fair* 7). Gilbert planned but failed to set sail in 1582; he finally left England on 11 June, 1583. After reaching Newfoundland and claiming it for Elizabeth, he became dogged by bad luck – or, possibly, over-confidence. He drowned in the *Squirrel* during the return passage to England, famously claiming to be "as neere to heaven by sea as by land." Despite Raleigh's involvement with the plans for the voyage, he avoided his relative's fate because Elizabeth had forbidden him to sail with Gilbert (Quinn, *Set Fair* 6-7; *Discourse* xvi). However, Raleigh was thoroughly committed to founding a colony in America, even if he could not go there himself.

Raleigh had returned to Court after his infamous service in Ireland (1580-81).¹³ His handsome figure and dashing demeanour had "quickly caught the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who received him into her inner circle and heaped rewards on him" (Quinn, *Set Fair* 7). On 25 March 1584, the Queen granted Raleigh what was essentially Gilbert's patent to colonise land unclaimed by any other European power in North America. Quinn notes that a number of other people, including Dr John Dee, had paper claims to areas of America. In addition, Christopher Carleil had been planning since 1583 to establish a colony in the area of the Gulf of St Lawrence. Quinn offers a number of reasons for Raleigh's not attempting to colonise Newfoundland or the St Lawrence area, but finally concludes "we do not know which reason operated to exclude Raleigh from any concern with Newfoundland" (*Set Fair* 8-9). However, there had been a flurry of publications extolling the attractions North America between 1582-83. On that publicity, "Walter Raleigh was to attempt to capitalize fully in 1584" (*Discourse* xvi; *Roanoke* 3-4, 78, 85n4). It seems that Raleigh inherited both Gilbert's patent and his intention to colonise south of Newfoundland. In the event, Gilbert's target of "Norumbega" moved further south to become Raleigh's Virginia. The despatch of Amadas and Barlowe in 1584 began the new phase of English interest in and involvement with the exploration and exploitation of America, marked by the attempts to establish colonies.

The first voyage departed on 24 April, 1584 and reached the American coast in early July. The exact chronology of much of the explorers' activities is unclear from Barlowe's text, but they returned to England "about the middest of September," having left Virginia on approximately 23 August. They brought back two local men, Manteo and Wanchese, with them (*Roanoke* 15-17, 92-94, 115). Almost immediately afterwards (September or October), Hakluyt presented his *Discourse of Western Planting* to the Queen. In it, he advocated the development of Raleigh's venture, in part through royal investment (Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook* 284; *Discourse* xv). Within a few weeks, Manteo and Wanchese began to be seen in London (Quinn, *North America* 327). They were mentioned in the parliamentary bill to confirm Raleigh's patent, entered on 14 December 1584. Quinn believes that throughout this period and during the subsequent voyage Harriot was teaching them English while they taught him "their Algonquian tongue" (*Roanoke* 119, 127).

The Algonkian language group encompasses a range of Amerindian cultural groups who live "from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic and along the coast from the Arctic to Cape Fear" (Dickason, *First Nations* 64). The English encountered North Carolina Algonquians at Roanoke. They were one of the peoples classified as living in the Northeastern [also referred to as "Eastern"] Woodlands (Dickason, *First Nations* 15, 64). Cordell and Smith state that "[the complex] developmental mosaic in the Eastern Woodlands is reflected in the diversity of languages, cultural traditions, and types of socio-political organization that were encountered by early Europeans. . . . Algonquian languages (e.g., Cree, Fox, Delaware, Shawnee) were spoken over vast interior and northern areas of the East, and along the northern Atlantic coast" (205). Feest adds the information that "the Algonquian-speaking tribes who once lived in coastal North Carolina [Raleigh's Virginia] represent the southernmost extension of Algonquian groups along the Atlantic seaboard" ("North Carolina Algonquians" 271). The western boundaries of the North Carolina Algonquians – the people of Roanoke – are not clearly defined.

The lack of defined boundaries added to the problems faced by the coastal peoples once the English arrived. The pressure exerted by the strangers in the east and

the occasional raids by indigenous peoples from the west adversely affected the North Carolina Algonquians by forcing them to move and so lose established territories for hunting, foraging and agriculture. Such displacement profoundly undermined their cultural life. Feest attempts to reconstruct precontact alliances and enmities in the Roanoke area as follows:

There is evidence for . . . hostilities between the Secotans and their allies, and the Newsioks and Pomouiks. The Chawanokes were generally on good terms with Virginia Algonquians . . . but they – probably like most Algonquian groups of the region – were frequently at war with the Tuscaroras (Mangoaks) though the Roanokes believed they could count on the Tuscaroras in their fight with the English. (“North Carolina Algonquians” 273)

Unfortunately, Feest cites Lane and Barlowe as the sources for this assessment of native polity. It seems unlikely that firmer evidence will be found than that supplied by these partisan witnesses.

Evidence from other areas suggests that groups squeezed between encroaching Europeans and indigenous neighbours formed alliances with their neighbours, or moved north and attempted to reestablish themselves in another territory, or stayed where they were and, in many cases, ceased to exist as a separate culture – always assuming that they were able to survive the violence and disease that accompanied the Europeans (see Axtell 105-111; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People* 89-90, 128-143; Merrell 20-21). In a specific reference to the Roanoke area, Feest notes that the Tuscaroras “were claiming all the region west of Chowan River and south of Cuttawhiskie Swamp during the seventeenth century; but in 1585 [i.e., according to White’s maps] several villages, presumably or even certainly belonging to Algonquian tribes, had been located in this region.” Feest speculates that other neighbouring peoples, the Moratuc and Neusiok “may have been Iroquoian” (“North Carolina Algonquians” 271).

Prior to the arrival of the English, “although divided by politics and to some extent by language, the Indian tribes of the region [around Chesapeake Bay, to the north of Roanoke] lived lives that were more alike than different, and they relied on many of the same tools, both technological and social, to deal with the natural world and each other” (Rountree, *Eastern Shore* 1). Looking at the indigenous peoples of America as a

whole at the time of the contacts in the sixteenth century, Dickason asserts that “one can speak of an American civilization in the same sense that one can speak of a European civilization” (*First Nations* 82). The English reports generally support these modern interpretations. As I discuss, however, the writers are affected by a need for self-justification that encourages them to interpret information and events in a manner that redounds to their benefit. When Harriot records his winter journey (1585-86), he notes that “the language of every gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant the greater the difference” (*Roanoke* 370). Conversely, he does not remark on differences between the various cultures – i.e., the ways that they lived in contrast to the Roanoke peoples – that he encountered, so the general impression is left that the culture of the coastal peoples that he and White recorded in such detail could be applied to all the native inhabitants of the area.

Quinn observes that Harriot’s comments concerning the variations of language are “the only definite reference to dialectal differences between Carolina Algonkian tribes.” He then speculates that Harriot may have made contact with “Iroquoian- or Souian-speaking peoples” on his journey (*Roanoke* 370 n5). Rountree suggests that the Harriot spent time with members of “the Chesapeake Indians, who occupied what are now the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Chesapeake, and Virginia Beach.” She states that the other groups cannot now be identified (*Pocahontas* 20-21). Lane’s record of the local peoples’ respect for the martial valour of other groups adds to the idea of separate groups living close to each other in the Roanoke area (*Roanoke* 277). His dream of finding a people rich in minerals and pearls along the “River of Moratioc [also ‘Moratoc’]” suggests an acceptance and anticipation of further diversity, this time possibly cultural as well as linguistic (260-65). Clearly, this anticipation may well have been rooted in Lane’s desire to promote the colony’s future potential; however, an implicit acceptance of cultural variations between different groups seems to lie behind Lane’s actions and future plans.

Furthermore, Harriot explicitly bases part of the optimistic concluding remarks in his *Report* on the expediently extrapolated likelihood of the existence of a culturally diverse and more sophisticated “nation” deeper inland. He invites the reader to anticipate the discovery in Virginia of a fabulous city such as Chaunis Temoatan – the city of

Lane's dreams and the unachieved objective of his hazardous journey on "River of Moratioc." Harriot makes this invitation by revealing the differences he claims to have witnessed in the territory and people he visited. According to Harriot, as one goes further inland, the ground becomes more fruitful and the people more sophisticated and civilised. He enhances the significance of these alleged differences by linking them to the Spanish experience of Mexico, where the cultures became more developed the further inland the *conquistadores* penetrated (*Roanoke* 382-83). Consequently, Harriot uses his observations to project an expediently optimistic outlook for the colony, a future in which Virginia becomes the gateway to an English Mexico (see Chapter Three, below).

All Harriot's speculations and alleged discoveries lay in the future, however. During the period of preparations for the 1585 voyage, Harriot's growing knowledge of Algonkian, learned from Manteo and Wanchese, would have been an asset to Raleigh's publicity campaign. Raleigh staged public appearances with the two native men and seems to have used them as a direct source of information concerning Virginia. References to their presence at various meetings and occasions have been found in diaries, court records and parliamentary papers of the period (*Roanoke* 91, 116n6, 127, 232). In addition to the attention raised by these "celebrity appearances," Raleigh used the period before the departure of the 1585 colony to secure both financial and political support for the enterprise. Sir Richard Grenville's presence as the commander of the fleet suggests that there was support for Raleigh's venture among his kinsmen as well as other members of the Court, including Sir Francis Walsingham. Raleigh's exalted position in the Court would have attracted publicity for his undertaking. Furthermore, legal records suggest that there was some public awareness of the event. Anonymous notes of advice regarding the establishment of a colony further indicate the interest that the preparations attracted (*Roanoke* 158-242).

Foreign powers also took an interest in the English preparations. Irene A. Wright's comprehensive record of Spanish correspondence concerning English naval activities off the coast of Mexico and along the eastern seaboard of North America, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America*, reveals Spanish interest in English activities during the years surrounding the Armada of 1588. Letters to and from the

Spanish king on the subject of English colonial aspirations, supplemented by reports from reconnaissance expeditions and spies, reveal the active interest and concern of Philip II and his administrators (*Roanoke* 717-71).

Spanish interest and the involvement of English “hawks” such as Grenville and Walsingham with Raleigh’s plans point to the political and military significance of the Roanoke expeditions. They took place during a time of increasing tensions between England and Spain. Part of the planning for the colony was influenced by the attractions offered by a base for privateers within striking distance of the Spanish Main. English interest in the potential for Roanoke as a haven for privateers is emphasised by the fact that the colonists returned on board Drake’s fleet that visited them in June 1586; Drake was on his way home from sacking Spanish possessions throughout the Caribbean when he called at Roanoke. The bloody end of Laudonnière’s attempted colony illustrates the fears that haunted the English at Roanoke; indeed, the Spanish commanders issued an order that the English colony “should be wiped out as the French colonies had been” (Rowse, *Expansion* 237-38).¹⁴ Clearly, the proposed colony represented a threat and an opportunity for both sides in the developing European conflict. Spanish possessions and security were threatened, while the fledgling colony offered the Spanish the opportunity to reemphasise their supremacy in the region through a repeat of the action taken against the French in Florida. The English were aware of the fragility of their position and the threat posed by Spanish vessels operating out of Saint Augustine, but they recognised the potential advantages offered by the establishment of a base within striking distance of the treasure fleet’s route.

The colonists also faced threats, either real or imagined, from the Algonquian and Tuscarora people they met. The hostility the English encountered developed over time and was engendered at least in part by their own actions. Ralph Lane’s aggressive leadership of the colony produced tensions between the English and the local inhabitants over food supplies. These tensions escalated into episodes of open conflict on a number of occasions. The final recorded conflict during the 1585-86 colony concludes with Lane’s killing of the local leader, Wingina, in an attempt to thwart what Lane perceived to be the culmination of Wingina’s alleged “conspiracie” against the settlers.

Wingina's death has significance beyond the immediate events. Subsequent writers continue to use his name to signify the leader of local people opposed to the English colonial enterprise for approximately thirty years after his death in 1586. When he is mentioned, he seems to represent a type of scheming, deadly enemy whose actions are always opposed to English safety and whose followers are legitimate targets for English reprisals. Paradoxically, Wingina also features in Harriot's *Report* where he is the only named inhabitant of the Roanoke area. Harriot presents him as a generally amenable representative of the local leadership. In this role, Wingina continues the idea of a welcoming, interested and somewhat awed ruling class that is introduced in Barlowe's descriptions of the inhabitants of the Roanoke area. The records of such differing English approaches to the same indigenous population allow me to identify some of the tensions, suppressions and revelations in the texts under discussion. Raleigh's involvement with the major English expeditions to America in the 1580s and 1590s also provides a link between these texts. His ambiguous attitudes towards native populations and Spanish conquistadors bring together the threats and opportunities presented to Europeans by the notions of America as a location for European conquest. Contact with indigenous peoples was associated with military force, but the targets for that force varied according to circumstance, as the circumlocutions regarding treaties with the various native groups in Raleigh's *Discoverie* (1596) reveal most clearly. Foremost in Raleigh's mind, however, was the defeat of Spain through commerce and military strategy.

Raleigh's continuing attempts to maintain the Roanoke colony acknowledge the advantages of maintaining the base as part of his planning for the defeat of Spain. His first resupply fleet reached Roanoke after the colonists had departed with Drake. The fleet left a holding party, but subsequent reports reveal that the men were attacked by the local people and driven off to their deaths at some point between July 1586 and July 1587. Raleigh's next attempt to establish a colony set off for Chesapeake Bay in 1587 under the leadership of John White. Unfortunately for the settlers, the alleged easy pickings offered by privateering lured the sailors away from their task. Consequently, the settlers were landed at Roanoke rather than Chesapeake Bay. For the first time an

English group included women; indeed, White's daughter gave birth to his grandchild, Virginia Dare, soon after the colonists arrived. The presence of women is generally thought to indicate the commitment of the group to establish more than a seasonal or short-term base. The colonists asked White to return to England with the ships to act on their behalf with the authorities in London. After his departure on 27 August, nothing more was seen of the colonists (*Roanoke* 497-506).

Thereafter, international events overtook the colony. Preparations to meet the Armada limited all English shipping to home waters in 1588. Raleigh managed to free a small flotilla to take more colonists and supplies to Roanoke in April, but the voyage degenerated into inept piracy and failed to reach the colony (*Roanoke* 559-60, 562-69). The publication of Harriot's *Brief and True Report* in 1588 attempted to maintain public interest in the colony. Hakluyt published his *Principall Navigations* in 1589, containing all the news about Roanoke. Despite the publicity, however, interest in the establishment of further colonies, or even commitment to the maintenance of the colony sent out in 1587, was hard to raise. Consequently, White was unable to return to Roanoke before 1590. When he finally reached the site, it was abandoned and in disarray. There was an indication that the settlers had moved on without duress, but the weather turned against the sailors and they had to leave before contact could be established with the putative new settlement. Somewhat ironically, Harriot's *Report* was published for the second time round about August 1590 as part of De Bry's lavishly-illustrated *America* series. It may have reached the public just as White was leaving the site of the abandoned colony for the last time (*Roanoke* 579-98).¹⁵

Within two years of the reported loss of the colony, Raleigh lost his position and power at Court when his secret marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton (1592) was revealed. Montrose notes the contemporary joke on the subject: "All is alarm and confusion at this discovery of the discoverer, and not indeed of a new continent, but of a new incontinent" (9-10). Once he had been freed from the Tower, Raleigh set off to America himself in an ill-judged attempt to restore the Queen's interest in him.¹⁶ His voyage of 1595 in search of a lost empire certainly caught public attention. Subsequently, the account of his voyage, the *Discoverie* (1596), became a best seller.

Raleigh's attempt to find Guiana was an influential contribution to a search that had lasted for almost a century and which would continue to lure treasure hunters for centuries to come, thanks, partly, to the success of his account of the adventure. As Walker Chapman, V.S. Naipaul, J.H. Adamson, Germán Arciniegas, Samuel Eliot Morison, Howard Mumford Jones, Neil L. Whitehead, Charles Nicholl and other writers make clear, Raleigh did not blaze a new trail. Rather, he followed in the footsteps of many other gold-hungry Spanish and Portuguese explorers who sought one more empire to pillage. Despite his claims about making discoveries, he did not manage to enter any areas that were not already nominally under the control of Spain. What he did achieve was a magnificent publicity "scoop," both for himself – as he intended – and for the fabulous, lost Empire of Guiana. However, the reactions to his narrative at Court were mixed and generally not encouraging. The lack of gold in the samples of rock he brought back further damaged his credibility, though, paradoxically, the story of his exploits seems to have caught the reading public's attention. Raleigh managed to re-introduce himself to the Court through his gallantry in the subsequent war against Spain rather than his exploits in Guiana and associated literary achievement. Ironically, the success of the *Discoverie* created the situations that eventually led to the death of Raleigh's son, the suicide of his friend Keymis and his own execution.

Whatever desires for fame and power may have motivated Raleigh in his initial quest for Guiana, he states clearly and repeatedly that he wishes to undermine Spanish power in Europe and America by snatching the last Amerindian empire from beneath their noses (e.g., Whitehead 127-29, 138, 172-73, 181-182). This objective is a continuation of Raleigh's attempt to promote English military and financial interests at the expense of Spain, as was originally set out in Hakluyt's *Discourse*. His intentions link back to the abandoned colony at Roanoke and the beginning of the second phase of English involvement with America. Hence, Raleigh's voyage of 1595 may be seen to be linked to his earlier adventures and to form part of the developing phase of English expansion into America that was to lead to the establishment of Jamestown in 1607. The lessons learnt by Raleigh and his lieutenants, recorded in their reports, outline the developing strategies and outlooks that formed English attitudes and policies towards the

indigenous peoples they encountered and ultimately conquered. A.L. Rowse suggests a difference between English and Spanish attitudes to conquest:

More humane, less terrible than the Spaniards to the Indians – indeed not terrible at all – the English were in consequence unsuccessful. The original intentions of English colonisation betray an embryo conception of humanitarian trusteeship to which the British Empire – any more than any other – has been unable wholly to adhere. And yet there is a curious consistency of ideal that must be true to the English nature. . . . The more the English came to appreciate the difficulties of colonising, the more they were prepared to pay tribute to the Spaniards, who, after all, were the fountain-head of colonial experience and exploration. (*Expansion* 236-37)

As I will show, the “tribute” that the English paid to Spanish methods and approaches was already present before “Virginia [i.e., Jamestown] was . . . underway” (Rowse, *Expansion* 237). Raleigh criticised the Spanish, but his words, and those of his lieutenants, betray a fascination with the power and ruthlessness that he perceived to be part and parcel of the Spanish approach to the establishment of colonies. The beginning of the second phase of English colonial activity was not as effective as the Spanish initial settlements had been, nor was it as “terrible” as the contemporary Spanish colonies. But it did contain suggestions that English explorers should espouse Spanish practices and become *conquistadores* in their own right. These suggestions cloud the differences that English writers and apologists tried to establish between Spanish and English colonial policies. Interestingly, Rowse is attempting to perpetuate this difference even as he admits to the failure of the English idealism that he seems to promote over the cruelties of the Spanish. The conflict between outward actions and inner intentions that is revealed in the travel reports forms the basis of my investigation of the chosen texts.

This conflict and its wider implications have not been recognised in the Roanoke reports. More often than not, the reports are used by literary scholars as a source of references or striking episodes. Such references occur as illustrations of wider points, usually not associated with a focused discussion of the Elizabethans in Virginia, but are used rather as examples of wider European attitudes and approaches to the subjects contained in the literatures of discovery and voyage. Roanoke therefore has remained something of a backwater whose main attraction to literary scholars has arisen especially

through challenges to Greenblatt's well-known interpretation of a brief extract from Harriot, the analysis of which he applied to Shakespeare. Literary scholars rarely mention authors of the Roanoke reports other than Harriot. As a result, I have found myself considering a secondary literature that deals tangentially with the reports rather than as analyses of them. The works of scholars such as Greenblatt, Pagden, Montrose, Campbell, and Fuller are of this kind.

Historical scholarship -- what might be termed the work of "old historicists" -- has produced a number of discussions of Roanoke that reveal the background documents and political manoeuvrings behind the voyages. However, such studies do not investigate the language of the reports in any detail. More significantly, they do not reflect upon the intertextuality which is my main focus; indeed, my analysis of the inter-relationships among the Roanoke reports and my subsequent suggestions about their development in Raleigh's *Discoverie* are offered here as original contributions to scholarship about Elizabethan English voyage literature.

At least four principal scholarly approaches to the broad subject of Elizabethan voyage literature have a bearing on the present study, and they constitute the broad context for my work. These are the approaches taken by textual historians, archaeological historians, New Historicists, and ethnographers, and they are sufficiently distinct, despite some overlapping among them. I will outline the roles of the textual historians first, then discuss the contributions of archaeological historians before introducing ideas that impinge upon my work from New Historicists and other literary scholars. I will include the ethnographers as part of the New Historicists because their contributions are closely associated with discussions of the cultural contexts and implications of texts concerning colonial expansion, encounter and conquest.

The Raleigh-sponsored voyages to Roanoke were the subject of much scholarly historical work that began around fifty years ago. Discussions of the voyage reports, the archaeological evidence that was found, plus exhibitions on both sides of the Atlantic of John White's marvellous watercolours, created a minor Roanoke industry during which America and Britain were reminded that before Jamestown and before *The Mayflower* there was a succession of small colonies on the Carolina Grand Banks, colonies that

ultimately disappeared from knowledge to be metamorphosed into the “Lost Colony” of Roanoke. Since the 1950s there has been a minor but fairly steady flow of scholarly references to the events of Roanoke, and images from John White’s art are also to be found in numerous books concerned with the discovery of America. Indeed, the wider world was treated to images from Harriot’s account of Roanoke in Disney’s *Pocahontas*. The sequence of views of the native village and corn fields, during which a child protects the corn from birds, is taken directly from De Bry’s version of John White’s illustration of “The Tovvne of Secota” (68).

David Beers Quinn’s many works about the discovery and exploration of America are an invaluable source of historical commentary on the preparations, execution and aftermath of the voyages. The most significant publication regarding the voyages themselves is his *Roanoke Voyages* (1955) in which he sets out the historical situation through a series of broad narrative introductions followed by heavily annotated transcriptions of reports, accounts, letters, and other documents that record aspects of the adventure in all its phases and locations. Without the scholarly research that lies behind Quinn’s publication, much subsequent work could not have been done, including this project. Quinn’s publication of a facsimile and line-by-line transcription of Hakluyt’s *Discourse of Western Planting* (1993) has helped to shed further light on the background to the voyages and revealed more about the context of the writings discussed in this dissertation. The same is true of the publications of The Hakluyt Society associated with American exploration and settlement by the English in the period c.1560-1607 which have provided an invaluable foundation for my work.

The reports of the Roanoke voyages have been diligently discussed also as the beginning of English colonisation of America by writers who ascribe to Quinn’s ideas which link English expansion in America with the proto-colonialism that the English were developing in Ireland during the 1500s, for example Nicholas Canny, Bernard Sheehan, Karen Kupperman, P.E.H. Hair. Quinn also emphasizes the importance of the lessons the English learned at Roanoke upon their subsequent colonial adventures in North America. Furthermore, he champions the importance of Raleigh’s contributions to what became the British Empire. Generally speaking, this approach has been

documentary and archaeological: a discussion of what was written in the context of other extant documents that relate to sailing practices, state policies, navigational theories, colonising and imperial enterprises (including the encouragements and theories of the proponents), together with a discussion of the physical objects and evidence that have been found and the significance of where the physical objects and evidence have been found. The discussion of archaeological evidence has focused mainly upon the exact location and shape of the fortifications erected by Ralph Lane and his successors, sometimes using contemporary reports to develop theories or support findings. Much of this writing is, inevitably, speculative and qualified by the inevitable decay of physical evidence. Taking another approach, some scholars interpret the Roanoke adventure as a starting place that failed; they look to Jamestown or New England as the source of English attitudes towards America and regard Roanoke as a footnote to the “real” beginning of the British Empire.

Generally speaking, the authors of works of historical scholarship do not involve themselves in close rhetorical analyses of the primary texts; instead, they provide valuable information of a kind that deepens the cultural significance of such analyses. A recent example of such work is Ivor Noel Hume’s book *The Virginia Adventure, Roanoke to Jamestown: An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey* (1996), which links the Roanoke reports and the archaeological findings to provide a detailed account of the site and some of the events that took place there.¹⁷ Hume investigates both the form and site of the fort and settlement that Sir Richard Grenville (as commander of the expedition from 19 May to 25 August, 1585) might have begun, Lane (who took over from Grenville after his departure) completed, and White’s settlers probably adapted when they reached Roanoke in 1587. His discussion reveals the latest information about Roanoke’s occupants, and he notes certain problems in the reports that suggest a disingenuousness among their writers, especially in White’s account of his discovery of the abandoned settlement. Hume suggests that White may not have been present during Lane’s extensive travels, and that his pictures may have been painted prior to Grenville’s departure (51-53). This in turn contributes to the confusions and equivocations in White’s writing, with which I am especially concerned.¹⁸

Hume also records the discovery of what he terms “the Harriot-Gans workshop” which is located in an area probably situated just outside the main defensive perimeter of the colony, depending upon whose interpretation of the extant ditches and the buried remains of the palisade is accepted (76-84).¹⁹ The significance of this discovery lies in its association of Harriot, the earnest advocate of a Virginia whose worth is based upon the potential of trade goods and crops offered to prospective merchant-adventurers, with the search for easy profit through the exploitation of mineral resources, specifically gold, the American adventurers’ grail. The references to either gold or silver (or both) contained in Barlowe, Lane, and Harriot are noted, albeit briefly, and their impact upon the contemporary reader is considered in the light of European discoveries and English involvement in America. Hume’s brief discussion opens the way for me to develop a discussion of the language of the reports that he indicates but does not develop.²⁰

Although Hume’s approach, and that of other “historical” academic writers, does not much overlap with mine, I do venture into the historians’ field through the work of the New Historicists, and principally Stephen Greenblatt. Not only did Greenblatt initially define the field of investigation of the New Historicists, but he has also touched upon many areas and topics that have ignited further debate and discussion among a wide range of scholars from various disciplines.

The best-known discussion of the link between the Roanoke voyages and New Historicism occurs in Greenblatt’s essay “Invisible Bullets” which considers aspects of the 1585-86 Roanoke voyage. Through his discussion of an episode in Thomas Harriot’s *Report*, Greenblatt works to reveal the “subversion” that he perceives in Shakespeare’s Prince Hal/Henry V. Greenblatt’s method here is typical of the New Historicist approach. Extra-canonical literature of the period under discussion is chosen to illustrate aspects of the wider culture through the discussion of an episode within the chosen text, but the whole text is not considered in any detail.²¹

Greenblatt illustrates something of my approach in *Learning to Curse* when he acknowledges the questions raised by an episode from a piece of voyage literature. He remarks, “The *Exact Discourse* was almost certainly . . . part of Scott’s campaign for a large share of the profits, and every detail may well reflect his idea of what would most

impress the Company's directors" (14). Clearly this comment, and the approach to the texts that it indicates, is of significance in the discussion of the reports under consideration. Having said that, Greenblatt is mainly interested in illuminating the extant canon; my focus is to investigate the works Greenblatt regards as peripheral, and to make them central to my enquiry. The following brief digression will clarify both my debt to and differences from Greenblatt.

In "Invisible Bullets" Greenblatt argues that the accusations of "atheism" against Harriot are the key to understanding some confusing (and confused) passages within the report. Greenblatt goes on to suggest that "there is an easy, indeed almost irresistible, analogy in the period between accounts of Indian and European social structure so that Harriot's description of the inward mechanisms of Algonquian society implies a description of comparable mechanisms in his own culture" (27). He cites a section of Harriot's report where the indigenous people question their own beliefs. Their questions arise from the impact of the European technology they encounter. He concludes that the technology "caused the savages to doubt that they possessed the truth of God and religion and to suspect that such truth 'was rather to be had from us than from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us.'"²² Using this quotation, Greenblatt argues that Harriot found himself at "the very core of Machiavellian anthropology," in a situation analogous to that of Moses or Numa (27). That Harriot believed that he was "encountering a simplified version of his own culture . . . [and] also . . . his own civilisation's past" is supported by the inclusion of the illustrations of ancient Picts in De Bry's edition of his work (28).²³

Mary B. Campbell elaborates this idea in her essay, "The Illustrated Travel Book and the Birth of Ethnography: Part I of De Bry's *America*": "These engravings set up a parallel between colonists and colonized that portrays civilization as a cultural maturing process -- a matter of historical development rather than a sign of absolute European difference" (189). She develops this point by remarking on the content of the image of "The true picture of one Pictic I." (Harriot 76-77). The decapitated heads held by the "Pictic" "are unmistakably the heads of contemporary Europeans." This image "of violent confrontation between the present and the past is easy to read as prophetic of

colonial violence in the context of the documents this engraving follows (despite the erasure of such violence from Harriot's verbal text)" (192). A consideration of the impact of such "erasure" and the contradictory nature of references to violence within the reports is especially useful to me because it shows how rumour and equivocation pervade the accounts of the colonial adventures under consideration.²⁴

While accepting much of what Greenblatt says about the "imposition of coercive beliefs upon an unsuspecting populace by a subtle priestly caste" (at least in the case of the Native Americans), William Hamlin believes that "the *Report* conveys neither a sense that Harriot acted deliberately to undermine Algonquian belief nor that he assumed an easy isomorphism between native American and European societies" (413).²⁵ He suggests that "at most . . . Harriot passively encourages some of the misapprehensions and consequent destabilizations which occur -- possibly because correcting them all might require more energy and linguistic expertise than he presently commands" (414). Hamlin's opinion concerning the contents of the *Report* focuses on what he thinks may be "a convenient occlusion of professed religious value by practiced social norm . . . [in a rhetorical situation in which professed religious beliefs] rely for their continued acceptability upon an artificial and ultimately untenable separation of the social and religious spheres." He concludes that "[a] destabilizing incoherence thus lies beneath the surface of Harriot's *Report*, and it betrays fundamental problems with European colonial and missionary enterprises" (415-16). This conclusion follows Hamlin's overall argument concerning the misrepresentations to be found in European depictions and explanations of native perceptions of Europeans as gods in colonial encounters.²⁶

While Greenblatt's suggestion of deep, subversive machinations within Harriot's text is very attractive, Hamlin's comments challenge his suggestion even if they do not wholly refute it. Certainly a reading of the whole of Harriot's text (as opposed to just an episode from within it) inclines me towards Hamlin's position, in part because of the existence of other destabilizing elements within the *Report*. Greenblatt's argument develops his points about Shakespeare in the context of a famous report about America; my discussion looks at Harriot's *Report* in the context of other voyage literature, specifically that written by the English as they increase their knowledge of America. I

also consider influences upon Harriot that come from his own culture and impinge upon his expressed perceptions of the Algonquians; my work therefore both follows and diverges from Greenblatt's influential essay.

In addition to the specific references made to Harriot in "Invisible Bullets," however, are Greenblatt's many books that discuss other examples of Renaissance voyage literature. For instance, in *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* Greenblatt begins his argument from a consideration of the impact of the native words that Columbus includes in his report of the discovery of the islands off the coast of America. Greenblatt develops a commentary on the difficulties of cross-cultural communication in encounters between Europeans and Natives of America.²⁷ Although this material is highly interesting, there are few direct references to the Virginia voyages under Raleigh's sponsorship and only some brief comments about the contradictions to be found in Barlowe's references to the Golden Age in the context of what is presented as a bellicose society.²⁸ Greenblatt's comments about Frobisher's voyage in search of a Northwest Passage, specifically the relationship between the Inuit and the English as recorded in the reports, are enlightening regarding the attitudes of Europeans (the English are taken as an example of European culture, not a distinct group within it). However, there is again no detailed study of the English voyages to Roanoke.

When we turn to the report of Raleigh's Guianan voyage, the *Discoverie*, my indebtedness to Greenblatt is more specific. In *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*, Greenblatt argues that the *Discoverie* is "a theatrical gesture calculated to dazzle the queen and win a return to her favor . . . [and] the fulfillment of a personal vision . . . [which] was set against . . . the unending dialectic in Raleigh's life between optimism and despair, between the vision of a world made over in the image of man's desires and the vision of a world of lies, disappointment, and death" (104). Further comments deal with the styles and content of the text, including the dichotomies between Raleigh's rhapsodic treatment of images of the land he encounters and his interest in its exploitation (106-12). It should be noted that Greenblatt concentrates on Raleigh's writing as part of his project to chart echoes and reiterations of ideas within Raleigh's works. I, on the other hand, consider the *Discoverie* in the context of the reports of

Roanoke to develop my suggestion that Raleigh amplified the ideas and insights of his Roanoke employees in his account of Guiana.

New Historicists who are interested in travel literature include more about Raleigh and the *Discoverie* than they do about the other writers under consideration in this project. In *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from "Utopia" to "The Tempest,"* Jeffrey Knapp discusses the absence of an English Empire during the late Tudor, early Stuart period by referring widely to the effects of the peripheral and en-route-to-America location of England with respect to Europe, and the effects this had upon the English way of thinking about themselves. His book contains wide-ranging references to English involvement in America, which support his thesis that the lack of success in America is mirrored in the ephemeral nature of the tobacco smoke through which the English both gained and lost fortunes. While Knapp mentions aspects of the equivocations that are investigated in this project, his work investigates the wider literary implications of America within the English canon.²⁹ His discussion of the Roanoke adventure focuses on a comparison between Raleigh's actions in Guiana (and his associated search for gold) and a number of Harriot's references and comments. I investigate what I perceive to be Raleigh's development of the accounts of all the Roanoke reporters.

Knapp's discussion of Raleigh and Elizabeth, and the import of the references to "the relation between the prominence of savage women in Raleigh's account and Raleigh's difficulties with the Queen" indicates something of the interest that has developed in gender relationships in Raleigh's *Discoverie* (204 n40). Louis Montrose in his essay "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery" investigates the equivocal nature of Elizabeth as both ruler and woman, seeing aspects of her many personas reflected in the ways that Guiana and its inhabitants are depicted in Raleigh's text. Sometimes Guiana is presented as a masculine realm, with the role and voices of women excluded, but it is also imagined in a feminine role in the famous, and infamous, comment "Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead" (Montrose 12).³⁰ The conduct of relationships, particularly sexual relationships, between genders is key to Montrose's discussion. He considers Raleigh's fall from Elizabeth's grace after the discovery of his secret marriage

to Elizabeth Throckmorton (1592) as a key element in the changes that occur between the celebrated courtship of Raleigh and Virginia in the 1580s, as imagined by Hakluyt among others, and the more frank pursuit of Guiana in the 1590s.³¹ A stark example of this change is the “maydenhead” comment just quoted which, Montrose notes, “activates the bawdy Elizabethan pun on *countray*” (12).

Despite this invocation of his male readers’ desire for Guiana, Raleigh’s text carefully and explicitly avoids recording any sexual intercourse between English and native, thereby creating a separation between the European groups operating in the Orinoco basin: the English are the chaste liberators of the native nations from the lascivious and rapacious Spaniards. This notion is contradicted when Raleigh’s projected plans for Guiana are revealed, and, as is well known, his entire text is full of similar equivocations. Montrose notes one of the later examples in which Raleigh progresses from a confession of personal ignorance of the facts, through a discussion of Manoa’s likely similarities to known native empires, to an announcement of the confirmation by the Spaniards he holds captive of the details he imagines about the empire (16). As Montrose explains, “the *Discoverie* is haunted by a subversive irony, one that it nowhere explicitly confronts but does frequently if obliquely register, such as when the writer anxiously strives to authenticate his narrative. This epistemological and ideological destabilization arises from Raleigh’s repeated need to ground his own credibility upon the credibility of the very people whom he wished to discredit” (16). Raleigh’s attempt to differentiate between the English and the Spanish in his discussion is based on their moral and sexual conduct. The attempted separation collapses, however, when Raleigh reveals his own careful and conscious duplicity towards the native peoples. His revelations result in “a brief eruption into the discourse of the subliminal counter-awareness that English desires in the New World are fundamentally identical to Spanish ones, that *we* are really very much like *them*” (24). This leads Montrose to suggest that the association between English and Spanish men in America, though overtly rejected in the text, is more fundamental than has been realised: the English men are more likely to identify with the Spanish king and his actions than with the English queen and hers (30-31).

Despite Raleigh's strenuous efforts through his account of his actions and those of his men on behalf of the greater glory of Elizabeth and England, it must be noted that Elizabeth was not enticed to support Raleigh's adventure, nor were her supporters overcome by his exhortations to exercise an ungentlemanly lack of self-restraint and moral laxity in the model of the Spaniards (and the English lower orders, who are, at times, conflated with the native peoples) recorded in Raleigh's text. Montrose's remarks concerning the ambivalence of the ideas and attitudes relating to the accepted and acceptable deportment of a gentleman, and the implications of the attractions of the opposite, that he detects in Raleigh's writing add to the overall sense that Raleigh's work is equivocal in form and purpose as well as content (32-34).

The differences between Montrose's work and the present project stem from our different foci. The influences and impacts of Raleigh's use of gender are undoubtedly significant to the question of equivocation; however, the means by which he attempts to redeem his failure are of more concern to me than to Montrose. What I suggest is that Raleigh develops identifiable parts of the reports of Roanoke that he read ten or so years earlier as he composes the *Discoverie*. The *Discoverie* is, therefore, part of a series of colonial reports that depict America from an English view point that has its roots in these earlier reports.

In her essay, "Raleigh's Fugitive Gold," Mary Fuller examines aspects of Raleigh's rhetoric in the light of the charges laid against him by King James I which related specifically to Raleigh's promises of vast amounts of gold from the mine he claimed to have discovered almost twenty years earlier. She suggests that in *The Declaration of the Demeanour and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh* James accused Raleigh of a lack of effort in "'maintain[ing] belief' in the mines Raleigh sought. She also suggests that "[Raleigh] is charged with having an interest not in profit but in proof – intending to 'save his credit' with one basket of ore, rather than restore the king's credit with 'the riches of it [i.e., Raleigh's mine]'" (43). She develops her ideas through reference to Montaigne's "Of the Caniballes" as an example of a contemporary discussion of ascertaining truth in a narrative (47-50). As Fuller says, "Raleigh wrote *The Discoverie of Guiana* about not discovering Guiana" (55). Her remarks develop and support by repetition observations

made by Montrose and Knapp, among others. Repeating the essence of their remarks about the lack of successful discoveries related to gold within Raleigh's text (the unachieved "consummation" of Raleigh's relationship with virgin Guiana), Fuller comments: "Deferral or withholding of sexual violence then becomes a figure for Raleigh's general relation to Guiana, his repeated turning away from the aims of his 'discovery' . . . gold in general, whether mined, traded for, conquered or stolen" (59).³² Fuller does not investigate Raleigh's equivocal rhetoric, nor does she look at his development of earlier models of voyage report, though she does introduce some interesting (but undeveloped) parallels between the accounts of Cortez and Raleigh which I expand upon and link to earlier reports of Virginia.³³

Other writers' works link in with the ideas and themes advanced by New Historicists, including de Certeau (see previous note), through their consideration of ethnography. For instance, in *The Fall of Natural Man* Anthony Pagden introduces ideas and concepts about the contemporary academic and intellectual background that can be applied to the voyage reports under consideration. He analyses how commonplace European outlooks -- based on "a corpus of authorities (*auctoritates*) or tropes (*loci communes*)" -- manifest themselves in the observations of writers addressing the need to present the New World to their readers (7).³⁴ According to Pagden, "None [of the reporters] were attempting, consciously or unconsciously, to grope their way through an intellectual miasma raised by the 'prejudices' of education, social background or ideological commitment towards a more complex, more 'objective' vision of reality. Those prejudices constituted their mental worlds. . . . To have wished to abandon them would have seemed foolish, dangerous, possibly even heretical" (6). The revelation of such attitudes helps to explain why the texts are so often riven by unexamined biases and various kinds of tendentious claims.³⁵

Pagden pays particular attention to the impact of the work of André Thevet, the French Cosmographer Royal and author of a number of influential travel accounts, including *Histoire de André Thevet angoumoisain cosmographe du Roy de deux voyages par lui faits aux Indes australes et occidentales* (1555) (Pagden, *Fall* 78 n117).³⁶ Both Thevet and the English writers under consideration use European titles for the native

ranks whenever possible. Pagden comments on the associations of titles and cultural ideas in Thevet: “The homology of social structures on both sides, the similar conceptions of seigneurial dignity and the ‘eminence’ recognized in this ‘principal’ of the savages were made to order for facilitating a peaceable conquest. The Indian monarchy was a myth indispensable to the establishment of relations of alliance with the new peoples, and then of gaining jurisdiction over their territory” (97). A similar view can be recognised in the texts analysed below.³⁷ A consideration of the potential parallels between Thevet’s presentation of the native leader “King” Quonianbec and the images of the native leaders in the English reports adds to an appreciation of the role of Wingina (“Pemisapan”) in the accounts of Roanoke (92). Furthermore, Pagden’s suggestion that in Thevet’s report the native peoples are used as an illustration of shifting significance determined by the needs of the topic under the recorder’s attention may help to explain the expedient truths concerning the image of the native peoples to be found in the English texts (57ff.). Pagden does not address the same texts, however; his work is indicative of potential readings and approaches but does not attempt an analysis of the English voyage writers.³⁸

Pagden’s ideas also tie in with Lestringant’s, as expressed in *Mapping the Renaissance World*: the parallels are important in Lestringant’s reading of Thevet’s work. Neither Lestringant nor Pagden applies his ideas to the texts that are under consideration in this project; however, the notion of an association, conscious or not, between writers and their borrowing, sharing, or garnering of ideas and interpretations is encouraged by Lestringant’s overarching metaphor of “l’atelier” (the workshop) in the production of Renaissance cosmography: a place where the product or output is the work of more than one person.³⁹ He also refers to collections of unfinished pieces in a workshop standing for the unfinished ideas and texts present in the work of a Renaissance geographer or cosmologist. Within the workshop is the idea of the writer of travel reports fashioning a “cabinet de curiosité” for the Renaissance world. This is presented as a tangible image of the approach to writing that Thevet is alleged to have had (xvii). The same approach may not be as true of the English writers, yet there are echoes of such an approach; certainly Barlowe, Harriot and Raleigh consciously set out to attract the reader by displaying what

has been found in such a way that the reader can “see” what they have found without having to leave home to experience it -- Harriot even provides White’s illustrations to entertain and enlighten the reader. The items within the “case” of the report are made available for sampling through words and sometimes pictures; indeed, the idea of the New World being a location for exploitation is a feature of all the writers. Furthermore, the Roanoke writers develop and amplify each other’s experiences within their reports. For instance, both Barlowe and Harriot underline the safe exclusion of the English from the internecine strife of the local indigenous population, while, in contrast, the dangers faced by the English are emphasised by Lane. White draws on all the earlier writers’ established images and understanding of native polity to account for what he encounters. Raleigh’s *Discoverie* develops ideas and attitudes from the earlier reports that had been addressed to him. Hence, all the writers that I analyse are linked together and their intertextuality is a fundamental, though unexamined (and generally unrecognised), feature of the Elizabethan experience of America.

While still addressing Thevet, Lestringant suggests that, as a result of the general acceptance of the superiority of personal involvement and experience over other forms of geographical knowledge, the body of the reporter became covered in the “stigmata” of the journey, it “bore a sort of guarantee of the truth of his testimony” (13). The idea of factual stigmata is suggested in Harriot’s rejection of the detractors of Virginia through his assertion of his personal expertise both through the orders he was given before the voyage and his execution of his orders while in Virginia. Harriot projects his experience in words, and asks the reader to accept his version of Virginia by virtue of his claimed and officially sanctioned experience. His descriptions of the native peoples do not depart from the “known” and accepted information that was available to European readers from other reports concerning America. Consequently, Harriot is also asking his readers to accept his version of Virginia because it conforms to the “prejudices [that] constituted their mental worlds,” as Pagden describes above.

As a further illustration of Lestringant’s ideas, Raleigh depends upon the record of his labours -- his “painful pilgrimage” -- in the interests of Elizabeth and England to defend him from the accusations of failure made against him as a result of the revelations

contained in his *Discoverie*. His frequent depiction of the expedition's sufferings is a prominent feature of his own narrative. The contrasts between Raleigh's alleged physical weakness and his efforts in Guiana (as revealed in specific passages) assert his dedication to the task of extending Elizabeth's influence into South America. Though he does not offer to display his wounds to the Court, he is creating literary stigmata for his audience to appreciate, believe, and reward.⁴⁰

The brief outline above suggests how some of Lestringant's other ideas can be applied. Examples include his discussion of the tensions that are perceived to exist between practice and theory, and the similarities he notes between alchemy and geography (and science generally) which are linked through the equivocal use of words which carried equivocations such as essay/assay and "prove" (18). These indicate tantalising parallels between Harriot's and Raleigh's diction and that of Thevet; though one must be cautious when suggesting potential links, because the writers under consideration in the following pages do not necessarily match the type of cosmographical writer investigated by Lestringant.

Also of significance are Lestringant's remarks about Thevet's use of "comparative mythology" which linked American natives' beliefs to known religions: "The merits of such a comparativism were twofold: it allowed the cosmographer to display his universal knowledge and thereby to administer a proof of his global mastery of man's diversity, since he gathered it into his hands and held it up to his gaze reaching to the extremities of the world" (55-56).⁴¹ Examples of this approach of writer to reader are present in Harriot and Raleigh: both stress their special knowledge of the people they encounter; both present themselves as the source of true knowledge about the people and their attitudes. The depictions of the seeming readiness to accept Christianity displayed by the native peoples they encountered is based in part upon a similar outlook to that quoted in connection to Thevet. However, there are distinct differences between Thevet's perspective and that revealed by the English. The writers under consideration in this project change "a catalogue of 'singularities' that were irreducible and contradictory" into what is presented as a more organized, coherent interpretation of the New World, indicating a point of view that the writer sought to project to his audience on behalf of

himself or his sponsor: the expedient truths that I identify in the reports of Roanoke. The suggested change does not necessarily indicate a successful removal of elements found in the original, however; their residue contributes to the equivocation that is found in the reports discussed below.

One example of the influence of the “comparative mythology” just indicated may be seen in Harriot’s use (via De Bry) of the illustrations of the ancient Picts to comment upon the present state of the Virginians. A parallel between new and old worlds had already been drawn by Thevet through his association of the native Brazilian mythology with the mythology of Europe. Through Thevet’s liberal use of classical associations (via the scholarship and imagination of Mathurin Heret), “the history of humanity was reduced to that of the great initiators. From then on a transfer became possible from one continent to the other: Noah or Daedalus could take the place of Maire-Monan and Maire-Pochy . . . as usurpatory (and necessarily fictive) figures.”⁴² Where De Bry’s versions of White’s illustrations to Harriot’s text encounter most clearly these interpretations of Thevet’s work is in the reciprocal links between cultures and histories that develop through the establishment of commonly accepted parallels: “If America was justified by reference to the ancients, Brazil in return explained to Europe its own origins” (Lestringant 64).⁴³ This is precisely what the introductory page to the final section of White’s illustrations as presented in De Bry’s edition states:

SOM PICTVRE’ OF THE PICTES WHICH IN THE OLDE tyme dyd habite one part of the great Bretainne. THE PAINTER OF WHOM I HAVE had the first of the inhabitants of Virginia, giue my allso thees 5. Figures fallowinge, fownd as hy did assured my in a oolld English cronicle, the which I wold sett to the ende of thees first Figures, for to shoue how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie haue bin in times past as sauauge as those of Virginia. (Harriot [75])

The idea of inter-relatedness develops and reintroduces elements from the ideas of Greenblatt, Hamlin, and Campbell, already discussed.

The approaches I have outlined help to shape the context within which my own enquiry takes place. Each of the following chapters addresses a specific report and my analysis also links the reports as a group through their common features and the developing idea of “Virginia” which they contain. Although each writer espouses a

different view of the new found land, significant common material and shared motifs combine to create a coherent, if complex, Elizabethan English understanding of America.

The first report I discuss is Arthur Barlowe's account of the 1584 voyage. Although it was published in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* of 1589 and so appeared after the first, unillustrated edition of Harriot's *Report* (1588), its contents affect subsequent reports because it sets the scene and establishes the principal native peoples and those peoples' actions and attitudes that form the Elizabethan perception of Virginia.⁴⁴ The report introduces a theme that features, in various forms, in all of the reports discussed in this dissertation, namely that the English were able to remain safe, even in the midst of native conflict.

Barlowe develops Hakluyt's suggestion that America offers a panacea for all the mercantile woes that were perceived to affect English trade and industry.⁴⁵ To make the location that he promotes attractive, Barlowe includes descriptions of Native Americans living in pristine splendour and exhibiting recognisable traces of a civility that evoke favourable comparisons with England. He goes on to praise the indigenous peoples' simplicity and even uses the evocative term "golden age" to describe their lifestyle.⁴⁶ To these images he adds an account of advantageous trading relations, the lure of wealth through the exploitation of the local pearl fishery, and the possibility of a fabulous city. My analysis of Barlowe's report shows how his highly expedient depiction of the land's advantages contains striking ambiguities. Moreover, subsequently acquired information is silently presented as though it was known by the explorers during the original encounter. Furthermore, the hidden tensions that underlie the recollection of some encounters are revealed through emphatic assertions of safety in situations that subsequently appear to have been fraught with danger. Such complex reporting exists also in the subsequent reports. Thus, Harriot emphasises safety by erasing contradictory facts and experiences, and Lane fundamentally rejects the notion of English safety being rooted in the native peoples' disposition, and instead records the perils of the last months of the colony of 1585-86, all of which are directly attributed to the hostility of the native peoples.

The main aim of Harriot's *Report*, my second text, is to reject rumours about the failure of the colony that circulated after the colonists' ignominious return in 1586. He avoids explaining the circumstances that led to the colonists' hasty departure from Roanoke, but he has to allude to them when he is obliged to explain the lack of evidence to support his prodigious claims about the land. Harriot reports only selected aspects of the colony's history: he emphasises the positive aspects of the adventure while suppressing significant details of the colony's fortunes. His expediency lies in the aims of his project and in its lack of openness that suppresses some of the negative experiences and introduces fictional evidence and tendentious logic to counter what are claimed to be the false reports of the disgruntled colonists.

Harriot's *Report* also stresses the pacific nature of the Carolina Algonquians. He uses his contacts with them to provide detailed information about many aspects of their lives, including their beliefs. Harriot's presentation of the evidence about the native peoples indicates underlying agendas that include a call for a more frank conquest and exploitation of the suggested attractions that may lie further inland in the form of more advanced and wealthy groups. The pacific encounters in Virginia that he records are challenged by undeveloped references to what are alluded to as intemperate acts by some of the English. For example, "some of our companie . . . shewed themselues too fierce, in slaying some of the people . . . vpon causes that . . . might easily enough haue bene borne withall" (*Roanoke* 381). Harriot presents what I reveal to be a systematic assessment and dismissal of the military potential of the native people that invites the reader to foresee a military conquest of the land. He invites the rape of Virginia in a manner that foreshadows Raleigh's more overt references to the implied attitudes and approaches involved in the removal of Guiana's "maydenhead." Having rejected the impatient and ill-informed desire for gold that Harriot claims the colonists revealed, he himself leaves the reader with the image of English *conquistadores* triumphing in Virginia in a manner that emulates the experience of the Spanish in Mexico. Thus Harriot's evocations of peaceful interactions are revealed to be a veneer over an agenda that suggests a violent, exploitative subjugation of the native people.

While Harriot's evocations of violence are presented as a potential future for Virginia, Lane's *Account* reveals that violence is already a fixed feature of the English colonial enterprise at Roanoke: what Harriot suppresses, Lane reveals. Whereas Harriot is influenced by the need to emphasise the virtues of the colony in order to promote it to potential investors, Lane is governed by his need for self-justification. Despite earlier letters written in praise of the colony, Lane's report clearly and specifically rejects the value of the land, its commodities, and its potential to raise profit from trade with England. Lane explicitly states that in his opinion there is no potential for profit offered by Virginia unless a gold mine or a route to the Far East through the land mass of America is discovered. Not surprisingly, Lane offers evidence that such attractions exist, albeit inland and in locations that are never reached by members of his colony, despite their strenuous efforts to achieve the necessary discovery. His plans show how the potential sources of wealth could be reached and exploited. The failure of his efforts is attributed fully to the hostility of the native leader, Wingina. This man is the absent but remotely welcoming king in Barlowe's report, the friend of the English in Harriot's, and the treacherous enemy in Lane's. Lane's biased account of Wingina's activities contains interpretations that clearly reveal the expediency of his report. Self-justification is Lane's aim. He marshals his narrative to promote his blamelessness and Wingina's complete culpability. Within this process, Lane carefully constructs events to ensure that his consciously retrospective narratives blacken his enemy so that the eventual open conflict with the native people and the consequent killing of Wingina will not be questioned by the reader. Lane's *Account* shows the sort of relationship between the native peoples and the English that is only hinted at obliquely by Harriot. The existence of two reports about the same colony allows for fascinating insights to the clash between the theory and practice of Elizabethan colonialism.

In White's reports, we encounter the final breakdown of the expedient optimism that has allowed the other writers to project a better future for settlers in Virginia than is suggested by the events they cannot avoid having to recount. White's personal weaknesses are revealed in his flawed attempts to emulate Lane's forthright leadership of the earlier colony. Simultaneously, however, the legacy of mistrust, hatred and violence

that was created by Lane's leadership undermines White's colony's chances for success. The earlier alleged invulnerability of the English is no longer a feature of the reports. The revelation of the destruction of Grenville's holding party and the recorded killing of one of White's colonists illustrate a fundamental shift in the local peoples' attitudes towards the invaders. The extent of this change is emphasized by the reluctance of a formerly friendly local group to reestablish friendship with the English. The change in the relationship is made more emphatic because the locals' leader, Manteo, has been consistently praised by Lane and White for his loyalty to the English. All White can do in response to this changed state of affairs is fondly refer to his desire to reestablish what he ambiguously terms the former ("olde") friendship and love between the races.

White's reports contain a more realistic evocation of the problems facing the colonists, yet they also reveal a lack of understanding through the writer's references to an anachronistic interpretation of native polity and motivations. White's use of Wingina's name suggests a reliance upon earlier understandings of Virginia that are clearly revealed to be no longer tenable or even appropriate. The brevity of his stay at Roanoke as its governor – July 22 to August 27, 1587 – before his hasty departure with Fernandez must have influenced his attempt to make sense of what he experienced. Certainly, he had little time to grasp the changes that had occurred locally since the slaying of Wingina almost a year earlier. The flurry of contacts, both friendly and hostile, together with the newly established (or at least newly recorded) fears of the colonists gave him little time for reflection or diplomacy based upon clear and balanced contacts and tested treaties. The account of White's failure to find the colonists when, in 1590, he finally managed to return to Roanoke underlines the weaknesses within his comprehension of the situation he encountered in 1587. The air of hopelessness, together with anachronistic assumptions and references to overt and now lethal native hostility within his reports make a fitting conclusion to the Roanoke adventure. White's accounts contain the antithesis of Barlowe's edenic images of Roanoke and reveal much about the expedient truths within the earlier reports.

My discussion of Raleigh's *Discoverie*, my final text, highlights his developments of the narrative strategies that I have identified in the Roanoke reports. Raleigh defends

his failure to find gold by emphasising the opportunities that he has revealed to his English readership and promoting the potential for success that his revelations contain. His promotion involves a redefinition of success away from immediate financial profit and towards a recognition of the implicit value of the alliances Raleigh claims to have made with the peoples of the Orinoco. From these alliances, he has acquired vital information about the fabled "Empyre of Guiana" and its city of Manoa. This information is the success that Raleigh promotes. Part of his strategy of promotion requires the vicarious involvement of the reader in the drama of exploration so that Raleigh is able to manipulate the reader's reactions. Through these manipulations, the reader comes to appreciate Raleigh's efforts on behalf of his sponsors, the Queen and the ultimate triumph of England over Spain. The reader's appreciation leads to an acceptance of Raleigh's redefined success. Consequently, the *Discoverie* justifies the outcome of Raleigh's expedition because it makes his information and revelations valuable.

Within this process of validation through redefinition, Raleigh makes explicit the violence that has been little more than an implicit idea in the earlier reports. He suggests that the English should emulate the Spanish in their dealings with the native peoples, even admitting that the English and Spanish share a common outlook in the area. Indeed, the implicit violence of encounters in America is everywhere in Raleigh's report, regardless of its suppression under the guise of a rejection of Spanish values and actions. As his introduction reveals, "Indian Golde" is Raleigh's objective, and his failure to locate the vast reserves he sought triggers his ambiguous references to the successes of Spain. Desire for wealth and power, and the associated greed for those things, lie at the core of Raleigh's text. Despite his overt rejections of violence, he is ready to employ it to achieve his objective. The same underlying agenda may be discerned in the Roanoke reports. Thus, in all the reports I address, expedient truths reveal the Spanish hearts of the English writers.

Notes

¹ “Shared experience” because the same colony or voyage may have more than one reporter; also the experience of a newly discovered area was common to the men, though their reactions differed. Reports of the same colony or voyage may not record the same information, or may present it in very different ways.

² There are at least two regularly used spellings of the man’s name: “Hariot” and “Harriot”. The form used in this project will be “Harriot” and will be silently regularized in all modern texts. Variations found in original texts will be retained.

³ David Beers Quinn notes that information was added to Barlowe’s text after the return to England, possibly by Harriot as he was learning the local Algonquian language from the natives brought back to England (*Roanoke Voyages* [London: Hakluyt Society, 1955] 103). The sudden, unexplained changes in the levels of comprehension of events and background present in the text clearly reveal that additions have been made. Quinn speculates elsewhere that, while Harriot’s initial grasp of the language would have been necessarily based on “an elementary vocabulary,” by the time he arrived at Roanoke, “he would [have been] in sufficient command of the language to make extensive inquiries among the local people so as to enable him to compile a full discourse of their society and artifacts on his return” (*Set Fair for Roanoke* [Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina Press, 1985] 39, 49). Quinn also notes that there may be omissions from the record of the voyage indicating the “suppression of some information which did not fit in with the necessary propaganda for the 1585 expedition.” He includes examples to support this hypothesis (*Roanoke* 81). Barlowe’s text appeared in Hakluyt’s 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* (*Roanoke* 91).

⁴ “Thomas Harriot first published his Brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia in 1588 as a modest quarto volume without illustrations Two years later, in 1590, appeared the Theodore de Bry folio edition, with illustrations by John White . . . which . . . constituted the first part of *America*, De Bry’s series of volumes on the discovery of the New World” (Harriot vii). “Harriot’s *Report* was included in Richard Hakluyt’s famous *Principall Navigations* (both the editions of 1589 and 1598-1600) without White’s illustrations” (xiv). The 1590 publication of an illustrated text in Latin, English, French and German made it available to more than just the English public, though the English texts will be the only ones addressed in this dissertation (vii).

⁵ As I argue, aspects of Harriot's *Report* are derived from Barlowe's earlier report. Harriot's writing appeared first, however, and, as Quinn notes, Harriot may have been involved with the editing and presentation for printing of the published version of Barlowe's work.

⁶ The influence of other contacts is not always as precise or specific as identifiable quotations within the writings and thoughts of the authors. Writers such as Hakluyt and Raleigh refer to the widely-recognised impact of American gold and silver upon the fortunes of Spain, as in Raleigh's comment: "these abilities [of the Spanish King] rise not from the trades of sacks, and Sivil oranges, nor from ought els that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe" (Neil L. Whitehead, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh* [Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 1997] 127-28).

⁷ Anthony Pagden's discussion of the diverse influences upon Spanish interpretations of the New World in *The Fall of Natural Man* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982) is an outstanding example of a discussion of the type of influence I am attempting to outline here.

⁸ Though he does not discuss at length the texts I am analysing, Greenblatt refers to the impact of the marvellous in fictional reports of the world upon later travellers' reports in *Marvellous Possessions* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1991). Mary B. Campbell notes Harriot's echo of the marriage service from the prayer book when he refers to the projected relationship between the natives and the English: they are to "honour, obey, fear, and love [the English]" ("The Illustrated Travel Book and the Birth of Ethnography: Part I of De Bry's *America*" eds. David G. Allen and Robert A. White [Newark: np, 1992] 181).

⁹ The suggested use of allusions may also indicate something about an author's awareness of the status or value of a personal account in the face of histories and references that were "known" to be true. Greenblatt elaborates upon this in his discussion of Columbus' reports in *Marvellous Possessions*.

¹⁰ The idea of "phases" within an encounter was suggested by Clendinnen's introduction to her article "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of

Mexico," *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1993) 12-47.

¹¹ The Spanish considered their territory of "Florida" to extend along the eastern coast of North America as far as "Baccalaos" (modern Newfoundland and the mainland coast). They attempted to assert their control and influence throughout the area, as Menéndez's actions reveal (Quinn, *North America* [1977; New York: Harper Row, 1986] 262-63).

¹² For a comprehensive account of the Reverend Richard Hakluyt's publications, refer to David Beers Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974).

¹³ Raleigh served as "a captain of foot" during the fighting at Smerwick in November 1580. Lord Deputy Grey "forced . . . [the] surrender [of] six hundred Spanish and Italian troops sent by the pope during the Desmond revolt [1579-83]." Grey "massacred the garrison and its Irish accomplices . . . [intending] the action as an example to future invaders and Irish allies" ("Raleigh, Sir Walter," "Smerwick, massacre of," *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, 1998).

¹⁴ See also Lane's references to his fear of the Spanish in his letter to Walsingham, 12 August 1585 (*Roanoke* 199-204 and Chapter Four, below).

¹⁵ For dates see Hulton's introduction to Harriot's *Report*, and *Roanoke* 593-94, 611, 617.

¹⁶ Mary Fuller, Louis Montrose, Elizabeth Campbell, Stephen Greenblatt and many others offer interpretations about Raleigh's actions and his motives for attempting to locate the fabulous city of Manoa in the Empire of Guiana.

¹⁷ This book develops points originally made in Hume's *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963).

¹⁸ There is some debate about the identities of White the artist, and White the subsequent governor of Virginia and report writer. I follow the lead set by scholars such as David Beers Quinn and Bernard W. Sheenan who work from the premise that the two John Whites are one and the same person.

¹⁹ Hume's observations of May 1993 indicate that the site that has been revered as Raleigh's colony since the 1800s is not likely to be the correct location of the Roanoke fort. He made the suggestion "at a symposium of historians, archaeologists, and National Parks Service officials . . . at which time [he] expected to be run off the island on a rail" (*Virginia Adventure* 89).

²⁰ Hume primarily focuses on Harriot's role as a member of the "scientific research team" that Raleigh sent to America. According to Hume's brief evaluation of his qualifications, Harriot was "an ideal choice to head the interdisciplinary Virginia survey." Rather than focusing primarily on Harriot's association with the artist White, as most other scholars tend to, Hume links Harriot's work with that of Joachim Gans, "a Jewish 'minerall man,'" because of the men's alleged association through mineral and alchemical experimentation in Virginia (*Virginia Adventure* 29). The "usual" link between White and Harriot seems to be influenced by the close association of White's illustrations and Harriot's text and captions in De Bry's edition of *Harriot's Report*. Hume has interesting observations to make on the fact that most modern writers assume that the gaps in White's drawings were caused by losses of personal property when Drake evacuated the colony. Perhaps most significantly, he suggests that White (whose name is not included by Lane in his list of the Roanoke colony) departed with Grenville and so only witnessed the initial stages of the establishment of the colony. Information garnered by Lane and Harriot after his departure may have been added to his maps after the colonists' return to England (51-53). Such an association implies a different overall outlook to Harriot's *Report*, though it should be noted that Hume does not develop the implications for Harriot's text of his suggested association. (The suggested association between Harriot and the search for gold is supported by the analysis that I present concerning his evocation of the Spanish as a model for future English expansion in Virginia.) It is notable also that Hume's references to the native population and the English accounts of the contacts and conflicts between the English and the local inhabitants are not features that reveal great reflection within his work. David Stick, *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina Press, 1983) and David Durant, *Raleigh's Lost Colony* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1981) are examples of studies which present the narrative of the reports in a most accessible form but do not engage in an analysis of their content. They do, however, add occasional snippets of background information about the texts; for instance, Durant notes that the meaning of Menatonon is "Careful Listener" (79).

²¹ Greenblatt records Fineman's comment that "the anecdote . . . 'determines the destiny of a specifically historiographic integration of event and context'; as 'the narration of a singular event,' it is 'the literary form or genre that uniquely refers to the real.'" Continuing to work with Fineman, Greenblatt goes on to say that the anecdote

allows access into the “teleological narration” of an account. It “produces the effect of the real . . . by establishing an event as an event within and yet without the framing context of historical successivity, i.e., it does so only in so far as its narration both compromises and refracts the narration it reports.” This definition is developed by Greenblatt. He considers an anecdote to be “a disturbance, that which requires explanation, contextualization, interpretation” (*Learning to Curse* [New York: Routledge, 1992] 5).

²² Greenblatt recognises in Harriot’s *Report* a scheme to reduce Virginia into merchandise and “to prove that the colony could impose its will on [the natives]. The key to this imposition . . . is the coercive power of religious belief, and the source of the power is the impression made by advanced technology upon a ‘backward’ people” (31). Greenblatt sees parallels between the old and new worlds that indicate that Harriot is challenging beliefs held by his own society, but neither the challenge nor the belief in the background heterodoxy is necessarily made openly in the text. He suggests that the repeated rumours about Harriot’s unorthodox beliefs (his “atheism”) may indicate that a contemporary could read the text and see the “subversion” that Greenblatt perceives (34). The major conclusions that he draws from Harriot’s *Report* concern what he suggests is the ability of “Renaissance political theology” to absorb potentially damning proposals concerning its own beliefs while simultaneously revealing “the drastic disillusionment that extends from Machiavelli to its definitive expression in Hume and Voltaire” (38-39).

²³ This clear and specific parallel between modern Virginian and ancient Briton adds to Campbell’s note regarding White’s image of a dance that is adapted by De Bry for his edition of Harriot’s *Report*: “There are also some startling similarities between White’s drawing of the Indians dancing and the contemporary prints of morris dancing assembled by Frederick Keifer in his article ‘The Dance of the Madmen in *The Duchess of Malfi*’” (194 n10).

²⁴ Consider also the background to the image of the Pict: the boats and town are all contemporary (like the heads), adding to the ideas advanced by Campbell and working against the ridicule that Harriot directs against the rumour-mongers who attacked the adventure.

²⁵ In note 18 Hamlin elaborates his objections to Greenblatt: “It is true, as Greenblatt points out, that Harriot assimilates certain Algonquian categories of social status to standard European categories . . . but this in itself does not necessarily equate to a more comprehensive social assimilation in which investigation of Algonquian religion

implies comparable investigation of Christianity” (“Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot, and Raleigh in the Americas.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57.3 [July 1996]).

²⁶ Hamlin’s rejection of the “myth” of European deification (“apotheosis” is his word) extends to a challenge of much of the discussion of colonial encounters that has been influential during the past two decades. He is prepared to challenge the premises suggested by Todorov (in *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* trans. Richard Howard [New York: Harper Collins, 1992]) amongst others, while accepting that the popular idea of “primitives” regarding Europeans as gods is a staple of much entertainment and, indeed, historical belief (405-06).

²⁷ Anthony Pagden’s *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1993) discusses the impact of America on the European imagination and sensibilities. His remarks tend towards a retrospective based on ideas and philosophies that develop after the Renaissance. While interesting and informative, his approach is not necessarily appropriate to this project.

²⁸ A consideration of these “contradictions” is developed in my more detailed discussion of the equivocations in the descriptions of the natives of Roanoke. Greenblatt’s suggestions that the European encounters with America were narrated in terms of what the Europeans wanted to see and find are relevant to my discussion of Roanoke reports (*Marvellous Possessions* 52-85).

²⁹ As part of his discussion he notes Quinn’s comments upon the role of expansion of English crops into the open spaces of the America described by Harriot, making specific mention of woad (141-42). This lends support to my later arguments concerning the idea that Harriot went to Virginia to fill a “wish list” or “shopping basket” of requirements based, in part, on the requirements perceived by English speculators.

³⁰ It is worthy of note that Knapp suggests that the expression of sexual violence directed towards Guiana is not an expression of sexual power but rather a way of emphasising Raleigh’s repeated claims about the chaste nature of his approach to the country (*An Empire Nowhere* [Berkeley: U of California Press, 1992] 202 ff.).

³¹ This change is also part of Knapp's discussion of the role of tobacco and the English interest in the spiritual instead of the physical that is seen to change when Raleigh changes his focus to gold.

³² Fuller notes that "Raleigh's discovery seems to require a kind of strategic balancing: between opening up what is hidden -- discovering the other -- and discovering or revealing one's own unacceptable violence" (57). Such self-discovery is part of Montrose's thesis also. The metaphorical applications of discovery within voyage literature clearly link self and other despite the initial purpose of the reports to relate information about others. I show that this idea is present in accounts of Roanoke.

³³ Both Fuller and Montrose appear in a special issue of *Representations*, dedicated to Michel de Certeau. His work is clearly important in the formation of much of what has been written about the European contact with America. It is not addressed directly here as it is a starting point for others' discussions that are not necessarily directly linked to this project or a discussion of the authors and topics addressed in it.

³⁴ Another example of such observations is Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

³⁵ Indeed, Greenblatt's ideas about Harriot's heterodoxy may find a further challenge here when added to Hamlin's remarks about Harriot's "convenient occlusion of professed religious value."

³⁶ Whitehead notes Ramos-Perez' observation, "the publication of André Thevet's *Les Singularitiés de la France antartique* (Paris, 1558) and *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575) may well have influenced Raleigh in his ethnological theories" (20). Whitehead also makes passing note of Thevet's influence upon Raleigh's concept of the Amazons (96). Raleigh himself refers directly to Thevet's *Singularitiés* in his *Discoverie* (131, 138, 145).

³⁷ A striking example of its development, implicit in the 1580s, can be found in the somewhat farcical "coronation" of Pohowtan by the Jamestown colonists who thereby sought to make him a vassal of James I (as Knapp, amongst others, notes). During the Roanoke period, references in Barlowe and Lane to Wingina and Menatonon continue the

myth of the Indian monarchy. A foreshadowing of the coronation of Pohowtan occurs in 1587 when White fulfilled Raleigh's orders by baptising Manteo, after which act he was acknowledged as "Lord [of Roanoke] . . . and of Dasamongueponke" (*Roanoke* 531).

³⁸ Hakluyt "made the acquaintance of Andre Thevet" between September 1583 and July 1584, the beginning of an extended association. Hakluyt borrowed Thevet's manuscript copy of Laudonniere's "L'histoire notable de la Floride" in 1585 which he subsequently had printed and published in Paris. He also borrowed the Codex Mendoza from Thevet (Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook* 281-95). This helps to establish links between Thevet and the authors being discussed in this project, but Hakluyt rejected the approaches and outlook of Thevet despite his awareness of his work, and his personal relationship with him. See Cecil H. Clough and P.E.H. Hair eds. *The European Outthrust and Encounter. The First Phase c.1400 - 1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on his 85th Birthday* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994) 225-26 (especially the associated notes).

³⁹ The title of the French edition of Lestringant's work is *L'Atelier du Cosmographe*.

⁴⁰ Lane's account of his expedition's sufferings on behalf of Raleigh achieves much the same effects in his report, as do White's accounts of his own and his expedition's sufferings during the abortive attempts to establish then resupply his colony.

⁴¹ The second of the "twofold merits" is that Islam is made equivalent to "the 'credulous beliefs of the savages' of the austral world."

⁴² See Lestringant, 62 ff.

⁴³ Montaigne's evocations of the imagined roles and reactions of classical figures in relation to the discovery of the natives and their treatment at the hands of contemporary civilisation in "Of the Caniballes" is another instance of this aspect of contemporary thought concerning America's relationship to Europe.

⁴⁴ "Subsequent" refers to the chronology of the voyages rather than the chronology of publication. Quinn offers introductory comments and notes regarding probable dates of composition for each of the reports in *Roanoke Voyages*.

⁴⁵ The suggestion is made in various places in Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting* in addition to occurring in the dedications of various works to notable persons, such as Raleigh.

⁴⁶ The irony that is noted by Antonio regarding the outlined golden age "commonwealth" of Gonzalo in *The Tempest* (II.i.148-75) -- that of kings in such a land - is present but unacknowledged in Barlowe's description of people living "like unto the golden age" who still show great respect to their defined social betters.

Chapter Two: Barlowe's Virginia

This chapter discusses the first Elizabethan landing in Virginia as it is reported in The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584.¹ Barlowe's report was first published in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations (1589), occupying five small folio pages: 728-33.² Quinn notes that

[i]n form the document is a "brief discourse" addressed to Raleigh as sponsor of the voyage. In fact, it would appear to be a carefully selected narrative designed to further the passage of the Raleigh bill through parliament in December and to serve as propaganda for the 1585 expedition during the months between December 1584 and February 1585. (*Roanoke* 15-16)

The bill supported Raleigh's bid to have Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent for the rights to and overlordship of the land of Virginia transferred to him. Quinn is also of the opinion that internal evidence suggests that Barlowe was the author of the report published under his name, possibly with the subsequent assistance of Thomas Harriot (14-16).

Barlowe's report is mentioned in passing by several modern scholars who address such topics as Raleigh's sponsorship of a colony, the beginnings of the British Empire, English attitudes to colonies, the colonisers and the colonised, and European approaches (ideological, colonial, linguistic, literary) to new found lands. The report has not been studied in detail as part of a set of similar, related accounts of Virginia that formed an idea of America in the English mind of the late Elizabethan period and whose influence continued into the following century. Indeed, American aboriginal groups continue to endure the aftermath of ways of thinking about America that may be discerned in these reports.

As I have suggested in Chapter One, the voyage accounts are often arresting and dramatic, attempting to fulfil an agenda based on mercantile expansion and exploitation, but at the same time recording certain harsh realities and refractory encounters that disturb the authors' programmatic or propagandistic designs. Anthony Grafton suggests the many influences that affected the ways in which European writers constructed the reports of their voyagers when he states that the reporters, "peered through tightly woven

filters of expectation and assumption from the past” (*New Worlds, Ancient Texts* 75). Barlowe’s report reveals similar influences. Its descriptions of the Golden Age in America are almost inevitable. The initial friendliness and generosity of the natives is another familiar trope. However, although Barlowe looks at trade and land as foci of his report, he also remembers to add references about more easily obtained wealth in the form of pearls and a passing hint about gold. He creates a richly equivocal mixture of revelation and concealment by which he contrives to interpret and to present his new found land in a favourable light, recording events that create an expedient version of the truth. Especially, rumour and equivocation run throughout his report. He combines accounts of events in which it is possible to discern the fears and dangers of the original experience with newly discovered information that is full of inconsistent and starkly varying levels of detail and comprehension, as is discussed below. This combination creates a description of a land that is invitingly new, even as it is also described in ways that make it seem familiar and therefore not too alarming or disturbing to English readers who might be persuaded to become adventurers themselves. Incongruities within the text, together with external evidence that unsettling information has been suppressed, reveal how the report is crafted to focus the reader’s attention on the promises of future prosperity in Virginia, and to play down the negative aspects of the plantation. The author has trouble making the facts fit his description, however, with the result that his rhetoric is often fissured in ways that are both captivating and revealing of unacknowledged complexities.

As part of the attempt to promote the potential for profit from the colonisation of Virginia – a feature developed at greater length in Harriot’s subsequent *Report* – Barlowe appeals to the aspirations of English merchants who sought alternatives to the established trading routes of Europe and the East. Quinn notes that Hakluyt’s *Discourse* “has long been recognised” as an “authoritative” contemporary expression of the “objectives of English expansion and of the means to attain them” (xv). Hakluyt sets out the contemporary mercantile problems in the third chapter of his *Discourse*, after which he invites his reader to

haue regarde vnto the scituation of the places which are lefte for vs to be possessed: The Contries therefore of America wherevnto wee haue iuste Title . . . being aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, persia [sic], Turkey, Greece, al the Islandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, Fraunce, Flanders, highe Almanye, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye may presently or within a shorte space afforde vnto vs for little or nothings and with moche more safetie eyther all or a greate parte of the commodities which the aforesaide Contries doo yelde vs at very dere hande and with manifolde daungers. (16)

In these observations, Hakluyt succinctly outlines the contemporary background to the Roanoke project. He sets out the concerns of the merchant adventurers – whose support the promoters of the planned plantation sought – so that he can offer a solution: Virginia. In Chapter Twelve, Hakluyt defines the dangers that beset English trade by stating that the same hazards do not affect the advocated expansion into North America, from where all the goods supplied by other, known nations can be obtained. He informs his reader that the route to America avoids “the burnte zone” [i.e., the Equator] and it does not “passe throughe the frozen seas, but [the voyage is undertaken] in a temperate climate” (63). Virginia is itself temperate and so not harmful to English health, as experience has shown in comparable latitudes such as France. Hakluyt then repeats that it is not a long voyage to America, so the hazards associated with stops to replenish provisions on foreign shores may be avoided. The short voyage also enables two crossings to be made each year. Consequently, merchants can make more profits from the goods they acquire than can be made from merchandise that takes a year or more to reach port from its point of origin. In addition, by avoiding the lands of foreign potentates, the merchants do not have to pay fees or duties on their goods, so, once again, their profits from American trade will be greater. The route to America

is neither by the straites of Gibraulter nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, nor Flanders neither by the sounde of Denmarke nor Wardhouse of Norway, so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the Cursaries [i.e., Corsairs, pirates] in the levant, not the Gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the frenche [sic], nor the Dane, nor of any other Prince nor Potentate within the sounde in the northe or in the northeaste partes of the world. (63)

Norumbega [Virginia] is unaffected by ice, unlike Newfoundland, and in the event of adverse weather, the coast of Ireland offers a refuge that is controlled – at least nominally – by English forces. These suggested Irish havens contrast most markedly with Hakluyt's evocation of the dangers experienced by merchants on existing Mediterranean routes. He reminds his readers that English merchants are regularly forced to seek shelter in ports where they are menaced by "the Spanishe bloody Inquisition" (63-64).

While Barlowe does not express these points explicitly, his very silence concerning the need to beware of encounters with foreign shipping, customs duties, enemy vessels, pirates, adverse weather and religious intolerance reveals the attractions of North America. Barlowe's silence regarding difficulties is in contrast to his information about the commodities that are on offer. He does not approach Harriot's encomium of American potential, but he does note, for example, such items as "high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde: and my selfe hauing seene those partes of Europe that most abounde, finde such difference as were incredible to be written" (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 95). In this specific example, Virginia is presented as an easier and, indeed, better source of goods for which traders currently have to endure the perils of travel among avaricious peoples living in inhospitable climes at the end of dangerous trade routes, such as through the Baltic via "the sounde of Denmarke [and] . . . Wardhouse of Norway" into "the frozen seas." In keeping with the approach established by Hakluyt, Barlowe stresses the relative ease and speed of the voyage to America. He makes no mention of opposition from either Amerindians or Europeans en route, and he expends considerable effort in demonstrating the safety of the English once they have reached Virginia.

One means by which Barlowe does this is by keeping references to violence involving the North Carolina Algonquians and their neighbours separate from the accounts of contacts between the English and those same peoples. Although the report includes specific and potentially disturbing accounts of deceit, treachery and bloodthirstiness by the local people, these accounts are confined to internecine violence only. Whenever the English are depicted as engaged in potentially dangerous encounters, they are shown to be safe because of their superior technology and what is presented as

their more sophisticated understanding of some situations. America may be a wild land full of potentially savage and aggressive peoples, but the English remain safe within it. Such a representation of the state of affairs in Virginia allows the violence to be recorded, but in such a way that it is transformed into an assurance of English superiority. Clearly, there is some tension here between what would appear to be propaganda that asserts English security and immunity, and the historical facts about actual violence among the indigenous population.³ The presence of this tension is acknowledged by Greenblatt when he advises that modern readers should not “underestimate the cynical calculation with which the early travel texts were often put together, but calculation cannot adequately explain the reckless optimism – epistemological as well as strategic – that they frequently express” (*Marvellous Possessions* 94). Joyce Lorimer comments on Greenblatt’s observations: “While it is unfair of [him] to characterize European observers of the New World as, ‘frequent and cunning liars,’ yet it is reasonable of him to argue that they provided, whatever their intentions, less ‘detached scientific assessments’ than ‘engaged representations.’” (191). The tensions arising from the differing, sometimes opposed motivations discernible in the reports create juxtapositions that both support and undermine the desire of the reporters, and in so doing produce a literature of some interest and complexity.

Consider, for example, Barlowe’s depiction of the native people as if they are members of a European society. The report stresses the “mannerly and ciuill” nature of the Virginians and favourably compares their respect for their established social order with all other known states of the world: “no people in the worlde carry more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouvernours, then these doe” (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 98-99, 103). Such admiring language suggests the integrity of a relatively unspoiled civilization, but the fact that it is not entirely unspoiled becomes clear when some less than civil actions of the local peoples enter the text, such as the shocking record of the premeditated murder of guests at a banquet. At such moments, the reporter establishes links and parallels between the native peoples’ behaviour and that of England’s continental neighbours: had not a similar event occurred in France on Saint Bartholomew’s Day?⁴ At the same time, as we see, the author asserts the English

mastery of the situation, implying that under their influence the good society could in fact be discovered in Virginia, despite the seeds of corruption that, as a European, he recognises all too well.

As part of his representation of English safety in Virginia, Barlowe omits a systematic, precisely dated record of the events of the voyage such as a log would contain. Barlowe states that it is “a matter both unnesessarie, for the manifest [i.e., obvious] discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnes sake, to remember unto you all the diurnall of our course, sailing thither and returning” (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 92).⁵ Admittedly, the report does begin with dates and a fairly clear progression from one day to another, but soon a more episodic account of the events and experiences of the voyage takes over. Removing the fixed “diurnall” chronology of the account allows Barlowe to present the information with expansions and explanations that clearly derive from later experience and information. The episodes reveal their editorialized nature through the insertion of information that was clearly not known during the course of the original encounter. At one level, this makes for a less disjointed account of the people and places described, and adds to the impression that the English are in control. At the same time, the explanation that certain details are “unnecessarie” is disingenuous; the author apparently offers to spare the reader, but in fact he is intent on concealing the route, so that the way to the new found land remains secret and unavailable to other adventurers. The attractions of Virginia are, therefore, enhanced by the impression the text leaves of an open, easy passage, even as the compilers satisfy their own, more politic need to conceal the details of how the explorers found their way there. The first reader of the report would have been “sir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whose charge, and direction, the said voyage was set forth” (92). Barlowe’s deferential references to Raleigh’s knowledge of the details of the route (“These Islands . . . are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you, with the remembrance of them” [93]) are nimbly transferred to the subsequent readership, inviting and suggesting the reader’s involvement in the enterprise, even while simultaneously excluding the reader from the knowledge Raleigh has.

The “manifest” nature of the report is qualified in other ways throughout, as secrecy is preserved by self-conscious editorialising which prevents others from exploiting Raleigh’s investment, which in turn is presented as being to the advantage of “her Highnes, and the Common wealth” (92). Careful editorial omissions also prevent the potentially awkward revelation of details that could be interpreted as being less than favourable to the enterprise as a whole. One of the most striking of these potential omissions is noted by Quinn when he reveals that the friendly encounters included in the circulated report ignore other experiences of the same voyage. In his overview of the voyage, Quinn makes the following comments:

The necessary evidence has not yet been found to prove that Barlowe’s narrative suppressed unfavourable incidents of the voyage, but a story told by an English member of the 1585 expedition would indicate that the expedition had made a landing prior to the one noted by Barlowe, that it was met with hostility by the Indians, who killed some of its members, and that the ships sailed on to find a more auspicious welcome elsewhere. . . [The Spanish document] does suggest that Barlowe did not tell the whole story, and it emphasizes our need for a more objective narrative, which we are not at all likely to be able to find. (*Roanoke* 17)

Although Quinn notes the lack of documentary evidence for specific suppressions, episodes within the report strongly indicate conscious equivocation, if nothing else. A translation of a source of one probably suppressed event may be read in Irene A. Wright’s *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-94* which contains a translation of a Spanish report of the words of an Englishman “Don Arnedes Eduarte” who was interrogated on Jamaica in 1587. Eduarte is recorded to have said,

when this Portuguese [i.e., Simon Fernandez, the expedition’s pilot] discovered this port [in “a great bay”] he sought to land at one headland and the savages ate 38 Englishmen. He went to the other headland where there is a good anchorage and found the savages there were better people. . . . The Portuguese took off with him two of the aborigines and left two Englishmen as hostages in token that he would return, as now they are returning with these Indians and mercandises to give as presents to the aborigines and with the intention of building two forts. (175)

The account is garbled. The recorder, Licentiate Francisco Marques de Villalobos, uses the phrase “what I could learn and understand from him” as a preface to the record of the Englishman’s words. Wright records the Spanish remark that the Englishman “spoke

thickly and knew no Latin.” She also notes that he “once broke in with: ‘So much commending to God! Hang me and have done with it!’”(174). The setting of the interrogation and the state of mind of the Englishman are sketchy. Whatever fate he feared as he spoke to his Spanish interrogators, Eduarte’s inclusion of the details of the hostile encounter and the two headlands does not appear to have made his situation any more perilous. However, such details do add verisimilitude to the account and their inclusion in the report of the interrogation indicates that the details were of interest to the Spanish. As Quinn suggests, it is reasonable to conclude that “something significant” took place during the voyage that does not support the otherwise genial image of the indigenous population (*Roanoke* 81). That Barlowe seems to have excluded such a significant piece of information tells us something about his designs upon his audience.

More overt examples of editorialising and the consequent development of an expedient truth concerning Virginia occur as Barlowe’s report proceeds. Clearly, the account is based upon a log or journal. The dates progress sequentially at the beginning of the report and there is some indication of the passage of days during the initial landing phase of the expedition, though this becomes increasingly vague as encounters with the local inhabitants are described. Initially, specific dates are assigned to events: “The 27. day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584, we departed the west of England The tenth of May, we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islandes of the West Indies” (92-94). The time in the Grand Banks begins with the formal possession of the land, dated in the margin “July 13” though not specified in the body of the text (96). Beyond this date, events are increasingly less precise, as is indicated by the following impressionistic time sequence:

We remained by the side of this Island two whole daies, before we sawe any people of the Countrey: the third daye we espied one small boate The next day there came After two or three daies After that these women had bene there, there came After they had bene diuers times aboard our shippes (97-98, 101, 103, 106)

The obscure chronology of the events makes the “diurnall” of their occurrence impossible to recreate with any accuracy. Added to this, the inclusion of information that was not available to the reporters in America blurs the borders between records of specific events

and their interpretation in the light of subsequently learned knowledge. Such a combination of techniques lets the reporter create an image of America that suggests a greater awareness of the overall situation between the indigenous groups and the internal workings of their culture than was the case.

The inclusion, in retrospect, of information that is unlikely to have been available to the English explorers at the actual time of their encounters further increases the ambiguity of interpretation present in the account. For example, after the king's brother is identified, Barlowe adds information about the rituals of the group and then praises their deference towards rank. Next, there is an explanation for the absence of the king himself: he had been wounded in a fight and was unable to travel to meet the strangers. While some of this information could have been discerned from encounters, the detailed background that reveals the king's name, wound, and place of present residence is clearly the result of subsequent discovery (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 100 n1). Similarly, the details of the relationships between the members of the group and the social ranking and political organization are more precise than first encounters would allow. For one man to be clearly identified as "the king's brother" obscures much intervening information that could not have been learned without some more sophisticated understanding of the language than the explorers – by their own admission – possessed. This information is added silently to the chronological account, transforming it from a record of encounters between two groups equally unaware of each other into what appears to be a well-informed, confident commentary upon Virginia's indigenous population. For the most part, details are added so that the text is expanded and illuminated in a manner that suggests that the information is part of a new but comfortably well-informed and controlled experience. Yet the confident, informed tone which exists on one level of the account does not quite overcome or neutralise the radical uncertainties and politic scheming present on another level.

For instance, the first time the English encounter a local inhabitant there is a friendly exchange of greeting. The man's actions are interpreted for the reader. The interpretation suggests a more general praise of the newly-encountered people through the description of this individual's insouciance and generosity. He is recorded as having

paced quietly on the sand as he awaited the arrival of the English while “neuer making any shewe of feare, or doubt” (98). Upon being invited, he willingly goes aboard the ships “after he had spoken of many things not vnderstoode by vs” (98). The English present the man with gifts and are then impressed with the bounty of the return gift that he makes: a boat load of fish. While it may be argued that this encounter serves to establish an initial sense of the pacific, dignified, generous and praiseworthy nature of the native peoples in the report -- what Quinn terms the idea of “the gentle savage” (110 n1) - - it is clear that while the English observe the man and record what happens they are unable to predict his actions or interpret his words. Such inability suggests an uncertainty and unpredictability which unsettle the confident assurance that the English are in control. Likewise, when they later encounter a leader, Granganimeo, Barlowe records that

he makes [sic] all signes of ioy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling and making shewe the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie. . . . but presently he arose, and tooke all from them [his followers], and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to be delivered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. (99-100)

Whereas the first encounter with the man on the sand indicates almost complete incomprehension on the part of the English, the second suggests more understanding. Nonetheless, the confidence of the opening lines -- “all signes of joy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling and making shewe the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie” -- is undermined by the leader’s subsequent action that reveals the English interpretations of appropriate gift distribution and hierarchical relationships to have been fundamentally mistaken. As Greenblatt notes,

Europeans found it extremely difficult to recognise just how difficult, distorted, and uneven were these first, tentative attempts at cross-cultural communication. . . . the moments of blankness -- ‘we could not understand . . .,’ ‘we do not know. . .,’ ‘we could not explain. . .,’ -- are intertwined strangely with the confident assumption that there was no significant barrier to communications or appropriation: ‘We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the

people who spoke with them for they always understood us, and we them. We questioned them, and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language and we theirs' [words of Cabeza de Vaca].
(*Marvellous Possessions* 95)

Barlowe's direct references to incomprehension are few. Though his report occasionally conforms to Greenblatt's model, the inclusion of subsequently learned information in the text removes most of the traces of what must have been moments of utter incomprehension during the actual encounters. Equally, Barlowe may be emphasising his alleged knowledge in order to maintain the notion of his authority as an interpreter of the new found land. Overall, however, his confident style reinforces the idea of English control in Virginia.

In the report of the meeting with Granganimeo, the entire native hierarchy is interpreted through "signes and tokens," which are, in turn, influenced by ideological assumptions, and, especially, by the need to construct a desirable image of Virginia. Greenblatt refers to this section of Barlowe's report to illustrate his comments about European assumptions concerning the gestures and signs used by Amerindians. He states. "[t]hat this 'nobleman's' smile denotes 'all love, and familiarity' seems a barely plausible if exceedingly optimistic reading; that his gestures are intended to show that 'wee were all one' seems a more daring interpretive leap; that his way of receiving gifts discloses a set of social relationships (including a 'king,' 'servants, and followers') seems a rash presumption, dependent on the uncritical application of a European model" (*Marvellous Possessions* 93-94). Greenblatt also emphasises the propagandistic nature of the report by remarking that its agenda influences its contents: "all signs are read in the most favourable light, a light that discloses at once a reassuring confirmation of the familiar hierarchical social structure and a radical innocence" (94). Hence, the people they encounter are described as a "very handsome, goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly, and as ciuill, as any of Europe" (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 99). Also, "the King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers, and children reuerenced" (100), and "no people in the world carry more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouvernours, then these doe" (103). It should be noted that at this stage the "King" has not been seen; indeed, he is first encountered in person by the members of the colony of 1585. The

interpretation and commentary of the report are therefore unsettled by the very certainty with which statements of fact are made, based on unseen persons and relationships. In short, we are reassured about civil relationships – an expedient truth – in spite of the fact that they are not in evidence.

Regardless of the incongruity and expedience contained in the references to kings, the position of rulers within a stratified social body is readily understandable both to the readership and to the initial observers.⁶ It may be inevitable that familiar European titles are applied to the North Carolina Algonquians, if only because the apparent use of such titles in the strange land makes it less strange, more recognisable and more easy to comprehend.⁷ On the other hand, the associated level of development within a culture that is alleged to have kings lifts the culture above the wild and unregulated status suggested by contemporary use of the word “savage.”

According to Dickason, “savage” contained a wide variety of meanings and associations that were by no means standardised in any contemporary European culture (*Myth* 63-70). These meanings and associations ranged from notions of benign, possibly sub-human beings living in an idealised state of nature to semi-bestial creatures of ferocious appetites, unfettered by any of the restraints upon behaviour and way of life that were associated with civilised humankind. All varieties of savage were thought to inhabit woodland areas. Indeed, the use of “salvage” as a synonym for savage signals aspects of the etymology which includes the Latin “sylvaticus” (63). Dickason reveals parallels between the common European figure “the wild man of the woods” and descriptions that were applied to native American peoples by early explorers and commentators on their voyages (70-80).⁸ Such parallels were generally pejorative, focussing on the alleged sensual and ferocious excesses of such wild men.

The OED notes that “savage” suggests an existence at the lowest level of culture. “Savage” also includes the notion of ferocity as well as the idea of living in a state of nature. Although Barlowe notes the local peoples’ wars and reveals that Wingina has been wounded in a fight, his descriptions of the indigenous peoples mainly evoke the benign aspects of what contemporaries might have automatically classified as a savage society. Barlowe avoids the word “savage,” however. He only uses the term once, when

he refers to the size of a distant town (quoted below). This usage may reveal an editorial slip: Quinn speculates that Harriot was involved in the preparation of the report for publication – see below. Equally, contemporary confusions about the “true” nature of Amerindians may make occasional incongruities inevitable. Indeed, as Pagden’s discussion of the use of conflicting terms for Brazilian natives shows, seemingly paradoxical descriptions can be found in the same report and yet their presence does not appear to have caused contemporary readers to reject the ideas that the report contained.⁹ The general impression of the Virginians presented by Barlowe’s writing – that of a people living in a stratified society ruled by kings, occupying towns and not engaging in either cannibalism or sensual excesses – elevates the Virginians in the perceived “degrees” of savagery and suggests that they possess a culture that has developed above the brutish level attributed to some other Amerindian groups (Dickason, *Myth* 66-70).

The suggestion of cultural development in turn lends credence to speculation that there are towns and cities in the hinterland. This speculation links the English report to earlier ones from Spain and other European countries, each one dealing with a separate area of America but all linked together by the as yet unrecognised continent. Barlowe adds Virginia to the list of new found lands boasting fantastic cities and great wealth. By doing this, he conforms to expectations about how new found lands also include Golden Age elements. On another, more practical level, suggestions that the English might discover a northern Mexico or Peru would motivate financial speculation and whet the appetite of adventurers in England; also, further financial support would serve to secure Raleigh’s position as a man with influence and power.¹⁰

Not surprisingly, Barlowe duly reports a rumoured “towne”:

Beyonde this Islande [Roanoke], there is the maine lande [out of which flows a “great riuer”] called Occam, by the Inhabitants on which standeth a Towne called Pemeoke, and sixe dayes iourney further vpon the same is situate their greatest citie, called Schycoake, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, onely they speake of it, by the report of their Fathers, and other men, whome they haue heard affirme it, to be one daies iourney about. (110)¹¹

The passage begins with the confident report of known facts related to places seen or whose inhabitants have been encountered and identified. As the knowledge and

information become less certain and more based upon rumour, the clarity diminishes and equivocations begin: does the phrase “but the Sauages were neuer at it” refer to the “Sauages” carried back to England or the ones encountered in Virginia? The final phrase, “[it is] one daies iourney about,” refers to a common feature of fabulous cities in the new world: their vast circumference. Here, a faint image of Mexico intrudes upon the text, as the fantastic city seen by Bernal Diaz del Castillo after days of travel into the Mexican interior shimmers before an appreciative reader’s imagination, albeit carefully modulated by the writer to enhance the mystery and wonder of the proposed site of the English colony.¹²

Then, by contrast, we are provided also with a startlingly clear account of actual native polity:

The King . . . himselfe in person was at our beeing there sore wounded, in a fight which he had with the King of the next Countrey, called Wingina, and was shotte thorough the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof, and for that hee laye at the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, beeing sixe dayes iourneye off, wee sawe him not at all. (100)

Such detailed information is generally thought to have come from Harriot, who learned the native language from Manteo and Wanchese, the two native men brought back to England by Barlowe. They lived with Harriot before they returned to Virginia with the 1585 expedition.¹³ The details must have been added after Barlowe’s return, possibly by another writer, to offset any suggestion of a snub against the newcomers.¹⁴ That Wingina would have met them if he could have been there is implicit in the account, and the detail and complexity of the explanation reveal the writer’s earnest desire to reassure the reader as to the friendly nature of the reception afforded the English by the Virginian natives.

Their friendliness in turn is supported by assurances that the people are, according to Barlowe, “most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The earth bringeth foorth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour.” The sentence beginning, “The earth bringeth foorth” is only included in the earlier version of Barlowe’s report. Quinn comments that “Hakluyt omitted this sentence in [the edition of *Principall Navigations* of] 1600, apparently as not contributing anything to the narrative” (*The First*

Voyage, Roanoke 108 n 9).¹⁵ What the sentence clearly does contribute is a sense of edenic ease that elaborates the image of life in Virginia being “after the manner of the golden age.”

References to the Golden Age are, as I note, almost an inevitable feature of any favourable report of a new found land. Columbus’ imagination, influenced, according to Grafton, by imaginative reports of new lands by writers such as Marco Polo and Mandeville, led him to see the natives he encountered as people living in a situation “evidently drawn from memories of life in the Golden Age the poets had described.” But Columbus also recorded cannibals in the vicinity of Golden Age inhabitants, bestial humans next to nymphs (*New Worlds, Ancient Texts* 82). While conforming to the image of Golden Age natives, Barlowe conspicuously omits any suspicion that cannibals might be lurking in the immediate vicinity. This omission contrasts markedly with accounts of other European explorers who, in conjunction with a Golden Age, often worry about cannibals existing at some location, however distant, in their new found land.

Pagden argues that the underlying attitude of European explorers (especially Spanish) can be judged by the actions of the natives as recorded in their reports.¹⁶ The descriptions of the behaviour of the newly-discovered peoples codify them into groups that are defined by ancient beliefs about humanity and human conduct. As is well known, some European colonists advanced the idea that the natives were sub-human in order to justify their brutal exploitation of them. The commonly alleged acts of cannibalism, sodomy, incest, bestiality and the eating of “filth” reveal the native peoples’ “simple though drastic failure to interpret the natural world correctly. Dietary norms, like sexual ones, were a precise measure of a man’s power of reason, his ability to conduct himself like a man” (*The Fall of Natural Man* 87). This view of the indigenous peoples was not the only one current at the time, however. Although Las Casas’s *Destruction of the Indies* was used by the enemies of Spain to create the “Black Legend,” the published record of the cleric’s passionate advocacy of the rights of the native peoples reveals the strength of the argument within Spain and its territories concerning the status and treatment of the native populations under Spanish control. An English instance of similar interest may be found in the advice offered to Raleigh for the 1586 colony. The writer

indicates that the local population should be accorded specific rights by the English colonists. For example, if an Englishman struck or otherwise offended a member of the local native group, the offender was to be beaten an exact number of times with a stipulated instrument in the presence of the person he had offended (“Anonymous Notes,” *Roanoke* 138-39).

Barlowe anticipates the tenor of this advice in his report. By separating Virginian natives from the expected or usual attribute of cannibalism, Barlowe is making a statement about the humanity of the natives that is part of the English approach to conquest and settlement. Furthermore, not only does this approach separate the type of native or savage encountered by the English from those encountered by the Spanish, it also reflects upon the nature of the explorers and reporters. At one level, the land of Virginia is much safer than other parts of America if the reader’s judgement is based upon the explorers’ reports. At another level, the English are so much more humane than their Spanish counterparts. The self-conscious claims of the English to superiority over the Spanish lead them to contrast their behaviour at many levels. Depictions of the ways that the two nations deal with native inhabitants of their colonies (real or projected) are a means to develop these differences. The origins of the unfavourable comparisons that the English used to separate themselves from the Spanish are, broadly stated, jealousy of Spanish wealth, fear of the power that accompanies that wealth, and hatred of the Catholic religious beliefs that are supported and promulgated by the wealth and power. One expression of this antagonism is found in the many references to alleged Spanish atrocities in Europe and America: examples of this may be found in Raleigh’s and Hakluyt’s writing.¹⁷ Allusions to this Anglo-Spanish antagonism in the voyage reports can be subtle, perhaps even unconscious. The depiction of the Virginians as natives who do not practise cannibalism and so are a better sort of savage, and who are encountered by a better sort of potential coloniser, is an example. Barlowe clearly emphasises the natives’ pacific, trustworthy qualities. He evokes a literary idea that is found in earlier voyage reports to underline his view, but by doing so he reveals more contradictory aspects of his report.

When he depicts the Virginian Golden Age, Barlowe's images tantalisingly glance at Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

The fertile earth as yet was free, untouched of spade or plough,
And yet it yielded of itself of every thing enow;
And men themselves contented well with plain and simple food. (134)

In addition to the natives' supposedly simple forms of food production, Barlowe gives an example of English experience of the "most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome [soile] of all the world" when he reveals that "our selues proued the soile, and put some of our Pease into the ground, and in tenne daies they were of fourteene ynches high" (105-06). First-hand experience supports the image of plenitude and reinforces it by revealing the soil's ability to grow "our" peas in addition to the more exotic fare of Virginia that is supplied by the natives to their English guest: "Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and . . . their Countrey Corne, which is very white, faire, and well tasted" (105). As the list lengthens, it is clear that there is no shortage of nature's bounty in Virginia. The English are able to share in it and, thereby, experience something of the Golden Age for themselves.

The representation of the food springing from the earth without labour, however, reveals Barlowe's suppression of information about the agricultural practices that the native population used, possibly to enhance the reference to the Golden Age and, hence, his presentation of the delights of Virginia. As Rountree reveals so clearly in *Pocahontas' People* and *Eastern Shore Indians*, the agricultural techniques used by the coastal peoples were labour-intensive and required the participation of all the inhabitants of a settlement. Their use of foraging and hunting to supplement their diet may have given Barlowe the impression that life was easy, but such an impression was false. Likewise, Dickason's discussion of the introduction of "the famous 'three sisters' . . . corn, beans and squash" to eastern America reveals that the food supplies witnessed by Barlowe were far from the autochthonic sustenance that he wished to promote through his evocation of the Golden Age (*First Nations* 41). Furthermore, in the context of Golden Age Virginia, the reference to the king's wound reveals a discordant note that alerts a reader to the suppressed background reality of the new found land. On one level, the

king's wound is offered as an explanation that the English have not been snubbed; on another, it shows that the natives are far from inhabiting a Golden Age: there is war in this Eden.

As has been noted, Spanish documents indicate that the initial contacts between natives and Englishmen were, in fact, not peaceful. While this aspect of the voyage is suppressed in Barlowe's report, the background violence nonetheless leaks into the account; the writer is constrained to acknowledge it, even as he contrives also to distance it from the English through an emphasis on the expedient truths that feature so largely in his description of Virginia. Thus, the English can observe the Golden Age simplicity of Virginia and may even be able to share aspects of it, but they are also fully aware of the contradictory presence of war in the land. However, they always remain safe from the effects of violence, partly because of the benevolent protection of the natives, but also because of the superiority of English technology, specifically offensive and defensive weaponry. Added to this advantage is their acute awareness of their tacitly acknowledged, but generally concealed, precarious situation in Virginia, as their reaction to the armed intruders at the feast given by Granganimeo's wife shows (see below). This awareness keeps them alert to danger and so helps them to avoid potential pitfalls.

Further testimony about the sense of superiority within the English group is revealed in the record of trading between the groups. The exchange of skins for items that the English classed as "trinkets" includes a record of the natives' desire for European weapons and armour. When Granganimeo is given a tin dish, for example, he pierces it and indicates that he will wear it in emulation of the Englishmen's armour:

[he] hung it about his necke, making signes, that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadlie and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dishe for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes. (100-01)

The glee that may be discerned in this quotation clearly reveals the relative values of the different cultures. Brasser's article about early contacts with Europeans contains several illustrations that demonstrate the value placed upon metal objects by Amerindian groups. Rather than the merely functional uses to which Europeans put metal items, native peoples would use the metal for cultural and religious artifacts, such as the "copper

gorget in the form of a bird found in an Indian grave . . . The thickness of the copper makes it likely that it was fashioned from a copper kettle” (87 Fig 4). Dickason reveals that there was an extensive trading system between groups throughout America, and, indeed overseas (*First Nations* 54-59, 77-79). Culturally important items, such as the shells from North Carolina and Virginia, were traded with interior peoples, while copper from the Great Lakes reached the coast. Rather than the metal technologies of the Europeans, “workaday materials in the Americas were stone, bone, wood, and fibre, although copper and copper alloys were also in use in certain areas” (*First Nations* 13). There is no contemporary record of the native peoples’ estimation of the skins they exchanged for the metal objects, so the relative value of the exchange is difficult to estimate. Initially it would seem that both sides felt that they were making worthwhile trades. Subsequently, the value of Lane’s copper was insufficient to buy corn from the people of Roanoke who were themselves short of food.

The natives are also recorded as being willing to pay a high price for edged tools that could also function as weapons: “they offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swordes: but wee would not depart with any” (101). Barlowe goes on to inform the careful reader that “The Kings brother had great liking for our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them” (105). Thus, an indication of another potential market is included in the account, though not a very safe one. It is most likely that the English would not engage in an arms trade because they could not absolutely trust the natives, despite the Golden Age assurances. Consequently, rather than a market for arms, the English see a source of material wealth -- specifically pearls - - above and beyond the trade for hides and other “commodities,” however cheaply they may be obtained. By referring to the trade for arms proposed by the natives, the English acknowledge that they are safe not so much because of the natural nobility of the native inhabitants, but because of their own superiority in the technology of war.

Furthermore, there is some deliberate duplicity revealed through Barlowe’s account of trading between the English and the natives. When the “great boxe of pearle” is offered for the weapons by Granganimeo, Barlowe openly states, “we refused it for this

time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what place of the Countrey the pearle grewe: which nowe your Worshipp doth very well vnderstand" (105).¹⁸ The English did not trade in a spirit of openness. This might be no revelation in itself; indeed, the idea of simple savages being ideal trading partners because they value trifles is by no means a new image in voyage literature of the period. But it is worth noting that the English reporters and sponsors inform the reader of their own subterfuge in the context of trade for pearls, though they do not allow the possibility of a similar motivation in the natives' actions. The sheer ease of trade, the generosity of the natives and the potential of exchanging pearls for trinkets are the foci of Barlowe's account; they offer enticements to the next group of Englishmen who may invest either themselves or their wealth in a subsequent adventure to Virginia. The intelligence gathered on the voyage, together with subsequent information garnered from Manteo and Wanchese in London, is presented as accurate and "bankable."

The message is one and the same that others have found in the New World: the natives are easily awed, friendly, and willing to trade items of substance for what Europeans consider to be trifles. The obverse of this widely-known image (namely the violence, resistance and cost in blood on both sides) is present by implication but never addressed directly. Wingina's wound, Granganimeo's enthusiasm for weapons, and the subsequently revealed polity of the region all indicate that the desired native of pacific habits and generous disposition is more a figure of imagination than discovery. The presence of "gentle savages" and Golden Age innocence in a text that is more than an account of the "diurnall" of the voyage is, perhaps, inevitable, especially given the exploitative and propagandistic designs of the authors.¹⁹ Whatever subterfuge the English practise, the natives of the report remain incapable of similar attitudes and intentions towards the English.²⁰ The English are simply superior in their awareness of the situation and how to exploit it; the natives do not stand a chance. Nevertheless, the "pearls for weapons" trading incident also reveals a sense of threat from the natives that the report seeks to play down. Further indications of tensions between the two groups are present as the report progresses.

One significant example occurs just after the writer has recorded the “golden age” innocence of the natives. The English are invited to Granganimeo’s settlement where his wife entertains them in his absence. The rustic hospitality contains a sexual frisson that brings to mind elements from a tale: the absent husband, the willing hostess, and the intimate ministrations of a group of females to a group comprised entirely of men. While the Englishmen are being entertained, armed men enter the compound and alarm them:

there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone [sic] as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and break them, and withall beat the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. (109)

In a tale, a fight between outraged husbands (or local males) and the male interlopers might ensue. In Barlowe’s report, however, the safety of the English is emphasised in several ways. Firstly, “the wife of the king’s brother” (who, incidentally, is never named though her status as Granganimeo’s wife is invoked whenever she enters the report) protects her guests and ensures that nothing untoward happens to them. Secondly, the prowess of the native males is challenged as they are beaten off with the remains of their own weapons at the direction of a woman, albeit a woman with authority. These native males are no more than “poore fellowes” – inferior to the Englishmen they potentially threaten.²¹ In context, the words suggest that the native men are persons of no esteem or worth. Their treatment relieves some of the tension within the situation being described. At the same time it underlines the overall idea of English superiority and safety, for the natives are defeated by a woman’s orders that are not supported by the technological advantages that the English possess in their arms and armour. The reader is able to reflect upon how devastatingly effective the onslaught of the English under the command of their queen would be should the occasion arise. Thirdly, the protection comes before any real threat materialises; the men’s overt concern about their safety is enough to inspire the woman to act. Barlowe’s representation of the incident underlines the image of the trustworthy, protective, pacific “gentle” native that is a feature of this promotional report.

Further evidence of the natives' nurturing and protective attitudes towards Europeans occurs just after the account of the feast in the text, but this information must have been learnt only after the explorers returned to England. It is an example of an addition that expands the positive image of the natives as part of the overall narrative. Barlowe records that a European ship was wrecked near a local town about twenty three years earlier. Some of the crew were saved "and those were white people, whom the Countrey people preserued." After a brief stay on the island of Wococan,

they with the helpe of some of the dwellwers of Sequotan [a town], fastened two boates of the Countrey together, and made mastes vnto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the Countrey yeilded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island three weekes: but shortly after, it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vppon the coast, cast aland in another Island adioyning. (111)

This help was given to men who were in need of assistance. The details of the sailors' lack of goods and accompanying European advantages -- for example, note how they have to use their clothing for sails -- create a different image and relationship between the natives and Europeans: the natives can be relied upon to act in a charitable manner without the enticements of trade goods or the implicit coercion of European weaponry. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the men were helped. Other accounts of contacts between isolated, vulnerable Europeans and native Americans record that the Europeans were often enslaved, executed or sacrificed. The additional details of the subsequent discovery of the remains of the boat indicate the natives' active involvement and interest in the men's plight. The natives' memory of the events is explained by the unique nature of the contact: "other then these, there was neuer any people appavelled, or white of colour, either seene, or heard of amongst these people" (111). All this information adjusts the image of the natives from being trade partners and exploitable innocents to fellow humans who are capable of an act of charity. It illustrates, once again, a Golden Age generosity and suggests that a savage nature is not the natives' primary attribute. Indeed, charity to the needy is an act that reveals sensibilities that could be developed into a Christian faith. Once again, the strange peoples of Virginia are made accessible to the English reader through recognisable behaviour and attitudes. The information about the

shipwrecked sailors also reinforces the safety of the English by revealing that, although they have relied upon their weapons and caution for protection, there really is nothing to fear.

This depiction of the natives is qualified, however, within a page of the account of Granganimeo's wife's hospitality, when the report refers to an incident that links into the world of the imagined intrigues of continental courts, as portrayed, for instance, in contemporary drama.²² Within this section of the report are the elements of a revenge drama, a Virginian theatre of blood "staged" for a reading public:

[Despite a peace treaty that lasted for two years] as these men which we haue brought with vs into England, havuye made vs to understande²³ . . . there remaineth a mortall malice in the Sequotanes, for the many iniuries and slaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum [a local chief]. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his cuntry to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol . . . the captaine or Lord of the towne came suddenly upon them, and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two [allied kings?] have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. (113-14)

Why is this subversive information included? The contrast between the natives' treatment of their enemies, just illustrated, and their friends, as demonstrated in the episodes featuring the entertainment provided by Granganimeo's wife and the natives' care of the shipwrecked sailors, may be intended to inspire confidence at home in the reception accorded to the English. At another level, it contains elements of a traveller's tale of far away lands and the otherness of the peoples there. The story reveals recognisable (though still alien) behaviour makes the natives more accessible to an English readership; they are the same as, and yet different from, the English: analogous, perhaps, to the relationship between the English and continental Europeans. The natives' actions smack of Europe, especially the Catholic realms such as Italy and Spain, or at least as they appear on the stage, in literature, or by report in the popular imagination. At another, less literary level, the events contain echoes of the events of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre that remained vivid in the popular mind for several decades. Consequently, Virginia can exist in, or be assimilated into, the reader's

imagination in the same way that the exotic locales of Shakespeare's plays evoke strangeness but allow the characters to exhibit familiar traits.

In the present context, this combination of effects is designed to cast a positive light on the English colonial enterprise. At first sight, the treachery of the natives seems to destroy the idea of the Virginians being "voide of all guile." However, the incident serves to illustrate not just the natives' violent nature, but the more important fact that they behave differently when in the presence of the English, who remain inviolable in the midst of the internecine strife and bloodshed. Moreover, as has been noted, the wars create open, uninhabited spaces that can be occupied by the English without their having to come into conflict with a group already there (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 113). All these features of Virginia can, therefore, be represented as being for the good of the English, and Barlowe aims to attract potential investors by suppressing or dispelling the negative images that feature in contemporary accounts of other parts of America. However, revelations of the tensions that must have been an ever-present element in the encounters between natives and Englishmen are revealed not only through records of open expressions of concern (such as occurred when the armed natives were first seen, quoted above) but also through the writer's language.

As far as we can tell, basing our knowledge on the vagueness of the firsthand reports of Virginia, no Englishman was aware of the details of the local deception and the killing of the visiting dignitaries at the time that the English were entertained in Granganimeo's settlement.²⁴ Despite this, the explanation for not spending that night ashore indicates an awareness of some potential danger that contrasts with the pacific, accommodating image of the natives that is central to Barlowe's report. Granganimeo's wife is shown to be a caring hostess, but even her laments at the "iealousie" – suspicious mistrust – of her guests cannot persuade them to stay; indeed, her reaction is fraught with ambiguities because even her being "griued" – affected with grief or deep sorrow – contains a potential alternative understanding:

When we departed in the euening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorie . . . and brought vs to our boates side, in which we laye all night, remouuing the same a pretie [i.e., considerable] distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our iealousie, was much griued and sent diuers

men, and thirtie women, to sitte all night on the bankes side by vs . . . but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, though there was no cause of doubt [i.e., fear]: for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall. (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 109-10)

The men's reluctance to sleep ashore may be regarded as simple prudence, but it also raises a doubt about the assertions of safety made here and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the whole situation is actively presented in its best possible light. Although the Englishmen's careful distancing of themselves from the perceived dangers of a night ashore cause the woman to be "much grieved," her reaction is not presented as arising from anger but rather from concern for the Englishmen. To support this idea, the mass of natives on the river bank is never presented as a threat; they are, if anything, presented as benevolent watchers and guards. Barlowe's language, however, contains ambiguities that allow an alternative suggestion to exist within the text. The wider meanings of "grieve" ("to cause vexation to; to annoy") contain ideas of annoyance which change the woman's action from benevolent to ambivalent at best. In addition, there is the unanswered, and now unanswerable, question about the cultural significance of the woman's action. The question is not posed overtly, but the recorded awareness of numbers in the text creates a striking contrast between the "diuers men, and thirtie women" on the bank and the "fewe men" in the boat and reveals the conscious vulnerability of the Englishmen.²⁵

It is possible, however, to suggest how these events might have fitted into an American cultural context, though without any great certainty. Dickason states that all Amerindians "observed the law of hospitality, the violation of which was considered a crime" (*First Nations* 79-80). When referring specifically to the peoples of the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, Rountree records the practice of greeting and feasting important visitors, who would then be "put up for the night, either in the chief's house (Maryland) or in another house (Virginia), and often they would be lent sleeping partners for the night . . . Sentinels watched over the chief's house each night and, by extension, also over visitors under his protection" (*Eastern Shore* 43). It may be, therefore, that the Englishmen committed some sort of "social gaff" and misinterpreted the signs when they did not stay overnight. Alternatively, their rejection of overnight hospitality after they

had shown apprehension during the “poor fellows” episode may have suggested to their hosts that the strangers were in some way offended by their reception. If the native people assumed that the Englishmen were familiar with local etiquette because they were in some way associated with the culture, albeit supernaturally, the Englishmen’s actions could support the notion that they were expressing their disapprobation of the entertainment offered by their hosts.

Clearly, it is impossible to know for certain how the local peoples identified the strangers. There had been a few contacts with white men on the coast in the previous decades; however, Harriot’s record of their later reactions suggests that the Roanoke peoples may have perceived Englishmen to be supernatural beings. If this was the case, the presence of the watchers on shore may have been part of an attempt to placate the visitors. Harriot subsequently claims in his *Report* that the Englishmen’s lack of interest in women during the 1585-86 colony added to the potentially divine mystique of the strangers. He records the native peoples’ alleged belief that “wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an old generation many yeeres past then risen againe to immortalitie” (*Roanoke* 379-80). His remarks tie in with the many examples of Europeans being recognised as returning ancestors, including the experiences of Drake in California, noted by Mary Helms (175). She states that Europeans with “forceful personal attributes” attracted respect, even veneration, from indigenous peoples. For example, one of the first Europeans to visit the people of New Guinea rose to influence “partly due to his calculated disinterest in sex . . . his fair skin . . . [and] the strange things in his house (scientific equipment, guns, a primus stove) [which] . . . made it obvious that he was superhuman” (180). In the light of the cultural contexts indicated by Dickason, Rountree and Helms, Harriot’s information may support my interpretation of this particular episode from Barlowe’s report.

Whatever the reactions of the native peoples signified, Barlowe’s group could not have been certain about what was happening, so the final clause, “for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall,” contains an indication of the ambiguities within the overall relationship between natives and English. Quinn comments that it is the “most precise example in Renaissance

English of the myth of the gentle savage” but he does not mention the ambiguities it contains (110 n1). Do the words, “as farre as we have hitherto had triall,” mean that the relative goodness of the natives could be challenged by subsequent discoveries “in the worlde,” or do they acknowledge that the good faith of the natives has not been extensively tried and tested yet? Both interpretations contain potential instabilities of meaning that undermine the idea of fixed certainty that Barlowe is attempting to promote. His expressed convictions about the natives’ qualities are challenged through the implicit admission that he does not consider the “triall” complete. While positive interpretations of his words include “there are even better people to be found in Virginia,” and “the more we learn about these people, the better they will be revealed to be,” the possibility of future trials revealing less “kinde and loving” behaviour is also present. This possibility destabilizes not only Barlowe’s expressed convictions of English safety, but also the idea of safety contained in the specific episode of the rejected overnight hospitality (discussed earlier) and the overarching premise of English security in Virginia. Although Barlowe’s words may well contain a realistic caveat, their inherent destabilization of the idea of English safety further challenges the propaganda in the report. Once again, Barlowe’s attempts to illustrate English safety in Virginia are undermined by the seepage into his report of an alternative reality in which relationships are not certain and English anxieties find expression.

The very last comment Barlowe makes about the motivations and actions of the natives returns to the idea of trying and testing the basis of their relationship with the English: “But whether their perswasion [regarding joining in a war against another tribe] be to the end they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the triall hereafter” (114). His uses of “triall” link his report to an interesting reference that Lestringant makes to the occurrence of alchemical terms in voyage literature. Lestringant notes that practical observers (as opposed to persons working from books and the learned traditions of Europe) situated themselves “within an alchemical tradition for which the notions of experiment, with its avatars, ‘essay’ or ‘assay’ and ‘prove,’ enjoyed undeniable prestige from the middle of the [sixteenth] century” (*Mapping the Renaissance World* 18). Barlowe’s “triall” suggests an association between

his report and these alchemical terms, and indicates an underlying attitude towards the natives and their putative Golden Age (which itself is represented as an idea to be tested). So even at the end of the many descriptions of the safety of the English, there remains the lurking question about the quality of the natives' relationship with the English. Will it stand testing?

While Barlowe never indicates such a testing of the natives by the English, his observations about native society and technology indicate an implicit trial that is aimed at reassuring the English about likely outcomes of potential trouble. At the beginning of his report there are images of Virginians whose demeanour fits the associations of the name applied to their land. Indeed, the whole depiction of the natives suggests innocence and virginity. An early instance of virgin America is to be found in the description of the wife of Granganimeo who is reported to be "very well fauored, of meane stature, and very bashfull" (101).²⁶ The native men who are encountered first act with less bashfulness but with a similar innocence and seemingly naive courtesy. The country itself is open to the explorers' boats. The very soil receives the English peas and produces amazing growth. When the reputation of Golden Age virginity in the natives is challenged by the news about their "deadlie and terrible" wars, the news is ameliorated by the consequent depopulation of the land and the spaces available for the English to colonise: "their warres are very cruell, and bloodie, by reason whereof . . . the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the Countrey desolate" (113). Hence, violence itself has positive repercussions for the potential colonists. If the land is uncultivated and unoccupied, it is all the more open to, and undefended against, the advance of the English.

War is not of itself a threat to future English adventurers because the natives' reaction to the discharge of even a small firearm is to "tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangeness of the same." They can deploy nothing so terrifying against the English "for the weapons which themselues vse, are bowes and arrowes." Just in case this information evoked the image of English longbows, the arrows are defined as "but small canes, headed with a sharpe shell, or tooth of a fish," and the overall impact of the weapon is deemed "sufficient enough to kill a naked man." Wooden swords and clubs

are also described, but their “threat potential” is not discussed; they are dismissed by implication as also being “sufficient enough to kill a naked man” and no more.

Barlowe’s account of their boat building further confirms the safety of the Englishmen when it reveals that while there are a few iron tools in Virginia, they are only made from the remains of a vessel that washed ashore: “out of whose sides they drew the nails, and spikes, and with those they made their best [woodworking] instruments” (104). The source of “edge tools” is not from within Virginia, and the later list of native weaponry pointedly excludes any edged weapons. Clearly implicit in these observations is the English superiority in arms and armour: no “naked men” would form the vanguard of any English force deployed against the Virginians, and no native could attack with any form of weapon equal to its European counterpart -- a wooden sword is hardly a challenge to one made of steel. In any case, the writers pointedly omit any reference to the trial of English armour by native weapons. While the natives fight amongst themselves, they honour and protect the English.

The references to the natives’ use of old nails for their “best” tools is used to underline their simple technology. In addition, the reporter gives the reader several pieces of information through a small number of significant details that convey meaning at a number of levels. This approach can be found throughout the report and is one that illustrates the interplay of revelation and concealment within it. The more informed and actively involved the reader, the more information can be derived from the text. A clear example of this occurs in the account of the shipwrecked sailors, discussed earlier. On the surface, the report appears simply to describe the events and then relate them to the natives’ interest in touching the Englishmen’s white skin. As has been noted, however, the passage contains the additional, more subtly conveyed message concerning the natives’ benevolent attitude towards the needy European men and, by association, the English. At yet another level of meaning and interpretation, the seemingly whimsical memory of the natives’ interest in the Englishmen’s white skins (“euer coueting to touch our breastes, and to view the same” [112]) which ends the account of the shipwrecked men serves to reveal a crucial fact about Virginia: no white person has been seen there other than the now dead castaways and the English. Clearly, the land is “not yet in any

Christian princes actually possession” as Hakluyt suggested, nor has it been claimed by white men landing there for that purpose (even if a claim was made by the castaways, it died, unrecorded, with them). This fact is important in legitimising the English claim to the land and proving that Raleigh has kept within the limitations of his Letters Patent:

to discover search fynde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes Contries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian Prynce and inhabited by Christian people. (*Roanoke* 82)

An alert and informed potential adventurer would note all this information with satisfaction. It is subtly made but contains key points.

Subtle, complex, convoluted, equivocal: all can be applied to Barlowe’s language. He presents a description of Virginia in which specific information about people and places mingles with references to literary ideals and horrors while layers of meaning and interpretation create ambiguities and incongruities as they simultaneously reveal and conceal the subjects of the report. A Golden Age land is riven with war and ruled by kings; guileless natives are also cruel and scheming savages; generous banquets are edged with fear and suspicion; innocent fascination becomes political intelligence that supports subsequent exploitation. Virginia is at once a land of opportunity and a place to die.

The conflicting combination of opportunity and death is by no means unique to this report of America. It occurs widely in European accounts of the new world and has been noted by many scholars. My reading of the first English reports of Virginia reveals how they create a way of recording the complex topics of American exploration and contact that is developed and changed by each report and which subsequently finds expression in Raleigh’s *Discoverie*. The process of creation begins in Barlowe. The changing approaches towards Virginia in the reports about the 1585-86 colony all stem from Barlowe’s seemingly contradictory combination of idyll and threat. Barlowe struggles to reconcile this contradiction by associating the idyll with English experience of the natives, as distinct from the natives’ own internecine relationships. When Lane and Harriot come to write their separate reports of the 1585-86 adventure, each initially emphasises one of these elements while generally ignoring the other. Harriot’s text gained international currency, and his particular development of Barlowe’s approach to

Virginia became influential. Yet Lane's text offers a balance to Harriot's, and should not be dismissed simply because it was not published separately from Hakluyt's magnum opus. These features will be investigated in the following chapters to reveal more about the complex approaches, ideas, and assumptions that form Elizabethan understandings of Virginia.

Notes

¹ “To reconnoitre” is an appropriate meaning of “discover” in this report; however, there are elements of other meanings present also. The wider association of the word with betrayal is potentially significant as the natives are revealed to an audience whose attitude towards them is ambiguous at best and most likely to contain a predatory approach to their land, belongings, and, ultimately, lives and freedom.

² Quinn notes the size of small folio pages as 11.25 inches by 8 inches (*Hakluyt Handbook* 477).

³ Dickason addresses the subject of warfare between native peoples in *Canada's First Nations*. Discussing Amerindians as a cultural whole, she states that “intertribal hostilities were endemic . . . Amerindians . . . [fought] for blood revenge (which tended to become self-perpetuating feuds), individual prestige, and above all for the acquisition of prisoners, either for adoption or for sacrifice” (81-82) Dickason adds that “archeological evidence suggests . . . [that] the late prehistoric period [i.e., before the major contacts of the late 1400s] appears to have seen warfare escalate to major proportions” along the eastern seaboard of North America (102). Rountree specifically discusses the peoples of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, north of Roanoke. She observes that

[r]elations with other peoples were strained or hostile . . . The Accomacs had long been at war with the . . . Susquehannocks . . . [and] . . . everyone was afraid of the Massawomecks . . . Indian people who were often threatened by enemies responded by being warlike themselves; when the threat was very frequent, they also lived in palisaded towns . . . Most Indian fighting took the form of small-scale raids . . . Individual bravery was emphasized . . . Any man captured alive . . . could expect to be tortured to death – an “honour” that most Eastern Woodland people paid each other reciprocally. (*Eastern Shore* 45-46)

Similarly, in *Pocahontas' People*, Rountree's study of the Powhatan Indians of the Chesapeake Bay, she anticipates Dickason's statement about warfare and applies it to a specific area and peoples: “Warfare was endemic to Eastern Virginia when the English arrived. There were genuinely lethal Indian enemies to the west and northwest” (11-12).

Both scholars support the overall notion of internecine conflict that Barlowe includes in his report. Harriot is more circumspect in his recording of strife between local groups, although the implicit conflicts are revealed in his discussion of the spread of disease among the peoples – Greenblatt's “invisible bullets” episode. Rountree's comment, “when the threat was very frequent, [native peoples] . . . lived in palisaded towns” is significant when the illustrations of the Roanoke area are considered. It suggests that White's watercolour of Pomeiock (which was the original for De Bry's

woodcut of the same town) and the depiction of the settlements of Desanonguepeuc, Pasguenoke and Roanoac [sic] on De Bry's plate illustrating "The Englishmen's Arrival in Virginia" could indicate that the Roanoke area was on the defensive (Stefan Lorant, ed. *The New World* [1946; New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1965] 190, 229, 262).

⁴ "The massacre of the Huguenots throughout France ordered by Charles IX at the instigation of his mother, Catherine de Medici, and begun on the morning of the festival, 24 Aug. 1572" (*Oxford Companion to English Literature* 70). Regarding the longevity of the memory of the events, consider Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, written c. 1592 (628).

⁵ Quinn also comments upon this aspect of the report: "Its defects arise largely from the fact that we have no surviving journal of the expedition. Barlowe had clearly such a journal at his disposal but he omitted the details deliberately as 'unnecessarie.' He is concerned with the results and not merely with the incidents of the voyage" (*Roanoke* 15). Quinn adds subsequently, "It is not unlikely that the journal of the voyage was handed over to Raleigh. Barlowe's narrative was an impression of the voyage, intended primarily for propaganda purposes" (92).

⁶ Lestringant, writing of Thevet's account of Brazil, notes, "The Indian monarchy was a myth indispensable to the establishment of relations of alliance with the native peoples, and then of gaining jurisdiction over their territory" (*Mapping the Renaissance World* 97).

⁷ One reason for the application of European titles to native leaders was an assumption of cultural "transparency." At one level this assumption allows the reporters to see the natives as "virtual doubles, fully conversant with the language and culture of the Europeans" (*Marvellous Possessions* 95). Hamlin suggests that Harriot "assimilates certain Algonquian categories of social status to standard European categories," but Hamlin does not follow Greenblatt's suggestion that such an assimilation could be applied to wider aspects of native culture, specifically parallels between religions ("Imagined Apotheoses" 413). The use of familiar European titles does create a set of presuppositions and expectations in the reader, however. Harriot remarks upon the foolishness of Englishmen who expected to find towns and cities in Virginia that mirrored English ones. The use of titles implies aspects of the expectations that Harriot records and derides. Were the men whose attitudes he records the only ones who expected more in Virginia, and were their expectations inspired by the titles used by the initial reporters?

⁸ Part of this parallelism suggested that the Amerindians were deformed. Reporters generally denied this suggestion, but it appears to have remained a fixed part of the European concept of American natives. In this context, Harriot's references to the Virginians' stature may be part of his attempt to show that the native peoples are essentially the same as Europeans and so not unduly dangerous – see Chapter Three, below.

⁹ See *The Fall of Natural Man* 57ff. (quoted in Chapter One, above).

¹⁰ For an interpretation of the fragility and instability of Raleigh's position due to his dependence upon the Queen's favour, and his consequent attempts to establish alternative, independent sources of wealth and power, see Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery."

¹¹ Quinn notes that the 1600 edition of the report in Hakluyt contains a correction about the time required to walk round the city from one "daies" to one "houres" journey. He refers to this as "another typical Hakluyt correction. There were not, of course, Indian towns of any size throughout the Atlantic coastal area" (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 110 n6). I believe that his comments reveal that he is missing an important aspect of Barlowe's report. The possibility of a fabulous Virginian hinterland is what is being suggested here. The potential of Virginia is what will attract the adventurers to join Raleigh's scheme to colonise the area.

¹² "When we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and the other great towns on dry land . . . we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments that they tell of in the legends of Amadis And some of the soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not in a dream" (Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico* 190).

¹³ The first published reference to the "two sauage men" was made in Holinshed for the year 1584, published in 1587 (*Roanoke* 90-91).

¹⁴ See *Roanoke* 15-17, 37, 99 n4, 119, and 368.

¹⁵ This comment illustrates a difference between Quimm's approach to the texts and mine. I assert that the sentence that Hakluyt omitted is significant not only in what it

says, but in what it evokes. The omission is eloquent, as is the inclusion. The contribution of neither should be dismissed.

¹⁶ See *The Fall of Natural Man*, especially 80-99.

¹⁷ A detailed discussion of this phenomenon may be found in William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1971). For specific references to Hakluyt and Raleigh see 62-75.

¹⁸ Quinn notes that "Barlowe is stating that a location for a pearl fishery had been found and communicated to Raleigh (which might imply he had brought home maps), but there is no clear indication that the expedition of the following year had any such knowledge" (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 105 n3).

¹⁹ Sheehan notes that there was a willful rejection of past experience regarding the "natural" state of natives and the land encountered in America: "Although the continent seemed to devour explorers and settlers with startling regularity, reports from the New World remained strongly paradisaic until the English became entangled in the business of building colonies. . . . Even after colonising commenced, propaganda sustained the tendency to magnify the richness of the land. . . . At its most intense the rhetoric of paradise did more than stretch a point or two. It raised America above the normal expectations of human existence . . . Though distorted, the formula remained pervasive in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods. Few Englishmen showed the good sense to agree with Samuel Purchas's characterisation of the Jesuits' effort in Paraguay as a "Lunaticke Paradise," or to complain that, although never seen, paradise had become a 'commonplace in mens braines, to macerate and vex them in the curious search thereof'" (*Savagism and Civility* 10-11).

²⁰ Lane's travels in search of Chaunis Temoatan may indicate an interesting insight into the English belief in the innocence or the honesty of the revelations of the natives. The idea of their being "got rid of up the river" never seems to occur to them, at least not in the text. This could be seen to indicate a naive acceptance of their own propaganda about the trustworthiness of the natives. Conversely, and, subsequently, simultaneously, the overarching suspicions of Lane remove the image of innocence from one of the native leaders, though he sticks to his assertions regarding the trustworthiness of others. The convolutions of explanation, revelation and concealment create traps or confusions in the minds (or at least the texts) of those involved in the recording of the

process of discovery. These convolutions are not merely indications of the teleological nature of a text written with motives other than the clear and precise recording of the events. They are indications of a more profound complexity within the process of discovery.

²¹ “Fellow” may mean “companion.” The addition of “poore” – in context suggesting “of low value” and not reflecting any sympathetic reaction from the writer – suggests that the demeaning treatment of the “fellowes” reduced their status and so their ability to pose a threat to the Englishmen: OED 10 a. Used as the customary title of address to a servant or other person of humble station. 10 c. contemptuously A person of no esteem or worth.

²² “Within a page” in the 1600 edition of Hakluyt, according to Quinn’s references to the pagination of that edition in the notes to *Roanoke* 110-11.

²³ “haue given vs to understand” added in Hakluyt 1600 (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 113). This passage refers to Manteo and Wanchese, the native men who were seen in the company of Raleigh and Harriot and who were returned to Virginia in 1585.

²⁴ Nor would they have been aware of the details of the rescue of the shipwrecked sailors. The all-knowing, revelatory nature of the report confuses the chronology of the acquisition of knowledge within the text.

²⁵ The Jamestown accounts reveal clearly that the women inflicted the tortures upon the prisoners. By assuming that the presence of women on the shore was some sort of gesture of good faith, a European reader may be missing the context through an assumption of what Greenblatt terms the assumed “transparency” of different cultures to European eyes.

²⁶ The OED cites an almost identical reference from Captain John Smith’s *Virginia* (1624) for the use of “bashful”: 2. Of persons: Shrinking from publicity, shamefaced, shy. Sometimes used in a good or neutral sense = Sensitively modest in demeanour; sometimes depreciatively = Excessively self-conscious, embarrassed and ill at ease in society, “sheepish”.

It is interesting to note that either Smith observed the same patterns of behaviour and explained them using identical phrases, or that he borrowed an image from an earlier

account in his depiction of the natives of Virginia. I am inclined to think that Smith took the phrase from Barlowe and that in it we can see an early example of the “received” English image of Virginia.

Chapter Three: Harriot's Virginia

Thomas Harriot's *Brief and True Report* was first published as "a modest quarto volume without illustrations" in 1588 (Harriot vii). In 1590 Theodore de Bry published it in a folio edition, complete with illustrations adapted from John White's drawings, and translated it into Latin, French and German. This publication "constituted the first part of *America*, De Bry's series of volumes on the discovery of the New World" (vii). The modern reprint (1972) is ninety-one pages in length, thirty three pages of text and the rest illustrations and index. De Bry's dedication to Raleigh is less than one page in length, while Harriot's Foreword "To the Wellwishers . . ." is two pages long. The *Report* is divided into three parts: "The First Part, Of Marchantable Commodities" (7-12), "The Second Part, Of such Commodities as Virginia is knowne to yeelde for Victual and Sustenance of Mans Life, vsually fed upon by the Naturall Inhabitants: as also by vs during the time of our aboad" (13-21), "The Third and Last Part, Of Such Other Things as is be hoolfull ["behoveful," i.e., useful, necessary] for those which shall plant and inhabit to know of; with a description of the nature and manners of the people in the cuntry" (22-33). After these three parts come the illustrations: "The Trve Pictures and Fashions of the People in that Parte of America now called Virginia . . ." (35-74), "Som Pictvre of the Pictes which in the Olde Tyme did habite one part of the Great Britainne" (75-85), and "A Table of the Principall Things that are contained in this Historie, after the order of the Alphabet" (87-89). An explanatory caption accompanies each illustration, except for the image of Adam and Eve (39). The captions to the illustrations of the Picts do not refer directly to Virginia, but the analogies between ancient Britain and Virginia are defined by the introductory remark about "the Olde Tyme" (above). Each of Harriot's three Parts is subdivided into what I refer to as "sections" by headings and sub-titles that introduce and separate the commodities being described. "Part Three" differs slightly from the first two, as the section "Of the nature and manners of the people" is a long piece of uninterrupted prose; it is more like an essay on the topic of the Virginians than the shorter descriptions that form the sections in the other parts of the *Report*.

Thomas Harriot and Ralph Lane were members of the same colony.¹ Lane became the governor after Grenville's departure (25 August, 1585). Harriot was an important member of the leadership, as his own claims and special knowledge indicate. Lane's report contains the information that Harriot was the only other named target of the planned attack by Wingina's forces, according to the intelligence supplied by Skiko and recorded as part of Lane's partisan account of the colony's final weeks (see Chapter Four, below, and *Narrative, Roanoke* 282-85). This information further supports the idea of Harriot's importance. Harriot's knowledge of at least one local language – North Carolina Algonquian – strongly suggests that he was involved in most major contacts with the native peoples, probably working with Manteo, who, with Wanchese, was brought to England by Barlowe.² Harriot must have been aware of the problems that Lane records throughout his *Account*; however, by omitting references to them in his *Report*, Harriot creates a description of Virginia that contrasts with Lane's. The differences between these accounts of the same colony – especially the fundamental differences that emerge from the descriptions of the availability of food, the relationship with the native peoples, and the future prospects for the colony's success – indicate the expedient narrative elements in both reports. Furthermore, Harriot refers to rumours ("diuers and variable reports") in his "Foreword," and although he outlines their origins and ridicules their originators, he does not repeat or define the rumours themselves. In this chapter, I suggest that it is possible to discern from Harriot's *Report* something of the content of these rumours, partly because of the antagonistic relationship between Lane's and Harriot's descriptions of Virginia. Harriot labours to present the notions of plenty and safety, whereas descriptions of hostile native groups, open conflict, fruitless searches and periods of famine abound in Lane's *Account*. Further, Lane's report expediently describes the rumours against which Harriot inveighs, and which emphasise the differences between the reporters' descriptions of Virginia. In short, the expedient elements in Harriot's *Report* are more easily recognized if Lane's *Account* is compared with it, and so I discuss the work of both writers in this chapter and the next.

The *Report* is a masterpiece of discovery writing. In it, Harriot manages to convey an overwhelming sense of the plenitude of the new found land while simultaneously suppressing aspects of the discovered territory that would detract from his

chosen image. Caught between the adverse rumours allegedly circulated by the disaffected colonists and Raleigh's need to promote the colony, Harriot asserts that the land contains the potential to create entrepreneurial profits and that it can support a colony with only minimal efforts required to cultivate food. On top of these attractions, he hints that the area could be the gateway to another Mexico. He applies all these optimistic interpretations to an enterprise that found no gold, could not feed itself, goaded the initially friendly indigenous population into open war and finally had to be evacuated by Drake's visiting fleet. Despite these actual setbacks, the notion of prosperity that Harriot outlines received wide circulation when his *Report* was published by De Bry. Although subsequent events challenged the *Report's* veracity, it presented the English with their first account of an English colony in North America. Indeed, Harriot's work has been described as "the first original book about the first English colony in America" (Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* 21).³

Harriot structures his account by dividing the "commodities" that he claims the English have found in Virginia into types according to their perceived uses in his overarching project to promote the colony. He then allocates a place to each "commoditie," including within his overall scheme the "naturall inhabitants." This process removes much of the mystery and excitement of the Virginian discoveries (as revealed, for example, in Barlowe's initial reactions to the land and Lane's account of the strife and horrors of the colony), and places them in the context of a national shopping list that would have been recognized by informed readers, especially those familiar with the ideas expressed in Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) and similar printed arguments for the establishment of English colonies or "plantations" in America.⁴ Harriot's *Report* does not present the wonders of Virginia (or, as others might have seen it, Providence), as a sudden, unexpected and complete revelation; neither are they described in a sequence that echoes the chronology of the English adventurers' encounters with them. The *Report* contains no record of the delight, whether retrospective or rhetorical, that accompanies the first sight or taste of a new object such as feature in the majority of contemporary voyage narratives and reports, including those relating to the English in Virginia; in Harriot all is listed and commented upon as though it is nothing more exciting than an inventory. However, Harriot's emphasis upon the

superiority of Virginian foods and the personalized details that accompany the information in the "Second Part" of the report erode some of the detachment that marks the "First Part".

While the brevity and concise approach of Harriot's *Brief and True Report* are not in question, its veracity is. Harriot tries to create a generally positive description of Virginia as a background to his specific information about the valuable and useful commodities he finds there. Yet, as he creates this positive description, alternative facts about Virginia -- which he wishes to suppress -- break into and disturb that description. Harriot's key strategy for rejecting the alternative truth about Virginia is to dismiss it as the product of "diuers and variable reports with some slaunders and shamefull speeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence" (Harriot 5). Harriot clearly has in mind that his version of the truth concerning the Virginia colony will be set against others, both written and oral, and so anticipates the problem by slandering the "slanderers." The published report with which Harriot clearly clashes is Ralph Lane's *Account*, which reveals a very different history of Virginia, one that supports alternative versions of events that may be perceived to surface uncomfortably in Harriot's text. For instance, Harriot's many references to food are meant to contradict rumours of hunger, but actually raise anxieties about the food supply.⁵ His accusation concerning the colonists who "had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper [i.e., over-indulge with rich food] their bellies" implicitly refutes the rumoured problem of the lack of food (Harriot 6). The ignorant colonists might scoff at the poor potential of Virginia, but they were able to stuff their bellies while they were there. This allusion to prosperity may be perceived as a bold gesture that sets the stage for the "Second Part" of his *Report* in which the supply of food available to the colonists features so prominently. On the other hand, it also indicates a degree of anxiety about the topic of hunger in Virginia. Harriot is a controlled, organized and sophisticated writer, but he breaks the structure of his planned exposition by referring to a troubling fact that interrupts the planned sequence of his revelations concerning the "new found land."

The ability to have food in abundance is mentioned throughout Harriot's *Report*. He makes much of the "overplus" (6), the "infinite store" (9) of produce that can feed the English and still allow them to make a handsome profit. His language is full of the idea

that Virginian produce is bigger, more abundant, “farre better than our English” equivalents (14), and “to be preferred before ours” (15). There is no direct reference to the circumstances or the dire situation of the English. The implied easy switch of diet from customary English fare to the allegedly plentiful “commodities . . . Virginia is knowne to yeelde for victuall and sustenance of mans life” is unproblematic. The alternative truth that appears in Lane’s report – the starvation that faced the English due to lack of resupply from England and a shortage of local foods that resulted from the hostility of the native inhabitants – is suppressed in favour of an evocation of prosperity which reflects the motive behind Harriot’s *Report*. His emphasis on the amount of food available is indicative of the rumours circulating in England. His repetition and emphasis suggest an anxiety to be believed – he “protests too much.”

To promote belief in his claims about the abundance of Virginia, Harriot provides extensive evidence about specific food items. The first word of the first section of the “Second Part” of the *Report* – “Of such Commodities as Virginia is knowne to yeelde for Victuall and Sustenance of Mans Life, vsually fed upon by the Naturall Inhabitants: as also by vs during the time of our aboard” – is “Pagatowr.” This is quickly identified as “Mayze” then “Guinney wheat or Turkie wheat,” all names by which “English men call it . . . according to the names of the countreys from whence the like has beene brought” (Harriot 13).⁶ The crop becomes central to Harriot’s depiction of ease and plenty in Virginia, and he refers to its husbandry in great detail. Harriot records that “according to the rate we haue made proof of” (15) the plant produces grain at a rate unheard of in England,⁷ can be planted at least twice a year (as supported by illustrations in De Bry’s edition which were taken from White’s sketches),⁸ and requires only twenty-four hours’ work to “yeelde . . . [a potential colonist] victuall in a large proportion for a twelue moneth, if hee haue nothing else, but that which the same ground will yeelde, and of that kinde onelie which I haue before spoken of” (15).⁹ Here Harriot’s words imply that there is much more to eat in Virginia than the new form of corn, yet, at the same time, it is made explicitly clear to planter and financial adventurer alike that food enough can be grown from one plot of corn “but of fiue and twentie yards square” to avoid starvation (Harriot 15). Harriot’s comments probably refer directly to his own experience of seeing, and eating from, fields of corn cultivated by the Roanoke peoples. He is able to assert the

idea that Virginia offers all that the English need to thrive; yet even as he makes this assertion, a potential background source for the reference can be detected in Lane's report. Lane records the following episode from April 1586 in which salvation from famine lies in a small cultivated area:

in the end of April, he [Pemisapan] had sowed a good quantitie of ground . . . sufficient, to haue fed our whole company . . . and that by the belly for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certain plot of grounde for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort . . . All our feare was for the two moneths bewtixt [the sowing and the harvest], in which space, if the Sauages should not helpe vs . . . and our weares should fayle vs, (as they often did) wee might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is. (*Account, Roanoke* 279-80)

The intensity of emotion that emerges from Lane's recollection of the event via his sharp awareness of the irony in the situation indicates how important the donation was for the colonists. Regardless of the pedestrian nature of Lane's expression of the irony, the fact that he noted the irony and recorded it underlines the impression that the event made upon this generally stodgy and unreflective writer. Harriot's own fascination with the corn and his detailed discussion of its husbandry and growth indicate an awareness of the crop's importance to the English. Perhaps another seepage of the concerns of the starving colonists, in this case as they waited for the corn to grow, occurs as Harriot emphasizes the fecundity and appealing taste of the crop. His evocation of plenty is an apt dream for a starving man. Harriot's description of what one man could grow to sustain himself is an optimistic portrayal of the potential of Virginia rather than a record of English activity. The "man" of Harriot's record was almost certainly an indigenous farmer, but Harriot does not reveal that.¹⁰ I believe that the English took food grown by native peoples rather than grew it for themselves, in emulation of the Spanish model that Harriot evokes at the end of his *Report*, as I suggest below. In the context of established husbandry, his account of the corn's growth and abundance may be true, although it omits the labour required to establish a field and then to keep it free from weeds and the incursions of forest animals. What he offers to his English reader is an expedient story, adapted to counter the rumours of famine. The record of English husbandry is itself a rumour, because the experiment it purports to record did not exist in the English setting

that Harriot implies through his writing. However, the import of the idea of an easy life projected for the settler and the investor is not that settlers can go to Virginia and live at ease, avoiding a painful life of labour – consider, for example, Stratchey’s description and Greenblatt’s discussion of the reluctance to work and the more than willing acceptance of an easy life, albeit the life of castaways, exhibited by the settlers bound for Virginia who were shipwrecked on the Bermudas with Stratchey in 1609 (Purchas 19:5-72; *Shakespearean Negotiations* 129-63). Rather, Harriot reveals that the ease with which food can be produced will allow a hearty, committed entrepreneur (or his indentured servant) to spend most of his time working for profit: an outlook clearly in tune with Harriot’s (and others’) agenda for Virginia.¹¹ Thus, Harriot’s record of the fecundity of the crop and its ease of cultivation are part of the expedient promotion of the colony’s alleged success.

Although the “Mayze” may be wonderful in its “marueilous great increase; of a thousand, fiteene hundred and some two thousand fold” (Harriot 13), the “marvel” is not so much strange, as the familiar and useful intensified:

The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeelde a very white and sweete flowre: beeing used according to his kinde it maketh a very good bread. Wee made of the same in the countrey some mault, whereof was brued as good ale as was to bee desired. So likewise by the help of hops therof may bee made as good Beere. (13)¹²

The novelty of the corn’s colour and its spectacular productivity serve as background details that enhance the report’s verisimilitude (and, hence, serve as part of Harriot’s proof); they are not, however, the focus of the account, which is on the crop’s usefulness. A parallel piece of writing, albeit dissimilar in tone and illustrative of a less analytical approach to the plenitude of Virginia, may be found in Barlowe’s account of the “flocke of Cranes” that arose when he fired a shot. He does not dwell on the quality or quantity of the meat available to the crew upon their landfall at the end of a long voyage, but rather is amazed by the number of wildfowl he sees and the noise they make:

such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose vnder vs, with such a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showed all together. (*The First Voyage, Roanoke* 96)

Barlowe's description of plenitude focuses upon the wonder of the new world. Harriot focuses upon the ways in which the strange corn can be made recognizable to the readership in England who might otherwise be unable to imagine anything so strange as "blew" corn, or think such an object useless, if not rotten with mildew.¹³

Once he has established the familiar uses to which the corn could be put in England, Harriot outlines the native peoples' unfamiliar uses of the corn:

Of these graines besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall eyther by parching them; or seething them whole vntill they be broken; or boyling the floure with water into a pappe. (Harriot 13-14)

Harriot makes the strange object familiar through a process in which the object is described and equated with known objects of a similar size or appearance. Next, he demonstrates that the object can be used for familiar purposes, in this case the production of ale, and flour for making bread. After that, the novel features or possibilities of the discovered (but now familiar) item are revealed.¹⁴ The novel uses of the corn are made less strange through Harriot's detailed descriptions and the inclusion of De Bry's versions of White's illustrations. Once the reader can see the native people eating the corn, some of the strangeness of the recorded experience is lost because it is captured visually: English foods can be manufactured or found in Virginia, just as Virginian foods can be experienced (albeit only as viewed objects on a page) in England. Familiarity and acceptance are achieved through Harriot's deployment of a carefully presented image of Virginia in which the rumours spread by the survivors of the adventure are suppressed.

Not only does Harriot praise the food that he describes in such detail, but the very words chosen to describe and emphasise the fecundity of the corn also contain echoes of ideas and connections that turn the subject into more than a nutritious cereal crop. The Parable of the Sower, while referring most directly to the quality of the soils onto which the seeds fall, focuses on the bounty of the harvest that results from the "good ground," where the seed yielded fruit and "brought forth, some thirtie folde, some sixtie folde, and some an hundreth folde" (Mark 4: 8, Geneva Bible [1560]). Harriot's description of the corn's "marueilous great increase; of a thousand, fiteene hundred and some two thousand fold" (13) echoes the structure of the parable's conclusion. His words reveal the literal fecundity of the crop and allude to the quality of Virginia's soil. They also hint

at the potential for wider “growth” in Virginia; growth such as Hakluyt prophesied and Raleigh sought: agricultural, mercantile, spiritual, financial, and the development of English influence in emulation of Spain’s. Quite how such a marvellous, peaceful and prosperous setting could be abandoned in such haste as to lose important evidence and possessions is not addressed. Indeed, the fact that there is not a thriving English colony set amidst the glories of the New World is an unaddressed challenge to veracity throughout Harriot’s account. All the references to and depictions of the praiseworthy features of Virginia are implicitly set against an awareness of failure, hasty retreat, and, by 1590 – the year of De Bry’s publication of the *Report* – the disappearance of White’s colonists. Nevertheless, Harriot records the praiseworthy features of the land and promotes English settlement there. His descriptions of success and prosperity offer a carefully adapted, filtered, and expedient set of truths about the land and its fabled commodities.

Harriot’s discussion of the qualities of “Pagatowr” [maize/corn] at the beginning of the “Second Part” is followed by “Okindgier, called by vs Beanes” and “Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze” and many other examples (14-15). His process of equation steadily familiarises the strange and uncouth names. The familiarization is didactic in purpose, as these items will have to be requested from the local inhabitants. If this were not the case, why would Harriot use the strange names as the titles for each commodity? Is it no more than a display of knowledge that substantiates his claimed expertise through first-hand experience?¹⁵ Clearly, the task of recommending Virginia to a potentially sceptical readership requires Harriot to establish his personal authority; it was important to his project that he should set himself above the ignorant settlers whose attitudes and complaints he ridicules in his opening pages. However, if he wished to make a clear list of Virginia’s products that is immediately understandable to an English reader, surely he would reverse the process and use the English names as the titles: he does this in the “First Part,” “Of Marchantable Commodities.” The need to know the names of the edible items in the Algonquian indicates the next group of settlers’ dependency upon locally grown supplies. A possible, positive interpretation of Harriot’s language lesson is that it is a preparation for the imagined colonist farmer who will be growing his own food. Conversely, knowledge of the Algonquian names allows an armed English settler to

demand what he wants to eat. The second scenario echoes the situation recorded by Lane and experienced by Harriot. The English named and identified the foods produced by the native peoples; they did not grow them. Behind Harriot's menu of Virginian delights lie exploitation and coercion, both exacerbated by increasing desperation, which produce conflict and bitterness. These he cannot reveal as they support the rumours he denies. Such revelations could undermine the notion of English control and safety that he attempts to build – after all, the English were at the mercy of the native peoples for much of their food. Similarly, the alleged conspiracy against the settlers reduced them for at least some of the final weeks of occupation to a wary, armed encampment rather than an assertive, confident band of superior humans, as Lane's record of the colony so clearly illustrates. Consequently, Harriot's description of Virginia is founded on alternate rumours and truths that are themselves based on the need for expediency in the promotion of the colony.

When Harriot discusses the "Marchantable Commodities" in "Part One," he uses English names as headings to define all but two of the items; the Algonquian names are not otherwise mentioned. When he records the Algonquian name for an item he lists in any section, he always links the item with its assumed or imagined English equivalent and so establishes the idea of a familiar item despite the exotic word that names it; hence, "Okindgier, called by vs *Beanes*," "Wickonzowr, called by vs *Peaze*," "Tsinaw a kind of roote much like vnto the which in England is called the *China root* brought from the East Indies" (14, 17).¹⁶ One clear reason for this focus on English parallels is to make the opportunities for profit as clear as possible. Harriot's translations tick off the commodities and repetitively emphasise their potential for "translation" into profit even as he translates the strange words and items into more familiar ones for his readers. The English can find and recognize a walnut and then process it without the assistance of the native peoples, or so Harriot assumes. How they are to locate the materials to construct the refining machinery to turn the nuts into oil is not explained.¹⁷

The use of the Algonquian names for the "marchantable commodities" contains and reveals an underlying need for the help and cooperation of the native peoples that counteracts the confident tone of Harriot's predictions. Implicit in his words is the idea that profit can be identified without help and that the prosperous colonists will not need

assistance in this fundamental task once he has outlined what can be found in Virginia. In any case, the items noted by the headings in “Part One” are ones that cannot be requested or demanded from the indigenous peoples mainly because the profit they represent can only be realised after the application of English technology in the form of processing or refining. He is listing products to be derived from the produce of Virginia, not extant commodities that can be exploited at once. For example, “Oyle: There are two sortes of *Walnuttes* both holding oyle When there are milles and other deuises for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised because there are infinite store” (Harriot 9). “Oyle,” the heading applied to the commodity as it is recorded in Harriot’s list, is deceptive: the oil’s existence is based upon a series of events that has not taken place, and, as far as we can tell, did not take place during Harriot’s time in Virginia. The commodity is only forecast under the heading within the section, but that is not the overall impression created by the list of headings used throughout Harriot’s *Report*. The oil is a rumoured product of the land. Likewise, the profit from the oil is a rumour. Both rumours are based on a series of events that have yet to take place before the profit from the oil can be achieved. Harriot silently anticipates the acceptance of his account of Virginia, the investment of money based on that acceptance, the fitting out of ships and the recruitment of colonists and sailors with the invested money, the successful voyage to Virginia, and the safe establishment of a colony in a land that was left in a state of turmoil and open warfare. Building upon this imagined beginning, he proceeds to anticipate the successful felling of timber and the construction of plant and machinery for the refining of oil, or the transportation of prefabricated items from England, followed by the collection of sufficient nuts to create an economically viable amount of oil from uncultivated trees growing without planning in unknown woods. Harriot also omits to mention the tensions that would almost certainly arise when English entrepreneurs attempted to harvest a wild resource on which the local peoples relied to supplement their cultivated food. Rountree’s analysis of the important part played by nuts in the diet of the local peoples supports this interpretation of the likely outcome of nut harvesting (*Eastern Shore* 12, 18-19, 34).

In addition to the details concerning the establishment of the imagined processing plant, Harriot skips over the successful processing of the nuts, the storage of the oil, and

then the safe shipping of the oil back to England. All these listed processes and considerations form the unuttered background to Harriot's bland prediction, "When there are milles and other deuises for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised because there are infinite store." He presents the mere record of plenitude as proof of the success of the projected but under-defined activity, just as he assumes that his writing will overcome the rumours that deny the viability, safety and prosperity of Virginia as an English colony. So it becomes clearer that at least part of the "truth" referred to in the title of Harriot's *Report* is based upon the reader's acceptance of an imaginative projection of a future that proves an untried past. Also, the confident references to the reader's knowledge of the profits that will accrue from certain items is based upon Old World knowledge, not New World trial and experience as Harriot would otherwise like his reader to believe.

A more extreme form of his projection is listed under the title "Oade" [woad]:

A thing of so great vent and vse amongst English Diers, which cannot bee yeilded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground; may bee planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The grouth thereof need not be doubted when as in the Ilandes of the Asores it groweth plentifully, which is in the same climate. So likewise Madder. (Harriot 11)

There is no evidence of woad being present already in Virginia, and Harriot's main concern is with land that can be cleared to raise cash crops. This attitude is significant because a glance through the list of names of the alleged commodities in the "First Part" reads like an English shopping list designed to remove contemporary mercantile woes. "The Table [of Contents]" featured in the De Bry edition emphasises this list while simultaneously removing the details of each section (Harriot 87-89). Consequently, the "Table" creates an alphabetical checklist that is unhampered by any temporizing truths about the efforts or cost required to achieve the listed item. Oil is oil, woad is woad; no processing has to be suggested or explained in an index. When the sections in the "First Part" are read in detail, however, the list becomes a selection of potentially profitable commodities that depend upon the English reader's involvement first as a reader and then as an investor if their contents and associated potential are to be realised as Harriot foretells. The profits are always rumours of profits, not proven profits. Harriot's

description of Virginia reveals its expedient nature through his eager but generally unfounded projection of imagined profits for England and his master, Raleigh.

The only two items in the list of “Marchantable Commodities” that are given their American names are “Wapeih” and “Sassafras.” The first is “a kinde of earth . . . very like to terra sigillata: and hauing beene refined, it hath been found by some of our Phisitions and Chirurgeons to bee of the same kinde of virtue and more effectual. . . . there is in diuers places great plentie” (Harriot 8). The fact that the indigenous peoples use it “for the cure of sores and woundes” indicates that the refining process can be undertaken without external, English paraphernalia. Also, the native peoples’ knowledge of the substance is required for its discovery, recognition and exploitation because it is not as easily recognizable as walnuts, for example. For both these reasons, Harriot uses the Algonquian name for the product. As an added attraction, the new substance is similar to a known one, but is declared to be “more effectual” than its existing, Old World form, like so many of the products of Virginia. This truth (like most of the others) remains unsubstantiated; it is part of the rumoured plenitude of a land that has not yielded any profit to the investors in the colony.

Sassafras is a product whose properties and, for once, value are already known. The evidence to corroborate Harriot’s praise of the product does not have to rely upon native usage or unnamed “Phisitions and Chirurgeons” because Sassafras is described in a known and translated medical publication: *The ioyfull newes from the West Indies* (9).¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the plant’s name is already a Europeanisation of a native American word. European familiarity allows Harriot not only to use it without explanation but also to supply the Virginian name for it: “*Winauk*.” The availability of this exotic plant to the English raises the possibility of their challenging the Spanish monopoly in this product of America and so gaining some of the profit that was currently flowing into Spain. Harriot was aware of the price of sassafras from Spanish Florida from the interrogation of Nicholas Burgoignon, who stated that “a Tunne of sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates” (*Roanoke* 764; see also 329 n2). The plant would have been known to a contemporary reader for its alleged medicinal properties and its high price.¹⁹

The possibility of challenging Spanish mercantile influence through the exploitation of Virginian sassafras links in with the references, within Harriot's discussion of "Marchantable Commodities," to other commodities that were then being imported into England and which an alert reader would have recognized as being not just profitable but of wider significance because they offered the possibility of English self-sufficiency. Harriot's enthusiasm about Virginia's potential stems largely from the fact that he is presenting a list of many goods that would have been familiar to contemporary English merchants and which were also a source of concern to the economy, as was recognized by the actions of Parliament. For example, oil (mainly olive oil) was imported for use in the manufacture of woollens that were produced for export. As international tensions increased in the years leading up to the declaration of war with Spain, the effects of Spanish economic sanctions that acted directly against England were viewed with alarm. Between 1542 and 1549 the cost of oil increased by a third (Thirsk 67), and in 1553 Spain prevented the export of alum without a licence, prompting the question in Parliament, "What if Spain did the same with oil? How should we then have oils to work our wools withal?" (Thirsk 67). The answer was the expansion of the production of oil from seed, including hempseed, between 1570 and 1580, as the grants of patents reveal (Thirsk 70).²⁰

By 1559 the production of English woad for use as a dye in the textile industry was being promoted by Parliament because, in their words, "no countrey robbeth England so much as France." In 1579 Hakluyt was involved in the promotion of English woad in response to "another substantial rise in the price of foreign woad" (Thirsk 29). Hemp and flax were also promoted so that the linen industry could develop through the production of threads, coarse cloth, sails and ropes, all of which were required for the fitting out of ships (Thirsk 74). The developing sea war with Spain made the availability of ships' stores from Virginia all the more attractive to potential investors, especially as Englishmen and not potentially hostile foreigners would control the source. Thirsk refers to a list of 106 articles that were foreign imports and yet, according to contemporary opinion, could have been made in England. Amongst the "projects successfully launched well before 1580" are ones concerned with iron, woad, oil, alum, and dyeing (Thirsk 49).

Contemporary writers classed iron, oil, and woad among the “essential commodities” for the prosperity of England (Thirsk 33).

Bearing in mind all the above, the commodities listed by Harriot as available in Virginia and praised for their profit-producing qualities assume a new significance. Of the twenty-five separate commodities he lists in his survey of potential and actual Virginian products, Thirsk mentions fourteen as items imported by England from known, Old World sources in the 1500s. Iron, oil and woad all feature in Harriot’s report of the commodities available in Virginia. He states categorically that iron is located “in two places of the countrey specially” and when tested by “a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly” (Harriot 10).²¹ Oil can be widely obtained from nuts, berries and even bears: whose “fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oyle, and hath many speciall vses” (9). There is also a section devoted to “*Dyes of diuers kindes*” that are found in Virginia (11). Clearly, Harriot is writing a description of Virginia tailored to catch the attention of merchants aware of the current problems affecting English trade. These problems had already been outlined in some detail by Hakluyt in his *Discourse*. Harriot’s writing fits into the expressed interests of the movement in England to establish colonies to promote and sustain English trade. This association reveals yet more about the motives that underlie his work and helps to explain his specific depiction of Virginia that is so demonstrably at odds with the other extant reports of the same colony.

Harriot’s involvement with, and awareness of, the movement to promote English colonies is further demonstrated by his inclusion of woad within his list of commodities. As is noted above, woad is a commodity that is presented differently in Harriot’s *Report*: its presence is suggested by the availability of land, not the growth of the crop. Harriot (presumably) proposes to transport the seeds from England where there is not enough land to produce it. This proposal echoes contemporary events in England and supports more specifically some of my suggestions about the agenda and motives behind Harriot’s projected idea of Virginia. In 1584 Sir Francis Walsingham (Lane’s master) took a personal interest in, and backed financially, the attempt to grow woad and madder (i.e., *Rubia tinctorum*, a plant cultivated for the dye that can be extracted from it) in the colony of Ireland. The same year saw the “woad craze” in England reach a climax. The

resulting food supply crisis caused by landowners growing woad instead of cereals prompted the government to pass legislation against the cultivation of woad (Thirsk 76).

The banning of the production of woad in England led to attempts to grow it abroad in the colonies. The conscious strategy behind this is revealed by the fact that Walsingham employed Alexander King as his manager in Ireland. King had compiled a report about woad for Cecil, and this report had led to the ban on its cultivation. Thirsk goes on to reveal the elaborate machinations behind Walsingham's involvement with the production of woad in Ireland:

In his new role as a *promoter* of woad in Ireland, Alexander King engaged a number of different experts to take responsibility for the woad plantations in different parts of the country. Who were they? None other than some of the men whom he had interviewed [about the problems of cultivating woad] on his tours of England. (77)

Here, then, is an example of colonists being used to further English interests by producing the materials previously supplied by (unfriendly) foreign powers, under the aegis of a sponsor of expansion into America. Harriot's *Report* expands the location of the already established use of colonised land into Virginia. But it does so by projection and suggestion only. Not a stem of woad grew in the Virginia abandoned by Harriot and Lane despite Harriot's assurance that its growth "need not be doubted" (11). The enthusiasm, optimism, and expediency he reveals are not immediately obvious because the English need for woad (and the anticipated appreciation of this fact in the astute reader) allows Harriot to sidestep the issue of its indigenous presence or the testing of imported seeds. The reference to the success of woad in the Azores is used to prove Harriot's assertion through the idea that similar latitudes will permit the growth of similar products.²² The focus upon the need to import, test, then develop the crop in Virginia is lost in the happy thought that it will grow as well as it does in a Spanish possession.²³ Once again, a Virginian commodity will help to overcome the trade problems that Hakluyt identifies in his *Discourse*, and will allow the English to make inroads into another Spanish trading commodity (the other being sassafras, noted above). Harriot has achieved this goal by transforming uncleared, uncultivated, allegedly surplus Virginian land into bags of cash that result from the sale of woad. His transformation is based

upon a combination of truth and expediency, neither of which is founded on fact or experience derived from Virginia.

Equally important to Harriot's overall project of the promotion of the colony as his forecasts of profits is his praise for the native peoples of Virginia. The inclusion of illustrations in the De Bry edition of Harriot's text makes the strange land and people yet more immediate, comprehensible and acceptable to English readers by not only showing their way of life but also by carefully differentiating them from other types of discovered Americans. The illustrations to Harriot's text reveal the omnipresence of peace and prosperity. There is no hint of the internecine conflict that Barlowe claimed to be rife in the area, nor are the weapons of war depicted. The wooden swords and clubs that Barlowe records are nowhere portrayed, and the Roanoke natives' bows and other arms are associated exclusively with hunting and so, once again, serve to emphasise the plenitude and attractiveness of the area.²⁴ Whenever a bow appears there is a food target provided for its arrows, even for the miniature figures in Plate II "The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia" (Harriot 45). Similarly, a spear signifies fishing.²⁵ Native peoples had to work hard to find and grow enough to eat, as Rountree explains in detail in the initial chapters of *Pocahontas' People* and *Eastern Shore Indians*, so images of fishing may represent the reality of everyday scenes at certain times of year. However, the lack of martial images contrasts strongly with the conflicts that Lane claims to have experienced, Barlowe records explicitly and which Harriot records more implicitly. As has been noted in Chapter Two, the presence of palisaded settlements suggests a heightened degree of local conflict. Harriot also reveals Wingina's awareness of the potential advantages offered by the English using their alleged powers to exact revenge upon groups that he regards as enemies. Both Lane's and Grenville's accounts of Virginia record conflict between the settlers and the indigenous peoples. Harriot himself makes a detailed assessment of the Roanoke peoples' offensive and defensive capabilities in the final pages of his *Report*. He also admits that some of the English were too severe in their treatment of the local people and that this caused problems for the settlers. We know from Lane's *Account* that the colony ended in a state of open conflict with the local population. Harriot's concentration on potential weapons as hunting tools suggests that he is suppressing aspects of an alternative, conflict-ridden reality in Virginia as part of his

propaganda. By avoiding the subject of native peoples' warfare, he omits a feature of their culture that is noted by all other reporters. The omission suggests at least a noteworthy gap in his account of the peoples he encountered. This conclusion is supported in part by Dickason's and Rountree's comments about the "endemic" warfare between native peoples, noted earlier (*First Nations* 81-82, 102; *Eastern Shore* 45-46; *Pocahontas* 11-12).²⁶

The production and capture of food form the background in almost all of De Bry's engravings, unless an illustration features the preparation or consumption of food, or reveals an aspect of the local peoples' religion. In the illustrations that include food as their main focus the message of plenty is emphasized: the grains of corn are large (61), the cooking pots vast (60), the fish immense, diverse in species and heavy to carry (59). Illustrations of "townes" feature adjacent fecund and widespread crops, regardless of the focus of the caption and its more direct revelations about Virginia. In the illustration of "The Tovvne of Secota" (69), for example, there is a clear picture of a thriving settlement that contains a great deal of food, including the much-emphasized corn flourishing in (at least) two stages of growth. The explanatory caption mentions various details that are expanded in other illustrations, thereby adding to the overall sense of accuracy in depicting the great diversity of food available (68-69).²⁷

The idea of Virginia being a desirable land for the English to inhabit is further enhanced because the Virginians are neither reported nor depicted as engaging in torture or cannibalism, nor are they depicted in any form of combat.²⁸ Negative ideas and images of indigenous American peoples were to become increasingly familiar as De Bry published his series of accounts of the exploration of America. Here, however, De Bry's illustrations develop the acceptability of the Virginian natives. For instance, in De Bry's *America* series there are parallel depictions of the cannibals of Brazil and the natives of Virginia engaged in outwardly and recognizably similar culinary activities. Whereas the Brazilians roast human remains over a grill, the Virginians use an almost identical grill for "The brovvyllinge of their fishe ouer the flame" (Harriot, Plate XIII, 59). The fires burn with equal ferocity in the two plates, but the nature of the attendant native peoples is vastly different. The seemingly wild, bestial ferocity of the Brazilian cannibals, depicted in the throes of "a sixteenth-century European fantasy of a cannibals' feast," is contrasted

by the decorum and orderliness of the two Virginian natives: one is cooking, the other hauling the sea's bounty to be cooked.²⁹ Their decorum is further developed by the contrast between the scenes around the fire: in Brazil there is no orderly cooking and carrying. Completely naked men, women and children cavort and devour with no modesty or propriety – from a European perspective, at least. In Virginia, though only partially clothed, the people have the modesty to cover their genitals and appear to be engrossed in their task of cooking. The contrasts between what may be interpreted as Virginian decorum and an alternate, stereotyped and pejorative conception of American savagery are developed in the subsequent plate from the *Report* (XV, 60). In this illustration, a man and a woman cook together, the man tending the fire, the woman stirring the contents of the pot. Inside the pot are clearly illustrated corn and fish: nothing remotely human is being prepared for consumption. The woman wears a form of loincloth and the man a skirt-like garment. They are situated on opposite sides of the fire and are not so much as looking at each other. It is a rustic culinary scene that is only faintly erotic through the depiction of the woman's naked breasts and, in the context of English morality, the idea of semi-clothed people being in such proximity.³⁰ The plate's title is "The seetheynge of their meate in earthen pottes." Harriot's commentary not only describes the process being depicted, but praises it as part of the wholesome production and consumption of food:

They putte yt [the prepared food, a "galliemaufrye"] out into disches, and sett before the companye, and then they make good cheere together. Yet are they moderate in their eatinge wher by they auoide sicknes. I would to god wee would followe their exemple. For wee should bee free from many kynes of diseasyes which wee fall into by sumptuous and vnseasonable banketts, continuallye deusinge new sawces, and prouocation of gluttonnye to satisfie our vnsatiable appetite. (Harriot 60)

By contrast, in the corresponding Brazilian scene there is also a pot on a fire and women looking after the contents, but the pot contains entrails from a butchered man and is being filled with yet more human offal by naked and apparently shameless women. Naked men are cutting into the corpse and piling pieces of body into the arms of yet more naked women. Other naked women are whooping about the compound waving body parts, while a child gleefully carries the head of the victim towards the pot and another male

child tends the fire beneath the pot in an attitude like (but simultaneously unlike) the Virginian in the other plate. The Brazilian plate is part of a series showing “How they deal with prisoners.” The title says much about the type of native American being depicted, as does a Euro-centric interpretation of the images.

There are no such images of Virginia, verbal or pictorial, in the reports of the Raleigh-sponsored voyages to Roanoke.³¹ Not even Lane, who had a vested interest in projecting a negative image of the native peoples, suggests that Wingina, his archenemy, was a cannibal. Barlowe comes the closest to an evocation of wild, bloodthirsty American natives in his brief account of the premeditated murder of guests at a banquet, but even that does not suggest that the dead enemies were eaten. As a result, there is no need to explain away their sacrifices or treatment of prisoners or other “savage” traits; Harriot does not need to echo Montaigne’s or Las Casas’ apologetic approaches to defend the Virginian natives to his audience. The roughly contemporary depiction of similar events featuring different types of native Americans shows that Harriot is using the illustrations in De Bry’s book to make the Virginians acceptable to the English readers through reassurances about their lesser degree of savagery and their potential for civility. Harriot’s captions further this acceptability through direct contrasts between Virginian and English behaviour in which English gastronomic practices are criticized. The illustrations and captions serve to enhance and emphasise the message of safety that begins in Barlowe’s report and is developed in Harriot’s.

Despite the ideas Harriot suggests in the captions, he cannot have avoided a close knowledge of the hostility, conflict and famine that Lane recounts. Harriot’s study of Algonquian before the expedition set sail strongly (even inevitably) suggests his involvement in the transfer of information between the local inhabitants and Lane. Harriot himself states that he was “in the discoverie [of Virginia], and in dealing with the naturall inhabitantes specially imploied” (Harriot 5). As a result of his involvement, he also claims to have “seene and knowne more than the ordinarie” (5).³² By omitting the information about the violent end of the colony, Harriot reveals again the consciously edited nature of his *Report*. Subsequent accounts of the Virginian natives’ behaviour by White and, later, John Smith and other reporters of the Jamestown settlement, do clearly reveal tortures, violence, and trickery employed against the English. Harriot’s ability to

report the facts with a radical avoidance of the more negative aspects of his experiences in Virginia, leads me to believe that he is attempting to project a more disinterested view of the land, people and associated events than may be the case. After all, he is writing to promote a colony and a policy at the behest of his patron, so he is far from disinterested in the project. His references to the potential of Virginia are based on the premise of successful future events that have not even begun to happen as the *Report* is published. The truth of the image that he projects is contaminated by the agendas that influence him and affect the overall project aimed at the development of Virginia, from naval base through mercantile panacea to English Mexico.

Harriot may wish to appear to be fair and even-handed in his depiction of Virginian flora, fauna and native peoples, but he cannot actually be so; he becomes passionately involved with the potential for profit offered by the land's resources. It is noteworthy that the very notion of detachment, as suggested by elements of Harriot's *Report*, contains within it the seeds of future writing and the future fate of the land and people it discusses.³³ Unfortunately for the native peoples, Harriot's reserve and tolerance (cynical or otherwise) are a noteworthy but very rare example of such attitudes within the reports of Virginia.³⁴ Perhaps the different tones within the *Report* – the constant concern with profits in the “First Part,” the seemingly cynical (or overly-enthusiastic) promotion of plenty that further supports the idea of colonisation in the “Second Part,” and the intimate and reflective relationship with the indigenous people that emerges from the account of their lives and religion and which contrasts so sharply with the underlying cynical dismissal of them in the concluding remarks, all of which are features of the “Third Part” – are what lead scholars to define Harriot's involvement in differing ways and so perceive differing levels of involvement with his subject matter. He can be both callous in his assessments and engaging in his descriptions of the Virginian natives. His interest in Virginian culture appeals to a modern sense of ecological and anthropological inquiry, while his simultaneous agenda of exploitation can appall the same modern sensibilities.

This mixture of attraction and repulsion is a reflection of the mores of the contemporary English, for example as Louis Montrose points out in “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery.” Montrose detects aspects of a similar approach

in Raleigh's *Discoverie* when he suggests that Raleigh promotes a view of the English being superior to the Spanish yet reveals that they share the same ambitions and motivations. Raleigh's interest in what he sees and the peoples he encounters goes a little way towards countering the horrors that his report finally promotes. Yet, however much Raleigh may reject the actions of the Spanish, the need for a reporter to show the potential for profit in the area being advertised – be it Guiana or Virginia – ultimately overrides other concerns and agendas. Indeed, Harriot's approach is not always as reserved and tolerant as he might like us to think. I noted above that there are a few "slips" in his text when the word "sauage" enters his account. When he records the presence of "ciuet cattes" in the "First Part" of the *Report*, for example, Harriot writes that they encountered one during their travels that had "beene killed by a saluage or inhabitant" (10). In addition, the entry concerning "Pearle" on the same page relates that "One of our companie; a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the sauage people about fiue thousand [pearls]" (11). The first reference could indicate alternate ways of referring to the same people. It could also be an attempt to differentiate between the coastal tribes of the Roanoke area – those "inhabitants" known and trusted in Harriot's account – and the other groups of native people (the alleged enemies of the Roanoke locals) who are recorded as having "abused vs in our iourneys" (28), since the reference to the "ciuet cattes" refers to a period when the Englishmen were "in [their] travailes" (10). The different meanings of "travail" do not make the interpretation any easier here, but I believe the relevant one to be "travel," as the same passage refers to other experiences "in another place."

The second "slip" occurs during the passage that refers to the acquisition of five thousand pearls. Such a large number of pearls would have required some time to collect, so the episode may relate to activities in and around Roanoke (or a similar fixed base). In this case, it seems that Harriot is referring directly to the people whose pictures are part of his publication and whose praises he sings. Harriot's usage of "natural inhabitants" indicates a more developed culture than "savage" implies; there is still the notion of living close to, or in a "state of" nature, but Harriot avoids the woodland excesses contained in the pejorative meaning of "savage" (see Dickason, *Myth* 63-84). He wishes to reveal the indigenous culture in as reassuring a light as possible. His later

suggestions about more advanced cultures in the hills further enhance the idea that yet more prosperous and civilised groups live further inland. In contrast to this reassuring notion, Lane's use of "savage" clearly contains the pejorative attributes of wildness, unrestrained ferocity, grudge-bearing and cruelty. He does not make any suggestion that people more acceptable to English sensibilities can be found elsewhere. Consequently, Harriot's reference to a "savage" may indicate his awareness of the alternative and violent reality that Lane records, especially when one remembers that towards the climax of Lane's *Narrative*, the allegedly pacific people mass to attack the English settlement in late May and early June 1586. Both these examples of Harriot's "slips" are indicative of a less self-conscious writer exposing the planned exploitation of the indigenous population that is suggested more openly towards the end of his text.

Harriot offers an idealised description of the native peoples and his account creates a broad overview, inviting a reader to imagine that the arrival of the English is of no consequence to the culture recorded in the *Report* and illustrated in De Bry's edition. But we know from Harriot's passing references to conflict and from Lane's *Account* that the English did in fact have a significant impact upon local culture and polity. As Quinn observes, Harriot does individualise Wingina (the only inhabitant of Roanoke he actually names), but I suggest that the Wingina of Harriot's *Report* is highly idealised representation of an individual member of a native group, and it is also significant that he is dead (*Roanoke* 315). Lane killed Wingina because of the damage that the man's alleged "conspiracie" had inflicted upon the fortunes of the colony. As will become clear in the following chapters, the importance of Wingina changes after his death. He no longer represents the ideal neighbour, as in Harriot's *Report*, but becomes the embodiment of Virginian hostility and resistance. Harriot's choice of Wingina as the only native person named in the *Report* may reflect the man's perceived importance and reveal Harriot's suppressed acknowledgement of the wider, less peaceful impact that he had upon the Roanoke settlement. By avoiding any mention of Wingina's death and promoting the idealised native leader who is friendly and open to English culture, Harriot conceals the conflict and discord that affected the colony while he promotes the illusion of a peaceful future for the next settlers.

Another slip in Harriot's portrayal of the peaceful, affable native peoples occurs when he allows for some of them to be guilty of using a "subtile deuce" against the English during his account of the exploratory journeys he undertook (Harriot 28).³⁵ His remarks are part of what attracts Greenblatt's notice when, according to Greenblatt's reading of the episode, Harriot's expressed religious orthodoxy becomes confused. This occurs as Harriot attempts to reconcile his rejection of the native group's request for what they perceive to be supernatural help (the "invisible bullets" of disease) to defeat their enemies with the subsequent outbreak of disease in the enemies' settlements. When Wingina requests the English to visit death upon neighbouring settlements, the English response is to reject the request with a pious injunction that it is better to forgive one's enemies in order to please God. However, the *Report* suggests that the English infected the native peoples with a disease that was unknown to the indigenous population. As Greenblatt points out, it is clear that the English did not understand the effects of a presumably minor European disease on the native Americans, nor could they predict or in any way control the spread of the infection. Indeed, Harriot describes the powers ascribed to the English (as a result of the deaths that resulted from the disease) as an example of a "rare and strange accident [i.e., unusual, unexpected occurrence]" (28). Harriot's explanation potentially reveals startling insights into contemporary perceptions of religion (*Shakespearean Negotiations* 38). The complexity of thought behind Harriot's attempts to promote orthodox practices and behaviour increases the level of complexity in the text. This complexity leads to less clarity of expression about the native groups and their associated actions. When the disease strikes in accordance with Wingina's wishes (and in contrast to the pious admonitions of the English), Harriot notes that the effects were beneficial to the English because some of the people "could not tel whether to think vs gods or men" (29). He does not record that the English rejected the idea of their being gods in the way that the early apostles rejected the worship of themselves instead of their professed God. This omission may support some of Greenblatt's hypothesis about Harriot's potential reflections upon the role of religion in society. It may also illuminate Lane's brief references to metaphysical debates among the native peoples that parallel Harriot's interpretations of their speculations about the divine nature of the English. However, Harriot's (and Lane's) record of what use – if any

– the English made of their attributed powers remains enigmatic. Harriot does not attempt to clarify his account of the effects of the disease beyond his initial explanation of what happened.

Harriot's obscure explanation of the event may indicate that his confusion about other matters allows an aspect of his own ambivalence towards the surrounding, potentially hostile peoples to enter his text. The (undefined) "subtile deuce" that Harriot alleges the enemies of Wingina's people used against the English challenges the recorded trustworthiness and hospitality mixed with awe and interest that Harriot presents as the more normal reaction to the English of the groups they encounter. As Greenblatt notes, the expression "subtile deuce" allows for the self-justification in Harriot's account of the punishment of the people affected by the English disease – Harriot asserts that the deaths occurred "in no place that wee coulde learne but where wee had bene, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time." The reference to the "subtile deuce," however, also permits another seepage of less desirable background events into the report.

Harriot's reference to more than one "subtile deuce" suggests an association with the shady and covert plans that Lane refers to as the "conspiracie of Pemisapan" by allowing for the possibility, or, in context, reality that the native peoples practise deceit.³⁶ Once this negative aspect of the local peoples' attitude towards the English is revealed, their previously simple-to-explain actions are left open to question, as are Harriot's interpretations of their acts. An alternative Virginia, one only obliquely recorded in the rumours of the colonists Harriot rejects in his opening pages, finds detailed and (relatively) eloquent expression in Lane's *Account*. This alternative Virginia is present in the other reports of Roanoke and it challenges the accuracy of Harriot's *Brief and True Report*.

A further indication of Harriot's narrative strategy derives from the fact that he is known to have worked with Hakluyt, and both men were closely associated with Raleigh's project to colonise Virginia. Hakluyt promotes the new continent as a place for evangelical expansion in addition to being a source of mercantile profit in his *Discourse of Western Planting* – the projected colonisation of Virginia contains an expedient blend of service to both God and Mammon. He also presents the idea that the colonisation of

America is England's manifest destiny, a means for the English to catch up with Catholic missionary activity, citing Sebastian Cabot's voyages and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's projects as part of his proof for an English claim to the land. Once the colonisation of Virginia is finally underway, Hakluyt becomes a fierce defender of the country and its sponsor, Raleigh. When he seeks a means to praise Raleigh's efforts and castigate his detractors, he chooses the account of Moses and the Israelite spies in Canaan to provide a parallel story to comment upon the rumours about the English entry into Virginia. Before Harriot's *Report* is first published, Hakluyt makes a direct reference to Moses' spies and the promised land when he refers to Virginia in the dedication of his translation of Peter Martyr (dated 22 February 1587). In it, Hakluyt refers directly to Thomas Harriot's role and importance in Raleigh's household: "you have maintained in your household Thomas Harriot, a [young] man pre-eminent in those studies [of navigation], at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure hours" (*Roanoke* 513). This reference reveals Hakluyt's knowledge of Harriot's activities. We also know that Harriot and Hakluyt worked together almost as soon as Harriot returned from America because Hakluyt records Harriot's presence at the interrogation of a prisoner brought back from Florida. The record of the interrogation, discussed below, indicates that both were aware of and involved directly with the promotion of the Virginia adventure. Hakluyt's influence upon Harriot's writing has been revealed earlier through the references to the lists and objectives outlined in the *Discourse* that find echoes and interpretations in Harriot's *Report*. Clearly, the two men were aware of each other's work. Hakluyt's influence upon Harriot can be further revealed through his denigration of the ungrateful settlers by comparing them directly with the spies of Moses:

Let them [the slanderers of Virginia's fertility] go where they deserve, foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who fresh from that place like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously published ill reports about it. Time which is the judge of all things, and the diligent inquiry of your servants will reveal, God willing, many things undreamt of, which have ere this lain hid. (*Roanoke* 514-15)

By referring to Moses and the Promised Land, Hakluyt suggests a model for the English incursions that supports the organizers of the venture, praises the leaders who report good tidings, and, most significantly in context, rejects the rumours of the spies who say that the land is not good. By referring to the Bible and using a familiar story from it, Hakluyt avoids any potential confusions that might have arisen through a reference to a contemporary, but less well known and certainly less accessible, voyage narrative or other story. Harriot develops Hakluyt's direct parallel through more subtle yet specifically detailed allusions to the story of the spies sent into Canaan by Moses.³⁷

The 1560 Geneva Bible's account of the spying upon Canaan contains the following version of Moses' orders to the spies:

[18] So Moses sent them to spie out the land of Canaan, and said vnto them,

[19] consider the land what it is, and the people that dwel therein, whether they be strong or weake, ether few or many,

[20] Also what the land *is* that they dwel in, whether it be ^d good or bad: and what cities *they be*, that they dwel in, whether they dwel in tentes, or in walled townes

[marginal gloss ^d: "Plentiful or baren"]

[21] And what the land *is*: whether it be fat or leane, whether there be trees therein, or not. And be of good courage, and bring of the frute of the land (for then was the time of the ripe grapes). (Numbers 13:18-21)

When the men return they bring their own version of "diuers and variable" reports to Moses:

[28] And they told ⁱ him, and said, We came vnto the land whether thou hast sent vs, & surely it floweth with * milke & honie: and here is of the frute of it.

[marginal glosses ⁱ: "That is, Moses" and *: "*Exod. 33.3*"]

[29] Neuertheless the people be strong that dwel in the land, and the cities *are* walled and exceading great: and moreouer, we sawe the ^k sonnes of Anak there.

[marginal gloss ^k: “Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, whomme Caleb slewe afterward.”]

...

[32] But the men that went vp with him [Caleb, who has just urged the Israelites to “possess” the land] said, We be not able to go vp against the people: for they are stronger than we.

[33] So they brought vp and euil report of the land which they had searched for the children of Israel, saying, The land which we haue gone through to searche it out, is a land that ^l eateth vp the inhabitants thereof: for all the people that we sawe in it, are men of great stature.

[marginal gloss ^l: “The gyantes were so cruel that they spoiled & killed one another, and those that came to them”]

[34] For there we sawe gyantes, the sonnes of Anak, which come of the gyantes, so that we semed in our sight like greshoppers: and so we were in their sight. (Numbers 13: 28-30, 32-34)

I believe that Harriot uses this passage to structure the information he reveals at the beginning of his direct report about the natives of Virginia.³⁸ The parallels I wish especially to note – in addition to the details of the plenitude, discussed above, that establish the idea of a land “flowing with milk and honey” – are the descriptions of the Virginians’ stature, the details of their potential muster strength and weaponry, and their cities. All these features of Harriot’s *Report* originate in Moses’ questions: Harriot’s information repeats the sequence of Moses’ questions. The parallel situation of unfavourable reports circulated by mendacious spies who deny an “official” (originally divine) view of the newly encountered territory has been noted by Hakluyt, who refers directly to the “promised land” as a model for the English entry into Virginia. Once Harriot has evoked the parallel situation through his use of Moses’ questions to structure his information – land (discussed in detail in the earlier sections of the *Report*), people (their numbers and strength), then their cities – he leaves the reader to make the link between Virginia and Canaan. He is able to develop Hakluyt’s trope but without employing Hakluyt’s lack of subtlety. As a result, Harriot’s “simple” list of facts about the “people of the countrey” acquires a deeper significance by pointing towards the idea of a justified invasion and occupation of Virginia by the English after the manner of the

Israelites' occupation of Canaan. The parallels with the record of Moses' spies reveal yet more about the underlying agenda of aggressive conquest that emerges in Harriot's allegedly sympathetic account of the Virginian natives.

Harriot elaborates his overarching statement, "they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them" to emphasise that the Virginians pose no threat to the English. He reveals that they are not giants, nor do they have weapons that pose a threat to the English when he explicitly declares that they are "of such a difference of statures only as wee in England" and they have "no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither know they how to make any" (Harriot 24). The reference to stature parallels and dismisses the fears that are found in the Israelites' references to the "sons of Anak." It also avoids any suggestion that monstrous beings observed by other explorers of America, such as the legendary giants of Patagonia, exist in Virginia. The notion of Amerindian groups differing in physical stature is illustrated in Rossmässler's (untitled) painting in which the taller figures on the right are identified as "Patagonen" (Dickason, *Myth* 45).³⁹ Harriot's parallel version of the information that Moses sought also serves to counter the unrecorded but corrosive rumours that circulated about Virginia (such as the lack of food and the recalcitrance of the native peoples: for a specific example, see Hakluyt, above). Harriot's remarks contradict the rumours of the dissatisfied settlers who had returned to England and whose rumours parallel the Israelite spies' report: "We be not able to go vp against the people: for they are stronger than we." Likewise, Harriot's remarks provide a contemporary answer to the first question posed by Moses in the context of Canaan, concerning the nature of the indigenous peoples (v.19). This information in the context of Virginia is of strategic importance to the English as they attempt to colonise the new found land.

Having implicitly established the parallels with the questions asked concerning the Israelites' Promised Land, Harriot uses the pattern of Moses' questions to address contemporary questions about Virginia. By doing so, he creates a correlation between the experiences of the Israelites and the English that allows a sensitive reader to imagine the future prosperity of the English in Virginia. Harriot continues by discussing the defences of the towns in Virginia, then adds information about specific populations in

Virginia and their associated strength. He relates that the native towns are “but small” and “if they be walled it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright and close by one another” (Harriot 24). The political divisions within the tribes mean that even “the greatest *Wiroans* that yet we had dealing with had but eightheene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most” (25). Harriot has already provided answers in the context of Virginia to the questions Moses posed originally about the quality of the land in Canaan (v.21), so all that remains is for him to refute the final lie of the original spies whose words are seemingly echoed by the unbelieving, slanderous settlers of Virginia who create rumours of famine threatening the survival of the colony: “The land which we haue gone through to searche it out, is a land that eateth vp the inhabitants thereof” (v.33). Harriot does this by projecting definitively, long-windedly and with a certain heavy-handed grim humour that their need for cover and the fragility of their tactics give them no chance against the might of the English:

If there fall out any warres between vs & them, what their fight is likely to bee, we hauing aduantages against them so many maner of waies, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises els; especially ordinance great and small, it may be easily imagined; by the experience we haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence. (25)

As with the potential profit of such commodities as “Flaxe and Hemepe,” Harriot allows the reader to complete the scene by engaging his imagination (“it may be easily imagined”) in a complacent manner that suggests that there is really nothing more to say or elaborate about the matter. Walls of bark and wood will not stop cannon balls. Harriot’s emphatic claims about the projected fate of the Virginian natives parallel Caleb’s confidence about the anticipated fate of the Israelites’ enemies:

nether feare ye the people of the land: for they are *but* ^c bread for vs
[marginal gloss ^c : “We shal easely ouercome them”] (Numbers 13: 9)

Indeed, “We shal easely ouercome them” is a synopsis of all that Harriot notes about the Virginians in his *Report*.

The situation facing the minority of the Israelite spies – albeit the faithful ones – who promoted Canaan despite the many lies and rumours that the unfaithful spies

presented as their report of the land finds a parallel in the reports and rumours about Virginia, as Hakluyt first perceives. Although the land is fertile, reports of the crops are countered by rumours of powerful enemies and a land that “eateth vp the inhabitants thereof.” It is significant that the land is imagined to consume rather than be consumed because this parallels the fears of starvation that feature in Lane’s writing. Rumours about the lack of food are a major concern for both Hakluyt and Harriot. Both focus on the profusion of food they suggest is present. Hakluyt briefly but distinctly (“foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets . . . [in a] land flowing with milk and honey”), Harriot at greater length.⁴⁰ Harriot follows the questions in Numbers, adding information that is appropriate to Virginia and which also elaborates his contemporary version of Moses’ requested intelligence report. Hakluyt’s earlier use of Numbers supplies the model for the rejection of the detractors of the promised land of Virginia. Harriot’s development of the allusion allows him to suggest the suitability of English involvement in Virginia through the implicit evocation of God’s support for the promoters of the adventure and the associated condemnation of the rumour-mongers. By employing a biblical model, Harriot alludes to the support of God but, unlike Lane, avoids the use of God’s name as a catch-all explanation for problems and successes. Harriot is also able to attack the spreaders of the rumours once again, and to oppose both them and their words by indicating their historical lineage and fate through his allusion to Numbers. Unfortunately, he cannot recount the same success for the English in Virginia that the Israelites finally enjoyed in Canaan: a success that emphatically disproved the rumours of the untrustworthy spies.

Success was only an imagined feature of Virginia, as Harriot himself would have known by 1588. The assertion of English superiority is a confident, propagandistic gesture towards the potential of Virginia and as such echoes the forecasted profits and abundant foods of the first two parts of Harriot’s *Report*. It is profoundly ironic in an account of the 1585-86 colony (especially in the light of the subsequent events at Roanoke) and becomes cynical in its projection of success. By the end of 1586 the English had themselves found that “the turning vp of their heeles . . . in running away was their best defence” against the privations and dangers of life in Virginia. Harriot does not reveal this, of course. He promotes the notion of English safety throughout his

Report, carefully avoiding detailed references to the conflicts that accompanied much of the English colony's time in Virginia. He maintains the idea of peace and prosperity that carefully contains only the truths that fit this idea. What he cannot do, however, is report a currently successful colony, despite all the praiseworthy crops that flourish in his version of Virginia.

The need to make the colony thrive in reality and not just on paper undermines the significance of the alleged agrarian recommendations. The secret of a quick success lies in an abundance of profitable commodities, preferably mineral, rather than in fields of fecund crops, as Lane points out in his report (*Account, Roanoke* 272-73). The Spanish possessions in Mexico and Peru were not renowned for their exports of grains and dyes but for the gold and silver that flowed into Spain and influenced all of Europe. Hakluyt and Raleigh were both acutely aware of the power and influence of Catholic Spain in Europe. Both recognized and commented upon the association between the rise of Spain and the acquisition of American gold. Both wished to overthrow Spain, and both saw American colonies as the means to achieve this end. But not through the acquisition of corn and woad. Gold and trade with the East were the means to achieve the wealth to contain and defeat Spain in Europe and America. Harriot's awareness of all this contemporary thought is revealed in his evocation of the potential of the rumoured tribes and cities to be found in the Virginian hinterland.

The perceived level of development of the indigenous population that Harriot includes in the *Report*, while still placing them below that achieved by the English, raises them above the level of wild men living without any degree of sophistication. Harriot describes their polity in some detail, records their agriculture (and so avoids the notion of their being nomadic while simultaneously undermining Barlowe's notion of a Virginian Golden Age), and establishes the existence of organized settlement patterns and defined linguistic groups through his reflections on the peoples he meets in his travels. Their level of technology is further revealed when White's illustrations are added to Harriot's text in the De Bry edition of the *Report*. Once Harriot has established a clear idea of the indigenous peoples' level of development, thereby separating them from the European polarized stereotypes of American natives that tend to feature wild men in the woods and predatory, vicious, cannibal tribes, he looks imaginatively beyond the coastlands to the

mountains of the interior and the people who may live there. He has not found a Mexico on the coast, but neither did Cortez. In Harriot's "Conclusion," the improving territory that he witnessed further inland is presented as a reason for expecting more developed people to be living on (and in effect springing from) such territory. Inland Virginia contains

the soyle . . . fatter, the trees greater . . . the grounde more firm and deeper mould; more and larger champions [i.e., fields or open spaces]; finer grasse . . . more plentie of their fruites; more abundance of beastes; and more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie & larger dominions, with greater townes and houses. (Harriot 31)

The extrapolation of his experience is that the mountains of the hinterland may well contain the gold and silver that "was not so soone found, as it was looked for" by the dissatisfied, rumour-mongering colonists (Harriot 6). His Foreword does not dismiss the possibility of finding gold; it just states that it has not been found yet. What he writes in his "Conclusion" reveals his prediction of wealth in Virginia that develops and exceeds Lane's hopes for a mythical, mineral-rich city:

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well for other things, as of those we haue alreadie discouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine [the mainland, i.e., Mexico (as opposed to the islands of the Caribbean)] of the West Indies. The maine also of this cuntry of *Virginia* . . . cannot but yeeld many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discouerie haue not yet seene. (31)

The links between the experience of Spain and the aspirations of England are clearly expressed. The dreams of Raleigh, Hakluyt and other English speculators and empire-builders find expression in Harriot's happy thought of the establishment of an English equivalent of "The Spanish Maine."

Harriot's rumours of wealth in the mountains have an interesting origin outside his imagination and the promptings of his patrons. They are founded in part on rumours, known to other European explorers, of gold and diamonds in the Appalachians. One thread of the rumours begins in René de Laudonnière's account of Florida (*L'Histoire notable de la Floride* [1586]) which Hakluyt was in the process of publishing and which was placed after the English adventures in Virginia in his *Principall Navigations* (Quinn,

Hakluyt Handbook 292). The rumours are supported (*substantiated*, Hakluyt and Harriot seem to indicate) by interviews Hakluyt held with two prisoners – one French, one Spanish – who had been taken by Drake while he was raiding Saint Augustine in Florida (*Roanoke* 761-66). They were interviewed “between July and December 1586” according to Quinn’s calculations (*Roanoke* 763 n4). The second interview is specifically recorded to have been held “in mine [Hakluyt’s] and Master Hariots hearing” (763) which Quinn notes to be “the earliest reference to Harriot’s activities after he landed at Plymouth at the end of July 1586” (763 n6).⁴¹ It must also be remembered that the two interviewees returned as part of the same fleet that evacuated Lane’s colony from Virginia, so as Harriot returned home he may have heard of the rumours which were subsequently witnessed and recorded by Hakluyt.

Both of the prisoners, Morales and Burgoignan, refer to gold in the mountains. Morales tells of “the mountaines of golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci” (*Roanoke* 761). He also reveals that

There is a great City . . . which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene in sight of it, some of them. They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake . . . [which] is [along?] that riuier which the French called Port-royal. (*Roanoke* 762-63)

The recorded “sight” of the city adds to its likelihood. Moreover, the Spaniards’ desire to travail for no wages is indicative of anticipated success such as was lacking at Roanoke. However, rumours of cities are not all that are revealed. Morales is recorded to have said that “he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the cuntry of Apalatci, whereof the Savages aduertised to Laudonniere” (763). The influence of the rumours about the city supported by their associated “evidence” is revealed most distinctly in Hakluyt’s concluding comment: “and it may bee that they are the hills of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had aduertisement of” (763).⁴²

The heading in Hakluyt’s record of Burgoignon’s interview reveals Harriot’s presence, but not, unfortunately, the questions Harriot asked. Quinn makes no comment about the likely transfer of information between Hakluyt and Harriot concerning the

Morales interrogation. Harriot's presence at Burgoignon's interrogation does suggest a shared interest in the Frenchman's ability to support the interesting news about the Virginian hinterland. The recorded answers indicate that Burgoignon was being used to confirm what Morales (who is specifically termed "the Spaniard") had reported.⁴³ Phrases such as "aledged by the Spaniard" and "he further affirmeth" indicate that Hakluyt was confirming the information about the land to the north of Florida through a cross-referencing of the interviews.

The details provided by Burgoignon not only support Morales' story, they also add fuel to the rumours of inland cities and fabulous wealth that appear in Harriot's "Conclusion":

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and it is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiew thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, & is now governer of Florida, weareth. (*Roanoke* 764)

These details give a name and known history to the wearer of the diamond; they add verisimilitude. They also surround the city with further wealth. There is an interesting and entertaining touch of hyperbole included in the record as the details of the surrounding mountains emerge. The truly fabulous mountains "shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night" (764). Hakluyt records this detail soberly, however. Its truth is enhanced by the repetition and elaboration of information concerning Spanish plans to exploit the area: "The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once knowen" (765). This is significant information for Hakluyt and Harriot. It certainly fits into the idea of enormous wealth that inspires other Europeans to run great risks to acquire. The Spanish king's reported instruction that the city must be protected from the prying eyes of other Europeans promotes the belief that there is such a city. Indeed, Spanish interest and their associated desire for secrecy seem to seal the importance of the information and so make it all the more likely to be true – they are,

after all, the experts at finding gold and silver in America. Burgoignon's information also reinforces the widely-held fear in England of the dire consequences that would arise should the Spanish gain access to even greater wealth and power. The repetition of the Spaniards' enthusiasm challenges the tardy and niggardly English who will not venture money in the development of Virginia. This challenge suits Hakluyt's ideas about how the American adventures should be sponsored, and allows for the interest of the Spanish king to counter the lack of interest shown by the English Queen. Overall, this deposition suits Hakluyt's and Harriot's agendas. Moreover, Burgoignon's revelations contain news of a safe harbour – something that would have been uppermost in the mind of a person returning from Virginia after the disaster that wrecked part of Drake's fleet as it stood off Roanoke Island. The final evidence that this was significant information to the listeners is Hakluyt's interpretative note that links Virginia, Spanish exploration, and the "truth" about the rumoured city:

Waterin is a river fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may safely ride. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated [i.e., the Roanoke settlement]. (*Roanoke* 765-66)

The fact that clinches the truth of the information seems to be the revelation, "in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things" (766). So Hakluyt and Harriot have an eyewitness of the safe harbour and the river at the head of which stands a fabulous city that may be none other than Lane's Chaunis Temoatan, the fabled city of the Virginian hinterland.

All this information was available to Harriot almost as soon as he set foot in England from Virginia, even if he had not learnt some of it en route with Drake. Hakluyt's contemporary notes reveal his own interest in the information and his overt association of Spanish rumours with those brought back by Lane. Harriot and Hakluyt worked together to promote Virginia; hence, the rumours that Harriot includes in his "Conclusion" are based upon the ones derived from the sources just outlined. The hints in his *Report* reveal his aspirations about the discovery of the rumoured "La grand Copal." Now it is possible to see that Harriot's denigration of the impatient rumour-mongers derives not so much from their foolish desire for gold and silver, which, it has

generally been assumed, blinded them to the other potential attractions of Virginia that Harriot reveals in detail; rather, it derives from their foolish impatience, “after golde and siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for” (6). Their desire for easy wealth is *not* rejected, it is just postponed, as Harriot’s predictions about an English Indies reveal. He is most restrained in his predictions, but he does allow rumours of the existence of another Mexico in the mountains behind Roanoke to enter his work.

Their entry has a significance wider than just the acceptance of rumour as truth. As we have seen, Harriot’s *Report* reveals that he is prepared to extrapolate a brilliant future for Virginia from his limited experience of the country. He presents an optimistic evaluation of the potential he claims to perceive in the commodities and people he encountered there. This evaluation ignores the alternative reality of Virginian colonisation that may be discerned through the suppressed information that has been identified in his narrative. His references to Spain and Spanish discoveries evoke also Spanish atrocities, depredations and tyrannies. These he has been careful implicitly to oppose throughout his *Report*. The English do not impose their religion upon the native peoples in a violent manner, nor do they set out to conquer the land. When he suggests that the native peoples’ religion can be changed into an acceptable form of Christianity, Harriot is distancing himself and his companions from what was widely viewed to be the Spanish approach to conversion of the heathen inhabitants of America.⁴⁴ His record of peaceful interactions further separates English and Spanish contacts with native groups. In his passing references, he deplores English violence and even goes so far as to suggest that it may have been unnecessary by noting that it originated in reaction to “causes that on our part, might easily enough haue been borne withall” (Harriot 30). Yet, in the end, Harriot also introduces the idea of Englishmen emulating Spanish conquests, and he neither temporises nor offers ameliorating models or caveats.

By suggesting the existence of people “of greater pollicie & larger dominions” and evoking the Spanish conquests, Harriot removes Barlowe’s evocation of a Golden Age land from Virginia. He replaces it with the idea of a land with the potential allure of another Mexico, which he then projects onto Virginia. His approach is strangely at odds with the catalogue of natural resources and friendly people in the three parts of the *Report* that precede the “Conclusion.” It is true that Harriot’s “Conclusion” looks forward to a

brighter future, but this has been a feature of all his projections about Virginian commodities. What has changed is that the repeated message of the ease of production of profitable goods that require entrepreneurial effort has been replaced by the idea of wealth that derives from the work of others and which can be acquired by conquest and force of arms. This idea is expressed when Harriot suggests the bounty that may lie in the mountains of the Virginian mainland (“Why may wee not then looke for. . . [31, qtd. above]). By evoking the Spanish and their discoveries in Mexico (“the maine of the West Indies”), Harriot unleashes the acquisitive imagination of the reader. He also unleashes the potential for an English approach to Virginia that parallels the violent Spanish conquest and destruction of the Aztec Empire. Harriot’s promotion of agriculture, carpentry, and oil and mineral extraction and refinement is not overtly based on conflict. However, his notion of potential peaceful coexistence with the indigenous population is based on the premise of their subjugation, even if this subjugation is imagined through the evocation of the outwardly peaceful terms that William Hamlin, in his paper, “Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot, and Raleigh in the Americas,” suggests echo the Marriage Service from the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. The native peoples will be “brought through discreet dealing and gouernement to the imbracing of the truth [i.e., Christianity], and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs [the English colonists]” (Harriot 29). This suggests the relationship of a wife to a husband, indicating the subordinate role of the indigenous population in a future English Virginia.

Harriot’s references and allusions to conflict contrast sharply with Barlowe’s careful separation of the English from the local internecine strife that he records. While Harriot attempts to maintain Barlowe’s notion of English safety in Virginia before he reaches his “Conclusion,” it is harder for him to maintain the separation once he begins to analyse the “maruellous accident” that forms the core of the much-discussed “invisible bullets” episode, outlined above. Although he records that he rejected the local group’s request to support them in their conflict with the neighbouring groups, he finds that the requested English support appears to have been bestowed anyway. Their assistance and assumed hypocrisy are acknowledged by the local people:

because the effect [i.e., the transfer of the disease and the resulting deaths among the other group] fell out so sodainly and shortly after according to

their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches [of denial based on the ungodly nature of the request] vnto them did but dissemble the matter. (Harriot 29)

As a result, the English are perceived by one group to be allies against a neighbouring group and so the English are no longer separated from the native conflicts. The perceived alliance contains the potential for further English involvement in local conflicts, and such involvement would rapidly detract from the divine qualities that Harriot suggests the native peoples attributed to the English. Once this happened, the advertised safety of the English would be mainly dependent upon their weapons.

This, in fact, was the case as the English departed in 1586, but it is not how Harriot describes the situation. Aside from his references to more advanced groups possibly existing in the interior, he does not mention the native population at all in his "Conclusion." After recording the killing of "some of the people, in some of the towns" in circumstances that Harriot confidently suggests the native peoples would accept as justified, the "Third Part" of the *Report* (that discusses the "natural inhabitants") ends by asserting that, in spite of the killings by the English "the alteration of their opinions generally & for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted" (30). In other words, despite the killings, all remains the same, or nearly the same. Harriot, therefore, records a change in situation and relationships that could affect the attitudes of the indigenous population, but then declares that the change should not be feared ("doubted") because the punishments meted out were "on [the natives'] part iustly deserued" (30). The unlikely truth of his assertion is based upon the assumption that the native peoples understood, appreciated and obeyed English values: they did not. He repeats his overall assertion of safety at the end of the "Third Part," albeit a little more qualified than at the start. Compare Harriot's initial assessment of the "native threat" with his concluding comments:

they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them. (24)

And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of ourselues neede nothing at all to be feared. (30)

Note that the more cautious “by carefulnesse of ourselues” qualifies the confident ring of the initial declaration. Also the confidence of the anticipated “feare and loue” of the people is missing. Instead of contrasting the lack of fear on the part of the English with the developing fear on the part of the native population, the final description of the relationship between the groups is that English fear may be kept in check by “carefulnesse.” This statement is ambiguous about what form the “carefulnesse” must take. More importantly, it allows for the possibility that the English have cause to fear the native peoples, although the fear may be kept in check by the appropriate degree of “carefulnesse.” Harriot may not reveal much directly about the food shortages and the hostility of the indigenous peoples that he encountered in Virginia, but he is forced to allow for them in his choice of expression. What he attempts to hide beneath his language emerges through his language to challenge the statements and assumptions he is making. The conflict between new and old worlds forms the basis of some of the rumours about Virginia. Harriot may wish to exclude all the bad news from his “true” report, but his oblique allusions to conflict reveal more than he may have intended about the strife he witnessed and the implicit strife he includes in his discussion of the development and potential of the land.

Certainly, the attempt to establish permanent bases in the Roanoke area did provoke conflict with the local population. As Lane’s report graphically reveals, the colony faced open, violent opposition from their neighbours, and had been subjected to forms of passive aggression from them (which sometimes spilled over into brief open conflicts) from an early date. Harriot knew all this, but he refers only to “the experience we haue had in some places” (25). Throughout, Harriot’s assurances of English safety are founded upon the premise that the native peoples pose no threat. This premise arises from his own expedient interpretation of his experiences, and is based upon the rhetoric of safety through superiority rather than any experience of safety in Virginia. In the Foreword, Harriot carefully establishes himself as an expert: “one that haue . . . seene and knowne more then the ordinarie” (5). His defined position is set explicitly and categorically against “the ordinarie,” those who have spread the “divers and variable” reports about Virginia and whom he defines as “ignorant of the state thereof.” His claim to greater knowledge is the foundation of his writing; without it he is just another voice

commenting upon the unfamiliar to an audience that has already shown itself to be receptive to the unfavourable reports of other former colonists.

Harriot's *Report* presents a description of Virginia that emphasizes assured (though future) prosperity and present plenty in an atmosphere of peace. These features are the foci of the "First Part" and the "Second Part," respectively. The native population is relegated to a secondary topic of the "Third Part" of the *Report*. They are carefully and systematically described to reveal that they do not pose a threat to the English – although, as I show above, the expressions of confidence in Harriot's assurances change between the beginning and the end of the *Report*. Harriot informs his readership that the Virginians are not cannibals, not giants, do not live in defensible cities, and they are not equipped with weapons comparable with European arms. Their chief accepts English superiority and actively solicits the assistance of the "God of England." Their religion is not mysterious and their assurance of its truth has been compromised as a result of their encounters with the English. They are also fundamentally comprehensible because their language is understood. Harriot avoids all mention of the pejorative forms of savagery attributed to Amerindians by European reports that have simultaneously horrified and fascinated Europe since the first letter of Columbus. He avoids the inclusion of specific details about how the native peoples came into conflict with the English. He never alludes to the kind of bloodshed that Barlowe reveals when he recounts the details of the murder of the enemy leaders during a feast. Even the references to warfare are incidental to the narrative of the "invisible bullets" episode. Furthermore, the native peoples in Harriot's text are usually referred to as "natural inhabitants" rather than "savages," so that even their name makes them more acceptable. The location of the discussion of the peoples at the end of the text makes them physically as well as thematically a background feature of the *Report*. Indeed, the Foreword concludes with a solitary reference to Harriot's lengthy discussion of the native peoples: "[the *Report* ends] with a brief description of the nature and maners of the people of the country" (6).

In contrast to this dismissive comment, the pages dedicated to the description of the indigenous population (i.e., Harriot 24-30), plus the illustrations and captions in De Bry's edition, not to mention the illustrations that allude to their relationship to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, indicate that they are, in fact, the major feature of the new

found land, and that without addressing their presence and influence the country will not “yeelde profit.” The importance of the native peoples is a “seepage” of Lane’s perception of the reality of Virginia, namely that relations with the indigenous population are at the core of the colony’s problems, into Harriot’s *Report*. The native peoples’ importance is revealed in more than just the length of Harriot’s section that discusses them, however, because they feature throughout the *Report* whenever Harriot refers to their language and how they use the commodities he advertises. Despite his reference to the native peoples as an afterthought in the Foreword, their importance to the colony’s success is clear and cannot be so easily dismissed. The projected importance of profit, then plenty, and then peaceful native inhabitants is in inverse relationship to the reality of Virginia, as the contents of the *Report* itself tacitly acknowledge.

Furthermore, there is a central dichotomy in the *Report*’s evocation of the good life in Virginia. Harriot describes a land of effortless plenty, yet he mocks the colonists who sought such a place and returned to England disappointed. Barlowe’s report evokes the Golden Age and refers to the many forms of game that the English had seen and tasted. Such a description, linked to the idea of indigenous peoples who trade valuable items for “trifles,” has the potential to attract people whose intention is not to labour for profit but to seek easy profit – or to fight for it as in the famous stories of the Spanish conquests. Harriot continues the expectation of an easy life, despite his railing against the rumour-mongers’ desires for dainty living and easily-found gold. He simultaneously promotes the outlook that he claims caused the disgruntled rumours and bases his *Report* on ridiculing those who expected an easy life in Virginia. This paradoxical promotion contains ironic parallels. Harriot chooses to laugh at those who found the country “miserable” because “there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor . . . their olde accustomed daintie food” (6). Despite this, he promotes the idea of “better” peoples further inland whose culture could yield the treasures and delights of a second Mexico. His idea contains the implicit possibility of fabulous cities that would eclipse anything remembered or missed by the colonists. While the cities are only imagined, he describes the discovered American food as superior to English food and equates American and English species – to the praise of the former – as a further means of rejecting the rumours of poor food and famine. Thus, the rumours and complaints

against Virginia are countered by the promotion of the (disappointed) ideas that lie behind them. Harriot is attempting to have his cake and eat it.

As I also note, part of Harriot's presentation of the native peoples involves an attempt to make them familiar and acceptable to his readers. This approach reveals a further paradox in Harriot's *Report*. His descriptions of native life reveal the recognizable features of native culture and find praiseworthy aspects in the differences between Virginia and England. Overall, Harriot attempts to project the idea of normality onto the Virginians through his serious, unsensational record of their culture: what Quinn calls his "sympathetic detachment" (*Roanoke* 316). As I suggest, the illustrations promote this process by making the native peoples accessible to a reader. At the same time, however, the illustrations reveal a radical strangeness in the native peoples and their culture that is acknowledged by the inclusion of the pictures of the Picts as a carefully explained, visual justification of the uncouth nature of the Virginians: as we were then, so they are now. While the inclusion of the Picts underlines the uncanny in the Virginians, Harriot accuses the rumour-mongers of being unduly affected by "a nice [i.e., overly fastidious] bringing vp." His other comments could be interpreted as a call for settlers to be open-minded and more accepting of the rigours of voyaging, so, once again, Harriot wants to have it both ways: he acknowledges strangeness but criticizes rumours based upon an adverse reaction to that very strangeness.

Harriot's *Report* promotes Virginia at all costs, and the foremost cost of the promotion is the truth. Harriot does more than just tell lies; he transforms a frightening, novel, fascinating, challenging, violent and, at times, inexplicable exposure to the newly discovered continent into a book of commodities that serves the mercantile and imperial aspirations of a group of English adventurers. Harriot's main purpose is to attract others to join the adventure. The disasters that affected the group who settled at Roanoke before the publication of the *Report*, however, reveal that Harriot's concern for the truth about Virginia is less than his protestations claim. Furthermore, the subsequently published record of Lane's governorship of the colony – taken together with White's revelations about the hostile reception he received – suggests that Virginia is a place where conflict and dearth, not profits, multiply. Harriot's *Report* is an expedient interpretation of flimsy evidence and conjecture which props up a façade of claims about future profits, upon

which is sketched an outline of peaceful coexistence with the local population. The tensions within the structure reveal the suppression of inauspicious information. Part of the tension originates from the opposing attractions of peaceful coexistence and rapacious conquest. The urge towards conquest is overtly rejected by the promotion of the worthiness of the native peoples. Paradoxically, the very nature of the peoples enhances the attractions of conquest by supporting the suggestion of more advanced and, therefore, more wealthy native populations further inland. Although Harriot opposes rumours that detract from the success of the colony by creating alternative rumours, the origins of the rejected rumours – broadly speaking the (unattained) ease of life in Virginia – are present in his descriptions of the territory. Thus, the expedient truths of Harriot's *Report* depend upon a simultaneous acceptance and denial of rumours about Virginia. Harriot sets out to beat the rumour-mongers; he concludes by joining them.

Notes

¹ Lane's *Account* was first published in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* of 1589 and so followed Harriot's *Report* into public circulation (*Roanoke* 255 n2). Quinn outlines a tentative chronology for the compilation of Lane's *Account* by suggesting that it "probably followed a verbal report to Raleigh, and was designed to give explanations of Lane's activities rather than a narrative of them. . . . Raleigh probably gave it to Hakluyt for publication" (*Roanoke* 255n4).

² Manteo and Wanchese returned to Virginia with Grenville's fleet. While Manteo remained with the English and Lane praised him for his loyalty, Wanchese returned to his community. Lane subsequently identifies him as a member of the "hawks" on Wingina's council (*Narrative, Roanoke* 280).

³ Greenblatt does not explain "original." Harriot's unnarrated categorizing of the features and his revelation of them as expressly exploitable "commodities" is an original approach. Greenblatt's discussion of Harriot's text may signal other levels of originality. I would argue that the influence of Barlowe's work, regardless of Harriot's possible involvement in it, affected Harriot's approach to the topic of strife within America, especially in the light of the open conflicts that are a feature of Lane's text. Lane's specific mention of Harriot's involvement indicates that he could not have been oblivious to the troubles affecting the English, so Harriot has to "adjust" the facts to further the enterprise for which he is the spokesman.

⁴ For example the writings of Carleill, Puttenham, and Peckham, as discussed by Franklin in *Discoverers*.

⁵ By 1588, as Harriot was publishing the first edition of his *Report*, the problems affecting White's colony, subsequently called "The Lost Colony," seemed to support the rumours that Harriot attempts to deny; by 1590, the year of the publication of De Bry's illustrated edition of the *Report*, the hope of finding the English colonists alive had become remote, though subsequent voyages, including that of the 1606 Jamestown settlers, did receive explicit instructions to search for the 1587 planters. For an example from 1602, see David and Alison Quinn, *The English New England Voyages, 1602-1608*. Hakluyt Society Second Series Vol. 161 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1983) 166-67.

⁶ Franklin suggests that these alternative meanings attributed to Algonquian words serve to obscure rather than reveal. By offering more than one definition of the word, Harriot is not helping the reader to comprehend the exact meaning of the exotic term (109). While I accept that the double or triple interpretations may not be precise, they can be seen as an attempt to add clarity by not restricting meaning and so allowing more readers to understand the text than a single interpretation would permit. Harriot's object is wider comprehension of the type of corn present in Virginia rather than the precise definition of a single species.

⁷ Harriot states that "an English Acre . . . doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, beanes, and peaze, at the least two hundred London bushelles . . . When as in England fourtie bushelles of our wheate yeelded our of such an acre is thought to be much" (15). Harriot is accurate, even generous in his estimation of English yields. Harrison's *The Description of England* (1587 text) records: "The yield of our corn ground is also much after this rate following. Throughout the land . . . in mean and indifferent years . . . each acre of rye or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yield commonly sixteen or twenty bushels" (434). It should be noted that Harriot explicitly comments upon Virginian methods of preparing the ground to emphasise that the preparation is, from what he claims, negligible, especially when compared with the intensive ploughing and manuring required in England and alluded to by Harrison. Harriot does not mention the intensive effort required by to grow the corn and provide food generally. For a detailed discussion, see the opening chapters of Rountree's *Pocahontas' People and Eastern Shore Indians*.

⁸ See Lorant 191 for a large reproduction of White's original. De Bry's engraving may be found in Harriot (68-69). Hume comments on White's original watercolour of Secoton: "The rendering is designed to inform rather than to convey pictorial accuracy. Thus, for example, the villagers' corn is shown in three fields at as many stages: 'newly sprong,' 'greene,' and 'rype'" (*The Virginian Adventure* 52).

⁹ Campbell cites Galinsky's reference to Harriot's example as one of two potential solutions to the need to make the newly-discovered, marvellous features of the new world believable to skeptical readers. Galinsky asks: "How does one convey that subjectively true sense of the marvellous and at the same time keep the reporter's cardinal goal of conveying objective truth?" Campbell says that Galinsky "touches on a couple of rhetorical solutions: comparison of new phenomena with both legendary and homey things at once, and the masking of the marvellous in quantative expression (he quotes Harriot's claim that "four and twentie houres labour" will provide a corn harvest sufficient for a year)" (*The Witness and the Other World* 219).

¹⁰ Quinn notes: "We do not hear from Harriot how the colonists took to the unaccustomed agricultural labour, or what, besides corn, they planted in the lands handed over to them" (*Narrative, Roanoke* 280 n1).

¹¹ The lure of an easy life worked both for and against the investors and settlers from the very outset of English colonial adventures. The investors wanted hard workers, the committed colonists needed supportive colleagues and underlings, and those who went seeking a good life free from the mundane drudgery of English life were in conflict with the others. Greenblatt discusses aspects of this phenomenon in Chapter Five of *Shakespearean Negotiations: "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne."* The overall tenor of Strachey's account emphasises that people should subject themselves willingly to their superiors and that rebellion or rejection of the status quo must be suppressed forcefully and, if necessary, lethally by the forces of the establishment to correct the weaknesses and unthriftiness of the lower orders.

¹² Note the two products of the come: bread and alcohol. Although beer was drunk in preference to water during the period, the words suggest pleasures beyond mundane consumption: cakes and ale, perhaps.

¹³ Franklin observes that Barlowe's comments reveal "the way in which they [the natural features he records] fit into the observer's old knowledge only by bettering it -- and thus become symbols for the discovery of something greater than themselves. Harriot's prose, on the other hand, is a vehicle of division, a means of reducing the strange to the ordinary: the actual living object is lost in a list of human goods, the 'very sweet wood' suddenly become 'fine timber,' finally to become 'sweet and fine bedsteads.' The two attributes which Harriot applies to the cedar thus are applied in the end to artifacts manufactured from it" (108). The specific example of the cedar underlines my point about the usefulness that I identify as a focus of Harriot's presentation of American commodities.

¹⁴ Part of the background to Harriot's writing is the contemporary situation in England where the more profitable woad was being grown in preference to cereal crops. The result of this situation was a rise in the price of bread which resulted in laws that forbade the use of land for the production of woad (see Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects* 76ff.). As an astute reader would recognise, the new, highly productive corn is a potential means to alleviate the food shortage in England and still allow landowners to grow the more profitable woad. The ability to grow woad in Virginia further contributes to the attractions of the colony to such a reader, as is discussed below.

¹⁵ Such a display of knowledge is an example of the “literary stigmata” which develops Lestringant’s ideas: see *Mapping the Renaissance World* 13.

¹⁶ He specifically notes that there are some commodities that he cannot identify and so he does not include them: “although we haue seen and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after wee are better furnished and stored vpon future discouery, with their strange beastes, fishe, trees, plants, and hearbes, they shall bee also published” (Harriot 20).

¹⁷ Information may have been removed from the text as part of the suppressions or editings that Quinn notes elsewhere and attributes to the need to prevent English and foreign competitors from exploiting the discoveries that belonged to Raleigh. He does not comment upon this example or the implied ability of the English to find the raw materials that I have just indicated.

¹⁸ Quinn speculates that Harriot carried a copy of the book to Virginia because it was “the only book available in English which gave any help in identifying North American species of medicinal plants” (*Roanoke* 329 n5).

¹⁹ The subsequent flooding of the market for sassafras by over-enthusiastic captains, often, ironically, in Raleigh’s employ (and the associated collapse of its price in London) indicates that this information from Harriot was acted upon and that his references to its profitability were sound in this instance.

²⁰ Harriot is revealing another means to overcome the problem of Spanish supremacy in trade and wealth, and, hence, power and influence in Europe and the wider world. Virginia can set England free from the influence of Spain on English domestic industries and can also free England from the threat of falling under Spain’s dreaded religious influence. The year of the Armada was indeed an auspicious year for the appearance of the first edition of Harriot’s *Report*.

²¹ Hume notes that Harriot and Ganz worked as “mineral men” in the colony. To whom is Harriot referring: himself or his colleague?

²² The Azores were familiar to the Elizabethan reader and accessible from Europe. The promotion of Virginia benefits from the new found land being associated with the Azores in the reader’s mind as it becomes more familiar through association

with a known location. The idea of Virginia's relative proximity is also advanced through the association.

²³ The Azores were under the rule of Spain, 1580-1640
(<http://www.philately.com/azores.htm>)

²⁴ Apart from the amount of fish and game depicted, consider also the attractions of the plentiful hunting and fishing to the potential investor. While clearer evidence for the development of hunting and fishing as a gentlemanly activity in the colonies may come from later centuries, Raleigh's record of the attractions of Guiana in 1595 including "abundance of Pheasants, Partidges, Quails . . . and all other fowle; Deere of all sorts, Porkes [wild boar], Hares . . . and divers other sortes of beastes, eyther for chace [i.e., hunting] or foode" (194-195). His choice of words seems to differentiate between hunting for food and hunting as a recreational pastime. At least one other reference to the flora and fauna of Guiana suggests the notion of hunting for pleasure, the famous description of the "most beautifull countrie that ever mine eies beheld . . . [instead of dense undergrowth and jungle] we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and . . . groves of trees by themselves, as if [they had been arranged by] art and labour . . . and . . . as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene used to a keepers call" (162-63). Whitehead comments on the plate in De Bry's Latin edition that accompanied this description: "the landscape opens before us as though it were Windsor Great Park or Hampton Court" (103). Certainly the idea of the deer being under a keeper's control evokes the organization of European game preserves and the associated recreational hunting.

Although Raleigh's remarks do not relate directly to Harriot's *Report*, at least Harriot's master appears to have been sensitive to the opportunities for recreation that existed in the area that he was promoting to his readers. Harriot's eagerness to promote Virginia may admit the speculation that he used all the potential attractions offered by the potential colony to catch the attention of his readers.

²⁵ Harriot employs the simile "after the maner as Irish men cast dartes" to describe the native peoples' method of fishing with spears. This reference to Ireland allows for the exotic yet familiar within the Virginians' actions. It also evokes the actions and attitudes of the Irish. That evocation is not one for Harriot to dwell upon as English experience in Ireland is not desirable as a model for Virginia, yet it is strangely appropriate and fits in with the attitude and tactics of Ralph Lane in Virginia who was himself a veteran of the Irish campaigns: see Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* and Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland*.

²⁶ See Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion of these references to warfare.

²⁷ In addition to the food references, it is possible to see a pattern to the order of the illustrations contained in De Bry which develops Harriot's revelation of his version of the truth about Virginia to the reader. For instance, the engraving of Secota contains miniature images of the larger, more detailed depictions of the indigenous peoples' way of life that appear on the pages before it in the De Bry edition. Thus illustrations XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII are contained, albeit in slightly altered forms, in the overview of the town, illustration XX. This repetition of detailed images adds to the depiction of the whole in the same way as Harriot's detailed examples of plenitude add to an overall idea of Virginia as a land of plenty.

²⁸ While the chronology does not allow me to suggest that the public would have been as aware of the account of Staden's imprisonment by the cannibals of Brazil (Hans Staden: *Wahrhaftige Historie*, illustrated by De Bry) as they were of Harriot's publication, the overall idea of American natives always being potential cannibals would not have been strange to an English reader: "The European interest in man-eating amounts almost to an obsession. Anthropophagi, as they were called before the discovery of America, have played their role in the description of non-European cultures ever since the first Greeks ventured into the western Mediterranean. . . . When Columbus entered unknown water in 1492 he inevitably made inquiries into the existence of such peoples, just as he asked after the Amazons and the giants which Pierre d'Ailly had led him to believe he would find in the southern latitudes (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 80-81).

²⁹ Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, cover illustration and caption.

³⁰ Nakedness in native populations is always potentially erotic to Europeans. Raleigh goes out of his way to reject the idea that he or his men acted in any unchaste way while he was in Guiana. Harriot uses the fact that the English had no women amongst them – and presumably showed no inclination to become "involved" with local women – as a feature of his claim for English safety in Virginia. He specifically states that one of the reasons for the native people being unsure about their supernatural or otherwise status was that the Englishmen had no women with them, nor did they show any interest in local women (*Roanoke* 380, qtd. above). Harriot's remarks could be limited to "the better sort" on the expedition, but they record a strategic advantage to the claimed abstinence. In view of the difficult position in which the Englishmen found themselves, it seems likely that they would exploit any advantage that they could to enhance their status. Harriot's claim also develops Barlowe's men's reaction to the offer of overnight

entertainment, discussed in the previous chapter. As Rountree notes, the accommodation of visitors by a chief often included the provision of sleeping partners for the night (*Eastern Shore* 43). By not staying ashore, Barlowe's men maintained the strategic advantage of their reported abstinence.

None of the accounts of the Roanoke voyages reveal any suggestion of sexual relations between the local inhabitants and Englishmen (or, later, women). The description of Granganimeo's wife is one of quiet modesty in Barlowe's report. Subsequent reports of Virginian contacts reveal a similar modesty in the local women (despite their seeming immodesty in their traditional dress), e.g., "there came vnto vs an Indian and two women; the one we supposed to be his Wife, the other his Daughter . . . they shewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch" (*The English New England Voyages, 1602-1608* 126-27). The praise of the women serves to undermine the attitudes and character of the Englishmen involved in the encounter, who implicitly attempted to make "immodest" contact. Although the episode is not related directly to the Roanoke voyages, it does present an insight into an undisclosed aspect of the encounters between the races. Furthermore, the reference to "men" rather than "gentlemen" could support the contention, above, that Harriot's remarks may refer to the leadership of the colony rather than to the rank and file of the expedition. In the final analysis, however, the relationships between the sexes during the colony's existence cannot be discussed with much certainty.

A conjectural reconstruction of a possible "encounter" between an imagined Thomas Harriot and a native woman is made by Muriel Rukeyser. She describes Harriot seeing the woman who may appear in White's watercolour depicting "A Pomeiock Chieftain's Wife and Child" (Lorant 200) and elaborates a sense of mutual attraction (*The Traces of Thomas Harriot* [London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1972] 32-33).

³¹ The Virginians are never completely naked; indeed, plate IX depicts "An aged manne in his winter garment" (Harriot 52) and other plates allow for the modelling of a gamut of Virginian fashions. Harriot's captions add details that indicate the native peoples' attention to clothing, so it is clear to the reader that, although not as clothed as Europeans, the Virginians are by no means completely naked. This feature of their development suggests a certain decorum both socially and sexually, and is enhanced by Harriot's complimentary references to the healthiness of their dietary habits.

³² Quinn's introduction and footnotes also reveal Harriot's specific interest in the local language, which included an alleged attempt to create an alphabet for it (see, for instance, *Roanoke* 321, 370-71, 375 and 389). "Ordinarie" refers to a common member of the colony, one from the ranks, and emphasises Harriot's importance and, hence, access to information that affected the colony.

³³ Greenblatt makes a similar comment when he considers the native peoples' "eerily prescient" recorded comments about more Englishmen preparing to follow the present colonists (*Shakespearean Negotiations* 36).

³⁴ "In the next generation, William Stratchey would urge that when the colonists have the power they should 'performe the same acceptable service to god, that Iehu king of Israell did when he assembled all the priests of Baal, and slue them to the last man in their owne Temple'" (Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* 169 n14).

³⁵ Harriot makes it clear that the "deuice[s]" were not a single incident but part of a succession of acts against the English, none of which, he claims, they attempted to avenge (28). This allegedly pacific stance is in stark contrast to Grenville's burning of a settlement when the inhabitants failed to return a stolen silver cup (the episode is recorded in *Roanoke* 191).

³⁶ Harriot's reference is significant because it places the actions of the native peoples into direct conflict with the English, and brings the background, carefully separated events of Barlowe's report into contact with the English. It also breaks the idea of the native peoples being peaceful and passive for the first time. There is a change in Harriot's underlying attitude towards the native peoples at the end of his writing, as I show. This quiet, perhaps unconscious, admission of conflict may be the first indication of that change seeping into Harriot's text.

³⁷ See Quinn's general introduction to Harriot for a less complex interpretation of his writing than the one upon which I am embarked (*Roanoke* 315). A discussion of biblical influence upon contemporary thought may be found in Christopher Hill's *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1994)

³⁸ "Direct report" as opposed to his asides and references to the native peoples and their practices that occur as illustrations and proofs of his assertions about the "commodities" of Virginia in the first two parts of the *Report*.

³⁹ Dickason also outlines roughly contemporary theories concerning the effects of climate and latitude on physical appearance (44-46).

⁴⁰ Hakluyt's reference to "milk and honey" echoes exactly the words of Numbers 13: 28: "We came vnto the land whether thou hast sent vs, & surely it floweth with milke & honie."

⁴¹ "Second interview" in sequence as they were published in *Principall Navigations*: no date is attached to the papers beyond the year. The internal cross-referencing supports Hakluyt's published sequence.

⁴² Quinn adds the observation: "This sentence [linking Laudonniere and Lane] was Hakluyt's gloss on the deposition and was probably written at the time it was made rather than in 1600, since one purpose in taking the deposition was to obtain information useful for subsequent Virginia expeditions. (*Roanoke* 763 n3).

⁴³ Burgoignon may have been regarded as a more reliable witness than Morales as he may be the French fifer who claimed to Drake that he had been a prisoner of the Spanish. See *Roanoke* 763 n5, with special reference to Wright 186.

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the contemporary image of Spanish colonial practices, see William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971)

Chapter Four: Lane's Virginia

Sir Richard Grenville was the overall commander of the Roanoke expedition from 19 May to 25 August, 1585. After Grenville's departure for England, Ralph Lane commanded the Roanoke expedition until its evacuation aboard the fleet of Sir Francis Drake (18 June 1586), so responsibility for most of the adventure rested on him. He organized and took part in all the exploratory journeys undertaken in Virginia after Grenville's departure, including those in search of Chaunis Temoatan, the fabled inland city revealed to Lane by Menatonon. Lane had experienced military service in Ireland. He was released from his service in Munster to serve with Grenville (as Raleigh's servant) by royal decree – what Quinn suggests is an example of “indirect subsidy” of Raleigh's project by the Queen (*Roanoke* 120, 149-50). He was an exponent of what Quinn terms “militant Protestantism,” as his assertions of faith in divine providence reveal (*Roanoke* 203). Indeed, his desire to overcome Catholic Spain ties in with the professed intentions of Raleigh to defeat Spain in America and Europe, so his involvement with privateering and the Roanoke project is not surprising (*Roanoke* 179 n6). Lane's outlined plan to establish a series of “sconces” (i.e., defensible positions or blockhouses) as part of his attempt to discover the rumoured treasures of Virginia underlines his military outlook (*Account, Roanoke* 261-63). He proved his abilities by staring down an enemy patrol when the fleet took on salt by landing on Spanish territory at “Roxo Bay” (Rojo Bay, Puerto Rico) (*Roanoke* 184-85). Bearing in mind his background and character, the conflicts, problems and anxieties that plagued the final months of the colony are perhaps less surprising.

Details of the colony suffering hunger, anxiety, conflict and losses of supplies feature throughout Lane's *Account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia* (*Roanoke* 255-94). While Harriot rejects the alleged slanders regarding the colony, avoids mentioning failure in his *Report*, and continually looks towards a future prosperity that will grow from the successful start achieved by his colony, Lane, by contrast, is preoccupied with failure, and makes its alleged causes central to his writing. In his overwhelming need to justify himself, Lane makes a

scapegoat of the local native leader, Wingina, whose malign influence is presented as the cause of almost all the disasters and setbacks Lane experiences.¹ While Harriot's expediency lies in the promotion of the fecundity of the land and the passivity and controllability of the indigenous people, Lane's expediency emerges through his self-justification in all circumstances at the expense of the reputation of his chosen scapegoat.

Lane divides the *Account* into two parts, which he introduces as follows

The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the mayne, as our weake number, and supply of things necessary did inable vs to enter into the discouery thereof.

The second part, shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolute on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Frauncis Drake, and our common request [i.e., a request made on behalf of all the colonists] for passage with him, when the barkes, pinesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners ment by him to bee left in the Countrie for the supply of such, as for a further time ment to have stayed there, were caried away with tempest, and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shalbe declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, and the Sauages of the mayne to haue cutt vs off, &c. (*Roanoke* 255-56)

He follows this outline plan until the need to justify himself through the introduction of his scapegoat, Wingina, overcomes the structure. Wingina enters the *Account* roughly halfway through the first part (i.e., *Roanoke* 265). He is recorded as the instigator of a conspiracy against the English that is the root cause of Lane's lack of success in the attempt to find Chaunis Temoatan.

Throughout the *Account*, Lane's main interest is in self-justification, which helps to explain three major characteristics of his narrative. First, the *Account* is achronological because the two parts do not simply follow on from each other, but, instead, repeat information – the second part of Lane's *Account* contains what might be termed "flashbacks": sections of information that enhance the emotional, symbolic or narrative detail of episodes already recorded in the first part of the report. In addition, information that could not have been known at the time of the original events is allowed to colour their retrospective interpretation. Second, some events are recounted in both parts of the *Account* in such a way that inclusion in the second part adjusts the reader's understanding of what occurred in the first. For instance, the events that result from

Lane's party's return from the thwarted exploration of the River Moratoc are not explained when the party's return is first recorded. The significance of dates and other references mentioned when the episode is recounted for the first time is revealed only during Lane's narrative of the events that transpired subsequent to the group's return, and these details are reported in the second part of the *Account*. Consequently, an additional layer of explanation and interpretation is added to an episode the reader has encountered once before. Third, Lane does not adhere to his declared intention to separate the parts of his *Account* as he outlined in his introductory paragraphs because he finds it necessary to introduce his antagonist to reveal fully the man's involvement with the events that adversely affected the colony. When Lane is about to announce his most significant piece of intelligence – the route to the fabled city of Chaunis Temoatan – he prefaces it with an outline of Wingina's actions against the English. The blame for failure is placed squarely on his involvement. A final, and perhaps most significant, feature of Lane's report is that the chosen scapegoat is dead, a fact which is a possible cause for Wingina's selection as scapegoat because the retrospective aspects of the report present a validation of Lane's actions that resulted in Wingina's killing. Wingina's death also creates a power vacuum in Virginia that Lane is able to fill with an allegedly firm English ally, Menatonon, the leader of the largest tribal alliance in the area. All these factors point towards the fact that Lane's interpretation of (selected) key events in the report serves his over-riding purpose: to justify the outcome of his period of command. Hence, the *Account* is revealed to be fundamentally a work of retrospective self-justification.

Before Lane's *Account* is discussed in detail, however, the contents of four of his letters written from the colony in Virginia in 1585 – and which Quinn identifies as associated with the expedition's progress – need to be noted, because their thoroughly positive attitude towards Virginia throws into sharp relief the change of outlook evident in the *Account*, written approximately a year later. The letters reveal Lane's awareness of the need for self-justification – initially because he fears an adverse report from Grenville – and the ways in which he protects his position in the estimation of his employers (or "betters") by criticising his enemies while maintaining his support for the adventure upon which he is embarked. The scapegoats he outlines in these letters do not resurface as

principal antagonists in the *Account*; however, his technique of finding another person or group to blame is clearly evident even in these brief documents which prefigure the *Account*'s self-justificatory search for scapegoats and its overall sense of anxiety about the situation in Virginia and the prospects for maintaining the colony there safely. The differences in Lane's presentations of Virginia underline the complex relationships between writer and subject, writer and addressee, and writer and self-justification associated with the reports of the Roanoke venture, and also underline how expedient are the "truths" contained in the various letters and more lengthy reports that refer to and attempt to define Virginia and the first colonial enterprise associated with that area. I will consider the more optimistic letters first, then contrast them with the indications of disillusion with Virginia that can be discerned in Lane's other letters. His suggestion that Sir Philip Sidney should exchange letters with Sir Francis Walsingham, as noted below, further develops the sense of Lane's being aware of his reputation and being careful to avoid direct criticism that is unleavened by optimism or good news. As my analysis of the *Account* will show, Lane promotes the potential of Virginia even as he is obliged to explain the colonists' unexpected and inglorious return. The literary techniques in his letters of 1585 foreshadow those in his *Account*.

In the extract that the younger Hakluyt – the publisher of the voyage reports – chose to publish from Lane's letter to Hakluyt the elder from "the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585," Lane begins by praising and listing the many products of the land that can be used by the English.² In what is virtually a reprise of Barlowe's comments and a brief rough draft for Harriot, Lane refers to

grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater . . . & one kind [of flaxe] like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there [seemingly on the mainland as opposed to Roanoke Island] as grasse is here. And . . . we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth come for bread 400. upon one eare.
(*Roanoke* 207-08).

He goes on to refer directly to two items that Harriot records as commodities that will yield a profit for the adventurers, "cane [that] maketh very good and perfect suger, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata," before praising the land in a more general

manner (*Roanoke* 208). His praise clearly, if inevitably, supports the colonial enterprise upon which he was embarked. There is no mention of the hunger and conflict that arose from the attitude of the native peoples towards the English. Perhaps this is because English requests for food from the local peoples' limited winter reserves and "the cruelty of the governor's policy" had not become a problem in the autumn of 1585 – it was, after all, the time of harvest when there was an abundance of wild and cultivated food for all to enjoy (Kupperman, *Abandoned* 76). Also, at this early stage in the colony's establishment, the native peoples may still have been friendly despite Grenville's retaliatory raid on 16 July, 1585 occasioned by the alleged theft of a silver cup (*Roanoke* 191).

Similar praise is found in the letter (unpublished until modern times) which Lane wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham on 12 August 1585, a few weeks before the published letter noted above. Lane emphasises the fertility of the soil through some hyperbolic imagery:

They barreneste, and moost suncken plattes whereof, do neuertheless, every where yealde sumwhat yt ether for knowen Vertue us of pryce in Chrystendom, or sumwhat at leeste to ye smelle plesinge: Not hauynge as yeate founde on all our serche one stynckinge weede growynge in thys lande; (A matter in all our opynyones here very straunge). (*Roanoke* 200)

The praise of Virginia reveals a careful circumspection in Lane's writing, for he praises all that has been found and achieved before he makes critical references to the irresponsible behaviour of Sir Richard Grenville, the expedition's leader. Grenville acted in what Lane perceives to be a high-handed and careless manner, for example when he sent him ashore at Rojo Bay, St John's Island (Puerto Rico) to collect salt in the face of a real Spanish threat.³ Lane's objections to Grenville's actions are more than just a source of friction; they are a potential revolt against the commander, and, hence, an implicit mutiny. This state of affairs may explain Grenville's alleged later threat to execute Lane (though it must be remembered that the extant evidence for the disputes is recorded only by Lane and so is subjective in content and focus). Lane clearly has to touch carefully upon the subject of divisions within the ranks of the colonists. Instead of attacking Grenville directly, he overtly praises the actions of Simon Fernandez, the expedition's

“Pylotte maggiore” (i.e., chief pilot), and so counters the expected criticisms from Grenville that may relate to himself and Fernandez. Walsingham employed both Lane and Fernandez; Lane’s siding with him against Grenville is indicative of factional divisions among the colonists.⁴

Lane’s next extant letter to Walsingham (dated 8 September 1585) reveals much more about Lane’s personal grievances against Grenville. Lane’s complaint is full of self-justification, but it carefully avoids specific details about the “advyce” that he offered:

*Sir Richard Greenefeelde Generalle, hathe demeaned him selfe, fro ye fyrst daye . . . farre otherwyse then my hoope of him . . . partycularely how tyrannouse an Execuciuone withoute eny occasyone of my parte offered, hee not only purposed, but even propounded ye same, to haue brought mee . . . to ye questione for my life, and that only for an advyce, in a publycke consultacione by mee gyuen, which yf it had beene executed had beene for the grete good of vs all. (Roanoke 211)*⁵

Lane is clearly aware that the event reflects badly upon him, so he attempts to transfer some blame onto his opponent.⁶ Significantly, this technique of blaming others will recur in the *Account* when he has to find a reason for his own failure to make the Roanoke colony thrive. Nevertheless, after his complaints against his commander, the letter ends on a note of optimism concerning the fertility of the soil, though it should be noted that Lane implies that such discoveries are made seemingly in spite of Grenville’s leadership: “euen thoroughe hys intollerable pryede, and vnsaciabile ambycione . . . the Lord to hys glory dothe dayely blesse here with a dayely discouerye of sumwhat rare growynge yt Chrystendom wantethe” (*Roanoke* 212). To have denigrated the land and colony and then complained about his leader would have reduced the impact of his complaints or caused them to fall upon deaf ears. The potential personal danger in his position makes Lane especially circumspect. By praising the enterprise and showing himself a “team player,” he is more free to raise matters that do not detract from the commercial aspects of the venture.

A precursor of Lane’s less optimistic opinion of the colony’s fortunes occurs in a letter to Sir Philip Sidney, dated 12 August 1585, in which Lane presents a picture of being

yn the myddest of infynytt busynesses, As hauyng, emungst sauuages, ye chardege of wylde menn of muyne owene nacione, Whose vnruynes ys suche as not to gyue leasure to ye gouernour to bee all most at eny tyme from them. (*Roanoke* 204)

While this opportunity for identifying a scapegoat (or a group of them) is not developed, it does allow a modern reader to discern a somewhat disingenuous plan that provides another example of Lane's self-justifying approach to presenting bad news. In his correspondence, he invites Sidney to read about the features of Virginia in the letter "which I wrotte to your most honorable father in lawe Master Secrettary" (*Roanoke* 205). As Quinn notes, "Sidney had married, in 1583, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham" (*Roanoke* 205 n1). The letters to Sidney and Walsingham share the same date, so even while he laments features of the Virginian adventure in one letter, namely the attitude and manners of the Englishmen left with him, Lane is able to praise the nature of the land and the prospects of the colony in another letter, written (presumably) on the same day. Lane's invitation to Sidney reveals a plan for the exchange of the letters, or at least their contents, between his two correspondents. This suggested plan would bring together the references in the Walsingham letter to short rations and Lane's fears about Spain, both of which are expressed guardedly, and the unruliness of the men assigned to Lane so that Walsingham will learn that the situation in Virginia is not as good as it might be. Consequently, Lane avoids having to make direct criticisms of his situation and the men who organized it. Furthermore, he is able to introduce scapegoats for his obliquely reported problems. However, these particular scapegoats – the men under his command – could raise questions about the quality of his leadership, questions that must be avoided if his self-justification is to succeed.⁷ His statement that he is in command of men he feels he has to keep under strict control is a clear indication of possible trouble, but there are no problems with the men revealed in his *Account*. Indeed, when Lane refers directly to his men he praises their courage and determination, and links their qualities to his own display of the same during the ill-fated attempt to find Chaunis Temoatan. Lane chooses to reject the men as his scapegoats in favour of the dead Wingina. Perhaps because he was aware of the unfavourable rumours about Virginia that were being circulated by the returning colonists and he no doubt wished to

avoid becoming a feature of them, Lane selected Wingina as his scapegoat because dead men tell no tales.

Although Lane mentions the disorderliness of his men and alludes to problems with provisions in his letters to England, he does not suggest that the native peoples will be a problem; in fact, he ignores them. When he alludes to the food problem in his letter to Walsingham (12 August 1585) it is from a specifically European perspective in which the Spanish are the imagined foe, and God's help is anticipated against their triumphing over the English. Rather than allowing

ye Papystes to tryumphe ouer ye ouerthrowe, ether of thys most Chrystyan Accione or of vs hys poore seruantes in yt thorough famyne or other wante . . . [God] wyll commaunde euen ye Ravnnes to feed vs, As hee did by hys seruante ye Prophett Abacuc, and yt for hys mercyes sake.
(*Roanoke* 203-04)

The native groups are not given a role in the provision of food, the denial of food, or the feared onslaught of Spain. Lane does not say directly that he is starving and in no condition to defend the colony against a Spanish force that might be sent against him. His imagery both suggests and removes the idea of dire need (and so fails to elicit an appropriate response from Walsingham). Lane expresses himself in a nervously emphatic manner that arises from the conflicting tensions that affect him. He needs to appear capable, committed and in control; he also reveals a need to indicate his underlying concerns about his situation should Spain intervene.⁸ Lane's biblical allusion reveals the anxieties and confusions that surround and permeate the Roanoke adventures. He is isolated from earthly help and surrounded by foes (significantly, this providential way of thinking subsequently emerges in his *Account* in the context of conflict with the native population). While he expresses an outward conviction that he is engaged in a "most Chrystyan Accione," he remains acutely aware that he is dependent upon some form of external support, human or divine. His allusion suggests that he perceives that divine assistance is more likely than human in the immediate future.⁹ He hopes for the best, fears the worst, and never knows what to expect. The tensions of his situation recall Barlowe's record of the incidents during and after the feast provided by Granganimeo's wife (see Chapter Two). In that episode palpable fears are suppressed through optimistic

assurances of safety, which themselves emphasise a fearful uncertainty. The fearful uncertainty of the English experience in Virginia is present in this letter to Walsingham, even though it may be absent from some of Lane's other, more apparently optimistic letters to English correspondents; however, tension and uncertainty are core features of Lane's *Account*. These features emphasise the fundamental difference between Lane's report and those that preceded it.

As we have seen, both Barlowe and Harriot use optimism to overcome the problems, uncertainties and fears that form a suppressed background to their reports; Lane's *Account* appears to challenge their approach. Lane reports unfinished and incomplete events that forestall the anticipated success of the projects they portray. The root cause of these problems is the opposition of the native peoples, which, in itself, does not augur well for the colony's prospects. Beneath the desolate facts of his report, however, lie optimistic prospects that lift the potential of Virginia above the failure that it appears to be. Lane's *Account* rarely invokes biblical and other allusions and so presents a seemingly straightforward and "true" report in a way that Harriot's promises and prophecies do not. In this presentation of truth lie not only the *Account's* appeal but also its deceptiveness, for Lane's work also includes projections of success just as its predecessors do, though in a less overt form. Lane offers golden future prospects that rely not upon commerce and agriculture, but the exploitation of the wealth created and collected by an as yet unencountered native group in a mysterious town, supposedly situated far away at the head of a river. Harriot's and Lane's reports of Virginia differ significantly in their overt approach and content, but they come together in their expedient suggestions and assumptions about the ultimately effective lure for future settlers and adventurers.

As part of his scheme to reveal the potential of Virginia that he has discovered, Lane paradoxically asserts in his *Account* that only "the discovery of a good mine, . . . or a passage to the Southsea, or someway to it, and nothing els can bring this countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation" (*Roanoke* 273).¹⁰ By itself that sounds like a rejection of the colony's chances of success as Lane has written no introductory fanfare announcing the discovery of such desirable features, but, rather, has promised to record

the reasons for the departure of the colony and referred to a conspiracy of the native peoples against the English. However, although Lane cannot positively state that a mine and route to the Pacific have been discovered, he includes sufficient information about the legendary city of Chaunis Temoatan and the equally legendary salt source of the River of Morotico to raise the distinct possibility that his alleged requirements for success are, in fact, present in Virginia, only further inland (*Account, Roanoke* 263-64). To underline the alleged potential of Virginia, he ends his lengthy record of the attempt to reach the fabled city with the assertion just noted. The overtly retrospective construction of this part of his *Account* clearly reveals the expedient nature of the truth about Virginia that Lane promulgates. As he reveals, he is creating a perceived requirement for the colony's success that is almost fulfilled. His outlined plans for an expedition that will lead to future discoveries in Virginia suggest that the realisation of the prophecy is desired city and route are within reach of a determined, better supplied expedition.

By rejecting Harriot's evidence of agricultural and commodity-based success and potential, Lane paradoxically forecasts success for Virginia. He looks to similar sources of prosperity in locations similar to those suggested in the "Conclusion" to Harriot's *Report*, namely the discovery of fabulous cities in the "inner parts" of Virginia. Lane's attitude recalls the position that he espouses in his first letter to Walsingham (12 August 1585) regarding the need for American land (and its associated treasure) to aid in the overthrow of Spain, and indicates that (with due apologies to Von Clausewitz) American colonisation is nothing but the continuation of religious war with the admixture of other means.¹¹ To achieve the overthrow of Spain is the assumed ultimate aim of Lane's actions, according to his letters. The colonization of Virginia will help in this aim only if the colonization is profitable, and to be profitable in Lane's estimation, Virginia must yield up a mine or a route to China and Japan so that investments will be made and wider commerce will develop. The resulting money from the exploitation of mineral resources or the potential monopoly of Far East trade will weaken the empire of Spain and hasten the end of the rule of the Papist Antichrist in Europe.¹² It is clear, then, that, aside from promoting the colony as an English foothold for New World agriculture and the commercial exploitation of its commodities, there is more than one agenda influencing

Lane's report. His optimism finds expression in the imagined fulfilment of his own opinion regarding the future success of Virginia (as discussed above) and the intense detail of his thwarted plans. All these features not only reveal but also conceal aspects of the expedient nature of Lane's *Account*.

Lane's report was almost certainly written in England after his return there with Drake's fleet. Whether or not he had access to a chronological log, Lane omits the period between September 1585 and March 1586 and focuses on the events of the colony's last few months at Roanoke. To say that the *Account* was written retrospectively may be to state the obvious, but it needs to be emphasised, as this aspect of its composition influences Lane's writing quite radically. Consider his situation. He had made several favourable references to Virginia in his letters, thereby bolstering the notions of the land encouraged by Hakluyt's *Discourse* and initially expressed in Barlowe's report. Now Lane has to account for his failure in the rich and attractive land. Hakluyt and Harriot were busy interrogating Morales and Burgoignon as part of the investigations that the colony's unexpected return and the accompanying negative rumours required. The news that Raleigh's expensive and elaborate resupply sent out under Grenville's command had not reached the colonists before they left, plus the lack of tangible achievements, probably added a few choice comments to Raleigh's reception of Lane when the latter presented his verbal report.¹³ The additional information that Lane had killed the local chieftain just before he abandoned the colony would have done nothing to ameliorate his position – unless, of course, the chieftain's death could be shown to be in the colony's best interests.

The significance of Lane's retrospective composition now begins to become clearer. Right from the opening lines, he declares his intention to reveal first what the English did in Virginia and then states:

In the beginning [of the second part of the *Account*] . . . shalbe declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the mayne, to haue cutt vs off, &c. (*Roanoke* 256)

With the clarity of hindsight, Lane sets out to expose all that Wingina did against the interests of the English. His need to reveal the alleged subtle machinations used by the

man he considered to be the organizing genius behind the actions of the “Sauages of the mayne” leads him to disrupt his planned two-part scheme by introducing Wingina into the first part of his report. However, Wingina is not introduced formally and in his proper place as the ruler of a particular location, namely Roanoke and environs, when Lane outlines the native polity of the area at the start of his report (*Roanoke* 256-59). Indeed, his lack of introduction as the local ruler is especially striking if one remembers that both Barlowe and Harriot identify him as “king” or “weroance” of that particular area. It is not that the expedition was unaware of the name of the local chief because the “Tiger Journal” records for July 1586: “The 3. we sent word of our ariuing at Wococon, to Wingino at Roanocke” (*Roanoke* 189). This entry contains the first reference to contact with the Virginian natives by Grenville’s fleet and it indicates that a purposeful message was sent to a specific person: Wingina. It is clear that the man’s name and location were well known to the English, so Lane’s silence is significant: it reveals Lane’s awareness that such an introduction would be a waste of ink because the man is dead.¹⁴ The only “king” who is named and introduced to the reader is Menatonon:

a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth . . . [who] gave [Lane] more understanding and light of the Countrey then [he] had received by all the searches and Savages that before [he] or any of [his] companie had had conference with. (*Roanoke* 259).

Menatonon is the ruler of Choanoke, “the greatest Prouince and Seignoirie lying upon that River, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fieldes, besides the forces of the Prouince itself” (259). Clearly he is an important figure in the district and Lane carefully establishes the man’s power and prestige.

This is done for a reason. As we know, Lane has killed the person he and others perceive to be the leader of the local population and so created a power vacuum. His departure with Drake shortly after this event, and the lack of specific references to the indigenous peoples after the record of Wingina’s decapitation, indicates that he had been unable or unwilling to intervene to establish a puppet or other ruler friendly towards the

English during whatever power struggles or changes of authority may have followed Wingina's death.¹⁵ By introducing Menatonon as the first of the cast of native people who inhabit Lane's vision of Virginia, his significance is established. Lane's complimentary comments about his power and wisdom further develop his character and alleged influence. Menatonon becomes a key figure in Lane's discussion of the potential of Virginia, and he opposes the idea of the wily, scheming native Machiavel that Lane applies consistently and relentlessly to Wingina. Lane's attitude can be shown with startling clarity in his description of a gathering held among the native peoples that had the expulsion of the English as its objective:

For Pemisapan . . . had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks [groups living beside the river Moratoc] worde of my purpose touching them, I having bene inforced to make him privie to the same, to bee served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did never rest to sollicite continually my going upon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon . . . preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie. . . . And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden . . . But this confederacie against us . . . was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was . . . to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.
(*Roanoke* 265-66)¹⁶

The most striking feature of the information contained in this synopsis of the strategic and political situation is Lane's choice to believe Menatonon over Wingina ("Pemisapan"). Menatonon has been established as the influential ruler of "the greatest Prouince and Seignorie" in the coastal area. He had called a "generall assembly . . . at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon [the English] at Roanoak, and . . . the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise" (265), yet the blame for all the scheming is placed upon Wingina. Menatonon's role in Lane's interpretation of the event is that of an enemy ruler betrayed by a schemer who is attempting to break faith with all parties and keep faith with none. Better, Lane implies, a known and open enemy than a sly Machiavel who fawns and then stabs in the back. Both sides honour Lane's subsequent treaty with Menatonon. This

presents yet another reason to trust the man, but it must be remembered that Lane retained Menatonon's son as his hostage right up until the time of his departure to ensure the mighty "king's" co-operation (or at least overt neutrality). The two leaders are portrayed, compared and judged by Lane. His decision to support Menatonon and damn Wingina, is not based upon evidence of each leader's good faith, however, but upon which man survived. Menatonon is the only living local ruler who is portrayed as a potential friend to the English and so he comes to replace Wingina as the potential local contact for future settlers.¹⁷

Lane's expediency is revealed not only through his representation and interpretation of the facts in the passage just quoted, but also in the way he presents further information against Wingina. The evidence for the chief's duplicity is provided by Menatonon himself, who "confessed" – note the word – it to Lane while Lane held him prisoner with his "best beloved sonne" after Lane's unexpected arrival in the middle of the "generall assembly . . . at Chawanook." Later evidence about Wingina's schemes, presented in the second part of the *Account*, also comes via Menatonon and his son, Skiko. Before the final conflict in which Wingina is killed, the young man reveals to Lane all the secrets he learns from Wingina allegedly because of his friendship with Lane, but this friendship has strange roots:

having once attempted to run away, I laid [Skiko] in the bylboes [i.e., leg irons], threatening to cut off his head, whome I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon he being perswaded that he was our enemie to the death, did not only feede him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himself as well vsed at my hand, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my companie made much of him, he flatly discouered all vnto me, which also afterwards was reuealed vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, ye night before he was slaine. (*Roanoke* 285)

Whether or not Lane's image of the young man's treatment is accurate, is open to question. The duplicity on Lane's part suggests an awareness of how to manage a situation by means other than force, though intimidation is clearly at the root of all his actions, however their aftermath is portrayed. Menatonon's awareness of a wider view of local power politics may well be seen surfacing in his son. Together they influence the

outcome of Lane's report, though whether they were as influential upon events at the time is uncertain.

Just before Skiko's role in the revelations concerning the information about final events in Wingina's conspiracy is declared, Lane reminds the reader of the background events. He recalls his objective to obtain food from

Menatonon and the Chaonists, who in truth as they are more valiant people and in greater numbers than the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there, had giuen me many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomiok for making him beleeeue such tales of vs. (*Roanoke* 284)

The context of Lane's narrative, the journey to Menatonon for food, places the king in opposition to the actions of Wingina who had removed to the mainland to avoid contact with Lane and to deny him food. As Lane declares that his "purpose was to haue" visited his friend, he implies that he did not go. The events that culminated in the death of Wingina forestalled Lane, and no doubt made the groups on the mainland too hostile to visit for the purpose of demanding food. Nevertheless, Menatonon is portrayed as being a potentially willing supplier of food, a strong but faithful local leader, and a leader who was specifically not in alliance with Wingina. As this information is provided in the midst of the outline of the culmination of Wingina's plots against the English, and is then followed by the revelation that Skiko had informed Lane about Wingina's plots, the design of Lane's narrative technique is made clear.

Confidence in Menatonon's character is central to Lane's projection of Virginian prosperity. Lane declares that Menatonon gave him "more understanding and light of the Countrey" than any other native person he encountered (*Roanoke* 259). From him Lane learns of the town of pearls and Chaunis Temoatan, and to strengthen these rumours, Lane has first to establish Menatonon's trustworthiness. To do this, he praises the man's intellect and continually alludes to Menatonon as a staunch friend who behaves nobly when captured. To emphasise the point further, his son also demonstrates nobility of character and comes to be an ally of Lane against the Machiavellian plots of other native

groups. Indeed, after the death of Ensenore, Menatonon and his son are the only native allies upon whom Lane can depend (*Roanoke* 279-88).

The implications of Menatonon's trustworthiness become more obvious as one remembers that the attractions of Virginia – and, hence, the success of Lane's period of command – depend upon the accuracy of the king's information. Lane records that during their first interview, when Lane held the crippled Menatonon prisoner in handcuffs and his son as his hostage, the king told Lane about a realm that lay to the northeast. In it there were to be found so many pearls that not only the clothes of the king of the fabulous place, and those of "the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see." To substantiate his story, Menatonon gave Lane "a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught" though some of the pearls were of interest to him because of their size and shape. Here Lane's expressions may reveal something of the confusion in the information he received, for the pearls are simultaneously "the same" as those that adorn the fabulous realm and yet "naught." Consequently, the very evidence that is alleged to support its existence challenges the claimed value of the far-off realm. No tangible evidence is available to lift it out of the realm of mere rumour because only in report is there "great store of Pearle that [are] white, great, and round" (*Roanoke* 260). Alternatively, the need to establish the future potential of Virginia through the discovery of sources of exploitable wealth causes the confusion I note. Quantifiable truth about this useful piece of potentially valuable evidence cannot be established, however, as even the "blacke" pearls were "lost . . . comming aboard Sir Francis Drake his Fleete" (*Roanoke* 260). The loss might have been useful nevertheless; Lane is being expedient here as he attempts to attract the interest and avarice of Raleigh (as Quinn suggests: *Roanoke* 102 n2). Pearls feature prominently in Barlowe's account of the potential sources of wealth in Virginia and Harriot records them also, so Lane's references lend support to and are supported by other reports about the commodities traded by the native population. More important to Lane's message about Virginia, the reference to pearls also develops the idea of a fabulous town some distance away that will yield recognisable wealth. Such a town

could meet one of the requirements expressed in the conditions that Lane sets out for the success of Virginia. The “almost successful” tone of Lane’s report can be read as an attempt to tantalise the reader and thereby convince him to applaud Lane’s efforts regardless of the nature of their tangible results. Such a reaction would also promote the settlement of Virginia on the terms Lane outlines. Both potential reactions would validate Lane’s expedient explanation of his actions and the colony’s potential.

Lane’s promotion of Menatonon and the information he passed on contain equivocal evidence about the man’s actions, words, and motives, however. His initial description of Menatonon records a capacity in the king for being aware of a wider political panorama than that of his immediate territory. As suggested above, such praise may be propaganda to enhance the king’s status; however, if Lane’s subsequently revealed suspicions regarding the native peoples’ previous “traffique with white men” are correct, then the possibility is that the English themselves are being used expediently by those they sought to exploit and manipulate for their own ends.¹⁸ Menatonon’s promise to supply guides to lead Lane into the territory of the king who controlled the pearls comes with the advice to take along

good store of men . . . and good store of victuall, for . . . that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he sayd would fight very well. (*Roanoke* 261)

This advice could be interpreted as Menatonon alerting Lane to ensure his self-protection. On the other hand, its context smacks of warmongering because Menatonon is clearly aware that the English will try to acquire the pearls – he has seen Lane’s reaction to the string he showed to him – and so will be perceived as enemies by his neighbour. The phrasing of his warning about the native group’s hostility and ability to fight will make the English more cautious and potentially “trigger happy.” Such an approach by the English will make the other native groups more likely to attack in force to drive off the dangerous and aggressive strangers. If the English defeat his neighbour, Menatonon will be in a stronger position and will have gained a powerful ally; if the English are defeated, his position will be little changed as he himself is king of “the greatest Province &

Seigniorie lying upon that river” and is able to field a considerable army according to Lane’s calculations (*Roanoke* 259). Furthermore, if the English are defeated, Menatonon will also be rid of a troublesome new neighbour and may acquire more status among the local leaders for effectively disposing of their problem; indeed, this may have been his goal when he called the meeting of the local leaders that, I believe, Lane expediently blamed upon the machinations of Wingina. Clearly, Menatonon would not suffer from urging the English to move on, regardless of the eventual outcome. Such an interpretation of Menatonon is, of course, far from the one projected by Lane. Menatonon remains his touchstone for information at all times. Indeed, on the strength of Menatonon’s information, Lane embarks upon the hazardous search for Chaunis Temoatan.

Lane begins his report of his exploratory voyage along the “river of Moratico” with some of the information he discovered on his voyage along the river, which he likens to aspects of the Thames: “for the space of thirtie miles . . . it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich, and the Ile of dogges . . . the currant runneth as strong being entred so high into the Riuer, as London bridge upon a vale water” [i.e., ebb-tide (Quinn’s gloss)] (*Roanoke* 263-64). His description provides the reader with a clear idea of the appearance and dimensions of the river by associating it with a precise and known location. It also includes an idea of the force of the current in the reference to the tidal conditions a reader might well have experienced on the Thames. Indeed, the notion of the Virginian river flowing through a prosperous and wealthy city is enhanced by Lane’s reference to the Thames. This reference not only promotes the adventure upon which he is embarked, it also brings the potential of the alleged discoveries that, according to Lane, await the next expedition to Virginia right into the familiar world of a London reader. At the same time, however, the idea of the strange, unfamiliar and dangerous locations in Virginia is suppressed by the references to a familiar waterway that is not threatening because of its familiarity. By referring to the passage of the Thames, Lane equates his hazardous journey with a ferry boat ride. So, while the equation may make the dimensions of the Virginian river more comprehensible to the reader, it also detracts from the reader’s acknowledgement of Lane’s achievement in a hostile land, threatened by

hostile groups: if the river was like the Thames, why was it not explored to its source? Lane's description may make the river accessible to a reader from London, but it also contains the potential to undermine the self-justification that I have identified as a key feature of Lane's writing.

Once he has made the river accessible to his readership, he develops the description from the information he has gleaned from the local peoples. This is partly inevitable because he failed to reach the fabulous city or the source of the river. According to his record of the stories he claims to have heard concerning the river, there is alleged unanimity in its marvellous features:

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Morotico themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Morotico itself . . . it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke . . . and further, that this huge rocke standeth nere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes . . . the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish. (*Roanoke* 264)

The combination of empirical knowledge and rumour, backed by the use of Menatonon's name and the trustworthiness that it implies, indicates Lane's need for the river to yield the hoped-for answer to the problems that dog the development of Virginia. The above passage contains significant hints about the discovery of the desired route to the "Southsea" through its references to salt water. Even the variations of distance and time recorded in the information do not detract from the "facts" but add a touch of verisimilitude through their agreement upon the substance of the rumour, but disagreement as to the exact details. Lane's comment about the strength of the current and his doubts about its navigability may be seen to account for the variations in the times given for the passage of the river to its head ("thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes"). The information also enhances Lane's account of his determination to attempt the river despite his misgivings. To underpin his determination, he outlines his plan to explore the river, explaining carefully the thinking behind each of his points.

This relation of information and explanation of his plans bolsters the expedient construction of his *Account*. By explaining why and how he tackled the river, he cannot be faulted on his application to and support for the aims of the colony. He overtly attempts to bring about the discoveries that he declares will make the colony profitable: he says this clearly before he embarks upon his account of Wingina's conspiracy. Even though he is unsuccessful in his river voyage, he has prepared the ground for subsequent colonists to find the places to which his words and recorded actions optimistically point. Beneath the surface failure of the colony is Lane's mutedly optimistic outlook that supports his expedient presentation of the colony's potential.

As the river voyage concludes with plans for future attempts to reach the river's source, Lane breaks his report's proclaimed two-part structure and introduces Wingina's actions before he begins to relate the details of the alleged conspiracy hatched among the native peoples. According to the first part of his report, the search for the source of the River of Moratoc led him into the greatest danger he had experienced up to that time in Virginia: a danger posed not just by the vagaries of the terrain, but by the schemes of the native groups that inhabited the land. The extent and complexity of their schemes are matched only by the devotion and efforts of the Englishmen led by Lane. If the expediency of his writing had not been obvious before, the introduction of Wingina at this point in the narrative removes all doubt.

Wingina and Menatonon not only represent polarized types of native people – “treacherous schemer” and “steadfast ally,” respectively – in the *Account*, but also embody features of Lane's representation of the colony's fortunes. Menatonon's role in the first part of the *Account* underlines the positive potential of the colony. He is associated with the discovery of wealth in cities and wealth from trade routes. His knowledge and support emphasise what could be achieved in the right circumstances. His alliance supports the colony, features in its future, and his evidence helps to account for its past. Wingina, on the other hand, is associated solely with the colony's past. He is the cause of the failure of Lane's attempts to discover the locations revealed by Menatonon, he is the source of the problems with food and alliances, and he is the instigator of the hostility and conflict that mark the last weeks of the colony. As the

Account moves from its focus on the potential of Virginia in the first part to its more overt apologia for what was actually achieved there (in the second part), the role of Wingina comes to the fore as Lane's – and, hence, the colonists' – Machiavellian antagonist. No longer is Lane outlining a potentially rosy future, but rather he is carefully justifying a bleakly inauspicious past. To do this, he works to blacken Wingina's name whenever he mentions it. Not only does this promote the culpability of his chosen scapegoat, but it also allows Lane to justify the killing of Wingina by implying that the "native problem," though previously all-affecting, is, in fact, no longer a concern. This conclusion is suggested by Lane's conspicuous silence about the native peoples after his record of Wingina's death. After pages that feature the potential of the colony thwarted by the efforts of a dedicated opponent, Lane may be suggesting that, although the colony failed to follow up what he had begun, the next group of colonists have been bequeathed success by Lane's timely actions.

Lane's initial accusations against Wingina – the evidence from the first part of the *Account* that reveals Wingina's "conspiracie" in the context of its impact upon the discovery of Virginia's hinterland – associate the man's actions with the loss of Chaunis Temoatan and the route to the East. As we know, a root cause of failure in Virginia was the lack of supplies. Lane's report of Wingina's schemes shifts the focus of the record from what Lane did not do about the problem to what Wingina is alleged to have done deliberately to create it. Lane's actions are presented as those of a resolute leader who is finally thwarted by another's lies. This self-justifying depiction of himself includes his men in its aura of virtue defeated. Through this act of inclusion, Lane emphasises the enormity of Wingina's "conspiracie" by showing that the colonists – far from being the mutinous crew of his earlier letter – are men whose sufferings should be admired.

To enhance his description of the river's exploration, and as a further development of his self-justification, Lane highlights his valiant efforts to make progress along the river as a constant struggle against hunger and a scheming, mendacious, and aggressive foe. In all his actions Lane is restricted and eventually thwarted by the lack of supplies: "the hope of recovering more victuall from the Savages made [Lane] and [his] company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before [their] returne, as ever

men did that missed the same” (*Roanoke* 265). Lane’s observations are made before he embarks upon his discussion of Wingina’s involvement in the misfortunes of the English attempt to find the fabulous city. As such, the introduction of the hardships of the English serves as a retrospective introduction to Wingina’s involvement that not only links Lane’s problems to all that went before the man’s entry into the report but also expediently rehearses what is to come now that the new character has been introduced.¹⁹ All the time the character of Wingina is made blacker through Lane’s allegations about his lies, deceit and treachery.

The main cause of Lane’s failure to reach Chaunis Temoatan is the interference of Wingina, who slandered the English to the other native groups and caused them to withdraw before the English, making no friendly contact with them despite earlier treaties.²⁰ In the account of the river voyage not only is Wingina revealed to be a spreader of slanders – for Lane declares that the English “had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our [English] copper to have had come of them” (*Roanoke* 266) – he is also shown to be the cause of the breaking of treaties and so an even greater contributor to the defeat of Lane’s boldly-undertaken voyage:

Hee [Wingina] . . . sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both them and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us . . . [so they] abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves . . . within the maine: insomuch as . . . wee could not meet a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes . . . and wee were then 160. miles from home, besides the casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Savages in the discovery of our voyage intended. (*Roanoke* 266)

Wingina is clearly being described as a man whose actions are worthy of death: an expedient conclusion to reach in the face of the colony’s known history.

As a counter to the villainous activities of Wingina, Lane emphasises the stalwart dedication of the English in the face of foes and starvation. The rumour-based information about the river Moratoc goes no little way towards explaining his men’s enthusiasm for taking risks, and reveals a possible cause for his finding it necessary to allow them time to think through their reaction to his choice of options. Quinn notes that

Raleigh's observations in his *History of the World* that "Spoyle and riches [are] of most force with the common souldior" indicate something of the contemporary understanding of human greed and motivation. Raleigh states that the lure of Spanish "Royalls of plate" has allowed commanders to attack successfully in situations in which the odds were against them. Had the same soldiers faced the same situation in "any poore Countrie, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and slaughter" (*Roanoke* 223). It appears that Lane is employing a version of Raleigh's theory when he outlines the chances of success if they push on for a while before making a blunt and brief statement of the alternative:

I . . . aduertised the whole companie of the case wee stode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them, vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued . . . and therefore while we had . . . two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our way returne homewarde . . . Thus much I signified vnto them as the safest way: neuerthelesse, I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether we should aduenture the spending of oure whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some getter hap, or otherwise to retyre our selues back againe. . . . Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left one halfe pinte of corne for a man, that we should not leaue the search of that Riuer. . . . This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion. (*Roanoke* 266-68)

The men's recorded enthusiasm indicates their clear understanding about the prospects that awaited them at the source of the river. The chance of finding an English Mexico is the unstated subtext to Lane's alleged speech. In direct contrast to the dangers that await a commander who risks men's lives when there is no chance of plunder (as outlined by Raleigh, above), Lane appears to be in no danger of being killed by his own men despite the dangerous situation into which he is leading them because they all know what is the potential gain before them, as does the reader.

Lane reveals something more of his skills as an expedient narrator of events when he discloses the information that he had learnt about the river:

there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and trafique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, . . . but also to them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan. (*Roanoke* 268)

Lane begins to draw the reader into the fascination that he himself seems to have felt regarding the legendary province. The very design of the paragraph that introduces the wonderful place, which concludes with the above quotation, works to keep the reader's attention by delaying the name until the last two words. There is no gloss provided for the name; it is left to stand alone, to become the Virginian El Dorado, or so Lane's subsequent words indicate.

Once he has revealed the name, he proceeds to discuss the mineral. The local people call it "Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metall whatsoever" (*Roanoke* 268).²¹ Building on this dismissal of the ignorance of the locals' knowledge of metals, his account of the physical properties of the mineral hints at more than copper:

they say it is the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale . . . Of this metall the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the Savages adjoyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same. (*Roanoke* 268)

Here, at last, is a glimpse of possible wealth comparable to that discovered by the Spanish. Alleged proof to support the rumoured information comes from Skiko, the son of Menatonon, a member of a family whose credentials have been carefully established. Unfortunately, Skiko had never been there but had heard of people who had seen the "Minerall Countrey":

and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the country, and particularly by yong Skiko . . . who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to mee before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for he sayd, it was twentie dayes iourney . . . before they came to the said country. (*Roanoke* 270)

Lane has no other evidence to offer to support the rumours, but he makes the most of equivocal nature of the evidence he has through its origin with Skiko, whose words link back to his father, Menatonon, who is one of the original sources of information about the river and has been carefully established as a reliable informant. Even when the mineral is revealed to be copper, it is more than just copper: “thus doth *Master* Yougham affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the worlde” (*Roanoke* 274).²² Thus, even though gold was not found – and it should be remembered that Lane knows this all the time that he is hinting at its presence – the value of the discovered mineral is emphasised through the evidence of the appointed assayer. This emphasis supports Lane’s position regarding the underlying success of his prosecution of his mission in Virginia despite its seeming failure. At the same time, his need to promote his success leads to another seepage of an alternative version of the colonists’ activities.

Lane’s expressed desire to make contact with the Mangoaks “either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners” (*Roanoke* 268) is based on a need “to get some of that their [sic] copper for an assay” (270). A promising assay would lead to the sure success of the colony through “the discoverie of a good Mine.” This indicates that his recorded expedition to find the marvellous city is an elaboration of his frank remarks about the potential of Virginia depending upon mineral wealth or a navigable passage to the East. (The recorded enthusiasm of his starving men further supports Lane’s assertion.) So it becomes clear that his attempts to contact the local population during the journey up the river are based on more than the repeatedly expressed need to supplement the party’s food, though that need is uppermost in Lane’s writing. His approach to obtaining the information is also revealed in his unguarded admission that he is prepared to take prisoners to achieve his aim. How he would extract information from the unfortunate prisoners is obliquely suggested by his admission that he kept Menatonon in fetters while he interviewed him and then kidnapped his son as a hostage before he left the cooperative weroance’s town. Lane’s admission undermines the idea of his benign attitude towards the native peoples and suggests a reason for their resistance to his advance along the river that has nothing to do with a “conspiracie.” Indeed, further

evidence for Lane's aggressive stance during the river voyage is found in the second part of the *Account*, as I discuss below. The motive discernible behind Lane's recorded plans and actions is the need to discover if the colony is viable. If he had found a mine or a route to the ocean, more than just the colony would have been vindicated. Lane's repetition of the near certainty of the existence of his desired discoveries is an indication of his perception of what he needs to emphasise to ensure his report's favorable reception. If he can persuade his reader about the relevance of his prophecy and its virtual success, he can persuade him about the actual success of his governorship.

The discovery that the encountered mineral is copper must have been a disappointment, but one that is masked by Lane's emphasis of its unique value. Lane's earlier hints about the mineral being more than copper remain in the reader's mind, while the lack of contact with Chaunis Temoatan itself allows for the retention of an optimistic interpretation of Virginia's as yet unencountered prospects. Aside from the still-possible discovery of gold associated with Chaunis Temoatan, there remains the possibility of a passage to the "Southsea" at the head of the river: this has not been challenged by any other rumour or discovery. These hopes are the high point of the *Account*. They are held back until the end of the first part to form a crescendo to Lane's achievements. The conjunction of rumoured wealth and threatening hostility creates a rhetorically effective moment for the change of focus within the *Account*. Now that all has been revealed about what might be found in Virginia, the reasons for the colony's failure to achieve these goals becomes the necessary focus of Lane's writing. His need for self-justification and a believable transfer of blame is paramount in the second part of his report.

The second part of the *Account* elaborates the causes for Lane's failure to achieve the goals that he identifies in the first part. The two main causes he cites are lack of supplies and the hostility of the local peoples. Both are closely connected, even interdependent, and both are shown to pivot upon Wingina's actions. The loss of the partial resupply provided by Drake's unexpected but timely arrival soon after the fight with the local native groups is clearly the final straw for the colonists; their immediate abandoning of the colony is an understandable reaction in the context of all that Lane relates in the second part of the *Account*. As Lane explains and justifies his actions, the expedient

nature of their representation is revealed through occasional indication of an alternative truth about his behaviour and the interpretations he imposes upon the actions of his chosen adversary.

Lane's concentrated focus on Wingina in the second part of the *Account* begins with an outline of the final stage of Wingina's alleged actions against the English that are specifically dated from "20. of April 1586," the day on which "Ensenore . . . the only friend to our nation that we had amongst . . . [Wingina's council] dyed" (*Roanoke* 275). The dead Ensenore's benign influence is recounted in a lengthy retrospective about what he had done to influence the malevolent Wingina on behalf of the English. As part of the retrospective, Lane gives an account of events that took place in his absence that reveal more of Wingina's untrustworthy character. As he sets the scene, however, part of an alternative version of his river voyage seeps through his narrative to challenge aspects of the expedient interpretation of his actions that dominates his *Account*.

Lane's retrospective account of Wingina's actions begins with the phrase: "In mine absence on my voyage that I made *against* the Choanists, and Mangoaks" (*Roanoke* 276; emphasis added). Quinn picks up this contradictory note and remarks, "Lane speaks as if he had deliberately gone on a warlike expedition, while his [earlier remarks] . . . would suggest that the threat of hostilities had arisen incidentally" (*Roanoke* 276 n7). As has been shown, Quinn's observation only touches the surface of the matter. Lane's choice of expression develops the alternative interpretation of the events I have noted above. If he did move "against" the native groups, their retreat before him and aggressive acts are understandable. Both Lane and Harriot have no reservations about the successful outcome of a stand-up fight between native population and English. The evidence of other Europeans supports their confidence. Wingina's alleged tactic of starvation and his recorded avoidance of open conflict suggest that he shared their view. Furthermore, in Lane's report of the events, the role of Wingina changes from offensive to defensive: if he did send a message such as Lane records, it was not a slander as far as its references to the English motives are concerned. The effect of the flight of the native groups from Lane would have been as he describes, but the cause of their flight is

emphatically challenged. They fear Lane's manifest aggression and not just rumours of his intent.

Further evidence of the expediency of Lane's "truth" occurs after the account of Wingina's rebellion in Lane's absence. When he accounts for the awe in which the local groups hold the English as they return against all odds, Lane refers to the military prowess of the native groups through whom he had passed. As he does so, he reveals that the English clearly encountered native people in combat. Wingina heard, "by report of his owne 3. sauages . . . that [the groups they went "against" – see quotation, above] . . . durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and those that did abide vs were killed" (*Roanoke* 277). The deaths he records in triumph undermine his earlier version of the events that depicted him as a victim of aggression, perpetually unable to strike back against an invisible and fleet-footed foe. Lane's earlier record of an encounter states that unknown native groups ambushed the English and avoids any direct mention of casualties inflicted by the English, preferring instead to end with a pious acknowledgement of English safety. To enhance further Lane's position of power is the presence of Skiko as a prisoner; this bolsters Lane's prestige through his evident quelling of Menatonon and so cows Wingina into abandoning his recent rebellion.

Lane's report of Wingina's behaviour in his absence blackens his adversary's character and simultaneously emphasises the good acts of the now dead Ensenore. The rebellious native group's claim that "our Lord God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks" (*Roanoke* 277) is used by Lane in a number of ways. First, it shows that the local peoples recant "their former reuerend opinion in shew." This accusation challenges their trustworthiness on at least two levels: they reject what they claimed to believe, and their earlier belief is itself condemned as being only "in shew." Next, their rejection of their professed belief issues a clear challenge to God who responds not only by defeating their hopes but also by revealing His explicit support for Lane's group (thereby affirming that He *is* God). Thirdly, Wingina's statement about the death of the Englishmen is shown to be yet another lie uttered by him without any proof: he is now both a liar and blasphemer. Finally, the effect of the "bruite" raised against the English also negated the good

ministrations of “olde Ensenore” on the colonists’ behalf. This matter may be fairly minor after all the others, but it does serve to emphasise the hostile state of the local population before Lane’s return.

The first version of Lane’s return, recorded in the first part of the *Account*, ended when he recovered Roanoke either on or just after Easter Sunday 1586 (*Roanoke* 272). No mention of the aftermath of his return was given there. He arrived at his home base rejoicing in his deliverance from death by starvation at the hands (or instigation) of Wingina. However, if the two accounts of Lane’s return are brought together, then the alleged blasphemies are uttered during Holy Week and Easter weekend. So the return of Lane implicitly confirms that our Lord God *is* God, and this confirmation coincides with Easter Sunday or the period immediately after it.

To emphasise the unstated significance of the date and event, Lane’s return

made Ensenors opinions to be received again with greater respects. For hee had often before tolde them . . . that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to be destroyed by them: but contrariwise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should find their owne, and not be able to worke ours. (*Roanoke* 278)²³

Of great significance here is how Lane either creates or adapts a prophecy – a recognisably religious one, albeit uttered by a native person – and applies it directly to his *Account*. Ensenore is presented as an old, insightful man who has received some form of Christian enlightenment. He remains faithful to the English, and, by implication, to his beliefs in God’s support for them, during a time when all the others turn away from their “former reuerend opinion . . . of the almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ.” God’s support of Lane, made manifest by his safe return at Easter, supports, in turn, Ensenore’s beliefs and prophecy. Wingina’s subsequent death at the hands of the English (who respond to Lane’s “watchword” of “Christ our victory” by killing all of Wingina’s “principal Weroances, & followers”) fulfills the faithful old man’s prophecy (*Roanoke* 287). Indeed, the details of the final conspiracy underline the prophecy that “they amongst them that sought our destruction, should find their owne, and not be able to worke ours.”

In contrast to Lane's elaborately detailed explanation of the plot against him, all that we know with relative, unbiased certainty is that there was a gathering of native groups on the mainland opposite Roanoke and on the island itself.²⁴ Lane suggests that the advertised reason for the gathering was a ceremony to mark the death of Ensonore, a local elder who, according to Lane, had supported the English (*Roanoke* 281). Lane, however, presents this reason as a subterfuge for Wingina's gathering of troops to assault Roanoke. He cites the information provided by Skiko and an unnamed (and possibly dead) man from Wingina's community to corroborate his story. He then reveals that some of his men were sent out to carry away the canoes to forestall the anticipated marine assault, but when they encountered "savages" on the water,

[they] ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off 2. sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but [the act] was discouered from the shoare, wherupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuie to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them. (*Roanoke* 286)

The expediency of this interpretation of the events is clear. Both sides are very wary of each other, though the English fears are the only ones recorded. Lane obscures and suppresses alternative motives that lie behind the native peoples' gathering and apprehension. He suggests that their "villanous purposes" are revealed by their careful "espial" of the English, but he does not allow for the same interpretation to be placed upon his own actions. Lane is also able to project purpose and motive backwards through retrospective references to blacken the reputation of the alleged plotters whose "villanous purposes" he was able to overthrow to the preservation of the colony. This approach suits his expedient justification of the outcome of his period of command. It also supports the information that he says he received from the Menatonon's son and so develops the image of the family's trustworthiness.

The qualities of Menatonon and his son are repeated and emphasised by Lane, whose optimism concerning the discovery of the secrets of the Virginian hinterland is thus validated by a known, trustworthy source, or so Lane wishes us to believe. One must remember that Lane is proving the native peoples' trustworthiness by referring to information about Virginia's potential that they provided. Furthermore, he substantiates

his charges against Wingina's good faith by referring to the evidence of Menatonon. Clearly, the acceptance of Menatonon's trustworthiness is of fundamental importance to the establishment of Lane's self-justification.

Similarly, Lane's need for the reader to accept Wingina as the scapegoat for all Lane's failures directs the writing of the second part of the *Account*. Wingina is the forestaller of all that Lane attempts and the origin of all the detrimental unrest among native groups that the English experience. His actions contrast those of Menatonon and Ensenore, the wise and virtuous elders whose presence offers the hope of better relations between the English and the Virginians. Lane's expedient construction of his *Account* brings all the events to a head after the death of Ensenore. Its achronological narrative separates events and their outcomes, reinterpreting episodes so that Lane is justified and exonerated at all times. The dead natives of Virginia are employed as expedient justifications of Lane's actions. Wingina is always at fault. He is a stage Machiavel who subverts treaties, separates friends, turns allies against each other, denies God, and finally betrays himself through overweening confidence in the naiveté of his God-fearing adversary, the faithful English leader, Ralph Lane. Wingina's alleged use of Ensenore's memorial gathering as a means to attack the English becomes an implicit validation of Ensenore's prophecy, which, in turn, serves to justify Lane's actions as recorded in his expediently self-serving *Account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralfe Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August, 1585. vntill the 18. June 1586. at which time they departed the Countrie.*

Notes

¹ The native leader Pemisapan is recorded to have changed his name to Wingina after the death of his brother, Granganimeo (*Roanoke* 265). The leader of the natives in Harriot's Report is always referred to as "Wingina," whereas Lane introduces his antagonist as "Pemisapan" and uses that name throughout his report, despite noting that the man changed his name. Quinn makes no suggestion that there were two separate native leaders, and contemporary writers, John White most notably, consistently refer to the hostile native leader of the area as "Wingina." For the sake of convenience, I will use the name Wingina in my text, but will retain Lane's use of Pemisapan in the quotations.

² Quinn notes that Richard Hakluyt the younger (the famous compiler and editor) received a copy of the letter to his cousin too late for the 1589 edition of his *Principall Navigations* (*Roanoke* 207 n2).

³ See *Roanoke* 181-85, especially 184 n5.

⁴ For further details about these factions, see *Roanoke* 162, 188 n1, 189 n2, 198 n1, 199, 201, 211-12.

⁵ Quinn notes that the topic of their conversation is unknown from other extant evidence, though he speculates on the cause for Grenville's anger (*Roanoke* 211 n5).

⁶ The full text of the letter contains implicit complaints against those who chose and recommended Grenville for the command of the expedition.

⁷ There is also an implicit parallel with Grenville that Lane avoids here. Later on, Lane's account of his playing devil's advocate with his men (when he outlined all the reasons for abandoning the journey in order to discover if they are willing to continue the search for Chaunis Temoatan) contrasts with Grenville's alleged failure to listen to his men. These aspects of Lane's writing reveal implicit contrasts with the first commander of the expedition, Grenville, which emphasise the qualities of the second, Lane.

⁸ The reaction to the sighting of the sails of Drake's fleet shows the colonists' apprehension most clearly (*Account, Roanoke* 288). When the information about the relatively local presence of the nephew of "olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault" is added to their image of the potential result of a Spanish attack, it is not surprising that Lane is tense about the colony's situation and outlook (*Roanoke* 764). The other references to Spain that Quinn notes also reveal an agenda for Roanoke as a naval base for English operations in the Caribbean and around Newfoundland. For instance, Lane's record of Harriot's belief that a river gave access to the Bay of Mexico is an indication of this agenda (*Account, Roanoke* 273-74).

⁹ His attitude may not contain an implicit despair, however, as he is inclined to record the "hand of God" in many of the events that affect him in Virginia. It is tempting to see his references as expedient – once again shifting the blame away from himself and to an outside cause – but their repetition could be more than a mere formula within his repertoire of expressions.

¹⁰ Quinn's observation that "a verdict such as Lane's would not be unreasonable" as it focuses on the prospects of trade without considering the development of plantation agriculture does not explain away the importance and significance of Lane's remarks about how Virginia is to be brought "in request to be inhabited by our nation" (*Account, Roanoke* 273). Quinn emphasizes the "economic and strategic importance" of finding a way through North America to the Far East by noting that "Sir Humphrey Gilbert's map of 1583" sketched out such a route (273 n2). Lane's blunt assertion that it is only the lure of a fast profit that will make the English commit to colonizing Virginia undermines all the pious talk about improving England's position through trade, agriculture and more diverse commerce, working to save the suffering and benighted indigenous peoples, and spreading the rule of Christ throughout the globe. Religious motives appear to be revealed as so much window-dressing. However, by adapting Hamlin's argument regarding the confused perceptions and double standards of English explorers, it may be seen that Lane's expressed opinion does not necessarily imply a conscious rejection of the religious motivations for the colonization of America. He could fail to appreciate the implicit meaning of his words due to a conventional and unthinking acceptance of the importance of religion and the tenets of Christianity, both of which are presented as part and parcel of the planting of America: Lane's acceptance is analogous to Hamlin's suggestion that Harriot might not even pause to consider the alleged inevitability of the gifts of God that his technology reveals. Lane himself invokes the help of God in the quotation under discussion to assist in the implicit rejection of Godly motivations, so his careful consideration of the deeper implications of his expressed opinion is not an obvious feature of this passage.

¹¹ His motives, as Quinn notes, are fully what one would expect from an exponent of militant Protestantism. Lane expresses his understanding of the need to acquire American wealth in his letter to Walsingham: “[In his trials and tribulations he is] comforted cheefely hereunto with an assuerance of her Maiestes gretenes hereby to growe by ye Addycione of such a kingedom as thys ys to ye reste of hir Domynyones, by meane whereof lykewyse ye Church of Chryste thorough Chrystendom, may by ye mercy of God in shorte tyme finde a relyfe and freedom from ye seruytude, and tyrannye yt by Spayene (beynge ye swoorde of yt Antychryste of Rome and hys secte) ye same hathe of longe tyme beene moost myserabelly oppressed with” (*Roanoke* 203).

¹² Expressed thus, there is an irony in Lane’s suggestion that commerce with the native peoples of Virginia will be necessary once the desired trade with Asia has begun. Lane reveals all the more starkly the urge to plunder the alleged wealth of Virginia in his definition of the ways in which Virginia can be made “in request” to Englishmen. Although Lane never expresses the concept, he is clearly thinking about taking the maidenhead of Virginia.

¹³ This suggestion assumes that Quinn’s speculations about the chronology of the events – especially the timings of the verbal and written reports – are correct. See *Narrative, Roanoke* 255 n4.

¹⁴ Lane refers to Roanoke subsequently as a reference point for the further explorations; for instance “the vttermost place to the Southward of any discouerie was Secoton, being by estimation foure score miles distant from Roanoke” (*Narrative, Roanoke* 256).

¹⁵ We are told nothing about the political aftermath of Wingina’s death. The local arrangements for “succession” – whatever form it may have taken – are not discussed overtly in any of the reports. Indeed, White continues to refer to Wingina as the malign leader of the native peoples who attack the English in 1587 – see Chapter Five, below. The term “king” for Menatonon may suggest that Lane perceived his son, Skiko, to have had a significance to his group beyond his kinship with the group’s leader, hence the decision to take the boy as a hostage. Rountree, however, states that inheritance descended matrilineally and “the children of chiefs were not equivalent to European princes or princesses” (*Eastern Shore* 44).

Rountree has made a series of detailed studies of the peoples of the Chesapeake Bay area. While this area is approximately one hundred miles north of Roanoke, her

observations may shed some light in a general way on the culture of the Roanoke area. Her statements about chiefdoms and other forms of polity reveal the complexity of the situation in which each group of settlements possibly had its own system of government. She notes, for instance, that the groups living on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay based their society on “kinship [which] determined whether one could become a chief or (probably) a priest,” just as it also had a bearing on the choice of marriage partner (*Eastern Shore* 39). The historical evidence provided by English reporters from the Jamestown settlement maintains the notion of a native kingship, however, probably because it was an easy idea to impose on the ceremonies that the English observed, as Pagden discusses in *The Fall of Natural Man* – see Chapter One, above, where I refer to the coronation of Powhatan. This notion may derive from English contacts with the paramount chief of the area, Powhatan, in formal circumstances in which he would have been surrounded by elders, guards, wives and other dignitaries. Rountree notes that the chiefs “became the focus of English interest as soon as the first ships arrived [in the Chesapeake Bay area]. English observers got the impression that Indian chiefs were very powerful and important people, but that was because most of them saw these leaders only on state occasions” (43). She suggests that the everyday role of the chiefs or leaders was not so exalted: “chiefs could give orders in matters that concerned themselves directly, such as hospitality to visitors, warfare against other Indian groups, or offenses against their own persons, and expect to have those orders obeyed” but they otherwise had limited influence in the society, often seeming to come second to the priests (43-44). Rountree adds that the chiefs “had to consult with councils of priests and outstanding warriors before they could give orders, especially military ones” (44). Such discussions are also recorded by Lane in his account of the councils of Menatonon and Wingina, so there may be parallels between the polities of these separate areas.

The evidence for indigenous groups’ polities is difficult to ascertain, however. There are currently no agreed archaeological markers to indicate how a particular group or area was governed, though there is a continuing debate on the subject (26-29). Again referring specifically to the Chesapeake Bay area, Rountree concludes that “there seems no reason to suspect that the Eastern Shore chiefdoms did not originate during the Late Woodland [pre-contact] period, and some fairly solid ethnohistorical data indicate that the Eastern Shore chiefdoms, like the western shore ones, dated back to at least the early to middle sixteenth century.” She continues by stating as a caveat that “it may well be that not all of the Indian groups existing on the Eastern Shore in the Late Woodland period developed chiefdom-level societies. Cultures evolve to meet conditions . . . around them, and change in the direction of greater sociopolitical complexity is not necessarily advantageous in all circumstances” (29-30). Lane’s and Harriot’s silence on the subject of what happened after Wingina’s death may indicate that the expediency I have traced through their reports extends to confuse any conclusions that modern writers may wish to draw about the polity of the Roanoke area.

¹⁶ Quinn notes that Lane's writing here is typical of his "lack of lucidity in composition. . . . He still leaves untold the circumstances in which he braced this assembly, took Menatonon prisoner, ransomed him . . . and, finally, convinced him of his peaceful intentions" (*Narrative, Roanoke* 266 n1). One wonders what form the account of this dramatic incident would have taken had Raleigh been the principal actor. It is significant that Lane plays down the event. Surprisingly – especially as he needs to assert his effectiveness in Virginia – he does not make a great fuss about his own or others' heroism at this point (though he does later during his account of the passage of the River of Moratoc). One potential reason for this silence could be that the details of the event would reveal Menatonon to be the leader in the conspiracy. Such a revelation would undermine Lane's accusations against Wingina. It would also remove a trustworthy native from the scene, thereby undermining once more the overall desirability of settling in Virginia.

¹⁷ White's reliance upon Manteo rather than Menatonon indicates that Lane's outlined situation was not accepted by someone "on the ground".

¹⁸ The white men were possibly members of the Spanish Jesuit mission established on the Chesapeake and destroyed by the Powhatan Confederation (*Narrative, Roanoke* 261 n1).

¹⁹ In other words, it allowed Lane to glance at Raleigh's lack of resupply, and Grenville's departure without appropriate consideration for the group he had left behind, while also looking forward to problems that arose locally and so reducing the implicit adverse comment about the actions of his social betters.

²⁰ "This [withdrawal] was a surprise to Lane since he had made friends with the Moratoc representatives he met at Chawanoac" (*Narrative, Roanoke* 266 n2).

²¹ Hakluyt's concluding notes to the interrogations of Morales and Burgoignon suggest that the knowledge of Chaunis Temoatan straight away caught the imagination of one person involved with the American adventures. Beyond Hakluyt's immediate interest, the image of Chaunis Temoatan caught the attention of later writers and explorers. In his text of 1602 John Brereton refers to "the constant report of many of the Saluages . . . of the rich mine of Wassador or Gold at a place by them named Chaunis Temoatam . . . is much to be regarded and considered by those that intend to prosecute this new enterprise of planting nere vnto those parts" (Quinn, *The English New England*

Voyages 202-03). Note that “Wassador” has been transformed into “Gold” in the years between Lane’s *Account* and this new venture. It is clear that the tenor of Lane’s writing was accepted readily by some adventurers and sponsors of adventures. In 1612 William Strachey was quoting Lane almost verbatim on the subject of the river of Moratoc and the fabulous city of Chaunis Temoatan. Clearly the idea of riches in the Virginian hinterland lasted beyond Lane’s expedient needs (*The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* 144-45).

²² “The mineral man, Lane’s mining prospector, is identified . . . as Joachim Ganz” (*Narrative, Roanoke* 274 n2).

²³ Lane goes on to outline more of the natives’ beliefs. They by and large coincide with Harriot’s record of their belief in the unearthly nature of the English.

²⁴ Lane’s prose is unclear about the exact dispositions of the enemy on the eve of his preemptive strike. This probably derives from circumspect expedience in the description of the dire nature of the threat faced by the colonists mixed with a genuine degree of confusion regarding the details. He cannot allow his confusion to appear, however, as it would undermine the clarity of the alleged plot that he has revealed in considerable detail, including his own and Harriot’s proposed fates at the hands of the natives.

Chapter Five: White's Virginia

The name "John White" appears in the context of the Raleigh-sponsored voyages to Roanoke in 1585-86, 1587, 1588 and 1590. As Quinn makes clear in his discussion of White's identity, it is not certain that the "John White" who accompanied Harriot later became Governor of Roanoke in 1587, but historians broadly agree that it is probably the same man (*Roanoke* 35, 40-49). The following chapter is based on the premises that all the accounts of the establishment and the subsequent attempts to relieve the colony of 1587 have the same author, and that author is the John White who accompanied Harriot in 1585 and whose pictures formed the basis for De Bry's published illustrations of Virginian life.¹

White's accounts of Virginia are fundamentally influenced by earlier reports. While he reveals new information about the changing polity of Virginia, White employs outdated information to analyze it. He uses the established norms of earlier reports to record his version of the present state of Virginia. He relies upon such ideas as the existence of tractable indigenous peoples who peacefully supply food and who are inferior to the English in their politics, technology and general understanding. Local polity, culture and outlook are comprehensible, so the English can inhabit the fruitful land in safety as they work towards the future prosperity of the colony. Like the earlier reports concerning Roanoke, White's report of 1587 was originally prepared for Raleigh and later published by Hakluyt. Hakluyt also published his reports of 1588 and 1590. The report of the final voyage to Roanoke (1590) was written at Hakluyt's request, as White's prefacing letter to Hakluyt – included with Hakluyt's publication of the report – explains. However, the implicit influence of Lane upon White, and White's adaptations of the rhetorical methods of the earlier reporters, especially Lane, have not been noticed as significant features of White's *Narrative*.

White is the only person to report on the "Lost Colony" of 1587. According to Quinn's overview of the last attempt to found a colony at Roanoke, no-one else returned. White's subsequent voyages either do not reach Virginia or fail to make contact with the settlers. Hakluyt offers no other accounts of the last Roanoke venture; indeed, as I have

noted, he writes to White deliberately to request an account of the 1590 attempt to find the colony. The 1587 venture is not one of the “bridge-head” expeditions in the sense that it is establishing contact with an unknown area and people.² The planters of that expedition were recruited as a result of advertising and promotion about the new found land.³ White’s use of outdated information in his later reports to analyze the situation in Virginia is inevitable because there was no other information available. That he should also base his first analysis (of the 1587 colony) upon out-of-date information is not necessarily surprising as he was “in country” for only the brief period from 22 July to 27 August and was almost immediately embroiled in events. He finally landed in England at the beginning of November 1587 after an eventful and troubled voyage (*Roanoke 535-38*). He had no time to reflect upon the events that overtook him, and his subsequent analysis is influenced by his need to justify his unexpected and seemingly inappropriate return to England – he was, after all, the appointed governor. The need for self-justification, and the appeal of using outdated but established information to explain and interpret what occurred, suggests that White used the outdated information deliberately and expediently to ground his version of the events in an accepted and familiar idea of Virginian polity. He uses information contained in earlier English accounts to project a confident picture of the colony and the relationship between native peoples and English. However, the details of his report challenge this confidence, and an alternative picture of the colony emerges, revealing the anachronistic nature of White’s analysis.

One way to read *John White's Narrative of his Voyage* is to recognise within it Lane’s legacy.⁴ Lane’s actions en route to Virginia and in the land itself, his abandoning of the site, and his retrospective self-justification all find echoes and parallels in White’s report. White’s explanations of his own time in Virginia clearly are affected by and, in some instances, directly based upon Lane’s view of and intervention in local polity.⁵ Like Lane, White uses Wingina’s name to define the enemy even though the man had been killed a year earlier. White mirrors Lane’s tactics, most ineptly, especially when he attempts a “Canuisado” against a group of misidentified members of the indigenous population. The end of White’s report features a governor abandoning his post and being painfully conscious of the fact that he does so. White’s record of the 1587 voyage out

also echoes aspects of the 1585 voyage; Lane's effective actions are contrasted by White's ineffective attempts to follow his lead. Overall, White is a pale, far less forthright and less effective version of Lane.

One result of this difference is that White presents a far less optimistic even though still implicitly confident vision of Virginia. He describes the colony's new political and military relationship with the local peoples, and although his description clearly originates in the earlier reports, the versions of events forced sometimes awkwardly into a synthesis by Barlowe, Harriot, and Lane begin to separate and unravel in White's *Narrative*. For instance, the underlying tensions and overt conflicts with the native groups are, as usual, explained away, but their reality is not denied, and the killing of George Howe, one of White's settlers, explodes the myth of English invulnerability. White uses the man's death to emphasize the need for constant vigilance in which lies English safety, but his report and analysis of the situation are challenged by the paradoxes they contain. The circumstances of Howe's killing, especially when linked to the later information about the fate of Grenville's men, undermine the idea of English safety through the revelation of the presence in Virginia of actively hostile and aggressive native groups who will seize opportunities and can formulate effective plans. For the first time in these reports, English deaths are attributed, clearly and openly, to the hostility of the local peoples.

White carefully separates himself from responsibility for any of these deaths or for any of the other problems and calamities that affect the planters. Above all, he needs to account for his unexpected return to England. He anticipates the accusations of underhand motives, bad faith and similar charges that will accompany his return and goes so far as to write them down, citing them as the reason he requested the planters to provide him with a document that showed their support for his departure and so proved that he was not guilty of political involvement with the venture. He initially refuses the planters' request because

some enemies to him, and the action [of planting, i.e., of establishing a colony] at his returne in to England, would not spare to slander falsely both him, and the action, by saying he went to Virginia but politikely, and to no other ende, but to leade so many into a COUNTRY, in which he neuer

meant to stay himself, and there to leaue them behind him. (*Narrative, Roanoke* 533)

The possibility of such an accusation reveals the notion of base cunning and conscious, sinister scheming attributed to the sponsors of American settlement that seems to have been a feature of the adverse contemporary opinions that never reach print (apart from when the proponents of the enterprise refer to them in order to reject and deny them). In "Of Plantations," Francis Bacon accuses promoters of colonial enterprises of "political" involvement when he remarks, "[i]t is the sinfulllest thing in the world to forsake or destitute [i.e., desert] a plantation . . . for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons [i.e., people who deserve compassion]" (*Essays* 164). Although Bacon expressed this opinion almost forty years after the end of the Roanoke adventures, White's attempts to return to the colony indicate that he agrees, and his words reveal that he is conscious of the infamy that could follow his seeming desertion of his post.

The one constant fact in the narratives about Virginia is that it is abandoned, and how an unsympathetic audience would react to this feature of the reports requires little imagination. Certainly, all the Roanoke expeditions faced unfavourable comments at home, probably from dissatisfied and rebellious erstwhile colonists, as Quinn notes in many places. White's awareness of the possible accusation against him of acting in a "politikel" or scheming manner, therefore, also reminds the reader that White, like Lane before him, is writing with hindsight to justify his actions in a situation in which adverse interpretations are all too easy to make. The inclusion in White's *Narrative* of an allegedly verbatim copy of the planters' "testimonie" especially underlines White's need to ensure that others form a right opinion of him and his motives (*Roanoke* 534-35). Indeed, the whole situation in which he finds himself -- the leader who left (or was sent away by) the led, the governor absent from his province, the captain of the ship who failed to reach the intended location, and the advocate of settling who was sent home -- leaves White in some urgent need of self-justification. This he attempts in part by shifting the blame for the fundamental problem of mis-location onto the shoulders of Simon Fernandez, the master of the *Lion* (*Roanoke* 516).⁶ When he arrives in Virginia,

he invokes the shade of Wingina as a scapegoat for the otherwise unidentified – and actually unencountered -- enemy that strikes once and then disappears. Even the friendly locals have to bear their part of the blame for being fired upon accidentally by the English. Clearly, the way White casts blame about is a means of deflecting adverse criticism from himself.

Fernandez is the first and most important of the scapegoats in White's report, and the allegations of conscious sabotage laid against him create an overall impression that whereas White acts consistently for the colony, Fernandez acts for himself. White explicitly accuses Fernandez of being the reason for the colony's being landed at Roanoke rather than at Chesapeake Bay. Lane had recommended Chesapeake Bay in his report because it offered a safer harbour than Roanoke's roads. In addition to this fundamental fault, as Quinn notes in his introduction and notes to the 1587 voyage, the pilot is accused of a number of specific faults: leaving the flyboat behind at the very start of the voyage, giving wrong information about several important aspects of the voyage (namely the existence of sheep on a particular island, the presence of a French merchant on another island, the absence of "savages" on one island, and the party's ability to take on salt at two locations), and, as an overarching charge, his refusal to obey orders from Raleigh and the instructions of White, the appointed Governor of Roanoke. There is also a suggestion that the other colonists did not trust Fernandez in White's reference to their desire to send additional representatives home to deal for the colonists.⁷ The catalogue of Fernandez's failings begins early in White's report. Once the small fleet reaches the West Indies, the pilot's failings impact more significantly on White's leadership.

The events off Hispaniola during July 1587 – when White was desperately trying to land to take on food and supplies of crops to be grown in Virginia – allow the contrast between Fernandez's attitudes and White's to be emphasized by the writer's attacks upon the reputation of the pilot. From being "Simon Ferdinando Master of our Admirall" at the opening of the report (*Roanoke* 517), Fernandez is demoted, half contemptuously, to "our Simon" (*Roanoke* 521). In direct contrast, White, "the Gouvernour," always promotes his own status, usually referring to himself in the third person and so separating the author from the biases and opinions in the text. The earlier abandoning of people for

whom Fernandez is responsible is a clear attack on the reputation of “our Simon,” as we see, when it is brought to the reader’s attention by its repetition and development in the account:

The 25. [of July] our Flie boate, and the rest of our planters, arriued, all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioye and comfort of the whole companie: but the Master of our Admirall, Ferdinando griued greatly at their safe comming: for he purposely left them in the Baye of Portingall, and stole away in the night, hoping that the Master thereof . . . for that he neuer had beene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place or els . . . [be taken or slain by the Spanish boats that sailed in the Bay] but God disappointed his wicked pretenses. (*Roanoke* 525)⁸

Here Fernandez reveals a striking opposition to the goals of the colonists and their leader: he is accused of wanting them dead or captured, an attitude that suggests Fernandez’s devilish nature and schemings. Furthermore, the accusation questions his loyalty to Raleigh and, in the context of the ferocity of the conflict between England and Spain, even his humanity. White understates the situation when he contrasts “ioye” with grief in a context where the first is the appropriate reaction of a committed member of Raleigh’s party.⁹ The claim that God thwarted the pilot’s plans points to the probity of White’s attitudes and intentions. The use of “wicked” is a clear indication to the reader of the nature of the opposition that faced White. It also asserts that Fernandez is working contrary to God’s providential purposes for the colony as declared by Hakluyt in his eulogies of Western planting and allegedly experienced by the colonists at various times. Fernandez’s actions in obliging the colonists to remain at Roanoke through his refusal to take them on to Chesapeake Bay are therefore foreshadowed in the incident with the flyboat. White’s establishment of a pattern of neglect and selfishness on Fernandez’s part develops the contrasts between the two men, thereby expediently bolstering White’s position regarding Fernandez’s culpability for the colonists’ problems.

Another charge levelled against Fernandez in fact reveals more about White’s abilities as an accuser than it does about the accused. White’s narrative strategy links chronologically separate events of the voyage to emphasize Fernandez’s infamy. St John’s island contained salt deposits that the colonists needed to mine to ensure that they could survive in America. After the debacle of the failed attempt to take on salt from St

John's Island (see below), White attempts to find another source of salt while simultaneously looking for a supply of livestock after Fernandez had prevented him from making the planned purchases of cattle from Alanson at Hispaniola (*Roanoke* 520-22). As usual, these plans meet with problems and setbacks, all of which are blamed upon the pilot and his inaccurate information. The accusations against Fernandez are not made piecemeal, however. For instance, the lack of sheep on "Beake" island – a location recommended by Fernandez – is reported after the event; all the reader is told within the chronological narrative of the voyage is that a party is sent to acquire the sheep. The revelation that there were no sheep on "Beake" comes later in White's account when the result of this expedition – sent out on 24 June – is reported on 6 July as a means of underscoring the inaccuracy of another example of the pilot's information. White tells the reader that the promised and necessary supply of salt on "the Isle of Caycos . . . prooved as true as the finding of sheepe at Beake" (*Roanoke* 522). This method of looking back to a former offence when commenting on a current one serves doubly to damn the offender by simultaneously recording present and past offences in the same sentence. The two problems recorded in the same entry also create a sense of what White presents as the strength of the opposition he faces as he conscientiously struggles to lead his colony to Virginia. The use of such a retrospective reference indicates the careful construction of White's accusations and his specific focus on Fernandez as the source of his problems.

This careful construction supports the contention that White's *Narrative* is modelled on Lane's rhetorical methods; thus, just as Lane attributes blame to Wingina for events that appear to have been instigated by others, so White focuses upon Fernandez. Lane's influence can be discerned in many features of White's *Narrative*, as, for instance, when White attempts literally to follow in Lane's footsteps by organizing an armed landing party to go in search of salt. Lane was successful in his action, but White, while planning to follow Lane's approach and tactics, is prevented by the near loss of the vessel on shoals in Spanish territory. The thwarting of White's determined and allegedly right-minded approach to the potentially risky business of landing on Spanish soil at St John's Island is recorded as follows:

Fernando perceauing them [the armed landing party] in a readines, sent to the Gouvernour, vsing great perswasion with him, not to take in salt there, saying that he knewe not well, whether the same were the place or not . . . Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fathome, and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in peeces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, bear vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes. (*Roanoke* 520)

White's record of the episode illustrates his self-justifying transfer of blame for a failed action from himself to a scapegoat. The preparations for the landing party are organized efficiently by White; he presents them as the catalyst for Fernandez's treachery, thereby authenticating his own judgement and damning his opponent at the same time. It is the pilot's actions that prevent success here, and the pilot's false information that subsequently denies the necessary supply of salt for the colony from the alternative source he promises on "the Islande of Caycos." It is noteworthy that the salt-digging detachment landed during the earlier voyage brought off what appear to have been sufficient supplies for the 1585 colonists' needs. To support this contention it should be noted that Lane makes no mention of salt being in short supply, while he does emphasize the shortages of other commodities as part of the defence of his governorship.

When one remembers the history of the previous Roanoke expedition, Fernandez's reported actions that result in the landing being aborted become more suspicious because they are at odds with his experience of 1585. On 26 May 1585 Fernandez was at "Roxo bay" (White's "Rosse Bay"). On that date "The *Tiger* Journal of the 1585 Voyage" records the actions of Lane, who, as part of Grenville's expedition to establish the first colony at Roanoke, led an armed shore party to dig salt from the same deposits that White wished to exploit. Lane's party met with Spanish forces of some strength and was obliged to engage in a brief skirmish while the English set up a temporary fort to protect the miners. The landing persuaded the Spanish that the English were not to be removed by force and so trading relations were established (*Roanoke* 184-85).¹⁰

Of further significance to the circumstances of the 1587 voyage is the fact that John White recorded the 1585 mining of the salt in a painting that is part of the extant collection of illustrations to the first Roanoke colony (*Roanoke* 904 [fig. a] and Lorant 185). If John White the artist of 1585 and John White the governor of 1587 are the same person, and it is remembered that the latter's "Fernando" is none other than Simon Fernandez, the chief pilot of Grenville's 1585 fleet (and even earlier visitor to Roanoke with Raleigh's initial reconnaissance fleet in 1584), then White's record of the episode off St John's in 1587 in which Fernandez aborted the preparations for a landing gains a significance which once again indicates a deep division between White and Fernandez. Both men had been to St John's Island before. Both must have known of the fight with the Spanish two years earlier. However, now (according to White) one was interested in establishing a colony at the end of the journey while the other wished to gain access to the Spanish treasure fleet's waters without alerting the Spanish to the presence of English shipping near the *flota*'s route.¹¹ When Fernandez's refusal to move the colonists on from Roanoke to their planned destination of Chesapeake Bay is added to this account of what passed off St John's, White's overarching accusation about Fernandez's self-seeking and untrustworthy character is strengthened, at least from the point of view of its author. Through the reference to tearing "God in peeces" (above), Fernandez's character is further darkened. White's expression sounds like a cliché and Fernandez briefly appears as a figure from a stage drama whose words shock an English audience through their disrespect for God. After all, Fernandez is Portuguese by birth and so no true Englishman. Though his specific blasphemies are not recorded, the intense drama of the situation is relayed to the reader by the repetition of the call of alarm directed to the helmsman: "beare vp hard, bear vp hard" at the crescendo of the episode which contains some characteristics of a brief dramatic performance recorded in the middle of White's text. Perhaps White's acute discomfort at the aftermath of the event made it so vivid in his memory. Certainly, it stands out from the remainder of his *Narrative* because of its brief but striking immediacy. Fernandez's duplicity may be evoked through the inclusion of his dramatic reaction to a situation that, according to White, he had set up to foil the hopes of the planters. The record of White's attempt to gather salt also develops my

suggestion of White following in Lane's footsteps. White's acceptance of Lane's tactical and strategic organization of the voyage out in 1585 foreshadows his subsequent use of Lane's explanation of Virginian polity to account for the situation he experiences. However, the contrast between the outcome of what is essentially the same situation – same place, same pilot, same objective, same tactics – reveals the dissimilarities between their leadership abilities. The situation also reveals most forcefully the effects of the lure of gold over the attractions of mercantile or agricultural colonisation. Fernandez's experiences with earlier expeditions suggest that he must have been aware of the colonists' needs, but his actions, even when separated from White's self-justificatory bias, reveal a focus on hunting the flota rather than establishing a colony as effectively as possible.

The events of the 1587 voyage out, while important in White's scheme of exculpating himself, are relatively insignificant in terms of the problems contained in the account of the attempt to found a colony in Virginia that follows them. The record of the voyage, though not redounding to White's fame, fails to reveal difficulties that a more forceful leader could not have overcome, nor does it contain information that subverts the image of an easy voyage out. However, White's account of Virginia does challenge the established official reports of the land. His objective is to give an account not of the land, but of the actions of the settlers and the native peoples in order to reveal the problems he faced and so explain his failures. As he fashions his report, however, a new series of revelations about the realities of life in Virginia is inadvertently made to the reader.

The most profound difference between White's *Narrative* and the earlier reports is that there are no references to, nor is there a clear sense of, future prosperity for the colony; indeed, White has no time for descriptions of the land at all. He refers not to the bounty of nature but to the impact of humankind upon the physical environment: for instance the fort, the corpses, and the crops (all of which have strategic significance). White knows that the settlers need to be resupplied from England, so to include in his report an encomium about their ability to grow enough food to support themselves would be inappropriate. Praise of the land and its bounty would also undermine White's explanations concerning the urgency and acceptability of the circumstances

accompanying his return. White has not been able to undertake any of the explorations outlined by Lane, nor has he been able to discover anything new about the land or its resources.¹² His party is not depicted as preparing to get on with the business of settling, farming, exploring and trading that has been anticipated by the other reports. The reality of life in Virginia that can be deduced from White's report is one in which the planters are obliged to live in an uneasy alliance with the Croatoan people. The settlers' relationship with the other groups is uncertain, though the enmity of the so-called "remnant of Winginoes men" under the influence of Wanchese seems to be assured (*Roanoke* 527).¹³ Consequently, the rebuilding of the remains of Lane's fort indicates that the fort and its environs will be the main focus of English activity for the immediate future.¹⁴ White's general report, therefore, challenges all the others that have preceded it. Barlowe's friendly, innocent indigenous population becomes an anachronism; Harriot's academic discourse about metaphysics with the shamans and leaders is a memory only, and Lane's dynamic, violently-effective control of events cannot be recreated.

In keeping with the general tenor of his account, White emphasizes the notion of English military dominance, a notion that is soon placed under considerable duress. White portrays the first encounter of an English force with a native group as one in which potential resistance to the English is quickly and effectively removed through a mixture of forthrightness and mediation:

At our first landing, they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceauing vs begin to marche with our shot towards them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo . . . called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne for that they had but little. (*Roanoke* 526)

But this confident outlook is almost immediately undermined by the information about Howe's killers and the fate of Grenville's men that is recounted by members of the native group. The most telling fact here is that no survivor of the attacks is available to give a firsthand account of either event. The previously established ideas of English invulnerability and armed superiority are, therefore, emphatically challenged and denied even as White attempts to reinstate them.

In the context of this changed (but suppressed) relationship, and remembering the retrospective nature of the *Narrative*, White's words concerning what he declares to be the desired English relationship with the native peoples are full of what must be unconscious irony. He states that he planned "to renew our olde friendshippe with them." The English reply to the native peoples' anxious requests about their corn contains a consciously retrospective reference and yearning:

We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely *to renew the olde loue, that was betweene vs, and them, at the first*, and to liue with them as brethren, and friendes: which answeere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their manner. (*Roanoke* 526; emphasis added)

The expressed intention contrasts the contact just recorded in which the more recent relationship between the groups, one based on violence, is briefly but clearly re-enacted. The native people themselves underline the damage that the recent past has done to the friendly relationship between English and native. While they are said to be delighted to hear the English protestations of peace, it is clear that they are painfully aware of the reality of the impact of the earlier English presence and "friendship" in Virginia. The reality of the most recent type of friendship -- that of the Grenville and Lane period -- as opposed to what is termed, twice, the "olde" friendship, is revealed by the presence of the Croatoan people maimed by Lane's men (*Roanoke* 526-27). The older friendship, seemingly based on the image of the cordial relationship outlined in Barlowe's and Harriot's reports -- as opposed to the periodic ferocity of the recorded "friendship" of Grenville and, more significantly, Lane -- does, nevertheless, include the suggestion of English superiority. The form that this takes is more benign than that revealed in Lane's report, though the insidious and ambiguous qualities of the relationship have been noted earlier.¹⁵ The reference to earlier friendship also contains the suggestion, from the English point of view, of a return of the easy trade with, and the willing supply of food by the indigenous population.

Unfortunately for White, he is recording a marked change in the native peoples' approach to the English that does not augur well for his nostalgic hope. The local group

does not intend to hand over food supplies or allow the English to “gather or spill any of their corne.” Their initial hostility recalls earlier encounters in which their friendliness was not a defence against English violence, itself more often than not associated with the need for food. The feast that they prepare for the English is not truly in their old manner either, because it comes with explicit conditions and assumptions that are not recorded by the earlier writers. White faces confident people who demand assurances that the English will not plunder their food stocks. They also demand badges that will protect them from accidental harm at the hands of the colonists. The badges are a form of limitation imposed on the colonists – if a badge-wearing person is harmed, the act cannot be so easily dismissed as an accident by the English. Furthermore, the group’s demand contains the idea of being given something for nothing, whereas previously they had traded valuable items such as tanned skins for what the reporters had considered “trifles.” The celebratory feast that follows the new accord is a means to draw in the English to see the causes of the local group’s complaints against Lane and so create a situation in which the native group is able to demand the badges. The demands change the tone of the encounter and undermine Harriot’s image of control and subordination that White wishes to continue. However, the English are no longer able to record open-handed, uncomplicated hospitality from the local population, and White makes it clear that there are strings attached to any future relationship. That the other local groups ignore White’s call to attend a meeting to establish a treaty further reveals that English influence is not what it once was, or, perhaps more pertinently, is not what it was once claimed to be by the more confident reporters. Clearly, the previous reports of Virginia need to be revised.

Right from the record of the first landing on Roanoke in 1587, White’s *Narrative* challenges the optimism of earlier accounts. No longer are the English enchanted by the trees or the birds or the grapes that grow on the beaches. They are greeted by an eloquently mute example of the reality that is about to encompass them: “the bones of one of those fiteene [left by Grenville], which the Sauages had slaine long before” (*Roanoke* 524). How White knew that the man had been slain by native Americans is unclear, though artifacts in or around the corpse may have suggested this interpretation. Alternatively, White is using information that he learnt later to add details to his report;

this possibility would develop his use of retrospective information to establish his own blamelessness and to interpret events in his favour. In either case, the record allows White graphically to emphasize the changes that he faced in the relationship between the English and the native peoples. The reference to hostile native groups effectively continues Lane's *Account*, which abruptly ends its record of matters involving the native population with the killing of Wingina. By means of this continuation, White provides an insight to the generally unrecorded history of Virginia between Lane's departure and White's arrival that is subsequently developed and corroborated by the information that he receives from the local inhabitants then records and interprets for his readership.¹⁶

As the English reestablish their presence, the role of the hostile native peoples becomes increasingly important in White's text. Especially, he reduces Lane's elaborate accounts of widespread conspiracy to a series of violent encounters between native groups and English that not only reproduce aspects of the previously suppressed background, but also reveal what White clearly perceives to be duplicity and cruel savagery in some Virginian natives. The initial contact with the native people from the area creates fear, and the events that ended Lane's colony clearly remain unresolved despite Harriot's optimistic overview of the alleged technological and military weaknesses, and overall friendly attitudes of the Virginians. George Howe is killed as he fishes for crabs by a group of "diuers Sauages" whose presence on Roanoke is a cause for concern regardless of their actions. Howe's death in 1587 is the first recorded contact between English and Virginian since 1586. White admits the possibility that the native people might have been just hunting for deer, though the first reason he gives for their being there is more sinister, namely their alleged intention "to espie our companie." Unlike the attack upon Grenville's men, Howe's death seems to have been the result of a chance encounter. White alleges possible planned and hostile motives for the killers' presence, but the evidence he gives about their hunting practices and their location at a distance of two miles from the main English party – an unusual location for effective "espial" – indicates that Howe was either unlucky or, as White implies through his use of the hunting references, careless regarding his own safety to the extent that, like the deer, he was tactically "asleepe" when he was ambushed instead of being fully alert to

potential dangers. Indeed, White's account of the local peoples' tactics in hunting deer becomes an alarming and portentous introduction to the account of Howe's death:

These Sauages beeing secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they finde the Deere asleepe, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue onely a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his companie, shotte at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteene wounds with their arrowes; and after they had slaine him with their wooden swordes, beat his head in peeces, and fled over the water to the maine. (*Roanoke* 525-26)

The innocence of the naked man wading in the shallows with a ridiculous weapon is starkly contrasted by the alleged cunning of the hunters. The focus of their "espial" moves from the general to the specific: the alleged observation of the English group is exchanged for that of a single man who is then killed with arrows by the spies while they remain hidden in their secret place.

The only direct evidence for the event is the body on the shore. Unless others saw the event and were unable to help -- and White gives no indication of this -- the details of Howe's solitary, isolated and miserable death are conjectural, but are not presented as such. The details supplied for this feature of the account reveal more about White's implicit message in his report because the details that White is able to supply about the unwitnessed death of a lone man are remarkable. No doubt some information could be deduced from the location and condition of the corpse, but the well-rounded account of an event that happened without recorded witnesses is at odds with its own existence; it reveals the embellishments of an author whose motives include a desire to avoid blame for the incident and to suggest a possible future fate for the colonists if they do not pay heed to White's warnings and maintain a constant vigilance. Whereas Barlowe depicts an indigenous population living in an idyllic state of nature, whose actions pose no threat to the shrewd and perceptive English, White outlines a reversal of the relationship, or at least the beginnings of such a reversal. Howe, the Englishman, is described as "almost naked," armed not with "the flashing fire and thundering roar of . . . Harguebuses; able to quell and daunt even *Caesar* himselfe" (Montaigne 822) but encountered "without any weapon, saue onely a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall." Barlowe depicts

the native peoples as using arrows that are “but small canes, headed with a sharpe shell, or tooth of a fish” and the overall efficacy of the weapon is dismissed as “sufficient enough to kill a naked man.” Now we see an Englishman as a victim of the native peoples’ despised weapons while armed himself with a weapon of the type evoked by Barlowe’s dismissive comment. The impact (as it were) of the mere wooden swords is also revealed starkly and dramatically. No longer are these artifacts just indications of the quaintly backward technology of the Virginians; they are the weapons of savage, skillful and aggressive warriors.

Linked to this change of perception is the attitude of the some of the local population who readily change their tactics from hunting deer to hunting an Englishman, and do so successfully. Barlowe’s image of the English being the shrewd, cunning ones in the encounter with the natives of Virginia is thoroughly challenged. The change may have occurred as a result of the revised basis of the relationship between the English and local groups, as indicated by the recorded contact with Manteo’s people – at first they were hostile despite being led by an acclaimed friend of the English. White’s apparent willingness to negotiate, albeit after a show of strength, may have been interpreted as an indication of weakness; certainly, in the context of the tenor of relations under Lane, the new situation must have appeared to the native people to have changed quite starkly. The reaction of belligerent or vengeful native groups to the news of the English compromise is a matter of speculation. The attack on Howe may have been an attempt to see how the “new” English would respond. Furthermore – in the context of the disappearance of Grenville’s holding party and the initially hostile reception offered by Manteo’s group – the attack on Howe may be indicative of a more widespread change in the indigenous population’s attitude towards the English after their multiple contacts over the past three years. Be that as it may, Howe’s killing and the disappearance of Grenville’s men stand as eloquent symbols of Virginia’s unadorned potential, and, as such, challenge Raleigh, the recipient of the *Narrative*, to act before Lane’s legacy of antagonism and the political realities of Virginia claim yet more lives.

The inclusion of the graphic account of Howe’s death adds a picture of the reality of Virginia for the unprepared and unheedy. The alleged mutilation of his body after

death is an illustration of the wild and uncivilised nature of the people with whom White has to deal.¹⁷ White uses Howe's death to illustrate a number of points. First, Howe is careless and so contributes to his own demise. Second, he would have stood more of a chance had he remained clothed and armed.¹⁸ Third, the native peoples pose a threat to the colonists and so need to be approached carefully as the prompt military response to the initial hostility of the Croatoans reveals. Fourth, the native peoples begin the hostility that develops subsequently: their actions towards Howe are only an extension or continuation of what was about to be learned had happened to Grenville's holding party, and this itself is a continuation of the situation that Lane bequeathed by his actions during the previous year.

Throughout this account of the death of the colonist, White remains faultless. He is carefully apportioning blame to the "savages" and to the man himself, while delivering a homily about the realities of life in Virginia. His homily contains the implicit message that Virginia is not the land of the golden age, nor is it peopled by a tractable, awe-struck population and English perceptions must change if Howe's death is not to become emblematic of the colonists' future. White's repetition of earlier writers' interpretations of Virginian polity ignores the changes that he records but does not analyze. These include his changed representation of the native peoples, the record of their changed attitude towards the English, and the eloquent silence about the land's potential that is a strikingly absent feature of White's *Narrative*. The account of the attack on Grenville's men illustrates these changes, keeps White blameless, and further expounds his homily about the need for vigilance. It provides a stark example of one possible future fate for the colonists, and, as it does so, White's narrative strategy is further revealed.

Information about the fate of Grenville's fifteen-man holding party comes from the friendly local group. Not surprisingly, another, somewhat amorphous, group is charged with the attack against the English:

We . . . vnderstoode of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe, was slaine by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke, with whom Winchese kept companie: and also we vnderstoode by them of Croatoan, how that the 15. Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before . . . were set vpon, by 30. of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamongueponke. (*Roanoke* 527-28)

The details of the attack on Grenville's men underline the new situation of acknowledged and open hostility from the native population:

They conueied themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses, where our men carelessly liued: and hauing perceaued that of those 15. they could see but 11. onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11. Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the . . . Englishmen, went gladly to them: but whilst one of those Sauages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, stroke him on the head, and slewe him . . . the other Englishman perceauing this, fled to his companie, whome the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take to the house . . . but the Sauages forthwith set the same on fire, by meanes whereof, our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forthe among the Sauages, with whome they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish, another of our men was shotte in the mouth with an arrowe, whereof he died. . . . the Sauages . . . so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side, where their boat lay [and fled to another island, collecting two more Englishmen. They subsequently left] . . . whither, as yet we knowe not. (*Roanoke* 528-29)

Of importance are the elements of surprise and treachery within the account.¹⁹ The notion of the pacific, technologically backward (and therefore impressionable and controllable) indigenous people found in Barlowe's and Harriot's reports is challenged and dismissed by White. Also, the details in the account are once more remarkable. Although White was not there, and, presumably, neither were the people who reported the raid, he narrates a vivid and dramatic account of the fighting. The details illustrate the fatal consequences that attend any relaxation of the colonists' vigilance and emphasize the allegedly treacherous nature of some members of the native population. How could White know so much? He needed Manteo to speak to them "in their owne language" when the English encountered the Croatoans for the first time (*Roanoke* 526), so presumably Manteo would have been able to interpret the reporters' account of the attack against Grenville's men. While this answer removes one question, it raises at least one more: how did the Croatoans know so much about the attack? Why would "the

remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke” give such a blow-by-blow account to a group who appears to owe them no loyalty? After all, setting the English against them is not a friendly act on the part of the Croatoans, especially when Lane’s former actions are remembered. The unknowability of the possible motives and alliances that White’s account suggests reveals something of the potential complexity of local polity and challenges the adequacy of White’s analysis of it. What also needs to be considered is the native groups’ possible motive of shifting the focus of English activities away from one group towards another through the attribution of blame by the first group. Harriot briefly records Wingina’s alleged version of this in his *Report*, and Lane includes another example in his record of the information that Menatonon provides about the town of pearls and the fabulous city of Chaunis Temoatan.²⁰

Further to these possible motives is the clear bias that is added to the events by White’s record of them: regardless of the source, he depicts the action from the English perspective, itself at odds with the alleged (native) source and indicative of White’s conscious use of retrospection to underline his *Narrative*’s message of caution. White conjures up a detailed, readily comprehensible version of an event about which no-one who reports it could have more than a passing knowledge.²¹ What is relatively certain, however, is that the recorded presence within the enemy band of “Winchese” (Wanchese), the other native American who returned with Barlowe and shared Manteo’s year in England, adds to the significance of the information as it links it with White’s imposition of the earlier English understanding of the polity in Virginia – as outlined by Barlowe, Harriot and Lane – onto the changed situation that White encounters. Wanchese, it will be remembered, left the English as soon as he could and became part of Wingina’s entourage.²² His identification with the hostile native group in 1587 adds to the links with Lane’s governorship and reinforces White’s depiction of a continuation of Wingina’s alleged policies against the colonists. Though never seen as a member of a hostile group in 1587, Wanchese’s alleged actions cause the name of Wingina to enter and sour Anglo-Algonquian relationships once again.

From White’s account of the realities of life and death in Virginia emerges the second scapegoat of his text, Wingina. The ability to name his enemy allows White to

use a previously known and acknowledged scapegoat for his problems with the native peoples. Just as the name “Spain” contains a general image of the enemy for the Elizabethan English, so “Wingina” comes to stand for the savage enemy in Virginia.²³ Similarly, “Manteo” stands for the reliable native American, “Wanchese” for the hostile, untrustworthy and dangerous. This simple, if not simplistic, polarization may be a result of White’s limited understanding of the politics he encountered in 1587. His very short stay in Virginia did not allow him to become more familiar with the situation, so he uses the established characters from the reports of Barlowe, Lane, and Harriot to flesh out for the reader – initially Raleigh, but also the investors who backed the colony and had sent White out as its governor – his understanding of what was going on. The polarisation of “good Indian, bad Indian” allows for the establishment of scapegoats without the complexities of an analysis of local realpolitik.

White’s emphasis on the gruesome aspects of Howe’s death is not intended just to thrill or horrify. His purpose is apologetic and didactic. He carefully records the victim’s lack of care and alertness. He records the physical separation of the man from the protection afforded by the proximity of the colonists and so separates himself from responsibility for the man’s death. Similarly, the killing of Grenville’s men is not White’s responsibility, as he makes clear, but it does suggest a future history for the present colonists if they abandon their careful and watchful approach towards the native population. The colonists’ decision to send back their governor, while not overtly reflecting badly upon him in his account of the events surrounding the decision, suggests that a future disaster at Roanoke could be traced to the decision’s underlying heedlessness. White portrays himself as the painful guide of the colonists; when he is sent away, no alternative leader is suggested by his *Narrative*.²⁴ The didactic content of the two accounts of the deaths of Englishmen focuses upon the need to remain vigilant about the native population, whom Barlowe had described as “voide of all guile.” Now Barlowe’s description is revealed as so much literary fluff and is clearly untenable post-Lane and in the light of White’s revelations. In the case of Grenville’s men, White shows that the attacking group employed a clearly conceived stratagem against the heedless English that included the use of a concealed weapon and the damning deceit of a

betrayal's kiss. Within White's report of the event it is possible to discern one perception of all the English encounters with native peoples: outward friendship thinly overlies potential violence; any welcoming figure conceals a weapon that will be used once the English show signs of weakness or lower their guard.²⁵ White's determination to return despite all the setbacks he experiences – including being wounded in a sea fight in 1588 (*Roanoke* 567) – suggests not only a sense of guilt and responsibility regarding his departure, but also an acute awareness of the changed and dangerous situation in Virginia which continually challenges his decision to leave and contributes to his emphasis upon the faults of others.

White's promotion of the *status quo* experienced by Lane also finds expression in his adoption of tactics that spring from the pages of Lane's *Account*. The "Canuisado" of 1586 is the clear model for White's raid on Dasamongueponke: a night attack across water mounted against the encampment of a known enemy whose intentions are proven expediently by their inclusion in the narrator's text.²⁶ Both Lane and White attribute motives to their enemy. Lane's enemy is killed and his forces dispersed. No evidence is produced to support Lane's assertions of treachery and the assertions throughout are based upon Lane's expedient interpretation of all that has occurred previously. White's report reveals that he is profoundly mistaken about the motives of the people whom he attacks and nothing more is said about the hostile native group he expected to encounter. While Lane's planned action is forestalled by the messy and noisy killing of warriors encountered on the water, White goes ahead and attacks a group of figures who are most emphatically in the wrong place at the wrong time. Even though he knows the outcome of the event, he records it as if the results are a surprise:

The next day, being the ninth of August, in the morning so early, that it was yet darke, wee landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods . . . and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently sette on them: the miserable soules herewith amased, fledde into a place of thicke reedes . . . and therewith wee entred the reedes, among which wee hoped to acquite their euill towards vs, but wee were deceaued, for those Sauages were our freindes, and were come from Croatoan, to gather the come . . . because they vnderstoode our enemies were fledde immediatly after they had slaine George Howe. (*Roanoke* 530-31)

His approach to the record indicates his need to excuse himself and his actions by revealing the situation to the reader with some immediacy, thereby including the reader in his discovery of the mistake. The events happen at the “dwelling place of our enemies” and so the figures encountered are associated with the term “enemy” through the use of the pronoun “their” which is at first applied to “fire” then, more significantly, to “evil.” Only when White has recorded this extensive self-justification does he admit his error. In this approach lies a revelation of the expediency within his writing; he seeks to justify his mistakes, both military and political, but continues to promote the anachronistic picture of Virginia in which hostile native groups can be reliably identified as the followers of Wingina. Both Harriot and Lane suggest that the threat posed by Wingina is not beyond the ability of the English to control. All the previous reporters also suggest that the native peoples are essentially controllable and passive.

As has been noted, White is writing, albeit unconsciously, a new “discovery” of Virginia. The evocations of peace and control in his report are more than ever just words. White uses the established norms of past reports to record a version of the present, but that version is an anachronism as a result of the actions of the English. For instance, Wingina continues to exert an influence because he is part of the known, established and recorded polity of Virginia, but White is facing and discovering an unknown (or at least unacknowledged) political situation in an otherwise familiar setting. Wingina has been defeated once and so references to him as the leader of the colonists’ adversaries are at least familiar and so contain a degree of overall reassurance, albeit at the cost of the resurrection of old fears and concerns. On the other hand, the continuing influence of Wingina through the alleged actions of his followers undermines the idea and the reality of English effectiveness by indicating a determination of purpose (and, it must be added, some degree of success through the dispersal and subsequent disappearance of Grenville’s holding party) in the indigenous population that challenges the idea of established and continuing English power and influence.²⁷ The unseen threat – encountered only at second hand through the death of Howe and the disappearance of Grenville’s men – is all the more problematic for White, despite its superficial similarity with the situations recorded by earlier writers, as is emphasized by the use of familiar

names. His attempt to deal with the threat by mounting the night raid serves only to increase his insoluble problems, hence the absence of references to native people almost immediately after the failed raid, which, in effect, concludes White's depiction of them within his report. The problem of Manteo's anger and its potential impact upon the newly-established relationship with the Croatoans is solved through his alleged attribution of guilt to the people who suffered his assault:

Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne follie, saying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promise in comming to the Gouvernour . . . they had not knowen that mischance. (*Roanoke* 531)

This ending suggests a conclusion to the immediate problem, but it sidesteps the need for the raid. White's brief report of Manteo's baptism and establishment as Raleigh's vassal supplies a hopeful conclusion to White's account of English dealings with the native peoples; however, by referring only to one group of people, White has inadvertently reminded his reader of the problems left behind. Unlike Lane, White cannot claim to have solved the core problem of English relations with hostile Virginians. While Lane eliminates Wingina (Pemisapan) and so projects a solution to "the conspiracie of Pemisapan," White has to refocus the "native problem" away from an image of widespread potential danger onto the immediate (and realistically pragmatic) need to reestablish the good will of Manteo.²⁸ Nothing more is said about the unallied groups, some of whose members were assaulted during White's maladroitness raid, or the openly hostile elements who allegedly continue Wingina's policies.²⁹ White's outline of local polity uses the names of Wingina, Wanchese and Manteo as references to a past political and strategic situation of known allies and adversaries, which, paradoxically, his *Narrative* shows to be no longer applicable. Nevertheless, he implies that the situation can be understood in these outmoded terms and so creates another account of Virginia that confuses rather than clarifies the reader's understanding of the overall situation. Once Manteo has been established as Raleigh's man, White addresses the matter of his surprising departure from his colony.

Within the account of White's departure is an implicit assurance of continuing English stability as respectful titles and forms of address are retained and a legal

document, the “testimonie,” is recorded. However, despite the retention of the outward forms of respect and civility, there are signs of instability in the colony and a lack of respect for titles and the rule of law. One indication occurs when White states that his personal property has been pilfered during a period spent away from the fort. Quinn’s suggestion that the occasion was “the Dasemunkepeuc expedition” (*Roanoke* 534 n2) allows for a greater degree of instability in the colony’s respect for law and titles because the absent governor is risking his life in support of the colonists, yet some of them are prepared to steal his goods. White used this experience to develop his argument against leaving for England:

Also he alleaged, that . . . he being then absent [in England], his stuffe and goods, might be both spoiled, and most of it pilfered away . . . so that at his returne, hee should be either forced to provide himselfe all such things againe, or els . . . finde himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some prooffe, beeing but gone from them but three daies. (*Roanoke* 533-34)

His expressed concerns challenge his image of his authority and status among the planters, even as he is about to record the contents of their formal request for his departure. The incidents and accusations that White reveals challenge the accuracy of the formal, organized, safe idea of Virginia suggested by his use of titles and portrayal of decisive acts (that, equally tellingly, do not achieve their goals). The formally worded “testimonie” contains an alternative reality; that reality is challenged by the hasty departure of White which lacks the decorum and formality evoked by the existence and language of such a document.

As has been shown, White’s *Narrative* changes fundamentally the image of Virginia from the optimistic propaganda that accompanied Raleigh’s first mission to the New World. White’s direct, relatively unadorned account of the fortunes of the colony abolishes the fantasies of pacific settlement among a simple, backward indigenous population even more effectively than Lane’s *Account*. It lacks any looking forward to better prospects through the realisation of a needed discovery or plan such as the implementation of Lane’s projected method of discovering the fabled city of Chaunis Temoatan which will result in the acquisition of the required source of wealth to make

the colony flourish. While White has set out the case for his own actions in 1587, he has simultaneously damaged the prospects of a successful Elizabethan English settlement in Virginia by doing irreparable damage while there and by discouraging others from settling.

White's subsequent accounts of his attempts to return to Virginia highlight the problems he faced as a result of the bans imposed upon shipping in the face of the threat posed by the Armada, and the later ineptitude and lack of interest revealed by those who were hired to take him back to Virginia. Quinn's title *John White's Account of the Abortive Voyage of the "Brave" and the "Roe"* very much sums up the event of 1588 (*Roanoke* 562-69). After a mighty effort by White and Raleigh to circumvent the royal decrees holding all ships in port as part of the preparations for the defence of England, two small boats did manage to set off for Virginia.³⁰ Their captains chased and plundered any vessel that they encountered until, inevitably, the game was visited upon them with disastrous results: "they [a French "man of warre of Rochel"] robbed vs of all our victuals, powder, weapons and prouision, sauing a smal quantity of biskuit to serue vs scarce for England" (*Roanoke* 567). That was the end of the outward journey, and they returned home by the skin of their teeth. Characteristically, White delivered a moral judgement upon the voyage that attributed blame to others:

By this occasion, God justly punishing our former theeuerie of our euil disposed mariners, we were of force constrained to break of our voyage intended for the relief of our Colony left the yere before in Virginia.
(*Roanoke* 568)

The next attempt to relieve Roanoke occurred in 1590 (*Roanoke* 598-622). This time the boat carrying White (but no other settlers or supplies) reached the island after a long privateering cruise around the West Indies as part of an English squadron. The boat was severely affected by heavy weather caused by the hurricane season and so only managed to stay a day or two near the islands.³¹ Here it was that the famous "CRO" and "CROATOAN" inscriptions were found on part of the refashioned defences. White informs his reader that he had arranged with the colonists to leave an indication of where they were going should they choose, or be obliged, to move. The signal they agreed to use to indicate that the move was made under duress was the inclusion of a cross in the

message. As White does not find a cross, he assumes that the colonists left in safety; however, he never ascertains their fate, so the message is an enigmatic final report from the colonists themselves within White's own final report of the colony. The rescue party found "the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers [i.e., surrounding walls and defensive strong points overlooking the walls] very Fort-like" (*Roanoke* 614). But there were no signs of the settlers, and White never reached Croatoan Island because of the gales that lashed the coast and threatened the boat's safety.³² His description of the disarray within the "Fort-like" defences did not augur well for the colonists' safety, though he does record the removal of the smaller pieces of artillery, which may indicate a withdrawal in good order, as Quinn notes. In the final analysis, however, the concluding episodes of the colonists' stay on Roanoke remain shrouded in mystery.

White's established use of earlier explanations of local polity re-emerges briefly when he sets about attributing blame for the damage that has been done to his buried chests:

[Scattered] about the place [were] many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed, digged vp eury place where they suspected any thing to be buried. (*Roanoke* 615-16)

This ludicrously detailed account of an event reveals White's penchant for trying to tie up loose ends in the story of the colonization of Virginia so that they support the sagacity of his leadership and so become part of the expedient self-justification that features throughout his reports. Unlike his report of the deaths of Grenville's men, there are no witnesses reporting a version of what happened, nor are there other sources on which he can base his account. The potential for bias and unreliability in his sources for the account of the attack on Grenville's men had been noted earlier, as has the conjectural and biased basis of his reconstruction of Howe's killing. White's confident attribution of blame to a group allegedly under Wanchese's control and acting as the remnant of the late Wingina's warriors – "the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk" – once more

reveals White's intention to establish scapegoats through his adherence to earlier explanations of Virginian polity as it existed some four years before. He is ignoring the passage of time and the changes occasioned by the English impacts upon the area. He is specifically ignoring the existence of the newly-refashioned fort that does not suggest a peaceful continuance of the planters' stay after his departure in 1587. He is also attempting to put himself back into the picture as a victim of the malicious behaviour of the "remnants of Winginos men." Significantly, White refers to himself in the first person in this final report. No longer does he automatically use his title of "Gouverneur" in all his references to himself. This change is indicative of the passing of his vision of a successful colony at Roanoke and his acknowledgement of the end of his direct involvement with the Roanoke adventure; indeed, combined with the knowledge that he has before he begins to write the final report at Hakluyt's request, it suggests White's tacit acceptance that there may no longer be a colony for him to govern.

All White has left are words and accusations. He is unable to provide informed explanations for the political situation he encountered, so he relies upon past, established explanations that do not easily fit the changed circumstances of Virginia. He cannot report the success of his own actions, so he justifies himself through the expedient use of scapegoats. From his words emerge the hopelessness that undermines his status as the appointed and confirmed Governor of the "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia" – a derelict city, empty of inhabitants. The colonists he led to Virginia are never encountered again, despite repeated instructions that subsequent expeditions to the coast of Virginia, including those that established Jamestown, were to search for them. Words carved on a tree and subsequently recorded in a book are all that remain of what may have been their last discernible act in Virginia. The meaning of the words is uncertain in their context. This ambiguous record of the actions of the last Elizabethan planters in Virginia is appropriate when considered against the confused, suppressed and contradictory images of the land that have been recorded in the reports of Raleigh's expeditions to Virginia.

 Notes

¹ See also Quinn's comments about the man's possible identity, *Roanoke* 520 n3, 521 n1, 522 n7, 523 n8.

² See Whitehead, Introduction 36 ff.

³ Quinn notes White's probable involvement with the promotion of the colony: *Roanoke* 533 n2.

⁴ Quinn supplies the title of White's report. He records that Hakluyt included the report as "The voyage of Edward Stafford and Iohn White, set out by the aforesaid Sir Walter Raleigh the Fourth time to Virginia, An. 1587" in the table of contents to the 1589 edition of *Principall navigations* (*Roanoke* 515 n3).

⁵ White's situation itself contains echoes of at least one earlier Spanish experience in America. De Soto followed in the footsteps of De Ayllon and reaped the whirlwind: "Cruelty begat cruelty Although De Soto's expedition was . . . pacific in intention, [as a result of] the kidnapping of Indians by De Ayllon's expedition . . . De Soto found himself the heir of a hostile attitude he could do nothing to overcome. The story of his expedition is one long tale of ambush, treachery, and revenge. Thus, perhaps emulating Cortes . . . De Soto seized . . . [the local leader] and thus set off a series of reprisals" (Howard Mumford-Jones, *O Strange New World* 58). De Soto's aim was to explore the rumoured lands of the Apalachees, which was also the location of the fabled city of Chaunis Temoatan. What would English expeditions have encountered if they had attempted to follow Lane's plans, Harriot's hints and Burgoignon's information by entering the same region? The reality behind the rumours and hints begins to be exposed in White's *Narrative*.

⁶ White usually refers to Fernandez as "Fernando."

⁷ Quinn suggests this interpretation of the situation in his footnote: "If, as White says, though with some ambiguity . . . , Fernandez had already been designated to return, the urgent anxiety of the planters to send two of their leaders is not quite clear."

Fernandez would at least know of their deficiencies: was it he whom White means in the next sentence as ‘thought not sufficient’? If so, this would reinforce White’s picture of him as unreliable” (*Roanoke* 533 n1). Quinn also remarks about the planters’ request for White to leave them, “The impression emerges that the colonists had unlimited confidence in White’s probity, but set comparatively little store on him as the leader of their pioneer settlement” (534 n3).

⁸ The boats originally separated on 16 May (*Roanoke* 517). Quinn states “Nothing is known of [the Flie boate’s] name or size, or her captain” (516 n3).

⁹ Later on White records the actions of a savage, Manteo, in terms that reflect adversely upon Fernandez’s behaviour in this episode, albeit not overtly but with significance in context: the savage is expressly praised for being “a most faithfull Englishman” (*Roanoke* 530).

¹⁰ Of added significance to the recording of Lane’s successful landing is what Quinn states in a footnote to be the apparent allegiance of the anonymous author of the Journal to “Grenville’s faction in the quarrel with Lane.” Such an allegiance would not tend to include much praise of Lane’s actions (*Roanoke* 178). The tone in which this same incident is recorded in the Holinshed account of the voyage reveals a pride in English arms that Lane’s success supports and upon which White could be expected to rely when he faced a similar potential encounter: “The Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwithstanding their multitudes) to remooue these few resolute Englishmen by violence, came to a parley, and in the same concluded an amitie, that the one nation might in safetie traffike with the other” (*Roanoke* 176).

¹¹ The alleged effects of the pilot’s desire to attack the treasure fleet are themselves ironic as one of the reasons for developing “western planting” as advocated by Hakluyt and instigated by Raleigh was to deny the King of Spain the power in Europe and America that his enormous American wealth provided by creating a base from which English privateers could attack the flota.

¹² This is mainly due to the time pressures facing him as he arranges for someone (ultimately himself) to return and addresses the situation with the natives. All these events occur while Fernandez is chafing at the bit to be away -- or so White suggests in his account (*Roanoke* 535). White makes no mention of planning to set out to follow Lane’s directions to reach Chaunis Temoatan, or to do anything beyond restore the fort and, by implication and omission, wait for help from England.

¹³ The Croatoans' relationship with the other local groups to whom messages were sent is not developed beyond White's botched night attack during which the English beat some members of friendly (or at least not overtly hostile) local groups. The information that a chief's wife was almost killed does not bode well for the English, despite Manteo's recorded acceptance of the genuine mistake that lay behind the assault upon friendly people (*Roanoke* 530-31).

¹⁴ White suggests a move to another location but is vague in the details he supplies: "they intended to remoue 50. miles further vp into the maine presently" (*Roanoke* 533). Quinn notes: "The precise implications of this statement are very difficult to assess." He goes on to discuss possible destinations but concludes "we can say that White was far from certain that they would go away from Roanoke Island, or if they did that they would go to this specific place: otherwise his actions and reactions in 1590 would scarcely be intelligible" (*Roanoke* 533 n4).

¹⁵ See Chapters Two to Four, above.

¹⁶ There are a few brief accounts of English ships reaching Roanoke after Lane's departure. The general gist is that no one, native or English, is encountered after Grenville's fleet leaves a holding party of about 15 men (*Roanoke* 479-80, 523-24, 790). The most interesting, but uncorroborated, reference comes from the translation of The Relation of Pedro Diaz (786-95). Diaz was a prisoner aboard Grenville's fleet. Apart from confirming that Grenville left a holding party on Roanoke, he also records that when they arrived they were unable to find anyone: "And so they found the said island deserted and discovered the bodies of one Englishman and one Indian hanged" (790). Quinn observes, "These must be the relics of some episode which took place during the visit of Raleigh's supply ship, as there is no suggestion of anything of this nature under Lane" (790 n4). White's later encounter with the corpse of an Englishman on the beach suggests a developing pattern of symbolic "welcome" to the English at Roanoke Island.

¹⁷ Rountree notes that the native peoples used arrows to wound their enemies and then clubs or axes "to finish them off" (*Eastern Shore* 46). In this context, the details of Howe's death suggest that it was a "normal" attack. White's description is affected by the horror of the event, turning it into a bloody killing for the purposes discussed above.

¹⁸ This suggestion relies upon the notion of English technological supremacy that first surfaces in Barlowe's references to the natives' desire to trade for weapons: "They offered vs very good exchange for our hatchets . . . and would haue giuen any thing for

swordes" (*Roanoke* 101). Even if Lane's assertion that ten Englishmen could defeat one hundred natives is believed, the situation faced by Howe would have resulted in his death, armed or unarmed. Within White's description of Howe's death lies a rejection of native behaviour that relates not just to the actual Virginians but to Howe's naked state that reproduces the appearance of the natives. White shows that "going native" is no defence, nor is it an appropriate response to Virginia. Only an adherence to the English group and its associated values and technology can guarantee safety. Such an attitude is further expressed in White's use of titles and his record of the colonists' respect for proper form and decorum in their petitions to the governor and the text of their "testimonie."

¹⁹ Although Cortes records pitched battles, other Spanish explorers encountered less easy situations one the efficacy of European weapons was appreciated by the natives of a particular area. Mumford Jones records this in a footnote: "There is much truth in the assumption that, given the white man's superiority in weapons, surprise, ambush, cunning and deceit were the only possible weapons left to the aborigines. But the Indian prowess with bow and arrow . . . made him a match for the European armed with crossbow and arquebus. Despite their armour the Spanish under Coronado were kept out of the village of Tiquez by a great shower of arrows . . . [a member of] De Soto's expedition says flatly that 'Before a Christian can make a single shot . . . an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses his object. When the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft of a crossbow'" (60). While groups might differ in their skills, these statements reveal yet more about the expediency present in the English reports. Indeed, an awareness of the Spanish use of quilted coats (instead of metal armour) against American arrows appears in a list of suggestions for Raleigh's colonists but never surfaces in the reports. The authors note native tactics but their efficacy is dismissed until White's revelations.

²⁰ For details, refer to Chapters Three and Four, above.

²¹ One suggestion not addressed by historians is that the perpetrators are deflecting the blame for the attacks. This possibility would offer an alternative explanation for some of the details that White records. The record of the initially hostile reaction to the English supports it by the Croatoans.

²² Quinn suggests that he came from a different group and did not share Manteo's social standing (*Roanoke* 280 and 527 n8).

²³ Stratchey records his name as a former local enemy of the English in his account of the fortunes of the Jamestown settlers in 1612, a quarter of a century after Wingina's death.

²⁴ The request for him to return to England is made by "the whole companie, both Assistants, and planters . . . with one voice". There are no specific names recorded other than that of the man who changed his mind about returning in White's place (*Roanoke* 533).

²⁵ Once again there is a reminder of Barlowe's tense account of the feast prepared by Granganimeo's wife in which the fear of deception, betrayal and death are clearly uppermost in Barlowe's writing. An expectation of the type of fate that befell Grenville's men may have been behind the fear in Barlowe's words. The situation also evokes Theodore Galle's engraving of naked America, roused from her hammock by the clothed European but not separated from her war club (see Montrose 2, figure one).

²⁶ "Canuisado" – camisado: a night attack in which the attacking force leaves the tails of their shirts visible or wears their shirts over their armour as a form of identification. See *Roanoke* 286.

²⁷ References to Wingina also undermine Lane's implicit assertion of having "dealt with" the native problem that affected his colony even as they acknowledge Lane's interpretation of native polity as founded upon the hostility of Wingina.

²⁸ An example of the widespread potential danger is revealed through the more distant groups' reluctance to contact the English and the open hostility of both allegedly friendly and clearly unfriendly groups nearer to Roanoke Island.

²⁹ White's account of Manteo's acceptance of the natives' fault in being there does not allow for the potential anger of the "Weroans" whose wife and child so nearly died at the hands of the English. All White records is the following observation: "if that one of them, which was a Weroans wife, had not had her childe at her backe, she had beene slaine in steede of a man" (*Roanoke* 531). The unacknowledged problems implicit in this episode are indicative of the wider difficulties and tensions in their relations with the natives faced by the English under White's leadership.

³⁰ See *Roanoke* 559-60 for Raleigh's secret request to Sir John Gilbert: "Such as I acquainted you withall to whom I have given leave you may lett them steale away."

³¹ Quinn suggests that the intention may have been to winter at Roanoke, but the exposed harbour and the bad weather prevented this plan from being completed. In any case, there were no settlers and no obvious means to sustain the sailors. Implicit in White's image of Virginia is the end of the hopeful interpretations of the proposed colony.

³² In addition, a number of men were drowned when a ship's boat capsized in the surf. White had no small job persuading the sailors to continue with their search after this accident (*Roanoke* 612).

Chapter Six: Raleigh's Guiana

The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh (1596) has been discussed by many scholars and from many points of view, as Neil Whitehead notes in his new edition of the text. Raleigh organized and sent the adventurers to Roanoke, but he did not go there himself, despite the popular belief that he personally discovered Virginia.¹ He did, however, receive the reports concerning Roanoke: he is the initial reader addressed by each text. We may assume that he read the reports from 1584-88 with care because they were part of his propaganda campaign to promote Virginia to Elizabeth and the court.² Consequently, he knew very well how reporters turned seeming failures into promises of potential success by the deployment of the kinds of expedient and self-justifying arguments I have been discussing. As Whitehead notes, scholars have shown that Spanish and French accounts of exploration have influenced Raleigh's text; however, no detailed attention has been paid to how the *Discoverie* develops the reports of Roanoke. I will show how the kinds of rhetorical strategies that have been identified in the preceding chapters are developed as a "tour de force" of Elizabethan colonial literature in Raleigh's first account of a voyage of discovery, namely the expedition to Guiana.

The *Discoverie* opens with Raleigh's "Epistle Dedicatorie" addressed to Sir Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral and Commander of the English Navy, and Sir Robert Cecil, by 1596 "the greatest councillor of England" (Weir 421). In it Raleigh apologises for the poor return he offers for their investment, defends himself against charges of piracy and of having "hidden in Cornewall" instead of going to Guiana. He then outlines his achievements and the attractions of conducting operations against Spanish shipping from a base in the Orinoco area. He concludes by stating that he refrained from taking small amounts of easily-won gold because he wanted to know what the Queen's orders were regarding the English colonisation of the region.

The next section is the address "To the Reader" which Raleigh begins abruptly by defending himself against the charge that the worthless ore brought back by ignorant members of the expedition represents all Guiana's promise. He makes his geological knowledge abundantly clear and then proceeds to boast of what could be obtained from

other rocks of Guiana by naming the assayers who support his claims. He refers to Spanish achievements and asks what the Spanish would have achieved had they been as critical of their explorers. He concludes by expounding the advantages of putting Spain on the defensive through a vigorous attack upon all of Spain's possessions, and notes that Guiana will provide the treasure to finance such a war "if her Majesty will undertake it" (Whitehead 128).

The narrative text of the *Discoverie* (as opposed to its dedicatory prefaces) covers pages 130-99 in Whitehead's edition. The contents are difficult to precis because Raleigh does not write a chronological account of his expedition, but rather weaves references to earlier Spanish expeditions along the Orinoco into the account of what he achieved and experienced. This intertextuality creates some confusion because it mixes the outcomes of Raleigh's expedition with the observations, deductions, guesses, assumptions and fables of former writers, as Whitehead notes many times. The ambiguities that arise enhance Raleigh's self-justification through their references to encounters with gold and people who have visited, or who know about, Manoa and the empire of the "Inga." These references create the impression of a land flowing with gold, a land just beyond the area that Raleigh explored.

Raleigh begins with a general account of his departure from England in February 1595 and his voyage to the West Indies. He only commences to add details from the time of his arrival off Trinidad. To the account of his voyage he then adds a retrospective of Spanish expeditions in search of Guiana, especially those undertaken by Antonio de Berreo, the Spanish governor of Trinidad and Raleigh's prisoner. The evidence given by Berreo changes back into an account of Raleigh's voyage that is interspersed with reflections upon the accuracy of Berreo's information and additional information to illuminate Raleigh's narrative. As Raleigh encounters tribes, he lists their allies and adversaries, and notes their beliefs and customs. The most significant encounter in terms of alliances made and information gathered, the meeting with chief Topiawari, occurs just over half way through the text. Topiawari's information about Guiana is elaborated and supported by facts supplied by Berreo and other Spaniards taken prisoner with him, and by stories from earlier expeditions. Raleigh records the conflicts between the tribes nearer

to the imagined location of Manoa and refers in imprecise terms to being on the borders of, or only near to the edges of the borders of, the fabled “Empyre of Guiana.”

Raleigh then holds a second “conference” with Topiwari who agrees with Raleigh’s decision to return when he is better prepared to engage an army as mighty as the Inga is supposed to be able to field. The chief provides more information, this time about the depredations of the Spanish and their demand for ransoms, all of which reveals the presence of gold in the area. The leaders outline a plan of campaign then separate. Raleigh leaves two Englishmen to learn the language and attempt to make contact with Manoa. There follows a list of the treaties he claims to have made. He recounts his visit to a land filled with “many rockes, like unto Golde oare, and . . . a rounde mountaine which consisted of minerall stone” (187) where he sees a high waterfall and “the mountaine of Christall” at the edge of the empire before he is obliged to turn back by the terrible weather (188).

The events of the return journey down the river are generally glossed over, though they conclude with a dramatic passage concerning the crossing of a dangerous bay in order finally to reach the English ships. The narrative of the expedition ends at this point: Raleigh provides no record of the voyage back to England. The remainder of the *Discoverie* contains further information about tribal customs, the location of sources of gold, and Raleigh’s infamous comments about Guiana’s “Maydenhede.” Raleigh’s appendix of extracts from captured Spanish documents that refer to Guiana and reveal the interest of the Spanish in reaching and plundering El Dorado, the “Empyre of Guiana,” fill pages 200–07 of Whitehead’s edition. My discussion of the features of Raleigh’s narrative strategies in this chapter involves references to many episodes; however, my discussion does not necessarily follow the sequence of episodes in the *Discoverie*. The above summary is intended to help a reader to understand the sequence of the episodes in the *Discoverie* so that my references to “earlier” and “later” features of the text become clearer. It also indicates where Raleigh makes digressions from the chronological progression of events included in his report.

One origin of Raleigh’s expedition to South America lies in his need to overcome the fall in his prestige at Court that resulted from the Queen’s discovery, in June 1591, of his secret marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton which had taken place in the autumn of

1590. The Queen sent Raleigh and his wife to the Tower of London. Raleigh was released in August 1591 to secure the Queen's share of a Spanish treasure ship brought in to Dartmouth. After this service, he was allowed to remain at liberty, but was exiled from the court. Elizabeth Raleigh was released in December 1591 (Weir 408-13). Raleigh attempted to recover his sovereign's favour through the grand gesture of discovering a source of American gold that would rival Spain's possessions.

Raleigh's return from the Guiana expedition in May 1596 presented him with the fundamental problem that he had, in fact, found nothing.³ All the people and places he had encountered were already known to the Spanish, but at least

Raleigh may well have been able to claim that he had brought the opportunities for imperial ambition on the Lower Orinoco and Guiana coast to the attention of his peers, even if geographical delineation had not been so well achieved. (Whitehead 15)

All he can present is the record of a river journey based on hopes and expectations founded upon his reading of others' accounts of the same river. Indeed, as Mary B. Campbell notes, he had learned Spanish to read earlier accounts of El Dorado (*Witness* 253). The novelty of the disclosure of information about the peoples who lived along the banks of the Orinoco to an English readership might contribute towards validating his claim of discovery in the area, but he had not found the city of Manoa and he had only approached what he claimed to be the outlying borders of the "Empyre of Guiana" without ever penetrating them. His discoveries about the "Empyre" itself are limited to the repetition of second hand information at best and the revelation of what he presents as strategic intelligence about its (unseen) borders.⁴ He is unable to present any tangible (i.e., financial) outcome to his adventure. Even the ore that was brought back by some of his men has to be specifically and categorically rejected as worthless "marcasite" in order to maintain the credibility of his other claims (Whitehead 125).

Beginning from this seemingly hopeless situation, Raleigh writes a report that attempts to turn financial and colonial failure into success. From my analysis of the Roanoke reports, it is clear that other reporters of English colonisation redeemed their immediate failures to discover a new Mexico by emphasizing the potential of the territory that awaited the next boatload of colonists. Barlowe suggests that wealth from pearls and

malleable copper (that suggested gold) was available from the coastal areas that he had not visited. Lane and Harriot move the location of the sources of plunder further inland, away from the groups they encountered. Raleigh continues and develops this newly-emerging “English” strategy. He attempts to turn his palpable failure to find the empire he sought into a potential success through his revelations concerning Guiana’s undiscovered-but-intensively-promoted resources. As in the earlier reports, these resources are desired but unattained because there are obstacles that thwart the explorers’ efforts. These obstacles – be they time, food, distance, resources, hostile peoples, marauding European enemies – can be overcome, but only with the resources available to a further expedition. The present reporter is limited to offering information and guidance that will lead to future success, not the success itself. This feature of the English reports of the period fundamentally separates them from the reports that heralded the earlier phase of European exploration of the Americas. English writers have to substitute words and aspirations for gold, jewels, feather cloaks and previously unencountered empires.

In the *Discoverie*, Raleigh records in detail the examples of the wealth of Manoa that he encountered while simultaneously underlining his refusal to seize these immediate but small sources of gold in favour of waiting to capture the source of all gold: “*Guiana* (the *Magazin* [i.e., storehouse] of all rich mettels)” (Whitehead 131-32). Not surprisingly in the context of developing “English” narrative strategies, Raleigh sights the outskirts of the borders of Guiana but never enters the empire or sees the city of Manoa itself (e.g., 188-89). He uses the evidence of his alleged treaties with tribes outside the “Empyre” to emphasize the future success whose foundations he claims to have laid so firmly. Raleigh’s frustration when he describes his inability to extract gold because he lacked mining implements heightens the sense of the imminent discovery and all-enveloping presence of gold, and underlines the notion of the prize that he is making available to the next expedition (125-27 and 185-87). The earlier reports also feature self-justifying attempts to catch the reader’s attention and imagination through accounts of daring feats and the allure of what may lie around the next (as yet unturned) corner or over the next (as yet unclimbed) hill. English accounts of fabulous cities are founded upon others’ reports rather than firsthand experience, built from the writer’s imagination, and filled with an expectation of wealth that originates from the conquistadors’ plunder, but is

founded on rumours and intelligence gleaned from native peoples.⁵ Raleigh's inclusion of such material reveals only part of his development of the narrative strategies that are present also in the Roanoke reports.

As my earlier chapters have revealed, there is a suppressed rapacity in the English reports that exposes alternative motives, attitudes, and realities. Edward Coke's inflammatory quip that Raleigh had "an English face, but a Spanish heart" is, in one way, not far from the truth (Coke qtd. in Greenblatt, *Raleigh* 117). Raleigh's "English face" is found where the reports express potential and hope; his "Spanish heart" is revealed through his development of implicit and explicit plans to plunder the desired and sought fabulous cities. These plans also delineate underlying, vicious attitudes towards indigenous peoples, regardless of the reports' otherwise positive (and "English") depictions of them.

Paradoxically, within such plans and activities are recognisable features of the alleged inhumanities inflicted upon the native population by the Spanish that are so carefully recorded (and condemned) by Raleigh. They conform to the "Black Legend" that was promulgated and believed by the English, especially in the years surrounding the Armada of 1588 and King Philip's subsequent attempts to conquer England – one of which was countered by the Cadiz expedition of 1596 in which Raleigh took part (Fernandez-Armesto 27-49 and Weir 421-23). In the *Discoverie*, Raleigh's "Englishness" is seemingly paramount, but the overtly rejected "Spanish" motivations and actions are never fully hidden and occasionally emerge with startling clarity as he develops his narrative.⁶

For instance, Raleigh's account of the discovery of Guiana contains an implicit design to betray the empire with which he seeks to make an alliance. If he can manage to win the trust of the empire, he will, nevertheless, take its wealth; if he becomes an ally of the empire's enemies, he will plunder it as part of his projected campaign. The *Discoverie* reveals a planned betrayal of the real (rather than imaginary) people with whom Raleigh made treaties while he travelled along the Orinoco. He undermines the Englishness that he flaunts as the antithesis of the alleged depredations of the Spanish. In short, he does not act in good faith, but is motivated throughout by a Machiavellian expediency: the strategic goal of the adventure as it appears in his text, namely the

acquisition of gold to justify Raleigh's actions, outweighs all other considerations. Raleigh strives to become a new Cortez and to make England a new Spain. This image of Raleigh is also found in the overview of scholarship in Whitehead's Chapter One. He notes that Demetrio Ramos-Perez finds within the *Discoverie* that Raleigh's obsession is no longer the gold of El Dorado, but the Spanish themselves. Ramos-Perez suggests that Raleigh was obsessed with the Spanish. The obsession "actually 'hispanised' . . . Raleigh, since the *Discoverie* attests to his own identification of himself with Columbus, Cortez or Pizarro" (19-20). The associations between Raleigh and the Spanish conquistadors are also developed by many other scholars. Consider, for instance, Quinn's reference to Raleigh's contribution to English awareness of South America, cited above, and Montrose's revelations concerning Raleigh's identification with Cortez and Pizarro (10). Raleigh himself admits the link between his objectives and those of the Spanish when he states, "We [the English and the Spanish] came both for one errant . . . both sought but to sacke & spoile them" (Whitehead 184). In his account of his expedition to Guiana he himself ultimately and ironically demonstrates the universal truth of his own scathing observation about the all-pervading influence of "Indian Golde" upon Europeans: "[it] indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations . . . it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie" (Whitehead 127-28).

Before I discuss the *Discoverie*'s "Spanish heart," I want to look more clearly at its "English face" because the report so clearly develops narrative strategies similar to those of the Roanoke reports that strive to establish the author's *bona fides* as a man who does his best in all circumstances. As we know, these narrative strategies justify the actions of the author by presenting failure as success. To do this, they change the definition of success from the achievement of tangible, financial results to an emphasis of the potential achievement of such results for the benefit of England through the future exploitation of the intelligence gathered by the reporter.

There are several recognizable elements in this process of redefinition. Blame for failures is carefully focussed away from the author. Opposing groups are demonized and become targets for the redirected blame. Information gained from sources internal to the report – i.e., native peoples and others encountered during the expedition – and external authorities, such as foreign reports and books, is used to enhance the value of the

expedition's achievements, even though the information may never be tested or corroborated by more concrete discoveries, such as gold mines or fabulous cities. More often than not, information is all that the expeditions can produce to support their claims of success. The reporter's actions that result in the discovery of information become a focus for the reader, engaging the reader's interest and sympathy. However, the report is a consciously retrospective account, so the author knows the outcome of all the events; therefore any suggestions of uncertainty concerning a particular episode's conclusion are likely to be indications of attempts to engage the reader's interest through a spurious evocation of dramatic suspense. The reader's interest in the author's predicaments and actions encourages acceptance of the author's claim to (redefined) success. Developing the examples found in the Roanoke reports, the narrative strategy of the *Discoverie* presents the expedition's results as a success – a success in which the author's efforts are a core feature.

From the very beginning of Raleigh's report – in the *Epistle Dedicatorie* – he promotes the idea of his efforts on behalf of his sponsors. He tells the reader that “even in the winter of my life, [I undertook] . . . these travels [i.e., “travails,” suggesting effort *and* distance], fitter for bodies lesse blasted with misfortunes” (Whitehead 121). He continues by outlining the rumours and accusations that were directed at him, most of which were founded on the notion that he was “too easeful and sensuall [i.e., accustomed to physical comfort] to undertake a journey of so great travel.” He concludes by hoping that his efforts will “receive the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage” [“painful” suggesting full of mental and physical effort, not just physical discomfort] even though he insists that he could have done and achieved more. As he decries his efforts while inviting the reader's sympathy in a formulaic appeal for support, it is clear that he believes that he has achieved much. After this start, Raleigh takes every opportunity to illustrate why his journey should be considered a “painful pilgrimage.” The examples of his efforts undertaken in the search for Guiana provide evidence to refute the charges laid against him, and contribute to his self-justification. They illustrate Raleigh's leadership, determination and sufferings that are, in turn, linked to the efforts of his men. All these factors support the notion of the whole-hearted commitment of all who took part in the expedition under Raleigh's command.

Rather than merely stating his commitment, Raleigh constructs episodes that feature drama, uncertainty and tension in order to engage the reader and so heighten the reader's appreciation of his commitment. As Campbell notes,

[Raleigh] needs affection and vicarious involvement, and at the same time admiration. . . . [He] is playing for love -- the special literary love in which a reader "identifies" with a fictional protagonist, the conditional love a reader awards to an author in whose work he has been brought to pleasure. (*Witness* 235)

Raleigh's manipulation of the reader enables him to evoke the reader's sympathy and hence advance his narrative strategy. Perhaps the best example of these techniques occurs in Raleigh's account of the expedition's search for food along a tributary of the Orinoco.

The expedition had been struggling upstream for about a week when the "companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hot, the river bordered with verie high trees that kept away the aire, and the currant [*sic*] against us every daie stronger than the other" (Whitehead 160). Next, their food began to run out and even the game they were able to shoot hardly sustained them in their efforts to row onwards. Eventually, their "old Pilot of the *Ciawani* [tribe]" told them they could obtain "store [i.e., large amounts] of bread, hens, fish and of the countrey wine" from a local town that they could reach quite easily along one of the tributaries, but they would have to leave the larger vessels and most of the men behind while they undertook the journey in the smaller boats. As Raleigh tells the story, their pilot convinced them that, because the town "was so neere," they did not need to take any food with them for the journey. So begins a narrative episode that features tension, fear of betrayal, hunger and despair, all of which the reader is able to experience vicariously.

As has been shown, Raleigh sets the scene in some detail. As he does so, features of his narrative strategy can be discerned. The pilot's ignorance and misinformation become the clear causes of the near disaster that ensues. Raleigh trusted him and so set off ill-prepared; he is established as blameless for the problems that arose from the native man's shortcomings as a guide. The pilot's imprecise directions quickly turn the difficult situation into a crisis of confidence in his abilities that is heightened by the Englishmen's fear that he has betrayed them to the Spanish:

because we were perswaded that it [the town] was so neere, we tooke no victuall with us at all: when we had rowed three howres, we marvelled we sawe no signe of any dwelling and asked the Pilot where the town was, he told us a litle farther: after three howers more the *Sun* being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that waie to betraie us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from *Trinidado*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were joyned together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he tolde us but fower reaches more: when we had rowed fower and fower, we saw no signe, and our poore water men even hart broken, and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the *Galley* neer forty miles.

At last we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night, he had surely gone, but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safetie: for it was as darke as pitch, and the river began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swordes to cut a passage thorow those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to finde this towne hoping of a feast, bicause we made but a short breakfast aboard the *Galley* [i.e, the larger vessel they had left behind] in the morning, and it was now eight a clock at night, and our stomacks began to gnaw apace: but whether it was best to returne or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the Pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one a clocke after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. (Whitehead 161-62)

Raleigh's narrative develops the situation in a series of "cliffhangers" that draw the reader into the situation. Initially, time – and so progress – is divided into stretches of "three howers," during the second of which night begins to fall. The crew begins by marvelling that after three hours they were not at their destination. This is a mild enough reaction for the start of the episode and may be one shared by the reader. Their reaction changes to the beginnings of suspicion when the pilot – the cause of all the problems – "confesses" that there may be Spanish forces in an unspecified village, an unspecified distance ahead. This is the first cliffhanger and is achieved through the introduction of the lurking menace of the Spanish to a situation in which the English are in weak numbers and their weakness is further compounded by their hunger and exhaustion. Next, time is replaced by distance as a measure of progress. The reference to "fower

reaches” reflects the increasing exhaustion of the rowers who, Raleigh is telling the reader, can no longer work for “three howers” at a time. The change from the measure of time to a suggestion of the distance they have to row enhances the concept of the guide having to find a means to motivate exhausted men. The measure is repeated, “fower and fower,” emphasizing the boat’s progress and the fact that they still fail to find the town. Raleigh then increases the tension by describing the rower’s prostration and despair. To cap this, he adds another cause for alarm – they had a trip of “neer forty miles” to endure just to return empty-handed to the main group. This dramatic news concludes the paragraph, but time continues to pass in the narrative in the form of the implicit decision making that occurs between the revelation of the return distance and the moment at which decision to hang the pilot which is taken “[a]t last.” Raleigh’s use of “at last” suggests that something occurred before the recorded decision is reached. There is no respite in Raleigh’s reconstruction of the terrible journey into the darkness.

The decision is no decision, however, because it is compromised by the conditional construction of “and if . . . but” within the sentence. Indeed, the remainder of the sentence justifies the non-decision that was (not) taken. The sentence also heightens the drama by adding the factor of the helplessness of the English through the revelation of their dependence upon an incompetent pilot and introducing a clearer sense of the conditions along the river that Raleigh and his men endured. In case this predicament is not enough, Raleigh reminds the reader of the men’s hunger – the very reason they undertook the diversion in the first place. Raleigh has conjured up a situation in which hunger, despair and fear of betrayal afflict the explorers as they hack onwards through the darkness, their fear of treason and the anticipation of a Spanish ambush waiting round the next bend almost overwhelming them.

At this point the pilot suddenly becomes “the poore olde Indian” who sticks to his story and “ever assured” the Englishmen that they were almost there. The new description suggests a different attitude towards the man – he is ineffectual and elderly. This description contains none of the threatening power of the potential betrayer that Raleigh evokes earlier. It suggests that the known safe conclusion of the story affects Raleigh’s description and reflects the belief that the explorers showed in their pilot. It must be remembered that, despite all the suspicions and fears that Raleigh so carefully

records, the men believe the pilot because they keep going. The effort they had to expend to keep going is revealed by a further change in the measure of progress which is reduced to "but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning." The Englishmen's belief in the pilot is finally justified by their arrival at the town where Raleigh's evocation of light then noise in the middle of the night concludes the episode. Significantly, he does not record any fears that the village might, after all, have been a Spanish settlement. The sound of the dogs is welcome; it is not a potential prelude to "alarums and excursions." This absent fear is further evidence that Raleigh is retelling the episode as part of his narrative strategy. The pilot is exonerated by the end of the episode, but his portrayal in the earlier part of the episode clearly recalls the original, hostile feelings of the group towards him.

What does the whole episode tell the reader? The essential information contained in the episode is that the English found food at a village and so were able to continue their journey along the Orinoco. Raleigh develops the dramatic tension of the account to reveal the hardships he and his men faced on behalf of the Queen, his sponsors and in the wider cause of the defeat of Spain. His narrative also challenges the charge that he was "too easeful and sensuall" to undertake an expedition. Furthermore, even though the local pilot faithfully led them to the food, Raleigh remains blameless for all the hardships that befell the men under his command en route to the food because he heaps the blame onto the pilot. Last, and by no means least, the reader is invited to share vicariously in the hazards and perils of exploration. Through this shared experience, he learns to respect and value Raleigh's travails. Thus Raleigh's narrative purpose is advanced by the strategy as the reader is encouraged to identify with him and so accept his claims about the success of his expedition.

These results are achieved through an expedient use of the truth about the circumstances of the expedition. Raleigh himself is in no small way responsible for the near disaster he records in such self-serving detail. This accusation arises from the information that Raleigh provides about the difficulties the English endured prior to the food crisis that precipitated the visit to the distant village. As has been noted, as the English rowed along the Orinoco, the flow of the current against them became stronger.

In order to avoid pressure from his men to turn back, Raleigh lied to them about the distance between them and their goal:

we had no shift [i.e., alternative course of action] but to perswade the companies [i.e., the crew of each boat] that it was but two or three daies work, and therefore disired them to take paines, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell [i.e., give a break] one the other at the howres end When three daies more were overgone, our companies began to despaire But we evermore commanded our Pilots to promise an end the next daie, and used it [i.e., the stratagem] so long as we were driven to assure them from fower reaches of the river to three, and so on to two, and so to the next reach. (Whitehead 160)

It is clear from the passage that the native pilot is just continuing the policy Raleigh himself had instigated earlier when he encourages the party searching for the village by suggesting that they are nearly there. In both episodes, the measure of progress changes from time to distance, becoming shorter as the men tire; even the distances and times mentioned echo each other. What emerges is that Raleigh is “hoist with his own petard.” He does not comment upon this irony, but rather turns it into a sinister stratagem on the part of the native pilot. Raleigh’s redefinition of his own stratagem indicates that he is interpreting the pilot’s actions to fit his narrative strategy. It also reveals that duplicity is a stratagem that Raleigh uses to achieve his goal. His admission of his duplicity towards his own men reveals that he valued the achievement of reaching Guiana above their lives. Consequently, his deception of the reader through his expedient revisions and interpretations is a constant factor that must be considered in any reading of the *Discoverie*. Furthermore, the exhaustion of the group – highlighted by even the gentlemen having to row – is already described as “despaire.” The later prostration of the men – “ready to give up the ghost” – develops the sense of exhaustion. However, the known outcome of the search for food highlights the consciously retrospective construction of Raleigh’s writing, and so the development of the description of the men’s exhaustion is revealed to be dramatic hyperbole. Although Raleigh’s style may introduce immediacy into the *Discoverie*, the “reality” of the immediacy is challenged by an awareness of the underlying narrative strategy that is present in the episode.

A second example of Raleigh's manipulation of the reader by using a dramatic episode occurs when he records the Englishmen's return to their ships at the end of the expedition:

when we were arrived at the sea side then grew our greatest doubt [i.e., fear], and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God, that wee were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storme, and the rivers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to live as coulde be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part, I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, eyther to goe over in the pestred [i.e., encumbered, overloaded] Galley, there beeing but sixe foote water over the sands, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, & she drew five:⁷ or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, & my cosen *Greenvile*, into my barge, and after it cleared uppe, about midnight wee put our selves in Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the Galley at ancor, who durst not adventure but by day light. And beeing all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to show courage, it pleased God that the next day about nyne of the clocke, we descryed the Iland of *Trinidado*, and steering for the nearest part of it, wee kept the shore til we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ships at ancor, then which, there was never to us a more joyfull sight. (Whitehead 191)

The situation of the boat in the storm is vividly captured by the phrase, "she had as much a doe to live as coulde be." The description "pestred Galley" adds another dimension to the drama. Raleigh presents the reader with an overcrowded vessel that is also unable to manoeuvre due to its lading, the weather, and, perhaps, shipped water. In addition to the details of the boat's present state, the bar lies ahead of them, amidst the waters tossed "in so great a billow." The reader requires little imagination to create a mental image of the desperate situation and the fear of the men involved. The focus of the "doubt" (the fear) recorded in the passage is first and foremost Raleigh: the conditions provide the background to his decision about what to do. Although other names are mentioned, the reader is kept aware of Raleigh's participation in the episode. The reader experiences Raleigh's situation and shares his fears vicariously.

In addition to what Raleigh tells us, his silences, the gaps in the narrative, also develop this aspect of his narrative strategy of involving the reader and so gaining the reader's interest and sympathy. The men set out into the rough seas "about midnight" and finally sight land again "about nyne of the clocke." Although Raleigh has been vague about times and dates throughout the *Discoverie*, he ensures that he logs the times of his passage through the storm in open boats. He does, however, omit an account of the passage itself. There is no detailed account of the nine hours spent on the open water beyond the description of the attitudes and actions of the men as they set out and when they finally "found" their ships. The reader is left to imagine the time, the conditions, and the men's experiences. Raleigh's detailed setting of a scene which he then does not develop allows for its dramatic reconstruction without his explicit direction. The reader can imagine Raleigh's fears as he set off. The final remark also allows the reader to fill in the details of the relief the explorers felt after their ordeal. If Raleigh has engaged the reader's interest, sympathy and involvement, he does not need to elaborate the details of what he experienced between the recorded events. The reader's relief at the survival of the hardy band of explorers overcomes any distracting questions about the tangible achievements of the exploration.

The establishment of Raleigh's *bona fides* as a committed explorer through accounts of his sufferings during his "painful pilgrimage" is only one aspect of his "English" narrative strategy in the *Discoverie*. Another feature of this strategy – an elaboration of the notion of English safety – can be recognised when he differentiates between the reactions of the native peoples to the English and the Spanish. From the beginning of the *Discoverie*, Raleigh attempts to resurrect the notion of the English being welcomed by the indigenous population. This notion is established by Barlowe and maintained, with varying degrees of success, by the other reporters of Roanoke until the disappearance of White's colony finally challenges its credibility. The cordial relationship between the native groups living beside the Orinoco and the English results in the treaties that are so vital to Raleigh's promotion of the success of his expedition. In the final pages of the *Discoverie*, Raleigh even cites an alleged prophecy that links the English to the fabled Manoans:

Berreio confessed to me and others . . . that there was found among prophecies in *Peru* (at such time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empyre, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* shoulde be againe in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said Conquerors [i.e., the Spanish]. (Whitehead 199)

The prophecy suggests that the welcome extended to the English by the other nations will be echoed by the Manoans when they perceive in them a means to free themselves from the Spanish. Raleigh emphasizes the importance he attaches to the indigenous peoples' welcome by including it in his concluding remarks. The late inclusion also suggests a degree of disingenuous desperation to counter the ambiguities in the relationship between the English and the native groups that are discussed later.

As the alleged prophecy illustrates, the presence of the Spanish allows Raleigh to develop the idea into a direct comparison between the native peoples' attitudes towards the Spanish, whom they fear and detest, and the English, with whom they make treaties of friendship and mutual support. Raleigh states:

Nothing got us more love among them then this usage, for I suffred not anie man to take from anie of the nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giving them contentment [i.e., making payment or exchange for the food], nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course, so contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire hir Majestie, whose commandement I told them it was, and also woonderfully to honour our nation (Whitehead 165).

The comparison contains within it praise of himself for promoting the policy of sexual continence and general respect which helps to secure the valuable treaties. Raleigh also takes the opportunity to flatter the Queen in order to encourage her interest in the project and to reestablish his prestige at court. As part of his establishment of the native groups' admiration for all things English, Raleigh not only develops the idea of English explorers welcomed by friendly native groups who willingly ally themselves to the English crown, but also promotes his role as leader of the virtuous expedition that achieved such valuable results.

The expedient nature of his claims about the indigenous population's support for the English is revealed when an indication of an alternative reality enters his text. As he

prepares to leave the area, Raleigh admits that at least one local leader avoided contact with him because of the threat posed by the Spanish in the area:

Wee understoode by these chiefetaines . . . that their Lorde . . . was departed . . . and that hee was fledde . . . beeing perswaded by those tenne Spanyardes which lay at his house that we woulde destroy him, and his country.

But after . . . his followers perceived our purpose, and sawe that we came as enemies to the Spanyardes onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no [*sic*] though wee founde them to bee of the Spanyardes owne servantes, they assured us that *Carapana* [the chieftain] woulde bee as readie to serve us, as any [other native leader we had encountered was ready to serve the English] . . . and that he durst doe no other till this daie but entertaine the Spanyardes, his country lying so directly in their waie, and next of all other to any enterance that should bee made in *Guiana* on that side.

And they further assured us, that it was not for feare of our coming that hee was removed, but to bee acquitted [i.e., safe from the suspicions] of those Spanyardes or any other that shoulde come heereafter. For the province of *Cairoma* is situate at the mountaine foote, which devideth the plaines of *Guiana*, from the countries of the *Orenoqueponi*: by meanes whereof if any shoulde come in our absence into his townes, hee woulde slippe over the mountaines into the plaines of *Guiana* amonge the *Epuremei*, where the Spanyardes durste not followe him without greate force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that *Carapana* (beeing a notable wise and subtile fellowe, a man of one hundred yeares of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooved, to looke on, and if hee finde that wee returne strong, hee will bee ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spanyards, and say it was for feare of our coming.

We therefore thought it booteles [i.e., unprofitable] to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther for this olde fox: and therefore frome the river of *Waricapana* . . . we turned again [to begin the return journey] (Whitehead 189).

Raleigh's analysis begins with the fact that the chief had fled because the Spanish had deceived him. This makes the chief's actions understandable, and it moves the blame from Raleigh's actions to the mendacious schemes of the Spanish. The coercion that had affected the chieftain as a result of the Spanish presence is then revealed to be the cause of his siding with them. The arrival of the English forces permits the chief's followers –

though not the chief – to state that he is ready to join the other local leaders in an alliance with the English. This statement is challenged by the following assertion that the chief was not afraid of the English but feared possible Spanish reprisals. He is, in fact, afraid of the English, not because of what they may do to him directly, but because of the repercussions that may follow his association with them. Clearly he has no faith in the power and commitment of the English to the area until he sees English troops stationed in defensible forts along the Orinoco in such numbers that the Spanish are supplanted; this reality Raleigh perceives despite the encouraging words of the chief's representatives. In the midst of this account, Raleigh retains his belief in the idea of his return to Guiana. This belief is revealed by the remark, "if any [Spaniards] should come in *our* absence to his towns, he would slippe over the mountains" (emphasis added). It is clear that, even in the face of the chief's fundamental and overt rejection of the English and his consequent denial of their power, Raleigh will not accept the idea that the native groups do not accept his offered alliances. He suggests that the "absence" of the English would cause the local groups to flee, whereas the remainder of his account indicates without any doubt that the opposite applies. The remark emphasizes Raleigh's imaginative involvement with his report. His return to Guiana would not only prove the truth of his statements to his local allies and the sceptics in the area, but it would also allow him to prove his claims about Guiana to his English readership. Therefore, Raleigh's frank admission of Carapana's lack of commitment is surprising after the plethora of reasons and explanations have been offered to excuse his actions.

All the rationalization and excuses, however, say more about Raleigh than about the chief. The local peoples acknowledge that they were deceived by the Spanish, then they reveal that they are potentially legitimate targets for Raleigh's attack because they are the servants of the Spanish and therefore potentially enemies of the enemies of Spain. Raleigh's gentle treatment makes them acknowledge how good the English are and prompts an offer of allegiance despite the chief's departure. This offer is important. Raleigh reveals that he wants to meet Carapana because he is the ruler of the country that is "next of all other to any enterance that should bee made in *Guiana* on that side." This fact further excuses Carapana's alliance with the Spanish as it becomes clear that he could not avoid contact with them for the simple reason that "his country [lies] . . .

directly in their waie” on the route into Guiana. Raleigh’s narrative strategy allows him to explain a situation to the benefit of all concerned – except, of course, the Spanish. Furthermore, it emphasizes that the Spanish are actively seeking to enter Guiana and are present in an area that he presents as the very threshold of the empire. Indeed, the idea of the chief being unable to escape Spanish influence because his country lies in the Spaniards’ path suggests that there is a constant flow of Spanish explorers into the region. All this information supports Raleigh’s message about the urgent need to follow up his lead so that Guiana can be kept from falling into Spanish hands. This message is stated openly elsewhere; now, however, Raleigh appears to be content to leave the matter for the reader to discern.

Raleigh’s silence is significant. He explains that the chief’s route away from the settlement allowed him to retreat before a Spanish pursuit into an area where they “durste not followe him without greate force.” The same applies to an English pursuit. The man cannot be reached unless he wishes to be reached, so Raleigh has to acknowledge his inability to contact him. As part of Raleigh’s narrative strategy to explain his lack of tangible results, the chief’s flight is most convenient, especially as he is alleged to be under the impression that the English mean him harm and so is unlikely to come out of cover whatever Raleigh does. Raleigh is able to establish cordial relations with the existing leadership that point to a hopeful future for the next English expedition. At the same time, he is unable to do any more about discovering Guiana despite being so close because the chief is not there to grant him protection and safe passage. Furthermore, Topiawari’s recorded opinion agrees with Raleigh’s assessment that his force is too small to fight its way into Guiana. Consequently, Raleigh can leave Carapana’s town and begin the return journey to his ships without having to explain any further why he did not chase the missing chief; indeed, he is able to make the Spanish shoulder the blame both for the chief’s fear and for his secure retreat. This “fortunate” combination of features in this episode illustrates Raleigh’s narrative strategy of moving the blame away from himself, justifying his own actions, emphasising the benefits of his leadership of the expedition, and pointing out the potential that awaits the next expedition. The intelligence about the Spanish presence and the willingness of the native groups to join the English if they return in force is the success that he is able to extract from the situation. He records no

immediate access to the promised gold of the empire, but presents valuable information that will be useful to a future group.

Having said that, at the time of this rebuff, Raleigh was desperately trying to find gold or some other concrete evidence to support his claims about Guiana just before the changing weather forced him to leave, so the situation he faced at Carapana's settlement must have been intensely frustrating for him. Something of his reaction is present in his frank closing remarks. Certainly, "olde fox" is not a diplomatically sensitive name for a potential ally, but it does sum up the man's behaviour concisely. There is even a hint of grudging admiration for the chief's awareness of local political realities in Raleigh's choice of epithet. After all, Raleigh's experiences at Elizabeth's court – not only his successes as a favourite but also his recent, dramatic fall from favour after the Queen's discovery of his secret marriage – made him particularly sensitive to the mutability of influence and power. He must have been aware that, after he left with his small band of Englishmen, his putative allies would have to live with the consequences of their actions – though this awareness did not prevent him from pursuing his policy of making alliances. His recognition and assessment that the basis of the alliances lay in the power that the two European groups could project into the area is shrewd. It sets out the state of affairs that is required for English dominance of the area, and once more underlines the need for decisive action by the potential adventurers.

His remarks also reveal that not all the native peoples were delighted to meet the Englishmen and that some groups may have mistrusted them. This is not surprising when one remembers that the only white faces they had seen previously were Spanish ones. Even if only half of Raleigh's accusations about the Spanish treatment of the indigenous population are founded on truth, the locals had little reason to trust white men. Raleigh records an event during an earlier stage of the journey, when the English were still seeking the main channel of the Orinoco, in which a group attempted to kill the expedition's native pilot because "this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territorie to spoyle and destroy them" (Whitehead 157). This record reveals the native peoples' reaction to foreigners, the impact of Spanish incursions, and the duplicity behind the idea that the English were in some way "automatically" welcomed by the indigenous population. Whitehead's reference to later groups allegedly owning an

“English jack” (see below) suggests that the reception of Europeans depended upon a clear, pre-arranged means to identify them if they wished to avoid a hostile reception. White’s record of his initially hostile reception on Croatoan provides further evidence to support this speculation because once Manteo was known and recognised by White’s attackers, the skirmish ceased. Further evidence that Raleigh was not welcomed in all places is found in the account of Francis Sparry, a boy who was left by Raleigh to learn about Guiana.⁸ Sparry’s account of his time in the jungle “suggests that Raleigh may have had an initially hostile reception (not mentioned in the *Discoverie*) from the native groups in Orinoco” (48). The significance of these examples of the suppression of information and the seepage into the text of an alternative reality to the optimistic one promoted by the author is that they reveal Raleigh’s continuation of the expedient narrative strategies identified in the English accounts of Roanoke. (As has been noted in the earlier chapters, Barlowe’s ships may have been attacked when they first landed, and Harriot’s *Report* carefully avoids mentioning the conflict that almost engulfed the colony.)

Interestingly, however, Raleigh’s language made an impression on the native groups that reveals his powers of persuasion despite his inability to follow up his promises. Raleigh’s attempt to gain the “hearts and minds” of the local population creates an anticipation of his return, proof of which exists beyond the pages of the *Discoverie*. Whitehead provides evidence that Raleigh’s name is associated with the future return of a foreign leader who is actively anticipated by the indigenous peoples:

The political impact Raleigh himself made on native political consciousness and traditions is reflected in the subsequent use of his name as an honorific title, in the form *Waterali* . . . and it is even apparent in the eighteenth century, when Bancroft . . . reported [in 1769] that: ‘They retain a tradition of an English Chief, who many years since landed amongst them and encouraged them to persevere in enmity to the Spaniards, promising to return and settle amongst them, and afford them assistance: and it is said that they still preserve an English Jack [flag], which he left them, that they might distinguish his countrymen.’ (46)

The elements of Raleigh’s claimed alliances are present here. On the other hand, as Whitehead observes, the developing imperial interests of the British in South America during the 1700s create at least one more level of interpretation to such observations: earlier presence and influence could be linked to a subsequent claim of possession by

reference to evidence for established, long-term influence. Raleigh's promises also had a more immediate outcome for his countrymen: "[Charles] Leigh's expedition [in 1604] benefited from the genuine expectation among the native population that he [Raleigh] would return and assist them militarily against their enemies" (Whitehead 51). Leigh's evidence supports Raleigh's later claim (14 November 1617) that he could have stayed there: "To tell you that I might be here King of the Indians were a vanitie; but my name hath lived among them. Here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that countrey yields; all offer to obey me" (59 n28). Whatever questions are raised by his account of the treaties, Raleigh was able to convince his native audience of his sincerity and the value of the treaties he negotiated.

Raleigh's negotiations are the foundation of his safety during his journey along the Orinoco. Whitehead notes that Raleigh's actions are based on an awareness of the need to maintain good relations with the native population. The many references to and quotations from Spanish accounts of exploration along the Orinoco that Raleigh includes in the *Discoverie* show that he was well aware of all the Spanish expeditions in search of Manoa that had failed because of native hostility. However, behind his references to his own peaceful encounters are highly expedient reasons for not fighting, not engaging actively in local disputes, and not committing to anything beyond words. He does not wish to risk the possibility of defeat in front of his newly-established and locally-vital allies because a defeat would demoralise his allies, undermine the impact of his words, and so remove his opportunity to report successes in the form of treaties. He justifies this approach through his narrative strategy of explaining his actions to the reader. For instance, he claims that, despite his large forces, Berreo "could never enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100. gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, bote-keepers, boies, and of all sorts" (Whitehead 144). Although this claim praises his achievements despite the problem he is underlining for his reader, he makes no repetition of Lane's optimistic confidence about the ability of ten Englishmen to fight off one hundred native warriors. Raleigh's knowledge of failed Spanish expeditions suggests that he is aware that he would have been unable to fight his way along the river, so he emphasises diplomacy over force, and his survival reveals the efficacy of that diplomacy. His survival also acknowledges that English safety in

America has to be negotiated and is based on participation in local polity rather than aloofness from it. Raleigh still presents the idea that the English are safe. His references to the “small force” he commanded are used both to excuse his lack of action and emphasize his achievements. The fact that his small force was not destroyed shows that his recorded policies were effective, albeit in the “English” manner of his narrative strategy – he promises future benefits but delivers only words. His approach to the native population is expedient because it keeps him alive and avoids their enmity while he plots to exploit their support, and even contemplates their annihilation as part of his plan to acquire the gold of Guiana. The *Discoverie* records a new approach to presenting English safety amongst the indigenous population that abandons the deceptions of the earlier reports. Raleigh’s record of the treaties also features the allegiance given by the native groups to “*Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princesse or greatest commander” (134).

Raleigh’s record of the native peoples’ reactions to his information about the Queen reveals another feature of his narrative strategy. He makes a clear and not very subtle attempt to interest the Queen in Guiana by emphasizing the population’s acceptance of the concept of Elizabeth as their saviour from Spanish oppression. The reaction of her putative subjects becomes an incentive for her to support his claims of success. Her support and validation of his claims would arise from her sponsorship of English expansion into the Orinoco region. He begins to develop this feature of his narrative strategy by noting that when he showed the native peoples a picture of Elizabeth, it was “so admired and honoured, as it had beene easie to have brought them Idolatrous thereof” (134). This comment is an overly flattering extension of the cult of Elizabeth in the wilds of South America, where, he claims, ardent potential admirers abound. The Roanoke reporters make occasional references to how they present Elizabeth to the native groups, but Raleigh, the poet and fallen favourite, develops the feature. He uses the *Discoverie* to highlight Elizabeth’s alleged influence upon the course of the expedition, even though she has not supported it. In Guiana, her influence aids the exploration through the awe of the native peoples who learn of her glorious rule. At home, it has the potential to validate Raleigh’s claims to success through a favourable royal reaction to his call for English intervention in Guiana. Raleigh deploys flattery and moral blackmail in his attempt to

enlist the Queen's support. He claims that merely informing the groups about Elizabeth's virtues is sufficient to create admirers for her. Raleigh's praise of Elizabeth spread beyond the tribes he was able to meet in person. The impact of his news of her grace is sufficient to excite the interest of distant peoples who seek to know more of such a magnificent ruler. He refers to "the *Canuri*, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritrix of that province) who came [from?] farre off to see our nation, and asked mee divers questions of her Majesty, beeing much delighted with the discourse of her Majesties greatnes, and wondring at such reports as we truely made of her highnes many vertues" (Whitehead 192). A similar idea is repeated in the concluding lines of the *Discoverie* when Raleigh refers to Elizabeth's potential impact upon the *Amazones*: "those women shall heereby [i.e., as a result of Elizabeth's imagined conquest of Guiana] heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquere so great Empyres and so farre removed" (199). The news about Elizabeth is relayed to all peoples, though Raleigh chooses to note its especial impact upon two matriarchal groups as he concludes his report. He noted his news of her grace to the native peoples on Trinidad at the beginning of the expedition, so references to Raleigh's promotion of Elizabeth "bracket" or "frame" his real and projected accounts of interactions with native groups and emphasize his flattering portrayal of the Queen. Elizabeth is presented as the guiding model for all these groups; however, her martial prowess would be particularly attractive to Raleigh's *Amazones*, while the status she shares with the *Canuri* ruler "who is inheritrix of that province" provides another specific link between life in England and the jungles around Guiana. Indeed, England's unique European situation as a country ruled by a woman is contrasted with Raleigh's presentation of the polity of the Orinoco region where matriarchies appear to be more common. The record of Raleigh's negotiations and his maintenance of peace becomes more of an achievement than mere survival in a potentially hostile setting. He takes the opportunities offered by the situation to promote another aspect of his narrative strategy, thereby continuing to work towards the acceptance of his claims of success, in this instance by attempting to enlist the Queen's support.

Raleigh's suggestions that the Queen should sponsor another Guiana expedition are based on the reciprocal nature of the alliances he claims to have made: the native peoples

are now subjects of Elizabeth. Furthermore, their oppression by Spain gives them a familiar and recognisable shared cause with Englishmen in England – or at least those who share Raleigh’s antipathy towards Spain. Spanish oppression also links the Orinoco natives with the Europeans who are under Spanish attack. This link is made clear in Raleigh’s concluding references to the Queen’s influence upon the Amazons in which he refers to her triumphs at home, in defence of her neighbours, and, potentially, in South America (Whitehead 199, qtd. above). The expedient moral blackmail that Raleigh tries to bring to bear upon the Queen to support him and so confirm the value of his report is expressed in his implicit question, if Elizabeth supports Henri IV of France and the residents of the Low Countries, none of whom is a subject of England, in their fight against Spain, should she not also lend aid to her beleaguered subjects in South America?

What ideas about these new subjects of Elizabeth does the *Discoverie* contain? The account of the voyage along the Orinoco features many outlandish names of people and places. De Bry’s woodcuts add to the strangeness of the area and its inhabitants, and illustrate some of the passages with depictions based on specific events. Raleigh describes unusual customs and behaviour. Overall, the people and the territory are clearly strange and uncanny, yet Raleigh also includes observations that reduce the strangeness and make features of the exotic world of the Orinoco more familiar, or at least recognisable. For instance, when he describes the Tivitivas he notes that they “dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificiall [i.e, intricately made] townes and villages” (158). While their lifestyle may be strange, it is not depicted as bleak but rather as ideal, because Raleigh remarks that they “never eat of anie thing that is set or sowed, and as at home they use neither planting nor manurance, so when they com abroad they refuse to feede of ought, but that which nature without labor bringeth foorth” (159). These words suggest an allusion to the description of the Golden Age in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*:

The fertile earth as yet was free, untouched of spade or plough,
And yet it yielded of itself of every thing enow;
And men themselves contented well with plain and simple food. (134)

Consequently, the Raleigh’s description of the Tivitivas continues the familiar idea that American natives live in Golden Age simplicity. Their strangeness is reduced by this

idea. Raleigh does not dwell upon it, however, nor does he attribute innocence to the native population as Barlowe does when referring directly to the Golden Age characteristics of the natives of Virginia, but for a brief moment the extraordinary image of the tree-dwellers is as an evocation of an earlier assessment of the New World. As Campbell points out, the Orinoco was where Columbus thought he had found Paradise (*Witness* 246-47). Raleigh's description of the native peoples and his subsequent remarks about the beauty of the land suggest an appreciation of America that develops the first impressions of Virginia despite the subsequent harsh realities:⁹

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautifull countrie that ever mine eies beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, heere we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and stil as we rowed, the Deere cam downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene used to a keepers call. (Whitehead 162-63)

Fuller adds another layer to the interpretation of this passage. She suggests that

the particular beauty of the country is its appearance of being *already* conquered, *already* domesticated. . . . The absence of an actual keeper figures as an internalization of order, figuring not wildness, lack of "discipline," but only an unoccupied place of enjoyment or exploitation. (56)

Whitehead contradicts other interpretations of this passage that suggest that Raleigh inserts an imaginary idyll to his account. He asserts that "[l]andscape features in Amazonia are often far from 'natural,' being a result of conscious ecological management of flora and fauna by the indigenous population over many centuries." He explains the names for the features then continues: "Native ecologies often explicitly recognise a shamanic keeper or 'master-of-animals' who controls the fortunes of the hunter through selective release of game in response to his 'keepers call,' in this case a shamanic chant" (163 n70). Regardless of the anthropological accuracy of Raleigh's observations, he evokes a landscape that not only conforms to Fuller's suggestion, but also resembles a parkland that is recognisable to a "gentle" reader. Raleigh is promoting the delights of the area without mentioning the need for labour. His comment about the "keepers call" suggests the known way of life and associated topography of the

gentleman with his estate and gamekeeper. It evokes the idea of sport. It does not allude to a life of labour that the establishment of a colony such as the one planned for Virginia would require to produce a profit. The evocation of the “*already* conquered, *already* domesticated” that Fuller suggests is an attraction to “the better sort” to join Raleigh when he returns to Guiana so that they can enjoy what is on offer to them.

Raleigh replaces Harriot’s focus on wealth from America arising from English labour with the idea of an American area suited to – even already prepared for – English leisure. This idea is linked to Raleigh’s suggestion that plunder from the sack of Guiana will be the source of wealth for the English adventurers. The promise of paradise in Guiana that Raleigh outlines is a development of the promised mercantile land of opportunity that features in promotions of Virginia. Instead of a land which requires only minimal labour to grow enough food to eat so that the maximum amount of time is available for work that will “yield profit,” Raleigh presents a territory that contains areas that are ready to be occupied and so require no labour at all. This presentation contains an implicit move away from the types of settler advocated by Hakluyt, such as “Vyne planters, Olyve planters, Gardiners for herbes rootes and for all earthe frutes, Graffers for fruit trees . . . Salters and seasoners of vittell . . . Cooke, Bakers, Brewers” (*Discourse* 123). Instead of Hakluyt’s rustic and mechanical men, Raleigh envisages soldiers who “shal here fight for gold” led by “commanders and Chieftaines, that shoot at honour” who will reap the rewards of “more supulchres filled with treasure, than either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazzaro* in *Peru*” (Whitehead 194). In doing so, Raleigh acknowledges that he is abandoning the notion of agricultural and mercantile colonisation that was promoted throughout the period of the Roanoke settlements. He replaces it with his overt development of the suppressed “gold fever” that features in the earlier reports. Although Raleigh may allude to a Golden Age lifestyle in his depiction of Guianan natives, he has abandoned any notion of the English sharing such an existence. The *Discoverie* evokes an age of gold for the explorers that is based on plunder and the availability of estates in the heart of the wilderness. To achieve this aim will require the destruction of the Golden Age natives.

When Raleigh describes the indigenous population, he evokes contradictory ideas. His record of the unencountered-but-famous Manoaan rite of El Dorado – repeated by

Berreio and based on the story attributed to the dying testimony of Johannes Martines, the master of munitions for Diego Ordace's exploration of the Orinoco (Whitehead 138, 140)

– includes these details:

Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I have seen are marveylons [*sic*] great drunkardes, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them and at the times of their solemne feasts when the Emperor carowseth with his Captayns, tributories, & governours, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, & their bodies annoynted . . . [with sticky gum, onto which] gold made into fine powder . . . [is blown] thorow hollow canes . . . untill they be al shining from the foote to the head, & in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds & continue in drunkennes sometimes sixe or seven daies together (141).

The Manoan aristocracy quite literally revel in their gold. The story features a sensual ceremony of the elite that suggests an abundance of gold. It goes some way to support Raleigh's assertion that Guiana contains more wealth than either Peru or Mexico yielded to the Spanish. Raleigh's accounts of idle indulgence by the ruling elite bring to mind a savage version of the elaborate and costly entertainments of the English court. Weir records that plays performed at court "cost £400 each" on average (249) out of "an annual budget of £40,000 for the maintenance of the royal household" (241). She also reveals that "in 1577, it cost Sir Nicholas Bacon £577 to entertain the Queen for four days . . . while in 1591 Cecil was poorer by over £1000" after a visit from Elizabeth (266). The Earl of Leicester's extravaganza at Kenilworth Castle, 9-19 July 1575, is perhaps the most famous example of sumptuous entertainment of the Queen, although Elizabeth herself could also spend vast amounts of money (298-302). In 1581 the Queen, dressed all in gold, gave a banquet for the French envoys from the Duke of Anjou that cost in excess of £1700 (336). Unfortunately for Raleigh, while the Queen's revels were familiar and witnessed, the rite of El Dorado is based on exotic, foreign rumour and hearsay.

In order to support the authority and accuracy of the famous Manoan rite and simultaneously develop the idea that he had reached the environs of the empire, Raleigh records his experience of an analogous event at the town controlled by Toparimaca, from which "the land of Guiana appeared in sight." Raleigh states that the native peoples

are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest garousers [*sic*] and drunkards of the world: when we came to his [Toparimaca's] town we found two *Cassiques* [i.e., chiefs] . . . incamped at the port . . . they laie each of them in a cotton Hamaca . . . & two women attending them with six cups and a litle ladle to fill them . . . and so they dranke ech of the three of those cups at a time . . . and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feasts and meetings. (168)

This event is very much a mere shadow of the Manoan rite, but it shares the common features of lordly characters, ritual elements, heavy drinking, and the moral disapprobation of the European commentator. The native people are “marveylons great drunkardes, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them” and “the greatest garousers and drunkards of the world.” Their “vice” has a savage grandeur which nevertheless separates it from the decorum of the English court. At other times, however, the lords are praised for their knowledge and sagacity. A possible origin for Raleigh’s variable descriptions of native people can be traced to his reading of André Thevet, whose work he acknowledges by name three times (Whitehead 131, 138, 145). Lestringant observes that Thevet’s perception of American natives is affected by his (Thevet’s) lack of conformity to contemporary ideas that present “a sort of allegorization of the savage, making him incarnate, for example, the realm of nature, primitive equality, or the leisurely freedom of an Ovidian golden age [as is suggested, for example, by Montaigne’s ‘Of the Cannibals’].” Thevet’s depiction of an Amerindian seems to be “regulated by a constantly mobile code modelled, from detail to detail, on the particularity being thrown into relief on each occasion.” Lestringant notes that this “mobile code” is a feature of the construction of Thevet’s America which is “nothing but . . . a catalogue of ‘singularities’ that were irreducible and contradictory.” Hence, the same person could be labelled “[c]ruel and debauched or virtuous and hospitable, a man of honour or a ‘great thief’” depending upon the point being made (*Mapping* 57).

The *Discoverie* also contains contradictory descriptions of the native population. Raleigh’s accounts of the drinking parties are more condemnatory than the other, generally positive descriptions of the native peoples whom he encounters. The solemnity of the imagined Guianan ritual is undermined by the “vice” of drunkenness. The repetition of this condemnation in the second example of a drinking ceremony reinforces the idea of

a native vice and creates a sense of the profound savagery – the wildness, excess and the absence of European notions of decorum – of the occasion that Raleigh witnesses and records. However, this savagery is immediately moderated by the striking juxtaposition of Raleigh's description of the wife of one of the carousers. He remarks,

In all my life I have seldome seene a better favored woman: She was of good stature, with black eies, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, hir haire almost as long as hir selfe, tied up againe in pretie knots, and it seemed she stood not in aw of hir husband [a chief], as the rest, for she spake and discourst, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing hir owne comelines, and taking great pride therein. I have seene a Lady in England so like hir, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworne might have beene the same.
(168)

The aristocratic woman seems to represent the opposite of the chiefs just described. She is sober and dignified, in contrast to the recumbent, hedonistic males. Raleigh's description of her behaviour metamorphoses an uncivilised and uninhibited drinking binge in a jungle clearing into an aristocratic encounter during which a lady discourses with the assembled "gentlemen and captaines." The woman combines recognisable decorum with savage customs, evoking a courtly home from home that simultaneously reminds the reader of the differences between England and Guiana. Raleigh's reputation for romantic dalliances with the ladies of the court (culminating in his marriage to the pregnant Bess Throckmorton) and his awareness of the conventions of courtly romance suggest that the idea of chatting with a naked lady in a noble gathering contains at the least a playful irony, as is supported by the final sentence, above. This irony mingles with the erotic fascination that the exploration of Guiana constantly evokes and which finds expression in the repeated references to English military and sexual restraint and, finally, in the suggested rape of the country.

These differing reactions to the native peoples illustrate Raleigh's ambiguous stance. The juxtaposition of the two descriptions of the peoples – drunken and decorous – suggests the influence of Thevet's "catalogue of 'singularities'" because Raleigh records no fixed, single notion of the native population in the *Discoverie*. He makes them understandable to his reader through the description of superficial similarities, perhaps illustrated most forcefully in the reference to "a Lady from England" – though, because

he does not name her, his reader is at once intrigued and alienated by the comment. The lack of fixed definition is symptomatic of the tensions in his descriptions of the native peoples. He describes them with some degree of affection, yet his plans to exploit them envisage the annihilation of them and their culture. He is capable of appreciating the sameness that the woman displays while being conscious of the otherness both of the woman and her male companions. Raleigh's simultaneous and conflicting awareness of the native people is a feature of the "English face and Spanish heart" in the *Discoverie* that I will discuss later.

Raleigh's description of Topiawari, the native chief who provided information about Guiana, contains ideas that suggest elements of Montaigne's "proto" noble savage:

The next day following, before noone he came to us on foote from his house, which was 14 English miles, (himself being 110. yeeres old) & returned on foote the same daie This *Topiawari* is held for the proudest, and wisest of al the *Orenoqueponi*, and he behaved himselfe towards me in all his answers at my return as I marvelled to finde a man of that gravity and judgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breed. (Whitehead 172-74)

Although Raleigh's praise is qualified by the reminder of Topiawari's allegedly uncultured status, the man retains a dignity that marks him out as a person to be trusted. However, his trustworthiness is vital to Raleigh's promotion of the success of his voyage through the value of his achievements, so Raleigh's description should be recognised as part of his narrative strategy. The notion of information learned from an important, knowledgeable native elder is a feature of earlier reports that Raleigh develops extensively. Lane describes Menatonon as

a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as wel farre as neere, and of the commodities that eche Countrey yeeldeth. (*Roanoke* 259)

Both writers qualify their praise because of the cultural backgrounds of their "savage" informants. Behind Raleigh's remarks lie reservations based upon the stereotype of the ignorant, uncivilised and untutored "savage," but his reservations are challenged by the recently-published and popular praise for the insight exhibited by those

generally condemned as “savages” contained in Las Casas (1583) and Montaigne (1588) and, to a lesser extent, in Harriot (1588 and 1590).¹⁰ In Raleigh’s portrayal of the kings may be discerned another developing, European, culturally-based stereotype in which the “better sort” of native people parallel their European social counterparts.¹¹

These reservations aside, Raleigh and Lane do not qualify their acceptance of or faith in the information they record from native people. Both men place great value upon the information that they learn, presenting it as valuable intelligence for future expeditions. Indeed, Campbell suggests that the encounter with Topiawari replaces the avowed goal of the journey:

In the place of the climactic description we had expected, of the mysterious interior city paved with gold, we are given a brief political analysis of the Guianan situation from the lips of a knowledgeable and friendly border chief. This is an absolutely central absence -- necessitated of course by the fact that there is no El Dorado -- but most flirtatiously paraded “a farre off,” suggested and erased, circumambulated by its geographical and political and historical positionings. We are rarely allowed to forget it for long and never allowed to see it. The experience that has filled the relation is in a sense negative, a frustration, a journey to nowhere: the actual “end of my journey” is the port of Morequito, an uninhabited landing near the border chief’s village. But a frustrated desire is still an event, and so we have a narrative. (*Witness* 238)¹²

In the context of this dissertation, Campbell’s remarks draw attention to the importance of Topiawari’s information in Raleigh’s narrative strategy. The reader has to perceive the chief as a person of undoubted veracity and sagacity. His role as a replacement for “the climactic description” that Campbell suggests is anticipated by the reader demonstrates that Raleigh’s claim to success is dependant upon the reader’s acceptance of the potential for wealth within the otherwise unsubstantiated and worthless information that Raleigh attributes to Topiawari.

The truth of Raleigh’s presentation of such old, and, therefore, wise, native leaders is challenged by Whitehead, who suggests, “we might consider that these reported numerical ages refer less to individual chronology than to Raleigh’s desire to represent these native leaders as sagacious and credible” (112 n6). Moreover, Montrose observes that the significance of Raleigh’s use of social status as a “fundamental . . . marker of distinction” for his interlocutors is revealed by his ability to praise not only the native

kings, but also Berreo, the captured Spanish leader. He also notes that “Topiawari’s virtues -- which include pride -- are those appropriate to a great personage, like Raleigh himself; and that Raleigh’s surprise at the existence of such virtues in such a person is not expressed in terms of assumptions about limited racial capacities but rather in terms of education and lineage -- the same terms that Raleigh would have used had Topiawari been a sagacious English rustic” (22 n39). Indeed, Raleigh’s references to individual native people are very much limited to observations of the “better sort.” He does not provide insights into daily life such as occur in Harriot’s *Report*. Rather, he develops Harriot’s use of discourse with the native elites to present a picture of people whose attitudes and behaviour can be understood, even recognised, by the reader.

Raleigh’s abandonment of agricultural and mercantile colonial projects for the attractions of conquest and plunder is signalled by his attempts to attract the “better sort” to his project. Such people wish to know about the doings of the native elites because they are the targets for plunder. Their activities, despite some similarities with English social customs, tend to emphasize the exotic in Guiana. A sense of the exotic separates the reader from the lives of the people being described. Such a separation allows for the development of the idea of “them” and “us.” If “they” become sufficiently different, they lose their identifiable humanity, or at least the reader ceases to feel sympathy for them. As I have noted, Raleigh’s descriptions of the native peoples combine the idea of similarity and difference. This ambiguous presentation of the local population is a less prominent feature of the Roanoke reports that Raleigh develops. He also develops the idea that plunder is not just an acceptable secondary objective for English explorers but the main goal for an expedition to the “Empyre of Guiana.” “English” narrative strategies shy away from an overt declaration of this goal. The acknowledgements in the Roanoke reports of the lure of easy profits from the exploitation of new found lands and peoples show that a form of plunder – specifically, the acquisition of items of value in exchange for “trifles” and the extraction of lumber, oils and other natural produce – is inherent in the English colonial adventures. The adventures were, after all, based on the assumption that the investors would reap a profit from America. The profit may have been sought peacefully at first, but Hakluyt makes it clear in the *Discourse* that the Roanoke colonists of 1585 should take “men experte in the arte of fortification . . .

Captaines of large and greate experience . . . Souldiers well trayned in Flaunders” (123). He also urges that the adventurers should choose those “Artesanes . . . who [can] best handle his Bowe or his harquebushe [i.e., matchlock musket]” (128). Although such skills would be necessary to repulse the Spanish if they attempted to dislodge the English – and Lane expresses a fear of Spanish attack in his letters and in his report – they can also be used to protect the English from the native peoples, regardless of Barlowe’s assurances of safety, or carry the fight to hostile groups, as Lane demonstrates. In the *Discoverie*, Raleigh goes beyond Hakluyt’s hints and preparations by openly advocating a violent approach in order to seize the wealth of Guiana. In doing so he develops themes that have been implicit but suppressed in the earlier reports.

As my analyses of Harriot’s and Lane’s reports show, a suppressed call to emulate Spanish colonial successes is a feature of the Roanoke reports. This call is developed and expressed by Raleigh in the *Discoverie* to such an extent that arguably the most famous feature of the report is its evocation of the rape of virgin Guiana by the English. Raleigh’s development of the call to emulate Spanish successes is what I have termed the “Spanish heart” of the *Discoverie*. Beneath the pacific surface of Raleigh’s promotion of Guiana lies the inescapable fact that all the treaties he has made not only focus on the defeat of the cruel and avaricious Spanish – feared alike by the native groups and the English – but also point towards the eventual destruction of the “Empyre of Guiana” by the English as they seek the wealth imagined to lie inside its borders. Raleigh does not reject Spanish actions because, as the contents of the *Discoverie* eventually admit, they are part and parcel of the “English” rhetoric of colonisation. This rhetoric ultimately depends upon an acceptance of the fundamental reality – the “Spanish heart” of the report – that the extraction of wealth by force is the key to a colonial success that does not need to be explained or excused. Raleigh’s interest in the indigenous population is in tension with his desire to find and acquire gold. His alliances, real or projected, are contradictory because Raleigh simultaneously anticipates an alliance with the “Empyre” against the Spanish which will somehow include the tribes with whom he has made alliances and who are allegedly at war with both the “Empyre” and Spain. Even if Raleigh were able to ally with the empire, the extraction of gold would ultimately involve warfare. As an indication of this, his alliances with the enemies of the empire echo Cortez’ approach to

Mexico, and the earlier conquistadors are, after all, the models to which Raleigh's references to "Indian Golde" apply. With local allies, Raleigh can make a safe passage of the river to Manoa. His encounters with the Spanish reveal a weak local presence, and his assertions about the ease of fortifying the river against European incursions emphasize that the English could hold the area after they had taken it:

It is besides so defensible, that if two fortes be builded in one of the Provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no shippe can passe up, but within a Pikes length of the Artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Fortes wilbe a sufficient Guard both to the *Empire of Inga*, and to an hundred other severall kingdomes, lying within the said River, even to the citie of *Quito in Peru*. (Whitehead 196)

Not only are the English defended and the Spanish kept out, but there is an implication in the reference to the "hundred other severall kingdomes, lying within the said River" that no-one will be running away down the river with the gold because the forts can both exclude anticipated rivals and contain potential victims. Once up the river, an assault upon the empire with the aid of local groups would leave Raleigh as a new Cortez, and England as a new Spain. Thus an initially peaceful interaction anticipates conflict and pillage that are based upon a frank exploitation of the local natives as part of the English search for gold in America. The Epuremei – the "Inga" of Raleigh's imagined "Empyre" – are the acknowledged enemy of the tribes that Raleigh encounters. Although the tribes are allegedly united against the threat from Spain, they have not formed any alliances with the nebulous Epuremei, so Raleigh's strategy and honesty are challenged even as he reveals his plans for the peaceful integration of English desires into the polity of the Orinoco.¹³ His peaceful, "English" policy is a carefully constructed façade.

Raleigh clearly and specifically differentiates between the alleged virtues and vices of the European groups. Margo Hendricks observes that "[f]rom Edmund Spenser's *A Short View of the Present State of Ireland* to the translation and publication of Las Casas' *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, Spain quickly became the standard of barbarity and racial inferiority [in English writing]" (*Managing the Barbarian* 166). Despite this, Raleigh's attention to and awareness of the Spanish presence on the Orinoco

and the implicit and explicit competition between the nations that he records links the English to the Spanish throughout the report. Montrose states that,

[t]he ubiquitous figure of the Spaniard is an unstable signifier in the text of Raleigh's *Discoverie*: he is, at once, an authority to be followed, a villain to be punished, and a rival to be bested. . . . England and Spain are intertwined with each other in an encompassing European system of economic, social, and political structures and forces; and they share an ambient Christian and classical cultural, moral, and intellectual tradition. The sign of the Spaniard in English discovery texts simultaneously mediates and complicates any simply antinomy of European Self and American Other. (18)

Even Raleigh's encounter with Topiawari is influenced by his knowledge that the chief had been a Spanish prisoner and so could be relied upon to support anyone who could defeat the known and feared Spanish insurgents. As Montrose shows, the tensions within Raleigh's references to the Englishmen's exercise of sexual restraint towards local women, and the need to avoid alarming the native groups with overt shows of strength that result in the pillage of native settlements for whatever gold they may possess, result in an ever closer potential union of English desire and Spanish practice within Raleigh's text (23-24).

Raleigh's references to the Spanish also undermine his struggle to establish and maintain English difference. His written account of the expedition continually keeps the Spanish in the reader's mind. In contrast to the references to Spanish atrocities and conflict, knowledge of Spanish successes throughout the European and American world that arise from the power bestowed by Spain's great wealth is a background commentary to the *Discoverie*, as Raleigh's remarks "To the Reader" show. Raleigh reveals the impact of "Indian Golde" upon Europe when he states that "[it] indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe" (Whitehead 127; quoted above) and situates his efforts in relation to the acquisition of such wealth:

I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power, & perswasion, to advance al those attempts, that might eyther promise return of profit to ourselves, or at l[e]ast be a lett & impeachment to the quiet course, & plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake judgement by such a warre were as easily indaungered and brought from his powerfulness, as any prince in Europe. (Whitehead 127-28)

An England enriched by its own “Indian Golde” could counteract the “bad” influence of Spain and establish an alternative, “good” power in the world. To this end, Raleigh clearly states that Guiana promises as much as Spain ever had from the rest of the New World (Whitehead 128; quoted above). However, Raleigh advocates the use of a Spanish approach to achieve the praiseworthy aim of defeating Spain, thereby continuing the features of Spanish behaviour, even after Spanish acts committed by Spain are removed from America following the imagined success of his project.

Thus, when Raleigh outlines his plans for acquiring the gold that will enable his wider ambitions for England to succeed, the references to earlier Spanish acts become both problematic and revelatory. His model for the conquest -- or the invasion, benign or otherwise -- of American lands is Spanish. Charles Nicholl observes, “the new English interest in America . . . entailed a curious rapprochement with the idea of ‘Spanishness’ -- a sense that the Spaniards were the only role-models for American exploration, and that Englishmen bound for America must emulate them, must in a sense *become* Spanish” (*Creature in the Map* 38). Nicholl also notes that Hakluyt urged Raleigh to emulate Cortez, and that Raleigh praised the “patient virtue of the Spaniards” through all their setbacks in America in *The Historie of the World*. Raleigh refers to the wealth of Mexico and Peru, and the Spanish leaders who conquered the lands and so released the wealth for the use of Spain to substantiate his predictions concerning the potential wealth of Guiana that will be garnered by the next group to follow Raleigh’s lead:

[the adventurer] shall performe more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro* [Pizarro] . . . whatsoever Prince shall possesse it [Guiana] shalbe Lorde of more Gold and of a more beautifull Empire . . . then eyther the king of Spayne, or the great Turke.
(Whitehead 136)

Raleigh also alludes to the silver mines of Peru at Potosi, the literal mountain of silver that is implicitly bettered by his subsequent record of the mountains of crystal and gold that can be found in, or near to, Guiana:

Nowe although these reportes may seeme straunge, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easely beleeeve the same, for wee find that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the Spanish King vexeth all the Prince of Europe . . . and is become the greatest monarke of this part of the worlde. (Whitehead 138)

All the references to Spanish glories, wealth and triumphs contain the implicit message that their emulation lies at the heart of Raleigh's allegedly anti-Spanish text, as Montrose makes clear (30-31). However, Raleigh only expresses the implicit voracity towards the end of the *Discoverie*.¹⁴

Raleigh's contemporaries were well aware of the metaphors that voyage literature deployed. Before Donne roved with licence over his erotic new found land, Hakluyt suggested that Raleigh should probe "the depths of [Virginia's] hidden resources and wealth" in the expectation that his bride would "bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness" (*Roanoke* 514-15).¹⁵ Raleigh's marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton and the Queen's subsequent fury changed Raleigh from favourite to outcast overnight. The Roanoke adventures were undertaken with royal favour whereas the Guianan voyage was an attempt to regain some degree of that favour. Montrose suggests that Raleigh's advocacy of the rape of Guiana arose from his changed status at court: "it is difficult to imagine that Raleigh himself . . . would be so impolitic as to represent the plantation of Virginia in the same terms that he uses to represent the conquest of Guiana. If he cannot write explicitly of Virginia's rape, this is because the queen and her courtier share a common discourse of discovery, grounded in a territorial conception of the female body" (13). The "common discourse" is important here because it links the thought processes within the two colonial enterprises and indicates a progress and a development of ideas and images. Virginia is imagined as a sexual conquest for Raleigh, and Hakluyt frankly applauds and encourages Raleigh's sexualised exploitation and exploration. Harriot also reveals Virginia's penetration by the English and encourages access to the "inner parts" by yet more Englishmen in search of what Hakluyt defines as "the depths of her hidden resources and wealth, or her beauty hitherto concealed from our sight." The fate that the others suggest for Virginia in less overtly violent ways, Raleigh makes explicit for Guiana. Thus Raleigh's development of an "English" travel report can be seen at many levels and even recognised in the famous "Maydenhede" passage in Raleigh's *Discoverie*.

The virginity and potential of Guiana are opposed to the results of Spanish possession of other territories. Through Raleigh's striking repetition of the word

“Maydenhede,” the emulation of Spanish practice is made clear and the links between the Europeans’ methods revealed.¹⁶ His opening remarks “To the Reader” explain the present situation:

But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles* the fift, who had the Maydenhede of *Peru*, & the aboundant treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living, . . . we shall find that these abilities [to dominate Europe] rise not from the trades of sackes, and Civil Orenge, nor from [*sic*] ought else that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth . . . [etc.] (Whitehead 127)

In the concluding pages of the *Discoverie*, Guiana is clearly revealed to be the next available source of wealth from the New World, and Spanish methods are presented as a viable means of accessing that wealth:

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhede, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges [i.e., sledge-hammers], nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath never been entred by any armie of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince. (Whitehead 196)

The evocation of rape brackets together Raleigh’s discussion of the colonial success of Spain and the potential for English emulation of that success in Guiana. The metaphor occurs in the opening address “To the Reader” and then in the final pages of his report. The choice of metaphor complements Raleigh’s records of Spanish murder and pillage throughout the Orinoco and surrounding areas. It contrasts the “English face” of Raleigh’s references to the praiseworthy characteristics of the indigenous peoples by associating a planned English action with a known and recorded Spanish act. This association elaborates Raleigh’s confession of the “Spanish heart” within his “English” report that he acknowledges when he states, “We came both for one errant . . . both sought but to sacke & spoile them” (Whitehead 184, qtd. in Montrose 24). Although this confession occurs in the final pages of the *Discoverie*, Raleigh has been struggling with its reality and its suppression throughout his narrative.

The desire “to sacke & spoile” is rooted in the search for gold. Throughout the *Discoverie*, Raleigh presents the possession of gold as a feature of the tribes he encounters

or hears about along Orinoco. As he emphasizes the gold, his reports about and interpretation of the gold's role in local cultures expose further expediency in his report. Raleigh tries to claim that the native peoples do not value gold and have no use for it, whereas his references to its presence and record of its use contradict his claim. Furthermore, his claim has to be balanced by the idea of the "easy pickings" available to future expeditions, and the notion that Guiana has so much gold that the surrounding territories are full of gold that originates in Guiana. These contradictions arise from Raleigh's narrative strategy that aims to promote the success of his expedition. His treaties with native groups create a putative fighting force that will rise to aid the English when they return.

To support his claim to the profusion of gold to be found in Manoa, Raleigh states that

the trade of gold from thence [i.e., Guiana] passeth by branches of its rivers into the river of *Amazones*, and so it doth on every hand farre from the countrey itselfe, for those Indians of *Trenedado* have plates of gold from *Guiana*, those *Canibals* of *Dominica* . . . also the Indians of *Paria* . . . and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from *Paria* thorow the Province of *Vensuello* . . . and the rest . . . have plates of gold of *Guiana*. (Whitehead 145)

Further evidence derives from third hand information based on Spanish experience:

[a Spaniard captured by Captain Preston] told me in the hearing of himselfe and divers other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos* Campmaster at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Guiana*, and that he saw with him fortie of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with golde, feathers garnished with golde, and divers rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* king. (Whitehead 143-44)

He also records of the ritual uses that the groups make of gold; for example, they "decke [the dead chieftain's body] . . . with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his armes, thighes, and legges" (Whitehead 159). This record supports Raleigh's statements about gold being present in artifacts and tombs all along the length of the Orinoco, and the information contributes to his subsequent reference to "graves [that] have not beene opened for gold."¹⁷ Belief in Manoan gold is also based on the

“evidence” from the stories of Johannes Martines, a Spaniard who is supposed to have visited Manoa:

After that *Martynes* had lived 7. moneths in *Manoa* . . . [he] obtainde the favour of *Inga* [i.e., the emperor] to depart, with whom he sent divers Guianans to conduct him to the river of Orenoque all loden with as much gold as they could carrie, which he gave to Martines at his departure: but when he was arrived neere the rivers side, the borderers . . . robbed him and his Guianans of all the treasure . . . save onely of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought.
(Whitehead 140)

The robbery that Martines suffered conveniently removes almost all the evidence for an advanced civilisation along the Orinoco. The certainty of such a place pervades the *Discoverie*, however, encouraged by Spanish tales and the presence of Berreo, who had personally searched for the city and was thought to be about to mount another expedition.

Martines’ tale attributes a desire for gold to native people. It provides a motive for their attack upon him that is readily understood by a European audience. It establishes the native groups as gold owners and supports Raleigh’s references to gold as a feature of life in the area. Another feature of the trade that Raleigh records is the association of gold with a trade in women: “the Lorde of that place was gone . . . upon a journey . . . to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Canibals*” (Whitehead 162). Thus one impression of the native groups of the Orinoco area in the *Discoverie* is that they own gold, seek (and will commit robbery to obtain) gold, and they trade with and for gold. There are no references to gold being regarded as dross by the peoples, or not being valued as a possession, as, for instance, feature in the imagined American world of More’s *Utopia*.¹⁸

Raleigh offers another impression of the native peoples’ interest in gold, however, one that introduces more inconsistency into the *Discoverie* and so reveals more expediency in Raleigh’s narrative strategy. Raleigh’s account of his discussion with Topiawari and Topiawari’s men of the proposed invasion of Guiana by English coalition forces contains the surprising revelation that they have no interest in gold:

Hee [Tupiawari] farther told me that I could not desire so much to invade *Macureguari* [“the first towne of apparelled and rich people” within the borders of Guiana], & the rest of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeilded for a chiefe cause that in the wars with the *Epuremei*, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wives

and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne partes they desired nothing of the gold or treasure, for their labors, but onely to recover women of the *Epuremei* . . . Divers of his followers afterwarde desired me to make hast againe, that they might sacke the *Epuremei*, and I asked them of what? they answered, of their women for us, and their Golde for you: for the hope of many of those women they more desire the warre, then eyther for the Golde, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. (Whitehead 183-84)

The repetition of the information and its multiple sources suggests that it is true. Raleigh presents the native auxiliaries as an outstanding example of the Elizabethan military ideal: a self-financing unit fighting a war that will bring direct and tangible financial benefits to England. While English troops fight for golden rewards, the native warriors will have another, separate goal. Their lack of interest in gold and land makes them ideal allies, almost too good to be true, because Raleigh attracts the English to Guiana through his references to gold and attractive, accessible territory. To further enhance Raleigh's description of the native allies, he says that they will fight to "recover" their women. This suggestion avoids the idea of the native forces indulging in rapine. It adds an almost chivalric motive for their war. They go to rescue their women as part of an English force that travels along "the river of the *Red crosse*" under the command of a leader who insists on the purity of his men's conduct while they serve a puissant virginal queen (Whitehead 157). This reading of Raleigh's planned adventure suggests a high moral tone that evokes the cultural and literary tropes of the English court; it would appeal to readers of *The Fairie Queene* and the adherents of the cult of Elizabeth. The importance of the Queen has been noted already, so this potential interpretation of another aspect of the *Discoverie* supports the idea of Raleigh's narrative strategy being to attract royal approval through which his claim to success would be supported and Raleigh would be justified.

However, as has been shown in the discussion of "English" reports, other interpretations lie within the text. One alternative reading of the material just discussed rejects the notion of chivalry. This alternative reading also depends on the interpretation of "recover." The 1576 usage contains the idea "win back a person to willing obedience." Within this usage is the idea of the loss of willing obedience. The recovery of women by Topiawari's men contains the potential interpretation that the women will be forced back into the men's control. References to raiding and warfare based on the

capture of women – including reports by Topiawari that the alleged Manoans were responsible for raids against his people which suggest revenge as a motive for his enthusiasm to join the English – and the recorded trade in women, dispel the putative chivalry. What emerges instead is another example of men controlling women. The metaphor of violent control through rape is a closing theme of the *Discoverie*. The rape is directed at Guiana – the land and the people. The metaphor is Raleigh’s method of dealing with people who oppose him. He is expanding the suppressed ideas that are present in Harriot’s *Report*. As has been discussed in Chapter Three, the *Report* contains a shrewd assessment of Virginian military potential, including the details of local fortifications and weapons. Harriot reveals “[they have] no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither know they how to make any” (24). Raleigh develops Harriot’s technological summary in relation to Manoa by adding an explicit comment upon its implications when he states, “if [the emperor will not make a treaty] . . . hee hath neyther shotte nor Iron weapon in all his Empyre, and therefore may easely be conquered” (Whitehead 199). Behind this assertion lie memories of the amazing victories of the Spanish in Mexico and Peru; indeed, both Pizarro’s relatively rapid defeat of the Inca and Cortez’ defeat of what appeared to be overwhelmingly superior forces are directly apposite to Raleigh’s argument. Raleigh’s intentions towards the Manoans are brutally clear. They are at the root of the ambiguities and contradictions that have been noted in Raleigh’s references to and descriptions of the indigenous peoples.

What emerges from the *Discoverie* is a surprising outline of an unstated commonality of motive that unites all the people involved, English, Spanish and native American. They all seek to increase their prestige and power through military conquest. The Europeans seeks gold and territory, the native groups seek women. The differences in their outlooks and approaches lie in the expediency with which the groups approach their goals. The English and Spanish in their quest for gold chase rumours, risking death and disgrace in the process. As they do so, they construct and circulate elaborate stories, reports, rumours and legends about themselves, their enemies, and their objectives. The sordid, often horrific details of their actions are concealed behind elaborate facades of motives based on national, moral and religious assertions.

While there are no extant reports made by the native peoples Raleigh encountered, a careful reading of Raleigh's report suggests that they were equally able to pursue their objectives, expediently including the powerful strangers to enhance their own plans. Indeed, if the English had managed to return and join Topiawari's people in a war against the Epuremei, the local peoples would have effectively diverted European power struggles into the promotion of their own polity and used the strangers' resources to achieve their own, separate ends. They would have achieved all this because, despite all the words in the *Discoverie* and the Spanish texts, there are no Manoans, only the local enemies of Topiawari's men. Topiawari tells Raleigh,

in his fathers life time . . . there came down into that large valley of *Guiana*, a nation from so far off as the *Sun* slept . . . and with so great a multitude that they could not be numbred nor resisted . . . and . . . they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epuremei* . . . and had made themselves Lords of all. (Whitehead 173)

Raleigh chooses to interpret this as evidence of the survival of displaced Inca fleeing the Spanish. If the English had joined Topiawari's forces against this group, the despised naked "savages" would have turned the tables on the Europeans and used them as disposable allies in their war. Raleigh's aim in repeating the native allies' assurances about their lack of interest in gold may have been to convince his readers that the alliances with these groups were indeed valuable and contained the potential to yield great profit; but, assuming that the repeated assurances actually happened, it seems likely that Raleigh is in fact recording the manipulation of himself and his readers by the indigenous peoples. So it is possible to perceive that, despite all the "divers and variable" portrayals of the native population, the English and the Spanish, Raleigh is revealing and asserting the common humanity of all concerned through an exposure of their common motivation. That he should do so as part of a complex narrative strategy aimed at justifying himself in his reader's judgement is, on at least one level, both ironic and surprising.

The *Discoverie* is arguably the quintessential Elizabethan travel report concerning the English in America. In it, Raleigh develops the narrative strategies that originated in earlier English reports. He uses expedient arguments throughout the *Discoverie*, adapting the truth to suit his self-justifying purposes. As Raleigh is unable to present any tangible

(i.e., financial) success to satisfy his sponsors, he develops the “English” rhetorical strategy of emphasising the opportunities that he has discovered and promoting the potential successes that his discoveries represent. Part of this strategy requires the reader to recognise the efforts that Raleigh has expended on behalf of his sponsors so that the expedition is appreciated as Raleigh’s “painful pilgrimage.” To achieve this recognition, Raleigh engages the reader’s involvement through his dramatic evocations of dangerous situations that he endured. Consequently, the expedition’s success is redefined through the appreciation of Raleigh’s labours, which, in turn, encourages the reader’s acceptance of the outcomes Raleigh promotes.

Raleigh promotes the allegedly valuable alliances that he made with native groups as the key success of the expedition. As a result of these alliances, he is able to record information about the “Empyre of Guiana” that can be exploited by subsequent expeditions. However, Raleigh’s depictions of his native allies contain ambiguities. These ambiguities arise from Raleigh’s development of “Spanish” elements within the “English” narrative strategies found in earlier reports. In these reports, the desire for the tangible, incontrovertible success and acclaim that would inevitably accompany the discovery of a source of gold affects the depictions of the indigenous peoples. Bound inextricably to Raleigh’s depictions of the local population is his equally ambiguous relationship with the Spanish. Raleigh presents them simultaneously as an example of colonial depravity to avoid at all costs, and a pattern for the colonial success that he wishes to achieve. The series of striking, ambiguous and complex links between Raleigh, the declared enemy of Spain, and the hated Spanish arises from the presence in the *Discoverie* of attitudes that scholars have shown either derive from Spanish accounts or represent the actions and outlooks that English contemporaries attributed to Spanish conquistadors. Hence, most if not all of the expedience in Raleigh’s writing originates in his elaboration of “English” narrative strategies which contain a suppressed but fundamentally ruthless desire for the success that accompanied Spanish discoveries of American gold.

Ultimately, the desire for gold challenges Raleigh’s loyalty to the alliances he makes with the native groups. His disloyalty ironically illustrates that, given the same opportunities, the English would be guilty of the charges laid against the Spanish for their

use of “Indian Golde” which “indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations . . . purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie.” Thus, the *Discoverie* shows that Coke was drawing attention to an essential truth when he accused Raleigh of having “an English face, but a Spanish heart.”

Notes

¹ Even Whitehead appears to have been drawn, albeit fleetingly, into this misapprehension when he uses the phrase: “following his experiences *in* both Virginia and Guiana” (27 n15; emphasis added).

² White’s final report about the Roanoke colony was written to Hakluyt in reply to his request for information (voyage 1590, report dated 1593). See *Roanoke* 598 n6 and 712 n3.

³ As Quinn says, “Raleigh’s expedition has no importance in the history of the exploration of the Orinoco, for his route was well known to the Spaniards” (*Raleigh and the British Empire* 195). However, the emulation of Spanish attitudes, approaches and methods is a hidden agenda within Raleigh’s writing that Quinn seems to appreciate (though he does not explore it) when he adds, “But [Raleigh] had brought English men for the first time into the interior of South America, and had fixed in his own mind . . . the burning desire to emulate the Spanish conquistadores of an earlier generation” (195).

⁴ Modern exploration has revealed that Guiana never did exist as Raleigh conceived it. This knowledge was not available to his contemporaries, however, and more than a few of them seem to have accepted that there was the potential for another Mexico or Peru within the Americas, as my earlier chapters have shown; therefore, references to the borders of Guiana allow for the existence of such a line of demarcation in contemporary thought: “The immediate relevance of the *Discoverie* to the embryonic empires of Europe in America is amply attested by the importance given to the account by [Raleigh’s] contemporaries [T]he *Discoverie* was treated at the time as a source of practical knowledge from the pen of one who had already experience in the colonisation of America, even if aspects of the *Discoverie* were also seen as quite possibly fanciful or even entirely invented” (Whitehead 10).

⁵ Mumford Jones observes, “[t]he association of the New World with unlimited riches is a commonplace in the history of ideas, but until one realizes how immediate, coarse and brutal was the response of European greed to the prospect of boundless wealth, one cannot understand how quickly the radiant image became crossed with streaks of night” (*Brave New World* 40-41).

⁶ These comments owe much to Louis Montrose’s discussion of Raleigh’s attitude to Spanish behaviour and his separation of the English explorers’ behaviour and

outlook from that of their Spanish counterparts in “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery.”

⁷ There was a sand bar across the mouth of the river. The Galley required five feet of water beneath her to float; the bar was located at a depth of six feet. Raleigh was concerned that the Galley would not manage to float above the bar in the conditions he describes. If she had stuck on the bar, the crew would have perished. He has already described problems with the Galley becoming stuck on bars in the river (160). The assistance of the other men was required to refloat the vessel. This assistance could not have been given in the river’s mouth during the storm.

⁸ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* 1906: XVI, 301-08, qtd in Whitehead 48.

⁹ Raleigh’s later references to the climate and fruitfulness of the Orinoco avoid any Golden Age allusions because the attractions of the area are closely associated with its problems, specifically the rising river level and the force of the the current which adversely affect Raleigh’s plans: “but we had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeare, to search those rivers . . . the winter being come uppon us, although the winter & summer as touching cold & heate differ not, neither do the trees ever sencible lose their leaves, but have alwaies fruite either ripe or green, and most of them both blossomes, leaves, ripe fruite, & green at one time: But their winter onelie consisteth of terrible raynes, and overflowings of the rivers, with many great stormes and gusts . . . of which we had our fill, ere we returned” (Whitehead 179).

¹⁰ “The first English version [of *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1542)], entitled *The Spanish Colonie* . . . was made by one ‘M. M. S.’ and printed in London by Thomas Dawson for William Brome in 1583. It was this version that Samuel Purchas use in Part IV of *Purchas his Pilgrime*” (Las Casas xlii). All three books of Montaigne’s *Essais* were published in 1588. Books one and two appeared in 1580. Both these editions were in French. The essays became available in English in 1603 after the publication of Florio’s translation (*Oxford Companion to English Literature* 663). The essays that refer to American natives are “Of the Caniballes” and “Of Coaches.”

¹¹ Examples of discussions of this general idea of social parallels may be found in Greenblatt’s “Invisible Bullets,” Hamlin’s “Imagined Apotheoses,” Kupperman’s *Roanoke and Settling with the Indians*, and Pagden’s *European Encounters with the New World*. It is alluded to in Montrose’s article (21-22).

¹² Campbell also observes: "The love [Raleigh expresses for the landscape] may be annexed to his desire for El Dorado. . . . [The landscape] is the mise-en-scene of his story, and it is the only set of clues available to the maddeningly hidden wealth of his unreachable destination. Thus, as narrative has stood for achievement, and people for objects, the way there must stand in for the destination" (243).

¹³ See Whitehead, 63 ff. for a discussion of Raleigh's indications of native internal divisions.

¹⁴ As Montrose also notes. I accept and echo his thoughts but diverge from the thrust of his argument by revealing the development of the Roanoke texts in the *Discoverie*. The relevance of Montrose's discussion of the role of gender relations within the text is not being called into question; the lines of enquiry cover the same ground but do not share the same trajectory.

¹⁵ Elegy 19 "To His Mistress Going to Bed" 25 - 27. A. J. Smith observes in his notes to his edition of Donne's poetry: "The evidence is that most of Donne's Elegies are early poems, written in the mid-1590s" (415). Quinn records the date of Hakluyt's dedication as 22 February, 1587 (*Roanoke* 513). Montrose's references to contemporary views of the relationship between Raleigh and Elizabeth are significant here. If, as the rumours suggested, the couple were lovers, then Hakluyt's remarks are full of yet more ambiguities than are indicated here.

¹⁶ See also Montrose 29-34.

¹⁷ Whitehead provides a detailed analysis of the native uses for gold in his chapter "The *Discoverie* as Ethnological Text" (60-110).

¹⁸ As is suggested by Campbell's remarks, 211-22.

Concluding Remarks

The voyage reports I have analysed reveal how expedient are the accounts of Elizabethan English expansion in America. All the accounts attempt to reconcile expansionist aspirations and refractory experiences that need to be explained away if the expansionist agenda is to remain convincing. Further common features emerge from a closer consideration of the reports. For instance, all the reporters of Roanoke try to promote the notion that the English are somehow invulnerable in the midst of the native peoples' internecine strife. This claim becomes more strained as the conflicting reports of Harriot and Lane reveal contradictory images of the same colony, yet both authors manage also to foster a sense of English superiority – despite the fact that the English were eventually forced to abandon this site. White's plaintive nostalgia for the "olde friendshippe" between the native group and the English – a relationship founded upon what were by then (and probably always had been) untenable assumptions of English superiority – is the final expression of the idea that Englishmen could survive in America without the acquiescence of the indigenous population.

Another prominent common feature of the reports is that Virginia has the potential to provide great wealth and prosperity for England. It offers all the commodities that England needs to escape the problems raised by tolls, levies, taxes, enemy powers, price increases, long and slow overland journeys, and the predations of bandits and pirates that were perceived to reduce the profits from current trade with the known markets of the Old World. Hakluyt's theories from his *Discourse of Western Planting* find form and expression in the lists of commodities such as Harriot provides. But oils, timber and other such goods are the products of manufacturing processes that require the passing of time before profits will be realised.

Beyond the attractions of mercantile profit from Virginia is the lure of a fabulous city and its associated treasures that promises to parallel Spanish discoveries in American lands. The attractions of such allegedly easy gains outweigh those offered by trade, farming and manufacture. Even Harriot's *Report* finally alludes to conquest and plunder after its lengthy advocacy of other sources of profit. Indeed, as I have shown, a common thread of rapacity based on alleged experience and supported by rumours runs through

the reports and ties them together regardless of the higher aspirations that at first seem to exclude such behaviour. While Raleigh's rapacity is noted by Montrose, Fuller, Campbell, Quinn and others, the rapacity that I have shown to be present in the Roanoke reports is not linked to its later manifestation by such commentators. Similarly, they do not note Harriot's inclusion of information that suggests the forcible conquest of Virginia in a manner that foreshadows Raleigh's more overt references to the implied attitudes and approaches involved in the removal of Guiana's "maydenhede." The reports concerning the attempts to colonise Roanoke have not been analysed together as a body of literature, nor have their influences upon each other and the development of their narrative strategies in Raleigh's *Discoverie* been the main focus of an investigation. These reports contain significant common features, and a hitherto unanalysed intertextuality exists among them. The works of Pagden and Lestringant suggest approaches to the study of this intertextuality, but they do not address these reports. I suggest that Raleigh developed in the *Discoverie* ideas and insights, and the narrative strategies of the reports of Roanoke that he read ten or so years earlier. The *Discoverie* is, therefore, part of a series of colonial reports that depict America from an English viewpoint that develops from these earlier reports. This intertextual development has not been noted previously.

The beginnings of a rapacious English approach to America based on alleged direct experience of the country may be discerned in Barlowe's report which introduces the Roanoke area. Barlowe sets out the attractions of Virginia by revealing the generous behaviour and general trustworthiness of the native peoples. The examples he uses also illustrate the fact that the native groups willingly trade valuable items such as animal pelts for "trifles." Barlowe suggests how future groups could exploit the profit inherent in this situation when he records how he deceived the native traders about his interest in the pearls they offered.

The duplicity with which Barlowe attempts to conceal his true intentions from the native peoples is matched by the duplicity with which he presents the attractions of Virginia to his English readership. Although Barlowe's descriptions suggest that he comprehends Virginia, he is constrained to conceal and suppress information that nevertheless emerges though "seepages" in the text. Situations that are narrated with a striking immediacy become less straightforward as subsequent information challenges

earlier interpretations. An attentive reader becomes aware then of the varying levels of disclosure in the author's descriptions. Such variations produce an unstable picture of Virginia that contains rather more questions than answers. For instance, a notion of innocence and guilelessness is forced upon the indigenous population through references to the Golden Age. However, undercurrents of war and cruelty are never quite expunged from the narrative, and can be contained only by a strict separation of the English from these dangers. Similar ambiguities in European interpretations and presentations of American natives are recognised by Lestringant, Pagden and many others, but their studies do not address the native peoples of Virginia, nor do they discuss the Roanoke reports. The separation of the English from danger is problematic not only in Barlowe's report, but also in the subsequent ones; however, the notion that the English are secure amidst benign, simple, tractable "natural inhabitants" is by and large preserved in the initial reports.

Harriot's ordered and sequenced account of the profit potential of Virginia develops Barlowe's message about an easily controlled land. Nevertheless, suggestions of an alternative reality seep through, this time in the form of Harriot's rejection of the negative rumours that were swirling about the Roanoke project. Furthermore, the two reports about the 1585-86 colony – those of Harriot and Lane – reveal fascinating insights to the clash between the theory and practice of Elizabethan colonialism that has not been analysed previously and which can be recognised in the other reports. An analysis of Harriot's writing enables the reader to discern something of the original complaints made against the colony, and Lane's report of the same colony substantiates the conclusions I draw regarding the expedient elements in Harriot's writing. Indeed, all the features related to the conflict recorded by Lane are part of an unrecorded, obliquely suggested alternative version of Virginia in Harriot's *Report*.

In the final pages of his work, Harriot reveals a further motive behind his references to the native peoples' defences, strengths and weaknesses by alluding to the potential for Virginia to be a new West Indies, not for the Spanish but for the English. My discussion of this feature of his writing reveals the underlying attitudes that finally surface to form a link with the other, avaricious reports of America, such as those condemned by Las Casas. Although Harriot's account may contain many striking features that reveal a

sympathetic and insightful approach to native peoples that is possibly unique for its time, the ending of the *Report* suggests an agenda that has nothing to do with peaceful trade between races and everything to do with the horrors of the trade for “pearls and pepper” that Montaigne excoriates.

Lane’s description of Virginia contains a less suppressed evocation of the exploitative vision of the New World that likewise would have offended Montaigne. Harriot advertises the success of the 1585-86 colony; Lane’s *Account* records the failure of that same group. Lane is no simple reporter, however. He constructs his *Account* to catch the reader’s interest and attention. This aspect of his writing develops the features in Raleigh’s *Discoverie* that Campbell identifies. She does not apply her analysis to the other reports under consideration; rather, her ideas suggest the direction of my analysis but she does not apply her understanding of Raleigh’s narrative techniques to the earlier reports to identify common features. I note that Lane engages the reader through a consciously retrospective view that develops the significance of certain episodes when they recur in the second section of his report. At the core of his writing is a self-justification that allows him to present the abandoning of the colony as an acceptable action in the light of the desperate situations he recounts. Furthermore, by using the need to provide food for the colonists as a justification for many of his actions, Lane inadvertently challenges and dismisses the image of Virginian plenty that Harriot so carefully constructs and publishes.

Unfortunately for Lane, other possible interpretations of his work undermine his confident assertions of potential success. His *Account* reveals a violently expedient English approach to exploration that is prepared to use coercion when requests fail, and which does not stop short of eliminating enemies should the perceived need arise. Lane reports examples of the violence that is only suggested by Harriot’s concluding remarks about Virginia being an English West Indies. In both accounts, the image of Spanish conquistadors comes readily to mind despite the contemporary cultural denials of the association.

White’s reports reveal the reaping of Lane’s whirlwind. The versions of events so awkwardly synthesised in Barlowe, Harriot and Lane at last separate and unravel in White’s *Narrative*. Though he strives to create a sense of English superiority, White’s

report acknowledges that the English in Virginia are neither safe nor invulnerable. He does not project future prosperity as the others do, because he is faced with situations that he is unable to control. The *Narrative* is not an advertisement for Virginia as are the other reports; rather, it is an account of the fortunes of those who have undertaken the colonisation of Virginia as a result of the earlier advertising. White reveals the proof of the inadvertent “seepages” and slippages in the earlier reports. In doing so, he challenges the earlier reports’ assertions and underlines the expedient features that I have identified within them.

White looks to the past to develop his present, and by doing so perpetuates the problems that the earlier explorers encountered. His understanding of native polity is woefully inadequate and dependent upon former perceptions that are clearly no longer tenable. The relationship between native peoples and English that Barlowe establishes, Harriot elaborates, and Lane supports (albeit with some modifications) is completely and specifically overturned in White’s report. His records of English deaths reveal that the idea of innocent indigenous peoples amongst whom the English can dwell freely and safely is mere fiction. The native peoples finally are acknowledged to possess abilities and characters just as sophisticated as the English attributed to themselves in their descriptions of the native peoples’ innocence outwitted by successful English guile. However, while White overturns many of the former ideas and reveals their expedient foundations, he also continues the established feature of English reports by creating an expedient account of his own voyage, in this instance through an inconclusive and biased reporting in which the actions of “the gouernour” remain always above reproach.

Such self-justification is one of the features of the Roanoke reports that Raleigh develops in the *Discoverie*. As Raleigh tries to justify his claim of success in Guiana through the treaties he lists and the future gold he evokes, he develops the same types of narrative strategies of discovery and potential that feature in the Roanoke accounts. He elaborates the self-justification of the English reports, using accounts of friendly contacts and the information he subsequently obtained to support the notion that the expedition has achieved success and offers the chance of future riches despite the absence of immediate wealth for the adventurers.

As in the earlier reports, the efforts required to learn the information are an important feature of the narrative. This feature invites the reader to become involved with the carefully constructed dramatic situations that reveal the efforts of the author on behalf of the adventurers. Consequently, the reader identifies with the explorers and comes to value their achievements. Such involvement deflects the reader's attention from the lack of tangible results, promoting instead the notion of the value of the information that features in the report. I have identified similar redefinitions of success through the promotion of the value of information over immediate wealth in the accounts of Roanoke. The existence of such similarities between the narrative strategies of the Roanoke reports and the *Discoverie* is not surprising when it is remembered that Raleigh found himself in a similar situation to that which had faced his unsuccessful lieutenants. He was familiar with the Roanoke reports because he was the recipient of them and he used them to promote his projected colonisation of Virginia.

A further similarity in the narrative strategies is the problem of the Spanish models that haunts Raleigh's *Discoverie* more openly than the earlier accounts of Roanoke. The problem occurs partly because the alleged discovery of Guiana is compromised by the physical presence of the Spanish ahead of Raleigh as he records his voyage up the river, and partly because the implicitly projected means to acquire gold from the empire of Guiana – violence and rapacity – are those employed by the Spanish. Consequently, Raleigh is revealed to be planning to follow the Spanish example, despite his constant attempts to distinguish his actions from those he attributes to the Spanish.

This attempted distinction becomes less and less convincing as the *Discoverie* progresses. Raleigh struggles to combine an outwardly sensitive approach to the indigenous peoples with a fundamental rapacity driven by gold-lust. His report continuously and inevitably associates the English with models of alleged Spanish violence despite his denials and attempts to separate the actions and outlooks of the two nations: indeed, the combination of conscious duplicity with concealed malice possibly creates a worse model of European predation because the tribes whose rape is planned are first brought to trust and honour their potential violator. Raleigh's deception is discussed at length by Montrose, Fuller, Campbell, and Greenblatt, but they do not associate it with or recognise it in the earlier reports. Instead of discussing the feature as one of Raleigh's

narrative strategies, I have shown that it is an established feature of English reports concerning America. Just as Harriot became familiar with members of the local communities and was able to “discover” their beliefs as well as their strengths and weaknesses to the English reader, so Raleigh gains the confidence of the groups living along the Orinoco and then uses it to “discover” their secrets.

In this context “discovery” becomes a betrayal. But who is betrayed? At one level, the native groups are certainly the targets of Raleigh’s intended betrayal, as his concluding evocation of rape reveals, and there is a similar evocation in the context of the Roanoke reports, as I have shown. Another type of betrayal is the inadvertent and, hence, ironic self-revelation that occurs throughout the reports. The stripping away of the veneer of civilisation, the veneer of spurious concern for and interest in the indigenous population, to reveal the rapacious lust for gold and profit at all costs challenges and ultimately undermines all attempts to distinguish the English from the Spanish in America. Raleigh promotes Englishness as the antithesis of alleged Spanish depravity, but he “protest[s] too much” and the difference between the English and the Spanish is lost. The “Indian Golde” is his goal at all times, and, despite his assertions to the contrary, his objective is to acquire it. The outcome of his voyage obliges him to attempt to reconstruct his actions to prove that the treaties he reports are a resounding success despite his inability to report that he has found gold. But the emulation of Spanish conquest is paramount in his evocation of rape. This evocation reveals the mirror within his text that points to the truth of Coke’s inflammatory quip against Raleigh. Truly the Elizabethan voyages to America reveal an outwardly English face through their lack of success and the promotion of failure by means of reference to the discovery of future potential, but at their heart is a desire and intent to emulate the Spanish successes, with all the associated barbarity that such an emulation implies.

Until now, no extended study has been made of the rhetorical strategies developed to negotiate the contradictions that arise in the reports as a result of their highly equivocal mixture of revelation and concealment, nor has the intertextuality among the accounts of the voyages been explored. All the reports combine to produce a literature that is often more than the sum of its eclectic influences. While some scholarly studies such as those undertaken by Greenblatt, Knapp, and Kupperman, may address specific aspects of

individual Roanoke reports, they do not investigate the language of the group of reports in any detail. More significantly, they do not reflect upon the intertextuality which is my main focus; indeed, my analysis of the inter-relationships among the Roanoke reports and my subsequent suggestions about their development in Raleigh's *Discoverie* are offered here as original contributions to scholarship about Elizabethan English voyage literature.

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