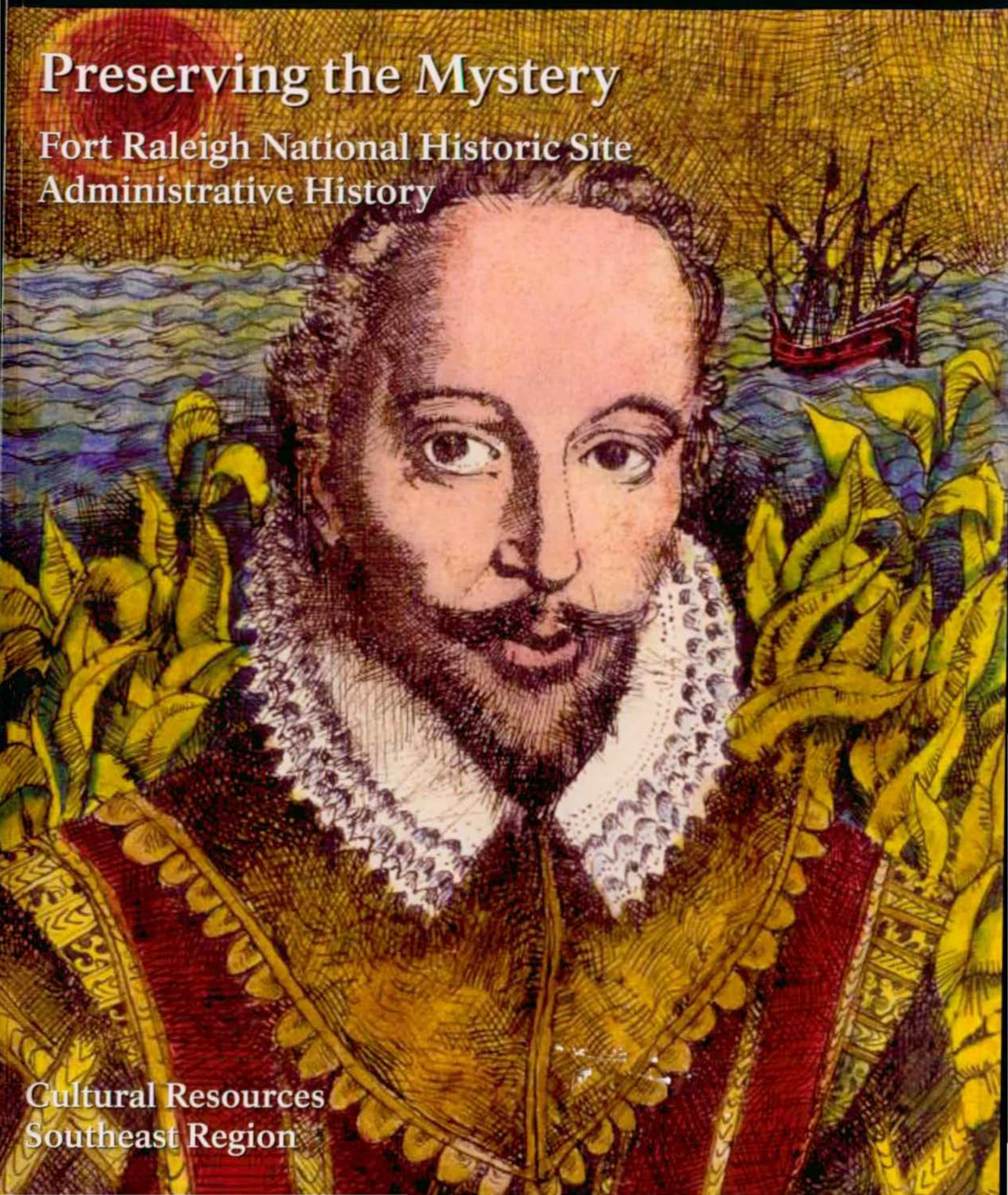
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Fort Raleigh National Historic Site
Manteo, North Carolina

383/D433

Preserving the Mystery

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Administrative History



Cultural Resources
Southeast Region

Preserving the Mystery

An Administrative History of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

November 2003

Written by Cameron Binkley and Steven Davis



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Previous page: An engraved portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, ca. 1580. Negative number 65-42, nd, Harpers Ferry Historic Photographs. Courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center, NPS.

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Superintendent, Fort Raleigh National Historical Site — Date

Concurred by: William D. Schenk 5/22/03
Regional Director, Southeast Region — Date

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of the 1890s and to its successor, the Roanoke Island Historical Association, for preserving the Fort Raleigh area and for making its importance better known to the American people through the production of Paul Green's play.

Conrad Wirth
Director, National Park Service
October 13, 1961

The Waterside Theatre has been on government property since its existence, and Dare County has gotten along just fine with the landlord.

The Coastland Times
December 2, 1986

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1: Negative number 65- 42, no date, Harpers Ferry Historic Photographs. Courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center, NPS.

2: Theodore De Bry engraving of John White watercolor (ca. 1590). Courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center, NPS.

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4: Painting of the Capture of Roanoke Island. Courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC.

5 and 6: Vincent Colyer, *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina* (By the author, 1865).

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this administrative history of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, part of our ongoing effort to provide a comprehensive account of the development of each National Park Service unit in the Southeast Region. The principle author of this narrative is Cameron Binkley, a Historian under the supervision of Chief of History, Robert Blythe. Both serve on the staff of the Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Regional Office (SERO). Historian Steven Davis also worked on the first draft of this history under the supervision of Chief of Planning and Compliance, John Barrett. Both formerly served on the staff of the Cultural Resources Stewardship Division, SERO.

Many other individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. We would particularly like to thank Fort Raleigh NHS resource managers Steve Harrison and Doug Stover. Several additional park staff members reviewed this work, including Angela Brickhouse, Harriet Harrison, Charles Read, and Don Rowe, while other staff members provided useful input or advice as noted in the text. The study is also indebted to Park Service Bureau Historian Janet McDonnell for her helpful comments, advice, and encouragement, and to independent scholar Lebame Houston for her frank and thorough review of an early draft. Christy Trebellas, a former SERO historian, graciously provided consent to allow the adaptation and revision of portions of a published Historic Resource Study on Fort Raleigh NHS that she authored with William Chapman, material that is included in Chapter Two of this report. Georgia State University doctoral candidate, and Cultural Resources intern, Jennifer Dickey also provided insightful comments on the final draft. Finally, we appreciate the consistently reliable and expeditious support of Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, for efforts in obtaining graphic images used in this report.

We hope that this administrative history will prove valuable to park managers and others in understanding the past development of Fort Raleigh NHS. In addition, it should provide important context and background information for future planning at the park.

Daniel Scheidt
Chief, Cultural Resources Division
Southeast Regional Office
May 2003

Introduction

Cultural Resources, Tourism, and the "Organic Act"

In 1916, Congress passed the "Organic Act" that created the National Park Service (NPS). The act provided the basis needed to better manage the nation's already existing and growing assortment of federally protected lands by placing these under the direct supervision of a national bureau. More important, the Organic Act established the essential tenets of faith that have long guided NPS policy. According to the act, the Park Service seeks "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife" within parks and "to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[1]

Over the years, some critics have questioned the commitment of the National Park Service to the standards of the Organic Act. One such critic is Richard West Sellars, an NPS historian, who makes this argument forcefully in his influential study, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*. According to Sellars, the Park Service has failed to manage the natural resources under its care consistent with the standards of ecology revealed through modern science. Instead, he argues, long before the Park Service was formed parks were generally established to preserve the "façade" characteristics of natural landscape beauty. Hence, Congress set aside the reservation of Yellowstone in 1872 not to protect its vaunted geological phenomena, majestic scenery, and abundant wildlife per se, but to facilitate parochial, largely commercial interests. As history records, the Northern Pacific Railroad was constructing a line across southern Montana Territory in the early 1870s. By denying squatters and settlers the opportunity to encroach on Yellowstone's scenery, the Northern Pacific sought to enhance its revenue potential. The railroad could more easily plan depots, establish hotels and other tourist accommodations, strengthen its transportation monopoly, and generally limit competition if federal ownership of the land was maintained. The Northern Pacific thus launched a slick advertising campaign to back local park boosters. It even commissioned the artist Thomas Moran to craft inspiring works that were displayed in Washington, DC, during congressional deliberations on the matter. Congress, already in the habit of handing out large land grants to the railroads to facilitate national development, saw the merit in the novelty of withdrawing land from public use that could then be developed for a new and forthcoming industry: tourism.[2]

Two important ideas can be drawn from Sellars's discussion of the Yellowstone creation story. First, much of the history of the management of nature in the National Park Service is told, as Sellars puts it, in "the persistent tension between national park management for aesthetic purposes and management for ecological purposes."[3] This conclusion has some application to the Park Service's management of cultural resources as well. For example, it is well known that designers of the Blue Ridge Parkway deliberately sacrificed the historical integrity of the cultural landscape along the parkway to contrive a more pleasing, albeit historically misleading, aesthetic appearance for motorists. This unfortunate policy resulted in a viewscape that more closely jibed with then prevalent myths about the bucolic nature of Appalachian Mountain culture than with its historical proto- industrial reality.[4] Yet, despite that and other examples, the Park Service's management of cultural

1. The National Park Service Organic Act (16 U.S.C. l, 2, 3, and 4), August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535).
2. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 4-11. The situation was also exceptional because both Wyoming and Montana were still territories.
3. Ibid., 5.
4. See Phil Noblitt, "The Blue Ridge Parkway and Myths of the Pioneer," *Appalachian Journal,* vol. 21, no. 4 (Summer 1994): 394-409.



FIGURE 1. An engraved portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, ca. 1590

resources has generally fared better than its management of natural resources, when judged against the standards of the Organic Act. The reason is simple. Regardless of whether one defines nature by its aesthetic beauty or by its ecological integrity, it is surely a more complex undertaking to preserve a vast natural landscape than a comparatively small number of historic sites. Moreover, while scholarship has brought change to NPS interpretation of historic sites, has expanded the range of those sites, and improved technical methods of evaluating and maintaining them, cultural resource management has not faced a drastic need to re- engineer its basic tenets. Indeed, in the case of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, the Park Service has made a persistent and concerted effort to protect and interpret the site's historic assets according to high scholarly standards whose basic methodology has changed very little since the park's inception.

The second notion implicit in Sellars's analysis is that national parks are not created out of thin air, by the good grace of Congress or the president alone. Instead, parks require a constituency. When there are enough supporters, which frequently has meant key players with a commercial interest, Congress can be persuaded to legislate on behalf of conservation. Commerce tied to tourism was an essential element needed to create Yellowstone National Park, the world's first national park. That pattern would often be repeated with most, if not all, of the national parks subsequently created, including those established to preserve or commemorate sites associated with significant historic events. The history of the creation and management of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site also illustrates this pattern. Fort Raleigh, in fact, provides a striking example of how local commercial interests merged with those seeking to celebrate the origins of English America through the media of performance art and scholarly interpretation. It strongly indicates how closely parks are linked to the interests of local communities, how park policies and decisions must account for local concerns, and how engaged partners can act on behalf of the park to advance the goals of preservation. It also demonstrates, unfortunately, that tension between park managers and park supporters is perhaps inherent in the nature of their relationship. Unlike the picture presented in *Preserving Nature*, however, the story here is about how the Park Service has successfully managed that tension.

Overview of the Study

Under the sponsorship of Sir Walter Raleigh, English settlers established two colonies on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, in 1585 and 1587, respectively. The colonists from the first settlement returned to England, while the men, women, and children from the second settlement simply disappeared, thus becoming known to history as the "lost colony." Despite initial failure and tragedy, these expeditions fueled and aided future colonization attempts by England, including the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the first permanent English settlement in the New World. Many generations accepted the northern shore of Roanoke Island as the location for the famous "Cittie of Ralegh." The site was thus the focus of various commemorative efforts over the years. In the 1890s, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association (RCMA) was formed to preserve the area. During the 1930s, the State of North Carolina administered the site as a state park and developed a highly conjectural reconstruction of log structures as a New Deal work project. During the same period, local enthusiasts formed the Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA), which took over the preservation

and commemorative work of the RCMA. RIHA's main purpose, however, soon became the production of an outdoor drama, *The Lost Colony*, which began to be held in 1937 at the state park's Waterside Theatre. In 1941, at the urging of RIHA and the state, Fort Raleigh was designated as a national historic site and placed under NPS management, although World War II delayed much activity. During the 1950s, the Park Service embarked upon a major nationwide development program to meet the recreational needs of post- war America. By the early 1960s, this program led to the expansion of Fort Raleigh's boundary and the construction of new facilities. The last period of park growth came in 1990, after boosters backed the acquisition of additional park lands to protect the rural character of northern Roanoke Island and to lessen the financial stress on RIHA, the owner of several tracts of that land. The resulting legislation also expanded the park's interpretive mission. Over the years, Fort Raleigh's managers have focused largely on preserving and recovering the site's archeological data, interpreting the area's history to the public, and managing the park's unique partnership with RIHA. Since 1990, that mission has also included promoting greater understanding of Civil War- era events on Roanoke Island, the history of the island's indigenous inhabitants, and even the area's role in the development of early radio.

Today, the NPS continues to manage Fort Raleigh as a 355.45- acre national historic site. The park is located in Dare County within the Outer Banks region of North Carolina. Every year, tens of thousands of people visit Fort Raleigh to learn about the Raleigh colonies and to attend showings of *The Lost Colony*. To preserve and interpret Fort Raleigh's history, the Park Service maintains a visitor center with a museum, interpretive walking trails, a reconstructed earthwork, and a monument. Archeological research continues to be a high priority.

This study of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site focuses upon its administrative history. Generally, administrative histories present and analyze from inception the management record of an individual organization, in this case a particular unit of the National Park system. Former Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss launched the administrative history program under his tenure during the 1980s to record the history and development of the National Park Service. Today, this document is one of nine baseline research reports required for every park by NPS Director's Order No. 28, *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines*. Park Service administrative histories seek to provide institutional knowledge and historical perspective that staff members and other interested parties need to make informed decisions on current and future policy issues that affect the long- term management of the nation's parks.

This specific administrative history documents how Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was created and later managed by the Park Service. It discusses how NPS managers have sought to accommodate commercial and community interests while maintaining their own basic allegiance to the standards of professional scholarship and the directives of the NPS Organic Act. To manage these often- contending forces successfully, park officials have maintained a patient long- term focus, a willingness both to experiment and to correct missteps, and an understanding of the importance of good communication and the need for negotiation with important stakeholders. Of key concern to all managers at Fort Raleigh has been the park's relationship with Roanoke Island's historical association.

Within this study emphasis is placed upon the years of NPS administration, but a review of the site's historical importance is also included. Chapter One, therefore, provides background on the Raleigh colonies and their significance. Similarly, Chapter Two reviews the settlement and development of Roanoke Island as well as early commemorative efforts undertaken by private groups and the federal government. Chapter Three details the events that led to the acquisition of the fort site as a national park, including its development as a state park, the creation of *The Lost Colony* theatrical production, and the NPS approval process for designating the park as a national historic site. Chapter Four addresses administrative issues at Fort Raleigh since 1941 and includes sections on park planning, development, issues related to reconstructions, land acquisitions, and boundary expansions, including major park expansions in the 1960s and 1990s. Chapter Five examines archeological investigations undertaken at the park as well as the evolving understanding of the site's history based on the findings of these investigations. Chapter Six addresses visitor services, especially the interpretation of the site to the public. Chapter Seven discusses the relationship between the NPS and RIHA under the cooperative agreement concerning the production of *The Lost Colony*. Chapter Eight reviews general preservation and protection policies, including cultural and natural resource management, collections management, law and fire protection, and erosion control efforts. The Conclusion outlines and

summarizes the main findings of this administrative history. In addition, five appendices are provided: a chronology for Fort Raleigh, a section that discusses the origins of the park's name, a list of superintendents, available annual visitation statistics, and copies of relevant federal legislation and orders. Last, a bibliography of sources for further information and an index are included.

Chapter One: The Roanoke Island Colonies, 1578- 1590

European Exploration and Settlement of the New World

Perhaps the first Europeans to explore and settle areas of the New World were the Norsemen of Scandinavia. After settling Iceland and Greenland, Norsemen, under Lief Eriksson, established outposts on the North American continent during the eleventh century, although these settlements were later abandoned. Further European attempts to explore the New World occurred during the Renaissance between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. These later efforts were mainly undertaken by Spain, Portugal, France, and England.[5]

Spain and Portugal spearheaded European exploration and exploitation of the New World. Trying to find a trade route to the Far East, Christopher Columbus undertook four trans- Atlantic voyages for Spain between 1492 and 1506. Other expeditions under the Spanish crown followed, including that of Ponce de León who landed in Florida during 1513. Six years later, Ferdinand Magellan led an expedition through the straight between the South American mainland and Tierra del Fuego and across the Pacific Ocean. After Magellan's death in the Philippines, the expedition continued under Juan Sebastián del Cano and became the first successful attempt to circumnavigate the globe. Meanwhile, between 1500 and 1502, several Portuguese expeditions reached the New World under Pedro Alvares Cabral, Gongalo Coelho, and others. These voyages to the South American mainland formed the basis for Portugal's claim to Brazil.

The first European effort to establish a settlement in an area now belonging to the United States came in 1526 when Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón founded San Miguel de Guadalupe on the coast of South Carolina. This Spanish effort subsequently failed after Ayllón's death. By then, in the name of Catholicism, other Spanish expeditions under Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Hernando Cortés, and Francisco Pizarro had conquered Central and South America, annihilating the Aztec and Inca Empires. Setting out from Cuba in 1539, Hernando de Soto led an interior expedition after landing on Florida's West Coast that reached as far as the Mississippi River. By 1565, Spain had even established an outpost at Saint Augustine in Florida, the oldest permanent European settlement in the United States. Meanwhile, Portugal entrenched itself in Brazil and initiated the slave trade to supply labor to its own and Spain's colonies. By the middle of the sixteenth century, these two nations had achieved unchallenged dominion over Central and South America. Spain had even made efforts to extend that dominion into North America, which still remained largely unsettled by Europeans.

France and England were not immediately prepared to participate in the great project of New World discovery for a variety of reasons. Most important, Spain and Portugal had recently completed the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Islamic Moors. The reconquest provided experience in the domination of culturally different peoples, fueled the growth of those institutions needed for empire- building, and generated commercial opportunities that spurred on naval innovation. These factors proved crucial to the discovery and conquest of Central and South America. Once established in these regions of mild climate, comparatively well- developed native societies, and plentiful resources, Spain had little interest in North America. However, Northern Europeans – fiercely competitive, commercially driven, and greatly inspired by the Iberian example – developed similar skills and

5. The perspective of this section is based upon a reading of D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, 1492-1800*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).



FIGURE 2. Map of Roanoke and surrounding islands by John White, ca. 1585

sea- faring capabilities. Hence, between 1496 and 1498, John Cabot led several expeditions to the New World for England, including the first English landing there in Canada during 1497.

French exploration of lands later to belong to the United States began in 1524 with the arrival of Giovanni da Verrazano. Verrazano explored the coast from Cape Fear in North Carolina to the Hudson River in New York. A decade later, Jacques Cartier made two expeditions to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the Saint Lawrence River. France attempted two settlements between 1562 and 1564—Charlesfort under Jean Ribaut in South Carolina and Fort Caroline under René de Laudonnière in Florida. The first settlement was later abandoned, while the second was destroyed during a Spanish raid. France would continue to expand its presence in North America, and to compete with England until decisively beaten during the French and Indian War. Until then, French attention was largely focused on the fur trade in Canada. The rise of English naval supremacy, marked by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and England's experience in the unification of the British Isles, provided the basis to support an English presence in the New World, especially in areas where Spanish power was weak. In the beginning, however, English presence was tenuous, as evidenced by the colonies on Roanoke Island.

The First English Effort to Colonize Roanoke Island, 1578-1586

At the urging of English Secretary of State Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth supported the initiation of English settlement in the New World to challenge Spanish domination. Francis Drake, Humphrey Gilbert, Richard Grenville, Walter Raleigh, and other seamen engaged in raids against Spanish shipping and settlement. In 1578, Elizabeth granted Gilbert a charter to settle unclaimed areas of the New World. He subsequently mounted three expeditions, including an unsuccessful 1579 voyage, a 1580 exploration of the New England coast, and a 1583 expedition to Newfoundland that ended with Gilbert's death at sea. With the charter about to expire, Elizabeth issued a second charter in 1584 to Raleigh, Gilbert's half brother.[6]



FIGURE 3. A typical Native American village in the Carolinas, ca. 1590

Soon after receiving the charter, Raleigh sent out two small ships to explore the North American coast. Led by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, they arrived in the Outer Banks area of what is today North Carolina in July 1584. The banks are a series of narrow barrier reefs that jut into the Atlantic and stretch nearly the entire length of the modern state of North Carolina. They enclose wide shallow sounds between themselves and the mainland but are broken occasionally by inlets opening to the Atlantic Ocean. The presence of shoals, or submerged sandbars that rise near the surface, makes the area particularly dangerous to mariners. Nevertheless, Raleigh's men were seeking a place with some protection from the Spanish. They explored the region because the Banks seemed to provide some protection from Spanish warships, which could not easily sail in the shallow waters. They landed upon Roanoke Island, which straddles Albemarle Sound between Bodie Island and the mainland, and gathered various resource specimens. In addition, the expedition visited and traded with the Roanoke Indians at a village on the northern end of the island. The Indians received the Englishmen with much hospitality, perhaps hoping that they could assist the village in its dispute against another local tribe. Upon leaving Roanoke Island, Amadas and Barlowe took two members of the village, Manteo and Wanchese, along with them.[7] After a visiting the Chesapeake Bay area, the expedition returned to England with information to assist in future settlement efforts.[8]

In April 1585, Raleigh sent out another expedition consisting of six or seven ships and some six hundred men with the intention of establishing a settlement on Roanoke Island. Led by Grenville, this force included Captain Ralph Lane, artist John White, scientist Thomas Hariot, metallurgist Joachim Gans, Manteo, and Wanchese. The fleet became separated during the passage across the Atlantic. Grenville stopped at Muskito Bay in Puerto Rico to await the lagging ships and build a small vessel to replace one lost during a storm. While there, Lane oversaw the building of an earthen fortification. After leaving Muskito Bay, he went to Cape Rojo in Puerto Rico to gather salt. As with the Muskito Bay excursion, Lane oversaw the construction of another earthen fort to protect the salt operation. At that time, disputes between Lane and Grenville emerged that would later impact the expedition. By August, after four months of travel, the fleet was at anchor off the Outer Banks and had begun to transfer settlers and their supplies to Roanoke Island.[9]

Once on Roanoke Island, Grenville established a fortified settlement. There were no women or children, and the primary purpose of the colony was to explore the area and search for gold. In addition to a variety of structures built as part of the settlement, the colonists constructed one or more earthen fortifications and also a peculiar structure later identified by archeologist Ivor N. Hume as a "science center."[10] Within a month of his arrival on Roanoke Island, Grenville returned to England to gather supplies, leaving 107 men at the settlement under Lane's command. Grenville planned

6. David N. Durant, *Ralegh's Lost Colony* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), 3-11; David Stick, *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 27-35.
7. Manteo was a member of the Croatoan tribe, while Wanchese was a member of the Roanoke tribe.
8. Durant, 11-20; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 36-52; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, Publishers, 1984), 74-75; For an excellent recent account of the Raleigh expeditions, that also discusses associated archeological research, see Ivor Noel Hume, *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoke to Jamestown: An Archeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).
9. Durant, 21-57; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 60-117.
10. Ivor Noel Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," *Colonial Williamsburg*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Spring 1994): reprint.

to return during the following spring. With the settlement established, the colonists began exploring the surrounding areas. Most especially, Hariot and metallurgist Joachim Gans used their field laboratory to assay a variety of local plant and mineral samples. John White also documented the many nearby indigenous people through his artwork, although he may have completed this task prior to Grenville's departure on August 25, 1585.[11]

The situation at Lane's colony grew increasingly bleak as time passed. A series of incidents led to a deterioration of relations between the colonists and the native inhabitants. Fearing an attack, Lane led an assault on *Dasamonquepeuc*, an important Native American village on the mainland near present day Manns Harbor. Among those killed in the attack was King Wingina, an important Indian leader. To make matters worse, Grenville had not returned as expected in the spring. The colonists' situation appeared desperate when a large English fleet under Sir Francis Drake arrived after attacking the Spanish settlement at Saint Augustine. Drake gave Lane two options. Lane could accept a small bark (a ship of seventy tons) and a few small vessels from Drake's fleet, stay on Roanoke Island for another month to await Grenville, and then return to England if necessary. Or, Lane and the colonists could return to England with Drake. Lane decided to accept Drake's first offer, which would have allowed him to continue to explore the coastline farther north for a more suitable colonization site. Unfortunately, a hurricane struck the Outer Banks scattering Drake's fleet and forcing several vessels to put out to sea, including the bark Drake had earmarked for the colonists. Consequently, the colonists decided to return to England on board Drake's remaining vessels. With the exception of three men inadvertently left behind, the first English colony on Roanoke Island was abandoned between June 18 and 19, 1586.[12]

A short time after Lane departed with Drake, a relief vessel, sent by Raleigh, arrived off the Outer Banks. Finding no colony, the ship, with all of its supplies, returned to England. Grenville's relief fleet finally reached Roanoke Island no more than a few weeks after the colonists had departed with Drake. Grenville learned the fate of the colony from several captured Indians, who apparently failed to impress upon him how Lane's activities had incited local native hostility. Unwilling to abandon the settlement site, Grenville decided to leave some fifteen men stationed on Roanoke Island. He then returned to England, hoping to catch and loot Spanish galleons en route. Seeking retaliation for *Dasamonquepeuc*, the Roanoke Indians attacked the small force, killed at least one, and drove the rest from Roanoke Island. The ultimate fate of these Englishmen remains a mystery.[13]

The Second English Effort to Colonize Roanoke Island, 1587-1590

Raleigh's plan for the second colony was radically different than the first colony plan. The second settlement was to be more than a military outpost. It included women and children. White was chosen to be governor of the colony, officially named the "Cittie of Ralegh." The plan was to establish the second colony in the Chesapeake Bay area after checking on the fifteen men that Grenville had left on Roanoke Island the previous year. The expedition reached the Outer Banks in July 1587, but was unable to locate the men. Then, extraordinarily, the crews of the ships refused to go farther and insisted that the colonists would have to settle on Roanoke Island. White acquiesced, despite being in charge of the expedition and fully aware of the deteriorated state of relations with the local Indians caused by Lane.[14]

With no choice but to stay on Roanoke Island, the colonists began repairing the buildings from the previous settlement as well as erecting new ones. As a reward for Manteo's faithful service to the colonists, he was christened into the Church of England and named "Lord of Roanoke and *Dasamonquepeuc*" on August 13. Five days later, White's daughter gave birth to Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the New World. The christenings of Manteo and Virginia Dare are believed to be the first such Protestant rites recorded in North America.[15]

As the settlers went about reestablishing the Roanoke Island colony, "some controversies" ensued. A decision was made that White should return to England to represent the colony and to obtain additional supplies,

11. Ibid.; Durant, 58-76.
12. Durant, 77-95; Hume, *The Virginia Adventure,* 50-51; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 131-148.
13. Durant, 95-100; Hume, *The Virginia Adventure,* 56; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO.
14. Durant, 103-114; Hume, *The Virginia Adventure,* 59-60; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 152-176.
15. Durant, 115-122; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 177-180.

perhaps to bolster the colony in the face of uncertain relations with the natives or to facilitate the colony's relocation to the Chesapeake Bay area. For whatever reason, White was reluctant to leave his goods and family. Some scholars speculate that White's weak and vacillating leadership played a role in the colonists' decision to send him back to England where his connections would do them the most good and his deficient judgment the least harm. Before leaving the colonists, White gave instructions concerning any potential abandonment of the settlement. It was agreed that if the colonists left the site, they would leave a message on a tree with their intended destination. If the relocation was caused by hostilities with local natives or Spaniards, the message was to include a Maltese cross as a sign of distress. With the departure of White in the fall of 1587, a total of 116 settlers remained on Roanoke Island.[16]

On April 22, 1588, White and a small group of settlers managed to gain passage on board a privateering vessel that agreed to transport them back to Roanoke Island. A month later, however, the ships aborted the voyage, having been bested in a foray at sea, and forced to limp back to England. In the combat, White himself was wounded. White recovered from that misadventure, but his plans to return to Roanoke Island were even further deferred by growing tension between England and Spain. The latter began assembling a large fleet to launch an invasion of England. Since all English ships were ordered to aid the country's defense, and White's sponsors, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville, were occupied assisting the queen, White was unable to mount a relief expedition to Roanoke Island until after a decisive victory over the Spanish Armada in August 1588. Further delays postponed his efforts until March 1590 when, with Raleigh's assistance, White finally obtained private passage with a small fleet whose main purpose was once again privateering. This fleet, however, did reach the Outer Banks during the late summer.[17]

On August 18, 1590, three years since the birth of Virginia Dare, White led a small group of men to the settlement site. Before entering the abandoned village, White discovered a tree with the letters "CRO" inscribed on it. At the settlement, the group discovered that a palisade had been erected around the site. The surrounding houses, in John White's words were "taken down," suggesting a planned movement by the colonists from the site. Thereafter, local tribes had also apparently salvaged items from the settlement. Finally, a palisade post had been inscribed with the letters "CROATOAN." Neither of the two messages included a Maltese cross, the agreed upon sign of distress. Still, White prudently wanted to travel to Croatan Island near Cape Hatteras to search for the colonists, but most of the ship commanders and crews refused, having no monetary incentive and fearing increasingly poor weather conditions. One vessel did attempt to reach Hatteras, but bad weather repeatedly intervened and the ship returned to England without any answers about the fate of the "lost colony" on Roanoke Island.[18]

The Mystery and Significance of the Lost Colony

The disappearance of Raleigh's second colony was the beginning of a mystery that has remained unsolved for more than four centuries. Available records for both of Raleigh's colonies are limited, and there are no known records concerning the second colony after White's departure. Historians remain unable to answer the key question—what happened to the colony between August 1587 and August 1590?

During the early seventeenth century, the lost colonists' contemporaries attempted to solve the mystery with search efforts. In 1602, Raleigh sponsored an expedition in search of the lost colony. Led by Samuel Mace, the mission reached the Cape Fear region off North Carolina's coast, but did not search the Outer Banks because of poor weather conditions. After the founding of Jamestown in 1607, several attempts were made to locate the lost colonists, but none were successful.[19]

Various theories have been advanced to explain the fate of the lost colony. The Spaniards may have eliminated the colony, as was the case earlier with the French settlement at Fort Caroline. Native Americans may have attacked the settlement, perhaps in response to previous hostilities with the colonists. The settlers may have moved to another island or farther inland from the

16. Durant, 122-125; Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, 65-66; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 180-186; David Beers Quinn, *Set Faire for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 278-294.
17. Durant, 126-147; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 187-209; David Beers Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. II, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 580.
18. Durant, 147-153; Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages, vols. 1 and II, 470, 593-596;* Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 209-214.
19. Durant, 154-164; Stick, *Roanoke Island*, 213-224.

coast. The colonists may have been assimilated into friendly tribes. Or the answer may be a combination of one or more of the above theories. Though the fate of the lost colony will probably never be known, recent scholarship has tended to discredit the theory of a Spanish attack in favor of a combination of the other theories. The most widely supported theory is that some colonists may have survived for a number of years through assimilation with indigenous groups.[20]

Despite the mystery of the lost colony, Raleigh's two settlements on Roanoke Island played an important role in European colonization of North America. The colonies were the first English settlements beyond the British Isles with the first recorded birth of an English child and probably the first Protestant christenings in the New World. Raleigh's colonies provided valuable lessons for the Jamestown settlement established in 1607. Like Raleigh's second colony, Jamestown was a private business venture that included entire families. Furthermore, Captain John Smith and other leaders of Jamestown relied on information from the Roanoke Island settlers. For example, Richard Hakluyt, a contemporary English historian, published accounts by Barlowe, Lane, and White. In addition, Hariot had amassed significant information on the resources of the Outer Banks region. In short, even in failure, the Roanoke colonies helped fuel England's interest in colonization, later resulting in the establishment of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in North America.

20. Hume, *The Virginia Adventure, 71-72, 95, 190-191*; Stick, *Roanoke Island,* 237-246.

Chapter Two: Settlement, Development, and Commemoration on Roanoke Island, ca. 1606- 1931

The Settlement of Roanoke Island, ca. 1606-1860

On April 20, 1606, the Virginia Company received a charter granting it land in North America from Cape Fear, North Carolina, to Bangor, Maine.[21] The company established a permanent colony in Jamestown in 1607, and shortly thereafter expeditions began to explore the land to the south.[22] Although Roanoke Island remained inhabited by the Roanoke Indians for some time, by the mid- seventeenth century, colonists began to occupy these previously "unsettled" areas of Virginia. In 1654, Francis Yeardley of Virginia arranged with "the great emperor of Rhoanoke [sic]" for the native population to move inland and allow English colonists to inhabit the coastal area.[23] A number of Virginians then migrated south, establishing homesteads and raising cattle and tobacco.

In 1663, King Charles II issued the Carolina Charter, forming a new province out of land south of the more settled areas of Virginia. The new province was named Carolina. Eight men, who had helped Charles II gain the throne of England three years prior, were named to serve as Lords Proprietors of Carolina. With an amendment to the charter made in 1665, they were authorized to colonize a vast area extending from the Virginia- North Carolina border into Spanish Florida north of Cape Canaveral.[24] Shortly thereafter, the Lords Proprietors began making their own land grants along the coast of present- day North Carolina. For example, in 1669 Samuel Stephen, governor of Carolina, received a land grant to Roanoke Island and began raising cattle on the island.[25]

Since Roanoke Inlet was the main port of entry to the Albemarle Sound area at the time, most vessels traveling to and from Albemarle passed the northern end of Roanoke Island. Consequently, in 1676, the Lords Proprietors ordered their Carolina representatives to establish the principal town of the colony on Roanoke Island. Although no town was built at this time, traffic through the inlet continued to increase, and greater numbers of permanent settlers began to appear. These early settlers consisted of pilots and boatmen, who guided vessels through the ever- changing inlets and sounds, and stockmen, who were attracted to the area since the islands required no fencing for their cattle, hogs, and sheep.[26]

Although settlers from Virginia inhabited the area, early ownership of the island passed among only a few families. Upon Governor Stephen's death in 1670, the island passed to his widow, who later married Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia and one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. In 1676 the Berkeleys sold the island to Joshua Lamb, a New England

21. Sections of this chapter are adapted with permission from: Christine Trebellas and William Chapman, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1999), Chapter Two, 31-57.
22. Lefler, Hugh T. and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina-A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 29.
23. Quoted in David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 314.
24. David Stick, *Dare County: A History* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), 8-9; William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 53-55.
25. Stick, *Dare County*, 9.
26. Ibid., 10; Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 18-24.

merchant, for 100 pounds. One year later, Lamb sold a half interest in the island to Nicholas Paige of Boston for 150 pounds, and later sold a quarter interest in the island to George Patridge [Pordage]. Many of these absentee landowners hired settler families to tend their livestock on the island. For example, George Pordage employed a caretaker to manage his cattle interests on the island, while a William Daniels looked after Dr. Belcher Noyes's livestock.[27]

The Lords Proprietors of Carolina continued to recommend that the inhabitants of Roanoke Island build a port town. However, efforts in 1715 and 1723 to establish a harbor both failed, due in part to the changing landscape.[28] By 1700, the Roanoke Inlet had begun to shoal badly, and it was difficult to find a sufficiently deep channel for boat traffic. Ocean currents continued to change so that by 1730, there was not a direct, reliable outlet through the Outer Banks from Roanoke Island. The inlet finally closed altogether sometime between 1780 and 1810. With the Roanoke Inlet gone, there was no need to establish a port town on the Roanoke Island, and no real town was established there until the late nineteenth century.[29]

The last decades of the colonial period also marked the demise of the area's indigenous population. In 1711 and 1713, mainland Indians, possibly remnants of the former Roanoke Indians, attacked the settlers on Roanoke Island. The colonists then launched devastating retaliatory assaults. Disease further reduced the number of remaining Indians, so that by the 1770s, the area's indigenous population had virtually disappeared.[30]

Life on Roanoke Island during the Revolutionary War (1775- 1783) remained relatively peaceful. Although the British conducted foraging raids for livestock and other provisions, there were no major land or naval battles in the area during the war. In addition, the British forays caused no noticeable reduction in the number of cattle, sheep, or hogs on Roanoke Island.[31] However, significant changes did occur on the island after the Revolutionary War. Land previously owned by the British government and its representatives reverted to the state of North Carolina, and any citizen of the state could apply for a land grant for these properties. In addition, many large property owners began to sell small parcels of land to people who were moving to or had already settled in the area.[32] Land on the northern end of Roanoke Island was parceled out to many families, none of whom had clear title to their property. Consequently, it became standard for a landowner to obtain a new grant from the state for the tract that his family occupied. Many families living on Roanoke Island in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries filed for deeds or land grants.[33]

In the early to mid- nineteenth century, the inhabitants of Roanoke Island, like those of the rest of the Outer Banks, continued to maintain a degree of self-sufficiency. Although most considered themselves farmers or planters, island residents developed other skills necessary to survive in the isolated area. By 1850, Roanoke Island's total population was only 610, with a little more than 140 slaves.[34]

The Civil War: Battling for Roanoke Island, 1860-1862

Both Union and Confederate leaders quickly realized the military importance of Roanoke Island, for control of the Outer Banks and Roanoke Island meant command of the sounds and, thus, coastal North Carolina. Shortly after the Civil War began, Confederate forces strengthened their defenses on the Outer Banks by building two earthen fortifications to secure the Hatteras Inlet. These two forts, Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark, consisted of sand sheathed with two- inch thick planks covered with a layer of marsh grass and earth. A smaller fortification, Fort Oregon, was built along the south side of the Oregon Inlet while Fort Ocracoke (Fort Morgan) was erected just inside the Ocracoke Inlet on Beacon Island.[35] Several detachments of North Carolina troops were then sent to the Oregon, Ocracoke, and

27. Stick, *Dare County*, 10-1; Powell, *Colonial North Carolina*, 19.
28. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina*, 22.
29. Stick, *Dare County*, 12-3; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 9.
30. Stick, *Dare County*, 13-14.
31. Ibid., 14-6.
32. Ibid., 16-7. Such accommodation was to the landowner's advantage, for squatter's rights allowed settlers to establish claims to the property that they inhabited.
33. Ibid., 17; Powell, *Colonial North Carolina*, 21-5. For example, Thomas A. Dough, whose family lived on the north end of Roanoke Island since the early nineteenth century, entered a claim for 240 acres of land along the Croatan Sound that his family occupied. Other people living on Roanoke Island at this time included members of the Pain, Daniels, Mann, Nash, Etheridge, and Baum families.
34. Stick, *Dare County*, 20.

Hatteras Inlets to defend these positions. However, because Confederate priorities were elsewhere, only 350 soldiers manned Fort Hatteras, while 230 men were distributed among Forts Clark, Oregon, and Ocracoke. Later, a reinforcement of 365 men was sent to help defend Fort Hatteras.[36]

In the fall of 1861, Union forces organized a joint Army-Navy campaign to cut off Confederate supply routes from the sounds to the interior and to end privateering raids on Union vessels in the area. With a combined force of 880 men, Major General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the army troops, and Commodore Silas H. Strigham, in charge of the naval forces, set sail for Cape Hatteras on August 26, 1861. Shortly thereafter, the fleet arrived off Hatteras Inlet and began bombarding Forts Hatteras and Clark. About 350 Union troops landed on the Outer Banks approximately three miles northeast of Fort Clark, marched down the bank, and took control of the fort after Confederate forces had abandoned it. A few days later, on August 29, Fort Hatteras surrendered. More than seven hundred Confederate troops were captured along with twenty-five pieces of artillery, a thousand arms, and a large amount of ordnance stores.[37] Instead of following his initial orders and sinking vessels to block the inlet, Butler received permission to occupy the two forts and maintain his position on the Outer Banks. Butler and other military leaders saw this as a way to obtain control of the area surrounding the sound as well as a large portion of the state.[38]

Consequently, Confederate forces, anticipating an attack on Roanoke Island after the fall of Hatteras Inlet, began fortifying the island. They created an artificial bottleneck near the northern end of the Croatan Sound by driving pilings across the sound and sinking old vessels filled with sand. A battery, Fort Forrest, was created at the western end of the bottleneck by sinking an old canal boat and mounting eight guns on its deck. The object of this obstruction and battery was to drive Union vessels passing along the west side of the island closer to the shore batteries on Roanoke Island.[39]

To fortify the area further, Confederate troops from North Carolina and Georgia, reinforced by members of Wise's Legion from Virginia, constructed three forts on the northern end of Roanoke Island overlooking the Croatan Sound. Fort Huger, the northernmost defense on the island, was slightly north of the line of pilings and sunken vessels on the west side of Roanoke Island.[40] It consisted of a turfed sand fort running along the coast and contained twelve guns: eight thirty- two- pounder guns, two rifled thirty- two- pounders, and two small thirty- two pounders on the right. A low breastwork with a banquette for the infantry enclosed the rear of the fort. Located twelve hundred yards south of Fort Huger, Fort Blanchard consisted of a semicircular, turfed sand fortification with four thirty- two- pounder guns. Fort Bartow, the southernmost defense on the west side of the island, was approximately two and- a- half miles south of Fort Blanchard. Like the others, it consisted of a sand fort covered with turf. Fort Bartow also contained six thirty- two- pounder guns and three thirty- two-pounders.[41]

In addition to these defenses, Confederate forces built two smaller fortifications. To defend the island from an attack from the east, Confederate troops erected a small battery of two thirty- two- pounder guns. Located approximately three miles below Fort Bartow on the east side of Roanoke Island at Midgett's Hammock, the battery stood just below Ballast Point on the south side of Shallowbag Bay.[42] Fort Russell, a redoubt or breastwork built in the center of the island, was approximately two miles from Fort Bartow and one mile from Midgett's Hammock. Erected across the road which connected the north end of the island with the south, the fort was approximately seventy or eighty feet long and had embrasures for three guns. It faced south, stretching from the marsh on its east to the swamp on its west.[43]

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35. Ibid., 20-1; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 118-9.
36. Louis Torres, *Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore* (Denver: National Park Service, 1985), 101.
37. Ibid., 101-2; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 121-7.
38. Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 128-9; Torres, 102.
39. Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, Roanoke Island Investigation Committee, Report of the Roanoke Island Investigation Committee (Richmond: Enquirer Book and Job Press, Tyler, Wise, Allegre & Smith, 1862; reprint, Louisville: Lost Cause Press, 1972, text-fiche), 4 (page references are to original edition); Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 137.
40. Stick, *Dare County*, 22-3; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 137.
41. Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, 1862, 4; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 137.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.

Meanwhile, several months after the capture of Hatteras Inlet, Union forces began gathering another fleet for an attack on Roanoke Island. Brigadier General Ambrose Burnside, commander of the Union forces, assembled a fleet of light- draft steamers, sailing vessels, and barges. He strengthened the vessels, supplied them with guns, and then outfitted them with men from the northern seacoast, assuming that these men would be familiar with the coasting trade. On January 9, 1862, the Burnside Expedition, another joint Army- Navy campaign that consisted of more than eighty vessels and approximately thirteen thousand men, assembled in Annapolis and set sail.[44]

After nearly a month at sea, Federal vessels arrived off Roanoke Island and began firing on the Confederate defenses on February 10, 1862. Later that evening, Federal troops landed at Ashby's Harbor (north of present- day Wanchese) on the west side of Roanoke Island. The following day, February 11, a force of 7,500 Union troops marched up the road in the center of the island for a frontal assault on Fort Russell, a redoubt with three field pieces erected to defend the road.[45] Burnside then divided his troops into three divisions: five regiments under the command of Brigadier General John G. Foster advanced along the exposed road, supported from the rear by six field howitzers. Four regiments of Union troops under Brigadier General Jesse L. Reno left the main force to assault the fort on the left, while four regiments under Brigadier General John C. Parke made a similar approach through the marshes on the right. The outnumbered Confederate forces defending the fort were eventually outflanked and overwhelmed by the Union troops. They abandoned the redoubt and retreated toward the north end of the island.[46]

After the fall of Fort Russell, Colonel H. M. Shaw, commander of the Confederate troops on Roanoke Island, quickly understood their desperate situation. Having been informed that the land defenses had been forced and the position of the forts turned, he ordered



FIGURE 4. The capture of Roanoke Island by Union forces, February 1862

Forts Bartow, Blanchard, and Huger abandoned, their guns disabled, and their ammunition destroyed; their troops retreated to Camp Raleigh, the large Confederate encampment on the north end of Roanoke Island. No transports were available to evacuate the Confederate troops, and Shaw saw no other option than to surrender.[47] A few Confederate soldiers escaped in small boats, but Union forces captured 2,675 officers and men.[48]

With the fall of Roanoke Island, a large portion of eastern North Carolina was now open to Union attack. With the capture of Elizabeth City in February of 1862, and New Bern in March, both on the mainland, the Union had complete control of the sounds, as well as a substantial portion of eastern North Carolina. They were able to maintain and use this position to their advantage throughout the rest of the Civil War.[49]

In addition to capturing almost three thousand prisoners, several forts, provisions, and a large number of weapons, Union forces also secured the Confederate camps on the north end of Roanoke Island.[50] These compounds were then renamed after Union military leaders (Camp Foster/Camp Reno) and occupied by their troops. Several Union soldiers described the former Confederate quarters as being newly built,

44. Stick, *Dare County*, 23-5; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 138-9; See also Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative, vol. 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958, renewed 1986), 227-30.
45. Stick, *Dare County*, 25.
46. Ibid.; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 146-7.
47. Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives 1862, 7.
48. Stick, *Dare County*, 25; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 147-8.
49. Dunbar, 43.
50. Augustus Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps* (Providence, RI: Sidney S. Rider & Brother, 1867), 45. According to Burnside's report, Union troops seized a variety of buildings and equipment. The fruits of this splendid achievement, besides the prisoners captured, were "five forts, mounting thirty-two guns, winter quarters for some four thousand troops, three thousand stand of small arms, large hospital buildings, with a large amount of lumber, wheel barrows, scows, pile drivers, a mud dredge, ladders, and various other appurtenances for military service."

comfortable, and large enough to accommodate almost all of the conquering Union troops.[51]

While Federal forces held Roanoke Island, they instituted several programs and provided services to help their troops deal with the boredom of military camp life. A reading- room, post office, and theater, which could accommodate five hundred people, were established. Several clubs were organized as well, including baseball teams, a debating club, and a theater troupe. In addition, some companies even erected gymnastic equipment and held competitions or matches to entertain fellow soldiers.[52]

The Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island, 1862-1866

After Union troops captured Roanoke Island, many slaves on the island and from the surrounding area sought refuge on the island in an attempt to gain their freedom. Before the fall of Roanoke Island, Confederate forces sent a large number of slaves (and possibly some freedmen) to build the earthworks adjacent to the Oregon Inlet.[53] Soon after the battle, the first group of slaves in the vicinity arrived, consisting of fifteen or twenty men, women, and children who escaped down the Chowan River. Many others followed shortly thereafter, and, on March 30, 1862, General Burnside appointed Vincent Colyer as the regional Superintendent of the Poor to look after the indigent families and freedmen in the area. [54]



FIGURE 5. Freedmen building fortifications during the Civil War, 1865

Union soldiers at Camp Foster hired the first freedmen that came to Roanoke Island as porters, cooks, and servants. Colonel Rush Hawkins, commander of the Ninth New York Volunteers, which occupied the island after the battle, set the standard wages. Men were paid ten dollars a month, clothes, and rations. Women and children, who washed, ironed, and cooked for the troops, received only four dollars a month, clothes, and rations. Provisions included pork or bacon, 16 oz. of flour and soft bread twice a week or 12 oz. of hard bread, and 16 oz. of corn meal five times a week. The freedmen also received 10 lbs. of beans, peas, or hominy, 8 lbs. of sugar, 2 quarts of vinegar, 8 lbs. of candles, and 2 oz. of pepper distributed among one hundred people. Ten pounds of rye coffee or 15 lbs. of tea was rationed among one hundred women and children as well.[55]

One of Vincent Colyer's first duties as Superintendent of the Poor was to employ as many freedmen as possible to help build forts along the coast of North Carolina. He was authorized to hire up to five thousand men and to pay them a daily wage, clothing, and rations.[56] Although the population of freed people on Roanoke Island continued to increase, so that by summer 1862, the number reached one thousand, only one- quarter of the population consisted of able- bodied men. Indeed, Vincent Colyer noted that at the time of his departure from his post, there were no more than 2,500 able-bodied freedmen within Union lines.[57] Nonetheless, he was able to recruit a sufficient number of freedmen, and the forts at New Bern, Washington (North Carolina), and Roanoke Island were completed within four months of his appointment. Freedmen built the new docks at Roanoke Island during this time as well.[58]

Major General Foster appointed Massachusetts Army Chaplain Reverend Horace James as Superintendent of

51. Charles F. Walcott, *History of the Twenty-First Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), 37.
52. Matthew J. Graham, *The Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers* (New York: By the author, 1900), 193-4.
53. Loretta Lautzenheiser and Thomas Hargrove, "' . . . The Bright Glittering Sand,' Archeological Survey and Test Excavations, Site 31DR61, Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina," prepared for Rial Corporation/W.M. Meekins Jr. (Tarboro, NC: Coastal Carolina Research, Inc., June 1991), 49-50.
54. Vincent Colyer, *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina* (New York: By the author, 1864), 5-6.
55. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 50.
56. Colyer, 6.
57. Ibid.
58. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 50.

Negro Affairs in North Carolina in May 1863. Foster then ordered James to establish a colony for former slaves on the northern end of Roanoke Island.[59]

In June 1863, James journeyed to the North to acquire the necessary materials and implements to help build the colony. After a few weeks in New England and New York, he had raised between eight and nine thousand dollars, most of which was donated by Freedmen's Associations in Boston and New York. While James was canvassing for funds, General Foster ordered Brigadier General E. A. Wild to obtain unoccupied and unimproved lands, divide them into lots, and then assign these plots to freedmen families. George O. Sanderson of the Forty- third Massachusetts, who was the Assistant Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, began the preliminary surveys of Roanoke Island and planned the first avenues of the new community while James traveled through the North raising funds.[60]

Horace James returned to Roanoke Island in July 1863, with supplies for the colony. Work on the town now began in earnest, and one- acre lots on the northern end of the island were delineated and cleared.[61] Families of African- American troops or other freedmen employed by the Union government were eligible to receive these lots, as were the elderly and invalids. Horace James was authorized to assign these plots of land to qualified freedmen, who would enjoy full possession of the property until the government or due process of the law annulled this right.[62] Each family unit received a one-acre lot, which it was to improve by building a house, cultivating a garden, raising small crops, etc. James could not assign plots larger than one acre, for the land on the island was not rich enough, nor the island large enough, to provide the freedmen with sizable farms. In addition, the number of able- bodied men on the island available to prepare and raise farm crops continued to decline as the Union recruited more African- American troops.[63]

James and Sanderson laid out the city using a grid system, with broad, straight avenues approximately 1,200 feet apart and parallel to the shores of the island. These parallel avenues were named after the area, such as "Roanoke Avenue," or after Union leaders, including "Lincoln Avenue" and "Burnside Avenue." Smaller, narrower streets approximately four hundred feet apart ran perpendicular to these broad avenues and were designated "First Street," "Second Street," "A Street," "B Street," etc. This arrangement divided the northern end of the island into large quadrangles, each containing twelve one- acre plots for freedmen families to improve with small houses and gardens. The lots were neatly enclosed, and the houses stood a uniform distance from the street.[64] Hand- split logs and boards or salvaged lumber were used as building materials, while the chimneys were made of wattle and daub. Sawn boards obtained from the mainland or the Outer Banks were used for finer woodwork, such as in the doors and windows and their surrounds. According to one description, the average house consisted of a one- story, one- room dwelling made of thin pine boards split by hand from eight- foot- long logs. The arrival of a steam-powered sawmill in spring 1864 greatly facilitated the construction of the new town. By January 1, 1865, the colony had at least 591 houses and more than three thousand residents.[65]

In addition to small dwellings, the freedmen's community also contained a church, several schools, teachers' residences, a smallpox hospital, sundry storehouses, and a steam- powered saw- and gristmill. According to Vincent Colyer, the first church on the island consisted of a meeting place featuring pine logs for seats, pine branches for a canopy, and a pulpit made of discarded quartermaster's boxes.[66] Later, in 1864, a simple structure with a dirt floor and no windows was built to house church services.[67]

In October 1863, the American Missionary Association sent Elizabeth James to serve as the first teacher in the freedmen's community on Roanoke Island. Initially, she lived in one log cabin and taught from another. Shortly thereafter, in the winter of 1864, three other instructors joined her. Even though the fledgling school had seven teachers by the fall of 1864, the colony still needed more educators to meet demands. The town had 1,297

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59. Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864* (Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., Printers, 1865), 21-2.
60. James, 23.
61. Ibid., 24.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., 24-5.
64. Ibid., 25.
65. James, 25, 26, 52; Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 52.
66. Colyer, 36.
67. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 52.



FIGURE 6. Domestic chores as they probably appeared among freedmen on Roanoke Island, 1865

children under fourteen years of age, as well as many adults who wanted to learn to read and write.[68] The freedmen's colony also made several attempts to establish local industries to stimulate the economy. Horace James promoted spinning and weaving, as well as willow- working, as possible occupations for the women of the colony.[69]

For the men, James pursued local activities such as shoe making, barrel- making, and fishing. A storehouse for fish was built, and Holland Streeter, who was in charge of the fishing industry, reported that revenue from the fishery reached $1,404.27 in January 1864.[70] In addition, many of the men from the colony worked for the Union forces in the Quartermaster or Commissary Corps. Others completed Union fortifications on the island.[71] The grist- and sawmill also provided an important source of income for members of the freedmen's colony. Located near Union military headquarters on the north end of the island, the structure contained a seventy-horsepower engine, several circular saws, a turning lathe, and a gristmill. The mill not only produced various styles of lumber and woodwork for construction purposes, but also ground grain for locals. As Horace James noted, the mill made "a positive addition to the wealth and resources of the island."[72] James also made plans for an industrial school and orphan asylum for the island.[73] It is unclear, however, whether such an establishment was ever built.

The freedmen's colony also experimented with self-government. A council of fifteen leading colonists was appointed, and they were to meet periodically and work for the common welfare of the freedmen. Ideally, they would help govern the colony and communicate and enforce the orders of the federal government as well as those of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs. The council, however, was almost completely ineffective. James blamed this failure on the freedmen's lack of education and felt that education was the prime necessity to prepare the colony for self- government.[74]

Ultimately, the freedmen's colony on Roanoke Island was not a success. The colony never became self-sufficient as its planners had hoped. Its isolated position, lack of resources and economic base, as well as the enlistment of many of its young, able- bodied men into the Union army, made many of the remaining residents dependent upon the federal government for subsidies. Most of the population of the colony consisted of women, children, the elderly, and the infirm.[75]

Moreover, many of the freedmen employed by the federal government never received their promised wages. Union agencies and soldiers either neglected or refused to compensate the freedmen, or paid them in rations or worthless vouchers. In addition, the constant transfer of Union troops to and from the island made the settling of accounts difficult. According to the calculations of Horace James, the government owed the freedmen of Roanoke Island more than $18,500 in unpaid wages, which could help stimulate the economy of the colony if ever paid.[76] The constant influx of former slaves also created further problems for the colony's economy.[77]

68. James, 29.
69. James, 26.
70. Ibid., 28, 52.
71. Ibid., 27-8. As Horace James noted, "About one hundred of the most active men on the island are employed in Government work, by the Quartermaster and Commissary of the Post. Some two hundred more have been kept at work a large portion of the year upon the fortifications of the island."
72. James, 28.
73. Ibid., 29-30.
74. James, 30; See also Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 53.
75. James, 31.
76. Ibid., 32-3.

The end of the Civil War brought about the demise of the freedmen's colony. By June 1865 (shortly after the end of the war), the colony numbered 3,500, with approximately 2,700 of its members receiving rations from the U.S. government. With the war over, the army cut the freedmen's rations and discharged workers, who were paid in worthless vouchers instead of currency. In addition, the island's prewar residents returned, pledged an oath of allegiance to the Union, and reclaimed their land. The colony's population declined by half between 1865 and 1866, so that by November 1866, only 1,700 residents of the colony remained. That same month, the Freedmen's Bureau suspended the allotment of rations and recommended that all of Roanoke Island be returned to its prewar owners. The bureau felt that this would help induce the freedmen to leave the island to seek more favorable employment and better farmland elsewhere.[78]

In addition, many of the schoolteachers left the island in fall 1866, after northern missionary societies began limiting funding. The harsh winter of 1866–1867 further encouraged the former slaves to leave the area. Consequently, by February 1867, the colony had virtually dispersed, although a few remained on Roanoke Island where their descendants still live.[79]

After the Civil War and the demise of the freedmen's colony, the population of Roanoke Island stabilized at around one thousand. The number of inhabitants grew slowly until it reached three thousand around 1900. In 1870, with this increase in residents, the North Carolina General Assembly established Dare County on the Outer Banks. The new county was created out of parts of Currituck, Hyde, and Tyrrell Counties. It included a large swampy area on the mainland, Roanoke Island, and several barrier islands, including Bodie, Currituck, and Hatteras. Manteo, located several miles south of the Fort Raleigh site on Roanoke Island, served as the county seat. The town grew into the area's commercial center and became incorporated in 1899. In 1920, the General Assembly transferred Kitty Hawk and several communities to the north from Currituck County to Dare County.[80]

By the 1870s, the primary industry in Dare County was commercial fishing. Improvements in refrigeration and transportation made large- scale commercial fishing operations practical. Elite hunting clubs also began to be operated on the barrier islands during the early twentieth century. Like the resort that was established at Nags Head, these clubs had little impact on the county's economy, which continued to revolve around fishing and other maritime activities.[81]

Another development in Dare County during the 1870s concerned the federal government's continuing effort to improve navigation. New lighthouses were constructed at Bodie Island, Cape Hatteras, and Currituck Beach. The U.S. Lifesaving Service, formed in 1871, also soon began operating life- saving stations along the county's barrier islands. The stations warned approaching ships of the dangerous shoreline and sent out rescue boats to aid distressed vessels. The Lifesaving Service merged with the U.S. Cutter Service to form the U.S. Coast Guard in 1915. Eventually, fifteen life- saving stations operated within Dare County. Both the lighthouses and life- saving stations provided an economic boost to the underdeveloped area.[82]

Around the turn of the century, Dare County became the setting of significant important experiments by three important inventors. Attracted by the county's isolated location and the constant breezes along the Outer Banks, Orville and Wilbur Wright of Dayton, Ohio, spent several seasons at Kitty Hawk performing flight experiments. On December 17, 1903, the two undertook the first successful powered flight using a heavier- than-air craft launched near Kill Devil Hill. Another inventor arrived in Dare County around 1900. Reginald Fessenden came to Roanoke Island, having worked in Thomas Edison's New Jersey laboratory, to perform wireless communication experiments that eventually led to the development of radio. Fessenden's experiments add another layer of historical distinction to Dare County. More important, however, they took place on Roanoke Island on land now part of Fort Raleigh NHS.[83]

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77. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 53.
78. Ibid., 53-4.
79. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove, 54. This winter was so severe that the sound froze over.
80. Ibid.; David Stick, *Dare County*, 30-34.
81. David Stick, *Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County, Past and Present* (Kitty Hawk, North Carolina: The Dare Press, 1949), 51-52; Stick, *Dare County*, 42-47.
82. Stick, *Fabulous Dare*, 27-29; Stick, *Dare County*, 26-30.
83. Stick, *Fabulous Dare*, 35-39; Stick, *Dare County*, 38-42.

Fessenden's Early Radio Experiments, 1901-1902

Between January 1901 and September 1902, Reginald Fessenden conducted several radio transmitting and receiving experiments between the north end of Roanoke Island and Cape Hatteras. Fessenden made a number of significant discoveries in this field, many of them during his twenty- month stay on Roanoke Island.

Reginald Aubrey Fessenden, the son of an Episcopal rector, was born on October 6, 1866, in Quebec, Canada. In 1877, he enrolled in Trinity College School at Port Hope, Ontario, and taught classes while attending college courses. After holding several positions in Canada and Bermuda teaching mathematics, Fessenden left for New York City in 1886 and eventually got a job with Thomas A. Edison and the Edison Machine Works. He first worked as an assistant tester, which involved scraping insulation off of conductors so the tester could check for ground faults. Before his section of the project was completed, Fessenden was promoted to tester, then chief tester, and finally, inspecting engineer.[84]

After his project was completed, Fessenden chose to work as one of Edison's assistants at the new Llewellyn Park laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey. He stayed with Edison for a little over three years, working on new insulating materials for cables and new lacquers for dynamo wiring. While at Llewellyn Park, Fessenden not only got the chance to observe Edison's methods firsthand, but he also had access to the laboratory's library. In addition, Fessenden developed an interest in high frequency alternating currents during this period, which later led to his developments in radio technology.[85]

After leaving Edison's laboratory, Fessenden went through a series of appointments, working briefly for a subsidiary of Westinghouse and then at the Western University of Pennsylvania (later to become the University of Pittsburgh), until he accepted a job with the Weather Bureau in 1900. The bureau hoped he could develop a method of wireless communication by which weather data could be transmitted along the East Coast. This position promised Fessenden greater research resources, a better location for wireless experiments, and greater freedom in developing the system. His first success was the transmission of a voice for one mile on Cobb Island, Maryland. After this accomplishment, he moved with his wife, Helen, to Manteo, North Carolina, and established his main experimental station on the north end of Roanoke Island. Another station was set up on Hatteras Island, and he also had an additional antenna at Cape Henry, Virginia Beach.[86]

Fessenden continued his refinements of wireless technology and strove to improve on the Marconi system, which was not suitable for the transmission of human voices. He also searched for a better apparatus to receive waves, as well as a way to transmit audible sounds. While on Roanoke Island, Fessenden made several breakthroughs in these areas.

Significantly, while on Roanoke Island, Fessenden discovered a way to piggyback voice and music onto continuous waves and invented a sensitive method for detecting and receiving the waves when they arrived, similar to today's radio or television tunings.[87] His activities constituted the first practical application of a successful, commercially adaptable technique of radio communications in North America.[88]

In fall 1902, Fessenden terminated his radio experiments on the north end of Roanoke Island. After several disputes with his employer, Fessenden quit the Weather Bureau in September 1902, and moved to Norfolk, Virginia. Nonetheless, his experience on Roanoke Island became the basis for his subsequent career in radio communications. Fessenden later established the first commercial trans- Atlantic two- way radiotelegraph service (1905) and was responsible for the first trans-Atlantic radiotelephone transmissions (1906). He conducted experiments in numerous related areas, and went on to develop the sonic depth finder, SONAR, the aircraft radio altimeter, and the turbo- electric drive for battleships and other large vessels.[89] However, only a few signs of his accomplishments on Roanoke Island remain. A historical marker on North Carolina Route 12 in Buxton commemorates Fessenden's transmission of musical notes in 1902. The only other reminder of

84. Hugh G. T. Aitken, *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900-1932* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 41-4.
85. Ibid., 44-5.
86. Aitken, 51, 55; Patrick K. Lackey, "The Coast," part of *The Virginian-Pilot* [Norfolk, VA], 13 September 1992.
87. Ibid.
88. Michael L. Everette, "The Fessenden Story. . ." (NPS pamphlet), 1983.
89. Ibid.

Fessenden's work is a concrete slab visible at low tide in the Croatan Sound about three hundred yards off the northwest shore of Roanoke Island.[90] The slab once held the boiler used to power the transmitters for the radio experiments.[91]

Early Commemorative Efforts at the Fort Raleigh Site

As Roanoke Island was being settled during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the location of the earthwork associated with Raleigh's colonies remained generally neglected, but the site was never lost to memory. Throughout the nineteenth century, Fort Raleigh was assumed to be the settlement location for both of the colonies established by Raleigh on Roanoke Island. Interested individuals traveled to the property, including President James Monroe in 1819. Although land titles on Roanoke Island are unclear until the mid-nineteenth century, the Dough family apparently was in possession of the fort tract by 1820. In 1849, Thomas A. Dough formalized his ownership of the land by receiving an official grant from the State of North Carolina. Fort Raleigh would remain in the possession of the Dough family until efforts to preserve and mark the site began during the late nineteenth century. By that time, the old fortification was widely known by its modern name.[92] Raleigh's original colonists, of course, did not use the name "Fort Raleigh" themselves. Instead, those who made the earliest attempts to commemorate and preserve the site of the fort chose to promote it by that name. The story of how the name came into use is discussed extensively in Appendix 2.



FIGURE 8. RCMA members surround the monument to Virginia Dare at Fort Raleigh, ca. 1896



FIGURE 7. Sketch of Fort Raleigh environs, while owned by the Dough family, 1862

During the 1870s and 1880s, Congress undertook its first serious attempt to commemorate historic sites since appropriating funds for a monument at the Bunker Hill battleground in Massachusetts before the Civil War. Sparked by the Revolutionary War centennial, Congress commissioned a study of battlefields and provided funds for eight battle monuments. Perhaps inspired by these activities, North Carolina Senator Zebulon B. Vance attempted to gain recognition for Fort Raleigh. In 1884, he introduced a bill in Congress to fund the acquisition of a small tract at the site for the placement of a monument to Raleigh's colonies. This first federal legislative effort failed as Vance's bill died in the Library Committee.[93]

Interest in the lost colony returned during the early 1890s through the efforts of Sallie Southall Cotten, a prominent leader of the women's club movement in North Carolina. In 1892, Cotten organized the Virginia Dare Columbian Memorial Association for the purpose of commemorating and perpetuating the birth of Virginia Dare. Cotten envisioned erecting a building for

90. Although this slab is located near the park's boundary, it is not on NPS property.
91. Lackey.
92. William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 13-37.
93. Ibid., 40-51; Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington: National Park Service, 1973), 7-12.

North Carolina at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. After the exposition, the building would be dismantled and re- erected in North Carolina as a Memorial to Virginia Dare. However, the North Carolinians in charge of the state's exhibit at the exposition decided against a separate building and accepted space in the agricultural building for the state's exhibit. Cotten gathered items related to the lost colony for display and served as a hostess at the state's exhibit. As with the attempt to erect the building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Cotten's efforts to establish the Virginia Dare Memorial School for women proved unsuccessful. However, she did assist in the creation of another organization seeking to commemorate the lost colony.[94]

The first effort to mark and preserve the Fort Raleigh site was initiated by a group of native North Carolinians living in Baltimore, Maryland. Under the leadership of Edward Graham Daves, the group formed an organization to buy and improve the fort tract. Apparently, this effort was inspired by the Cape Cod Pilgrim Memorial Association's commemorative efforts for the 1620 settlement by English separatists in Massachusetts. The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association (RCMA) was incorporated by the State of North Carolina in April 1894 and began selling shares; Cotten's Virginia Dare Columbian Memorial Association was among the first shareholders. Before the end of the month, the association had acquired more than 260 acres from the W. T. Dough family, including the fort tract.[95]

When RCMA held its first North Carolina meeting at Manteo in August 1894, the topic of discussion was the development and marking of the Fort Raleigh site. The association appointed C. J. Dough as an agent of the association and caretaker of the property to maintain the site and to decrease vandalism. An 1895 archeological investigation by Talcott Williams of the University of Pennsylvania confirmed the site as a European fort from the colonization era. In 1896, improvements to RCMA's property began with the placement of granite posts marking all angles of the earthwork, and the erection of a tablet of North Carolina granite set upon a base of Virginia granite. The tablet, now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, included an inscription about Raleigh's colonies, specifically focusing on Virginia Dare's birth and christening and the christening of Manteo. RCMA constructed an access road to the fort site, which was enclosed with a split- rail fence. On November 24, 1896, the association held its dedication ceremonies for the Fort Raleigh site.[96]

After these improvements, RCMA focused on paying off the debt incurred from the acquisition and development of the site. In 1910, the association sold 246 acres to William J. Griffin, leaving only the 16.45- acre tract with Fort Raleigh. Despite some proceeds from this sale, the association was unable to retire its debt until 1937. Further efforts to improve the fort site proved unsuccessful. RCMA lobbied North Carolina congressmen to sponsor bills authorizing federal involvement. Between 1896 and 1901, three House bills and one Senate bill were introduced. Sponsored by Congressmen Harry Skinner and John H. Small and Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, the bills called for the



FIGURE 9. The Virginia Dare/Fort Raleigh Colony Marker, 1990

94. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 52-62.
95. Ibid., 64-75.
96. Ibid., 76-82.

federal government to acquire a small tract of land, erect an enclosure, gateway, and a better monument. All three bills died in committee.[97]

While these legislative efforts failed, the Sir Walter Raleigh Monument Association erected a statue of Raleigh in 1913; however, the statue was located at Raleigh, North Carolina, rather than Roanoke Island. That same year, RCMA also erected a pavilion at Fort Raleigh for special events. Other efforts were not as successful, including repeated failed attempts by the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina during the 1920s to erect a memorial for the christenings of Manteo and Virginia Dare. In 1924, the archeologically sensitive fort site even suffered damage when the state constructed a highway through the property.[98]

Finally, RCMA received a federal appropriation through the efforts of North Carolina Congressman Lindsay C. Warren. Signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge on June 11, 1926, the bill provided funds to erect a commemorative structure at "Sir Walter Raleigh's Fort" after design approval by the War Department. The result was the erection in 1930 of two brick pillars, one on either side of the entrance to the property, including tablets with inscriptions dedicated to Raleigh's colonists, the native Manteo, and Virginia Dare. This was RCMA's last significant development activity at the site.[99]

Public use of Fort Raleigh was limited during the years that RCMA managed the site, largely because of its isolated location on Roanoke Island. Between 1894 and 1931, the association sponsored sporadic observances of the anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth in August. In addition, the Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina held special meetings at the site in commemoration of the christenings of Manteo and Virginia Dare. Members of RCMA and the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association proposed celebrations at Fort Raleigh during the early 1900s. To promote these proposals further, the Roanoke Island Celebration Company was incorporated in 1902, and plans were prepared for a large exposition at the site in 1905. Insufficient funding, however, doomed this project. In 1907, an exhibit on Raleigh's lost colony was included in the exposition at Jamestown, Virginia, celebrating the three- hundredth anniversary of that settlement's founding.[100] Further development of Fort Raleigh had to await state and federal support.

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97. Ibid., 83-84; Edmund B. Rogers, *History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System Through the 82d Congress, Fort Raleigh* (Washington: National Park Service, 1958), Part I, 1-2.
98. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 37, 87, 90.
99. Ibid., 91; Rogers, Part I, 1-2. Note, as of 2002 these pillars are located on Manteo waterfront. Copies of their inscriptions can be found in Powell, 93; The inscriptions bare factual errors, especially the date of Virginia Dare's christening, which was August 24, not August 20, as stated on one of the pillars. See Figure 21 in Chapter Four for an image of the memorial pillars.
100. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 63-112.

Chapter Three: Creation of a National Historic Site

Economic Transitions in Dare County

In the 1930s, the growth of tourism, transportation improvements, and federal projects brought major changes to Dare County's economy. By World War II, the county's fishing industry was in decline because of depleted fish stocks and pollution problems. Similarly, decreasing fowl populations accompanied by stricter hunting laws gradually closed the large hunting clubs. In addition, the county's U.S. Coast Guard facilities were scaled back. By the late 1940s, only eight of the fifteen life saving stations were still operating. Improved technology and equipment had reduced the number of shipwrecks and thus the need for scattered facilities. Most rescue work was based out of the Coast Guard's air station at nearby Elizabeth City.[101]

Given these trends, the leaders of North Carolina's Outer Banks region began searching for economic alternatives. Among this group were politicians Washington F. Baum and Lindsay C. Warren, artist, conservationist, and developer Frank Stick, and newspaper editor W.O. Saunders. Baum was elected in 1924 as the chairman of the Dare County Board of Commissioners. A resident of Washington, North Carolina, Warren represented the Outer Banks in the U.S. House of Representatives. In that position, he sought the economic development and modernization of the isolated region. Originally from Asbury Park, New Jersey, Stick had invested in large tracts of barrier island property in Dare County. Since the speculative potential of this land depended on major development activities, Stick had a personal stake in the area's future prosperity. However, Stick also had a great love for the Outer Banks and his efforts proved especially important in helping to create enthusiasm for a national memorial to Orville and Wilbur Wright, whose famous flight experiments were conducted at Kill Devil Hills near Kitty Hawk in the Outer Banks. Stick's enthusiasm was also key in promoting the idea of a Cape Hatteras national seashore. Saunders served as editor of *The Independent* in Elizabeth City, the region's primary newspaper, and was a major community spokesman and booster.[102]

The economic alternative that the Outer Banks leaders found most enticing was tourism. The 1920s saw large increases in tourism as the overall national economy prospered and more Americans owned cars. In addition, Dare County offered potential tourists a number of desirable attractions, including an isolated setting, scenic beaches, sport fishing opportunities, and several historical sites of national importance. However, two major problems persisted – the county's inadequate transportation infrastructure and lack of developed tourist attractions.[103]

To increase Dare County's accessibility, modern highways and bridges to connect the islands with the mainland were required. During the 1920s, Stick and other New Jersey investors began acquiring large tracts of the county's beach property, which they considered among the best on the eastern coast of the United States. They convinced Baum that improved access to the barrier islands would lead to an economic boom, primarily from an increase in tourism. In 1927, after state assistance for construction of a bridge from Roanoke Island to Nags Head was rejected, Baum sought a

101. David Stick, *Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County, Past and Present* (Kitty Hawk, North Carolina: The Dare Press, 1949), 27-29, 51-57; David Stick, *Dare County: A History* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), 26-30, 42-47; David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 242-243.
102. Andrew M. Hewes, *Wright Brothers National Memorial: An Administrative History* (Washington: National Park Service, 1967), 3-16; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 243.
103. Hewes, 3-16; Stick, *Fabulous Dare*, 53-57.

county bond to construct a one- mile toll bridge. Although local opposition was strong, Baum was finally able to get the bond issue passed by the state's General Assembly.[104] During the same period, a group of Elizabeth City businessmen with speculative holdings on the barrier islands formed the Wright Memorial Bridge Company. Their aim was to build a three- mile toll bridge across Currituck Sound to connect Kitty Hawk with the mainland. They also hoped this endeavor would help convince the national government to authorize spending on the Wright memorial. With the two bridge projects underway, the State of North Carolina agreed to build a paved highway between Kitty Hawk and Nags Head to connect the two bridges. Several ferry operations were initiated to connect islands without bridges. By the early 1930s, the state had purchased the two bridges and removed the tolls. The state continued to improve access to Dare County with bridges across Croatan Sound in 1953, the Alligator River in 1959, and Oregon Inlet in 1963. These transportation improvements prepared the way for further resort development. As a consequence of the first major transportation improvements, property values in the Kitty Hawk area rose from ten dollars an acre in 1926 to more than 250 dollars an acre by 1934—a twenty- five-fold increase in the midst of the Great Depression.[105]

The transportation improvements sought by Warren, Saunders, Baum, and Stick in Dare County were essential if the area was to increase its tourist potential. Moreover, though local leaders initially relied on private and state efforts to develop the county's beaches and historical sites, they came to envision the creation of a major federal presence in the county, including several parks. The question of accessibility was important in attracting federal aid.

While Dare County pursued its infrastructure projects, area leaders sought to drum up enthusiasm for a national park. The Fort Raleigh site on Roanoke Island was one potential attraction that could be developed into such a park, but given the era's enthusiasm for aviation, attention was first focused upon developing a memorial to the successful flight experiments of the Wright brothers near Kitty Hawk. With Saunders pushing for the project, Warren introduced a bill in Congress in December 1926 to establish a national monument under War Department management. To encourage passage of the bill, Frank Stick wired Warren in January 1927 that he and his associates owned Kill Devil Hills, the tract on which the Wrights had made their famous flight. Stick had convinced a group of New Jersey investors to purchase the tract and to hold it for donation to the government when legislation creating a national memorial came into being. After passing both the House and Senate, the bill was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge on March 2, 1927. Even with passage of the bill, however, skepticism about the area's remoteness was a major concern. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who was designated chairman of the commission created to oversea the creation of a suitable monument, stated his opposition to "dumping a quarter of a million dollars of public money on a sand dune where only a few neighborhood natives would see it." Local boosters then created the Kill Devil Hill Memorial Association, which was formed to raise money to acquire additional acreage for the Wright memorial and to promote further transportation improvements. The group's purpose was "to give the world a ready opportunity to visit the Nation's twin Shrines thus to be made accessible to motorists – Kill Devil Hills . . . and old Fort Raleigh." Eventually, local and state efforts to improve the roads and bridges in the Outer Banks quieted doubt about the area's remoteness and Hoover came around. The commission eventually accepted the design for a sixty- foot- tall granite monument, which was dedicated to the Wright brothers in November 1932. The Kill Devil Hill National Monument (NM) came into being under the management of the National Park Service the following year. It was the first national park in the Outer Banks.[106]

The National Park Service and the New Deal

During the 1930s, the Park Service emerged as the steward of a diverse collection of natural, historical, and recreational areas. Prior to the New Deal, the Park Service's properties were not so varied. The federal government began establishing parks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Starting with Yellowstone in 1872, Congress designated large wilderness areas as national parks under the

104. Hewes, 16-39, 51-55; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 243-247; Stick, *Fabulous Dare*, 53-57; Stick, *Dare County*, 51-55.
105. Ibid.
106. Hewes, 5-44; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO. See also William R. Chapman and Jill K. Hanson, *Wright Brothers National Memorial Historic Resource Study* (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service: 1997). Note, the name of the monument was changed in 1953 because the term "Kill Devil Hills" was considered arbitrary, held no association with the Wright brothers, and for other reasons. Today, the site is known as Wright Brothers National Memorial.

stewardship of the Department of the Interior. In addition, Congress passed legislation to create national military parks under the stewardship of the War Department, beginning with Shiloh in 1890. Under the Antiquities Act of 1906, presidents began proclaiming national monuments at significant natural and historical sites. Since national monuments were declared on lands managed by the Interior, War, and Agriculture Departments, each of these three agencies served as stewards of national monuments. By 1916, the Interior Department was responsible for fourteen national parks, twenty- one national monuments, and two reservations. Recognizing the need for an organized park management approach within the department, Congress passed legislation creating the National Park Service. Since the Interior Department's parks were limited to natural areas prior to the New Deal, early NPS management focused upon the large wilderness parks of the western United States.[107]

In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt significantly altered the direction of the service. At the urging of NPS Director Horace M. Albright, Roosevelt signed Executive Orders 6166 and 6228, leading to a redistribution of federal park land and NPS reorganization. These executive orders consolidated most existing national parks, national military parks, and national monuments under the stewardship of the National Park Service. The parks transferred to NPS control from the War Department and the Department of Agriculture included eight natural areas but also forty- four historical areas. As a result, the Park Service became the prime keeper of federal historical sites, a fact that broadened its mission beyond the stewardship of scenic landscapes. In addition, NPS gained greater visibility in the eastern United States where most historical sites were located.[108]

The passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 provided another boost to the emerging role of the NPS as a steward of the nation's history. The primary purpose of the new law was to provide firm legislative authority for NPS historic preservation activities. The Historic Sites Act gave the Secretary of the Interior responsibility for a federal historic preservation program, including survey, research, and documentation efforts for historical and archeological properties of national significance. Perhaps most important, the law authorized the secretary to designate national historic sites, acquire historical and archeological properties, preserve significant resources, maintain museums, administer sites for public use, and enter into cooperative agreements. The secretary could designate national historic sites without congressional approval, although Congress had to approve funds for land acquisition. To some extent, the Historic Sites Act provided a way to create new parks without having to go through the congressional process. To assist the secretary, the law established the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. The Park Service became the primary agency responsible for carrying out the provisions of the new law.[109]

Roosevelt's New Deal agenda also paid attention to the creation of various recreational areas. In addition to gaining new authority over historical sites, the NPS was directed to broaden its interpretation of natural areas to include a recreational component. The new recreational focus was largely sparked by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a New Deal work program. By the mid-1930s, the Park Service was overseeing six hundred CCC camps working on projects at various national and state parks. NPS efforts to develop state parks led to the creation of forty- six recreational demonstration projects, most of which were later transferred to state control. The emphasis on recreational areas forged ideas for new types of national parks, including national recreation areas and national seashores.[110]

Development of Fort Raleigh State Park

The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was losing momentum by the 1930s. Accordingly, it made plans to transfer Fort Raleigh to another custodian. On January 10, 1934, the privately owned 16.45- acre site was donated to the State of North Carolina. The North Carolina

107. Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 10-23; Ronald F. Lee, *Family Tree of the National Park System* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1972), 9-20; Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington: National Park Service, 1973), 13-37.
108. Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 24-43; Lee, *Family Tree*, 21-36; Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 52; Thomas Alan Sullivan, compiler, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, Supplement I, July 1933 through April 1944 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), 203-207.
109. Sullivan, *Laws*, 7-10; Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History* (Washington: National Park Service, 1985), 1-12; Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 49-53; Lee, *Family Tree*, 44-52.
110. Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 44-46, 53-56; Lee, *Family Tree*, 37-39, 52-60. See also, John Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1985).

Historical Commission (NCHC) then assumed stewardship of "Fort Raleigh State Park." Eight years later, RCMA lost its charter and ceased to exist as a legal entity. The General Assembly had created the NCHC in 1903 to serve as the state's historical agency. Assuming the position of secretary in 1935, Christopher Crittenden headed the NCHC during the years that it managed the Fort Raleigh site.[111]

In 1933, Frank Stick wrote an article, published on July 21 in the Elizabeth City *Independent*, in which he proposed a "coastal park for North Carolina and the nation." Stick's proposal included the restoration of natural vegetation, dune construction for erosion control, and a national park. The proposal gained the support of



FIGURE 10. WPA Camp at Fort Raleigh, ca. 1935

influential North Carolinians like R. Bruce Etheridge, the director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development. Through the efforts of Representative Warren, Stick's proposal became a federal relief project with funding and labor provided by the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, and Works Progress Administration (WPA). Workers began to arrive in 1934. Beyond beach improvement, the project included efforts to control mosquitoes and to develop both Kill Devil Hill National Monument (NM) and the Fort Raleigh site.[112]

Once under NCHC management, efforts to develop Fort Raleigh gained momentum. In 1934, the WPA



FIGURE 11. The WPA blockhouse on either side of the entrance to Fort Raleigh, January 1938

established Camp Wirth on the northern end of Roanoke Island as part of Stick's larger effort to develop the area's beaches to foster tourism. At Fort Raleigh, relief workers were assigned to construct a series of structures as a highly conjectural restoration of the 1587 settlement. This effort was planned and overseen by a state commission consisting of Stick, Etheridge, and E.B. Jeffress of the North Carolina Highway Commission.

Stick researched and designed the structures with the help of builder Albert Q. Bell, an Englishman affectionately known as "Skipper" who was living in Edenton, North Carolina. Bell relocated to Roanoke Island when contracted to oversee Stick's construction project.[113] With the Fort Raleigh project, Stick's main goal was to restore the area "to a condition of primitiveness and beauty" while also reconstructing "the type of picturesque structure" that he believed once existed there. In this way, he stated, "the visitor



FIGURE 12. Captain Jeff Hayman, caretaker at Fort Raleigh, May 1938

111. Arno B. Cammerer, to Lindsay C. Warren, April 10, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, Mid-Atlanta Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, hereinafter cited as MAR; William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 95-96; North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources web page [http://web.dcr.state.nc.us/hist.htm], May 12, 1999.

112. Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 247-251; Louis Torres, *Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore* (Denver: National Park Service, 1985), 152-156; Powell, 142.

113. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 142-144; Angel Ellis Khoury, *Manteo: A Roanoke Island Town* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1999), 194.

who enters the log gateways may be transported back over those three hundred and fifty years which have lapsed since those first English colonists settled upon our shores."[114]

Stick and Bell faced a major problem in achieving their goal because little information was available to describe the appearance of the original settlement. Stick argued that Raleigh's settlers knew of log construction and, therefore, would have built substantial log buildings. In rejecting other possibilities, he claimed that simpler dwellings would have been built only by "a shiftless group of adventurers."[115]

Using these assumptions, Stick and Bell designed a log settlement that was subsequently erected. A palisade of vertically placed juniper logs was constructed around the perimeter of the site. The entrance to the property was flanked on either side by a log blockhouse, which concealed the previous gateposts. Within this enclosure was another palisade and a group of buildings. The second palisade was built on the fort site itself and was intended as a restoration of the 1587 colony's palisade. Workers constructed a large blockhouse in the center of this second palisade. In addition, the Fort Raleigh restoration project included seven buildings—a chapel, a museum, a one and- a- half- story house, and several smaller structures to house pumping equipment and rest rooms. All seven buildings were log in construction with stone foundations and chimneys; several structures had thatch roofs. As a result of these development activities, visitation to the site increased ten- fold, reaching thirty thousand visitors during the year 1935.[116]

Although Stick's "picturesque" log structures charmed visitors, the NPS later determined that the Fort Raleigh "restoration" was historically inaccurate, "without authority," and was unlikely to have resembled the original settlement. Indeed, Park Service Historian Charles W. Porter described the buildings as "18th Century in type." He found the alleged fort to be "a pretentious 18th Century blockhouse made of squared logs" that "would look well on the Pennsylvania frontier in 1776, but in a restored 'Fort Raleigh' it is absurd."[117] The WPA- era buildings built at Fort Raleigh were primarily an effort to provide something to show tourists – a difficult proposition at an archeological site. Because of the historical inaccuracy of the log structures and the damage done to archeologically sensitive areas, the "restoration" later proved problematic for the Park Service. The local community continued to pressure NPS officials for additional Fort Raleigh attractions, regardless of their historical accuracy or lack thereof.[118]

Another development during the New Deal era that later influenced NPS management of Fort Raleigh was the creation of an annual outdoor drama about Raleigh's colonies. Frederick Henry Koch, a professor at the University of North Carolina, wrote the first known play touching upon the lost colony theme, although it was mostly about Sir Walter Raleigh. Sponsored by the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association, *Raleigh, The Shepherd of the Ocean,* was performed at the state fair in Raleigh in October 1920. At the instigation of Mabel Evans, Dare County's school superintendent, the North Carolina State Board of Education produced an educational film on the lost colony for the state's schools. Written by Evans, *The Lost Colony* was filmed on Roanoke Island by the Atlas Film Corporation of Chicago in 1921 using mostly locals as actors and actresses. In both 1923 and 1924, locals staged scenes from the film script. The following year, an observance of Virginia Dare's birthday in August was held with more scenes from the film script. These annual observances continued, and Evans wrote a new play script, *America Dawning*, in 1933. The following year, a play on the lost colony was held as part of an August homecoming celebration sponsored by the Dare County Chamber of Commerce. Harrington- Russell Festivals of Asheville, North Carolina, produced a play entitled *O Brave New World!* Unlike the previous plays on Roanoke Island, this production took place at the Fort Raleigh site, where benches were constructed for the two thousand attendees.[119]

These dramatic productions provided the momentum for the creation of the nation's first annual outdoor drama beginning in 1937. This drama resulted from the efforts of a new organization dedicated to preserving the memory of the lost colony. As RCMA was fading during the early 1930s, Outer Banks leaders recognized the continuing need for such an advocacy group, especially

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114. Frank Stick, *Fort Raleigh Restoration: Authorization and a Brief Description* (Works Progress Administration, 1939), 7, Cultural Resources Stewardship Library, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
115. Ibid., 1-24.
116. Ibid.
117. Charles W. Porter to Regional Director, June 21, 1938, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
118. Powell, *Paradise Preserved,* 144-145.
119. Ibid., 113-130.



FIGURE 13. Theater construction at Fort Raleigh by WPA workers, June 1937

with the upcoming 350th anniversary of the Amadas and Barlowe expedition, which was scheduled for 1934, and that of the lost colony, which set for 1937. Largely at the instigation of W.O. Saunders, the Elizabeth City newsman, a new organization was incorporated in January 1932 as the Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA). One of the first priorities for RIHA was planning for the 1934 and 1937 celebrations on Roanoke Island. Seeking federal recognition and assistance for these efforts, Congressman Warren introduced a concurrent resolution in March to create the United States Roanoke Colony Commission. Agreed to by both the House and Senate, the resolution established a commission of three representatives and three senators to plan the 1934 celebration. However, Congress later failed to fund the Amadas and Barlowe celebration, prompting the withdrawal of RIHA sponsorship. Instead, the Dare County Chamber of Commerce stepped in to sponsor an event much reduced in scope.[120]

Despite this setback, RIHA continued to plan for the 350th anniversary observance of the founding of the lost colony. When the association, fearful of the cost, decided not to sponsor a play as part of this observance, several play supporters from within the organization, most importantly Bradford Fearing, formed the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo. This new group, a separate organization from RIHA, encouraged Paul Green to write a play script. Green had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1927 for his play *In Abraham's Bosom*. He also had extensive contacts, especially with Hallie Flanagan, Director of the WPA's Federal Theatre Project through whose auspices funding was obtained to attract several professional actors for the play. Using WPA funds, RIHA then contracted with Albert Bell to design and construct an outdoor theater on the state's property at the Fort Raleigh site overlooking Roanoke Sound. The NCHC also assisted this project by creating a museum in one of the log buildings to educate the public on Raleigh's colonies as well as local Indian culture. In support of the 1937 celebration effort, Warren introduced a bill to authorize the minting of fifty- cent pieces commemorating the lost colony. Signed into law by President Roosevelt on June 24, 1936, the bill provided for the coins to be sold by RIHA and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo to raise money for their efforts. In addition, Warren was able to get a five- cent stamp issued commemorating the birth of Virginia Dare.[121]

During a 1937 season running from July 4 to Labor Day, Green's *The Lost Colony* was performed before fifty thousand people. On August 18, the 350th anniversary of Virginia Dare's birth, President Roosevelt attended the outdoor drama. He gave a speech about the importance of majority rule in democracy and at some point signed legislation authorizing the creation of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. With a successful first season, RIHA was induced to assume responsibility for producing *The Lost Colony*. The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo, its mission accomplished, then dissolved. The play has continued with summer seasons each year, except for a temporary suspension between 1941 and 1945, which was caused by the outbreak of World War II. In addition to producing *The Lost Colony*, RIHA continued to operate the museum at Fort Raleigh with North Carolina Historical Commission cooperation. Caroline Springfield, who served as curator,



FIGURE 14. Franklin D. Roosevelt at Fort Raleigh, August 18, 1937

120. Ibid., 131-141; Rogers, Part I, 2-4.
121. Powell, *Paradise Preserved,* 141-169; Rogers, Part I, 4.



FIGURE 15. Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Virginia Dare ceremonies, August 18, 1937

began efforts to improve the museum using illustrations and archeological artifacts.[122]

The National Park Service Considers Fort Raleigh

As the state historical commission and RIHA were developing Fort Raleigh, they raised the idea of turning the site over to the National Park Service. With full RIHA support, NCHC Secretary Crittenden sent a letter to the Park Service on May 8, 1936, offering the site as a national park and providing information from Stick about the New Deal development activities then underway at the property. Assistant NPS Director Verne E. Chatelain thanked Crittenden for the offer, and the Park Service began considering Fort Raleigh for acquisition.[123]

An important area of concern among NPS officials was the authenticity of Fort Raleigh as the lost colony site. Assistant Regional Historian Charles W. Porter suggested to Chatelain the possibility that the fort remains dated from the early eighteenth century rather than the late sixteenth century. In raising this point, Porter referred to a 1750 map showing Pain Fort at the approximate location of Fort Raleigh. His assumption was that Pain Fort had been constructed to defend against pirates. Porter further pointed out the lack of definitive evidence establishing Fort Raleigh as the lost colony site in the absence of a thorough archeological survey. Operating under the survey provisions of the National Historic Sites Act, Chatelain hired Dr. Frederick W. Tilberg to produce a series of research reports with the hope of authenticating the site and providing further information on the original settlement.[124] Realizing the politically sensitive nature of the research, Chatelain instructed Tilberg to "make no statements which will in any way commit this Service to any judgement on the historical importance of the site, or to any possible participation in a future development of the Fort."[125] Before accepting a position at Gettysburg National Military Park in April 1937, Tilberg produced periodic research reports on issues such as Roanoke Island history, sixteenth- century fortifications, navigation, Outer Banks inlets and islands, the Pain Fort question, and the 1895 archeological investigation at Fort Raleigh. Although Tilberg's research failed to definitively verify Fort Raleigh as the lost colony site, NPS officials felt confident that the research indicated that the settlement had been located on the northern end of Roanoke Island either at or near the Fort Raleigh property.[126]

Besides uncertainty about the authenticity of Fort Raleigh, NPS officials were concerned about the appropriateness of the site's reconstructed settlement, which was then being built as part of the New Deal work project launched by Frank Stick and Congressman Warren. NPS concern was warranted because of a recent example of historically inaccurate reconstruction. After the George Washington Birthplace National Monument was created in 1930, an influential

122. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 141-169. The visit also resulted in the placement of two commemorative markers that support the site's National Register Nomination and that are listed on NPS's LCS database.
123. Ibid., 162; C.C. Crittenden to H.K. Roberts, September 21, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Verne E. Chatelain to C.C. Crittenden, June 1, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
124. Charles W. Porter to Verne E. Chatelain, June 29, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
125. Verne E. Chatelain to Frederick Tilberg, July 20, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
126. Charles W. Porter to H.E. Weatherwax, September 25, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Frederick Tilberg, October 13, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Director, December 29, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Director, January 22, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Director, February 4, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Director, February 18, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy E. Appleman and Charles W. Porter to Director, March 23, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Rob Roy MacGregor, May 4, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Director, May 4, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Arno B. Cammerer to Secretary of the Interior, April 27, 1938, File 000 (2), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

private organization "reconstructed" a house at the Virginia site. Archeological excavations during 1936 determined that the reconstruction was in the wrong location and did not resemble the original birthplace house. This incident convinced NPS officials to maintain a higher standard of accuracy when considering reconstruction efforts.[127]

In September 1936, an inspection of Fort Raleigh by Associate Regional Historian Roy Edgar Appleman did little to ease concerns about the development underway at the site. Appleman cited a number of problems with the reconstruction effort. The pace of the project was too fast, leaving no time for serious historical research and, more important, archeological investigations. The log buildings were historically inaccurate and the first known use of such construction techniques in the New World was in the 1630s by the Swedes. Appleman's harshest criticism was aimed at the "ludicrous" small palisade and blockhouse at the fort site itself. Among his



FIGURE 16. The blockhouse and palisade at the fort site, January 1938

criticisms were the blockhouse's eighteenth- century construction techniques, palisade walls too high to shoot over from the blockhouse gun holes, and a palisade radius too small to be accurate. In addition, he reported that future project plans intended to intersperse Indian dwellings among the log buildings and to build three sixteenth- century type ships to be anchored off the site's bank. In closing his report, Appleman warned that "Fort Raleigh is becoming increasingly a bad situation."[128]

During 1937, the continued development of the Fort Raleigh site strained relations between the NPS and the agencies behind the development, including the NCHC, RIHA, and the state WPA office. At issue was WPA Operating Procedure O- 4, a regulation issued in August 1936 requiring WPA projects at historically or archeologically significant sites to be approved by the NPS. Concerned about the large outdoor theater then under construction for the 350th anniversary celebration in March, Porter contacted the state WPA office to inquire as to why no plans had been submitted to the Park Service for review as required under the new operating procedure. As a result of this inquiry, a meeting was held the following month to discuss the remaining WPA work at the site; attendees included Crittenden, Appleman, state WPA officials, and other NPS staff. According to the WPA representatives, only minor construction projects remained, mainly a dressing room and several comfort stations for the theater. The NPS wanted these removed after the end of the next play season.[129]

While the Park Service was reviewing the remaining WPA work at Fort Raleigh, newspapers in North Carolina began featuring stories about negative NPS attitudes toward the WPA development at the site, especially the log structures. Crittenden warned Appleman that many leaders in the state were turning against the idea of turning the park over to the NPS. RIHA and others involved with the development of the site took offense at the suggestion that the reconstructed village was inaccurate. Meanwhile, the local community was already becoming attached to the nostalgic log buildings, especially the chapel. In response to fears regarding NPS plans to demolish the log structures, regional officials pointed out that only the dressing room and comfort stations were to be removed under the current agreement with the WPA. The fate of the remaining structures was undecided.[130] Despite

127. Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington: National Park Service, 1986), 26-27; *George Washington Birthplace*, undated brochure, park brochure files, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta.
128. Roy Edgar Appleman to Herbert Evison, September 15, 1936, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
129. Herbert Evison to Director, February 3, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Herbert Evison to Director, February 6, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Charles W. Porter to Regional Officer, March 30, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Herbert Evison to C.G. Mackintosh, April 3, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Herbert Evison to G.W. Coan, Jr., April 14, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman to Director, April 15, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
130. "That Fort Raleigh Mess," *Charlotte Observer*, April 14, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman to Director, April 15, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; H.E. Roberts to G.W. Coan, Jr., April 27, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.



FIGURE 17. The WPA chapel at Fort Raleigh, January 1938

concerns about the site's authenticity and growing public controversy, Porter believed that Fort Raleigh should become a national park because of its connection with the Raleigh colonies. In his opinion, "The temporary custody of some historically inaccurate structures is more than counterbalanced by the prospect of ultimately having one of the most romantic and historically significant places in America."[131]

In January 1938, Crittenden wrote Appleman urging quick action on Fort Raleigh since public support for the site's transfer to the Park Service was weakening and the NPS was ready to accept the property as a national park. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments recommended acquisition in February, although the board did so under the assumption that the log reconstructions would eventually be demolished. In April, NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer recommended acceptance of Fort Raleigh as a national historic site to the Secretary of the Interior. Although Cammerer admitted that no evidence had been found to confirm the legitimacy of the property as the settlement site, he argued that research clearly indicated that the colonies were located on the northern end of Roanoke Island near the proposed park if not at it. Furthermore, Cammerer emphasized the NPS goal of adding more land to the park in the hope of eventually possessing the entire settlement site. To this end, he planned to include a provision in any cooperative agreement with RIHA requiring the association to assist in a gradual land acquisition program.[132]

Before the Park Service could proceed with the transfer of Fort Raleigh, additional controversies erupted with RIHA and state officials. C.G. Mackintosh, NPS inspector for North Carolina, alerted Region One officials in June 1938 of problems with the WPA activities at the site. The situation arose from a project approved by regional NPS officials in February to allow additional improvements at the theater. The project ended up including new towers, a new log building, and a new stockade for the theater, all items that the NPS had not approved as part of the project. The project manager, Albert Bell, vehemently denied that the features in question were outside of the approved project, especially since they were replacements of previous structures. The Park Service was alarmed at the ground disturbance caused by the new work at the archeologically important site, but in the interest of avoiding additional controversy, the agency backed away from the issue since the damage had already occurred.[133]

By July 1938, Green was leading an effort to keep Fort Raleigh in state hands. His primary concern was that the Park Service would interfere with the production of *The Lost Colony* or remove the New Deal structures at the park. RIHA President Bradford Fearing was concerned about the proposed requirement that the association fund land acquisitions, especially during years of financial difficulty. Realizing that Governor Clyde Hoey was unwilling to deed the property to the federal government without RIHA's approval, Warren, Mackintosh, and additional NPS officials met with Hoey, Green, Fearing, and other local leaders in an attempt to negotiate an agreement. When RIHA sought the inclusion of deed provisions giving the association significant control over developmental and interpretive issues, NPS officials balked at the idea. "To accept the terms outlined by [RIHA]," wrote Roy Appleman, Acting Regional Historian, "would give the Roanoke Island Historical Association a control equal to that of the National Park Service in determining policy of the administration and development of the area. This is unthinkable." With an additional meeting in December, however, several key issues were resolved. The Park Service postponed any final decision on eliminating the log reconstructions, guaranteed to permit the

131. "Boundaries Recommended for the Proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina," October 27, 1937, 17, Cultural Resources Stewardship Library, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia.

132. C.C. Crittenden to Roy Edgar Appleman, January 24, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Arno B. Cammerer to Secretary, April 27, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

133. C.G. Mackintosh to Regional Director, June 27, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman to C.G. Mackintosh, July 1, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Albert Q. Bell to E.L. Winslow, July 6, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

continuation of the play, and allowed RIHA greater flexibility in funding future land acquisitions, but NPS authority over the site was maintained. With the two sides now in agreement, the governor was willing to proceed with the deed of transfer.[134]

Designation of Fort Raleigh as a National Historic Site

With all the major players satisfied with the proposed transfer of Fort Raleigh from the state to the federal government, the National Park Service moved forward with national historic site designation. To that end, the NPS and RIHA signed a cooperative agreement on March 29, 1939, allowing the association to continue producing *The Lost Colony* at the site. The state deeded the property to the United States on July 14, 1939. The transfer was contingent, however, upon its approval by Assistant Secretary of Interior Oscar L. Chapman. Given the difficulties associated with the forging of the unprecedented NPS- RIHA alliance, the Park Service and the Interior Department proceeded with deliberation. Moreover, although Historian Frederick Tilberg had conducted significant research between 1936 and 1939 on the authenticity of the Fort Raleigh site, Historian Charles W. Porter was still in the process of formulating a definitive opinion.[135]

By November 1939, Director Cammerer transmitted the title, deed, and related papers covering the proposed transfer of Fort Raleigh to the United States to the Solicitor of the Interior Department for use in crafting the national historic site. He did request that the solicitor conduct an expeditious examination of the title because as long as the land in question was not vested in the United States, RIHA would be able to charge entrance fees, proceeds of which were being lost to the government. Still, it was February 21, 1941, before the wheels of the bureaucracy had turned full- circle and Secretary Chapman had signed off on the cooperative agreement. Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray wrote RIHA Chairman Bradford Fearing in March explaining that the president had authorized the project and that a formal order designating the boundary of the new national historic site was being prepared. Demaray expressed the hope that the execution of the cooperative agreement would promote "a long and fruitful period of cooperation with the Roanoke Island Historical Association," and that "our combined effort will make it possible for the Lost Colony Pageant to reach an ever increasing number of the American people." Finally, on April 5, 1941, citing his authority under the National Historic Sites Act, Acting Secretary of the Interior Alvin J. Wirtz issued an order creating the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (NHS), which the Park Service began administering on July 21, 1941.[136]

Fort Raleigh and the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Project

At the time that Fort Raleigh was designated as a national historic site, the National Park Service envisioned the property eventually becoming part of a national seashore. The idea to create a major coastal preserve on the Outer Banks arose in the late 1920s. After celebrations to commemorate the flight experiments of the Wright brothers, local enthusiasts began to promote a "Dune Park" or "public shrine" to better commemorate the Wrights' achievement, which, as previously noted, became a reality in 1932. In 1928, inspired by the rapid development of Florida, North Carolina's Department of Conservation and Development began to inventory the state's natural resources to evaluate those that could best be developed. The analysis was intended to determine, for example, whether the commercial value of a forest was

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134. Telephone Conversation Notes, Paul Green and Dr. Russell, July 7, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; C.G. Mackintosh to Regional Director, July 19, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman to Acting Regional Director, September 27, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman to Regional Director, December 23, 1938, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR. One of the reasons RIHA wanted greater authority in the cooperative agreement being negotiated was to allow it to continue to charge an entrance fee of twenty-five cents to the park grounds. NPS was not about to allow a private entity charge fees for entrance to an area under its jurisdiction. One reason RIHA wanted the fee was to keep out "undesirables." A compromise was worked out by which it was allowed to charge ten cents until such time as the government could arrange to administer the site.

135. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 162-166; Charles W. Porter II, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies, 1585-1587," *North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 20, (January 1943): 22-42.

136. Powell, *Paradise Preserved*, 162-166; Thomas Alan Sullivan, compiler, *Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service up to January 1, 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), 77-78; Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, July 1941, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Cape Hatteras Group Headquarters, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as FORA; Arno B. Cammerer to First Assistant Secretary, March 18, 1940, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

greater by logging it or by using it for recreational purposes. At the same time the Conservation and Development Department was creating publicly owned game preserves throughout the state to help address the loss of game habitat. There were twelve by 1929. Private hunting clubs were also specifically promoting Pamlico Sound as an area where a major game preserve, even a national refuge, should be established. National papers reported on these developments and the need for Congress to authorize funds to create protected areas. The Dune Park and Pamlico Sound game preserve movements meshed well with larger trends, brought publicity, promoted road construction and tourism, and helped increased Dare County's land values. It was in this milieu, in 1933, that Frank Stick made his second pivotal proposal to create "a coastal park on the Outer Banks," a proposal that led to a New Deal works project through the efforts of Representative Warren. The idea to create a major coastal park received a boost in 1935 when the owners of a hunting club donated nearly one thousand acres around the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse for the Cape Hatteras State Park. Between 1935 and 1941, the CCC worked at the property improving its beach and constructing five visitor cabins.[137]

As with Fort Raleigh, the State of North Carolina was interested in having the federal government acquire Cape Hatteras State Park as a national park. After the historic reorganization in 1933 that broadened the NPS mandate, the Park Service was receptive to the idea of a recreation- oriented park on the Outer Banks. In 1934, the NPS surveyed twenty beach areas along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts for possible national seashore locations and determined Cape Hatteras to be a top choice. To encourage such a finding, the North Carolina General Assembly passed legislation in 1935 authorizing the state to transfer land to the United States for a national park. Following up on the state legislation, Warren introduced a congressional bill to create the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Congress approved the bill and President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed it into law on August 17, 1937, during his trip to see *The Lost Colony* on Roanoke Island. The bill authorized the nation's first national seashore with up to one hundred square miles on five Outer Banks islands. There were several criteria—the land had to be donated; a minimum of ten thousand acres had to be acquired; and the park had to be established within ten years.[138]

With the passage of the legislation in 1937, the NPS mapped out the property desirable for acquisition as part of the national seashore. The new park was to include over sixty- two thousand acres or one hundred square miles along the Outer Banks.[139] NPS proposals included both Kill Devil Hill National Monument and Fort Raleigh as part of the national seashore. In fact, the Fort Raleigh site was to be substantially enlarged to include the entire north end of Roanoke Island, a total of nearly three square miles stretching from the island's northernmost tip to Baum Point near Manteo. With possession of the island's entire northern end, NPS planners felt confident that the park would include any archeological sites associated with the Raleigh colonies. In addition, the Park Service could interpret other periods of the island's history, for example, by using Civil War remains at Forts Blanchard, Bartow, and Huger.[140]

Progress to create the national seashore was slow. In December 1938, NPS officials met with North Carolina political leaders in Raleigh to get the process moving again. The meeting included Associate Regional Director Herbert Evison, Assistant Regional Director Ewell M. Lisle, Mackintosh, Stick, Warren, Etheridge, and other officials. During the meeting, it was decided to approach the North Carolina General Assembly with a bill creating a state commission to oversee land acquisition for the national seashore. At the suggestion of Warren, the decision was made to avoid potential controversy by requesting no state funding at the present time beyond that necessary for the commission's operation. Funds for the purchase of land

137. Powell, 142; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 247-251; Torres, 152-156; "North Carolina Takes Stock," *New York Times* (June 20, 1928), 24; "Four New Game Refuges," *New York Times* (March 18, 1929), 47; "New Game Centres in North Carolina: Wright Celebrations in Dare County Attracting Attention to Its Advantages," *New York Times* (September 15, 1929), 8 (section xii).
138. "Conservation: National Seashore," *Time*, September 5, 1938, 9, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Lee, *Family Tree*, 58; Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 56; Torres, 152-156; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, 247-251; Sullivan, *Laws*, 195-197.
139. Note that Cape Hatteras National Seashore as originally proposed included over sixty-two thousand acres on the islands of Ocracoke, Hatteras, Bodie, Collington, and Roanoke. As established in 1952, the modern national seashore includes just over thirty thousand acres on Ocracoke Island, Hatteras Island, and Bodie Island south of Nags Head.
140. Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, to Kermit Johnson, June 10, 1938, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; "Northern Coast of State to be Federal Park Site," *Greensboro Daily News*, October 16, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; "Hoey's Selects Commission to Obtain Land for Park," *Greensboro Daily News*, November 14, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; "Conferees Make Seashore Plans," undated newspaper clipping, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; *Cape Hatteras National Seashore*, North Carolina, Map NS-CH-7000, April 20, 1938, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

would have to come from donations. Working in cooperation with Warren, State Senator D. Bradford Fearing of Manteo introduced a bill in the General Assembly in 1939 creating the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. Once the legislation passed, Governor Clyde Hoey appointed the nine- member commission. Its membership included Etheridge, former Governor John Christopher Blucher Ehringhaus, and Doris Duke Cromwell of the state's prominent tobacco family, the Dukes. By the time that the commission was appointed, two of the ten years allowed for the national seashore's establishment had already elapsed.[141]

While the state was preparing to begin land acquisition for the national seashore during the late 1930s and early 1940s, potentially adverse developments on the northern end of Roanoke Island began to concern the NPS. In 1938, William J. Griffin subdivided property to the south of Fort Raleigh into seventy- two lots as the Fort Raleigh City residential development. Assistant Inspector Donald C. Hazlett expressed to Mackintosh the concern that such subdivisions would make land acquisition difficult if the state did not begin the process soon. Two years later, *The Dare County Times* announced planned lumbering operations on tracts at the northwestern end of Roanoke Island owned by J.D. Hayman and Griffin. Fearful of damage to archeological resources and increased erosion, Supervisor of Historic Sites Ronald F. Lee encouraged Kill Devil Hill NM Custodian Horace A. Dough to seek assistance from Warren, Crittenden, and other North Carolina contacts to acquire the affected properties. After meeting with representatives of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities and the North Carolina State Department of Conservation and Development, Crittenden reported to Lee that no funding sources were available for land acquisition. However, he added that Etheridge had determined that the lumber operations would not do as much damage as originally feared. In 1941, the Park Service was concerned about the efforts of the private Fessenden Memorial Association to erect a memorial to the Fessenden radio experiments on Roanoke Island. Dough and Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Appleman met with members of the association to discuss the proposed memorial and its relationship to the future national seashore. Appleman recommended trying to influence the development of the memorial and possibly entering into a cooperative agreement with the association if it would lead to the acquisition of land for the Fort Raleigh area of the national seashore. In the end, the association's effort to erect a memorial to Fessenden proved unsuccessful. These residential developments, lumbering operations, and memorial plans increased NPS concern about the state's national seashore land acquisition program.[142]

In addition to difficulties with land acquisition on the northern end of Roanoke Island, interest in the national seashore decreased during the mid- 1940s. Besides the impact of World War II, attention was diverted away from the project because of speculation over the potential for oil drilling off the coast. The conflict between natural preservation and economic development had already sparked controversies with park projects in the western United States. The most serious episode occurred when President Roosevelt proclaimed Wyoming's Jackson Hole a national monument in 1943. That state's cattle and timber industries bitterly opposed the designation as an attack on their economic interests. When oil companies suggested the possibility of oil deposits off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina's political leaders chose petroleum development over recreational tourism and natural preservation. In fact, to encourage oil exploration, the General Assembly passed a bill in 1945 postponing national seashore land acquisition for two years.[143] Writing to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson expressed his doubt "that the Service could have persuaded the State

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141. Meeting Notes, December 13, 1938, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; "Warren Approves Measure Creating Park Commission," *Elizabeth City Daily Advance*, January 30, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; "Doris Duke Cromwell Named on Park Board," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 14, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Lindsey C. Warren to A.E. Demaray, Associate Director, November 15, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Arno B. Cammerer, Director, to L.C. Warren, November 18, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
142. Donald C. Hazlett, Assistant Inspector, to C.G. Mackintosh, July 21, 1938, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; *Dare County Times*, September 13, 1940, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; H.K. Roberts, Acting Associate Regional Director, to Director, September 26, 1940, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, to Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill National Monument, October 3, 1940, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; C.C. Crittenden, Secretary, North Carolina Historical Commission, to Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, October 16, 1940, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, to C.C. Crittenden, October 18, 1940, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Inspector A.C. Stratton to Regional Director, June 3, 1941, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Roy Edgar Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Site, to Acting Regional Director, June 26, 1941, File 000, Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

authorities to take any other course even if we [the NPS] had known the extent to which the Assembly was being influenced by oil interests."[144] *The Dare County Times* predicted that by the end of the two- year delay, "interest will have waned sufficiently that the project will not revive."[145] Realizing that the ten- year deadline for land acquisition under the 1937 federal legislation was rapidly approaching, Warren spearheaded a bill through Congress in 1946 to extend the deadline for an additional five years. Although oil exploration efforts failed, the national seashore project lost momentum. Definitive action on the national seashore would have to wait until the 1950s. The park was finally established and funds were authorized for property acquisition in 1952.

Cape Hatteras had no oil, but it still possessed beautiful warm- water beaches that could attract increasing numbers of Americans looking for recreational opportunities along the coast. North Carolina's commercial leaders thus eventually again favored the national seashore idea. In the meantime, Congress did establish the Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge in 1938 on nearly six thousand acres of Hatteras Island within the proposed boundary of the national seashore. Still, for a long period thereafter, the failure to extend Fort Raleigh's authorized boundary to include the northern end of Roanoke Island insured that NPS managers were tied to the site as acquired from the state.[146]

143. Horace A. Dough, Custodian, to Regional Director, April 11, 1945, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, to Director, August 5, 1946, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, to Regional Director, August 9, 1946, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, to A.J. Wraight, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, December 31, 1946, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 47-48.
144. Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, to Regional Director, April 28, 1945, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
145. "Dare Takes Oil Prospects For National Park," *Dare County Times*, March 23, 1945, 1, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
146. Carl P. Russell, Acting Director, to Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard, December 5, 1946, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR; Hillory A. Tolson, compiler, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement II, May 1944 to January 1963* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), 503-506; Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge web page [http://www.pinn.net/hatteras/peaisland], April 1, 1998.

Chapter Four: Administration, Planning, and Development

Administrative Arrangements

On July 21, 1941, the National Park Service began administering Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. At first, an on- site superintendent managed the park and reported to Horace A. Dough, the superintendent at Kill Devil Hill National Memorial. Robert H. Atkinson reported for duty as the first superintendent, but Dough took over the superintendent's duties during World War II while Atkinson was serving with the U.S. Coast Guard. The placement of Fort Raleigh NHS under the management of Kill Devil Hill NM remained in effect until August 1951 when the two parks were split. When Atkinson left the superintendency in 1953 to take a position at Fort McHenry National Monument, Fort Raleigh was placed under the management of the new Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Allyn F. Hanks reported for duty in March 1954 as the first superintendent of the combined Cape Hatteras and Fort Raleigh parks, which became known as the Cape Hatteras Group. The group received a third park in 1962 when Kill Devil Hill NM, then known as Wright Brothers NM, was added. Being grouped with a larger park brought Fort Raleigh benefits like greater staff specialization and resources, but it brought disadvantages like being overlooked at times as attention focused on the larger park. This administrative arrangement remains in place at the current time.[147]

During the early years of NPS management at Fort Raleigh, the park staff primarily consisted of local residents hired as seasonal employees. One staff member, Louise M. Meekins, served twenty- four years in the positions of historical aide and historian before her retirement in 1966. The original park administrative office was in a building at the park entrance gate. In 1943, the office was moved to the museum building to allow for greater interaction with the visitors. Ten years later, the office was relocated to the John White House to gain more space and privacy. With the arrival of Superintendent Hanks in 1954, the office was placed on Bodie Island as the headquarters for the Cape Hatteras Group. With the Mission 66 program, the group headquarters was relocated back to Fort Raleigh.[148]



FIGURE 18. Louise H. Meekins giving an interpretive talk to visitors at Fort Raleigh, October 1966

The Cape Hatteras Group underwent significant administrative changes during the late 1990s. Wright Brothers NM was authorized its own superintendent in 1997. During the following year, Cape Lookout National Seashore in North Carolina was added to the group, which then became known as the Outer Banks Group. The following year it was removed again while Wright Brothers NM was returned. These administrative changes apparently resulted from attempts to address

147. Monthly Reports, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, August 1942, October 1945, August 1951, September-October 1953, March 1954, June 1954, August 1962, FORA.

148. Monthly Reports, May 1942, October 1942, January 1943, January 1944, October 1944, June 1945, May 1946, February 1950, July 1953, March 1954, June 1954, April 1962, September 1966.

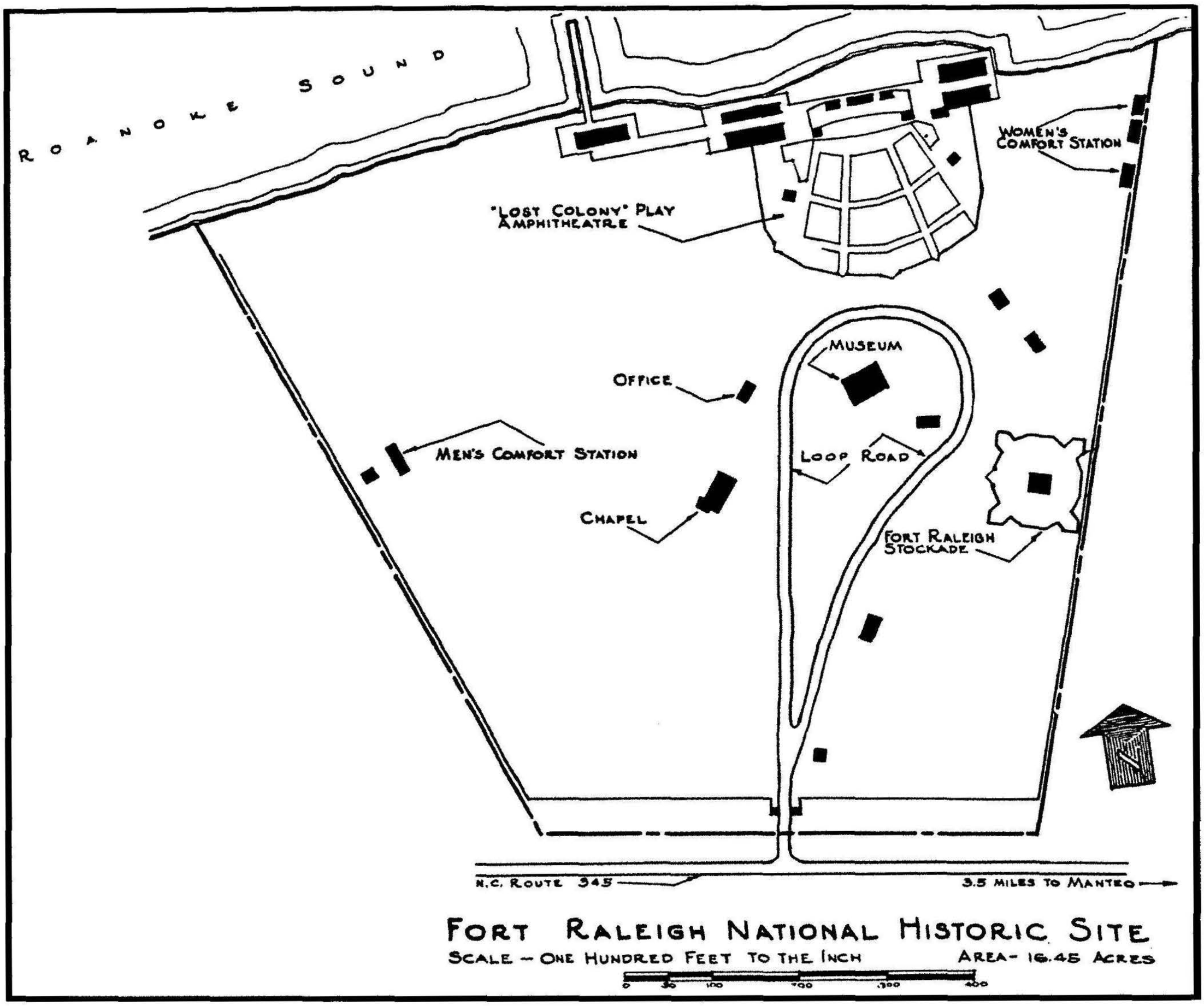


FIGURE 19. Map showing the boundary, layout, and facilities of Ft. Raleigh as inherited by the NPS from the state of North Carolina, 1942

problems caused by vacancies in staffing superintendents for parks in the region, possibly by "frequent" changes of superintendents, and perhaps by the ill- fated system- wide attempt to reorganize the National Park Service that occurred in the mid- 1990s. The administrative changes made in the Cape Hatteras Group during this period, however, were so tenuous that signs posted at the park headquarters were never altered to reflect the various reorganizations.[149]

Fort Raleigh is administered in accordance with various required NPS management plans. Several management statements, master plans, resource management and land protection plans, interpretative prospectuses, and scope of collections statements have been prepared over the years. The status of most of these plans was listed as adequate in the 1992 Statement for Management, as revised in 1994. However, the Interpretative Prospectus approved in 1963 was outdated by legislation in 1990 that affected the park's purpose, as well as by the Virginia Company's archeological investigations conducted between 1991 and 1995 (see Chapter Five).

A second major plan outdated by the 1990s was the park's Master Plan, approved in 1964. Master plans were superseded in the Park Service when new regulations were issued that required parks to draft general management plans, or GMPs. GMPs are longer range and more comprehensive than the older master plans, which were mainly used for zoning development. In the

149. Annual Reports, 1977, 1, 1996/1997, 6, 7, 1998, 1, 10; National Park Service, "Revised Statement for Management, Basic Operations Statement, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," 1994, FORA. Note, such frequent administrative adjustments can lead to uncertainty, confusion, and tension among employees, potentially contributing to a higher staff turn-over rate.

case of Fort Raleigh, the need for a serious long- range management re- appraisal was particularly urgent in light of the park's expansion and change in focus as envisioned by the 1990 legislation. A five- year strategic plan was formulated at a workshop in May 1997 to comply with the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) in which the themes of the 1990 legislation were incorporated. However, this exercise could not substitute for the thorough analysis and guidance provided by the work of a dedicated planning team. In January 1998, Superintendent Robert Reynolds and Regional Director Jerry Belson signed a project agreement to set a new GMP in motion. "The 1990 Act broadened the boundaries and the purposes of the park," the agreement stated, hence "guidance is needed to provide management direction to address issues associated with a park much different than that envisioned in the 1960s." A few of the issues that the GMP hoped to answer included:

- redesign of the visitor center to accommodate the additional purposes of the park;
- protect park cultural and natural resources, including those on private land within the authorized park boundary;
- determine the future role of archeology in interpreting traditional and newer park themes given the absence of historic structures associated with those themes; and
- consider the feasibility of changing Fort Raleigh's name to reflect legislation of 1990.

In February 1998, the Southeast Regional Office sent a staff "scoping" team to do the preliminary groundwork for a public GMP stakeholder meeting planned later that year. Unfortunately, concurrent and highly controversial developments at Cumberland Island National Seashore led NPS officials in Washington to redirect SERO planning resources, thus postponing the Fort Raleigh project. However, the development of a GMP for Fort Raleigh remains a priority. Regional office efforts to accomplish that task resumed in late 2002.[150]

Early Planning, Development, and Land Acquisition

The developed 16.45- acre "park" that the Park Service inherited in 1941 included a short loop road running through a wooded area and a series of log- cabin style structures. NPS officials envisioned enlarging the site's acreage, removing the historically questioned reconstructions, implementing a new layout, and building new facilities. Prior to the transfer of Fort Raleigh to the NPS, plans for the national seashore at Cape Hatteras called for the inclusion of 2,070 acres on the northern end of Roanoke Island with Fort Raleigh. However, when the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission began serious discussions about acquiring the land in 1943, area residents, fearful of being dislocated, responded with strong protests. As a result, the regional office scaled back the proposed acquisition to five hundred acres, but that proposal sparked another round of protests by locals in 1946. The regional office once again retreated.



FIGURE 20. View of front gate to Fort Raleigh, February 1960

In 1947, Region One prepared the first master plan that dealt exclusively with Fort Raleigh; previous plans for the site had been incorporated into the plans for the national seashore at Cape Hatteras. The most significant feature of the plan was a proposal to increase the site's acreage to between 120 and 130 acres, a dramatic decrease from the 2,070 acres as originally planned under the national seashore development. The land to be acquired included small tracts to the southeast of the park and across State Highway 345 along with all the land to the northwestern tip of the island in the vicinity of the abandoned Camp Wright. The proposed expansion was made more appealing in 1947 when the landing for the ferry to Manns Harbor was relocated further to the southwest, meaning that State Highway 345 could eventually be closed as an intrusion in the expanded park. The proposed administration building,

150. Project Agreement General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, December 1997, and *Park Mission Workshop*, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, May 1997, SERO files; Richard Sussman (Chief of Park Planning, SERO), interview by Cameron Binkley, September 10, 2001; National Park Service, "Revised Statement for Management, Basic Operations Statement, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," 1994, FORA.



FIGURE 21. View of Ft. Raleigh Motor Court through front gate of park, February 1960

park residence, and utility building were to be located along the highway on the current NPS property. Despite these plans, however, major expansion and development efforts at Fort Raleigh would have to wait for the Mission 66 program. First, funding for expansion under the national seashore project failed to materialize even by 1952 when Cape Hatteras National Seashore became a reality. Fort Raleigh and barrier island areas north of Nags Head were omitted from the seashore because of lack of funding, existing developments, high property values, and local opposition. Second, expected financial assistance from RIHA for land acquisition never appeared. (This shortfall, and other development issues related to RIHA, are discussed separately in Chapter Seven.) In the meantime, development around the park continued; for example, in 1952 a visually intrusive restaurant and motor court complex was developed immediately across State Highway 345 from the park entrance.[151]

While waiting for funding for a major park expansion and development program, the NPS maintained and utilized the facilities that the agency had inherited. The park sustained significant damage from a 1944 hurricane that blew down numerous trees and sections of the palisade. Under a contract by the park, L.R. Etheridge of Manteo secured thirty damaged holly and dogwood trees with wire rope and replaced eight hundred juniper posts in the stockade. The North Carolina State Highway and Public Works Commission performed periodic work to build up the park's loop road, which improved its drainage. The palisade along the park's boundary was expanded into the sound waters in 1945 to keep people out of the park after hours. Albert Bell rehabilitated the palisade in 1952. In addition, the museum building and the "John White House" required frequent roof repairs. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the park adapted the log structures for different uses. The John White House was repaired in 1953 for use as a temporary office in an effort to move the park's office out of the museum building. Six years later, the John White House was relocated from near the park entrance to a site near the Waterside Theatre to be used for the sale of souvenirs.[152]

From the moment that the NPS acquired Fort Raleigh, the agency desired, in the words of Regional Archeologist Jean Carl ("Pinky") Harrington, to "get rid of the present, impossible log cabins."[153] However, with the lack of funds for major new construction, the NPS had to dispose of the log buildings gradually. Because of their deteriorated condition, the blockhouse and small palisade at the fort site were removed in 1946. Five buildings were demolished in 1951, leaving only the chapel, the museum, the John White House, the pump house, and the palisade around the boundary of the site with the entrance road blockhouses. The most controversial demolition involved the chapel building. Over a period of two decades, numerous weddings in the chapel had turned the park into a "matrimonial



FIGURE 22. The WPA chapel at Fort Raleigh being demolished, April 1952

151. Summary of Proposed Additions and Boundary Changes as of January 1, 1948, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Boundaries File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Planning and Construction Division, Region One, National Park Service, Road and Trail System Plan, Part of the Master Plan, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Drawing No. NHS-RAL 2008-A, 1950, Map Cabinet, FORA; Monthly Reports, June 1943, November 1943, February 1944, May 1944, March 1947, May 1947, March 1951, May 1952.
152. Monthly Reports, March-June 1943, September 1944-March 1945, May 1945, October 1945, June 1946, June 1948, May 1949, June 1950, April 1952, February 1953, June-July 1953, June 1954, October 1955, January 1956, June 1959.
153. Jean C. Harrington to David B. Quinn, November 17, 1950, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders, Vault, FORA.

Mecca" for the local population. Even in 1949, at least seven weddings were held at the chapel. However, regional office staff inspected and closed the chapel in 1950 because of its deteriorated condition—a condition that had already attracted local criticism of the Park Service. Despite the community nostalgia surrounding the chapel, Atkinson pressed forward with plans to demolish the structure because of its historical inaccuracy. The Park Service offered RIHA an opportunity to restore the chapel, concomitant to placing a sign in front attesting to the building's historical inaccuracy, but nothing ever came of the offer (probably because the association lacked funding). When the chapel was demolished in April 1952, several regional newspapers carried a photo. Afterwards, Atkinson reported, "contrary to belief," that only a few verbal complaints were received, mostly from the local community.[154] Nostalgia among locals for the CCC- era chapel persisted for years, however. As late as 1962, for example, Nags Head Mayor Julian Oneto was making unsuccessful attempts to resurrect the structure. Oneto's effort, especially when linked with his simultaneous attempt to rescind Fort Raleigh's entrance fee, suggests that sore feelings lingered among some locals. The remaining and less contentious log structures were finally removed or relocated off park property in the mid- 1960s after Mission 66 funding became available.[155]

During these years, new construction was minimal. For example, Fort Raleigh constructed a small storage building in 1942 using salvaged materials from nearby Camp Wright. The building was used to warehouse museum items for the proposed national seashore at Cape Hatteras. The park also improved its infra-structure by installing an underground gas storage tank in 1952, placing phone lines underground in 1960, and acquiring a house trailer around 1961. By early 1960, the park had also created a self- guided nature trail. Trail crews constructed the trail on the northwestern end of the park stretching from the earthwork through a wooded area to Roanoke Sound. Originally, park officials named this path "the Dogwood Trail," but chose to rename it to honor naturalist Thomas Hariot, who participated in the establishment of the first colony in 1587. The suggestion was made by Albert Bell, but heartily supported by Superintendent Atkinson. Interpretive signage and a leaflet were subsequently developed for use with the trail.[156]

Despite plans calling for a significantly enlarged park, lack of NPS funding meant that Fort Raleigh was only able to expand its boundaries with the acquisition of two small tracts of land before the Mission 66 program. The first of these tracts was property belonging to the estate of James M. Ward and consisting of a one-fourth- acre strip of land separating the park from State Highway 345. In appealing to Regional Director Thomas J. Allen for help in acquiring the tract in 1947, Superintendent Atkinson suggested that although the asking price for the land was probably too high, the purchase was still justified since the tract was critical in that it separated the park from the highway. In response to this request, the park received the necessary purchase funds in an allocation from the National Park Trust Fund. The Ward property was purchased and transferred to federal ownership by a July 1950 deed.[157]

The second tract purchased by the NPS for Fort Raleigh was the Meakin Tract, a 1.8- acre parcel of land lying between State Highway 345 and Roanoke Sound adjacent to the southeast boundary of the park. Property owner Alfred P. Meakin of Florida offered the property to the park in 1950 for three thousand dollars. After consulting with officials in the regional office and in Washington, Atkinson decided to appeal to the board of directors of RIHA for assistance in purchasing the property, but the association was still in debt from its purchase of land northwest of the park a few years earlier. Considering the asking price too high, Atkinson negotiated it down to twenty- five hundred dollars. When funds from the National Park Trust Fund became available, the park moved forward with the purchase with a July 1951 deed. The Ward and Meakin tracts increased the size of Fort Raleigh a modest 2.05 acres to 18.5 acres total.[158]

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154. Monthly Reports, June-August 1946, December 1947, August 1948, June-August 1949, October 1949, January 1950, April 1950, August-September 1950, January 1951, April 1952, June 1966; "Fort Raleigh's Admission Fee Likely to Stay," *Coastland Times*, August 17, 1962.
155. "Fort Raleigh's Admission Fee Likely to Stay," *Coastland Times*, August 17, 1962, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA .
156. Monthly Reports, June 1942, October 1952, April 1959, February-July 1960, December 1960, January-February 1961, May 1961, July 1962, October-November 1962, June 1963.
157. Robert H. Atkinson to Regional Director, July 21, 1947, Ward Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Thomas J. Allen to Director, September 10, 1947, Ward Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Chief Counsel and Chief of Land and Recreational Planning to Director, September 15, 1948, Ward Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Land Ownership Record, National Park Service, Deed No. 2, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Ward Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA.

Public Pressure for Reconstructions

A major dilemma at archeology- based historical parks is the interpretation of site significance in the absence of above- ground remains. During the first couple of decades of NPS management at Fort Raleigh, this dilemma led to public pressure for various reconstruction schemes to beautify the park and create something to entertain tourists. These suggested reconstructions followed the tradition of the New Deal log reconstructions in their lack of historical appropriateness. The reconstructions recommended by North Carolina individuals and organizations ranged from additional house reconstructions to a native Indian village. However, with the exception of the fort reconstruction backed by strong archeological evidence, NPS officials were able to hold off the public pressure for reconstructions until the Mission 66 development program.

Perhaps the most outlandish reconstruction idea at Fort Raleigh was for an American Indian village. In the summer of 1949, North Carolina Governor W. Kerr Scott suggested such a village during a visit to the site. RIHA President Mrs. Charles A. Cannon and the board of directors discussed the idea during a January 1950 meeting. Possibly, such a village could be located on the association's land to the northwest of the park. The concept grew to include relocating some Cherokees Indians from a reservation in western North Carolina to staff the village and perform in *The Lost Colony*. Acting Regional Director Elbert Cox expressed his concerns about the appropriateness of the village to Superintendent Atkinson, although Cox did not object to the use of the Cherokees in the play. In the end, the village plan was abandoned by RIHA for two reasons. First, the association simply lacked the funds for such a development, and attempts to gain funding through the state's Native American education program proved unsuccessful. Second, RIHA encountered resistance from the Cherokee Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which frowned upon the plan to relocate a few native people to Roanoke Island.[159]

Another reconstruction idea was pushed by Inglis Fletcher, a writer of historical fiction concerning North Carolina. Fletcher wanted to see the Park Service build a replica of Hayes Barton, Sir Walter Raleigh's house in England, as a museum at Fort Raleigh. In fact, she appealed directly to the Secretary of the Interior Department in 1950. Although Regional Archeologist Harrington disapproved of the idea, he did accept Fletcher's invitation to appear before the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities to discuss the probable appearance of the lost colony houses. While Fletcher was unable to convince the NPS to build a Hayes Barton replica because of the agency's strict guidelines on reconstructions, the society did provide RIHA funds to rework the theater stage buildings from a log appearance to a wattle and daub appearance in 1951.[160] Acting Superintendent Wynne T. Dough commented "I will not pass on the authenticity of the change, but at least it will do away with the horizontal log effect that has been a source of criticism."[161]



FIGURE 23. The Waterside Theater after the building sets were changed in appearance from log to wattle in May 1955

158. Fred Meakin to Robert H. Atkinson, April 8, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Robert H. Atkinson to Regional Director, July 21, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Newton B. Drury to Regional Director, August 15, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Alfred P. Meakin to U.S. Department of the Interior, August 17, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Robert H. Atkinson to Regional Director, September 4, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Robert H. Atkinson to Regional Director, November 1, 1950, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Fred Meakin to Robert H. Atkinson, April 14, 1951, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; A.E. Demaray to Secretary, July 11, 1951, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Land Ownership Record, National Park Service, Deed No. 3, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Meakin Tract File, Land Records, Vault, FORA.

159. Monthly Report, January 1950; Acting Regional Director to Superintendent, March 27, 1950, RIHA Files, FORA; Superintendent to Regional Director, March 29, 1950, RIHA Files, FORA; Acting Regional Director to Director, April 11, 1950, RIHA Files, FORA; Superintendent to Regional Director, April 19, 1950, RIHA Files, FORA; Powell, 190.

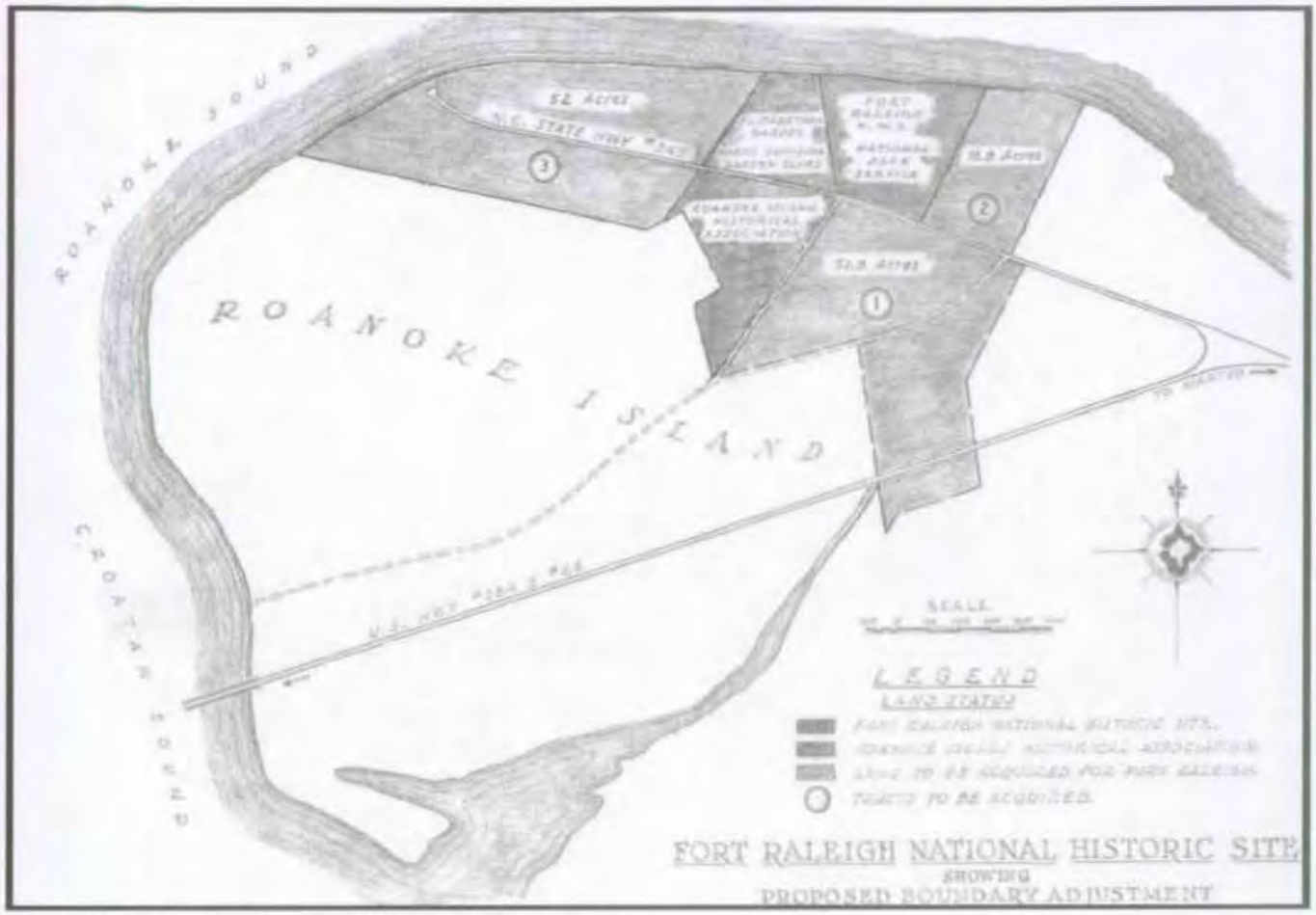


FIGURE 24. Fort Raleigh and planned Mission 66 acquisitions, late 1950s

Although the reconstructed American Indian village concept failed to materialize, RIHA continued to consider development ideas for its property to the northwest of Fort Raleigh. At Fletcher's urging, RIHA offered the Garden Club of North Carolina (GCNC) land for the development of an Elizabethan- era garden in January 1951. This development also kept the Hayes Barton idea alive a while longer, as discussed in the section on the Elizabethan Gardens in Chapter Seven. However, the Park Service resisted these and other reconstruction efforts at Fort Raleigh until the development of the Elizabethan Room during Mission 66.

The Mission 66 Program

During World War II, funding limitations prevented the Park Service from improving the nation's parks, including Fort Raleigh. After the war, economic prosperity, increased leisure time, and greater automobile use vastly expanded park visitation nationwide. In the five- year period between 1946 and 1951, visitation at Fort Raleigh steadily grew from 105,601 to 141,265. Outdated park facilities across the nation were ill- suited to meet the needs of increasing numbers of visitors. Consequently, NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth convinced the Eisenhower Administration and Congress to support a ten- year building program, which was dubbed "Mission 66." Initiated in the mid-1950s at a cost in excess of one billion dollars, Mission 66 sought to substantially upgrade park facilities nationwide in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS in 1966. Like other small parks in the national system, Fort Raleigh was transformed by Mission 66.[162]

Planning for the Mission 66 redevelopment of Fort Raleigh began during the mid- 1950s as staff from the

160. Thomas M. Spaulding to Jean C. Harrington, October 4, 1949, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders, Vault, FORA; Inglis Fletcher to Jean C. Harrington, October 31, 1950, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders, Vault, FORA; Jean C. Harrington to Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, November 2, 1950, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders, Vault, FORA; Jean C. Harrington to David B. Quinn, November 17, 1950, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders, Vault, FORA; Monthly Reports, January 1951, March 1951.

161. Monthly Report, May 1951.

Mission 66 program and the Eastern Office of Design and Construction began revising previous park master plans. A 1956 Mission 66 prospectus for Fort Raleigh called for the removal of the short loop road, a new entrance from U.S. Highway 64/264, a large parking lot for *The Lost Colony*, a modern visitor center, and two employee residences. The visitor center and roads were to be located outside of the historic core area that surrounded the reconstructed earthwork. To accommodate the new facilities, the plan proposed a land acquisition program targeting the property between the Elizabethan Gardens and the northwestern tip of the island, a small amount of property to the southeast of the park boundary, and property across the old State Highway 345 stretching to U.S. Highway 64/264. The plans allowed Roanoke Island Historical Association, to continue producing its play at the park and the GCNC to maintain the Elizabethan Gardens as a separate adjacent attraction. Although NPS land acquisition plans received broad support locally, park planners were also aware "that acquisition through negotiation [would] be only partially successful." A formal master plan was finalized in 1964. Although the planning process was in full swing for Fort Raleigh during the late 1950s, no land acquisition or development activities took place until the 1960s as the Cape Hatteras Group remained focused on Mission 66 construction projects at the national seashore.[163]

In January 1961, park planners began in earnest to carry out Fort Raleigh's Mission 66 land acquisition program after receiving two appraisal reports for thirty targeted properties. Totaling 122.4 acres, the properties included approximately twenty residences, the Fort Raleigh City subdivision lots, the Fort Raleigh Motor Court, and two souvenir shops that catered to tourists visiting the park or viewing *The Lost Colony*. U.S. Representative Herbert C. Bonner, Lindsay C. Warren's successor, sponsored Congressional legislation to authorize expansion of the site's boundary. The bill was signed into law on August 17 by President John F. Kennedy with the firm support of his Commerce Secretary, Luther H. Hodges, a former governor of North Carolina in whose administration the expansion drive began. The act provided for an addition of approximately 125 acres to the park's 18.5 acres, although funds for land purchases had to come from state or private sources. Fortunately, the North Carolina General Assembly voted an appropriation for half of the estimated total cost of the land. Then in October, Governor Terry Sanford announced that Dr. and Mrs. Fred W. Morrison were donating the remaining half. A native of North Carolina, Dr. Morrison served as the head of a prominent Washington, D.C., law firm founded by a former North Carolina governor, O. Max Gardner. Mrs. O. Max Gardner was Chairman of RIHA during the push to expand Fort Raleigh, which at the time had limited visitor accommodations, especially restricted parking. The Morrisons were also familiar with Fort Raleigh because they maintained a summer home at Kill Devil Hills nearby on the Outer Banks. Moreover, Mrs. Morrison was active in supporting *The Lost Colony*, helped lead an important fund- raising drive needed to drum up local enthusiasm for the play after state funds for RIHA were cut in 1959, and assumed the chair of RIHA soon after the Morrisons' donation. Politically well- connected and influential, RIHA made it possible for the Park Service to obtain the funding necessary to complete its land acquisition program at Fort Raleigh during the next several years. NPS Director Conrad Wirth acknowledged as much when he thanked the Morrisons by saying "it is curious how much good can come from a large private donation. It can often unlock doors otherwise closed to us and set in motion a train of events which can do much for an area such as Fort Raleigh."[164]

Despite the high level of cordiality that arose between RIHA supporters and the Park Service during Mission 66, the planned expansion of Fort Raleigh was not pleasing to some Roanoke Island residents – those forced to sell out. Some property- owners only reluctantly negotiated title to their lands, while the island's historic Dough family refused outright to do so. Moreover, because Mission 66 development occurred prior to the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), NPS planners were not required to consider preserving historic properties, including the antebellum homestead of Walter Otis Dough. Modern federal land managers must carefully scrutinize the impact of their undertakings on any such property potentially eligible

162. Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington: National Park Service, 1991), 62; Master Plan Development Outline, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, Interpretation, 1956, Mission 66 Plans, FORA.
163. United State Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Mission 66 Prospectus, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site,* April 19, 1956, Mission 66 Plans, FORA; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Mission 66 for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site*, Mission 66 Plans, FORA; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Master Plan Brief for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site*, 1964, FORA; Monthly Reports, August 1955, March 1957, August 1957, November 1960, April 1963, September 1963, March 1964.



FIGURE 25. The Dough family homestead, 1961

for National Register listing (Section 106). Without safeguards to mitigate damage, the Dough homestead and most other aged private structures within the new park boundary were slated for removal or demolition. Of course, these structures may or may not have been deemed register eligible. The Park Service also had good reasons to acquire land immediately adjacent to the fort site, including to reduce commercialization and to return the area to a more historic setting. Likewise, RIHA backers were strongly in support of the same goal, although they were also seeking additional space at the park for play activities. The Dough homestead might have served that purpose, and the park did make use of other structures acquired during the expansion. At any rate, the Dough homestead was acquired by condemnation and a portion of it was then paved to create parking space for *The Lost Colony* production and the park's visitor center. From the family's perspective, the matter was made worse when the site's two- story home was sold at auction for one dollar. The Doughs may have been holding out for a better price, but they had also previously donated land to the park. Because they refused to sell, their property was condemned. Ironically, Horace Dough, a long- time manager of Wright Brothers National Historic Site, was an heir to the Dough estate. Other Dough family members have also worked at Fort Raleigh, a situation that has partially mitigated ill feelings created by the condemnation. Nevertheless, the process of land acquisition during Mission 66, which included both negotiation and condemnation, was a sore point long remembered by some Dare County residents.[165]

In 1963, another event occurred that created friction with locals. Josie D. Bennett, chairwoman of the GCNC, approached the NPS about the possibility of having the agency assume ownership and responsibility for the Elizabethan Gardens from the garden club. Included in her rationale was that the park's visitor center could be placed at the gardens. Acting Regional Director E.M. Lisle urged Director Wirth to decline any such offer from the GCNC, a subject discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. He pointed out the unfinished state of the garden and the high maintenance costs of such a property. Lisle's opinion was that the garden was best left as a private operation, which was what happened.[166]

Once the land program was completed, the actual development of the park began. In December 1964, a contract was awarded to Kellogg- Cuthrell, Inc., of Manteo to construct the buildings. Besides the visitor center, two residences, and maintenance building called for in the original plans, the contract included the headquarters building for the Cape Hatteras Group as well as two additional residences and a building for use by RIHA in producing *The Lost Colony*. Stetson and

164. Clifford J. Harriman, "Appraisal of the Market Value of 30 Parcels of Land on Roanoke Island in Dare County, North Carolina," January 19, 1961, FORA; Roundtree and Associates, Inc., "Appraisal for National Park Service of 30 Tracts of Land Proposed for Addition to Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," January 13, 1961, FORA; Hillory A. Tolson, compiler, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement II, May 1944 to January 1963* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), 349-351; Conrad L. Wirth to Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, October 13, 1961, Land Records, Vault, FORA; "Bonner Backs Bill," *Virginian Pilot*, May 4, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Fort Raleigh Bill Passes Congress, Ervin Praises It," *Coastland Times*, August 18, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Ft. Raleigh to Expand," unknown newspaper, September 30, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Generous Gift by Morrisons Assures Permanence of a Great Fort Raleigh Shrine," *Coastland Times*, October 6, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1965), 191, 199.

165. The house mover who purchased the Dough home after condemnation separated the first floor from the second, and removed the structure beyond the new park boundary where the separate halves were used to create two still-existing single-story homes. Some other structures were also removed, such as the "Vivian House." The park allowed RIHA to use some of the structures to house it's personnel, but most were demolished. The Doughs had several complaints, but mainly felt that they did not receive fair value for their estate. Rennie E. R. Fuqua and other Dough family members, interview by Cameron Binkley, December 5, 2002; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO.

166. Josie D. Bennett to Conrad Wirth, September 22, 1963, Land Records, Vault, FORA; Acting Regional Director to Director, November 13, 1963, Land Records, Vault, FORA.



FIGURE 26. The Lindsay C. Warren Visitor Center, 1966

Daniels, a local construction firm, was contracted to clear the sites for the new facilities. The final inspection of the completed facilities was made in December 1965; five hundred locals attended an open house at the park the following February. With the dedication of the facilities approaching, the park insisted on removing yet another feature from the pre- NPS development of Fort Raleigh, the two brick memorial entrance pillars authorized by Congress in 1926 and erected in 1930. As noted previously, NHPA guidelines were not yet in place to require the NPS to consider the historical merit of structures on park property that were not part of the main period of significance. At the time Superintendent Karl Gilbert told the *Coastland Times* that the "limestone gateposts are not in keeping with present surroundings at Fort Raleigh." Today, these pillars would almost certainly be considered contributing features to the historical significance of Fort Raleigh because of their association with the historic commemoration and preservation movement. At the suggestion of RIHA Chairwoman Mrs. Fred Morrison, the pillars were relocated to a site in downtown Manteo (Waterfront Park). After initial reluctance, Fort Raleigh paid for the move. Finally, all preparations complete, the park held a formal dedication ceremony on July 13, 1966. NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., spoke at the dedication ceremony of the new "Lindsay C. Warren Visitor Center," which was named in honor of the congressman who had done much to establish the park during the 1930s. After twenty- five years of planning and development, the NPS succeeded in dramatically changing the layout and facilities of Fort Raleigh from what the agency had inherited in 1941.[167]



FIGURE 27. Dedication ceremony of the Lindsay C. Warren Visitor Center, July 13, 1966

Post-Mission 66 Development, Land Acquisition, and Boundary Expansion

No major development activities have occurred at Fort Raleigh since the mid- 1960s. The park did complete several minor improvements, however. These accomplishments included installing a split- rail fence in 1984, removing asbestos from the visitor center and headquarters building in 1988, and adding handicapped access ramps to the visitor center and headquarters building in 1987 and 1998. In 1995, the North Carolina Home Builders Association also donated materials and labor to build a house to replace an aging house trailer used for Cape Hatteras Group employees. This latter project brought a visit by Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt. The Cape Hatteras Group's museum storage facilities were also upgraded between 1987 and 1988, when a 1,550- square- foot metal curatorial building was built in the park's utility area. A 2,800- square- foot museum resources center was constructed in the same area between 1996 and 1997. This facility improved the storage and treatment of Fort Raleigh holdings in the Cape Hatteras Group collections as is further discussed in Chapter Nine.[168]

The most significant event at Fort Raleigh after Mission 66 was its major boundary expansion during the early

167. "Fort Raleigh Contract Goes to Manteo Firm," *Coastland Times*, December 11, 1964, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Clearing Woodland Site for Fort Raleigh Expansion," *Coastland Times*, February 5, 1965, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Monthly Reports, December 1965, February and July 1966; "Moving Fort Raleigh Gateposts is Problem," *Coastland Times*, May 6, 1966, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Gateposts at Ft. Raleigh to be Moved to Town," *Coastland Times*, June 10, 1966, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Lindsay Warren Visitor Center and Related Facilities Dedication, July 13, 1966," souvenir program, "Fort Raleigh, 40's-50's-60's . . . ," Box, Vault, FORA. See Figure 21 in Chapter Four for an image of the memorial pillars.

168. Annual Reports, 1984, 7, 1987, 1, 5, 11, 1988, 1, 8, 1995, 3, 1996/1997, 4, 1998, 6; "NPS Housing Project Attracts Top Officials," *Coastland Times*, Jan. 12, 1995, A-1, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

1990s—an expansion sparked in large part by concerns about the northern end of Roanoke Island being developed for commercial and residential uses. During the mid- 1980s, RIHA formulated an unsuccessful plan to build a performing arts center on U.S. Highway 64/ 264 near the park. To fund the project, RIHA proposed to develop a large complex of shops, a hotel, a golf course, and a residential development. When the plan became public, many local residents strongly opposed the development as it would transform the area's rural character, increase congestion, and degrade the attractiveness of park resources, potentially even harming the popularity of *The Lost Colony.* Because of this opposition, RIHA retreated from its proposal, but only after already having acquired several sizeable tracts of land near the park. (For more detail on these events and the relationship between RIHA and Fort Raleigh, see Chapter Eight.)

In 1988, to prevent the development of the island's northern end, locals formed a new organization, the Friends of Roanoke Island. The group's goal was to work with RIHA to locate funding to build the performing arts center without the larger development. The Friends of Roanoke Island began working with RIHA and the Trust for Public Land to find a way to preserve the northern end, possibly as a state park. By 1990, two important land tracts not owned by RIHA were threatened with development. Located on the northeastern side of U.S. Highway 64/264 at the bridge across to the mainland, an 18.4- acre tract owned by Arcle- Dare, Inc., was proposed for development as an upscale residential subdivision. Another upscale residential development, this one including a marina, was planned for an adjacent 125- acre tract owned by the RIAL Corporation. Together, these threats greatly increased community interest in the fate of the northern end of Roanoke Island.[169]

In May 1990, RIHA announced a plan to preserve the northern part of island through federal ownership. Although the association had backed away from its own development plans, it still carried a substantial amount of debt for the tracts that it had purchased in the mid- 1980s. RIHA's new plan called for two separate agencies of the federal government to acquire most of the northern end of Roanoke Island. The acquired land was to be added to Fort Raleigh and used for a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service visitor center serving the Alligator River, Pea Island, and Currituck National Wildlife Refuges. In August 1990, U.S. Representative Walter B. Jones, Sr., of North Carolina introduced the required legislation with the approval of Cape Hatteras Group Superintendent Thomas L. Hartman and other Department of Interior officials. The bill targeted the purchase of 243 acres, 208 acres to expand Fort Raleigh and thirty- five acres for the Fish and Wildlife Service. Although the acreage included most of RIHA's land holdings, the association planned to retain around twenty acres as the site for a future performing arts center.[170]

A significant additional provision in the bill expanded the interpretive focus of the park beyond the Raleigh colonies to include "the history of the Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island, North Carolina."[171] This history included the Fessenden radio experiments, a major freedmen's village, and Civil War forts and camps. The location of the Civil War- era sites, however, could not be confirmed since no archeological work had been done in areas outside park boundaries. Indeed, park expansion supporters hoped that "the acquisition of this property would enhance additional historical interest" in Roanoke Island by allowing the park to include areas once used for these other activities. A staunch promoter of the park's expansion, Maria Odom, Chairman of the Garden Club of North Carolina, mobilized backers by noting "what other place in America can boast . . . the English – the Indians – and the Blacks," which she said "could be turned into a major history lesson" that "would bring more tourists

169. "Group Organizes for Try at Land Buy for Park," *Coastland Times,* October 23, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Group Wants Park on Roanoke Island's North End," *Virginian Pilot,* October 23, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Roanoke Island Preservation Sought," *Coastland Times,* October 30, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Roanoke Island Group Gets Advice on Direction," *Coastland Times,* November 6, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "The North End," *Coastland Times,* November 11, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "RIHA Development Plans Sticky," *Coastland Times,* November 17, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Commissioners Sidestep Roanoke Island Proposal," *Coastland Times,* December 5, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Dare Group Opposes Roanoke Island Plan," *News and Observer,* December 5, 1988, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Dare Resolution Opposes Adding to Federal Lands," *Virginian Pilot,* October 2, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.
170. "Roanoke Island Land Touted for Park," *Virginian Pilot,* May 17, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Bill Seeks 208-Acre Fort Raleigh Expansion," *Virginian Pilot,* August 9, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Public Law 101-603, 101st Congress, 104 STAT. 3065, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA.
171. Public Law 101-603, 101st Congress, 104 STAT. 3065, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA.

which would translate into beaucoup [sic] taxes." She especially emphasized the possibilities of attracting African- American interest in the park. Notably, historian Patricia Click secured funding to write *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862- 1867*, the only published scholarship on the topic, after the park expansion legislation passed. However, because so little knowledge existed about the significance of the resources on the lands to be acquired, the George H. W. Bush Administration argued for delay in action on the proposed bill. These concerns were reflected in the bill itself, which instructed the Park Service to undertake historical and archeological research to address this lack of knowledge. Clearly, enthusiasm for expanding the park was not driven by a rising ground swell of recent scholarship indicating the historical significance of non- Raleigh- related themes. Instead, local boosters brewed various arguments into a rationale to help justify the park's expansion. The true aim for doing so, as Odom further stated, was to protect the ability of the Elizabethan Gardens, *The Lost Colony* sponsored by RIHA, and Fort Raleigh to continue "promoting the history of the first English colony in America," which would be poorly done if "our revered historic sites [are] forever crammed in between the concrete and metal masses of urban development."[172]

While the park expansion bill was under congressional consideration, the Dare County Board of Commissioners voted for a resolution opposing the legislation. The commissioners argued that the federal government already owned seventy- five percent of Dare County's land between all of the national parks and the national wildlife refuges and that having more tax- exempt property would harm the county financially. The board's primary issue, however, was the county's simmering adversarial relationship with the Fish and Wildlife Service. The business- dominated board resented opposition by Fish and Wildlife Service managers to the town's plans to construct mile- long stone jetties intended to improve commercial navigation near Oregon Inlet. The board wanted to use property in the Pea Island refuge and the Cape Hatteras National Seashore to stabilize the inlet. It also wanted to construct a landfill on county land adjacent to the refuge and to open a softball field on refuge land near the community of Stumpy Point. Understandably, the Fish and Wildlife Service opposed these plans that threatened to harm the refuge. Under these circumstances, however, the prospect that the Fish and Wildlife Service would increase its land holdings in Dare County prompted the commissioners to launch a protest campaign. A Dare County Board of Commissioners' press release even claimed that "the citizens of Dare County have been held hostage by the Department of the Interior for too long." When Governor James G. Martin withheld his support for the bill based on the county's stance, Jones was forced to remove the Fish and Wildlife Service provision. Fortunately, this change resulted in the rescission of the board's resolution against the expansion plan. North Carolina political forces were then aligned in favor of the bill.[173]

In the meantime, RIHA Chairman Thomas White noticed a discrepancy in the proposed legislation and the objectives of various supporters. The bill authorized the acquisition of 243 acres. However, White discovered that confusing maps had prompted an undercount of the acreage contained in three tracts. The total acreage required to meet the needs of all the parties actually totaled roughly 365 acres. White requested the bill's congressional sponsors to amend the legislation. Representative Jones offered such an amendment and the Interior Committee subsequently adopted it. The bill's final numbers were later reduced slightly to correspond with removal of the Fish and Wildlife provision. After passing the House, the bill passed the Senate with the support of North Carolina Senators Terry Sanford and Jesse Helms. On November 16, 1990, Jones's bill became Public Law 101- 603 with the signature of President George H. W. Bush. It authorized Fort Raleigh to expand by 335 acres, added the park's new interpretative purpose, and mandated new research on the park's themes. Looking back on the process, Superintendent Hartman credited the legislative success to strong local support and the area's historical signifi-

172. "Bill Seeks 208-Acre Fort Raleigh Expansion," *Virginian Pilot*, August 9, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Lindsay C. Warren, Jr. to Senator Terry Sanford, October 5, 1990, Vault, FORA; Mrs. W. Marion Odom, Garden Club of North Carolina, to Lindsay C. Warren, Jr., Warren, Kerr, Walston & Hollowell (law firm), October 2, 1990, Vault, FORA; Public Law 101-603, 101st Congress, 104 STAT. 3065, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA. Note, Click had written a brief paper of the Freedmen's colony during the summer of 1981, but put further effort aside for ten years. See Patricia C. Click, *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862-1867* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001), xiii-xv.

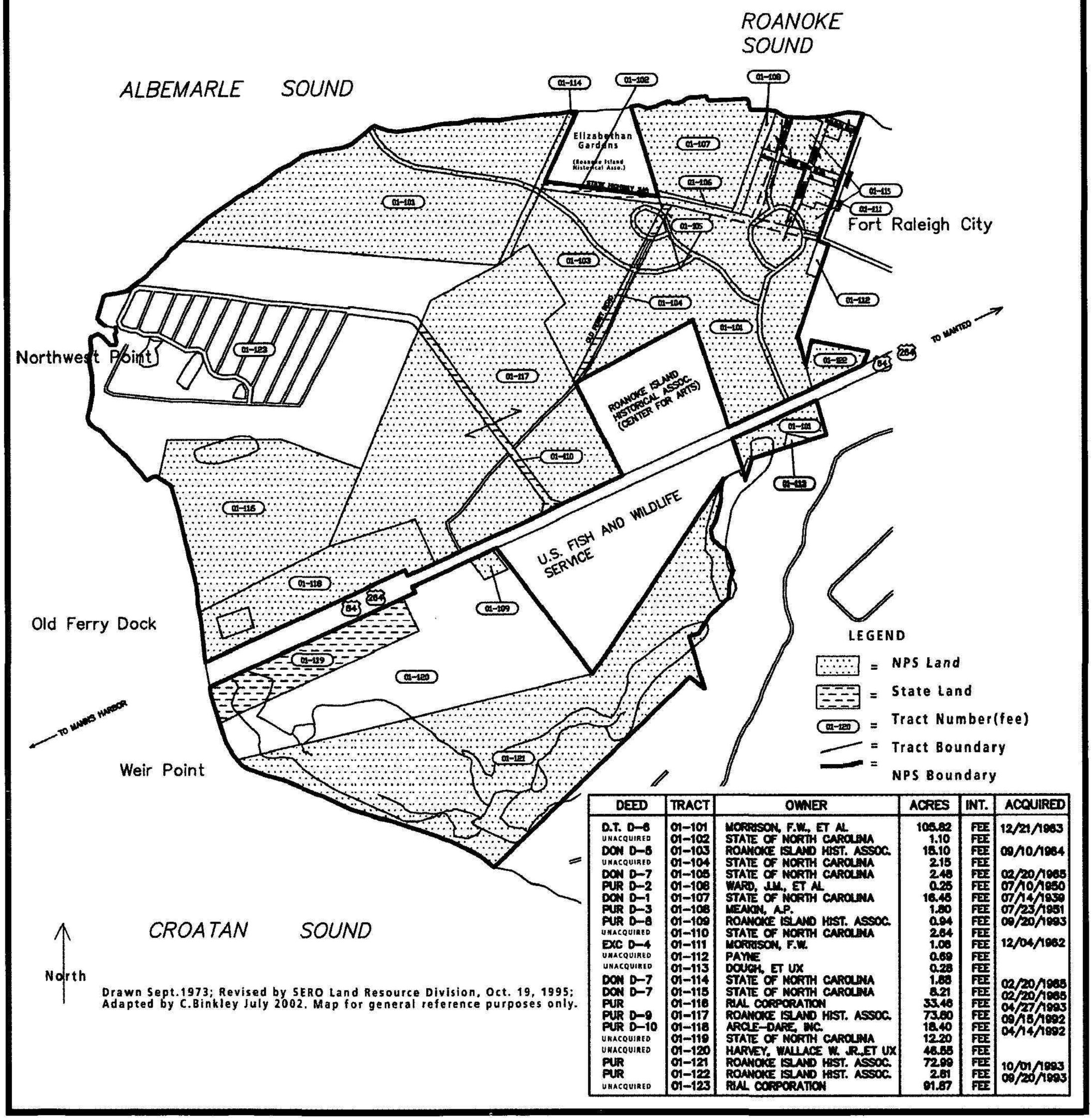
173. "Commissioners Vote 3-2 Against Wildlife Facility," *Virginian Pilot*, September 5, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Dare Resolution Opposes Adding to Federal Lands," *Virginian Pilot*, October 2, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Mikey Daniels, Chairman, Dare County Board of Commissioners, press release (no date), John T. Taylor, Refuge Manager, to Jesse Ambrose, Dare County Board of Commissioners, June 15, 1990, and James G. Martin, Governor, to Bruce Vento, Chairman, House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, October 2, 1990, all in FORA Expansion Bill File, Vault, FORA.

cance. Certainly, the driving force behind the bill was the desire of locals to preserve the northern end of Roanoke Island from development while getting RIHA out of debt and back on track as the producer of *The Lost Colony.*[174]

Passage of the expansion legislation was a major step, but park advocates still had to convince Congress to provide the necessary funds. Representative Jones could not submit an appropriations request until the spring of 1991. To make matters worse, the RIAL Corporation began bulldozing trees on its property the same month that the expansion bill became law. The corporation stopped its work for several weeks to negotiate the sale of the property to the Trust for Public Land. When these negotiations proved unsuccessful and county officials granted the necessary permits in January 1991, the RIAL Corporation proceeded with its development plans. In an attempt to quell the controversy, the corporation sponsored a small archeological survey of five acres in the planned subdivision. Not surprisingly, no significant data was recovered. Jones submitted a request for a ten-million- dollar federal appropriation in May. After the House's appropriations subcommittee recommended 2.5 million dollars for Fort Raleigh land acquisition, the Senate's appropriations committee pushed the figure up to 5.6 million dollars, the value of the RIAL tract according to an NPS appraisal. Approved in November, the final appropriation figure was the Senate's 5.6 million, a significant increase above the House figure, but still much less than that estimated for the purchase of all the authorized lands. In the meantime, the RIAL Corporation had paved the streets in its subdivision, which it named Heritage Point. Urgency now created a dilemma. The Park Service had to choose either to purchase lands owned by the financially strapped RIHA, which had originated the park expansion plan to avert development (at least in part), or to buy lands owned by the RIAL Corporation, which was fostering development (or so many perceived) to increase the speculative value of its property.[175]

In late 1991, Fort Raleigh staff drafted an amendment to the park's land protection plan outlining priorities in terms of which tracts should be acquired first. The document accorded the highest priority to the RIAL and Arcle- Dare tracts while RIHA's property was to be acquired later. Park staff may have leaned in this direction because the Fish and Wildlife Service had recently purchased several acres from RIHA. The main reason for their decision, however, was simply that the RIAL and Arcle- Dare properties faced immediate development danger. Moreover, in Congressional deliberations over the bill, Representatives Jones and Sidney Yates specifically referred to the RIAL and Arcle- Dare tracts as the key tracts. They urged the National Park Service to use whatever funding amount that was finally appropriated in 1992 under the expansion act to protect those properties to the fullest extent possible. Park officials made a logical decision to pursue these tracts first, but their choice was detached from the feelings of local park expansion backers, especially those sympathetic to RIHA. When the park's plan was released for public review, therefore, Superintendent Hartman received more than forty letters from important local civic, public, and private groups, as well as individuals, opposed to the land protection plan's acquisition priorities. Numerous critics expressed the view of RIHA that the first land to be purchased should be along the U.S. Highway 64/264 route, most of which was owned by RIHA. In arguing against the purchase of the RIAL tract, RIHA and others pointed out the high (and speculative) asking price of the property, the fact that the RIAL Corporation was Austrian- owned (implying that money spent on that land would not be reinvested in the local community), and the damage done to the site already by development activities. Given RIHA's continuing debt burden and poor financial condition, supporters of the association were particularly upset that the NPS would postpone purchasing RIHA tracts. RIHA warned the park that it would have to start selling its land holdings by August 1992 without NPS action. Taking this under

174. Thomas White, RIHA, to Floyd J. Lupton, et al, August 13, 1990, FORA Expansion Bill file, FORA Vault; 'Bush signs law to expand Fort Raleigh Historic Site,' *Virginian Pilot*, November 17, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Superintendent to Regional Director, January 29, 1992, 1990s Land Acquisition Records, FORA; Public Law 101-603, 101st Congress, 104STAT.3065, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA.
175. "Bush Signs Law to Expand Fort Raleigh Historic Site," *Virginian Pilot*, November 17, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Roanoke Island Clearing is Halted Through Friday," *Virginian Pilot*, November 14, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Bulldozers Return to Roanoke Island Tract," News and Observer, January 9, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Roanoke Developer to Finance Artifact Study," News and Observer, January 26, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "U.S. Lacks Money to Buy RIAL Tract," *Coastland Times,* March 28, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Land Bought for Visitors Center," *Virginian Pilot*, April 18, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Panel Approves $2.5 Million for Fort Raleigh," *Virginian Pilot*, June 11, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Fort Raleigh Expansion Approved," *Virginian Pilot*, July 26, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Interior Bill Becomes Law, Area Helped," *Coastland Times,* Nov. 17, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.



DEED	TRACT	OWNER	ACRES	INT.	ACQUIRED
D.T. D–6	01–101	MORRISON, F.W., ET AL	105.82	FEE	12/21/1963
UNACQUIRED	01–102	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	1.10	FEE	
DON D–6	01–103	ROANOKE ISLAND HIST. ASSOC.	15.10	FEE	09/10/1964
UNACQUIRED	01–104	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	2.15	FEE	
DON D–7	01–105	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	2.48	FEE	02/20/1965
PUR D–2	01–106	WARD, J.M., ET AL	0.25	FEE	07/10/1950
DON D–1	01–107	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	16.45	FEE	07/14/1939
PUR D–3	01–108	MEAKIN, A.P.	1.80	FEE	07/23/1951
PUR D–8	01–109	ROANOKE ISLAND HIST. ASSOC.	0.94	FEE	09/20/1993
UNACQUIRED	01–110	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	2.64	FEE	
EXC D–4	01–111	MORRISON, F.W.	1.06	FEE	12/04/1962
UNACQUIRED	01–112	PAYNE	0.69	FEE	
UNACQUIRED	01–113	DOUGH, ET UX	0.28	FEE	
DON D–7	01–114	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	1.88	FEE	02/20/1965
DON D–7	01–115	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	8.21	FEE	02/20/1965
PUR	01–116	RIAL CORPORATION	33.46	FEE	04/27/1993
PUR D–9	01–117	ROANOKE ISLAND HIST. ASSOC.	73.80	FEE	09/15/1992
PUR D–10	01–118	ARCLE–DARE, INC.	18.40	FEE	04/14/1992
UNACQUIRED	01–119	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	12.20	FEE	
UNACQUIRED	01–120	HARVEY, WALLACE W. JR.,ET UX	46.55	FEE	
PUR	01–121	ROANOKE ISLAND HIST. ASSOC.	72.99	FEE	10/01/1993
PUR	01–122	ROANOKE ISLAND HIST. ASSOC.	2.81	FEE	09/20/1993
UNACQUIRED	01–123	RIAL CORPORATION	91.87	FEE	

Drawn Sept.1973; Revised by SERO Land Resource Division, Oct. 19, 1995; Adapted by C.Binkley July 2002. Map for general reference purposes only.

FIGURE 28. Land status map showing tract numbers, property acquisition dates, deed type, and previous ownership, 1995

consideration, Superintendent Hartman responded to the local criticism by altering the park's acquisition priorities to focus first on the land along the highway. As a result, effective opposition to the development of Heritage Point was ended and the RIAL Corporation proceeded unencumbered. After Hartman began to initiate land acquisitions according to the revised land protection plan, Congressman Martin Lancaster questioned this apparent contradiction of the intent of Congress. Hartman carefully explained the situation,

public sentiments, and also that his modifications were supported by Senator Sanford and Representative Jones, the bill's original sponsors, which ended the inquiry.[176]

By 1994, the Park Service had acquired approximately 210 of the 335 acres authorized by the expansion bill, including the Arcle- Dare tract and even some undeveloped portions of the RIAL tract. On the former Arcle- Dare property, the park was able to demolish the unsightly and deteriorated Fort Raleigh Motor Court, which it replaced with a boat landing and interpretive waysides.[177] Since then, limited funding has prevented Fort Raleigh from making improvements or conducting archeological investigations on its new property, but as the century turned, much of the historically significant land associated with the north end of Roanoke Island had obtained federally protected status. Despite the fact that some land was lost to development, it was an important accomplishment to protect the scenic approach to Fort Raleigh. Moreover, Superintendent Hartman's decision to modify the park's land protection plan to pursue RIHA's property first, as opposed to overly priced land already under development, boosted the association's financial stability and therefore the long- range health of *The Lost Colony* production. Of course, it also protected the park's good relationship with the local community. Overall, this outcome was probably the best that could be obtained.

176. "NPS Airs Draft Plan for North End," *Coastland Times,* December 10, 1991, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Park Service Alters Plans for Roanoke Island," *Virginian Pilot,* February 13, 1992, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Park Service Moves to Buy 132 Acres on Roanoke Island," *Virginian Pilot,* May 22, 1992, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Draft Land Protection Plan Amendment, September 1991, 8, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA; Sybil D. Basnight to Tom Hartman, January 6, 1992, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA; Uli and Eileen Bennewitz to Superintendent, January 3, 1992, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA; Robert L. Knowles to Thomas L. Hartman, January 6, 1992, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA; Superintendent to Regional Director, January 29, 1992, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA; "Conference Report on HR 2686, Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992," *Congressional Record,* Vol. 137, No. 154, H8499; Thomas L. Hartman, to Martin Lancaster, February 23, 1993, FORA Expansion Bill File, Vault, FORA.

177. "Away With the Old," *Coastland Times,* June 21, 1994, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

Chapter Five: Archeology and the Search for the Lost Colony

The Development of Historical Archeology

It is difficult to overstate the significance of archeology at Fort Raleigh, a park that is essentially a preserved archeological site. With no above- ground sixteenth-century resources, the National Park Service relies on archeological data to support its interpretive programs and planning efforts. Archeological work at Fort Raleigh falls within the field of historical archeology, "the study of the material remains of past societies that also left behind some other form of historical evidence."[178] Between the 1930s and 1970s, historical archeology developed as a distinct discipline separate from the more traditional archeology, which focuses on cultures that left no written records. In its earliest years, traditional archeologists tended to view historical archeology as a subfield of history. However, a number of pioneering investigations at Fort Raleigh and other historic sites earned historical archeologists greater respect within the broader profession of archeology.[179]

With the rise of the U.S. historic preservation movement during the late nineteenth century, a number of historic sites were excavated, including Fort Raleigh in 1895 by Talcott Williams. Williams visited the site briefly in 1887, but conducted a more thorough survey in 1895. Talcott reviewed the existing literature and then sank a test trench that confirmed European occupation of the site at the time the fort was erected. He then recommended that protective measures be instituted (a fence) to protect the site. Regardless of efforts by Talcott and other archeologists, however, it was the work programs of the New Deal that gave historical archeology its first major boost. During the 1930s, CCC and WPA projects made possible investigations at various sites associated with European colonization, including St. Augustine in Florida, St. Mary's Cittie in Maryland, the Santo Domingo Mission in Georgia, and most important, Jamestown in Virginia.[180]

Jamestown represented the first major historical archeology effort by the NPS and served as a precursor to the investigations at Fort Raleigh. The Jamestown site was originally preserved by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), which received a donation of twenty- two acres on Jamestown Island in 1893. In addition to building a seawall to control erosion at the archeologically sensitive area, the APVA sponsored several investigations of building sites between 1897 and 1903. However, major archeological efforts did not occur until the NPS acquired the remainder of Jamestown Island in 1934 as part of Colonial National Historical Park. Using CCC labor, the NPS began an excavation project that ran from 1934 to 1941. Following the philosophy of the APVA and architect Henry C. Forman, the Jamestown project was overseen by architects with archeologists working under them. The archeologists dug until reaching foundation remains, at which time the architects took over. Project managers believed that this arrangement worked best since they were dealing with structural remains. However, the arrangement led to turf battles and professional rivalries between the architects and archeologists. After a site visit in July 1936, Smithsonian archeologist Frank Setzler suggested the project be headed by a young architect- turned- archeologist that he had met – Jean C. Harrington.[181]

178. Samuel D. Smith, *A Bibliographic History of Historical Archeology in Tennessee* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation, 1996), 2.
179. Edwin A. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 187-190.
180. Ibid.; Ivor Noel Hume, "'Pinky' Harrington: A Remembrance," *Roanoke Colonies Research Newsletter*, Volume 6, Number 1, November 1998, 2; Jean Carl Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carol*ina (Washington: National Park Service, 1962), 3; William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 30, 33-35, 79.



FIGURE 29. Jean C. Harrington working on excavations at Fort Raleigh, October 1965

With a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Michigan, Harrington, affectionately known as "Pinky," found himself unemployed during the Great Depression, so he did graduate work in archeology at the University of Chicago. At Setzler's suggestion, the Park Service hired Harrington to oversee the Jamestown excavation. Between 1937 and 1941, he established a pioneering historical archeology effort at the park, refining both the techniques and artifactual knowledge of the budding new field. As a result of his work at Jamestown, Harrington emerged as a leading historical archeologist, going on to become regional archeologist for Region One and to oversee excavations at Fort Raleigh and Fort Necessity in Pennsylvania.[182]

Harrington was a major player in the development of the historical archeology profession. Noted historical archeologist Ivor Noel Hume of Colonial Williamsburg has cited Harrington as "the father of historical archaeology in America."[183] The field organized nationally with the first meeting of the Society for Historical Archeology in 1967. The discipline received significant publicity during the 1960s with the excavations at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia by Hume, who would lead investigations at Fort Raleigh in the 1990s. The formalization of the historical archeology field culminated with passage of landmark federal legislation, including the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act and the 1979 Archeological Resources Protection Act. These federal laws required archeological investigation and clearance of property prior to disturbance by federally sponsored projects or projects on federal lands. From the 1970s onward, such compliance work led to a boom for historical archeology. NPS excavations by Harrington at Jamestown and Fort Raleigh were pivotal in the development of the new discipline.[184]

Excavating and Reconstructing the Fort, 1947-1950

After the Second World War, the Park Service made archeological investigations a top priority for Fort Raleigh, especially given the need for confirmation of the site's significance, interpretive information, and clearance for planned construction. As noted above, Talcott Williams of the University of Pennsylvania conducted the only previous archeological work at the site in 1887 and 1895. The fort site had suffered a number of ground disturbances over the years, including digging by artifact hunters, the placement of the Virginia Dare Monument, a ditch for a 1921 movie, and the 1930s blockhouse and stockade structures. Between 1945 and 1946, Harrington began to formulate an archeological survey program for the park, which was funded the following year.[185]

During 1947 and 1948, Harrington excavated the fort site. The primary result of his work was the discovery of most of the outline of a fortification and information on its construction as an earthwork. Once Harrington

181. Lyon, 1, 175, 187-190; Harrington, *Search*, iv; Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities web page [http://www.apva.org/history/index.html], July 22, 1999; Colonial National Historical Park web page [http://www.nps.gov/colo/Jthanout/JtArch.html], July 22, 1999.
182. Lyon, 187-190; Hume, "'Pinky,'" 1-2.
183. Hume, Ivor Noel, *Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center*, booklet reprinted from *Colonial Williamsburg: The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* (Spring 1994), 1.
184. Smith, 2, 4; Hume, "'Pinky,'" 2.
185. Monthly Reports, July 1945, September 1945, April 1946, December 1946; Project Construction Program Proposal Form, Archeological Investigations, November 6, 1946, "Special Events 1960s, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders" Box, Vault, FORA; Maurice Williams, Archeological Data Section for the Preliminary Cultural Resource Management Plan, Southeast Archeological Center, March 1982, 20, FORA; Jean Carl Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina* (Washington: National Park Service, 1962), 1-4, 14; Jean Carl Harrington, *Archeology and the Enigma of Fort Raleigh* (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee and North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), 1-9.



FIGURE 30. Map of 1947 and 1950 Harrington exploratory trenches

confirmed the location of the fortification, which he assumed to be the primary one for the settlement, he began digging exploratory trenches out from the earthwork in an attempt to locate evidence of the settlement. His assumption was that the colonists would have built their dwellings near the main fort. In addition to the trenches within the 16.45 acres of the park, he opened an exploratory trench on adjacent private property to the southeast. In 1953, Harrington dug similar trenches on property to the northwest before its development as the Elizabethan Garden. In all of these efforts, he failed to find any evidence of a sixteenth-century settlement. Nevertheless, confirmation of the earthwork's presence and the assumption that it was the settlement's main fortification brought the park's archeological efforts significant publicity.[186]

Following up on these archeological investigations, park officials were anxious to incorporate the new information on the earthwork into their interpretation of the site. Both Harrington and the park wanted to see the fort reconstructed. Thus, in 1949, Harrington began researching sixteenth- century fortifications and traveled to Great Britain to meet with David Quinn, a noted expert on the Raleigh colonies. Harrington found that the configuration of the Fort Raleigh earthwork resembled the designs of Lane's two forts in Puerto Rico and the typical plans of sixteenth- century English fortifications for colonial settlements. This information strengthened Harrington's belief that he had found Lane's main 1585 fort near the settlement site. In the



FIGURE 31. Earthwork outlined by granite, ca. 1949

186. Monthly Reports, March 1947, May 1947, June-July 1953; Jean C. Harrington to Director, August 16, 1948, "Special Events 1960s, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders" Box, Vault, FORA; Harrington, Search, 5-27; Harrington, Archeology, 1-21.



FIGURE 32. Fort Raleigh earthwork being reconstructed following Harrington's archeological investigations, September 1950

meantime, the park marked the outline of the earthwork with granite slabs for interpretive purposes.[187]

In the 1940s, NPS general restoration policies and procedures, as set forth by Director Newton Drury, were strict and intended to limit the use of reconstructions. To gain approval for a reconstruction project, a park had to submit documentation as to the proposed reconstruction's accuracy. Harrington argued that the earthwork at Fort Raleigh should be reconstructed for interpretive reasons, especially given that the strong archeological evidence would allow for a highly accurate reconstruction. Supervisor of Historic Sites Ronald F. Lee in Washington agreed with Harrington and approved the reconstruction of the fort. Harrington oversaw the full reconstruction of the earthwork at Fort Raleigh during 1950.[188]

Mission 66 Archeological Work, 1963-1965

In 1963, Harrington and a team of NPS archeologists surveyed the sites of proposed Mission 66 construction at Fort Raleigh for evidence of sixteenth- century resources, but no significant data was uncovered. With the construction of the park facilities approaching, Harrington excavated an area between the reconstructed fort and the site of the planned Mission 66 visitor center to investigate a sunken area with structural stains. This area was first noticed in 1959 during the installation of underground utilities at the park. Harrington's 1965 dig at the site revealed signs of a seven- by- eight- foot log structure with horizontal logs extending beyond the structure on two sides. In addition, he found brick and tile fragments that he believed dated from the sixteenth century. Not knowing what to make of the apparent structural feature, he called it an "outwork" and hypothesized that it was part of the palisade that the second colony had erected at the settlement site.[189]



FIGURE 33. Reconstructing earthworks at Fort Raleigh, 1950

187. Jean C. Harrington to Robert, July 23, 1949, "Special Events 1960s, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders" Box, Vault, FORA; Harrington, Search, 24-28; Monthly Report, April 1949.

188. Newton B. Drury, "The Restoration Policies and Procedures of the National Park Service," circa 1940, "Special Events 1960s, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders" Box, Vault, FORA; Jean C. Harrington to Robert, July 23, 1949, "Special Events 1960s, FRNHS Miscellaneous Folders" Box, Vault, FORA; Monthly Reports, February 1950, August 1950; Harrington, *Search*, 27-33; Harrington, *Archeology*, 1-21.



FIGURE 34. Jean C. Harrington and his wife Virginia S. Harrington excavating at Ft. Raleigh, Oct. 1965

Investigating Harrington's "Outwork," 1981-1985

In the 1980s, archeology once again became an issue at Fort Raleigh. The impetus was the celebration of the four- hundredth anniversaries of the two Raleigh colonies. The state of North Carolina formed a special anniversary committee to plan for these events. Among other activities, the committee urged an aggressive archeological campaign to uncover new information in time for the celebration. It suggested that the state government focus on finding American Indian villages associated with the colonies and that the NPS focus on finding the settlement site. In response to this suggestion, Phillip W. Evans of the park's staff prepared a position paper in 1981 justifying additional archeological research at Fort Raleigh. Evans's argument revolved around Harrington's "outwork" discovery. Influenced by Hume's recent excavation of a fort at Wolstenholme Towne in Virginia, Evans hypothesized that the "outwork" was in fact a corner of the large palisade fortification at the settlement site. With funding and the renewed hope of discovering the settlement site, the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) began a series of investigations into the "outwork" feature.[190]

From 1982 to 1984, SEAC archeologists used remote sensing, aerial photography, and soil resistivity techniques to identify anomalies at the park that might have indicated archeological remains from a fortification. Looking at two areas specifically, SEAC staff recommended selective excavation. Judging from the triangular shape of one anomaly in the parking lot loop at the visitor center, the archeologists suggested that the reconstructed earthwork could in fact be only one bastion of a much larger fortification. In 1985, a team of SEAC archeologists led by John Walker excavated the area with the triangular- shaped anomaly. Hoping to find a second bastion of a fortification, they instead found remains of a 1921 dirt road. With the failure to confirm the theory of a large fortification at the site, the park was once again unable to figure out where the settlement might be located. Furthermore, it had become obvious that the reconstructed earthwork alone could not have been Lane's main fort at the settlement since it was too small to hold all of the settlers.[191]

New Discoveries by the Virginia Company Foundation, 1991-1993

Ivor Hume of Colonial Williamsburg initiated the next phase of archeological work at Fort Raleigh. At a 1989 meeting with park officials and SEAC archeologists, Hume discussed his proposal for further excavations under the sponsorship of the Virginia Company Foundation. A memorandum of agreement was signed the following year, allowing the foundation to sponsor Hume's project at the park. Because of the park's tight fiscal situation, the foundation was responsible for

189. Monthly Reports, August-September 1963, March 1965; "Fort Raleigh Diggings Will Begin Aug. 20," *Coastland Times*, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "'Raleigh' Sought by Diggers," *Virginian Pilot*, August 21, 1963, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Search for 'Cittie of Raleigh' Resumed With Fort Expansion," *Coastland Times*, February 5, 1965, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Elizabethan Brick and Tile Found at Fort," *Coastland Times*, May 14, 1965, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Harrington, Archeology, 23-33.

190. I. Noel Hume to Phillip W. Evans, July 29, 1981, "Evans, Phillip W." file, Vertical Files, FORA; Phillip W. Evans, "Justification for Further Archeological Exploration for the Settlement Site at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," July 1981, "Evans, Phillip W." file, Vertical Files, FORA.

191. William P. Athens, *Soil Resistivity Investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site*, Southeast Archeological Center, 1984, Cultural Resources Stewardship Library, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia; "Archeologists Hope 'Triangle' is Lost Colony Fort," *Outer Banks Current*, June 20, 1985, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Archeologists Report 'Finds' are Abandoned 1921 Dirt Road," *Coastland Times*, July 4, 1985, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

Major Archeological Investigations at Fort Raleigh

Investigation	Date	Comments
Talcott Williams University of Pennsylvania	1887, 1895	Earliest archeological work
Jean C. Harrington University of Chicago/NPS	1947- 1950, 1953	First archeological survey; Discovery, confirmation, reconstruction of earthwork, originally believed to be "Lane's Fort"
Jean C. Harrington National Park Service	1963- 1965	Pre- Mission- 66 archeological surveys; Discovery of sixteenth century "outwork" of unknown purpose
NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) Investigations	1981- 1985	Renewed but inconclusive search for settlement site; Investigations of "outwork" determine it not the main fortification
Ivor Noel Hume Virginia Company Foundation/SEAC	1991- 1993	Discovery of 1585- 1586 "science center"; Speculation that settlement site is beneath sound; Further doubt shed on theory of earthwork as "Lane's Fort"
Nicholas M. Luccketti Virginia Company Foundation/SEAC	1994- 1995	Further confirmation of Hume hypothesis that settlement site is beneath sound; Findings also suggest earthwork built to protect science center or Grenville's fifteen men
SEAC	2000- Ongoing	Archeological Overview and Assessment

FIGURE 35. Major archeological investigations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

raising the necessary funds, but the NPS would provide supplies and labor through SEAC. For the park, the agreement offered further archeological work by a respected historical archeologist with the hope of answering some of the major questions regarding the relationship of Raleigh's colonies with the NPS site. The foundation was able to acquire grants and donations from the National Geographic Society and other sources. The project involved three periods of excavations at Fort Raleigh from 1991 to 1993. The recovered artifacts were sent to Dr. Robert Ehrenreich and Dr. Peter Glumac of Albany, New York, for treatment and research.[192]

The Virginia Company Foundation excavations led to what Hume described as "the most exciting in a lifetime of discoveries."[193] The artifacts recovered suggested that the site of the earthwork was a type of research laboratory of the 1585 to 1586 period, probably related to naturalist Thomas Hariot and scientist Joachim Ganz. Remains from unburned charcoal and items like crucibles suggested that the laboratory was the scene of metallurgical activities, especially given that the colonists were hoping to find precious metals. Further, the location of the artifacts under the fort remains indicated to Hume that the laboratory predated the earthwork. Consequently, Hume concluded that the reconstructed fort could not have been Lane's earthwork of 1585. Hume then confronted the obvious question—who built the fort and when? One possibility was that the earthwork had been constructed to guard the entrance to the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds sometime during the French and Indian War or another eighteenth- century military conflict. Hume explained the lack of military artifacts by the fact that the fort was never needed and thus was never occupied. Another possibility was that the earthwork had been constructed by either the group of fifteen men left behind by Grenville in 1585 or by the second colony as a small fortification away from the settlement and the main fort. In Hume's opinion, the sixteenth- century settlement site was probably lost to the waters of Roanoke Sound.[194]

192. Annual Reports, 1989, 3, 1990, 3, 1991, 3, 1992, 4, 1993, 6; Hume, *Roanoke Island*, 1-15.
193. Hume, *Roanoke Island*, 1.
194. Ibid., 1-15; Laura P. McCarty, "New Findings at the Lost Colony," *National Parks*, Volume 67, Number 7-8, July/August 1993, 36-40, "McCarty, Laura P." file, Vertical Files, FORA.

Hume's theory on the Fort Raleigh earthwork echoed back to the skepticism of Historian Charles W. Porter and other NPS officials about the fort's authenticity when the site was being considered for a park during the 1930s. A further archeological investigation sponsored by the Virginia Company Foundation followed up on Hume's work in 1994 and 1995. The project was managed by archeologist Nicholas M. Luccketti. Although investigations were cut short for lack of funds, Luccketti conducted two major excavations that discovered additional sixteenth- century artifacts. However, the relative dearth of artifacts uncovered failed to indicate the presence of any actual settlement. His conclusions reinforced previous findings by Hume that the main fort and settlement were not located in the vicinity of the earthwork, and were probably now beneath the sound. Luccketti did differ with Hume in emphasizing that the most likely explanation for the earthwork was that it had been built to protect the "science center" discovered by Hume or established as a garrison for the fifteen men left by Grenville to protect the colony Lane abandoned.[195]

The Virginia Company Foundation's investigations complicated the interpretive mission of the Park Service at Fort Raleigh. On the one hand, Hume's and Luccketti's findings confirmed that the park was the site of sixteenth- century activities associated with the first Raleigh colony. On the other hand, the findings suggested that the settlement site of the second colony was not located on NPS property. Further, the findings indicated that the reconstructed fort interpreted by the park for over forty years as Lane's main fort was in fact another sixteenth- century fortification or even an eighteenth- century earthwork.

Impact of Park Expansion Legislation, 1990

A final archeological issue requires comment. Additional focus given to interpretation at Fort Raleigh as a result of the 1990 park expansion legislation (detailed in Chapter Four) also generated new archeological issues. As the *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* points out, no standing structures associated with the new interpretative themes pertaining to Civil War- era military camps, the Freedmen's colony, or Reginald Fessenden's radio experiments have survived within the confines of the park. Nevertheless, documentary evidence indicates that a number of archeological resources may be present within the historic site on the north end of Roanoke Island. Although not on park land, some ruins associated the boilers that powered Fessenden's radio transmitters can be seen off the northwestern shore of Roanoke Island. However, the exact location of Fessenden's equipment, including the transmitting/receiving towers on the northwest side of the island, has not been found. Possible locations include new park property near Weir Point, on the northwestern shore of Roanoke Island. This site should not be ruled out until more research is conducted.[196]

In addition, archeologists have uncovered some Civil War- related resources on the north end of Roanoke Island. Portions of a former Confederate fortification are located near the intersection of US 64 and NC 345 (which is not within the site's boundary). However, the precise location of Fort Huger, Fort Blanchard, Fort Bartow, Camp Raleigh, Camp Foster, and other features associated with the Civil War and the Battle of Roanoke Island remain unknown. These fortifications were constructed on the northern end of the island as part of its defenses, and could be located on Park Service land. Archeological investigations, conducted in 1989 and 1991 on privately owned land within the park's new boundary, have uncovered a large number of Civil War-era artifacts despite the disruption caused by relic hunters. These finds could indicate the site of the Confederate compound or the Union camp (or even the Freedmen's colony).[197] Nonetheless, more archeological research is needed to determine whether any of these Civil War sites are indeed archeological resources located within the park's boundary.

The site of the Freedmen's colony on the northern end of Roanoke Island is also a matter of speculation. Although the community consisted of schools, storehouses, hospitals, and approximately 590 dwellings, and contained over three thousand inhabitants, no standing structures remain. However, archeological investigations have uncovered some finds that could be related to the colony.[198] Further arch-

195. Nicholas M. Luccketti, "Fort Raleigh Archeological Project: 1994-1995 Survey Report," a report of the Virginia Company Foundation and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, December 1996, 25-27.

196. See Christine Trebellas and William Chapman, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1999), 54-57.

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

eological research is needed to determine whether or not the site of the Freedmen's colony lies within the park's boundary, especially within the newly acquired land.

Despite all the archeological efforts at Fort Raleigh over half a century, the big questions about the Raleigh colonies remain unanswered. Moreover, the dearth of physical artifacts available for interpreting the park's more recently adopted interpretative themes suggests that Fort Raleigh may have an interest in promoting off-site investigations when such rare opportunities arise. Regardless, most of the land added to the park during the 1990s has yet to be surveyed. For these reasons, archeology promises to remain a key park management issue.

198. Lautzenheiser and Hargrove; Hargrove.

Chapter Six: Interpretation and Visitor Services

Visitor Use and Interpretation Prior to Mission 66

The interpretation of historic and archeological sites to the general public is a major function of the National Park Service. Fort Raleigh is an especially fruitful historic site to interpret and has seen continuous growth in visitor use. During World War II, however, the park's interpretative role was limited. The rationing of gas and tires kept park visitation rates low. Many who did visit the park were servicemen stationed at local bases, such as the naval air station located between the park and Manteo. Military personnel used the park for family visits, swimming (banned in 1948 because of pollution concerns), sightseeing, and other activities.

In the post- war period, the park experienced a dramatic increase in visitors, rising from 8,950 in 1945 to 105,601 in 1946. The end of wartime rationing and other impediments to travel sparked this increase. In addition, large crowds appeared on summer evenings after *The Lost Colony* resumed production. Other users of the park included school groups from eastern North Carolina, who came on field trips and Easter egg hunts, and African- Americans. Since federal parks in the late 1940s and 1950s had no segregationist policies, as did many state parks, black visitors, including school groups, were able to tour Fort Raleigh. Apparently, this policy did not extend to the Roanoke Island Historical Association, which sponsored a special day for blacks to attend *The Lost Colony* in 1946. That event attracted one thousand people, including Dr. C.C. Spaulding, the president of the black- owned North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. Attendees at later plays complained about RIHA's practice of segregating blacks at its performances.[199]

After WW II, several special events were also held at Fort Raleigh. The most important of these was the annual ceremony for Virginia Dare's August 18 birthday. Sponsored by RIHA, the event usually attracted several hundred to a thousand people, including governors, senators, and congressmen. Originally held in the chapel before its demolition, ceremonies were later held at the Waterside Theatre. The christenings of Virginia Dare and Manteo at the second Roanoke colony provided the inspiration for religious functions at the site. Both the Manteo Baptist Church and the Roanoke Island Baptist Church held baptisms on Roanoke Sound. Other religious events included numerous weddings in the chapel, Easter sunrise services in the theater during the late 1940s and 1950s, and regular Sunday services during the mid- 1950s.[200]

The park's primary service to visitors was interpretation. During the 1940s, the main source of information for sightseers was the museum established by RIHA and NCHC in the 1930s. In fact, RIHA continued to help operate the museum by providing summer staff, although the NPS took a lead role in developing and maintaining the exhibits. Local teacher Louise Meekins served as the association's curator throughout the decade. With the resumption of the play in 1946, RIHA's staff was expanded with the addition of four guides at the museum to provide interpretation and sell souvenirs during the summer play season.

199. Monthly Reports, August 1941, April-May 1942, July 1942, September 1942, January-April 1943, August-October 1943, April-June 1944, August 1944, January 1945, March 1945, July 1945, March-May 1946, July 1946, August 1947, July 1948, April 1950, April 1951, September 1952, July 1954; National Park Service, "Master Plan Development Outline, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, Interpretation," 1956, 4, FORA.

200. Monthly Reports, August 1942, May-June 1943, August 1943, October 1943, May 1944, July-October 1944, August 1945, November 1945, May 1947, August 1948, April 1949, June 1949, August 1949, April 1950, August 1950, September 1951, August 1952, July 1954, April 1956, April 1957, August 1957, December 1957, August 1962.



FIGURE 36. Visitors to Fort Raleigh at the WPA museum building, July 1957

Superintendent Atkinson trained the guides to ensure a uniform program. In subsequent years, the number of RIHA guides was reduced to only one or two. During the years prior to Mission 66, the Park Service improved the museum exhibits with new features, such as American Indian archeological artifacts, reproductions of John White's drawings, and new display cases. The Park Service produced interpretive literature for visitors, including a 1943 booklet by Charles W. Porter and a 1945 two- fold leaflet. In 1947, an NPS sales area was established in the museum. [201]

Early visitors to Fort Raleigh had to pay an entrance fee, which was first established on November 9, 1941. This fee was collected at the museum, although many visitors did not go to the museum to pay the fee. For this reason, the park eventually moved fee collection to the entrance gate. The fee charged was ten cents plus one cent federal tax. By comparison, the fee charged by RIHA for *The Lost Colony* production was $1.00. The first time the park fee was waived was on August 10, 1942, in conjunction with the commemoration of Virginia Dare's birthday and, as Coordinating Superintendent Horace Dough wrote, so that "all who were interested might attend." The fee was still being lifted on this date into the 1960s. These fees were contentious among locals, especially RIHA supporters who felt the collection injurious to attendance at *The Lost Colony* production. Frequent park users also objected. In January 1945, hoping to assuage such discontent, NPS officials temporarily suspended the park's admission fee, but re-instituted it in 1949. Beginning in 1955, FORA suspended fee collection during the winter months (initially,



FIGURE 37. Visitors at the reconstructed fort, ca. 1955



FIGURE 38. Children reading an interpretive sign on the Thomas Hariot Trail, June 1963

October to April) and this policy continued for many years. The change in policy was probably a result of cost- efficiency calculations, but local pressure may have played a role. Apparently, many were still unhappy about this issue in 1962, when Julian Oneto, Mayor of Nags Head, attempted to eliminate the park's entrance fee while campaigning to build an air strip at the Wright Brothers National Memorial and also to resurrect the old "log cabin"- style chapel at Fort Raleigh. At the time the entrance fee was 25 cents, but was still only imposed during the summer months (Memorial Day to Labor Day). Oneto was not successful in rescinding the fee, which continued for several years thereafter.[202]

201. Monthly Reports, July-August 1941, November 1941, March 1942, May-June 1942, September 1942, January 1943, June 1943, June 1944, March 1945, June 1946, January 1947, May-June 1947, February 1948, June-July 1948, December 1950, January 1951, November-December 1952, April 1953, June 1953, July 1954, October 1954, June 1955, October 1955, October 1956, May 1959, April-May 1961, May 1964.

The park used both the museum and the fort site for interpretation. A trailside exhibit was placed at the fort in 1949, and a replacement trailside exhibit was erected in 1951 following the reconstruction of the earthwork. Once a visitor left the museum, however, the park relied on the trailside exhibit to interpret the fort site. The availability of tour guides for the fort area depended on the park staffing level at the time. Beginning in 1947, the park was usually able to provide a guided tour for groups, especially with advance notice. In 1960, the park completed a nature trail in a wooded area along Roanoke Sound. During the same year, Louise Meekins extended the park's outreach efforts by developing a slide show for use at schools and other off- site locations.[203]

Mission 66 brought significant improvements to the interpretive facilities at Fort Raleigh. In June 1966, the completed Lindsay Warren visitor center opened to the public. The new Mission 66 facility allowed the park to upgrade and expand its exhibits, including an audiovisual program, a sales area operated by RIHA (until 2000), and the Elizabethan Room.[204]

The Elizabethan Room

The idea of a sixteenth- century room interior at Fort Raleigh grew out of a similar proposal for Fort Caroline National Memorial, a park in Florida that interpreted the site of a 1560s French settlement. Congressman Charles E. Bennett of Florida contacted NPS Director Conrad Wirth in April 1961 with an offer of donated funds to purchase paneling from an English room of the Elizabethan period. The room that Bennett had in mind was part of a collection belonging to the William Randolph Hearst estate and stored in a New York City warehouse. Originally built as part of Herondon Hall in Kent County, England, the room paneling had been purchased by Hearst in 1926. However, Chief Herbert E. Kahler and other staff members of the NPS Division of History and Archeology questioned the appropriateness of an English period room at a French settlement site and recommended that the Hearst room be acquired for the proposed Mission 66 visitor center at Fort Raleigh instead. With both Bennett and Wirth in agreement, the idea was suggested to Region One Director Elbert Cox and Cape Hatteras Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs.[205]

Cox, Gibbs, and other regional and park officials were generally receptive to incorporating the Elizabethan Room into the proposed Fort Raleigh visitor center. They viewed the room as a tool to interpret life in England at the time of the Roanoke Island colonies. Perhaps of greater importance, NPS officials viewed the Elizabethan Room as a relatively harmless way to satisfy local calls for more drastic reconstruction efforts. In 1962, Assistant Director Jackson E. Price made explicit why the Park Service supported the Elizabethan Room. "It would do much," he stated,

> to quiet the clamor for the construction of an Elizabethan type dwelling at Fort Raleigh desired by the Elizabethan Gardens group. The energy and enthusiasm of this group could then be channeled into the much more useful project of acquiring Elizabethan portraits and furnishings for the Elizabethan museum room.

NPS officials saw the inclusion of locals involved with RIHA and the Elizabethan Gardens in the development of the Elizabethan Room exhibit as a way to ease the pressure for an intrusive and historically questionable reconstruction effort.[206]

Despite this apparent enthusiasm for the project, other NPS officials expressed doubt about the appropriateness of the Elizabethan Room. The exhibit

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202. Monthly Reports, August 1942, November 1941; and "Collection of Entrance Fee at Fort Raleigh Suspended," *The Daily Advance*, January 11, 1945, RIHA Files, FORA; "Suspending Fee," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 15, 1955; "Fort Raleigh's Admission Fee Likely to Stay," *Coastland Times*, August 17, 1962; "Free Fort Admission, $1 Lost Colony Rate for Dare Citizens Sun.," *Coastland Times*, August 16, 1962; all in Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA .
203. Monthly Reports, November 1945, January 1946, June 1947, May 1948, June 1949, May 1951, November 1951, July 1952, July 1956, July 1958, September 1960; Interpretive Activities Reports, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, FORA.
204. Monthly Report, June 1966.
205. Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director, to Regional Director, Region Five, November 7, 1961; E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, February 20, 1962; Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology, to Regional Director, Region One, March 29, 1962; Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, to Henry Belk, Editor, Goldsboro News-Argus, December 1, 1964; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
206. E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, Region One, to Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, Eastern Park and Monument Association, February 29, 1962; Chief, Division of History and Archeology, to Regional Director, SERO, March 29, 1962; and Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director, to Regional Director, Region One, May 18, 1962; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.



FIGURE 39. Sixteenth-century fireplace and paneling in the Elizabethan Room, February 1967

was to represent a room and furnishings of the upper class sponsors of the project and probably did not represent the type of dwellings familiar to most of the Roanoke colonists themselves. The exhibit could mislead visitors into thinking that all of Raleigh's colonists had lived in upper class dwellings in England before coming to Roanoke Island or that the colonists lived in such dwellings once in the New World. Assistant Director Price dismissed such concerns and argued that visitors would be able to understand that the room represented the dwellings in England of certain upper class colonists like Grenville, White, and Lane. In reaction to this complaint, however, the interpretive prospectus for Fort Raleigh, prepared by the regional office, eventually included an additional proposal to build and furnish a room designed to represent the type of cottage that the colonists might have actually inhabited. The park, however, has never pursued this proposal.[207]

Once the decision to provide the Hearst room to Fort Raleigh was made, Chief Ralph H. Lewis of the NPS Branch of Museums requested that Museum Curator Albert McClure of the Roosevelt- Vanderbilt NHS in New York travel to the Hearst warehouse to inspect the room in question. Besides discovering that sections of the room paneling were missing, McClure found out that the complete paneling from another larger room was present in the collection. Region One Archeologist and then Chief of Interpretation Jean C. Harrington recommended acquiring both rooms—the smaller one for use as a library at Fort Caroline and the larger one for use as an exhibit at the proposed Fort Raleigh visitor center. The Elizabethan Room was thus incorporated into Fort Raleigh's interpretive prospectus, which was then being prepared.[208]

Before the Elizabethan Room paneling could be purchased, the appropriateness of the exhibit came up once again. Since Bennett's gift was not enough to cover the purchase and shipping costs for both rooms, the NPS requested a donation from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association (ENPMA). At a March 1962 meeting, ENPMA's board of directors turned down this request largely because Region One Historian James W. Holland held that the room would mislead visitors. Concerned by Holland's statement at the ENPMA meeting, the NPS Chief of History and Archeology in Washington, Herbert E. Kahler, subsequently contacted the Region One office. Acting Regional Director Ewell M. Lisle assured Kahler that Holland was speaking only as a director of the association and that both the regional office and the park remained committed to including the Elizabethan Room in the proposed visitor center. Using funding for 1963 construction projects, the Park Service purchased the Hearst paneling and placed it in storage at Colonial National Historical Park to await completion of Fort Raleigh's Mission 66 visitor center.[209]

207. E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, February 29, 1962; Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology, to Regional Director, Region One, March 29, 1962; E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Director, April 19, 1962; Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director, to Regional Director, Region One, May 18, 1962; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.

208. Ralph H. Lewis, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region Five, May 17, 1961; Albert McClure, Museum Curator, to Superintendent, Roosevelt-Vanderbilt, June 2, 1961; J.C. Harrington, Regional Chief of Interpretation, to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras, August 29, 1961; E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Director, December 21, 1961; Ralph H. Lewis, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region One, December 29, 1961; E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, February 20, 1962; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.

209. Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, to E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, March 3, 1962; Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology, to Regional Director, Region One, March 29, 1962; E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, to Director, April 19, 1962; W.E. O'Neil, Jr., Acting Assistant Regional Director, to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras, July 11, 1962; Elbert Cox, Regional Director, to Dennis C. Kurjack, Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, August 15, 1962; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.

When Fort Raleigh's Interpretative Prospectus was completed in July 1963, the Elizabethan Room was designated to "function as a foyer for the audio- visual room and as a rest area." The plan hoped to instill mood and historical orientation through music and portraits but also stated that "[it] will not be furnished, except for appropriately designed lighting fixtures, chairs, benches, and suitable floor covering."[210] David O. Smith, project architect for the Fort Raleigh Mission 66 visitor center, alerted the Eastern Office of Design and Construction that the Elizabethan Room could be installed in June 1965. This office sent Restoration Specialist Harry Martin to assist in the room's assembly. The room was completed by February 1966.[211]

Furnishing the Elizabethan Room?

Those who created the Elizabethan Room engaged in a fairly straightforward project. Those who sought to furnish that room, however, embarked upon a saga, whose final chapter is still not written. NPS bureaucracy, contractor incompetence, insurmountable differences between the park and others regarding interpretative use of the room, concerns about the type and security of displayed items, and a lack of funds have all hampered the project's ultimate completion.

Soon after the Elizabethan Room was installed at Fort Raleigh, the park asked Harpers Ferry Center (an NPS support office) to develop a furnishings plan. Completed in 1966 by the Chief of Museum Operations, this plan provided for simple period reproductions that visitors could use. Unfortunately, officials soon came to believe that it was as expensive and more difficult (at that time) to furnish accurate Tudor reproductions as genuine antiques. Since planners had designated the room as a visitor use area, the prospect that it would contain authentic pieces instead of reproductions led to some debate. The park argued that it could not accept responsibility for the security of valuable antiques in a room that had to be used as a foyer to the auditorium. Nevertheless, Harpers Ferry could not find affordable reproductions. Instead, it recommended acquisition of an incomplete list of genuine items available within the budget of $6,000. Harpers Ferry officials argued that the items were massive enough not to require special security precautions. In 1968, therefore, Fort Raleigh purchased four Tudor antiques: a trestle table, settle, cupboard, and one candlestick. These few items constituted the only approved period furnishings the Elizabethan Room has received. While they helped mitigate the room's stark bareness, the antiques also fell short of conveying to visitors the sense of stepping into a sixteenth- century English gentleman's room.[212]

In 1977, Fort Raleigh officials renewed efforts to complete furnishing of the Elizabethan Room. Harpers Ferry promised support and funding, although it asked the park if it still wanted only reproductions. According to a memo by Bebe Midgette (who later married Chief Interpreter Robert Woody), the park's Cultural Resource Management Specialist, John Demer, who was Chief of Historic Furnishings at Harpers Ferry, visited Fort Raleigh and promised to commit $15,000 to update the furnishings plan and complete the project. According to Midgette, however, Harpers Ferry failed to follow through on Demer's promise. Pressured by the park for the updated plan, Demer merely reissued the furnishings plan approved in 1966. As Midgette said, "after three and one- half years, the Park was right back where it had started."[213]

Taking the issue into its own hands, park officials applied for an ENPMA donation. On November 17, 1981, ENPMA authorized an $18,000 grant, although the funds were not available for an unlimited time. The park immediately contacted Southeast Regional Curator Dale Durham for advice on updating and implementing the plan. At first Durham sided with Demer, who had informed him that the 1966 furnishings plan was adequate. Durham concluded that "we are wasting a tremendous amount of money to redo what has already been done." However, Chief Interpreter Bob Woody replied to Durham in a detailed memo about Demer's unfulfilled promises and "that significant advances have been made . . . in the area of historic furnishings since 1966." Woody undoubtedly hoped that less expensive

210. Bebe Midgette, "Analysis of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Elizabethan Room," undated memo in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
211. Robert E. Smith, Chief Architect, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras, June 3, 1965; and Donald S. Nutt, Supervisory Architect, to Chief Architect, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, February 17, 1966; both in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
212. Superintendent, CAHA, to Regional Director, SERO, February 20, 1968; Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Regional Director, SERO, February 29, 1968; Chief, Division of Reference Services, Harpers Ferry Center, to Superintendent, CAHA, March 30, 1977; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
213. Chief, Division of Reference Services, Harpers Ferry Center, to Superintendent, CAHA, March 30, 1977; Bebe Midgette, "Analysis of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Elizabethan Room," undated; both in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.

reproductions could now be obtained allowing visitor use of the room. According to Midgette, Durham then authorized the park to draft a new furnishings plan. To do this, Fort Raleigh officials contracted Audrey Michie, a consultant for the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in Winston- Salem, North Carolina, to complete that plan, which was submitted to the Southeast Regional Office for review in April 1982. Regional Curator Durham forwarded the proposed plan to Sarah Olson, Chief, Branch of Historic Furnishings, Harpers Ferry, and F. Ross Holland (no relation to James Holland), Associate Director, Cultural Resources Management, Washington. Holland held the highest cultural resources management position in the Park Service.[214]

Unfortunately, the Michie proposal was not well documented, which left it open to the criticism of conjecture (a violation of NPS- 28 guidelines for refurnishing historic structures). The Michie proposal also poorly interpreted some basic facts that, unfortunately, reflected the position outlined by Fort Raleigh. Park officials understood the Elizabethan Room as an effort to illustrate "the sacrifices of the colonial undertaking by depicting a way of life that was given up for the purpose of creating a 'new England.'" The room, however, represented the lifestyle of the upper- middle- class backers of the Raleigh ventures, and not the lifestyle of most of the colonists. The furnishings proposal was immediately criticized by Associate Director Holland, who seized upon the plan's faults to argue not only against it but to question the very idea of furnishing the room. After asserting that the plan "smacks of elitism," Holland suggested instead using the Elizabethan room's panels as a backdrop for a didactic display that "allows the viewer to then imagine and compare the life- style in the old country and the colony."[215]

An outside reviewer, commissioned by Harpers Ferry, later added that any "heroic sacrifice" of the elite members of the Raleigh expedition was mitigated by "their positions as courtiers and their hope to make a quick killing before returning to England." This reviewer also criticized the attempt to furnish the Elizabethan Room with fragments of different rooms instead of as a single bed chamber or great hall, for example. On the other hand, he did see value in furnishing the room, but complicated the issue by touting its virtue as a great hall to be completed with an upholstered great chair placed upon a dais under a canopy of state. Fort Raleigh officials were discouraged by these comments. Given Associate Director Holland's comments regarding elitism, Fort Raleigh resource manager Phil Evans remarked that "what we don't need is a 'canopy' over a 'chair of state.'" The park was willing to consider furnishing the room as a bedroom, but was reluctant to use graphic displays that would make living history demonstrations impossible.[216]

In March 1983, based upon comments from Harpers Ferry and Associate Director Holland, Regional Director Carrol W. Ogle disapproved using the Michie report as the basis for furnishing the park's Elizabethan Room. Having waited sixteen years to obtain funding, still smarting from delays caused by the fumbling of Harpers Ferry, Fort Raleigh officials were upset. Superintendent Hartman forwarded a "Briefing Statement" by Bebe Midgette. Her well- documented memo outlined the history of attempts to furnish the Elizabethan Room. It asserted that the Southeast Regional Office had disregarded approved planning documents, had demonstrated insensitivity to the historical integrity of the oak room, and had rejected the Michie furnishings proposal to support its own recommendation for a didactic exhibit. Midgette refined the park's interpretative thrust by arguing that a furnished room would make it possible to demonstrate a way of life of the Elizabethan Period people [sic] that planned, financed and carried out the first English attempt at colonization of the New World. Their contributions were as significant as those who set foot on this soil, for without their efforts, there would have been no attempts.

She further argued that "the manner in which the room is exhibited cannot become a matter of preference if one follows the guidelines established in the Park's approved Interpretative Prospectus, Furnishings Plan, Statement for Management and Statement for Interpretation."[217]

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214. Regional Curator, SERO, to Chief of Interpretation, CAHA, April 19, 1982; Chief of Interpretation, CAHA, to Regional Curator, April 21, 1982; Bebe Midgette, "Analysis of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Elizabethan Room," undated; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
215. "Furnishings Plan: The Elizabethan Room, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," undated memo; Associate Director, Cultural Resources Management, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, February 2, 1983; both in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
216. Phil Evans to Bob Woody, June 6, 1984; Robert Trent, the Connecticut Historical Society, May 30, 1984; both in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.

The differences between Fort Raleigh and other NPS officials over how to interpret the Elizabethan Room, whether as the setting for interpretive panel displays or as an accurate representation of a sixteenth- century Elizabethan room, came to a head in January 1984. Fort Raleigh staff met with regional and Harpers Ferry officials and agreed to abandon the Michie proposal while updating and implementing the original 1966 furnishings plan with the help of Harpers Ferry.[218] In July 1985, Harpers Ferry awarded a contract to produce the Elizabethan Room plan to Museum Consultant Susan Mackiewicz, who quickly set off to document the appropriate furnishings for the room by touring museums in Great Britain and Canada. Her finished plan, presented in March 1986, was far more extensively documented than the Michie proposal. Mackiewicz determined the Elizabethan Room's class, type, and the context for its use as documented in probate records and through her museum visits. She determined that the room should represent the great hall of a minor nobleman. She suggested using Sir Francis Walsingham as a model occupant because his biography was suited to the site's interpretative themes. A table, seating and cushions, drinking vessels and plates, cupboard items, wall treatments, fireplace furnishings, and floor coverings were described. Harpers Ferry backed the new plan, although in apparent deference to critics, it decided to label the report an "exhibit plan."[219]

As all draft review comments indicate, the new plan was well documented. Bill Harris, Chief of the Southeast Cultural Resources Preservation Center (now SERO Cultural Resources), supported the plan as "being well-written" and observed that it "serves the purpose of establishing a 3- dimension exhibit for the space." However, despite the January 1984 entente among the park, regional NPS officials, and Harpers Ferry, other interested NPS officials remained critical. These officials were now forced to express opposition to the plan not on the basis of poor quality research, but over the underlying issue of whether or not the Elizabethan Room should be furnished. As Harris noted, the Regional Curator claimed that the Mackiewicz report was merely a "thinly disguised furnishing plan"; that the use of Sir Francis Walsingham as a model occupant poorly tied Elizabethan court life to the Roanoke colonies ("did he ever travel to the New World?") and could be better and less expensively demonstrated by a graphic diagram; and finally that while the plan might resemble one for a museum period room, such rooms prohibit visitor entry to prevent vandalism, which was not possible at Fort Raleigh.[220]

In two memos to the Regional Director, the new Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Jerry Rogers, adopted the position of his predecessor F. Ross Holland. Rogers stated that Chief Curator Hitchcock and Chief Historian Edward Bearss found that the plan was still based upon conjecture "despite the depth and quality of the research" and could not thus justify any large expenditure of funds. Once again, the didactic exhibit idea was proposed. Later, the Regional Director asked Washington why reproductions could not be used in the visitor center. Associate Director Rogers responded with a personal memo that specifically referenced the February 2, 1983, memo by former Regional Director Holland, which was developed before the Mackiewicz plan had been written. Ignoring the Mackiewicz plan, Rogers re- emphasized the points Holland had made that furnishing the room was an exercise in conjecture "and would actually misinform the visitor." Moreover, he expounded upon "the historian's dedication to the truth" and the obligation not to convey stories about the past merely to "entertain the visitor." In a hand- written comment below the text of his memo Rogers wrote, "This is not a staff memo, but mine. I hope you will give the subject very careful attention."[221] Obviously, Washington officials were not interested in whether or not an appropriate plan for furnishing the Elizabethan Room existed (whatever its name). They simply did not want to furnish the room.

In retrospect, the Park Service approved the original "Elizabethan room" concept because Congressman

217. Associate Regional Director, Operations, Southeast Region, to Superintendent, CAHA, March 14, 1983; Bebe Midgette, "Analysis of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Elizabethan Room," undated; Superintendent, CAHA, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, June 2, 1983; all in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
218. Bebe Midgette, Resource Management Office, to Files, January 10, 1984, in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA.
219. Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, to Regional Director, SERO, April 30, 1986; Susan Mackiewicz, "Elizabethan Parlor Exhibit Plan: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," Harpers Ferry Center, March 1986, both in "Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, SERO.
220. Chief, Southeast Cultural Resources Preservation Center, to Interpretative Specialist, Southeast Region, June 17, 1986, in "Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, SERO.
221. Associate Director, Cultural Resources, to Regional Director, SERO, November 24, 1986; Associate Director, Cultural Resources, to Regional Director, Southeast Regional Office, November 24, 1986; both in "Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, SERO.

Bennett went out of his way to make a personal donation, not because of any inherent professional desire or to appease public pressure. It simply would have been impolitic to reject such "generosity." NPS officials also supported the original 1966 furnishings plan to divert local interest from more elaborate reconstructions. Simultaneously, other NPS officials, notably F. Ross Holland, cast the furnishing of the Elizabethan Room as a conflict between professionalism and the degree to which the agency is responsible for "entertaining" the public. These officials steadfastly opposed furnishing the Elizabethan Room because of its potential to confuse visitors. In 1983, well- placed as Associate Director for Cultural Resources, Holland was able to prevail. Not only did he prevent completion of the plan during his tenure, but his views formed the basis for decisions of succeeding WASO officials.

It goes without saying that Fort Raleigh officials were upset to learn about the memo by Associate Director Rogers. Superintendent Hartman wrote an impassioned response that conceded some points but maintained the park's long- held position that the room should be furnished and interpreted as a representation of the type of "small wainscotted room" that sponsors of the Roanoke adventures could easily have afforded. He also pointed out that didactic displays would not be effective at Fort Raleigh, which lacked suitable artifacts, unlike Colonial Williamsburg. Moreover, Hartman wrote, the Williamsburg display "promotes conjecture far beyond what we propose." He noted that the Holland comments did not address the new furnishings plan that was developed by the Historic Furnishing Branch at Harpers Ferry, whose professionals were obliged to minimize conjecture. Finally, Hartman offered that Fort Raleigh did not intend to implement the plan at full cost but to have it available to justify limited donations for acquisitions that would support the park's living history program.[222]

Now caught between the intransigence of the Washington bureaucracy and the desires of a much-liked and a much- frustrated superintendent, the Regional Director had to make a tough call, whether or not to approve the Mackiewicz plan. Bill Harris made a final attempt to compromise with Washington officials, but failed. He advised the Associate Regional Director that there were three choices: (1) furnish the room with non- appropriated funds while ignoring the comments of Washington NPS officials, which might earn their enmity and provoke intervention by the Director, (2) abandon the furnishing plan and fit the Elizabethan Room with graphic displays, which the park disliked for various reasons, or (3) continue to use the room as it has been used since the visitor center was created, that is, do nothing. Harris was unwilling to jeopardize relations with national and regional officials and also noted that little private- sector interest existed to fund furnishings for the room. He recommended the third option.[223]

In spite of this recommendation, the Regional Director approved the Mackiewicz furnishing plan later in 1987, but no project funds were subsequently awarded. Fort Raleigh would have to obtain funding to implement the plan. In December 1987, Fort Raleigh again requested Harpers Ferry assistance. However, ENPMA funding had long since disappeared. Without project funding, and aware of the project's "hot potato" status, Harpers Ferry was only willing to offer advice about how to obtain custom furniture reproductions. Park officials have continued to submit funding proposals to implement the furnishings plan, but to no avail. As late as 1992, Regional Curator Dale Durham commented on a draft Statement for Management that the "Elizabethan Room does not meet NPS furnishing criteria." Therefore, he asserted, "why not call it an exhibit and get on with it"?[224]

In summary, several issues have plagued final implementation of the furnishings plan for the Elizabethan Room. First, the room is simply hard to appoint because it must serve as entry to the auditorium in the visitor center. Walling off the room behind a glass plate is difficult and goes against the originally approved notion of allowing visitor use of the room as a waiting area with a "warm" ambience. Second, early efforts to furnish the room were complicated by the difficulty and expense involved in acquiring either Tudor reproductions or the difficulty, expense, and security required for actual Tudor antiques. Third, cultural resource professionals outside the park never completely concurred with the original furnishing plan. Some NPS officials appear to have backed the plan simply to reduce public sentiment for reconstructions of

222. Superintendent, CAHA, to Regional Director, SERO, January 7, 1987, in "Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, SERO.
223. Chief, Southeast Cultural Resources Preservation Center, to Associate Regional Director, Operations, Southeast Region, February 27, 1987, in "Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, SERO.
224. Chief, Division of Historic Furnishings, to Superintendent, CAHA, December 30, 1987, in Elizabethan Room Files, Library, FORA; "Document on Review Notice," May 5, 1992, FORA files, "FORA General" folder, SERO.

the type the Park Service had spent much effort to remove at Fort Raleigh. Subsequent efforts by park officials to implement the plan were complicated by administrative bungling at Harpers Ferry, an outside consultant's poor revision of the plan, and the park's own errors in trying to interpret the room. Finally, momentum to complete the plan suffered because of the drawn- out process in which authorized funds were not obligated, and were hence lost, and in which a once-approved plan became so outdated that a new one was required. As it stands, the Elizabethan Room remains an incomplete exhibit, a disappointment to the expectations of its creators, its critics, and, no doubt, its visitors.

Interpretation and Visitor Services after Mission 66

The Lindsay Warren Visitor Center, including the Elizabethan Room, formed the cornerstone of Fort Raleigh's interpretive improvements during the Mission 66 era. Facility rehabilitation and exhibit modifications, however, have periodically occurred over the years. In 1978, the visitor center acquired new audiovisual equipment. From 1984 to 1987, under the "Visually Impaired See Yesterday Today" initiative, the park installed special exhibits for visually impaired visitors. During 1989 and 1990, a new audiovisual program, *Roanoke: The Lost Colony*, was produced and a modern laser- disk system was installed to play the program.

As Fort Raleigh's interpretive programs evolved, living history became a key feature. Living history interpretation within the Park Service began with weapon firing demonstrations at Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield in 1961. The first living history demonstrations by interpreters in period costume occurred at Fort Davis NHS in 1965. With the strong backing of NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., living history programs became a standard part of interpretation at historical parks. As Fort Raleigh developed its living history programs during the 1970s, they included concerts of Elizabethan- era music with a harpsichord and other instruments along with additional demonstrations of sixteenth- century lifeways. The staff and volunteers involved in the programs wore period costumes, and some even learned Elizabethan dialect for first- person interpretation.



FIGURE 40. Interpretative image by artist John Heinly, one of a series commissioned by the NPS that sought to illustrate the Raleigh expeditions, 1968

Much of the reproduction equipment and costumes were funded by ENPMA donations. In 1985, living history participants recreated a sixteenth- century military encampment. A cooperative arrangement with

RIHA in 1993 provided the park with actors from *The Lost Colony* to assist with living history programs. As an outgrowth of the park's living history focus, an Elizabethan music program was performed at various schools in the area.[225]

Special events continued to play a role in Fort Raleigh's interpretive mission. In 1977, after a period without anniversary observances, the park once again began sponsoring Virginia Dare birthday celebrations. It also added an annual August event, a picnic known as an "Elizabethan gossip feast" complete with living history activities, including period music and games led by costumed interpreters. Several hundred people were attracted to these festivities. In addition, Fort Raleigh staff cooperated with the America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee. This committee was established in 1973 by the North Carolina General Assembly to plan and coordinate commemorative events for the four- hundredth anniversary of Raleigh's colonies from 1984 through 1987. Events at the park included a 1985 reenactment of Lane's 1585 landing on Roanoke Island, but the main event was a week of activities commemorating Virginia Dare's birthday in August 1987. The grand finale occurred at Fort Raleigh and included the cutting of a twelve- foot- high birthday cake, the dedication of a marker at the park highlighting Virginia Dare's birth, and an Elizabethan party.[226]

225. Mackintosh, *Interpretation*, 54-67; Annual Reports, 1975, 3, 1977, 3-5, 1978, 5-6, 1979, 5-6, 1980, 4, 1993, 3-4; "Militia Musters at Ft. Raleigh," *Outer Banks Current*, July 4, 1985, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

One event of importance both to Fort Raleigh officials and to managers of *The Lost Colony* production and the Elizabethan Gardens was the de facto resolution of the entrance fee issue that was a source of lingering contention between the parties during the pre-Mission 66 era. In 1986, Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman- Hollings Act that mandated budget cuts in an attempt to deal with the Reagan Administration's ballooning federal deficits. As a result NPS budgets were slashed, including $150,000 for NPS operations on the Outer Banks. In response to the system- wide short- fall in funding, Interior Secretary Donald Hodel proposed to authorize NPS managers to raise entrance fees on a park- by- park basis. Congress had frozen such fees since 1972. Fees would not be collected at parks where it was impractical or politically sensitive, for example, the Lincoln Memorial, or at recreational areas. At the time only sixty of more than three hundred park units charged any such fees, none of which exceeded $2.00 per vehicle. Senator James A. McClure (R- Idaho) introduced legislation to allow the NPS to initiate entrance fees at 337 parks. Unlike previous fees, 80 percent of the new fees were to be returned to the parks themselves, instead of to the general budget. The maximum per vehicle entry fee was $5.00. The remaining 20 percent of the fees were to be used to reduce the federal deficit. The proposed per vehicle entrance fees were $3.00 at Cape Hatteras and Fort Raleigh, and $1.50 at Wright Brothers. Once the legislation was enacted, however, Hartman chose only to impose the $3.00 fee at Wright Brothers.[227]

Although many thought the proposed NPS entrance fees reasonable, many disagreed. John Bone, the executive director of the Outer Banks Chamber of Commerce, called the fees "immoral." North Carolina Representative Walter B. Jones, Sr., wrote to NPS Director William Mott to complain "that taxpayers are being required to pay again for something for which they have already paid. This double charge is terribly unfair." National environmental groups also criticized the fees as being too high and because they still returned 20 percent to the treasury. Throughout 1986, Superintendent Hartman briefed local groups about the issue. "It has always been the intent of Congress," he explained, "that the people who use the parks pay a little more." He explained that the proposed fees were necessary to cover budget shortfalls. If Congress did not appropriate the funds, services had to be cut back. User fees would help the Park Service to maintain the parks.[228]

In addressing fears expressed by the Outer Banks Chamber of Commerce that entrance fees would reduce visitation, Hartman stated that Yellowstone National Park had charged fees for years while experiencing continuous growth in visitation figures. On the other hand, a different argument was offered by park officials to higher NPS authorities, who required parks to explain their plans to address the new legislation and who were eager to meet congressional revenue expectations during the first year of the program. In this case, Fort Raleigh officials justified their decision not to impose an entrance fee at Fort Raleigh because it "would have significant adverse effects on visitation at the *Lost Colony* outdoor drama . . . and at the Elizabethan Gardens." Given that the former was an integral feature of Fort Raleigh, the park stated that it would be "counterproductive" to charge an entrance fee. Hartman was caught between his interests (and pressure from his superiors) to increase fees to generate revenue and those of local commercial interests who expressed considerable hostility to any new fees. Hartman had a fine line to walk. He chose not to impose fees at Cape Hatteras, whose multiple access points made it impractical. At Fort Raleigh and at Wright Brothers, however, access was completely under NPS control. Still, there was a key difference between these

226. Annual Reports, 1977, 5, 1978, 5, 1979, 5, 1980, 3-4, 1984, 5, 1985, 5, 1987, 1; "'Lost Colony,' NPS Plan Virginia Dare Tribute," *Coastland Times,* August 13, 1981, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "NPS, 'Colony' to Mark Birthday of Virginia Dare on Monday," *Coastland Times,* August 17, 1986, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "NPS Hosts America's Authentic Renaissance Feste," *Coastland Times,* August 16, 1990, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Visitors Delighted by Virginia Dare's Party," *Coastland Times,* August 21, 1994, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Manteo to Celebrate 400 Years of History," *Daily Advance,* February 7, 1982, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Poised for Departure," *Coastland Times,* July 4, 1985, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Birthday Party for Virginia Dare Caps N.C. Anniversary Celebration," *News and Observer,* August 19, 1987, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

227. Don Hodel, "Interior Secretary Hodel Asks NPS Fee Changes," *The Coastland Times,* June 19, 1986, 9A; Jeffrey Smith, "Outer Banks Park Would Charge Fees under U.S. Plan," *The Virginian Pilot,* June 25, 1986, D5, D5; "Hartman Tell NPS Need for Park Fees," *The Coastland Times,* June 26, 1986, 1A; "Cape Hatteras Superintendent Backs Seashore Entry-fee Bill," *News & Observer,* June 26, 1986, 8B; "Charging Visitors to Parks Makes Sense," *The Coast of the Virginian Pilot,* July 3, 1986, 4; Entrance Fees at U.S. Parks to Rise Feb. 2," *News & Observer,* December 17, 1986, 3A; Gene O'Bleness, "Opposition Grows to Possible Fees for Wright Visit," *Virginian Pilot,* December 31, 1986, D1; "KDH Town Board Raps NPS Admission Fee Plan," *Coastland Times,* January 13, 1987, 1A, 5A; "Hartman Tells Rotary Club about Fees," *Coastland Times,* January 22, 1987, 1A.

228. Ibid.

two parks regarding entrance fees. Hartman realized that supporters of RIHA and the gardens would strenuously object to any new fees at Fort Raleigh, as they had done in the past. Moreover, these organizations were, in truth, integral to the park's operations. There were no concessions at Wright Brothers and a cost- benefit analysis indicated that revenue from its fees would nearly cover the gap in Cape Hatteras Group funding caused by the Gramm-Rudman- Hollings Act. Hartman took some heat from locals for the decision on Wright Brothers, but it was a balanced decision.[229]

"Roanoke Decoded"

Over the last two decades, Fort Raleigh staff has placed high emphasis on interpretive planning, research, and education. This emphasis is clear in the park's statements for interpretation as prepared in 1978 and 1989. In 1985, amid planning for the 400th anniversary celebrations of the exploration and attempted settlement of Roanoke Island, the park cooperated with Elizabethan Rendezvous Productions, Ltd., in a research project focused on John White. In 1989, a grant from the Outer Banks Community Foundation enabled the park to send a researcher to Great Britain for three months to gather information on Raleigh's colonists. This data was then entered into a database designed by volunteer Wilbur Young.[230]

Spurred on by these developments and the renewal of archeological investigations by the Virginia Company Foundation, Fort Raleigh officials were encouraged to expand and invigorate private research and public interest in England's sixteenth- century colonizing activities on Roanoke Island. In May 1993, after at least two years of planning, grant- writing by park supporters, and coordinating efforts, the park sponsored a major public symposium on the Roanoke voyages. This symposium assumed the name "Roanoke Decoded." The symposium featured discussions provided by an international gathering of leading experts on the Roanoke voyages in combination with dramatic fare and living history presentations offered by park interpreters and associates of *The Lost Colony* theatrical production. Three individuals closely associated with this endeavor were Fort Raleigh staff members Bob and Bebe Woody, and Lebame Houston, a park volunteer and independent Elizabethan scholar.[231]

While the symposium idea was being developed, the park became involved in the Elizabethan Research Project, an initiative to advance Roanoke colony- related research by developing a computer program to organize relevant historical material as a usable scholarly resource. The park became involved with the ongoing project in 1989 when Elizabethan Rendezvous Productions requested park assistance to enable the volunteer effort to survive. The park entered into a resource- sharing agreement with the non- profit organization, and Eastern National Park and Monument Association, which acted as repository for any private donations, until the organization's president, Carolista Golden, died in 1991. By then almost all of the project's work was symposium- related.[232]

Working with the Woodys, Houston drafted several successful grant proposals for Roanoke Decoded. They soon began to engage others in their plans. Local historian David Stick had doubted that anyone, even the National Park Service, could organize an international symposium on the Roanoke voyages, but he was eventually "pleasantly surprised at the success of the idea." The four- day symposium's costs were estimated at $200,000, but several private and public donations were pledged to cover the costs. The event was co-sponsored by the National Park Service and Eastern National Park and Monument Association. It brought together numerous prominent historians, archeologists, and other scholars with expertise in sixteenth- century colonization, as well as teachers, college students, professors, and interested locals.[233]

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229. Ibid.; Acting Director to Regional Directors and Superintendents, October 23, 1986; and CAHAOPNS, "Proposal to Initiate Current Recreation Fee Program," no date, FORA files, "FORA General" folder, SERO.
230. Annual Reports, 1978, 5, 1989, 3, 1991, 4, 1993, 4, 6; Lebame Houston, comments on 2002 draft, SERO.
231. Nancy Williams, "Historians from Far and Near Take a New Look at Old Voyages," *The Coast*, May 30, 1993, 46; Lebame Houston, comments on 2002 draft, SERO.
232. Thomas L. Hartman, Superintendent, to Lebame Houston, November 23, 1993, H30 FORA Correspondence folder, Resource Management Office, FORA; Lebame Houston, comments on 2002 draft, SERO. Abandoned in 1993, the Elizabethan Research Project's research collection is now housed at the Outer Banks History Center.
233. Jon Glass, "Decoding the Lost Colony," *The Coast*, May 9, 1993, 18; Williams; Lebame Houston, comments on 2002 draft, SERO. Grant providers included the North Carolina Humanities Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the May Duke Biddle Foundation, the Outer Banks Community Foundation, Carolina Telephone, Dominion Resources, East Carolina Bank, and local contributors.

Roanoke Decoded sought to accomplish a number of goals. One of these was educational. Teachers could earn continuing education credits, and the symposium generated thousands of learning kits entitled "Roanoke Revisited," which were distributed to schools throughout North Carolina.[234] Foremost among the symposium's goals was the development of a clearer context for understanding the role of the Roanoke colonies in America's English heritage. Simultaneously, the conference sought to broaden public understanding of the colonies' significance, and that of Elizabethan society, by way of the performing arts. Thus, not only did Roanoke Decoded offer scholarly discussions, for example, on Ivor Hume's archeological work or recent biographical findings about the investors and colonists of the Roanoke expeditions, but it also offered theatrical fare. Theatrical events included living history presentations at Fort Raleigh, presentations on the history and production of *The Lost Colony* play, a concert of Elizabethan music, and especially the premiere of a one- woman play written and directed by Lebame Houston, who volunteered for the assignment when a contracted playwright failed to deliver a usable script.[235] Originally, the play was conceived by park staff as an interpretive device and was named *Elizabeth R*. British actress Barbara Hird provided a solo performance in the role of Queen Elizabeth I, the same role she played in *The Lost Colony*.

Elizabeth R was a great success and played through the rest of the summer at Fort Raleigh. The performance, however, created some difficulties. The relationship between Fort Raleigh and *Elizabeth R* was unlike the cooperative arrangement with *The Lost Colony*, which is mandated by the park's authorizing legislation and sponsored by RIHA. *Elizabeth R* began under NPS sponsorship with funding contributed through ENPMA. The dramatic license granted by NPS to its interpreters is constrained by the mission of the Park Service to provide accurate historical information. *Elizabeth R*, while it was unexpectedly popular with park visitors, may have fallen prey to its emphasis on dramatic effect. Superintendent Hartman felt that the various theatrical performances accompanying the symposium "were a tremendous success," but that they also "diluted" the original research- oriented intent of the conference. He was also concerned with *Elizabeth R's* logistical and funding arrangements. For example, with Hird playing Queen Elizabeth in both *The Lost Colony* and *Elizabeth R*, the play could not be performed in the evenings, nor did anyone want the performances to compete with one another. Blistering heat also prohibited use of the Waterside Theatre during the day. The park thus allowed the play to be performed in a shaded area, but necessarily limited seating to seventy-five. All summer, however, *Elizabeth R* drew daily crowds far in excess of these accommodations. Many who sought to attend the performance were thus turned away, which placed the park in an awkward position. Funding was another issue. Over the long- term the play could only be sustained by charging patrons regular ticket prices, which the park was not comfortable authorizing given the involvement of taxpayer dollars. At the end of the season, Hartman expressed sincere regret but determined that *Elizabeth R* "does not comfortably fit within the National Park Service mission." With this decision, Hartman attempted to gain an alternative venue and arranged for the Roanoke Island Business Association to attend a performance to evaluate the play's potential as a project it could sponsor off- site. Ultimately, *Elizabeth R* did gain backing from non- NPS sources and was produced in downtown Manteo for several years. The play now travels in the off- season and is currently performed at the Elizabethan Gardens, where it serves as a companion to *The Lost Colony*.[236]

As the Roanoke Decoded symposium came to an end, participants expressed a strong desire to continue their collaboration. Accordingly, local attendees were charged with creating a post- conference mechanism that would allow the numerous researchers from different disciplines to remain connected with each other. The Park Service was fully involved in this endeavor, which led to the creation of the Roanoke Colonies Research Office as a cooperative venture with East Carolina University, in nearby Greenville, North Carolina. The office is a branch of ECU's Institute for Historical and Cultural Research. The goals of the Roanoke Colonies Research Office included: (1) the establishment of a newsletter; (2) the creation of an inventory and annotated bibliography of past and active

234. Doug Robertson, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, to Thomas L. Hartman, CAHA, January 11, 1994, H30 FORA Correspondence folder, Resource Management Office, FORA.
235. Lebame Houston, *comments on 2002 draft*, SERO.
236. Thomas L. Hartman to Lebame Houston, November 23, 1993 and February 15, 1994, and Thomas L. Hartman, Superintendent, to Wynne Dough, The Outer Banks History Center, February 7, 1994, all in H30 FORA Correspondence folder, Resource Management Office, FORA; *Elizabeth R brochure, Summer 2001, in possession of authors;* Bob Woody (Chief Interpreter, ret., FORA), interview by Cameron Binkley, October 18, 2001; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO.

research projects; (3) the provision of new information to the Park Service and state and local governments to allow them to update their interpretative programs and exhibits; and (4) the promotion of further research, especially efforts designed to confirm the colony site at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. The new organization was formally announced on December 10, 1993, by ECU Arts and Sciences Dean Keats Sparrow and Superintendent Hartman, both of whom expressed "high expectations" regarding the new partnership.[237] Since that time, several volumes of the newsletter have been published, each highlighting ongoing research related to the Roanoke colonies, and the office has sponsored additional scholarly symposiums and archeological undertakings, including the Croatan Project near Buxton, where a sixteenth- century signet ring was found in 1998.[238]

Expansion of Fort Raleigh's Purpose

In November 1990, Fort Raleigh's interpretive mission branched into new directions after Congress passed legislation expanding the park's boundary. As previously noted, the expansion legislation added significant new interpretive purposes. In addition to interpreting the English attempts at colonization in the New World, the park now sought to include "the history of the Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island, North Carolina."[239] Under the expansion legislation, the park especially began presenting information about the Civil War- era freedmen's village on the northern end of Roanoke Island. It built new wayside displays along U.S. Highway 64/264 and then began forging a relationship with the local black community in an effort to preserve the island's African- American history. General information about the island's Civil War history and its later use by Reginald Fessenden for his radio experiments was also included.

Meanwhile, as discussed in the previous chapter, Archeologist Ivor Hume of the Virginia Company Foundation undertook major new investigations at Fort Raleigh. Hume's investigations failed to uncover evidence of the "Cittie of Raleigh," as had past efforts. Nevertheless, they did lead to the conclusion that Thomas Hariot and Joachim Gans had established a "scientific" laboratory on the site during the 1585 visit to Roanoke Island. Traditionally, the fort was viewed as a bastion to protect the colonists. The new discoveries, along with further failed efforts to find any evidence relating to the location of the "Cittie," suggested to scholars that the fort was actually established to protect the laboratory, to protect the men left behind by Sir Thomas Grenville, or was a military construction of a much later period. Regardless of the outcome of the scholarly debate, these developments helped maintain NPS attention on the continuing preeminence of the Fort Raleigh's Elizabethan- era themes. Indeed, new research and debate on the topic helped generate enthusiasm that led to the successful "Roanoke Decoded" conference. As discussed above, the international conference on England's Elizabethan- era voyages to Roanoke Island turned out to be the most extensive educational outreach project ever undertaken by Fort Raleigh. The increased attention given to the Roanoke colonies came at an awkward moment, however, given the preceding mandate by Congress to shift the park's interpretative focus. Indeed, renewed academic attention on the colonies probably helped delay efforts to implement the new mandate by several years.

In 1998, however, Fort Raleigh began to grapple with its interpretative dilemma by preparing a long- range interpretive plan. The park held a conference with various stakeholders. When the plan was completed in 2001, it noted that archeological findings were yet insufficient to fully interpret the meaning and significance of the Roanoke colonies. It also proposed to shift the visitor center's focus upon "one primary theme to one that incorporates all significant themes." Finally, it called for a name other than "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site." This latter goal was driven by the desire to better suggest the importance of the "the multiplicity of significant resources" at the park.[240] As if to underline this goal, Patricia C. Click published a major study on Roanoke Island's Civil War- era freedmen's colony in spring 2001. Her work seemed to confirm the need to integrate more thoroughly all of the park's themes into its interpretative program and to conduct additional research.[241]

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237. John Patterson, "University Becomes Home of New Roanoke Colonies Research Office," *Cornerstone* (East Carolina University newsletter), January 1994, 1, 5, ECU Newsletter Articles folder, FORA Resource Management Office, FORA.
238. *Roanoke Colonies Research Newsletter*, vol. 6, no. 1 (November 1998): 1, 6.
239. Public Law 101-603, 101st Congress, 104 STAT. 3065, 1990s Land Acquisition Files, FORA.
240. Annual Reports, 1996/1997, 1-2, 1998, 7, 11; Long Range Interpretative Plan, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site web page, 2001 (www.nps.gov/fora/longrange2001.htm); John Beck to Cameron Binkley, August 1, 2001, in possession of author.

Despite the long- range interpretative plan's emphasis, redefining Fort Raleigh's interpretative mission was and is a challenging task. Understandably, prior to 1990, the park had little incentive to interpret additional historical themes. Most park visitors came and continue to come to Fort Raleigh with the expectation of learning about early English colonizing efforts in the area. Moreover, although books on African- American and Native American history are sold in the bookstore, most sales are generated by interest in the "Raleigh" theme. Such interest is natural. Fort Raleigh has a clear centuries- old association with the Raleigh ventures, related commemorative efforts begun in the 1880s, and the park's own Depression- era origins in partnership with the ongoing production, *The Lost Colony*, itself a living ethnographic resource deeply interwoven into the life of the local community. Moreover, the term "Fort Raleigh," while not Ralph Lane's term for the fortification he built in the sixteenth century, is the term most historically associated with the park and all commemorative efforts dating from the late nineteenth century, as outlined in Appendix 2. Scholars concerned with Roanoke Island have also traditionally focused upon the themes of the sixteenth century. As far as local sentiment is concerned, support for the park's expansion in the early 1990s was predominantly a factor of the community's desire to restrain development on the north end of Roanoke Island and to ease financial pressure upon the Roanoke Island Historical Association. Park expansion boosters clearly demonstrated this intent in their written comments opposing NPS land acquisition priorities detailed in Chapter Four. Finally, archeologist Ivor Hume's conclusive evidence indicating the site's use as a sixteenth- century metallurgical laboratory, if not a sixteenth- century fort, and the lack of significant archeological findings relating to other park themes, also suggests the difficulty of significantly redirecting the park's interpretative emphasis. At the very least, future changes in interpretative programs at Fort Raleigh need to consider this history carefully.

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241. See Patricia C. Click, *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862-1867* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001).

Chapter Seven: Fort Raleigh and the Roanoke Island Historical Association

The Early Years

Since its inception, Fort Raleigh NHS has maintained a close working relationship with the Roanoke Island Historical Association under a cooperative agreement allowing the association to produce *The Lost Colony* at the Waterside Theatre on park property. The first cooperative agreement between RIHA and the National Park Service was signed on March 29, 1939, two years before Congress authorized the creation of the historic site. More detail on the background of this development is provided in Chapter Three. Successful negotiation of the cooperative agreement was a key moment in the history of Fort Raleigh. One reason is that Governor Clyde Hoey would not deed the state- owned property to federal control until RIHA and NPS managers saw eye- to- eye on developmental and interpretative issues. Another reason is that, despite broad mutual accord, differences in understanding between the two parties regarding the cooperative agreement have at times arisen. More important, however, the agreement forged an enduring and ultimately successful relationship that embodies much of the public's interest in the park. It therefore represents a key long- term concern of NPS management at Fort Raleigh.

Basically, the cooperative agreement has allowed RIHA to use park facilities to produce its play, but requires the association to seek NPS approval for changes to those facilities, stage settings, and any significant deviation in repertoire away from the Lost Colony theme. The play itself is protected by copyright and thus the Park Service, in the unlikely case that it so desired, cannot legally alter play content. On the other hand, park policies can and do prohibit RIHA from staging rock concerts, to use an extreme example. Above a threshold established as a working fund (the amount of net profit the nonprofit RIHA is allowed to keep), RIHA has also agreed to set aside proceeds from its Fort Raleigh activities to help fund NPS research and land acquisition efforts. This requirement has mandated careful NPS attention to RIHA's accounting records, even though in most years the association has never done much better than break even and has remained a grant- dependent institution. Nevertheless, RIHA originally agreed to a confusing arrangement whereby ten percent of its gross profits, after the first twenty- five thousand dollars, would be contributed to the park fund. The Park Service could waive the requirement in years when the association experienced financial hardship.[242] Almost at once, however, RIHA disputed NPS interpretations of the sales percentage due the park and subsequent agreements more carefully spelled out funding entitlements.[243]

In 1944, after three years of dormancy induced by World War II, the Park Service and RIHA began to renegotiate the cooperative agreement governing the production of *The Lost Colony.* Officials from the NPS, RIHA, and the state of North Carolina, including Governor Joseph M. Broughton, met in September to work out the terms of a new agreement. When RIHA officials opposed such terms for taking away too much of their discretion, some association officials, including Paul Green, mentioned the possibility of seeking congressional action to return ownership of the theater property from the Park Service to the state. In response, NPS officials agreed to less intrusive requirements governing their oversight of RIHA activities, especially concerning theatrical liberty. In January 1945, hoping to assuage discontent even further, the Park Service temporarily suspended Fort Raleigh's admission fee. Play supporters resented the fee, believing it drove down attendance. Frequent park users also objected. The new twenty- year cooperative

242. Cooperative Agreement, National Park Service and Roanoke Island Historical Association, 1939, RIHA Files, FORA.
243. D.B. Fearing, RIHA, to Secretary, NPS, October 15, 1941, RIHA Files, FORA.

agreement was signed in April 1945. Despite a few contentious points, the revised agreement was similar to the original and continued to require RIHA to set aside proceeds above its working fund for NPS use, again mainly to fund new land purchases or research projects. Under the new agreement, the association also remained responsible for seeking NPS permission for alterations to its facilities, general repertoire, and fees.[244]

The rapport between the Park Service and RIHA gradually improved in the years following the 1945 cooperative agreement, but not without some irritation. The association routinely gained NPS permission to alter facilities and submitted sundry required documents, including annual reports, admission fee schedules, and lists of sales items with prices. However, during the late 1940s, Superintendent Robert H. Atkinson complained about RIHA's tardiness in submitting annual reports—the 1947 report was a full year late. The fire that year at the Waterside Theatre probably accounted for the delay, but this may also be the reason the park particularly wanted the report on time. Another early issue that caused a stir was a RIHA plan that NPS Director Newton B. Drury discovered in the park's monthly narrative report for January 1950. Apparently taking up the suggestions of North Carolina Governor William K. Scott, RIHA's board of directors was considering the possibility of bringing several Cherokee Indian families to live on Roanoke Island to take part in *The Lost Colony*. NPS saw no difficulty with this proposal, but the association was also considering using the Cherokees to establish an "Indian Village" on the west side of the park. Director Drury expressed his serious misgivings about any such proposal because it would encourage a "carnival atmosphere" and because Cherokee Indians were never associated with Roanoke Island. Upon further investigation by Superintendent Atkinson, however, it was learned that though the association had considered the proposal, it neither had available funding nor the approval of the Superintendent of the Cherokee Agency in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. RIHA continued to use local actors to fill the Indian roles in the play, and the Park Service never found it necessary to raise the delicate subject as a formal matter.[245]

Although the Cherokee Indian affair never materialized as a dispute, the Park Service did fret over RIHA's plans regarding land acquisition and development. In 1946, the association purchased thirty acres along Roanoke Sound and across the state highway from the park. While temporarily using the land for play parking, the association planned to develop new facilities on the property. The Cherokee Indian Village was one possibility, but park officials were far more concerned that RIHA might try to relocate the entire play production off park property. In addition, NPS officials were upset that the association would purchase property while claiming that its net proceeds were below the cap requiring contributions to NPS land acquisition efforts as mandated under the cooperative agreement. Although RIHA might truthfully make such



FIGURE 41. A performance of *The Lost Colony*, late 1930s

claims, as it had income sources outside the agreement (charitable donations, for example), its actions seemed to indicate a lack of commitment to the park. Such perceived indifference concerned NPS officials already frustrated by a park site too small to accommodate their planning goals.[246] In the end, however, funding shortfalls limited the scope of development for both RIHA and the Park Service. Part of the RIHA property was leased for the Elizabethan Gardens in the 1950s, and the NPS had to await Mission 66 for the full development of Fort Raleigh.

244. Cooperative Agreement No. I-Ip-187744, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, January 1, 1945, to December 31, 1964, RIHA Files, FORA; Wilson H. George to Director, September 9, 1944, RIHA Files, FORA; Herbert Evison to Director, September 11, 1944, RIHA Files, FORA; Horace A. Dough to Regional Director, September 12, 1944, RIHA Files, FORA; Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Move to Sever all Connection with Park Service Grows in Dare," *The Daily Advance*, November 28, 1944, RIHA Files, FORA; "Collection of Entrance Fee at Fort Raleigh Suspended," *The Daily Advance*, January 11, 1945, RIHA Files, FORA.

245. Director to Acting Regional Director, March 24, 1950; Acting Regional Director to Superintendent, FORA, March 27, 1950; Superintendent, FORA, to Regional Director, March 29, 1950; and Acting Regional Director to Director, April 11, 1950, all in RIHA Files, FORA.

RIHA's major complaint during the early years was the NPS entrance fee, discussed both in Chapter Six and in an additional section below. The cooperative agreement was renewed for an additional twenty years in 1965 without significant change, although RIHA did negotiate an increase in its working fund limit to $200,000. The fourth and current twenty- year agreement, again closely modeled on previous versions, was signed in April 1984, and is also discussed further below.

NPS Facilities Used by RIHA at Fort Raleigh

Usage of the Waterside Theatre by RIHA to produce *The Lost Colony* predates establishment of Fort Raleigh NHS. As noted above, guarantees not only made creation of the park possible in 1941, but also ensured that the association would have continued use of NPS facilities for the purpose of producing *The Lost Colony*. Unfortunately, World War II began soon after the NPS-RIHA agreement was signed. Blackout requirements necessitated by German U- Boat activity and other issues forced RIHA to suspend its performances between 1942- 1945. The theater thus suffered from inactivity and was substantially damaged by a 1944 hurricane. When RIHA decided to restart its play after the war, the theater was in a deteriorated condition. Thus, between 1945 and 1946, the facility had to be refurbished. Fortunately, Albert Bell, the theater's original architect, agreed to the undertaking. Only a year later, in 1947 a fire of unknown cause damaged a large part of the facility in the middle of the play season. Neither the Park Service nor RIHA had funds to repair the damaged theater expediently. However, a crew of volunteers from the cast and local community, assembled under Bell's direction, agreed to work a twenty- four- hour schedule to rebuild the stage and damaged sets so that the show could resume within a week's time. Lumber was donated by local firms, though insurance eventually helped offset the costs of repair. The play resumed exactly six days after the theater was closed. The incident helped to forge a special bond with the actors, crew, and local community and is a noted event in the history of the production. In 1950, to better accommodate play patrons, the park created a new entrance into the outer palisade. Instead of using the park's main entrance, the new entrance was cut through the palisade wall on the western side near RIHA's parking lot. A new lighted trail led visitors from the park's loop road to this new entrance.[247]

NPS upgraded facilities utilized by RIHA during the 1960s after successful efforts by the association and other park supporters who lobbied to pass legislation to expand and modernize Fort Raleigh during Mission 66. (See Chapter Four.) After a period of lagging interest in *The Lost Colony* and the loss of state funding, RIHA and its supporters realized they needed to increase the scope of Fort Raleigh as a historic site. In league with the broad modernization goals of the Mission 66 program, they succeeded in securing legislation to expand the park



FIGURE 42. Waterside Theatre fire damage, July 1947

and obtained a state grant of $125,000 for land acquisition. This success facilitated NPS planners who generated a draft Mission 66 development proposal for the park. Mission 66 plans included a new visitor center, Cape Hatteras Group Headquarters, and additional parking and space for use by the association at the park, but the plan could not be implemented because the state grant was not enough to cover the cost of land acquisition. However, these developments prompted RIHA enthusiasts Dr. and Mrs. Fred Morrison to make a major contribution matching the state's land acquisition grant. The generous Morrison contribution was sufficient to enable the Park Service to begin the formal land

246. *Reports on the Operations of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1947-1951*, CRS Library, SERO; Monthly Reports, June 1946, December 1946, July 1954, August 1954, September 1954; Cooperative Agreement, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, January 1, 1965, to December 31, 1984, RIHA Files, FORA.

247. Monthly Reports, October 1944, March 1945, August-November 1945, January 1946, April 1946, December 1946, July 1947, July 1950; "History of the Production," undated manuscript (ca.1992), 18-21, RIHA Files, FORA.

acquisition process. On behalf of the National Park Service, Director Conrad Wirth acknowledged the nation's "debt of gratitude to the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of the 1890's and to its successor, the Roanoke Island Historical Association, for preserving the Fort Raleigh area and for making its importance better known to the American people through the production of Paul Green's play." The Morrison gift, he said, "will make the enlargement of the Fort Raleigh area possible, so that development work and facilities suitable to present- day needs and conditions can be projected and realized."[248]

Despite these careful efforts, Mission 66 modernization really got underway at Fort Raleigh on September 11 and 12, 1960, when the park was struck by Hurricane Donna. Donna brought a tidal surge that caused severe damage to the Waterside Theatre and caused other damage at the park. Using NPS funds, an appropriation from the North Carolina General Assembly, and donations, especially from RIHA supporters, the Waterside Theatre was once again rebuilt. A similar layout was employed, but RIHA prudently acquiesced to NPS doubts about the historical accuracy of using log structures and abandoned this motif. Instead, it employed the NPS-preferred "wattle and daub" appearance to construct structure exteriors and used shingled roofs in place of thatched ones. In so doing, RIHA probably was motivated more by the desire to avoid a future source of friction than by acceptance of NPS views. Albert Bell, after all, was hired yet a third time to oversee the reconstruction. Bell had championed the theater's original design when he constructed it during the 1930s and local nostalgia for the inauthentic but rustic log motif remained into the mid- 1960s when some locals even tried to resurrect the log chapel. Bell himself used the log design to rebuild the theater following both World War II and the 1947 fire even though NPS views about sixteenth- century English building styles were well established by that point. Clearly, however, the gradualist NPS policy of removing the cherished but inaccurate log structures, which was consistent with new scholarship, was successful in undermining RIHA's objections to a redesign. Most of the work needed to complete the theater was accomplished before the play's summer season in 1961. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall dedicated the new Waterside Theatre in July 1962. Whatever his views about English building styles, both RIHA and the Park Service lost an important benefactor only two years later with the passing of Bell. In 1967, a monument was placed at the theater to honor the memory of the much- loved local, referred to by some as the "Dean of American Outdoor Theater Design."[249]

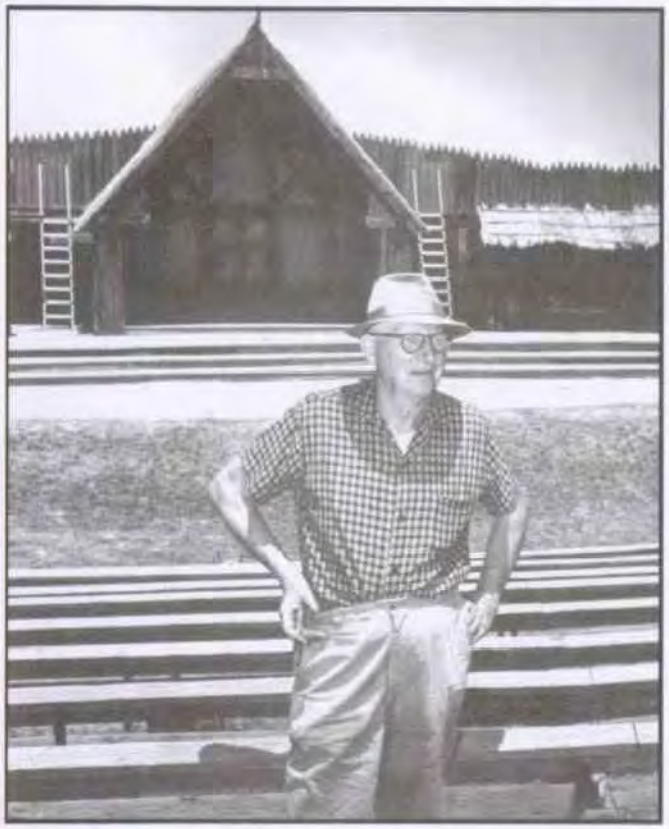


FIGURE 43. Albert "Skipper" Bell standing before the Waterside Theatre, ca. 1961

The Park Service also provided additional facilities for use by RIHA during Mission 66. The park allowed RIHA to house the play manager and other staff in two former residences located on newly acquired land on the sound southeast of the theater. In 1965, as part of its development program, the park built the Lost Colony

248. Conrad L. Wirth to Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, October 13, 1961, Land Records, Vault, FORA.

249. Monthly Reports, September 1960, May 1961, July 1962, January 1963, March 1963, August 1964; "Dare Theater Being Rebuilt," *Virginian Pilot*, January 23, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "'Lost Colony' Gets Funds for Theater," *Virginian Pilot*, March 15, 1960, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "New Theater Rises on Old," *Virginian Pilot*, October 6, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "New Theater for Lost Colony Now Being Constructed," *Coastland Times*, September 29, 1961, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Burial of Time Capsule Highlights Fort Raleigh Program Saturday Night," *Coastland Times*, July 13, 1962, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Dean of American Outdoor Theater Design," *Coastland Times*, June 26, 1964, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; "Grandchildren Unveil Plaque to 'Skipper Bell,'" *Coastland Times*, August 25, 1967, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Narrative Reports, Waterside Theatre, Construction Records, Maintenance Office, FORA; Lost Colony Building file, Building Files, FORA; Prince House and Manager's House files, Building Files, FORA; "History of the Production," undated RIHA manuscript, 23-24, RIHA Files, FORA.



FIGURE 44. The Mission 66 Lost Colony Building, 1966

Activity Building, located near the Cape Hatteras Group headquarters, specifically for use by RIHA in its production of *The Lost Colony*. RIHA also sought and received additional parking space, the provision of which ended a minor source of contention.

Performances of *The Lost Colony* continued within these facilities for another generation. Only routine maintenance was conducted on the theater complex. By 1990, however, the theater's condition had entered a noticeable state of decline. In the spring of that year, RIHA Chairman William Friday requested the NPS to provide a cost estimate for the reconstruction of the Waterside Theatre. The park provided a "Class 'C' estimate" of $425,800. RIHA began an effort to raise funds for this renovation and later decided that a major upgrading of the Waterside Theatre was necessary as well. In August 1993, RIHA brought in a team of experts to assess work required to upgrade the amphitheater and related facilities to modern standards, but without loss to the theater's naturalistic character. Major goals included improvements in visitor accommodation, such as improved stadium seating and higher capacity restrooms, as well as production enhancements. The team also sought to address building code changes, especially the Americans with Disabilities Act. Avoidance of a possible lawsuit stemming from non-compliance with the act was certainly a motivation behind RIHA's effort to modernize its facilities. Perhaps for that reason as well, the association chose to focus first on renovating those portions of the theater extending from the stage toward the audience. Those portions of the theater from the stage area to the shore, used by the performers and crew, were left for the second phase of the project. NPS monies were not available for a project of this scale, but with the help of North Carolina State Senator Marc Basnight, RIHA eventually secured a one million dollar appropriation from the North Carolina General Assembly after U.S. Senator Lauch Faircloth introduced a matching one million dollar line item into the Interior Department's 1997 budget.[250]

After completion of this project, RIHA considered renovation of the Waterside Theatre's stage area, probably the most needed undertaking. Early in September 1998, the stage area was inspected, and it was discovered that approximately 35 percent of the wood pilings used for support had failed, many being so rotted that they no longer touched the ground. Apparently, in the rush to rebuild the theater after the 1947 fire or the 1960 hurricane, RIHA had acquired a number of its wood pilings from a telephone or power company. These recycled poles had climbing hook marks, old bolt holes and chamfered areas, and had not been pressure treated to deter termites. It was fortunate that the stage area had held up for so long without collapsing. This revelation may suggest a relative lack of attention by RIHA, and perhaps that the park should have attempted more frequent or thorough inspections over the years. At any rate, after appraising the situation, the park determined that it could refurbish the stage for less than the cost estimated by the contractor working for RIHA. The NPS thus conducted the renovation, which replaced the stage's foundation pilings, its electrical circuitry, and other major elements. The cost was still nearly a million dollars.[251]

The RIHA Arts Center Plan

After some discussion during the 1970s, RIHA's board of directors voted in 1980 to build a performing arts center that would focus on the Elizabethan era. The board favored the design for an eighty- thousand- square- foot

250. William Friday, RIHA, to Sam Poole, Office of Senator Terry Sanford, April 10, 1990 (plus attachment), Vault, FORA; Jonathan E. Summerton, RIHA, to Thomas Hartman, FORA, June 9, 1994 and attachment "Waterside Theatre: Proposed Upgrading and Renovations," report prepared by Arthur R. Coswell, et al (December 1993), Lost Colony folder (Proposed upgrading), Vault, FORA; Dwain Teague, "Waterside Theatre to Be Renovated," *Roanoke Colonies Research Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (November 1996).

251. National Park Service, "Waterside Theater Stage Foundation Rehabilitation, 1999-2000" (October 1998), Resource Office Files, FORA; "Waterside Theatre Renovation on Go!," *The Croatoan*, Volume 4, Number 1, RIHA Files, Concessions Office, FORA; Annual Reports, 1996/1997, 2-3; 1998, 4-5; and George Perrot (FORA), August 7, 2001, interview by Cameron Binkley.

all- weather facility with seating capacity two to three times greater than the Waterside Theatre. Because of excessive costs, however, and the unlikely prospect of NPS approval for such a large building, the association scaled back its design to twenty thousand square feet. This proposal was announced to the public in January 1981. The facility included a three- hundred- seat theater, a children's theater, rehearsal space for *The Lost Colony*, and offices for the association. To encourage NPS interest in the proposal, RIHA offered to return use of the Lost Colony Activity Building to the park after completion of the performance center and to remove from park property two "non- conforming" structures used to house cast members.[252]

An environmental assessment prepared by East Carolina University's Regional Development Institute examined six proposed sites for the center, including park property between *The Lost Colony* parking lot and Roanoke Sound, three sites on the northern end of Roanoke Island near the park, a site near Manteo, and a site near the airport. RIHA preferred to build the center on the NPS- owned site to keep the facility near the Waterside Theatre and to avoid the financial difficulty of acquiring property. The problem with this option, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Superintendent Bill Harris noted, was that federal approval might be difficult to gain "since there are other sites outside the park which could be used." However, an environmental assessment, completed in February 1982, found that the project would have no significant negative impact on the park. In October 1982, RIHA formally requested permission to build the Roanoke Island Center for the Arts on land within the park cleared for development by the environmental assessment. Harris's replacement as super- intendent, Thomas Hartman, announced that the NPS would allow the center to be constructed on Fort Raleigh property.[253]

Although he gave his support to the project, Hartman, like Harris, was also skeptical. Hartman questioned whether it was appropriate for RIHA to engage in activities at Fort Raleigh unrelated to *The Lost Colony* production, by producing Elizabethan- themed plays. The order creating the national historic site provided only for Green's specific production. Nevertheless, vague doubts by park managers were diminished by the practical advantages RIHA's art center plan offered. First, as RIHA suspected, the park was indeed interested in re- acquiring access to the Lost Colony Activity Building to use for its curatorial efforts. This reason alone was probably sufficient to merit Hartman's acquiescence in the absence of a negative environmental assessment. Second, Hartman was also pleased at the chance to eliminate the non- historic houses. Moreover, by consolidating RIHA activities in one spot, Hartman believed that park management could be simplified. Finally, of course, by approving RIHA's plans, the NPS was promoting continued good relations with an indispensable and long- term partner.[254]

The decision by the Park Service to allow RIHA to build an arts center at Fort Raleigh came with some protest. James Dough, whose family had transferred title over the Fort Raleigh site to the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association in 1894, was strongly opposed for preservation and environmental reasons. Dough tapped directly into Hartman's concern. He argued that allowing RIHA to develop an arts center that would promote theatrical activities not directly associated with Fort Raleigh was "a continuation of the misuse of this site by the National Park Service over the years" and a violation of the acts governing the administration of historic sites. Moreover, construction of the facility on park property, he wrote, would do environmental harm to Roanoke Sound while also increasing residential congestion and traffic noise. He preferred that one of the alternative sites be used. As later events would demonstrate, Dough was not alone in these concerns. No immediate ground swell of discontent followed, however, and the National Park Service upheld its decision.[255]

252. "RIHA Seeks New Offices And Theater," *Coastland Times,* January 27, 1981, 3, Clippings Files, FORA.
253. Ibid, 3; S. Richard Brockett, Environmental Assessment, Roanoke Island Center for the Arts, April 1981, RIHA Files, FORA; "Cultural Center Sites Assessed for RIHA," *Coastland Times,* April 14, 1981, 1, Clippings Files, FORA; "RIHA Asks Permit To Build Center At Fort Raleigh," *Coastland Times,* February 4, 1982, Clippings Files, FORA; "NPS Assessment Says Center Would Not Harm Fort," *Coastland Times,* February 11, 1982, 5, Clippings Files, FORA; Environmental Assessment, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, February 1982, RIHA Files, FORA; Mrs. J. Emmett Winslow, RIHA, to Tom Hartman, Cape Hatteras NS, October 26, 1982, RIHA Files, FORA.
254. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras, to Regional Director, Southeast, September 11, 1981, RIHA Files, FORA; Superintendent, Cape Hatteras, to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Recreation, Southeast, January 14, 1982, RIHA Files, FORA.
255. James E. Dough to Southeast Regional Office, NPS, February 13, 1982, RIHA Files, FORA; Regional Director, Southeast Region, Finding of no Significant Impact, April 6, 1982, RIHA Files, FORA. Note, as discussed in Chapter 4, the Dough family was forced off its land by the Mission 66 park expansion. Whether or not Dough was influenced by this history, his views were a harbinger of things to come.

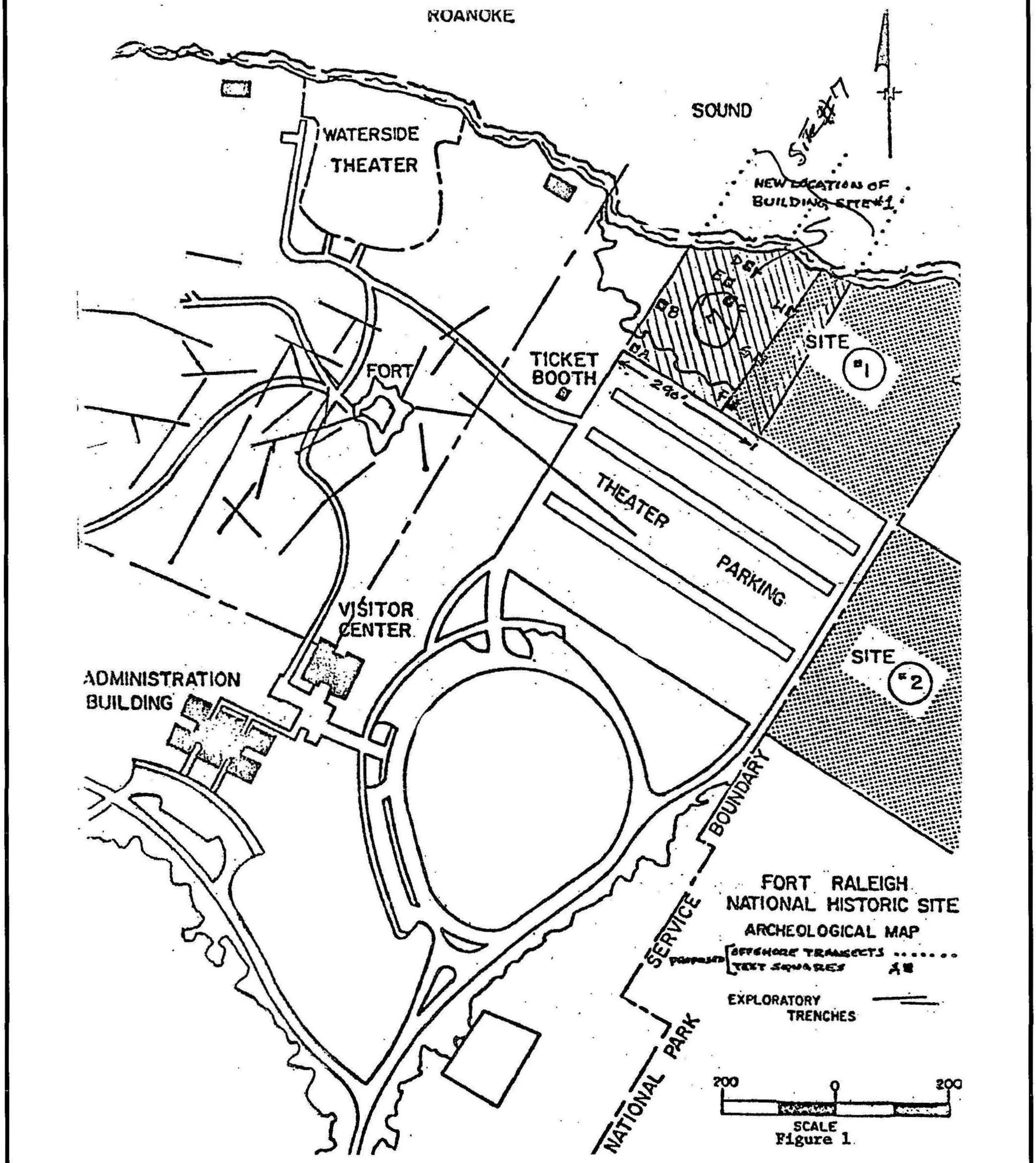


FIGURE 45. Land requested by RIHA for construction of the Roanoke Island Center for the Arts, 1982

With NPS approval, RIHA employed an architect and initiated the required archeological survey of the proposed construction site. The first draff of the architectural design submitted for NPS review failed to meet park expectations. Part of the problem was that the NPS had imposed a verbal ten- thousand- square- foot restriction upon RIHA. RIHA's architects thus designed a taller structure to meet this restriction while trying to

accommodate the association's space- use needs. The resulting building rose too far above the tree line and so failed NPS conformity standards. The Park Service then requested a less intrusive redesign based upon the original twenty- thousand- square- foot limit. After accounting for these concerns, the Park Service approved the architectural plans. Approval of the archeological survey was less complicated, as no substantive issues were raised. The Southeast Archeological Center signed off on the archeological survey in June 1984, clearing the site for construction.[256]

Another issue pertaining to RIHA and the Park Service was resolved the previous April when the two signed a new twenty- year extension of their cooperative agreement. The new agreement entailed a significant increase in the association's working fund, from $200,000 to $500,000. RIHA requested the increase in light of its expected financial needs for the forthcoming arts center. By agreeing to this change, however, park officials accepted a potentially significant reduction in RIHA's contributions to the special fund used to support park- related activities. Of course, RIHA contributions to the fund had never met NPS expectations, so this decision was probably not hard to make. The Park Service imposed no provision in the agreement to account for the possibility that the center might not actually be constructed.[257]

Finally, with the complex process of site selection, design, regulatory approval, and other administrative issues behind it, RIHA faced the most formidable challenge of all – raising funds needed to construct the arts center. By this point, considerable changes had taken place in the composition of RIHA's board, an analysis of which is beyond the scope of this administrative history. In the end, however, the fund-raising challenge was undertaken by John P. Kennedy, Jr., who assumed the chairmanship of RIHA's board of directors late in 1982. Kennedy had recently moved to Stumpy Point, which is across the sound from Roanoke Island, after a successful legal and banking career and a stint with North Carolina's public university system. The latter position involved him in the arts and the activities of RIHA. He was very enthusiastic about the potential that the arts center offered for increasing both commercial and cultural opportunities in Dare County. Indeed, he proved a more expansive visionary than previous RIHA members, including those who had originally hired Paul Green to draft *The Lost Colony*, but this turned out to be a liability.[258]

Under Kennedy, a fund raising campaign was announced and a steering committee appointed. Using the highly successful model of the Shakespeare- themed arts festival in Ashland, Oregon, the size of the proposed facility was increased to include a 640- seat main theater and a 170- seat chamber theater. With Ashland in mind, RIHA leaders now expected the arts center to attract three hundred thousand visitors a year and to extend the local tourist season from a few months to nine or ten months each year. By late 1986, the campaign had raised around 1.8 million dollars of the 4.7 million dollars required to construct the facility, but fund raising began to stagnate as major contributors objected to giving large sums to construct a facility on federally owned and regulated land.[259]

In response to fund raising difficulties, and perhaps a sense of urgency created by declining attendance for *The Lost Colony*, RIHA's board of directors made a fateful decision in late 1986.[260] The board decided to

256. John P. Kennedy to C. W. Ogle, Acting Regional Superintendent, SERO, November 24, 1982, RIHA Files, FORA; Robert Knowles, RIHA, to Thomas L. Hartman, Superintendent, FORA, January 10, 1983, RIHA Files, FORA; "Briefing Statement: Roanoke Island Historical Association Performance Center," July 26, 1983, RIHA Files, FORA; Chief, Southeast Archeological Center, to Superintendent, CAHA, June 13, 1984, RIHA Files, FORA.

257. Cooperative Agreement, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., January 1, 1945 to December 31, 1964; January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1984; and January 1, 1985 to December 31, 2004, RIHA Files, FORA; Warren Wrenn (Concessions Specialist, FORA), interview by Cameron Binkley, August 1, 2001. An operational plan for the association in regards to park property was approved that same year. A formal maintenance agreement was signed in 1995. See Operational Plan for Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., 1984, RIHA Files, FORA; Maintenance Agreement Between the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., and Cape Hatteras National Seashore, 1995, RIHA Files, FORA.

258. John P. Kennedy, Jr. RIHA Chairman to C.W. Ogle, Jesse Portis Helm, Acting Regional Director, SERO, RIHA Files, FORA; "Kennedy and the Center," *The Outer Banks Current*, July 11, 1985, 5.

259. "Kennedy And The Center," *The Outer Banks Current*, July 11, 1985, 5, Clippings Files, FORA; Gene P'Bleness, "New Site Considered for Arts Center," *Virginian Pilot*, November 16, 1986, b1; "Arts Center Cabinet Eyes Local Funds," *The Outer Banks Current*, August 8, 1985, Clippings Files, FORA; Gwen White, "Arts center organizers predict impact of $193 million benefiting Dare area," *The Daily Advance*, November 19, 1985, 1, Clippings Files, FORA; Joe Fahy, "The vision: Roanoke Island performing arts center to celebrate Elizabethan era," *Virginian Pilot*, May 25, 1986, 4, Clippings Files, FORA; Adam Seessel, "$1.8 million raised for arts center near Manteo," *The News and Observer*, August 16, 1986, C1, Clippings Files, FORA.

260. Attendance at "The Lost Colony" declined from ninety thousand in 1980 to seventy-eight thousand in 1985.

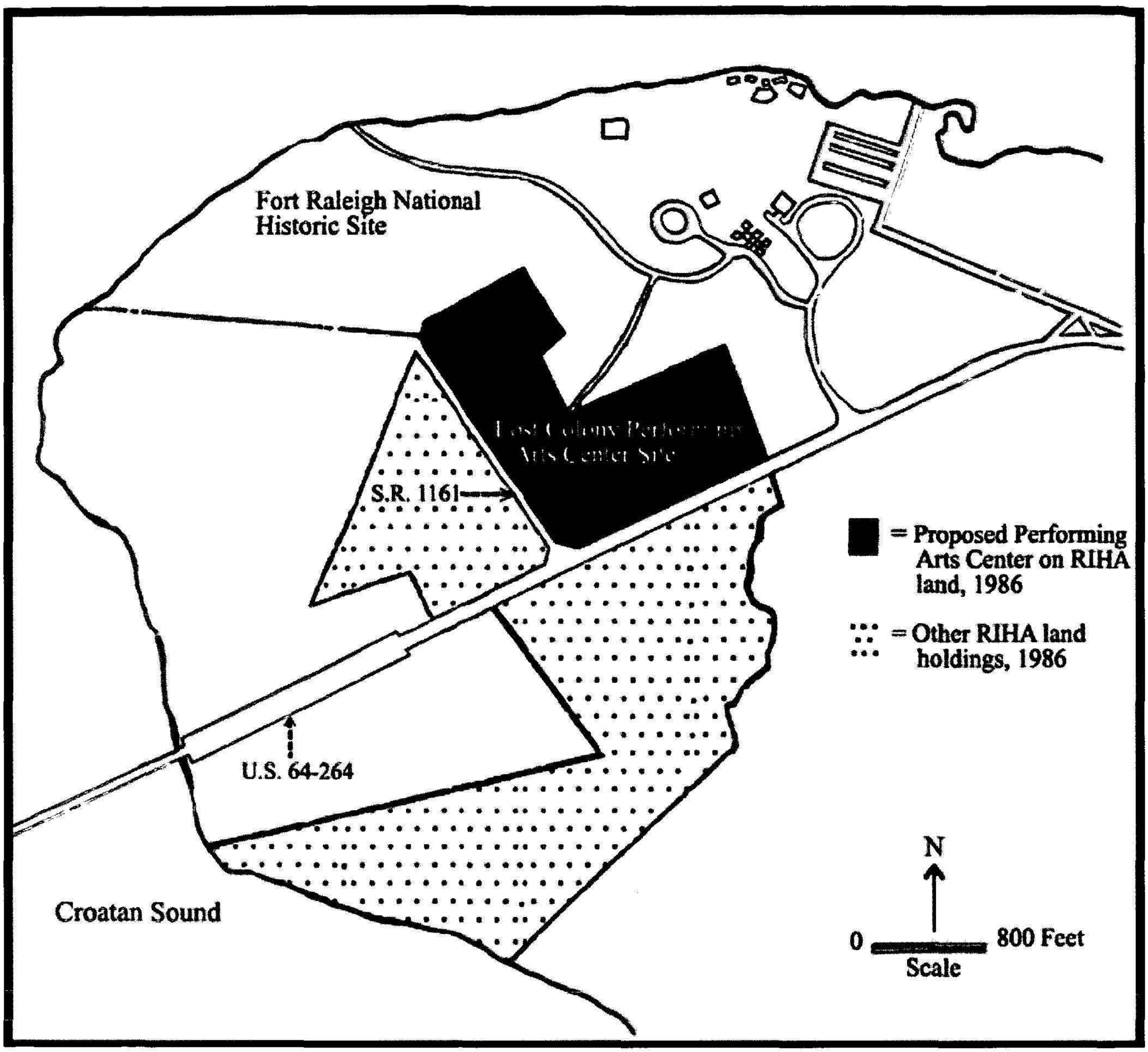


FIGURE 46. Proposed Performing Arts Center planned by RIHA, 1986

build the arts center off park property and to include residential and commercial developments to help fund the center. This decision essentially removed the arts center as an issue that NPS officials could influence. When made public in early December, RIHA's plans called for the acquisition of three hundred acres of land along U.S. Highway 64 on the northern end of the island near Fort Raleigh, including the forty- five- acre Fessenden tract already owned by the association, the 125- acre Pearce tract, the seven- acre Redding tract, and another 122- acre tract. The arts center's size was once again increased to one thousand seats in the main theater and two hundred seats in the chamber theater. Over two hundred homes were planned in a residential subdivision on the Fessenden tract. A hotel and shopping area were included in the plan, and a golf course was a possibility if additional land could be acquired. The price tag of the arts center had ballooned from less than five million dollars to more than twelve million dollars. The total development was estimated at around forty- eight million dollars. The residential development sales and hotel and commercial area leasing would provide income to RIHA for the construction and operation of the arts center.[261]

Several reasons prompted RIHA's radical decision to abandon the concept of an arts center on park property. Publicly, association leaders complained about the difficulty in getting major corporate donors to give funds for a project to be built on federal property. In addition, the association wanted full control of the arts center. If the center was built on park property, the NPS

would have a voice in its design and operations. RIHA Executive Director Scott Parker even feared that the Park Service might dictate the content of arts center programs, such as requiring all programming to deal with the Roanoke Island colonists. RIHA also thought that the theater size allowable at the park was too small to be financially viable and thought residential and commercial development necessary to fund both the construction and operation of the arts center. Last, as discussed below, individual RIHA board members may have had private incentives.[262]

When RIHA's plans were made public, many residents of Roanoke Island and Dare County turned against the proposed development. The Manteo newspaper, *The Coastland Times,* summed up the attitude of many residents when it editorialized "The Waterside Theatre has been on government property since its existence, and Dare County has gotten along just fine with the landlord."[263] Actor and island resident Andy Griffith withdrew his support from the project. The ladies garden club launched a petition drive. Opponents of the new plan objected to its size, the inclusion of residential and commercial developments that would fundamentally alter the rural character of the area, the promotion of undesirable growth, potential competition between the development and nearby downtown Manteo, and the dramatic increase in the price tag of the arts center. A number of long- time RIHA supporters also questioned whether the arts center would detract from *The Lost Colony* by drawing attendees away or by weakening the financial position of the association. Then the debate grew ugly as allegations arose that RIHA board members stood to gain financially from the new property- development scheme. Despite such criticism, RIHA's board of directors pressed on with their plans and held two public meetings in late 1986 and early 1987. The meetings were not successful, however, in changing negative public attitudes toward the new project. Finally, in 1988, RIHA launched an effort to gain state funding, but few legislators were willing to support a bill opposed by many in Dare County, especially with competing but less controversial measures to consider. Even before this last- ditch effort, John Kennedy all but conceded his failure to achieve community support for an expanded commercially oriented arts center. He resigned as chairman of RIHA on April 1, 1987.[264] Neither the original park- approved facility nor Kennedy's visionary arts center was ever built.

With the failure of RIHA's plans for an arts center, the association had no choice but to resume its relationship with the Park Service at Fort Raleigh. Preceding events had strained that relationship, but Kennedy's resignation made it possible for the two organizations to resume cooperation. Superintendent Hartman and RIHA Executive Director Scott Parker successfully negotiated several minor changes to the theater in July 1987, although Hartman prevented RIHA from reducing the height of the theater's palisade to maintain the "historic integrity of the stage." In 1994, the Park Service and RIHA cooperated to finance and construct a much needed new facility, the Mabel Basnight Box Office, which was named for a deceased RIHA ticket manager. Hartman was quoted as saying "this is another example of how partnerships are making a positive difference during these stained [sic] budgetary times." The park worked with RIHA in developing the joint project to overcome mutual budget shortfalls. On behalf of RIHA, a benefit performance of *Elizabeth R* raised $9,000 for

261. Gene O'Bleness, "New site considered for arts center," *Virginian Pilot,* November 16, 1986, B1, B3, Clippings Files, FORA; Gene O'Bleness, "Expansion proposed for arts center," *Virginian Pilot,* November 19, 1986, D1, Clippings Files, FORA; "'Dramatic' Plan For Arts Center Is Unveiled To County By RIHA," *Coastland Times,* December 2, 1986, 1A, Clippings Files, FORA; Gene O'Bleness, "Art center proposals presented," *Virginian Pilot,* December 2, 1986, D1, Clippings Files, FORA.

262. Gene O'Bleness, "New site considered for arts center," *Virginian Pilot,* November 16, 1986, B1, B3, Clippings Files, FORA; "Teresa Annas, "Residents debate merits of planned Lost Colony Arts Center in N.C.," *Virginian Pilot,* December 21, 1986, G1, G3, Clippings Files, FORA.

263. "Not the Same," *Coastland Times,* December 2, 1986, 4A, Clippings Files, FORA.

264. Gene O'Bleness, "Group Leaves Center Choice to Residents," *Virginian Pilot,* B1, B4, Clippings Files, FORA; Teresa Annas, "Residents Debate Merits of Planned Lost Colony Arts Center in N.C.," *Virginian Pilot,* December 21, 1986, G1, G3, Clippings Files, FORA; Jerry Allegood, "Arts-center Project in Dare Sparks Criticism," *The News and Observer,* December 24, 1986, 1C, 2C, Clippings Files, FORA; "Andy Griffith Withdraws Aid To RIHA Plan," *Coastland Times,* January 1, 1987, 1A, Clippings Files, FORA; Gwen White, "Dare Residents Worried about Outdoor Drama," *The Daily Advance,* January 22, 1987, 1, Clippings Files, FORA; "Petition Filed Against RIHA Rezoning Plan," *Coastland Times,* February 3, 1987, 1A, Clippings Files, FORA; Gnee O'Bleness, "Crowd Gathers to Debate Arts Center," *Virginian Pilot,* February 6, 1987, D1, D6, Clippings Files, FORA; Gene O'Bleness, "Arts Center Leader is Leaving Post," *Virginian Pilot,* March 1, 1987, B1; Charles Herndon, "Group Seeks State Help to Buy Land for Arts Center," *Virginian Pilot,* June 14, 1988, D1, D3, Clippings Files, FORA; Lebame Houston, comments on August 2002 draft, SERO. According to Houston, RIHA board members with unhealthy financial ties to the development project would have "almost brought *The Lost Colony* to its knees" and the play was saved when Bill Friday assumed the chair of RIHA and asked for the resignation of all board members who also had affiliations with Arcle-Dare or who otherwise stood to gain from the development proposal.

materials and construction, which was supplemented by donations from some of Mrs. Basnight's friends and family. The Park Service provided architectural design and work crews.[265] Finally, improved relations made it possible for RIHA and the park to collaborate successfully on the late- 1990s renovation of the Waterside Theatre (discussed above under "NPS Facilities Used by RIHA at Fort Raleigh").

Impact of Park Service Policy on RIHA

RIHA has occasionally blamed declining attendance of *The Lost Colony* on Park Service policies. Such accusations were most pronounced during Fort Raleigh's earliest years, but they also emerged during the late 1980s with regard to the performing arts center. Complaints have targeted park entrance fees, lack of effective mosquito control, and limitations upon the performance repertory.[266] The latter complaint was used frequently to justify moving the play off park property in the late 1980s. No detailed analysis of these complaints is offered, but a few remarks seem appropriate. First, no single factor is responsible for the success of a play, as measured by attendance. Ticket price, weather, quality of the production, tradition, and parking availability are all important considerations. Certainly, park policy may have impacted play attendance, as in the case of entrance fees or the reluctance to employ chemical pesticides to combat mosquitoes. However, the need to pay parking fees or endure insects is a routine cost paid by many devotees of outdoor entertainment, which includes concerts, festivals, and ball games. Moreover, during the mid-1980s, some credited RIHA's focus on the arts center and lack of focus on the play as a reason for declining attendance. So, while park policies may have affected play attendance, their impact should be judged in view of other important factors. Ultimately, of course, Fort Raleigh officials abandoned fee collection and deliberately chose not to resume the practice again in the 1980s when authorized by Congress and encouraged to do so by Washington officials. The park was well aware of the contention caused by fees, whatever their actual affect on attendance, and has wisely avoided their use. Some complaints, however, clearly lack merit. One reason RIHA justified moving its production off NPS property was to escape limitations on its ability to stage plays not in keeping with the Lost Colony theme, a mandate of the cooperative agreement. Certainly, fears about the future sole reliance on Paul Green's play were a legitimate concern for RIHA. Presumably, choice, variety, and potential commercial attractions would boost attendance over the long- term. On this issue, however, there is no reason to believe that the association's decision to build an off- site performing arts center was necessitated by excessive park- imposed restrictions.[267] Park policy did not prevent RIHA from presenting Elizabethan- themed plays. Indeed, even despite some initial reluctance by park superintendents, the park proved willing to accommodate a moderate expansion of RIHA's activities on the Fort Raleigh site. Federal policies did prevent RIHA from constructing a non- conforming structure deemed excessive in size. However, these restrictions were justified by cultural and natural resource protection guidelines and by environmental impact regulations.

To avoid federal restraints, RIHA sought to fund its performing arts center through grant opportunities from parties interested in commercial development. Its arts center effort was then sidelined by attempts to address the restrictions imposed by those sources, whose goals proved contrary to the interests of the wider community. Park Service policy cannot be held accountable for this course of events. Moreover, after the arts center project failed, *The Lost Colony* continued to be successfully staged by RIHA under NPS auspices. The performance did endure a few pre- Mission 66 years "in the red," but the only lapse in the play's history was the war- related discontinuance of the early 1940s. Despite the performing arts center episode, and other minor clashes, NPS policies do not seem to have greatly impeded the play's production, its producers' solvency, or its reception by critics. Park policies have limited RIHA's scope, but these policies have remained consistent with underlying NPS values and the NPS-RIHA cooperative agreement.

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265. Thomas L. Hartman, Superintendent, FORA, to Scott Parker, Executive Director, RIHA, July 30, 1987, RIHA Files, FORA; "Final Touches Prepare Lost Colony Booth," *The Coastland Times,* May 24, 1994, 5A, and "Mabel Basnight Box Office Unveiled at 'Lost Colony,'" *The Coastland Times,* June 21, 1994, 9A, Clippings Files, FORA; Lebame Houston, comments on 2002 draft, SERO.
266. Regarding mosquitoes, see "Mosquitos [sic] Bite 'Colony,' RIHA Board Complains," *The Coastland Times,* October 7, 1981, 1, Clippings Files, FORA.
267. Note, in the late 1990s, the NPS even paid the Professional Theatre Workshop (PTW) to provide "interpretive" programs during the summer.

Fort Raleigh NHS and the Elizabethan Gardens

The Roanoke Island Historical Association stages *The Lost Colony* production at the Waterside Theatre through a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service. The theater and property, however, are owned by the federal government. Northwest of the theater complex and the Thomas Hariot Nature Trail lie approximately ten acres of land that remain outside Fort Raleigh's authorized boundary. This land is owned by RIHA but was leased by it on October 29, 1953, for a term of ninety- nine years to the Federation of Garden Clubs of North Carolina (GCNC), a women's civic club interested in park affairs.[268] This property was used to create a formal Tudor- style garden and memorial to Queen Elizabeth I under whose auspices Sir Walter Raleigh set out to establish an English colony on Roanoke Island. The grounds are known as the Elizabethan Gardens.

The notion to establish the Elizabethan Gardens was first announced in February 1951 after an executive meeting of RIHA. During the meeting RIHA offered the GCNC land for the development of an Elizabethan- era garden, which the women's group accepted. Apparently, the idea of a memorial project first arose from two women. One was Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, Massachusetts. Cannon was president of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, a member of the GCNC, and chairman of RIHA. Her society was then also providing funds to RIHA to renovate the Waterside Theatre to reflect more accurately sixteenth- century architecture. The second woman was novelist Inglis Fletcher, who was probably the main instigator. Inglis was a friend of the influential Cannon and also a member of the GCNC. Two years later, RIHA arranged a lease agreement with the GCNC for the ten- and- a- half- acre tract with the understanding that the GCNC would develop a two-acre garden at the site. The garden was then designed by Umberto Innocenti and Richard Webel, two well-known landscape architects from New York, and was built by E.W. Reinecke of Fayetteville with the help of Albert Bell of Manteo. The women obtained funding for the project by soliciting an annual donation of one dollar from each Garden Club member and by obtaining a major gift of English statuary of the Elizabethan period from orange juice magnate John Hay Whitney.[269]

The GCNC facility included a formal garden of the type that existed in England during the sixteenth century and a wild garden to represent the environment that the colonists lived in on Roanoke Island. The garden became self- supporting in 1959 through the collection of admission fees. Although the NPS was given some design review role in the development of the Elizabethan Gardens, its control was limited by the garden's location on nonfederal land.[270]

The Elizabethan Gardens also contain a famous nineteenth- century statue of Virginia Dare imagined as she might have looked as a young woman in the wilderness. The statue has a well- known story. The work was designed and sculpted in 1859 by Maria Louis Lander, an American living in Europe who became infatuated with Virginia Dare. Unfortunately, upon its completion in 1860, her statue was lost at sea while being shipped from Italy. Two years later, however, it was recovered from the Atlantic and sold to a man in Boston whose home burned down before he paid the artist. The



FIGURE 47. Statue of Virginia Dare in the Elizabethan Gardens, 1990

268. Lease between Roanoke Island Historical Association and Garden Club of North Carolina, October 29, 1953, FORA Vault, Elizabethan Gardens folder, FORA.
269. Monthly Reports, February 1951; "Elizabethan Gardens Dedicated By State Garden Clubs at Ceremony In Manteo," *The New and Observer* (Raleigh) August 19, 1955, and Carole Thompson, "Elizabethan Gardens Splendor," *The Coastland Times* (April 13, 1986), 1B; both in FORA Museum Resource Center Clippings files, FORA. A general history of the Elizabethan Gardens can be found in Chapter 15, "History Transplanted: The Elizabethan Gardens," Angelis Ellis Khoury, *Manteo: A Roanoke Island Town* (Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 1999), 215-223.
270. William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 185-189.

statue was then recovered unharmed a second time and the artist reclaimed her unlucky work. Years later, Lander willed the statue to the state of North Carolina after several entreaties by Sallie Southall Cotton, who began the campaign in 1892 to gain national recognition for Virginia Dare. In 1926, the statue was then placed on display in the Hall of History in Raleigh until complaints about the bare- breasted figure resulted in its removal. A decision was made to send the statue to Roanoke Island. While en route, the statue was once again lost at sea. The piece was then salvaged unharmed yet again and finally acquired by playwright Paul Green for his personal garden. Eventually, Green donated the piece to the Elizabethan Gardens.[271]

Although the Elizabethan Gardens were not yet completed, they were dedicated on the 368th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare, August 18, 1955, during the annual board meeting of the GCNC, which was opened to the public. Frank Graham, a diplomat and former president of the University of North Carolina, delivered the main address. Reflecting the temper of the day, Graham said that the gardens represented "the spirit of the women who, in their gardens and in their lives, grow the fairest flowers of our civilization." Cast members of *The Lost Colony* also reenacted scenes from the play in which Captain Barlowe and Amadas claimed possession of Roanoke Island in the name of Queen Elizabeth for whom the gardens are named. Mrs. George Little of the GCNC then dedicated the garden to the citizens of the state and compared the planting of the garden to the efforts of those first colonists who attempted to plant a settlement on the island.[272]

The dedication ceremony was a major achievement of the GCNC and RIHA. Neither of these organizations, however, sought to undertake the long- term administration of the project. Historically, the role of women's civic organizations has been to promote civic work, education, and appropriate social and political change. Rarely have women's groups elected to run organizations for the long haul. They have typically preferred to transfer the parks, playgrounds, libraries, or businesses that have resulted from their work to government stewardship. RIHA was also not interested in managing this enterprise, considering that historic preservation and civic promotion were its chief aims beyond administering theatrical productions. Events related to its performance arts center of the mid- 1980s notwithstanding, RIHA has traditionally sought property to hold for later purchase by the state or federal government, and the most involvement in the project it probably ever contemplated was to hold the property under long- term lease to the GCNC.

Indeed, there is some evidence that the GCNC always expected to turn administration of the Elizabethan Gardens over to the state or the National Park Service. The club's first offer was, in fact, made in February 1951 to park officials to establish the garden at Fort Raleigh itself. The preliminary idea was referred to a committee to develop a serious proposal, including a topographical layout and site plan. The NPS considered the issue and the plans for some time, but ultimately the GCNC decided to build the garden on land owned by RIHA. Once the Elizabethan Gardens were created, members of GCNC's executive committee began to explore anew the proposition of turning the property over to the Park Service. Certainly, Inglis Fletcher expressed this outlook. In a letter to NPS Director Conrad Wirth dated February 25, 1960, Fletcher raised the prospect of her desire to see the Park Service acquire the Elizabethan Gardens, once all members of the club were "ready to give it up." She explained to Wirth that the GCNC had rules against running a business, which the Elizabethan Gardens were soon to become.[273]

By 1962 Josie D. Bennett, Chairman of the Elizabethan Gardens committee of the GCNC sought a conference with Director Wirth to discuss the matter. Apparently, the director was reluctant to make a commitment. In September 1963, Bennett contacted the director once again, this time explaining that while development of the Elizabethan Gardens was still not completed, the club was thinking about its "ultimate future." RIHA had asked the GCNC to donate the garden to the Park Service and the full club had obviously accepted that proposition. Since at least February 1960, the Garden Committee of the Elizabethan Gardens possessed architectural scale drawings of Hayes Barton, Sir Walter Raleigh's home in England. Harkening back to a proposal first made by Fletcher, Bennett suggested that a Hayes Barton- style building could serve as the new administrative building being planned for the park as part of its Mission 66 development. She suggested that

271. Thompson, 1B.
272. "Elizabethan Gardens Dedicated By State Garden Clubs . . . ".
273. Monthly Reports, January 1951, June 1952, November 1952, May 1953; Inglis Fletcher to Conrad Wirth, February 25, 1960, FORA Vault, Elizabethan Gardens folder, FORA.

the Elizabethan Gardens could actually serve as the garden for that structure.[274]

NPS officials debated this proposal for another year until a consensus was reached. The proposal was rejected. Unfortunately for the GCNC, design work for Fort Raleigh's visitor center and administrative offices was already underway. Moreover, NPS officials, typically exuberant in support of the new "Park Service Modern" style of architecture, were in no mood to introduce a Tudor- style facility under their jurisdiction, especially after spending years to eliminate the park's historically inaccurate WPA- constructed log structures. Official comments from the regional director to the director, however, describe the need to maintain a clear distinction between Fort Raleigh activities and those of the Elizabethan Gardens. Housing NPS personnel in a "Hayes Barton" home at the garden would not serve that purpose. Additionally, NPS officials felt it necessary to maintain separate entrances to the two facilities. Separate entrances helped to maintain a clear distinction to visitors between the events and activities of the two similarly themed institutions. NPS officials were obviously concerned that the credibility and interpretative clarity of the Park Service be maintained. A final NPS concern was simply the expense associated with maintaining the formal and labor- intense garden. One NPS official offered his opinion that the Garden Club was perhaps finding the cost of operating the Elizabethan Gardens a financial liability and was seeking to free itself of the burden of "a doubtful asset." In the end, regional officials recommended that the director accept the GCNC's offer only on condition that the club continued to maintain and operate the Elizabethan Gardens under a cooperative agreement.[275]

In January 1964, George B. Hartzog, Jr., the new NPS director, replied to Bennett and explained that a Tudor-style building could not be built because of pre- existing plans and that the Park Service could not assume the heavy financial burden of maintaining the garden in an attractive condition. He offered to accept the property, in league with an agreement with RIHA, as long as the GCNC continued to fund its current maintenance, which was not an attractive offer to the club. Nevertheless, Hartzog expressed that the well being of the Elizabethan Gardens was a matter of great importance



FIGURE 48. Sunken Garden at the Elizabethan Gardens, 1990

to the National Park Service and offered to work with the club to "re- orient the development of the Garden tract so as to integrate its development with that of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site."[276]

From 1959 until his retirement in 1988, Louis Midgette, son of garden club member Elma Midgette, managed the Elizabethan Gardens. Gradually, the women of the GCNC gave him their full confidence and, after the failure of the club's overtures to the NPS, he settled in to run their garden and to promote its horticultural accomplishments.[277] Since that time, the Elizabethan Gardens and Fort Raleigh have maintained a cordial relationship, one less prone to stress than that shared between NPS and RIHA. Because the Elizabethan Gardens are privately held and outside the park's boundary, there are fewer issues to implicate park policy. As discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four, Marie Odom, Chairman of the Garden Club of North Carolina, even helped lead the campaign to expand the park's boundary in 1990. When funds were not sufficient, however, to purchase all the land that was threatened by development within the new authorized boundary, the Elizabethan Gardens quickly sided with RIHA, and not Fort Raleigh, in a dispute over land acquisition priorities. Financially strapped, RIHA could not afford to continue holding parcels it had acquired for the failed performing arts center. The park, however, planned to purchase the land most threatened by development, which happened to be owned by a developer accused by many of speculating. In this case, the Elizabethan Gardens joined with many others to bring overwhelming public pressure in support of

274. Josie D. Bennett to Conrad Wirth, September 22, 1963, Land Records, Vault, FORA.
275. Acting Regional Director to Director, November 13, 1963, Land Records, Vault, FORA.
276. George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, to Mrs. J. R. Bennett, Trustee, Elizabethan Gardens Club, January 21, 1964, FORA Vault, Elizabethan Gardens folder, FORA.
277. Khoury, 221.

RIHA's position, which convinced Superintendent Thomas Hartman to rethink park policy to avoid a public- relations disaster.

Beyond supporting Fort Raleigh by commemorating the Elizabethan era, the Elizabethan Gardens have also provided an additional venue over the years supporting NPS meetings, and conferences, and have even served as a separate staging area for theatrical events, such as *Elizabeth R,* that complement *The Lost Colony.* Indeed, after a successful opening season at Fort Raleigh in 1993, the one- woman show about Queen Elizabeth starring British actress Barbara Hird was relocated. It has now played the summer season at the Elizabethan Gardens for several years.

RIHA and Fort Raleigh NHS

The National Park Service has cooperated with the Roanoke Island Historical Association in promoting and producing Paul Green's famed play about the Lost Colony in the government- owned Waterside Theatre for more than sixty years. The relationship stands as one of the most successful examples of a long- term cooperative venture between the Park Service and a cooperating partner in the agency's history. From this cooperative arrangement, both Fort Raleigh and RIHA have gained significantly, although that gain has not come without strain.

Mundane issues, such as entrance fees or RIHA's parking and space requirements, among other concerns, have tested the parties' relations. More contentious issues have included RIHA's fear of potential NPS theatrical restrictions, the demolition of the park's locally cherished but inauthentic log structures, related disputes over the historical accuracy of the Waterside Theatre's design, and perhaps NPS refusal to absorb the Elizabethan Gardens as proposed by the GCNC. RIHA's efforts during the 1980s to build a performing arts center, and the priority of NPS land acquisition plans during the 1990s were sources of friction in recent years. Moreover, until Mission 66, the cooperative arrangement did not fulfill NPS expectations about RIHA's ability to help Fort Raleigh fund major land acquisitions or the park's research program.

Despite these problems, Fort Raleigh gained considerably from its partnership. During the Mission 66 period, park expansion was made possible because of RIHA. Well- connected RIHA supporters helped push the needed expansion legislation through Congress, secured a grant from the state of North Carolina for land purchases, and then capped the exercise by providing a matching private donation from a generous board member. Similarly, the park's second expansion in 1990 was again much the result of local well- connected enthusiasts with interests in promoting *The Lost Colony* production. Over the long- term, the Park Service has garnered enormous publicity as *The Lost Colony* production drew thousands and thousands of play patrons to the site. A similar, if lesser, benefit has resulted from the proximity of the Elizabethan Gardens. Indeed, unlike other historical parks of similar size and geographic remoteness, Fort Raleigh has enjoyed far greater opportunities to educate the public about its unique cultural resources because of these nearby attractions. Moreover, as *The Lost Colony* became an icon of American popular culture, the Park Service shined by association with the play and those who staged it.

RIHA's gains from the relationship are more subtle but still significant. These gains include the use of a bona fide historical setting to perform a historical play.[278] Today, that setting would simply not exist had locals not sought to allow the Park Service to step in and shield the area from private development. Moreover, the association's own goal to preserve and promote the site is furthered by the fiscal, administrative, and technical arrangements of a national organization that has the ability to maintain and manage the Waterside Theatre, the fort reconstruction, and other features of the area over the long term. That arrangement has also allowed RIHA to focus upon theatrical and broader policy issues ultimately to the greater benefit of both parties. The exception to that statement was the 1980s, when RIHA's board departed from that arrangement with a consequent and nearly disastrous result.

Yes, conflicting interests have sometimes created dissonance between RIHA and Fort Raleigh. Overall, however, the unique relationship between the park and its cooperating partner has endured, because cooperation has consistently benefited each organization more than any burden fostered by one upon the other, whether creative limitation or administrative challenge. And, again laying aside the 1980s performing arts center controversy, the virtue of the park- RIHA association is a fact not lost on the local

278. RIHA also derives considerable benefit from the low overhead made available by working from government-provided facilities.

community. Fort Raleigh and RIHA share stewardship of a unique resource that represents the cultural and historical legacy of Sir Water Raleigh's sixteenth-century colonizing endeavors in the New World. In view of this analysis, it makes eminent sense for each organization to remain cooperative to nurture and protect Fort Raleigh for future generations. Indeed, there seems to be no other choice

Chapter Eight: General Preservation and Protection

Resource Management

The basic management goals for both cultural and natural resources at Fort Raleigh are outlined in the park's Statement for Management. For cultural resources, those goals are to identify, protect, and preserve the park's historical and archeological resources, including the reconstructed earthwork, the park's Native American or Civil War- era archeological sites, and any recovered artifacts. The park must also protect its historic setting from intrusions, which mainly concerns development threats. For natural resources, the main goal is to manage the park's natural and historic setting in keeping with the time of settlement, allowing natural processes to continue without intervention. Fort Raleigh has had to deviate in some cases, however, from this goal. For example, the park protects the area from fire and certain pests, and also involves itself actively in shoreline erosion mitigation efforts, as discussed further below. These policies have not significantly changed since the creation of the park. General resource management plans were prepared in 1977, 1983, and 1997.[279]

The standard dichotomy of dividing resource management into cultural and natural areas, as described in the park's resource management plans, does not in general work well at Fort Raleigh. Most preservation activity at the park concerns cultural issues. Thus, this study has instead divided the park's resource management into three broad categories. The first category concerns archeology. The second category concerns *The Lost Colony* production, which is certainly a type of resource for its interpretative, commemorative, and ethnographic aspects. The third category concerns general preservation and protection and might be called "Everything Else," which is true except that everything else ultimately relates to one of the first two categories. However, under general preservation and protection are important issues relating both to cultural and natural resource management. Cooperation between Fort Raleigh and various interested parties is the glue that links all of these categories together. The park's major partnership, of course, is with the Roanoke Island Historical Association, the organization that produces *The Lost Colony.* Other cooperating partners include the Elizabethan Gardens and the now defunct Friends of Roanoke Island, but there are several others. Many of these groups played key roles in the effort to promote the park's expansion in 1990 as a means to protect Roanoke Island's threatened natural landscape and to safeguard Fort Raleigh itself as a suitable venue for the production of *The Lost Colony.* Chapters Five through Seven discuss these issues extensively. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, discusses more general resource management at Fort Raleigh.

Fort Raleigh as a National Historic Site

In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), legislation that affected all historical parks, including Fort Raleigh. The NHPA created the National Register of Historic Places. The listing of historic buildings, structures, or sites on the National Register bestows special significance and is an important aid for those interested in promoting historic preservation. For example, listing on the National Register may encourage local governments to recognize historic properties through the establishment of local zoning regulations and ordinances limiting the rights of

279. "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Statement for Management," March 5, 1981, FORA; "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Resource Management Plan," 1983, FORA; National Park Service, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Management Plan," 1977, revised 1979, FORA; National Park Service, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Resource Management Plan," 1983, FORA; National Park Service, "Resource Management Plan, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," 1997, FORA.

property owners to modify or destroy historic buildings. One feature of the NHPA is that it placed on the National Register all previously designated historic sites, including Fort Raleigh. However, the act also requires park officials to document and list on the National Register all historically significant structures and objects within the boundaries of such parks.

In the early 1970s, to meet NHPA requirements, Fort Raleigh cultural resource officials began to compile National Register documentation for the park's historic structures, mainly the earthwork and commemorative monuments. Although parks are required to file documentation to support the listing of their sites on the National Register, NHPA's automatic designation removed a motivation for immediate action. By 1976, park staff believed that they had identified all known cultural resources and so attempted to update the park's National Register nomination. Unfortunately, the NHPA created some confusion through its automatic designation of a park boundary as the same boundary as the historic zone. Section 106 is the specific element of the NHPA that mandates federal officials to consider the impact of federal undertakings upon historic structures. Section 106 has greatly aided the cause of historic preservation by requiring parks to consult with stakeholders and to mitigate potential negative effects of their activities on historic park structures. However, parks also include non- historic areas within their boundaries. To avoid the need for Section 106 compliance for routine activities in non- historic areas, such as employee housing, rest rooms, campgrounds, etc., park managers have generally sought to exclude non- historic areas of their parks from National Historic boundaries.[280]

When Fort Raleigh officials filed to update the National Register listing for the park in 1976, higher authorities with an interest in NHPA standards interceded. Harry Pfanz, Acting Chief, Cultural Resources Management, in Washington, returned comments on the nomination pointing out several problems. The park, he stated, needed to reduce to a minimum the boundary of the nomination subject to National Register designation. The park had sought to list the entire site, then 159.66 acres. However, in its description, park officials indicated that most of the area except for the fort reconstruction was a "development zone." Pfanz also called into question the thinking of park officials regarding the historical significance of Fort Raleigh. The park had focused on the significance of the fort, itself only a reconstruction, instead of upon the overall significance of the colony. Additionally, Pfanz noted that the National Register nomination lacked documentation to show a clearly designated boundary. Moreover, the nomination utilized a 1953 USGS (Geologic Survey) map showing an outdated NPS boundary. While the State Historic Preservation Office was satisfied with the park's nomination, the Southeast Regional Office concurred with Washington that only those portions of the historic site that still retained their historic integrity should be listed on the National Register. In response, Fort Raleigh revised its nomination. On November 16, 1978, the National Register documentation was accepted, with a boundary enclosing 16.45 acres, essentially a historic subzone surrounding the earthwork. In this subzone, the only remaining non- historic modern structures were a few paved walkways and historic trail signs. However, the revised nomination did impact an erosion control proposal then being developed by the Denver Service Center. Apparently, the subzone's more clearly designated boundary now required a Section 106 compliance statement for shoreline stabilization projects.[281]

Fort Raleigh has submitted minor adjustments to its National Register nomination since 1978. During the 1970s, the fort reconstruction and other eligible structures were also placed upon the NPS List of Classified Structures (LCS), an inventory of culturally significant resources used for internal management purposes. LCS listings generally derive from and overlap with similar listings for the National Register. This list was updated again in 1980 and periodically, thereafter, every few years. In 1980, Fort Raleigh completed a Historic Resources Management Plan. The document included, among other issues, details concerning the planned reconstruction of "Lane's Fort." The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation accepted the park's plan by default—it failed to reply within the thirty days required by the NHPA. The North Carolina's State

280. "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FR-H1)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, 1972, FORA; Annual Report, 1977, 4, FORA.

281. Acting Chief, Cultural Resources Management, Washington, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, October 28, 1977; Larry E. Tise, State Historic Preservation Officer, to Joe Brown, Regional Director Southeast Region, April 4, 1978; Superintendent, CAHA, to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Assistance, SERO, February 9, 1978; "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FR-H1)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," November 20, 1976; all in FORA Correspondence folder, National Register Files, SERO.



FIGURE 49. Marker commemorating spot where President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke in 1937

Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), however, made specific request to be provided detailed plans for any future modification not provided for by existing studies. The planned (and not then funded) undertakings of SHPO concern included reconstruction of the storehouse, guardhouse, the outwork, and possibly the mounting of ordnance at the earthwork. For various reasons, none of these projects has come to pass either because of funding constraints, archeological concerns, or to prevent resource damage (as would likely occur by visitors attracted to any firearm displays on the earthwork). In 1992, a draft historic resource study prepared by a contractor for Fort Raleigh was reviewed by the Acting Chief of Registration, National Register Branch, in Washington. This study included data to update the Fort Raleigh National Register nomination form. As part of the review, it was recommended that Fort Raleigh prepare a "multiple property documentation form" that could replace the existing 1978 nomination form. This suggestion was intended to obviate the need to file new nomination forms for every update. The reviewer specifically noted that at some future date the park would need to nominate additional structures for listing on the National Register as they became eligible, especially the Waterside Theatre and perhaps the Elizabethan Gardens. Later, markers placed to commemorate President Franklin D. Roosevelt's visit in the 1930s and Ivor Noel Hume's archeological discoveries in the 1990s were added to the National Register nomination form as significant contributions to the historical site. However, the Elizabethan Gardens were specifically excluded, being outside the park's authorized boundary.[282]

In 1999, Southeast Regional Office staff completed a field survey of park resources while conducting additional substantial new research to revise the aforementioned draft historic resource study. With its publication, this project finally fulfilled the need to increase staff understanding of the historic importance of Fort Raleigh's cultural resources, especially beyond the main theme of colonization between 1584 and 1590. This task was accomplished when the study defined two historic themes (contexts): the Settlement and Development of Roanoke Island, 1650-1900, and Preservation and Recognition, 1860-1953. With the wealth of information generated from this study, the park's LCS was again updated and new National Register documentation was prepared. Continuing efforts of this type, as well as cooperation with the SHPO, demonstrate Fort Raleigh's commitment to abide by regulatory requirements that both protect and strengthen the legal basis for safeguarding park resources. At the same time, the park's understanding of the nature and status of its cultural resources is deepened by compliance with the NHPA. However, records also suggest that park officials need specific



FIGURE 50. Marker commemorating spot where President Roosevelt viewed *The Lost Colony* in 1937

282. Annual Report, 1977, 4, FORA; Acting Chief of Registration, National Register Branch, Washington, to Deputy Associate Regional Director Hartwig, Southeast Region, December 3, 1992, and Kirk Cordell, Chief Cultural Resources Stewardship, SERO, to William Chapman, University of Hawaii, July 9, 1997, both in FORA Correspondence folder, National Register Files, SERO; Christine Trebellas and William Chapman, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1999); James L. Bainbridge, Acting Regional Director, to Dr. Larry E. Tise, State Historic Preservation Officer, June 14, 1979, Larry E. Tise to James Bainbridge, July 18, 1979, and Acting Regional Director, SERO, to Superintendent, CAHA, July 11, 1980, all in park files, FORA.

training to ensure a fully professional ability to meet those compliance needs.[283]

This administrative history adds yet another required study that gives park staff a better understanding of Fort Raleigh's management needs. Nevertheless, the park still does not have all the baseline reports required by Director's Order #28, which provides guidelines for cultural resource management within the National Park Service. There is a need, for example, for further archeological evaluations in the new lands acquired by the park in the 1990s. Ethnography is another area of scholarship that has been under- investigated at Fort Raleigh, although that case is probably true at many other parks as well. However, there is clear, long- term ethnographic relationship between *The Lost Colony* theatrical production, its traditionally associated participants and local supporters, and the Fort Raleigh site. Many local residents of Roanoke Island have involved themselves in some aspect of the play throughout their lives, as have many of their children. As other chapters in this study reveal, Park Service management of Fort Raleigh is historically tied to *The Lost Colony,* the activities of RIHA, and the character of the cooperation of these entities with the park. Any enterprise that casts new light upon the nature of these relationships will benefit the National Park Service. Hence, it is probably appropriate for park staff to consider the need for a major ethnographic overview or cultural affiliation study.

Collections Management

Planning for the administration of archival records and museum objects began at Fort Raleigh during the late 1930s, albeit somewhat reluctantly. In 1936 NPS historian Roy E. Appleman questioned the need for a museum, given that there were no existing relics and little material relating to the Roanoke colonies to display, although he was probably more upset by the condition of the existing museum rather than the idea itself. NPS officials always intended that the park should construct an appropriate museum facility, following archeological surveys, along with parking and contact stations for visitors. Fort Raleigh's first museum, however, was built under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration during the mid- 1930s while the site belonged to the state of North Carolina. The museum was built in the same style as the other log structures at the site, which supposedly represented dwellings of the Roanoke colonists. The Park Service had already concluded that these reconstructions were historically suspect. Nevertheless, the site held sufficient national value that the NPS accepted short- term administration of these reconstructions with the long- term view of eventually removing them. The building that became the first museum was the largest of these reconstructions. After an inspection of the structure in 1936, Appleman summed up NPS views by stating that an authentic historic structure "certainly would not be made of horizontally laid logs, shingled of asphalt, or have a double layer shingle roof."[284]

Despite such misgivings, the Park Service inherited the WPA structures and was forced to make do with its "rather gloomy" log museum for a few years. At first, the Roanoke Island Historical Association ran the museum and owned the exhibits, but the organization consented gradually to cede authority over the exhibits as the NPS reorganized the museum between 1947 and 1949. Unified management brought less friction with the association and less confusion for visitors. Indeed, as the Park Service assumed control over the museum it moved deliberately to distance itself from the more carnival- like practices of the 1930s. To this end it sought the removal of a concession authorized by RIHA, which was operated by Jeff Hayman to the west of the museum. Hayman was previously the caretaker at Fort Raleigh, but lost that position when the park was transferred to the federal government. Hayman was well liked, and Representative Bonner even wrote Interior Secretary Harold Ickes in 1941 in an attempt to find a position for him on the park's "laborers roll." Unfortunately, funding was not available. Eventually, RIHA allowed Hayman to set up a soft- drink concession. By 1947, Hayman's concession had become an "eye- sore." Both the Park Service and RIHA wanted Hayman, who had become quite elderly, and his family members, who helped him run the business, to close the concession. RIHA felt an obligation, however, to take care of the old caretaker and even paid him a small wage. Nevertheless, Regional Archeologist Jean C. Harrington, reporting on RIHA's

283. "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FR-H1)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, 1972, FORA; Christine Trebellas and William Chapman, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1999). Note, the Trebellas and Chapman study was adapted to provide background material contained in Chapter Two of this administrative history.

284. Charles W. Porter, Historian, to Regional Director, SERO, October 18, 1938, Correspondence folder, Box "CHNS Papers on Proposal, Land Tracts, CCC Reports, and Others," Vault, FORA; Roy Edgar Appleman, Historian, Region I, to Herbert Evison, Regional Officer, Region I, September 15, 1936, 3-4, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

operations in 1947, noted that "the biggest improvement [at the park] would come with the abolishment of the Hayman soft- drink stand and reorganization of the museum." According to Harrington, Hayman and his associates were "dirty in appearance," sold unauthorized items, and failed to pass Public Health Service and NPS inspections. Moreover, the concession's proximity to the museum made visitors associate it with the Park Service, a practice not tolerated in major parks. In October Regional Director Thomas J. Allen wrote RIHA Chairman J. Melville Broughton. Both agreed that the situation was intolerable. Superintendent Horace Dough then closed the concession, after giving Hayman a few weeks to expend his stocks.[285]

By 1948, the "temporary" museum, which also housed the superintendent's office, contained ten table cases, three aisle cases, one upright wall case, and seventeen exhibit panels that displayed mainly maps, letters, drawings, and engravings. Having an office, especially the main one, in the museum was not a preferred arrangement, but was considered necessary until the park could construct a museum- administration building. The items displayed were mostly "photostatic" reproductions of early maps and De Bry engravings, watercolor copies of John White paintings, and a few original period items, such as halberts and helmets, and even a small number of artifacts found during a 1947 excavation at the park. Region One Museum Curator J. Paul Hudson made several recommendations for improving the conditions of the museum's interior in early 1948. Among these, he advised covering the log walls with wall board, painting the exhibits with light colors (to off set the room's gloomy qualities), covering the asphalt floor with linoleum, and installing fluorescent lights, possibly obtained from the War Assets Administration or by purchase. Superintendent Atkinson and Coordinating Superintendent Dough agreed with the recommendations and believed they could make most of the changes expediently using park labor, although an architect was also needed. Acting Regional Director Elbert Cox fully supported the recommended changes. During the process of upgrading the museum exhibits, the wording of the displays was carefully vetted. The museum was remodeled, relighted, and reopened in June of that year. Regional Director Allen, following a tour of the new facility, stated "From a gloomy, crowded, and unattractive layout, the Fort Raleigh Museum has leapt into a sparkling, spacious, well- lighted, and clever presentation, easy to absorb, and interesting to study."[286]

In July 1949, J. Paul Hudson completed a report to the regional director on NPS museums in the Southeast Region. He commended staff efforts at Fort Raleigh but noted that the park's exhibits were of a temporary nature and required much additional work. He particularly noted a lack of metal storage equipment for holding pictures, maps, manuscripts, specimens, and archeological items. He also noted that the park needed to reduce the predominance of its flat work, that is, drawings, maps, etc., as opposed to sixteenth- century museum objects. In 1949 there was also no museum exhibit prospectus or exhibit plan. Worst of all, the museum building was not fireproofed. Hudson felt that potential donors would be reluctant to give original objects until a modern fireproof facility was constructed at Fort Raleigh. His concerns reflected a growing sense within the Park Service of the system- wide need to preserve the growing collection of historic objects,



FIGURE 51. Thatched loghouse museum at Fort Raleigh, ca. 1937

285. *Reports on the operations of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Inc., at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1947-1951,* September 1947, April 1948, April 1949, binder of separate reports, Cultural Resource Library, SERO; and Herbert C. Bonner to Harold L. Ickes, August 26, 1941; J. Atwood Maulding to Herbert C. Bonner, September 10, 1941; Thomas J. Allen to J. Melville Broughton, October 14, 1947, J. M. Broughton to Thomas J. Allen, October 17, 1941; Horace A. Dough to Jeff D. Hayman, November 21, 1941; all in park files, FORA.

286. J. Paul Hudson, Museum Curator, to Regional Director, Region One, January 28, 1948; Elbert Cox, Associate Regional Director, to Custodian, FORA, February 3, 1948; J. Paul Hudson, Museum Curator, to Robert Atkinson, Custodian, February 20, 1948; "Remodeled Fort Raleigh Museum to Reopen Soon," *The Daily Advance,* June 19, 1948; Regional Director Allen to Fort Raleigh NHS, July 14, 1948; all in FORA General Folder, Curatorial Files, SERO.

furnishings, and other objects in historic houses and museums.[287]

After the museum's reorganization and throughout the 1950s, Park Service officials continued to focus effort on improving the conditions and exhibits on display in the museum building. Oil paintings of both Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth were still needed as were historical objects and modern display cases and storage units able to secure them properly. A matchlock musket, a cabasset (helmet), a swept hilt rapier, a period cannon, a 1617 edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, and paintings of figures associated with Raleigh's colonies were sought. Because funding was typically unavailable for these acquisitions, even senior NPS officials eagerly involved themselves in corresponding with cooperating groups whose support might further the needs of Fort Raleigh. For example, the North Carolina chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars expressed a desire to contribute to the museum programs at Jamestown and Fort Raleigh. When alerted to this interest, both Regional Director Thomas Allen and Director Newton B. Drury wrote the daughters to encourage their support. They were at least partially successful, for the daughters ended up contributing several items to the museum, such as an old English flag donated in January 1952.[288]

While the daughters were encouraged to support Fort Raleigh's museum program, others were dissuaded. In 1950, Inglis Fletcher, a Garden Club of North Carolina member and a well- connected historical novelist who had written about Roanoke Island, proposed to senior Interior Department officials that the next museum at Fort Raleigh should be modeled as a replica of "Hayes Barton" in England, the birthplace of Sir Walter Raleigh. Regional Archeologist Harrington, expressing a common NPS view, did not appreciate the idea, which seemed to recall the type of sensibilities that had originally encouraged the construction of the park's historically inaccurate log- cabin style buildings. Harrington did express a favorable view of presenting houses the colonists might have lived in themselves. This divergence of opinion foreshadowed later attitudes regarding Fort Raleigh's Elizabethan Room, the foyer in the audio- visual room of the Mission 66- era visitor center fitted with sixteenth- century paneling from Henrodon Hall, a manor house in Kent, England (see Chapter Six for a discussion of the Elizabethan Room).[289]

With the help of park supporters and through other means, Fort Raleigh made incremental improvements in its museum program. In August 1953, Superintendent Robert Atkinson had the distinct pleasure of moving his office out of the museum building and into the "John White" House. Of this event, he mused, "I am beginning to feel, like I imagine, a park superintendent should feel. It is the first time since Fort Raleigh entered the National Park System that there has been an office for the superintendent. It was terrible trying to concentrate on anything while we were in the museum. I do not know what I can blame for my errors from now." By June 1958 Fort Raleigh's rustic museum had accumulated a sufficient inventory of exhibits and records to require Louise Meekins to complete a "museum records project." That same month, a contract was given out to remodel the museum, pump house, stockade, and other structures at the park. The work, which included new lighting fixtures in the museum, was completed in October and was the last major effort to refurbish the museum until construction of the Lindsey Warren Visitor Center began in the early 1960s (see Chapter Four). In July 1961 a master planning study team visited Cape Hatteras and Fort Raleigh and drew several conclusions. One of them was the need to remove the log museum building, which would make possible "a pleasing landscaped approach and entrance to the amphitheater." In due course, the old museum was removed from the park. The new visitor center was dedicated July 13, 1966. Meanwhile, construction of new administrative offices for Cape Hatteras Group Headquarters at Fort Raleigh signaled growing interrelations between the two parks, which, from a

287. "Excerpt from report date July 7, 1949, on National Park Museums in southeastern states, to Regional Director, Region One, by J. Paul Hudson," July 7, 1949; and "Region One Circular" (Elbert Cox, Acting Regional Director, to parks), July 13, 1949; both in FORA correspondence files, FORA.

288. Monthly Reports, January 1952; A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, to C. Crittenden, Director, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, September, 13, 1949; Newton B. Drury, Director, NPS, to Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, State President, North Carolina Society, Daughters of Colonial Wars, January 26, 1950; Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, to Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, State President, North Carolina Society, Daughters of Colonial Wars, February 8, 1950; all in Museum Correspondence files, FORA.

289. Thomas M. Spaulding, to Jean C. Harrington, October 4, 1949; Inglis Fletcher, to Jean C. Harrington, October 31, 1950; Jean C. Harrington, Regional Archeologist, to David B. Quinn, November 17, 1950; all in Vault, Box "Special Events 1960s," FRNHS Miscellaneous folders, Museum Reports and Letters, FORA.

museum and archival management standpoint, brought increasing benefits to Fort Raleigh.[290]

Over the years, Fort Raleigh museum officials have consistently addressed issues relating to damage from insect infestations or humidity. Naturally, termites were a serious worry while the museum and its artifacts were housed in the early log- cabin- style structure. Infestations were detected periodically throughout the 1940s and 1950s, with an outbreak of flying termites in 1953 that caused considerable damage and required expensive repairs. A full week was devoted to repairing and replacing damaged portions of the difficult- to- handle log walls and supports.[291]

Pest control and other problems were not eliminated, however, when the museum was transferred to the new visitor center. In 1980, Cape Hatteras Superintendent Bill Harris contracted a private consultant and, separately, two experts from the Department of Agriculture to tour the seashore and provide advice on the state of park- wide conservation efforts, especially related to pest management. These consultants were also able to provide advice on how to improve care for the Elizabethan Room. The inspectors found that the room's four- hundred- year- old oak paneling had begun to split as a result of humidity and temperature changes brought about by park staff turning off the air-conditioning and leaving the visitor center doors open to save energy. Visitors, lacking even the restrictions of stanchions and felt ropes, had also worsened old insect damage. Humidity and insects were causing serious long- term damage to some of the visitor center's other museum artifacts as well. Thomas A. Parker of Pest Control Services, Inc., chided NPS officials for failing to protect "national treasures" and that "one does not preserve and maintain a historic collection of artifacts with a half- hearted approach." He strongly recommended that park officials seek funding to properly house the existing collections, including separate storage areas located away from offices and everyday staff work that promoted resource damage. He advised that staff should be hired who were specifically trained in conservation techniques and who should also have a say in decisions guiding the disposition of the collections and exhibits at Fort Raleigh and Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Perhaps as a result of such comments, Fort Raleigh and Cape Hatteras managers began to focus more intently on the protection of their museum and archival collections. Successful efforts were later made to secure funding for the project outlined by Parker.[292]

Indeed, in 1987 construction began at Fort Raleigh on a resource management museum storage facility. Completed in 1988, the 1,550- square- foot facility was designed to serve as a repository for cultural resource artifacts and natural resource collections for the entire Cape Hatteras Group.[293] In 1990, the FORA museum collection included some 826 accessioned historic and aboriginal artifacts. The facility's capacity, however, was quickly utilized, and plans were drafted to expand the structure to accommodate additional artifacts as well as an office and work space area. In 1996, the Cape Hatteras Group obtained funding to begin construction of this larger and more sophisticated facility, now called the Museum Resource Center. Completed in 1997, the Museum Resource Center is a 2,800- square- foot building that provides a highly secure environment to protect and preserve group museum collections. The facility utilizes three individual storage areas, each with a separate climate control system that allows records and artifacts to be sorted and stored under optimal temperature and humidity conditions. These excellent storage facilities have particularly benefited Fort Raleigh, which, had it been an isolated park, might not have obtained the needed preservation funding.[294]

Several museum and records management reports have been completed over the years for Fort Raleigh. A combined Cape Hatteras/Fort Raleigh Scope of Collections Statement was approved in 1986. This document establishes the general framework and criteria for NPS acquisition of museum objects. Combined Fort Raleigh/Cape Hatteras collections management plans were completed in 1978 and 2000. In 1990, after park collections were moved to the new storage building, Harpers Ferry Center prepared a new

290. Monthly Reports, August 1953, June 1958, October 1958, July 1966; Superintendent, CAHA, to Regional Director, Region One, July 7, 1961, FORA correspondence files, FORA.
291. Monthly Reports, April 1944, March and April 1946, May 1953, April 1954.
292. Thomas A. Parker, Pest Control Services, Inc., to Bill Harris, Superintendent, CAHA, September 17, 1980 and William H. Sites, U.S. Department of Agriculture, to Bill Harris, Superintendent, CAHA, December 2, 1980, both in "FORA Building Records" folder, Resource Office, FORA.
293. Draft "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan," September 30, 1990, 9, FORA files, "FORA – General" folder, SERO.
294. Annual Reports, 1984, 7, 1987, 1, 5, 11, 1988, 1, 8, 1995, 3, 1996/1997, 4, 1998, 6; "NPS Housing Project Attracts Top Officials," *Coastland Times,* January 12, 1995, A-1, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA.

collections storage plan for the group's museum collections. A collection survey was completed in 1994.[295]

In league with requirements set out in some of the reports above, Fort Raleigh resource managers have worked consistently over the years to accession the park's entire museum collection. This goal was completed by 1983 when the resource management plan reported that all park artifacts were accessioned, except for the Elizabethan Room paneling and nine reproduction John White watercolors in the Visitor Center. Accession work was often completed by summer interns or seasonal museum technicians. Later, the park entered into an arrangement with East Carolina University to catalog and research park archeological artifacts.[296]

An additional cataloging goal, noted in Fort Raleigh's 1992 Statement for Management, was for the park's collections data to be entered into the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS). After this task was accomplished, however, the park's 1997 resource management plan determined that many of the park's ANCS entries were incomplete or inaccurate, were entered without reference to available accession documentation, and required a thorough recataloging. The RMP also noted that baseline photo documentation of the museum's collection was needed.[297]

Beyond accessions, Fort Raleigh officials consulted with the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC), which conducted an inventory of the park's museum records in 1991. The inventory was intended to be useful to Ivor Hume, among others, because much of the resulting information related to the previous and extensive archeological work by Harrington. SEAC reviewed accession records, inventoried and completed a preliminary reorganization of the collection, arranged artifacts from Harrington's projects, and recommended conservation methods for Harrington's photos. SEAC discovered that most of the accessions to the inventory lacked legal documentation relating to the objects. Most accessions were gifts, which SEAC determined by finding a large number of thank- you notes to donors scattered through park records. (Accessions need to have formal documentation signed by the donor transferring ownership to the park, but this was rarely done. A potential problem with lack of such legal documents is that a future relative or estate heir of the donor may challenge the park's ownership or copyright use of an artifact.) SEAC also found archeological materials in the FORA collection loaned from other parks (or SEAC itself) that were undocumented and had apparently not been returned to their owners. Overall, SEAC concluded that "the FORA collection requires a substantial amount of work to bring it up to standard." However, SEAC did not view this finding as a major problem because the park's collection was small. Obviously, the presence of a full- time park museum or archival specialist would help alleviate some of the problems noted in the long- term management of park records and museum collections.[298]

In 1989 park resource managers worked out a useful temporary agreement between Cape Hatteras National Seashore and the Outer Banks History Center to create a Cape Hatteras National Seashore Library in the history center. This arrangement provided better storage for some 1,165 non- official park materials (published books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and periodicals) and better accessibility to researchers at the Outer Banks History Center. This temporary arrangement proved successful for both parties and was made permanent in 1994. Currently, some 1,500 items are held by the history center. The agreement also made the group's library available for use as office space. Technical resource data, historic photographs, and current periodicals, however, continued to be maintained at park headquarters.[299] Around this time the park also agreed to participate in a project to develop a pilot computerized bibliographic program that would standardize the management of Cape Hatteras Group and North Carolina state archives. After two years, Superintendent Hartman determined "reluctantly" that the computer program was hopelessly ineffective and failed to function at all most of the time. The park apparently believed that the software for this program was fully tested when it entered into the agreement to use it. The software was not proven,

295. Superintendent's Annual Narrative Reports, 1978-2000, Park files, FORA.
296. Ibid.
297. "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Resource Management Plan," December 1997, 5-6, park files, FORA.
298. Chief, SEAC, to Superintendent, CAHA, December 16, 1991; Museum Technician, SEAC, to Curator, SEAC, September 10, 1991; both in "FORA – General folder," SERO office files.
299. Superintendents Directive R-9, September 23, 1990; Thomas Hartman to Wynne Dough, June 6, 1990; and Wynne Dough to Thomas L. Hartman, September 27, 1993; all in Outer Banks History Center box, FORA Resource Center, FORA. Doug Stover (Chief of Cultural Resources, FORA), communication with Cameron Binkley, February 15, 2002.

however, and by late 1993 the park began to transfer its data from the "HICATS" program to "Procite," a commercially proven online bibliographic software program.[300]

Law Enforcement and Fire Protection

While essential security precautions are important at all parks, law enforcement has not generated many high-profile issues in the protection of resources at Fort Raleigh, although fear of potential theft or vandalism was one reason the Elizabethan Room was never adequately furnished. Since the early days of NPS management, illegal activities at the park have generally involved vandalism, illegal hunting or site "looting," and minor thefts. In the 1940s, Superintendent Robert Atkinson reported that squirrel hunters were coming onto park property after hours. The first major incident act of crime occurred in 1948 when several items were stolen from the museum. In August 1951, a much more serious event occurred that involved two escaped convicts from a local prison camp who slipped away on July 7. During a performance of *The Lost Colony*, the convicts were discovered beneath the women's dressing room behind the stage. No doubt in an act that contributed much to his local fame, Albert "Skipper" Bell, the theater manager and builder, employed a stage-property flare gun and personally apprehended the men who were then turned over to state troopers. Superintendent Atkinson reported that the incident caused some commotion backstage but the audience was left unaware of the drama that took place behind the drama. Less spectacularly, in 1952, petroleum was siphoned off from a new underground storage tank. In 1965, during the Mission 66 construction at the park, night patrols were instituted because of the theft of building materials. Most of these problems, of course, were mere crimes of opportunity, and probably attributable to insufficient security. Less routine events, such as the visit in July 1984 by Princess Anne for the 400th anniversary celebration, required a heavy law enforcement presence. In recent times, park security has been reinforced during summertime showings of *The Lost Colony*. In general, however, law enforcement issues at Fort Raleigh have proven to be routine. Currently, the park's protection ranger provides security for the park, the Waterside Theatre, and the adjacent Elizabethan Gardens.[301]

Besides occasional acts of vandalism and theft, park staff have also faced the threat of fire, a serious issue given the large number of wooden structures associated with the theater complex and the park's wooded environment. Fire extinguishers were placed at the various park facilities after World War II and checked regularly. In 1942 and 1960, NPS staff helped to extinguish park-threatening fires on adjacent land. The worst fire at the park was the 1947 blaze at the Waterside Theatre. The following year, the park installed fire- fighting equipment near the theater to pump water from the sound in case of fire. In 1960, however, Hurricane Donna destroyed the fire pump house, associated water lines and hydrants at the same time that it destroyed much of the rest of the theater complex. The ten- year-old Chrysler- Hale pump had to be salvaged from the sound and completely rebuilt as a standby unit while a new pump was ordered. In the meantime, Albert Bell rebuilt the pump house along with the rest of the theater. The new pump was installed in the pump house, and the reconstructed fire control system was fully operational by the end of June 1961. While fire- fighting equipment is located nearby, the Waterside Theatre itself lacks a fire suppression system. In 1965, a fire-training school was held for Cape Hatteras Group employees at a house on newly acquired park land. Security and fire monitoring systems were installed at the visitor center and headquarters building, and curatorial storage facility in 1988.[302]

Natural Resource Management

Managers at Fort Raleigh have focused their attention upon the park's cultural resources, but a few natural resources issues have arisen from time to time. These resources were mainly related to the park's intensively managed landscaped grounds, although later land

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300. Thomas L. Hartman, Superintendent, to Larry G. Misenheimer, Assistant Director, June 23, 1993, "ECU Institute Research" folder, FORA Resource Office files, FORA.
301. Monthly Reports, May 1942, October-November 1943, November 1944, February 1947, March 1948, May 1948, March 1949, May 1949, May and August 1951, October 1952, June 1960, August 1961, February 1965, September 1965; Annual Report, 1988, 5, 7; *Doug Stover, communication with Cameron Binkley, January 16, 2002.*
302. Monthly Reports, May 1942, October-November 1943, November 1944, February 1947, March 1948, May 1948, March 1949, May 1949, May 1951, October 1952, June 1960, August 1961, February 1965, September 1965; Completion Reports on Construction Projects (Hurricane Donna), FORA; Annual Report, 1988, 5, 7; Doug Stover, FORA, comments to Cameron Binkley, November 5, 2002.

acquisitions have more recently increased the park's less intensively managed forest and wetland holdings. During the early years, NPS regional tree preservation crews made occasional visits to the park to trim trees and remove those killed by pests or disease. In 1960, Albert Bell, deeply involved in Waterside Theatre activities, was also operating the Roanoke Island Garden Nurseries. The park contracted him to plant one hundred small plants and oaks around Fort Raleigh. Later, the park developed a tree care/hazard reduction program for frequently visited areas of the historic site in an attempt to help ensure that specimen trees survive as long as possible. This program also sought to remove any potential visitor hazards. Fire suppression, of course, has long been mandatory to protect the park's treasured cultural resources. Land acquired during the 1990 expansion has not been developed except for clearing of an abandoned, unpaved roadway, now used as a visitor trail.[303]

Around 1950, Dr. O.F. McCrary conducted a brief inventory of trees and other plants at the park. Other inventories followed, including a 1977 mushroom survey and a 1997 survey for plants, birds, insects, reptiles, and amphibians that could qualify as threatened and endangered species under federal law. Although no endangered species have been found at Fort Raleigh, the park has also never systematically investigated or monitored existing wildlife, a goal of the 1992 Statement for Management. Besides these treatment and inventory efforts, the park has had to deal with pest problems like termites and mosquitoes. The latter have long been a particular summertime annoyance for crowds attending *The Lost Colony*, causing the park to institute a policy of pesticide spraying on occasion. Of course, Fort Raleigh officials apply such pesticides reluctantly, knowing that these chemicals often have deleterious effects and sometimes an unpredictable impact on other species beyond mosquitoes. Park reluctance to use pesticides has been an occasional but reoccurring source of friction with producers of *The Lost Colony* as noted in Chapter Eight. By the early 1990s, park officials were also seeking to develop an action plan to manage a potential gypsy moth infestation, because the larvae of this insect can greatly harm living trees and had been found in the park. However, to date this issue has not become a problem. Obviously, while the park's management goal has long been to maintain Fort Raleigh's landscape in a state of nature reminiscent of the time of the original colonies, concessions have been made to address visitor needs and to emphasize the park's scenic qualities.[304]

Erosion Control Efforts

As are other coastal areas, Fort Raleigh is affected by erosion. Shoreline erosion is not a threat to natural resources but instead a natural process that threatens the park's cultural features. In the case of Fort Raleigh, the fear of losing important archeological data has greatly increased the issue's significance. In 1972, a study by Robert Dolan and Kenton Bosserman suggested that the shoreline on the northern end of Roanoke Island receded by as much as 928 feet between 1851 and 1970 because of erosion, with 158 feet of loss occurring between 1903 and 1971. Recognizing erosion as a major issue, both RIHA and the park constructed jetties with pilings. In 1941, RIHA built two fifty- foot jetties behind the stage and dressing rooms at the Waterside Theatre in an effort to stem the erosion; RIHA replaced these jetties with thirty- foot ones five years later. Beginning in 1949, the park constructed four jetties along its 1,090-foot beach on Roanoke Sound. These jetties were constructed from salvaged material that the park obtained from local bridges that were being demolished by the state. A study by Robert Atkinson in 1950 reported that the jetties recovered fifteen feet of land within just six months[305]

With the Park Service acquiring additional land for Mission 66, Fort Raleigh placed a breakwater of sandbags along its property line in the sound. In 1966,

303. Monthly Reports, February 1942, June 1942, July 1943, April 1944, March 1946, November 1948, November 1949, July-August 1951, October 1952, March-April 1953, November 1953, April 1954, November 1955, July 1956, August-September 1957, December 1958, October 1959, February 1960, June 1960, April 1961, March 1963; Annual Report, 1996/1997, 4; National Park Service, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Resource Management Plan," 1983, 13-16, and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, "Statement for Management," 1992 and 1994, FORA.
304. Monthly Reports, February 1942, June 1942, July 1943, April 1944, March 1946, November 1948, November 1949, July-August 1951, October 1952, March-April 1953, November 1953, April 1954, November 1955, July 1956, August-September 1957, December 1958, October 1959, February 1960, June 1960, April 1961, March 1963; Annual Report, 1996/1997, 4; Enviro-Sciences, Inc., "Special Status Insect Survey, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," September 1997, FORA; John Fussell, "Survey for Special Status Plants Within Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," October 18, 1997, FORA; Dr. Kent McKnight, "List of Mushrooms Collected," 1977, FORA; Dr. O.F. McCrary, "Plants Found and Identified," circa 1950, FORA; National Park Service, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Resource Management Plan," 1983, 13-16, and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, "Statement for Management," 1992 and 1994, FORA.



FIGURE 52. Evidence of erosion off N.C. highway 345, on north end of Roanoke Island, ca. 1950

park officials commissioned a study by consultant Per Bruun to update this approach. After discussing different possibilities, including jetties, seawalls, and beach nourishment, he recommended the construction of two 250- foot groins. Although the park made the project a top priority, it was unable to secure funding for any such major erosion control project. In the meantime, RIHA expressed its own concerns about the problem, especially regarding the Waterside Theatre, and park officials grew worried about the sound's gradual encroachment on the Dough Cemetery (at the northern end of the island). Consequently, Fort Raleigh mounted a second effort to acquire funds for its erosion control efforts. In 1978, NPS's Denver Service Center published a study that outlined the erosion problem and various options. As a result of the study, the park opted to place granite block revetments along two areas of the sound adjacent to important features—the Dough Cemetery and the Waterside Theatre. With funding available, the Denver Service Center contracted the work in 1979, and the revetments were completed in 1980 at a cost of $640,284.[306]

The problems of erosion control have not abated, however. When the RIAL Corporation completed development of its "Heritage Point" residential area and sound- side marina in the early 1990s matters worsened. The development's construction caused erosion on the adjacent park land. In the park's 1992 Statement for Management, it was noted that areas along the shoreline not protected by rip rap or groins were rapidly eroding. A major goal of the statement was "to develop and implement a method, or methods of protecting eroding sections of the historic site's shoreline that will be effective, economically and legally feasible, and will have as little visual impact as possible."

In 1993, erosion was one of the topics discussed by scholars who attended the various presentations at the park's "Roanoke Decoded" symposium on the Roanoke Colony voyages. Many attendees expressed a sense of urgency over the continued erosion of the northern end of the island. A special "Fort Raleigh Shoreline Erosion Conference" was also held in December of that year to focus upon the specific threat that erosion presented to the park's archeological resources. East Carolina University professor David Phelps stated that "We're at a crucial point. What we're worried about is the need to get as much [archeology] as we can before it's all gone." Other researchers agreed that the rapid rate of erosion along the north shore would destroy the useful context of even those artifacts that were not lost to the sea. All urged accelerated research to address the issue. Reinterpretations of the nature of "Lane's Fort" and new conjectures about the location of the Lost Colony



FIGURE 53. Jetty under construction east of Fort Raleigh, ca. 1950

305. Robert Dolan and Kenton Bosserman, "Shoreline Erosion and the Lost Colony," reprint, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 62, Number 3, September 1972, 424-426, FORA; Monthly Reports, January 1943, June 1944, January 1946, September 1946, February 1949; Robert H. Atkinson, "Combating Erosion at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," May 24, 1950, Cultural Resources Stewardship Library, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia.

306. Per Bruun, "Erosion and Protection of Fort Raleigh," September 1964, FORA; Superintendent to Regional Director, January 30, 1974, shoreline stabilization records, FORA; Acting Superintendent to Director, Southeast Region, February 16, 1971, shoreline stabilization records, FORA; Denver Service Center, National Park Service, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Shoreline Stabilization," March 1978, shoreline stabilization records, FORA; Denver Service Center, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, IFB 5185-78A-R, Shore Stabilization," November 5, 1978, shoreline stabilization records, FORA; Annual Report, 1980, 11.

village during the 1990s drove this reinvigorated fear that shoreline erosion would destroy any remains of Raleigh's colony. Of course, many believe that any such remains are already located beneath the sound and not on the island itself. In the long term, the most serious threat of shoreline erosion to Fort Raleigh's archeological resources is the prospect of projected sea- level rise because of global warming. The revised 1994 Statement for Management forecasts that this event will cause "an accelerated erosion rate of shoreline that is not protected by rip rap or groin."[307]

Trends in General Resource Management

The most significant trend that arises from the narrative history concerning general resource management at Fort Raleigh is that interaction with park supporters and partners is unavoidable, essential, and problematic. These constituents have not always set the goals of cultural resource management as their first priority. In the early years, for example, Fort Raleigh managers had to reorient the park away from the era of historically inaccurate log- cabin reconstructions, which included acquiring administration of the park's museum from RIHA, and eliminating RIHA's unwholesome food concession. The task required finesse and time and certainly encumbered the relations of the partners.

Once museum management belonged to NPS, worthy items had to be obtained for display. This task was facilitated by donations received from cooperating groups, such as the North Carolina chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars. High- ranking NPS officials sought the aid of such partners, whose donations have in general greatly benefited the National Park Service but whose contributions, on occasion, have had a downside. Park partners, for instance, are not above using their connections to tout their own pet projects. The park's relationship to the Garden Club of North Carolina, which administers the Elizabethan Gardens, is a case in point. In the 1950s, club member Inglis Fletcher, and later others in the GCNC, began to promote the creation of a "Hayes Barton" replica at Fort Raleigh. This notion raised the ire of NPS professionals, for example Regional Archeologist Harrington, who viewed such efforts as a throwback to the days when the park's historically inaccurate "log- cabin" buildings were constructed.

There were other points of contention, of course, as with the reluctance of park officials to spray insecticides with the frequency urged by RIHA to control the mosquitoes that plague spectators of *The Lost Colony*. Nevertheless, despite the tension that sometimes has occurred between the park and its supporters and partners, cooperative relationships have generally furthered NPS resource management goals. One example from this chapter would include how park management of its museum and archival collections has clearly benefited from assistance provided by East Carolina University, the Outer Banks History Center, and other NPS units, including SEAC and the Southeast Regional Office. Another example concerns the issue of erosion control, an area in which there has never been serious tension between the park and its supporters. RIHA was no doubt pleased when Fort Raleigh began to assume the burden of constructing jetties to protect the Waterside Theatre from 1949 on. Certainly, the threat of erosion, worsened by the negative impact of the RIAL Corporation's development of Heritage Point in the 1990s, illustrates how mutual concerns have united RIHA and the park, as well as the community of archeologists and other scholars interested in protecting Fort Raleigh's cultural resources. Surprisingly, Fort Raleigh has even gained some extra degree of protection through its partnership arrangement in the aspect of law enforcement. At least that was true when RIHA's legendary "Skipper" was on duty to apprehend the occasional escaped convict!

307. "Erosion Threatening Artifacts," *Virginian Pilot*, December 11, 1993, Newspaper Clipping Files, FORA; Revised Statement for Management: Basic Operations Statement, August 1994, FORA, 12.

Conclusion

Between 1585 and 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh established two main colonies on Roanoke Island in present- day North Carolina. This enterprise proved a disaster for many of the colonists. Indeed, the second colony, the famed "Lost Colony," simply vanished, and its fate remains one of the great mysteries of American history. Nevertheless, Raleigh's investment- backers still managed to turn a profit because Sir Richard Grenville was successful in his privateering escapades. Moreover, England gained from its first colonizing effort on Roanoke Island the crucial experience later successfully distilled by the founders of Jamestown. Thus, the Raleigh colonies mark the beginning of England's rise to dominion over much of North America. In recognition of this significance, serious efforts to validate and preserve the settlement site have continued for more than a century even though the colonies themselves lasted no more than half a decade.

North Carolina officially began seeking to preserve and commemorate the site of the Lost Colony in 1884 when the state's U.S. Senator, Zebulon B. Vance, introduced an unsuccessful bill in Congress to establish a monument at Fort Raleigh. His effort failed, but others soon followed. Beginning in 1892, Sallie Southall Cotten, a prominent women's leader, initiated efforts to recognize the importance of Virginia Dare, the first child born in the Roanoke Colony and thus the first English child born in North America. In 1894, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association (RCMA) was incorporated and purchased more than 260 acres from the Dough family, including the fort site. Between 1894 and 1931, the association held sporadic annual observances of Virginia Dare's birth. In 1895, RCMA began making improvements to Fort Raleigh, including placing granite slabs along the fort's outline, erecting a granite tablet to Virginia Dare's birth and christening, constructing an access road to the site, and enclosing the property with a fence. After prolonged enthusiasm by locals, national recognition finally arrived in 1926 when President Calvin Coolidge signed into law a bill, introduced by North Carolina Congressman Lindsay C. Warren, appropriating federal funds for the erection of a monument at Fort Raleigh. In 1930, the appropriation was used to construct two entrance posts with commemorative tablets.

The modern history of Fort Raleigh begins with the creation, in 1932, of the Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA), which was incorporated to revitalize the commemoration of the Raleigh colonies. In 1934, the faltering RCMA donated its interest in Fort Raleigh to the State of North Carolina. Then, as part of a larger New Deal relief project on the Outer Banks promoted by Frank Stick, RIHA members, and others, workers erected log cabins as a conjectural reconstruction of Raleigh's sixteenth- century settlement, including a chapel that became highly popular as a wedding venue. These reconstructions, however, soon were understood to be inaccurate representations of sixteenth- century English building techniques.

In 1936, RIHA and the North Carolina Historical Commission, which now held title to Fort Raleigh, formally petitioned the National Park Service to take over the property. When the Park Service began to consider accepting the administration of Fort Raleigh as a national park, it had to contend with the discrepancy between its professional obligation to interpret history accurately and its mission to please the public, which had fallen in love with the historically inaccurate reconstructions. The basic tension of this situation reflects a pattern in the relations between NPS officials and RIHA supporters that has endured for decades. RIHA supporters and public enthusiasm for the park, especially after the first performances in 1937 of *The Lost Colony* by Pulitzer Prize- winning playwright Paul Green, have remained critical to Fort Raleigh for the success of numerous endeavors, but that support has not come without complications.

In 1939, the Park Service officially recognized the historical importance of the Fort Raleigh site, despite its dubious log cabin- style constructions. In preparation for NPS administration, a cooperative agreement was signed between the Park Service and RIHA, allowing for the continued production of *The Lost Colony* at the site. Disagreements between the parties over the terms led some to reconsider the decision to hand Fort Raleigh over to the federal government. A major concern of RIHA was the extent of NPS control over the play's theatrical "license" as well as monetary arrangements. The dispute was resolved, however, and the State of North Carolina agreed to deed the property to the United States. In 1941, Acting Secretary of the Interior Alvin J. Wirtz issued an order declaring Fort Raleigh a national historic site under the 1935 National Historic Sites Act. The Park Service assumed administration of the property that same year, which then became Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. Unfortunately, World War II essentially closed the new park for the duration of that conflict. In 1945, NPS and RIHA completed a new cooperative agreement that addressed further disputes arising from the first agreement, mainly continuing concerns over theatrical liberty and finances. The new agreement would be renewed thereafter every twenty years for the remainder of the century.

During the 1940's, the first NPS master plan acknowledged the important cooperative relationship with RIHA, but also focused upon NPS efforts to maintain and restore Fort Raleigh's historical integrity. A major park goal was to remove the locally cherished but inauthentic Depression- era reconstructions. Serious archeological investigations also began in 1947 with the arrival of Jean C. Harrington, whose work continued periodically until 1965. Between 1947 and 1948, Harrington reconstructed an earthwork at the site based upon archeological evidence. At this time, the Park Service also began to assume responsibility for beach erosion control.

In the 1950s, Fort Raleigh's relationship with the local community inextricably deepened after the Garden Club of North Carolina (GCNC) acquired a lease from RIHA and began development of the Elizabethan Gardens adjacent to the park. The Elizabethan Gardens would increase both the tourism and educational potential of the northern end of Roanoke Island while making NPS relations with RIHA and other community boosters more complicated and more stressful, but ultimately more mutually advantageous.

During the 1960s, Fort Raleigh experienced significant change, beginning with the destruction of park facilities, especially the Waterside Theatre, by Hurricane Donna. One benefit, however, was that RIHA rebuilt the theater using designs more in accord with current NPS views about the building techniques and styles of Raleigh's colonists. Such interpretive influence went in both directions, however, as the park decided to rename its new nature trail in honor of naturalist Thomas Hariot, who accompanied Raleigh's first colony. The suggestion was made by Albert Bell, builder of the Waterside Theatre. Bell's death in 1964 was a great loss to the community and to the park.

During Mission 66 at Fort Raleigh, 125 acres of land were acquired for park expansion using a combination of state funds and a private donation. The park's Mission 66 expansion was due in large part to the concerted effort of RIHA and its supporters. By 1966 the park's new facilities included a visitor center, the Cape Hatteras Group headquarters, the Lost Colony building, a utility building, and four residences along with park roads and parking areas. While the Mission 66 expansion was broadly supported, it came with a local cost to the families whose property was bought out. The park also achieved a long- sought goal of removing the last of the park's historically inaccurate log cabin- style structures, although officials also pushed too far. In the absence of National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) guidelines, Fort Raleigh unfortunately eliminated the commemorative gateposts authorized by Congress in 1926, which, had they been left in place, would today help tell the story of how the park was itself created. On the other hand, property wisely not acquired during the expansion included the Elizabethan Gardens, for which the GCNC had wanted the Park Service to assume management. The GCNC also wanted the Park Service to construct a "Hayes Barton"–style administrative building, an idea that NPS planners firmly refused to consider because of the idea's association with the park's "log cabin" era and the interpretative confusion it would create among visitors. On the archeological front, NPS archeologist Harrington made a second major find in 1965 when he excavated structural remains at the fort site, which he called an "outwork." The find helped make later discoveries by Ivor Noel Hume possible.

In 1978, National Register documentation for Fort Raleigh was accepted following the administrative listing accomplished by the NHPA of 1966. In the 1970s, new evidence also emerged about the extent of natural threats to those historic resources. A study by Robert

Dolan and Kenton Bosserman, for example, indicated that the shoreline on the northern end of Roanoke Island had receded more than nine hundred feet between 1851 and 1970 because of erosion. In 1978, another study by the Denver Service Center renewed concern about erosion. As a result, the park secured funds to build revetments to help protect the Dough Cemetery and the Waterside Theatre. But the park's struggle with the sea is ongoing.

On the interpretive front during the 1970s, Fort Raleigh developed a living history program, which included concerts of Elizabethan- era music and demonstrations of sixteenth- century lifeways. Park staff and volunteers involved in the programs wore period costumes, and some even learned Elizabethan dialect for first- person interpretation. Much of the reproduction equipment and costumes were made possible by Eastern National Park and Monument Association donations. Another activity of the period was an attempt to renew the Virginia Dare birthday celebration. Finally, the first efforts were made to complete the furnishings plan for the Elizabethan Room. Eventually, funding limitations, internal NPS disputes over the authenticity of the Elizabethan Room's furnishing plans, and a limited constituency among park supporters resulted in no action on this last issue to the present time. To some extent, the incomplete state of the Elizabethan Room stands as a counterpoint to the main theme of this study. That is, despite some tension, the National Park Service has succeeded in its cooperative relations with RIHA and others in managing Fort Raleigh better at times than the NPS bureaucracy has succeeded in managing the park's resources on its own, at least this observation seems true for the Elizabethan Room.

Of course, the same might be said of RIHA's effort to build a performing arts center. As the 1970s came to a close, RIHA's board of directors considered a proposal to build such a center that would focus upon the Elizabethan era. In 1980, the board voted to proceed. Several sites were examined, but RIHA preferred to construct the facility at Fort Raleigh for reasons of finance and historical association with the Fort Raleigh site. To gain NPS approval, RIHA offered several enticements aimed to ease park administration. In 1982, NPS gave RIHA the green light to develop the Roanoke Island Center for the Arts on land within the park cleared for development. Park Service concerns about the size of the facility necessitated several design modifications, but an approved design was achieved. Fund- raising for the project, however, soon became an issue. In 1986, John P. Kennedy assumed the chairmanship of RIHA and persuaded the board to build its arts center off park property so as to include residential and commercial developments to help fund the center. The main complaint of the new board became that private investors were unwilling to fund a project developed on public land. RIHA's fateful decision undermined community support for the project that now threatened to transform the rural character of northern Roanoke Island. A protest movement was thus launched with many expressing support for past NPS administration of the site. Clearly, the community did not trust the new chairman's plans. RIHA's effort to move the arts center off park property stalled and the beleaguered Kennedy resigned in 1987. In the end, the failure of RIHA to work with the park on the performing arts center assured that no such center was ever built. Lack of funding may have prevented the arts center from becoming reality even had the parties maintained close cooperation, but their relations were strained severely for no good cause.

Meanwhile, archeologists from the Southeast Archeological Center conducted extensive explorations at the park in the 1980s in the hope of finding the bastion of a large fortification. Instead, they found the remains of a 1921 dirt road. Ivor Noel Hume, under sponsorship of the Virginia Company Foundation, obtained better results during his excavations at Fort Raleigh between 1991 and 1993. Findings from Hume's investigations questioned the standard interpretation of the fort site and demonstrated positive evidence for the existence of a scientific research laboratory at the site of the reconstructed fort that predated the fort. Based on this information, Hume argued that the fort could not be Ralph Lane's main fort at the settlement site. Nicholas Luccketti later conducted archeological investigations at the site that essentially confirmed Hume's work. These findings prompted important changes in the park's interpretive program but also helped to energize a major conference at Fort Raleigh in 1993 that brought together prominent international scholars of the sixteenth century to discuss a variety of issues pertaining to the Raleigh colonies. The conference also resulted in the birth of the Roanoke Colonies Research Office, a cooperative venture with East Carolina University designed to promote further scholarship related to the park, and a new theatrical performance, *Elizabeth R,* starring *The Lost Colony* actress Barbara Hird. A Fort Raleigh volunteer wrote and later directed the play. The play was so successful that its management became unwieldy. Reluctantly, the park moved the play off Fort

Raleigh. Accommodations were eventually found, however, at the Elizabethan Gardens where the play's proximity to Fort Raleigh continues to be a bonus for park visitors.

One of the most important events in the history of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site took place in 1990 when President George H. W. Bush signed into law a bill authorizing the addition of 335 acres. By 1994, the park had acquired approximately 210 of these acres. The expansion was championed by major park supporters, including RIHA, the GCNC, and other prominent state officials and local community members, and could not have taken place without their concerted efforts. The intent of these park supporters was to protect the rural character of the northern portion of Roanoke Island, to preserve the historic setting for *The Lost Colony* production and the fort site, and to help RIHA, the play's sponsor, to balance its books. However, to justify park expansion and to entice a greater variety of tourists, park boosters backed an expansion of the park's interpretive mission to include events relating to the Civil War, Native American habitation of the Island, and early radio experiments conducted in the area. Efforts by the park to acquire all of the land authorized by the legislation were not completely successful. With insufficient funds available to buy all of the land, the park announced its intent to purchase the most threatened property first. This land was owned by a speculative private developer. Necessarily, this plan meant postponing the purchase of land owned by the financially strapped RIHA, which had first launched the campaign to expand the park. Feelings were hurt, but after carefully reviewing a range of public comments, the park reconsidered its plans and funded the purchase of RIHA- owned land instead. This decision greatly helped to put *The Lost Colony* back upon firmer financial ground. Unfortunately, the RIAL corporation then proceeded with its private development and some potential park land was lost. However, in contrast to relations between the park and RIHA during the 1980s, the best possible outcome was probably achieved. The episode demonstrated how mutually important each organization had become to the success of the other's goals.

One result of the park's expansion in 1990 was that it created the need for a new long- range general management plan, research for which began in 2002. Certainly, Fort Raleigh should more thoroughly integrate into its interpretive program the additional resources that the park's expanded boundary and authorizing legislation created. On the other hand, caution is also warranted because, as this history has documented, the overriding focus at Fort Raleigh is in telling the story, preserving the resources, and commemorating the events associated with sixteenth-century English colonizing activity. No less important is the need to preserve the park's critical rapport with local supporters and those who manage *The Lost Colony* production. In both regards, Appendix 2 (*"Fort Raleigh": The Mystery of the Name*), suggests that changing the park's designation is entirely problematic. "Fort Raleigh" is the most historically appropriate name for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, suggesting, as it does, both the park's focus and how it came to be.

This administrative history has sought to document how Fort Raleigh was created and later managed by the National Park Service. It has discussed how NPS managers have accommodated commercial and community interests while maintaining their own basic allegiance to the standards of professional scholarship and the directives of the NPS Organic Act. To manage these often- contending forces successfully, park officials have had to cultivate a patient long- term focus, a willingness both to experiment and to correct missteps, and an understanding of the importance of good communication and the need for negotiation with important stakeholders. Of key concern to all managers at Fort Raleigh has been the park's relationship with Roanoke Island's historical society. Indeed, it can be said that cooperation with major and minor partners of all types has been a key element of Fort Raleigh's success in protecting the park resources while facilitating visitor enjoyment and education. Still, Fort Raleigh managers have often had to step gingerly to maintain the fine balance between the interests of preservation and those of their constituents. Their decisions have frequently skirted genuine controversy and have not always resulted in the preferred outcome. However, NPS officials have consistently worked with park supporters, cooperating associations and civic groups, and other interested parties to minimize conflict while making the best decisions possible under existing constraints. The bottom line is that the park's mission could not have been accomplished without the aid of such partners, a conclusion that will likely remain true into the future.

During six decades of management at Fort Raleigh, the Park Service has transformed what was originally a sixteen- and- a- half- acre state park into a 355- acre national historic site. Through funds made available during Mission 66, NPS superimposed a new site layout

with full visitor facilities. As researchers pursued archeological investigations at the park, NPS understanding of the site's history evolved. Today, the Park Service continues to focus on learning more about Raleigh's colonies and sharing that information with the public. As a result of these physical and interpretive changes, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site has confronted a number of complex challenges. Management issues of the past – site planning and development, land acquisition and preservation, funding gaps, controversial archeological findings, changing perceptions of the site's history, and its cooperative relationship with groups like RIHA and the Elizabethan Gardens – will undoubtedly resurface in the future. Managers at Fort Raleigh may look increasingly to decisions of the past to formulate creative solutions for future challenges. The research presented in this administrative history, and the context in which it has been presented, is intended to help make such reflective decision- making possible.

Appendices

Appendix One: Chronology

1578: Queen Elizabeth of England grants Sir Humphrey Gilbert a charter to settle unclaimed areas of the New World.

1584: After Gilbert's death at sea, Elizabeth grants a charter to Sir Walter Raleigh, who fosters an expedition under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. The expedition explores the Outer Banks of the future North Carolina, including Roanoke Island.

1585: Raleigh sends an expedition under Sir Richard Grenville to establish a settlement in the New World. More than one hundred colonists are left on Roanoke Island when Grenville returns to England. The expedition includes military fortifications expert Ralph Lane, artist John White, scientist Thomas Hariot, and metallurgist Joachim Gans, who construct a rudimentary "science center" used to evaluate local plants and mineral discoveries.

1586: Raleigh's first settlement is abandoned when the colonists return to England with Sir Francis Drake's fleet.

1587: Raleigh's second colony is established on Roanoke Island during the summer under John White. Virginia Dare is born in August thereby becoming the first English child born in the New World. White sails for England to represent the colony, but his return is delayed, especially by threat of war with Spain.

1588: Fierce weather and English seamanship defeat a huge Spanish armada as it sails against England, marking both the decline of Spain's empire and the rise of England's.

1590: White returns to Roanoke Island in August to find a deserted settlement. In the face of a storm, he is unable to convince worried ship commanders to conduct a sustained search.

1607: Jamestown is founded, marking the establishment of the first permanent English colony in North America. Eventually, these settlers, and others, make attempts to find Raleigh's lost colony, but all subsequent efforts end in failure. The fate of the "Lost Colony" remains a mystery to the present time.

1819: President James Monroe visits the Fort Raleigh site.

1849: Thomas A. Dough's ownership of the fort tract is recognized by a grant from the State of North Carolina. The property remains in the Dough family until preservation efforts begin during the 1890s.

1861: Confederate States of America are formed after seven Southern states secede from the Union, beginning the American Civil War. The South immediately recognizes the strategic importance of the Outer Banks and adjacent sounds, including Roanoke Island, and tries to fortify them.

1862: Hatteras Island falls to Union forces. Slaves on nearby Roanoke Island are inspired to flee and soon provide impor-

tant intelligence about Roanoke Island's defenses. On February 8, Union forces easily overcome Confederate resistance. The island remains in Union hands throughout the war. By April, hundreds of former slaves, now refugees, flock to the northern end of Roanoke Island. Union commanders realize the need to establish and oversee a refugee facility to tend to their needs as well as the families of black men enlisted with or working for the Union Army.

1862- 1867: A freedmen's colony exists on Roanoke Island through these years. Horace James is appointed superintendent of refugees in eastern North Carolina in August 1863 and tries to establish a permanent settlement on Roanoke Island that is economically self- sufficient. New England evangelical missionaries arrive to teach the newly freed slaves. Their correspondence is the major source of knowledge about the colony. After 1865, attempts are made to induce members of the colony to return to the mainland. President Andrew Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation of May 29, 1865, ensures that no land will be handed over to the colony, despite previous promises. White landowners soon return to repossess their holdings and the colony is officially ordered closed in May 1867.

1870: Census figures show that about 60 black families remain on Roanoke Island, including 14 landowners.

1884: North Carolina Senator Zebulon B. Vance introduces a bill in Congress to establish a monument site at Fort Raleigh. Though the bill dies in committee, it is the first legislative attempt to gain federal improvements for the site.

1892: Under the leadership of Sallie Southall Cotten, the Virginia Dare Columbian Memorial Association is incorporated for the purpose of erecting a building for North Carolina at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The building is to be relocated to North Carolina after the exposition as a memorial to Virginia Dare's birth and Raleigh's colonies. However, the association is unsuccessful in its efforts.

1894: The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association is incorporated by a group of native North Carolinians living in Baltimore. After selling shares, the association purchases more than 260 acres from the Dough family, including the fort site. The association holds the first annual observance of Virginia Dare's birth in August; the observances continue sporadically under the association until 1931.

1895: Talcott Williams of the University of Pennsylvania conducts the first major archeological investigation at Fort Raleigh.

1896: The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association begins making improvements to Fort Raleigh, including placing granite slabs along the fort's outline, erecting a granite tablet to Virginia Dare's birth and christening, constructing an access road to the site, and enclosing the property with a fence. The developed site is dedicated on November 24.

1901- 1902: Reginald Aubrey Fessenden conducts several radio transmitting and receiving experiments between the north end of Roanoke Island and Cape Hatteras.

1910: In an attempt to clear some of its debt, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association sells 246 acres to William J. Griffin, leaving the association with only the 16.45- acre fort site.

1924: While constructing a highway through the Fort Raleigh property, the state damages the archeologically sensitive site.

1926: On June 11, President Calvin Coolidge signs into law a bill introduced by North Carolina Congressman Lindsay C. Warren, appropriating federal funds for the erection of a monument at Fort Raleigh. In 1930, the appropriation is used to construct two entrance posts with commemorative tablets.

1932: The Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA) is incorporated in January to undertake commemorative efforts for Fort Raleigh.

1934: The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association donates Fort Raleigh to the State of North Carolina. As part of a larger New Deal relief project on the Outer Banks, workers erect log cabins as a conjectural reconstruction of Raleigh's sixteenth- century settlement, including a chapel that becomes popular as a wedding venue. The site is under the general supervision of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

1936: RIHA and the North Carolina Historical Commission formally petition the National Park Service to take over Fort Raleigh. NPS expresses interest but also doubt about the historical accuracy of the reconstructed settlement buildings.

1937: Sponsored by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association of Manteo, Paul Green's outdoor drama *The Lost Colony* is produced at Ft. Raleigh. President Franklin D. Roosevelt attends the play on the birthday of Virginia Dare on August 18.

1938: RIHA takes over the production of *The Lost Colony* after a successful first season the previous year.

1939: The Park Service recognizes the historical importance of the Fort Raleigh site, despite its dubious reconstructions. In preparation for NPS administration, NPS and RIHA sign first cooperative agreement on March 29, 1939, that allows the association to continue producing Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* at the site. As a result, the State of North Carolina agrees to deed the property to the United States. This precondition met, the state of North Carolina deeds the property to the U.S. on July 14, 1939.

1941: Acting Secretary of the Interior Alvin J. Wirtz issues an order on April 5 declaring Fort Raleigh a national historic site under the 1935 National Historic Sites Act. The order is based upon a study by Dr. Frederick W. Tilberg and a favorable opinion from the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments.

On July 21, the National Park Service assumes administration of site.

RIHA builds two jetties to protect the Waterside Theatre from erosion.

1942- 1946: With blackout measures and German U- boats operating off the coast, RIHA suspends production of *The Lost Colony* for the duration of World War II.

1944: A hurricane damages the Waterside Theatre and the outer palisade, and uproots numerous trees.

1944: NPS and RIHA begin to renegotiate the cooperative agreement governing the production of *The Lost Colony* in September to address disputes arising from the first agreement. RIHA officials oppose NPS terms as taking away too much of their discretion and some called for ownership of the theater property to be returned to the state. In response, NPS agrees to less intrusive oversight of RIHA activities.

1945: NPS temporarily suspends fee collection at Fort Raleigh to assuage discontent by locals and RIHA members, who felt the fees drove down attendance at play.

The National Park Service and RIHA sign second cooperative agreement in April. The duration of the agreement is twenty years. Despite a few contentious points, the revised agreement was similar to the original.

1946: The park begins controversial efforts to remove Depression- era reconstructions. A blockhouse and small palisade at the archeologically sensitive fort site are demolished.

1947: NPS prepares its first master plan that deals exclusively with Fort Raleigh.

A fire destroys the Waterside Theatre in mid- July. Volunteers rebuild the theater

in a week's time, allowing the performance to go on.

1947- 1965: Jean C. Harrington conducts archeological work at Fort Raleigh.

1949: Construction begins on four jetties in an attempt to control erosion along the sound.

1950: The park purchases the 0.25- acre Ward tract.

The earthwork is reconstructed based on archeological evidence uncovered by Jean C. Harrington in 1947 and 1948.

1951: The 1.8- acre Meakin tract is acquired for addition to the park.

The Garden Club of North Carolina (GCNC) proposes to build an "Elizabethan garden" on RIHA land adjacent to Fort Raleigh. GCNC also provides RIHA funds to transform Waterside Theatre stage buildings from a log appearance to "wattle and daub" (completed by 1955).

1952: After closing the dilapidated log chapel for safety reasons, the park finally has the structure demolished. Local protest is experienced, but not as much as expected.

1953: The park office is relocated from the museum building to the John White House.

Fort Raleigh becomes a unit in the Cape Hatteras Group on October 16.

The GCNC acquires a lease from RIHA and begins development of the Elizabethan Gardens adjacent to the park.

1960: A nature trail is placed at the northwestern end of the park. Originally named the Dogwood Trail, it is later renamed the Thomas Hariot Nature Trail at the suggestion of Albert Bell.

Hurricane Donna damages park facilities, especially the Waterside Theatre. RIHA rebuilds it using designs in accord with current NPS views about the building techniques and styles of Raleigh's colonists.

1961: Land acquisition efforts begin for the Mission 66 expansion. Funds for the land purchases come from a state appropriation and RIHA enthusiasts Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Morrison. Approximately 125 acres are eventually acquired for addition to the park. Some property must be acquired by condemnation.

1962: The rebuilt Waterside Theatre is formally dedicated in July.

1963: GCNC proposes that NPS assume management of the Elizabethan Gardens while using them as the garden for a "Hayes Barton"–style administrative building. The offer is rejected.

1964: Waterside Theatre builder, rebuilder, and former manager, Albert "Skipper" Bell, dies. A memorial plaque is placed at the theater in 1967 in his honor.

NPS and RIHA sign third cooperative agreement for another twenty- year period.

1965: Jean C. Harrington excavates apparent structural remains at the Fort Raleigh site and calls them an "outwork."

1966: Mission 66 facilities at Fort Raleigh are formally dedicated on July 13. The new facilities include a visitor center, the Cape Hatteras Group headquarters, the Lost Colony building, a utility building, and four residences along with park roads and parking areas.

1972: Dolan- Bosserman study suggests shoreline on the northern end of Roanoke Island receded more than 900 feet between 1851 and 1970 because of erosion, with 158 feet of loss occurring between 1903 and 1971.

1975- 1978: Fort Raleigh develops a living history program, including Elizabethan- era music and demonstrations of sixteenth-century lifeways. Park staff and volunteers begin to wear period costumes.

1977: Fort Raleigh officials renew efforts to complete furnishing of the Elizabethan

Room. Professional disputes within the agency prevent completion of this project.

Fort Raleigh renews sponsoring Virginia Dare birthday celebrations.

1978: Denver Service Center study heightens concern about erosion and outlines options. The park secures funds to build concrete block revetments to help protect the Dough Cemetery and the Waterside Theatre. The revetments are completed in 1980 at a cost of $640,284.

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site is documented on the National Register of Historic Places following administrative listing by the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act.

1980: RIHA's board of directors votes to build a performing arts center that will focus on the Elizabethan era. Several sites are examined but RIHA preferred to construct the facility at the park for reasons of finance and historical association with the Ft. Raleigh site. To gain NPS approval, RIHA offers several concessions that appeal to park managers.

1981- 1985: After using remote sensing, aerial photography, and soil resistivity techniques, SEAC archeologists excavate an area at the park in hopes of finding a bastion of a large fortification. Instead, they find the remains of a 1921 dirt road.

1982: RIHA formally requests permission to build the Roanoke Island Center for the Arts on land within the park cleared for development.

1984: NPS and RIHA sign fourth cooperative agreement for another twenty- year period.

The SEAC approves an archeological survey of the RIHA arts center site. The NPS then approves the site for construction.

1986: John P. Kennedy assumes chairmanship of RIHA's board of directors and persuades the board to build its arts center off park property so as to include residential and commercial developments to help fund the center. The main complaint by fund raisers was that private investors would not fund a project developed on public land.

A protest movement is immediately launched. Many Dare County residents feel slighted by this sudden change in RIHA's plans and because of concerns about the project's impact.

Congress authorizes plan to raise entrance fees at 337 NPS units, with 80 percent of revenue returned to parks. Cape Hatteras Group Superintendent Hartman imposes fees only at Wright Brothers NM.

1987: Facing unrelenting opposition to his development proposal, Kennedy resigns from RIHA board. The performing arts center is never built.

1987: The park completes a visitor center exhibit for visually impaired visitors.

Virginia Dare's four hundredth birthday is celebrated in August with a large party and the dedication of a marker.

1988: A metal curatorial storage building is erected in the park's utility area.

1990: On November 16, President George H. W. Bush signs into law a bill authorizing the addition of 335 acres to the park. By 1994, approximately 210 acres have been acquired. The law also expands the park's interpretive mission at Roanoke to include events relating to the Civil War, Native American habitation of the Island, and early radio experiments conducted in the area.

A laser- disk system is installed in the visitor center to play the park's new audiovisual program, *Roanoke: The Lost Colony.*

1991: Ivor Noel Hume, sponsored by the Virginia Company Foundation, begins archeological excavations at Fort Raleigh.

1993: Ivor Noel Hume completes his archeological investigations at Fort Raleigh.

1993: The three- year project reveals a scientific research laboratory at the site of the reconstructed fort—a laboratory that predated the fort. Based on this information, Hume questions the standard interpretation of the fort site and argues that the fort could not be Lane's main fort.

A conference entitled "Roanoke Decoded" brings together prominent scholars of the sixteenth century to discuss the Raleigh colonies. As a result of the conference, the Roanoke Colonies Research Office, a cooperative venture with East Carolina University, is established.

Successful one- woman show about Queen Elizabeth, *Elizabeth R*, starring British actress Barbara Hird, an outgrowth of park- sponsored Roanoke Decoded symposium, plays summer season at park. Play is then relocated, eventually assuming residence at the Elizabethan Gardens.

1994- 1995: Nicholas Luccketti conducts archeological investigations that confirm work by Hume. Suggests earthwork not built for 1587 Lost Colony, but most scholars still believe that earthwork is associated with one or more of Raleigh's expeditions.

1995: The North Carolina Home Builders Association donates the materials and labor to build a park residence as a replacement for an aging trailer.

1997: The park completes a museum resources center for the Cape Hatteras Group that is located in the Ft. Raleigh maintenance area.

1998- 2001: Major renovation of Waterside Theatre is undertaken to rehabilitate theater's stage pilings, decking, breezeways, seating, stage, and convenience areas.

2002: New GMP for Fort Raleigh begins.

Appendix Two: "Fort Raleigh" – The Mystery of the Name

The fate of the Lost Colony remains a mystery after more than four centuries, but there is also a lesser mystery at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, the mystery of how the fortification at that location, and the site itself, became known as "Fort Raleigh." Most scholars believe that Fort Raleigh's earthwork was built by military engineer Ralph Lane, who was the governor of the first settlement established on Roanoke Island in 1585 under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh. Lane, however, was only associated with this phase of the colonization effort. Contemporaries commenting upon the Raleigh expeditions refer to the "new Fort in Virginia," which was Lane's term, or they used "the Cittie of Ralegh," which was written into Raleigh's charter from Queen Elizabeth. How did the site become known, therefore, as "Fort Raleigh"?

The following information is not an exhaustive survey. Much additional research could be done and a few suggestions are offered in the notes. However, several conclusions can be drawn from the references cited in the narrative below.[308]

One of the earliest sources about the Raleigh expeditions, and English colonizing efforts more generally, is Richard Hakluyt. Hakluyt publicized Lane's 1585 letter to him from "the new Fort in Virginia."[309] Hakluyt was a very early and particularly influential commentator. Use of the "fort" term in reference to the site of Raleigh's colonizing activity thus dates from the time that the events themselves took place and was probably widely propagated because of Hakluyt.

After the successful establishment of the Jamestown colony in 1607 unsuccessful attempts were made to find the lost colonists. The site of their supposed activities thus became a subject of interest. On May 8, 1654, Francis Yeardley, of Virginia, wrote to John Farrar, about a report he received from four traders who had visited Indians on Roanoke Island. The traders told Yeardley that the natives "showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's Fort." Yeardley may not have been the first to reference the fortification in conjunction with Raleigh's name, but his letter clearly dates such a conjunction to the mid- seventeenth century.[310]

The letters above demonstrate two points. First, the original participants, as well as later commentators, have referenced the Fort Raleigh site in association with an earthwork. Over time, as further examples below illustrate, this tendency was reinforced because that structure was understood to be the only surviving edifice of the Raleigh expeditions. Moreover, the fort site was well known to natives and outsiders alike and its location never disappeared from memory. The site was also relatively well known and visited throughout the nineteenth century with accounts in the literature to that affect.[311] In fact, trace surface remains of the earthwork were still evident as late as the first archeological investigations of the site conducted by Talcott Williams in 1895.[312] Second, Sir Walter Raleigh's name has been explicitly associated with the earthwork from an early date. Commentators have long found it useful to associate the earthwork with Raleigh's name because of his singular prominence in backing early English colonizing expeditions to Roanoke Island.

Detail can be added to this simple argument. William Powell's work, *Paradise Preserved* (1965), on the history of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, offers the most complete record documenting the history of the origins of the name "Fort Raleigh."[313] Powell's study, however, was not intended to accomplish that aim and its use for that purpose is the result of a careful reading.

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308. Sources that could shed further light on this issue include: Directors' correspondence and reports concerning the transfer of Fort Raleigh to National Park Service, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; Raleigh-related collections at the University of North Carolina; Files of the Roanoke Island Historical Association, Manteo, Roanoke Island; Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, University of North Carolina; and Papers of the David Stick collection, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo.
309. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation,* vol. VIII (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589). The letter is available from many sources and can easily be found by searching the www.
310. Quoted in Charles W. Porter, III, *Adventures to a New World, The Roanoke Colony, 1585-87* (NPS, 1972), 46; Original in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. I, 18.
311. See, for example, "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. XX, no. 120* (May 1860): 777-776.
312. Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," *Annual report of the American Historical Association for 1895* (Washington: GPO, 1896), 59-60.

Christy Trebellas and William Chapman, in their historic context report for Fort Raleigh (1999), did remark on the origin of the name. They found several nineteenth- century references to the site, including "Sir Walter Raleigh's fort," "Lane's fort," "Master Ralph Layne's stronghold and the City of Raleigh," as well as "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia.'" They concluded that "Fort Raleigh" was a late nineteenth- century term.[314]

Currently, the earliest known reference to the term "Fort Raleigh" occurred in the Elizabeth City *Economist* on February 10, 1884. On that date letter- writer J.E. Goodwin of Manteo recounted his journey "to see what could be seen of the old Fort Raleigh." Implied in both newspaper editor's and the writer's comments, however, is the notion that the term was already in common use by the mid- 1880s. Undoubtedly, even older recorded references could be found with further research.[315]

In 1892, Sallie Southhall Cotten launched the Virginia Dare Columbia Memorial Association for the purpose of commemorating and perpetuating the memory of the birth of the first English child in North America. This effort inspired a group of men to organize an association to purchase and preserve the historic site of Raleigh's colonies. On March 25, 1893, this group printed a three-page prospectus entitled *Raleigh's Colony on Roanoke Island, 1585- 1590*. They proposed to create a company that was to sell stock "for the purchase and preservation of Raleigh's fort on Roanoke Island."[316] To drum up enthusiasm and financial support, one of the organizers, Dr. Edward Graham Daves, gave a series of public lectures. On the handbills promoting these lectures, the headline announced: "Purchase of Old Fort Raleigh," after which followed:

> Prof. Daves represents an incorporated Company of North Carolinians who are endeavouring to rescue from oblivion, and preserve as a memorial in an appropriate way, the site of "OLD FORT RALEIGH" on Roanoke Island.[317]

A year later, on March 4, 1894, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association (RCMA) was organized. In its charter, the company again stated that it was "organized for the benevolent and patriotic purpose of reclaiming, preserving, and adorning Old Fort Raleigh."[318]

Curiously, late nineteenth- century scholarly articles discussing Raleigh's colonies do not appear to use the term "Fort Raleigh." Even Edward Graham Davies, who became the first president of RCMA, did not use the term in his own scholarship even after beginning the campaign to save "Old Fort Raleigh." However, Graham did clearly tie Raleigh's name to "fort" in his scholarly work and made extensive use of the term in RCMA literature, which was designed for a wide audience. This observation would again imply that "Fort Raleigh" is a term arising from popular use and that sponsors of the early commemoration movement adopted it to broaden their appeal.[319]

The question of how "Fort Raleigh" acquired its name concerned Jean C. Harrington, the well- known archeologist. Writing in 1962, but with limited knowledge of the RCMA, Harrington remarked that the first use known to him of the term "Fort Raleigh" was on April 30, 1894. On that date the name "Fort Raleigh" formally appeared on the deed for the sale of the ten-acre tract purchased by the RCMA from Walter T. Dough.[320] In the deed, the site is referred to as "the old Fort Raleigh Tract."[321] Given RCMA's emphasis on commemorating "Old Fort Raleigh," it is not surprising that this specific name would then materialize on the deed.

After the RCMA was incorporated and had purchased the Fort Raleigh tract, it set out to commemorate the site. In 1895, RCMA arranged for Talcott Williams to visit Fort Raleigh to mark the outlines of the earthwork. The association then erected a modest memorial to Virginia Dare and the Raleigh colonists in 1896. RCMA was not

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313. See William S. Powell, *Paradise Preserved: A History of the Roanoke Island Historical Association* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1965).
314. Christine Trebellas and William Chapman, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Historic Resource Study* (NPS, 1999), 1, ftnt. 1.
315. Powell, 42. Much of the information contained in Powell's work is also summarized in Trebellas and Chapman, Chapter 3.
316. Powell, 67-68.
317. Powell, 70-71.
318. Powell, 73.
319. See, Edward Graham Daves, "Raleigh's 'New Fort in Virginia,' –1585," *Magazine of American History,* vol. 29 (May/June 1893): 459-470.
320. Jean C. Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Ralegh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site* (NPS, 1962), v (ftnt †); The sale is also described in Frederick Tilberg, *Report on the Fort Site Known as For Raleigh, Roanoke Island, N.C.: Observations and Sketches Relating to the Fort Raleigh Area* (NPS, 1936), 2-3, 12. According to Tilberg, the RCMA deed is the first upon which the term "Fort Raleigh" appears. See also Powell, 75.
321. See, Record of Deeds, Dare County, Book D, 332.

the only local user of the term. In 1899, an inhabitant of Roanoke Island wrote an article in *The Trinity Archive* entitled "Fort Raleigh- Its History."[322] Spurred by local enthusiasm for commemorating Raleigh- related activity in North Carolina, the state's congressional representatives made attempts to acquire commemorative funds. In April 1900, a bill was submitted in Congress "to provide for the erection of a monument on the site of Fort Raleigh, on Roanoke Island."[323] The bill did not pass, but it marked the first time the name "Fort Raleigh" was used in congressional legislation.

The RCMA continued to promote the Fort Raleigh site and interest in the area grew. According to William Powell, RCMA President Robert B. Drane was hopeful by 1912 that the "State Government, and National Government will, sooner or later, seek to share with us in the preservation of old Fort Raleigh."[324] Curiously, Drane capitalized both "state" and "national" in reference to the government, but failed to capitalize "old" in reference to Fort Raleigh in the same sentence. In other references, the commonly used "old" is sometimes dropped from the name. Finally, on May 29, 1926, President Coolidge signed an act authorizing the appropriation of $2,500 to erect a monument to commemorate Virginia Dare "at Sir Walter Raleigh Fort on Roanoke Island."[325] This Congressional effort was successful. While Congress adopted a variation of the "Fort Raleigh" designation in reference to the site on this occasion, it clearly continued the strong trend of connecting "fort" with "Raleigh." Soon after this occurrence, RCMA organized a one- day celebration at the site, perhaps the largest annual Virginia Dare celebration ever held. The day's events were published in a brochure entitled, *Virginia Dare, Annual Celebration By the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, Old Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, August 18, 1926.*[326]

During the time of RCMA's ownership of the site, the name "Old Fort Raleigh" appears to be the term most frequently used to identify the site. RCMA members did themselves occasionally use alternative references, such as "the Old City of Raleigh."[327] Apparently, however, RCMA always formally employed the term "Old Fort Raleigh" or "old Fort Raleigh" in its official papers. RCMA's use of such terminology further popularized what was probably already a term of local expression. Without question, during the RCMA period, "Fort Raleigh" became the most widely used and accepted term for referring to the old fortification.

In 1934, RCMA's aging members decided to retire their organization and to hand over their Fort Raleigh property to the State of North Carolina. The North Carolina Historical Commission (NCHC) assumed responsibility for the deed and established "Fort Raleigh State Park," probably so named because the tract was labeled "old Fort Raleigh" on the deed, RCMA used this expression, and, again, because "Fort Raleigh" had become the most common form of identifying the property.[328] The reason that the term "old" was formally dropped in the state park's appellation is unknown. The site was recognized as the location of the earliest English colonizing activities in North America. Hence, the fort was automatically understood to be quite old, making further reference to the site's age redundant.[329]

In 1936, the NCHC proposed that the National Park Service assume responsibility for Fort Raleigh. Between 1936 and 1939, the NPS considered the issue. NPS researchers, who often referred to the site "known as Fort Raleigh," were interested in determining the authenticity of claims that Fort Raleigh was indeed the spot where Raleigh's colonists established their settlement.[330] Serious concerns were also raised about the authenticity of the state park's "reconstructions" that later proved quite accurate. Initially, NPS historians determined that "the fort may be that of Raleigh's colonists; it may be an Indian mound; or it may be an 18th Century fort." They recommended that NPS accept the NCHC property but without making any promise about designating the site as "Fort Raleigh" until appropriate studies had been conducted to establish the veracity of that association. In discussing the issue, however, no hint of displeasure with the term "Fort Raleigh" can be detected, only whether the site bearing that name was authentic. In fact, NPS historians used

322. Powell, 35. Williams did not use the term "Fort Raleigh" in his scholarship.
323. Edmund B. Rogers, "History of Legislation Relating to The National Park System Through the 82nd Congress" (NPS, 1958).
324. Powell, 95.
325. Rogers.
326. Powell, 89, ftnt 46.
327. Powell, 77.
328. Arno B. Cammerer, to Lindsay C. Warren, April 10, 1939, File 0-35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.
329. Note, the term "old" was not capitalized in the deed, again implying that "old" was more of a quaint modifier than a formal part of the name. Moreover, there was only one Fort Raleigh, again making it unnecessary to use an adjective in the title.
330. See, for example, Tilberg.

the terms "Fort Raleigh" and "Raleigh's fort" themselves in discussing the merits of the site.[331]

In the meantime the Roanoke Island Historical Association was formed to promote the Lost Colony theme. Under the NCHC's auspices, associates of RIHA approached playwright Paul Green who agreed to write a play based upon the Lost Colony. The opening of *The Lost Colony* in 1937 was so successful that President Franklin D. Roosevelt attended a performance of the play that summer on Virginia Dare Day (August 18) at Fort Raleigh State Park. No source cited in this administrative history suggests that consideration was ever given by anyone to any other term than "Fort Raleigh" for use as the site's name. By 1939, the Park Service had made a favorable judgment about the site of *The Lost Colony* production and the old earthwork. Despite what NPS considered probably inauthentic reconstructions, the site appeared to be at or near the location of Raleigh's settlements. In 1941, the site was designated as "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site." NPS papers relating to the creation of the park do not suggest the existence of any significant controversy or even debate in choosing the site's formal name. By 1941 the site was widely known as "Fort Raleigh," the "old" tag having completely fallen from use. The State of North Carolina called the site "Fort Raleigh" and the deed listed "Fort Raleigh" on the tract conveyed to the federal government. Again, this is not an exhaustive accounting, but it does not appear that any other name than "Fort Raleigh" was ever considered by NPS for the site. Moreover, local Fort Raleigh enthusiasts, never reticent in their willingness to complain about NPS policies, surely would have made their opinions known had the Park Service considered a designation not deemed by them appropriate.

In summary, the factual record listed in the account above makes possible several conclusions regarding the designation "Fort Raleigh":

- "Fort" is a term used since the late sixteenth century to identify the location of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonization effort on Roanoke Island, that is, contemporaneous to the events and by the participants themselves (although other terms have also been used).

- "Raleigh" is a term used in conjunction with the term "fort" to identify the location of Raleigh's colonization effort on Roanoke Island since at least the mid- seventeenth century, while the origins of the modern construction ("Fort Raleigh") date from the late nineteenth century, if not earlier.

- Ralph Lane's earthwork on Roanoke Island remained visible to the time of the first archeological investigations and is the only structural remnant of sixteenth- century English colonizing efforts in North America. Naturally, references to the site typically include "fort" rather than "city" or "cittie," or some other less concrete designation.

- The most prominent individual whose name can be clearly associated with all of the events concerning sixteenth- century English colonizing efforts in North America is Sir Walter Raleigh, hence frequent association of his name with the fort site.

- Recorded references to "old Fort Raleigh" begin as early as 1884. Apparently, the term arose from popular use.

- The Roanoke Colony Memorial Association used the term "old Fort Raleigh" in its formal papers from 1893 onward.

- The deed acquired by RCMA from Walter T. Dough in 1894 for the Fort Raleigh site refers to the "old Fort Raleigh Tract."

- Congressional legislation refers to "Fort Raleigh" in 1900 and to "Sir Walter Raleigh Fort" in 1926. Although the exact formulation was not set in stone, official Congressional sanction for the conjunction between "Raleigh" and "fort" is clear.

- Under the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1934- 1939, Fort Raleigh was known as "Fort Raleigh State Park." In 1937, *The Lost Colony* play began its historic run. NCHC and RIHA apparently approved of the park's name.

- National Park Service concern about the authenticity of the Fort Raleigh site was related to the validity of the site as the actual location of the events associated with sixteenth- century English colonizing efforts. Once established, no contention seems to have surrounded NPS selection of "Fort

331. Roy E. Appleman and Charles W. Porter to Director, March 13, 1937, File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79, MAR.

Raleigh" as the designation for the new national historic site.

- "Fort Raleigh," or "old Fort Raleigh," is the term most historically associated with the modern commemoration of the Fort Raleigh site. As extensively documented in the literature, use of this term predates NPS use by at least fifty- seven years (1884 to 1941). Use of the term also predates similar use both by the state park of the 1930s and by RCMA from the early 1890s. These facts indicate, of course, that national, state, and local authorities have all preferred to use the term "Fort Raleigh" both to commemorate and to perpetuate the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonizing expeditions on Roanoke Island from at least the late nineteenth century to the present time.

Appendix Three: A List of Superintendents

The NPS took over the management of Fort Raleigh on July 21, 1941. From this date through October 15, 1953, the park was administered by an on- site superintendent under a coordinating superintendent at Wright Brothers NM, then named Kill Devil Hills NM. Between 1945 and 1949, the superintendent and coordinating superintendent were known as the custodian and coordinating custodian.

Superintendent:

Robert H. Atkinson.....July 21, 1941 ..... to .....September 25, 1942

Robert H. Atkinson.....September 30, 1945 ..... to .....October 15, 1953

Note that Atkinson was on a military furlough to the U.S. Coast Guard between 1942 and 1945. During these years, Coordinating Superintendent Horace A. Dough acted as superintendent.

COORDINATING SUPERINTENDENT:

Horace A. Dough.....July 21, 1941 ..... to .....October 15, 1953

On October 16, 1953, Fort Raleigh was placed under the administration of the Cape Hatteras NS superintendent as part of the Cape Hatteras Group.

CAPE HATTERAS GROUP SUPERINTENDENTS:

A. Clark Stratton, Acting .....October 16, 1953..... to .....February 13, 1954

Allyn F. Hanks .....March 5, 1954 ..... to ..... November 2, 1957

Robert F. Gibbs .....November 3, 1957 ..... to ..... April 7, 1962

H. Reese Smith.....April 8, 1962 ..... to ..... February 2, 1963

James B. Myers.....March 3, 1963 ..... to ..... May 30, 1964

Karl T. Gilbert .....August 2, 1964..... to .....January 14, 1967

Kittridge A. Wing.....August 13, 1967 ..... to ..... December 27, 1970

Bertram C. Roberts.....January 24, 1971 ..... to ..... April 2, 1972

Robert D. Barbee.....April 16, 1972..... to ..... September 15, 1973

Jimmie L. Dunning .....November 11, 1973 ..... to ..... November 1, 1975

William A. Harris.....November 2, 1975 ..... to .....September 20, 1981

Thomas L. Hartman .....November 15, 1981..... to ..... November 12, 1994

Russell Berry.....November 13, 1994 ..... to .....October 4, 1997

Suzette Kimball (Acting) .....October 4, 1997 ..... to .....January 10, 1998

Robert Reynolds .....January 11, 1998..... to ..... September 30, 1999

Chris Bernthal (Acting) .....September 30, 1999..... to ..... December 18, 1999

Francis Peltier.....December 19, 1999 ..... to .....July 31, 2001

Lawrence A. Belli.....August 1, 2001 ..... to ..... Present

Appendix Four: Annual Visitation Statistics

Year	Visitation	Year	Visitation
1956	122,206	1979	308,753
1957	99,349	1980	354,063
1958	86,067	1981	302,752
1959	99,114	1982	303,953
1960	90,820	1983	363,361
1961	102,807	1984	391,915
1962	110,592	1985	275,419
1963	136,712	1986	261,870
1964	145,490	1987	284,288
1965	176,726	1988	288,723
1966	321,349	1989	281,321
1967	256,510	1990	290,755
1968	234,776	1991	283,812
1969	215,520	1992	290,705
1970	287,352	1993	328,794
1971	325,377	1994	325,523
1972	323,176	1995	290,018
1973	305,501	1996	309,692
1974	336,308	1997	356,321
1975	348,008	1998	359,272
1976	335,554	1999	306,649
1977	375,832	2000	246,094
1978	349,224	2001	268,808

FIGURE 54. Fort Raleigh statistical visitation data, 1956-2001

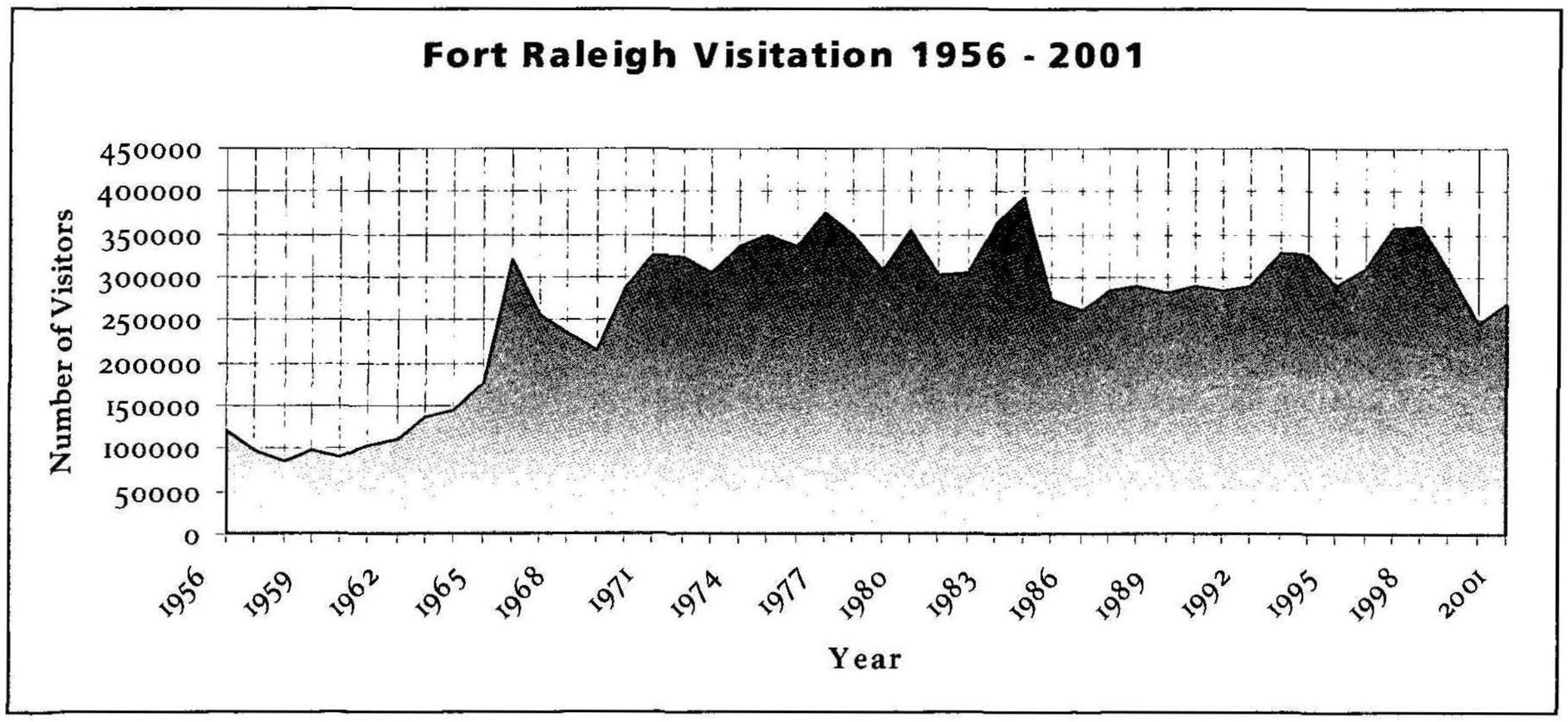


FIGURE 55. Chart showing visitation trends at Fort Raleigh, 1956-2000

Appendix Five: Federal Legislation and Orders

F.R. 2441, Issued April 5, 1941

Order Designating the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, N.C.

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has declared it to be a national policy to preserve for the public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, certain lands and historical remains on the northern end of Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina, have been declared by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments to be of national significance as a portion of colonial settlement or settlements established in America by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1585- 1587; and

WHEREAS, title to the above- mentioned lands and historical remains is vested in the United States, having been donated by the State of North Carolina; and

WHEREAS, an agreement has been made between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States for the annual presentation of Paul Green's celebrated pageant- drama, "The Lost Colony," in the open- air amphitheater on the above- mentioned property;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Alvin J. Wirtz, Acting Secretary of the Interior, under and by virtue of the authority conferred upon the Secretary of the Interior by Section 2 of the Act of Congress approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), do hereby designate the following described lands, with the historical remains thereon, to be a national historic site having the name "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site":

All of that certain tract or parcel of land located on the northern end of Roanoke Island, Dare County, North Carolina, and bounded as follows, viz:

Beginning at a concrete monument in the Southwest Corner of the A.P. Meakin tract of land and in the North edge of the right of way of N.C. State Highway 34 on the North end of Roanoke Island; running thence North 69 deg. 30 min. West along said Highway 554.0 feet to a concrete monument in the Southeast line of the Dough heirs' tract; thence along the line of said Dough heirs' tract North 7 deg. 15 min. West 786.0 feet to a stake in the edge of Roanoke Sound; thence following the various courses of said Sound in an Easterly direction approximately 1090.0 feet plus or minus to a stake in the Northwest corner of the A.P. Meakin tract of land, said stake being 40.5 foot North of an iron pipe in the A.P. Meakin line; thence along said A.P. Meakin line South 29 deg. 00 min. West 951.0 feet to point of beginning. The above described tract being known as the Fort Tract.

The administration, protection, and development of this national historic site shall be exercised by the National Park Service in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 21, 1935, *supra*.

Warning is expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, deface, or remove any feature of this historic site.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the office seal of the Department of the Interior to be affixed, in the City of Washington, this 5th day of April 1941.

A.J. Wirtz, Acting Secretary of the Interior.

75 Stat. 384, Approved August 17, 1961

An Act to revise the boundaries of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site in North Carolina, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to preserve, as a part of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, lands historically associated with the attempt to establish an English colony on Roanoke Island, the boundaries of such site are hereby revised to include the following described lands:

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN EXTENSION

Beginning at the southwest corner of the present Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, which is on the northerly right- of- way line of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345, said point bearing south 7 degrees 45 minutes east, 35 feet, more or less, from a concrete monument on the existing west boundary of the said national historic site;

Thence south 72 degrees 00 minutes east, 537 feet, more or less, following everywhere the said northerly right-

of- way line of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345, which line is also the south boundary of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, to a corner on the said south boundary of the national historic site;

Thence south 68 degrees 30 minutes east, 70 feet, more or less, following everywhere the said northerly right-of- way line of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345, which line is also the south boundary of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, to the southwest corner or land now or formerly owned by the W.O. Dough estate;

Thence north 29 degrees 30 minutes east, 992 feet, more or less, along the westerly property line of lands now or formerly owned by the said W.O. Dough estate and of the W.J. Griffin subdivision which line is also the east boundary of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, to a point on the high water line of Roanoke Sound, said point being the northwest corner of the said W.J. Griffin subdivision;

Thence south 83 degrees 00 minutes east, 728 feet, more or less, along the high water line of Roanoke Sound to the point of intersection with the westerly line of Dare Avenue, or the extension thereof, in the W.J. Griffin subdivision;

Thence south 29 degrees 30 minutes west, 1,230 feet, more or less, along the said westerly line of any northerly extension of Dare Avenue and/or the westerly line of Dare Avenue, and crossing on a prolongation of said line the 60- foot right- of- way of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345 to a point on the southerly right- of- way line of said highway;

Thence south 69 degrees 00 minutes east, 115 feet, more or less, following everywhere the said southerly right-of- way line of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345 to the point of intersection with the easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Essie Payne; thence south 27 degrees 00 minutes west, 910 feet along the said easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Essie Payne to a point;

Thence south 7 degrees 45 minutes east, 790 feet, crossing the 100- foot right- of- way of the United States highway bearing numbers 64 and 264, to a point located on land now or formerly owned by Ralph Umphlett; thence south 73 degrees 30 minutes west, 640 feet, more or less, to a point on the easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Essie Payne;

Thence south 27 degrees 00 minutes west, 175 feet, more or less, along the said easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Essie Payne to a point on the easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Willis Pearce;

Thence north 7 degrees 45 minutes west, 1,430 feet, more or less, along the said easterly property line of land now or formerly owned by Willis Pearce crossing the said 100- foot right- of- way of the United States highway bearing numbers 64 and 264, to a point on the southerly property line of land now or formerly owned by Alma Reich and Alton Aydlett;

Thence south 67 degrees 00 minutes west, 1,100 feet, more or less, along the said southerly property line of land now or formerly owned by Alma Reich and Alton Aydlett to a point on the easterly right- of- way line of the Old Ferry Road; thence north 32 degrees 00 minutes east, 1,530 feet, more or less, following everywhere the said easterly right- of- way line of Old Ferry Road, to the point of intersection with the southerly right- of- way line of North Carolina Highway Numbered 345.

Thence northwesterly 60 feet, more or less, crossing the right- of- way of said North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345, to the point of beginning but excluding therefrom the right- of- way of the United States highway bearing numbers 64 and 264. The tract as described contains approximately 73 acres.

WESTERN ADDITION

Beginning at a point on the high water line of Roanoke Sound which marks the northwest corner of land now or formerly owned by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, said point being located about 450 feet westerly from the northwest corner of the existing Fort Raleigh National Historic Site;

Thence south 35 degrees 15 minutes west, 1,356 feet, more or less, along the west property line of said lands now or formerly owned by the Roanoke Island Historical Association crossing the 60- foot right- of-way of North Carolina State Highway Numbered 345, and along the west property line of a second tract of land now or formerly owned by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, to the most westerly corner of the said second- named tract of land now or formerly owned by the Roanoke Island Historical Association;

Thence south 69 degrees 00 minutes west, 100 feet, more or less, to a corner on the easterly property line of

land now or formerly owned by Jerome Griffin; thence north 76 degrees 00 minutes west, 2,500 feet, more or less, across land now or formerly owned by Jerome Griffin, to a point 3,450 feet, more or less, along the high water line of Roanoke Sound to the point of beginning, the tract as described containing approximately 52 acres.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior, in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, is authorized to procure, in such manner and subject to such terms and conditions as he may deem to be in the public interest, lands and interests in lands described in section 1 hereof. In acquiring such additional lands and interests therein for the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, the Secretary is authorized to use any funds now or hereafter made available for the acquisition of lands in the national park system. When so acquired, they shall be administered as a part of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended.

Public Law 101-603, 104 Stat. 3065, Approved November 16, 1990

An Act To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain lands to be added to the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site in North Carolina

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. PURPOSE OF FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

The purpose of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "historic site") shall be the preservation and interpretation of—

(1) the first English colony in the New World; and

(2) the history of the Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

SECTION 2. ADDITION OF LANDS TO FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

(A) AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION.—The Secretary of the Interior may acquire through purchase, donation, or exchange all right, title, and interest in and to the lands described in subsection (b). Upon acquisition, the lands shall be added to and administered as part of the historic site.

(B) DESCRIPTION OF LANDS.—The lands referred to in subsection (a) are the approximately 335 acres depicted on the map entitled "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site Expansion", numbered 383/80,001A, dated October 1990, and on file with the Director of the National Park Service.

SECTION 3. RESEARCH

The Secretary, in consultation with scholarly and other historic organizations, shall undertake research on the history and archaeology of the historic site, and the associated peoples and events.

SECTION 4. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

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Annual Reports, CRS Library
"FORA General" folder, FORA files, CRS Library
"Furnishings for Elizabethan Room" folder, FORA files, CRS Library
"FORA Correspondence" folder, National Register files, Inventory and Research
"FORA General" folder, Curatorial files, Museum Services

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA), Manteo, North Carolina. Files at the park have a tendency to move about, but can generally be found at one of the three general locations below:

Museum Resource Center:
- Clippings files
- Map Cabinet
- Mission 66 Plans
- Outer Banks History Center box
- Shoreline Stabilization Records
- Vertical Files

Outer Banks Headquarters/Resource Management Office:
- Completion Reports on Construction Projects
- Correspondence files
- "H30 FORA Correspondence" folder
- "ECU Newsletter Articles" folder
- Elizabethan Room files
- "ECU Institute Research" folder
- "FORA Building Records" folder
- Interpretive Activities Reports
- Museum Correspondence files
- Roanoke Island Historical Association (RIHA) files (Concessions)
- Superintendent's Monthly and Annual Narrative Reports

The Vault (at park headquarters)
- Land Records
- "FRNHS Miscellaneous" folder
- FORA Expansion Bill files
- "Lost Colony" folder
- "Elizabethan Gardens" folder

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File 0- 35, Box 48, Entry 81, RG 79
File 000 (1), Box 72, Entry 81, RG 79

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

NPS D- 433 January 1997