

COLONIAL MEMORIES:
ANXIETIES, ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURAL
ENCOUNTER IN PAUL GREEN'S *THE LOST COLONY*

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“Thousands! A mighty stream—men and horses and ships, moving, flowing, toward the setting sun” (I.iv. 58) is the acclamation made by the main character, Sir Walter Raleigh, in Paul Green’s play *The Lost Colony* (1937). The Raleigh (c. 1552-1618) of history was a talented person; he was a soldier, explorer, writer, a patriot of England and a courtier favored by Queen Elizabeth I. Raleigh was among the politicians who hoped to compete with Spain; as an adventurer, he enjoyed some success but encountered a lot of failures, especially regarding his attempt at colonizing the New World. Green’s Raleigh was a patriot of England, eager to recruit young people to join his project of establishing a colony beyond the sea. This venture, however, proves one of the most serious disasters in English history since the Roanoke colony was lost, and even now, scientists are still trying to solve the mysteries of Roanoke.¹ Long before the English established Jamestown, the first permanent settlement, in 1607, failed European colonies were many; to name a few, Fort Caroline, established by French Huguenots in 1564, the Ajacan settlement, founded by Jesuits in 1570,² and the Roanoke, established in 1587. Paul Green’s play is set in the period when England commenced competition over the sea with the other European powers. With characters taken from history, such as Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603), Walter Raleigh, Ralph Lane (1532-1603), and John White (c. 1540-1593), Paul Green builds this collective memory of the lost colony through Queen Elizabeth I and her circle because “the naval and commercial greatness of England, and the queen’s care and attention” contribute to the tragic result, which includes not only ethnic conflicts between the colonists and the local aboriginals, but also the colonists’ maladjustment to the challenging environment in the eastern coast of America (Creighton 135). Long before scientists in archeology, geology, botany, genetics and meteorology of the twentieth century started to engage in finding the lost people, many historians, artists and cul-

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tural critics had probed into this mysterious event of the American colonial period. In his typical dramatic form, Paul Green (1894-1981) also reconstructs colonial anxiety over environment and conflicts, leaving his audience not only a hope for survivors but also a chance to look into the tragic past in a period of migration. Green's *The Lost Colony* is the longest running symphonic drama and has become a North Carolina legacy since 1937. Each year, the audience of this drama has a chance to revisit the colonial environment; the First Colony Foundation as well as other projects continues sponsoring research regarding the traces of early colonists at Roanoke. In this paper, I will explore how this Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright, Paul Green, commemorates migration in his symphonic drama *The Lost Colony*. By juxtaposing Green's symphonic drama and the life writing of John White and Ralph Lane concerning their experiences in Roanoke, this paper discusses anxieties as related to the colonial venture and management of the environment in early modern English history.

- 108** Green portrays England in the early modern era as a country espoused with venturing spirit and a country with problems of land shortage and the landless poor. In the first act of Green's play, Old Tom, a masterless and homeless man, is driven out by the landlord. He wears "rotting shoes, ragged breeches and tattered doublet" (*The Lost Colony* I.iii. 38); meanwhile, at her court, Queen Elizabeth I encourages Captain Ananias Dare to explore Roanoke, striving for a way of "taming of the wilderness" with "sterner hands" (*The Lost Colony* I.iv. 50). From a historical perspective, early modern England indeed developed some stirring events that promoted national glory, but political conflicts with Spain and the need to find new resources caused accumulating anxieties within the country. As Old Tom, the beggar character in this drama, comments, Queen Elizabeth of England is preoccupied by the Spaniards while Raleigh dreams about the New World (*The Lost Colony* I.iii. 39). Old Tom implies the outcome of the Roanoke Colony. Because of the reflective mode in Green's play, Elizabeth's court on stage becomes a reminiscence of the development of nationalism and mercantile adventures, competition between England and Spain as well as promotion of colonization. However, with the closing of the Antwerp market to English wool, England experienced an economic crisis in the mid-sixteenth century (Lansford 154); developing merchant fleets and establishing strongholds in various areas became national policies of England. The seventeenth century did witness the dramatic expansion of the English empire. Histories note that in the mid-sixteenth century, the commercial center of the world was Antwerp, but when Queen Elizabeth I died, the commercial center of the world was London (Besant 87). Among the explorers of this period, such as John Hawkins (1532-1595), Martin Frobisher (1535-1594), and Francis Drake (1540-1596), Walter Raleigh was another jubilant youth devoted to the English enterprise. He was knighted in 1584. Following his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert (c. 1539-1583) and his colonial imagination, Raleigh dispatched his men, led by Philip Amadas (1550-1618) and Arthur Barlowe (c. 1550-c. 1620), to the outer banks of North Carolina in 1584. Barlowe

produced the first English commercial report about America (Moran 31) and brought back to England two friendly representatives of local tribes, Chief Manteo and Chief Wanchese, and these two Native Americans play significant roles in Green's play.

To represent the British colonial experience in dramatic form, Green basically coheres with historical records related to Roanoke. Except for its last part, quite a few major episodes of the drama respond to John White's journal written in 1590. White's journal reveals his attempt to rescue the colonists he left behind in 1587. With one historian as the narrator and stage manager of the play, the scenes switch back and forth to sixteenth-century London and the Roanoke Colony.

The first attempt of the British to establish a colony at Roanoke Island was in 1585. The island's location is the contemporary Outer Banks of North Carolina. Under the command of Ralph Lane, five ships and two pinnaces set sail (Kupperman 16), with Sir Richard Grenville (1542-1591), Raleigh's cousin, Thomas Hariot (c.1560-1621), and John White among the first explorers. In this first attempt, Thomas Hariot, who learned the Carolina Algonquian language, was responsible for assessing the island's economic potential, while John White was commissioned to make maps and draw the inhabitants and the surroundings of the New World. To the English, Chief Manteo and Chief Wanchese, who visited London, were supposed to help the colonists to settle down on this island, and they did not expect that Chief Wanchese had a disillusion about the "friendship". Eventually the first attempt at colonizing Roanoke was a mass with conflicts with the local tribes, but the second attempt was still approved by the queen in 1587. Guided by Simon Fernandez, a Portuguese navigator, one hundred and seven colonists set out to Roanoke Island with John White, the first governor in the colony. The colonists were mostly of the common peasant class, besides Captain Ananias Dare, John White's daughter, Eleanor Dare, White's assistants, soldiers, and sailors. The settlement was not smooth because of famine; John White went back to England for supplies in 1587. Probably detained by the invasion of the Armada for three years, when White returned to Roanoke with three vassals and supplies, the colony was abandoned, and no traces of the colonists were found, except for a mark, "Croatoan," on a tree. The lost colony was one of the mysteries of American history; in the early twentieth century, Eleanor Dare stones³ were found. Eleanor Dare's story also inspired many writers in the past centuries, such as *Virginia Dare: A Romance of the Sixteenth Century* by E.A.B. Shackleford (1892), *The White Doe: The Fate of Virginia Dare* by Sallie Southall Cotton (1901), *The Tale of the Lost Colony* by John Vytal (1901), *The Daughter of Virginia Dare* by Mary Virginia Wall (1908), *The Lost Colony of Roanoke* by George Leal (2012), and *Roanoke, the Lost Colony* by Angela Elwell Hunt (2013).⁴ Paul Green (1894-1981) was one of them, and his longest-running symphonic drama has been a North Carolina tradition since 1937.

Paul Green's symphonic drama consists of two acts; each act is composed of six scenes. The scenes set in Roanoke and London alternate along the chronological narration of the story. Structurally, the first act represents the first attempted settlement at Roanoke, and it reveals that Fernandes, a Portuguese pirate who entered the ser-

vice of Raleigh, refused to take the colonists further to the continent. The second act deals with imaginary happenings and tragedies thereafter. Green's historiography of the Lost Colony is based on a narrator who assumes the role of a historian to unveil the tragedy at Roanoke, and its prelude refers to 1584, when Raleigh initiated the first attempt at settlement. The colonial discourse is therefore reinforced by intertextualization with documents by John White and his contemporaries. Green's historian character offers an account of the past by weaving slices of the everyday lives of the main characters together with the grand view of the international relationships in the early modern political phenomenon. With the historian and chorus as narrators, the diction used by the characters is analogous to that of early modern England. With allusions to historical elements, Greene projects Roanoke as a place where "once walked the men of dreams," but "the trackless hollow years...swallowed them" (*The Lost Colony* I.i. 32). As Green's historian narrates, fear and anxieties dominated the colonists, and at the end of this drama, some of the colonists chose to abandon the colony.

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The Lost Colony at Roanoke has drawn the attention of many researchers. According to the reports of dendroclimatologists, based on tree-ring chronologies and tree-ring reconstruction, the Roanoke story happened when the most extreme drought in 800 years' span occurred (Stahle 564). This report suggests that "the colonists were expected to live off the land and off trade and tribute from the Indians... But this subsistence system would have left the colonists extremely vulnerable during drought" (Stahle 566). As he uses the chorus to confirm the journey to Roanoke was out of a vision or a fadeless dream, Green inserts motifs related to the environment to reinforce the mode of cultural encounter. Indeed, Green's Scene Two shows that, as the English arrived, Uppowoc, the medicine man of the local tribe, was performing a ritual, asking his god to guarantee the crops and fish plentiful in the months ahead. When the Indian king Wignina expressed his welcome to the group of pioneers, Amadas, a representative of England, took advantage of the opportunity, starting to read the first part of the rolling words on a scroll: "In the name of our most sovereign queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen and defender of the faith; know ye that of her special grace, certain science and mere motion, we do this day..." (*The Lost Colony* I.ii. 37). To reinforce the ignorance of the colonists, Green's historian/narrator continues to read the acclamation, projecting the relentless force lying behind this part of colonial memory:

We do this day take possession of this Island of Roanoke and the lands to the west, south and northward thereof to have and to hold for her and her assigns and successors and for her beloved and trusty servant, Sir Walter Raleigh, under her—forever! In the name of Almighty God—Amen! (*The Lost Colony* I.ii. 37)

This territorial acclamation read by Amadas and the historian-character implies that the inappropriate and imbalanced relationships between the local tribe and the queen's messengers foreshadow tragic conflicts in the years to come. As the plotline

shows, the colonists' management of the environment was first initiated by colonial imagination, misguided by the lapse of understanding the Indian cultures, and then frustrated by severe climate. While the young colonists took pioneer achievement as their national pride, the representative of England, like what is described by Homi Bhabha for the colonial process, interprets the colony from the vision of dominance (*Location of Culture* 122).

Paul Green's colonial memory is a memory of migration and a memory of cultural interaction as well as the issue of identity. The early modern period was an age of knowledge competition, and most European countries created their national myths by envisioning their empires. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, building an empire served as a catalyst for Britons' concern for Englishness; *Vita activa*, or civilizing mission, became the morale for Tudor colonization (Fitzmaurice 21) and consequently a major source for colonial anxiety. The audience of Paul Green finds it interesting that Paul Green incorporates William Shakespeare into his play as a minor character. William Shakespeare (1564-1616) appears in the first act, requesting to join those who are to sail to the "new found land", but Raleigh declines Shakespeare's proposal (*The Lost Colony* I.iv. 55) by persuading him to keep on writing. There is no real proof that Shakespeare really enlisted himself for the venture, but the associations between *The Tempest* and the New World were discussed by quite a few writers, such as Rudyard Kipling (1), Peter Hulme (23-27) and Alden T. Vaughan (49-59). Green's drama echoes the novel written by Denton J. Snider (1841-1925), who represents Shakespeare visiting Francis Drake's ship *The Golden Hind* (94), where he studied an exotic figure sitting on the quay; Franssen assumes that the figure might have become the source for Shakespeare's Caliban (11).

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Green's collective memory represents anxieties in the first encounter between the generous King Wingina and Amadas; these anxieties became the sources of conflicts. As the drama shows, Wingina embraces Amadas and shared with him food, tobacco and ale. Although Wingina's medicine man detected something wrong and violently shook his scepter, his signals were cast away. Then Chief Manteo and Chief Wanchese were to be chosen to visit England, as Amadas suggested; the Indians should acknowledge the sacred crown of England before the queen (*The Lost Colony* I.iv. 52), which suggests the pacification of the indigenous. However, cultural conflicts are immediately shown in a pantomime in the next scene in Roanoke because Wingina was eventually killed by a white soldier. The subsequent scene includes an attack on The Citie of Raleigh by local natives when the English representatives were back in England, leaving fifteen soldiers guarding the fort. As the historian character says, although the soldiers were endangered and attacked, Raleigh still persisted in his colonial dream (*The Lost Colony* I.v. 65). To Raleigh, and armed soldiers in the colony, Chief Manteo and Chief Wanchese should help the English common folks to build their permanent colony, but obviously Wanchese somehow underwent identity formation. As a beggar man, Old Tom was able to express his commentaries upon the contrasts between the discrepancies between the expectations of these colonists

and those of his queen and Raleigh. Green's satirical tone turns to the palace scene in 1584 when ceremonies and feasts were held to welcome tribal representatives from the New World (*The Lost Colony* I.iv. 50).

In the second part of Green's drama, Raleigh's second attempt to secure Roanoke is under preparation, but Raleigh himself was detained by Queen Elizabeth I for the impending military conflict between Spain and England. Green's historian character thus reports that, in 1587, "the colonists get settled, a chapel was restored, buildings were repaired and fields were chopped and ploughed" (*The Lost Colony* II.i. 90). In the first months, the scattered bodies of dead soldiers in the previous conflict were buried, Manteo, who chose to side with the colonists, was baptized as a Christian, and Baby Virginia Dare was born. It seems that Raleigh's city is soon restored from the previous conflict, but the situation of the colonists gravitated, especially when Wanchese turned away from the colonists because of the death of Wingina. Captain Fernandes, who made promises to bring the colonists to the Chesapeake, chose not to follow the original plan, due to the fact he did not want to cause any further conflicts between the English and Spanish. Obviously, Wanchese, who learned English at Raleigh's place, found his brother Wingina had been killed by white men. This tragedy of his brother resulted in not only Wanchese's subjectivity formation, but also his hostility towards the colonists. It is also ironic that the colonists were still envisioning a bright future for the colony.

Similar to the records kept by John White and Thomas Hariot, Manteo is represented in Green's drama as a faithful mediator between the local Natives and the colonists. As the first Christianized Native in the New World and a faithful friend of the colonists, Manteo assisted the colonists to survive during the winter season. In the second act, however, Green's colonists confronted several problems during the first winter, which include the deaths of Manteo and Eleanor's husband Ananias, shortages of food, sickness of the youth, and the departure of John White for further supplies from England. According to Eleanore, John White's daughter, only sixty people remained in the colony but, because of famine, a number of the colonists suggested surrender to the Spanish when they saw the Spanish ships approaching the coastline. "The Spaniard will feed us," was uttered (*The Lost Colony* II.ii. 132), and obviously a mutiny was under formation. Without a stronghold, Borden suggested they should count upon themselves and one possibility was to join Manteo's tribe in Croatoan. At the end of the play, we see a few villagers choose to follow Borden by walking towards the woods:

The tribe—what is left of them—is in despair. Tomorrow they begin moving south back to their home in Croatoan. The game has fled away from the islands, food is scare. A few bushels of corn they had, no more. They could spare none, nor potatoes.... (*The Lost Colony* I.iv. 123-4)

According to David B. Quinn, when John White left for England for supplies, there were still 85 men, 17 women and 11 children in the colony (345-46). When he came

back three years later, the village was forsaken. White felt desperate. There are two major theories of the Lost Colony. One is that these colonizers perished at sea, trying to reach another island suitable for living; and the other theory supports the idea that they were killed or captured by the Spanish, who would not tolerate co-existence of the English and Spanish in the same area (Powell 45-61). Karen Kupperman contends Roanoke was intended to be a base for rest, provisions and privateering, but before the Armada invasion, the Anglo-Spanish war was fought in the Atlantic and therefore caused anxieties for Fernandez and the colonists (3). The colony was lost; besides John White's account of 1590, what remains is the records of the colonists, such as John White's portfolio of paintings and Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), in which White and Hariot classify Carolina Algonquians as civil people who tried to maintain an equilibrium for peace (50). Although Hariot's book seems to be one introducing plants, crops, beasts, and reports about the native inhabitants, their food sources, agricultural methods, life style, political organization and religion, critics seriously doubt the contextualization of communication or translation, because it is almost impossible for Wanchese and Manteo to communicate in English after a short time's learning, especially when they communicated for abstract terms about the land; it was not possible. It is not simple either for Hariot to know the Algonquian language (Chevfitz 182-204; Quinn 12), not to mention the panics caused by diseases. As Hariot mentions:

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There was no towne where we had any subtle devise practised against vs, we leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because wee sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentleness) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euerie such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some townes about twentie, in some fourtie, in some sixtie, & in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers....Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends & especially the *Wiroans Wingina* had obserued such effects in foure or fiue towns to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that wee by him might kil and slai whom wee would without weapons and not come neere them. (28)

John White's report of 1590 recorded that CROATOAN was the only message left. Some chests were found, and three belonged to him, but the things inside were spoiled and books were torn from the covers, pictures and maps rotten, and armor with much rust (318). White explained the possible antagonism of the native people: "This could be no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried" (318). White expressed his distress, looking for traces of his daughter and his people, but he felt glad that at least he found a certain token signifying these people were at Croatoan, "a place where Manteo was borne and the Savages of the Land our friends" (318).

John White and Thomas Hariot could have speculated the possible conflicts between the colonists and the natives, but they probably did not foresee the conflicts

among the colonists when food was scarce. When some voices of surrendering to the Spanish came to action, Old Tom daringly fired his musket at the mutineers, warning them they would get “slave food” instead. Paul Green’s colonial memory thus involves not just pain, suffering, and anxieties over the climate and living environment; the memories still include how the colonists tried to sustain their identities and loyalty to England. With their limited understanding of the environment, they naïvely interpreted the meaning of the “land of freedom” (*The Lost Colony* II.i. 83). Their vision of the New World reflects the writers of accounts of the New World, because they saw it with a “cartographic gaze” and intention of “geographical surveillance” (Koch 1). “Wilderness and desolation...Sir Walter’s great visioning” are Old Tom’s ironic words to describe the hostile environment, but when Wanchese felt the new power threatening his people and awoke from his assigned position of helping the pioneers to establish a colony, he brought his troops, bidding the colonists leave. However, Captain Dare still naively ordered Wanchese’s troops to disperse “in the queen’s name and Sir Walter Raleigh’s” (*The Lost Colony* II.i. 86). The mission to Roanoke Colony results from the empirical age which brought up a trend that promoted navigation and colonial enterprise. John Dee created the terms, “Empire of Albion” and “Imperium Brytainicum,” asserting voyages of discovery were the first strategy to develop a maritime empire. In his *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, “Of Famous and Rich Discoveries” (1577) and “A Brief Remembraunce of Sondrye Foreyne Regions, Discovered, inhabited and Partlie Conquered by the Subjects of the Briytish Monarchie” (1580), Dee affirmed not only economic territorial identities but also the significance of sovereign rights over the realm. Similar to John Dee, Francis Bacon also promotes colonization in his famous works “Plantation” and *Temporis Partus Masculus* (The Masculine Birth of Time). Bacon supported the expansion of England’s territorial expansion and shows his concerns about the imperialist effort that affects the knowledge system and lives of the indigenous (Fitch 125). He says, “I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to the end to plant in other. For else, it is rather extirpation than a plantation” (43). In his *New Atlantis*, furthermore, Bacon creates a wise king for Bensalem, who made an order that Bensalem should stay out of the track of the common world (13).

However, Bacon’s mythical Bensalem never colonized another country. Sarah Irving comments: “Far from remaining to establish a colony, the ships should return and the mariners would be contained from being discovered by the inhabitants whom they encountered” (255). In other words, Bensalem can never get away from cartographical chart of the territory or the “surveillance” of another part of the world. Compared to the fictional story about Bensalem, Ralph Lane’s discourse on Roanoke, entitled *An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the English Men Left in Virginia*, written in 1586 and published in 1589, had already revealed the major reasons for the failure of the Roanoke Colony and the anxieties embedded in the colonists. As Paul Green represents in the drama, the core anxieties of the envi-

ronment result from not only the climate but also pioneers' ignorance and neglect of the aboriginal culture and identity. Namely, they exerted politics of difference upon the culture they do not know:

And now as the music rises in suspended notes, pine branches come moving slowly... Behind them the low stooping forms of Lane and his armed men can be seen. With a wild shriek the medicine man springs to his feet. But it is too late. The soldiers fling down their pine branches and fly at the Indians with drawn swords and a wild cry of "Christ our victory!" (*The Lost Colony* I.v. 65)

In the drama, the death of Wingina paves way for the further conflicts between colonists and the local tribes. As Lane says, an explorer participating in the unsuccessful attempt to colonize Roanoke, that Outer Bank is a disadvantaged location for a colony because of the "treacherous nature" of most tribal groups. Although scientists of climatologists would agree that the hurricanes tend to wash away the shore of the Outer Bank and put the colonists in danger, yet Lane was referring "danger" to Wingina and Wanchese's people, which suggests the later conflicts. I have mentioned earlier Barlowe's picture of the good-mannered people or noble savages (89-94), but in Lane, military confrontation all results from the "fickle nature" of the local tribal groups. Lane blames the brutality of Pemisapan (Wingina) and his followers by narrating that Pemisapan "raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slayne, and part starved by the Chaonists and Mangoaks" (276-77). Both Kathleen Donegan and David Quinn thus take Ralph Lane's "apologia" as a problematic text; according to them, Lane did not provide clear descriptions about the fort, nor the real relationships between Wingina's tribe and the English colonists (288; 244); when Lane stated how he and his men attacked the Indian town out of the revenge or justice, his apologia to the queen is based on his politics of memory by which the conflicts at Roanoke were remembered according to his own interpretation of a culture that they encountered. Therefore, his apologia not only reveals his othering the indigenous, but also exposes his lacking of equitability in the use of guns to confront the local people with bows and arrows:

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The allarum given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slayne with our shot, the rest fled into the woods: The next morning with the light horseman, & one Canoa, taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Serjeant major, I went to Adesmocopeco, and being landed sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and ment to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke...(which was Christ our victory,) and immediately those his chiefe men, and himselfe, had by the mercie of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape... (266-7)

Lane's discourse is a piece of work showing off his colonial gaze and military prow-

ess. The apologia indicates his opponents escaped into the woods, and he narrates his second military encounter in which the leader of the aboriginal tribe was killed:

In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent and the deputie provost undertook him, and following him in the woods overtook him, and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king, and my man by our owne negligence to have bene intercepted by the Savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.
(747)

116 Laurence G. Avery describes Ralph Lane as a man lacking judgment and good will (103), which led to hostility in the cultural encounter. In Lane's report, Wingina changed his name to Pemisapan himself; Lane also blamed that Pemisapan had ordered his people to migrate to the main land in order to put the colonists in starvation (276), and they eventually attacked the colony. In this way, Lane actually confessed that he himself did counter attacks for obscured reasons (271, 287). Speculating Pemisapan would launch an attack upon the colonists, Lane had his men assassinate Pemisapan in 1586, and this Algonquian-speaking leader became one of the first victims of antagonistic encounters between the English and American aborigines.

In Paul Green's symphonic drama, the colonial memory of Roanoke is represented through the colonists' fear and anxiety over the environment of the Island in two parallel acts. In the first act, the common colonists at Roanoke are in need of food, coverings and tangible help from Manteo and his followers; while in the second act of the play, Governor White is represented as an anguish rescuer and father, requesting the queen for ships and more supplies. It is worth noticing that when the colonists were short of food, the queen herself did not allow any ship to leave England during the war against Spanish invasion: "It seems that destiny doth make the choice. Between my England and our Virginia, it favors me.... (Loudly). In this hour no ships shall leave England, large or small. For by the sea we live. To lose it is to perish" (*The Lost Colony* II.v. 105). Green therefore juxtaposes the two scenes. While the queen prepared for the war, the ragged colonists "celebrated" their first Christmas in the freezing weather. As Green's historian character reveals, half of the colonists at Roanoke perish during the first months, a few stay for the Spanish, and a few, led by John Borden, choose to abandon the colony.

In Green's drama, the colonists' sabotage of the colony left behind them those who chose to stay. The rescuers who arrived too late could only return to England with grief, sorrow and irascible pain. According to his report, after John White went back to Roanoke three years later, he could not find any survivors. No specific written message was left but some capital letters on the tree:

[W]e passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high pallisade of great trees, with cortynes [curtains] and flankers very fortlike, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and 5 feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven CROATOAN without any cross or sign of distress...we

entered into the palisade, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron sacker-shot, and such like heavy things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. (318)

Paul Green's colonial memory is a historiography of the colonial past at the Roanoke Colony. Green not only recaptures Lane's paranoiac anxieties of his imperialistic cultural identity, his unwise management of the colony, and his ruling passion to control, but also projects on the stage the anxieties and helplessness of the common folks in the harsh environment. Into the dramatized colonial experience, however, Green imbued optimism or a collective dream, making the drama a life writing of the colonists at Roanoke. Although we are not sure if Green had read John Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina* (1709), Lawson himself narrates that he met the natives on Hatteras Island who claimed that they had ancestors with white skin and grey eyes (68-69), implying that the descendants of the lost colony might have survived the calamities among the aborigines.

The early modern period was explorers' and pirates' golden age, and a time for Europeans to develop transatlantic patterns of colonialism. The Lost Colony at Roanoke is a reminiscence of the trends of settlements, the use of gun powder, the exchange of commodities and domestication of the wild. By projecting colonial anxieties as a piece of memory, Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* reveals a part of the painful history when people were on the move, deluded by false dreams and vain glory.

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NOTES

1. Numerous research studies have been done on the mysteries of the colony. Gordon P. Watts, the director of the Institute for International Maritime Research, reported that "the north end of Roanoke Island has eroded extensively since the sixteenth century. Because of the extent of that erosion, it is possible that the surviving remains of the Raleigh Colony site now lie beneath the shallow waters of Roanoke Sound" (1). David W. Stahle and his team found through tree-ring data that a severe three-year drought in the area of Jamestown probably contributed to the destruction of the lost colony (564-67), etc. See National Humanities Center: Primary Sources in U.S. History and Literature.
2. Fort Caroline was built in 1564 by French Huguenots; the next year, 132 French colonists were massacred by the Spanish (Eggenberger 147). Ajacan settlement, according to Seth Mallios, was founded by Jesuits in 1570. The account of the settlement focused on Don Luis, a young Virginia Indian who served as a translator. Don Luis went to Spain and was supposed to help Spanish colonists. However, due to his identity problem and the troublesome experience, Luis staggered European colonization and eventually Spanish colonists abandoned Chesapeake Bay. See Mallios 2. See also: <<http://www.dmmserver.com/DialABook/978/081/735/9780817353360.html>> (accessed November 25, 2013).
3. "Eleanor Dare stones" are stones found in North Carolina and other states in the US. The inscriptions on them were said to have been left by Eleanor Dare for her father, John White, the governor of Roanoke Island. However, quite a few critics refer to the stones as a hoax. See Roanoke Colony Research Office: <http://www.ecu.edu/rcro/RCRONLvol8NewWebsiteEleanorDare.htm> and Powell 262.
4. Eleanor Dare's story inspired many writers in the past centuries; see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virginia_Dare> and <<http://www.google.com.tw/books?hl=en&lr=&id=DvA0Az4owikC&oi=fnd&pg=PR13&dq=john+white+/+queen+elizabeth+/+roanoke&ots=3of1y4dKY&sig=t9mfNUT>>

dQ_r8Skc-w_6cXiyyQHc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=john%20white%20%2F%20queen%20elizabeth%20%2F%20roanoke&f=false> (accessed January 5, 2014).

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