European Visions: American Voices

Edited by
Kim Sloan
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Notes on Contributors, Abstracts of their Papers and Recent Publications

Janet Ambers is a member of the Science group of the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at the British Museum specialising in Raman spectrometry and radiography.

**Analysis of John White's Pigments**

This paper summarises the results of the recent analytical work carried out on the John White watercolours by the Science group at the British Museum.


Sally Birch was formerly a book editor and has written several non-fiction books. She gained a Cert. HE with distinction in botanical illustration at Cheltenham College in 1999 and has since practised, taught, and exhibited botanical art. She is particularly interested in the work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and his contemporaries. She has recently completed a Dip. A. at the University of Wales (Lampeter).

**Through an Artist's Eye: Observations on Aspects of Copying in Two Groups of Work by John White c. 1585–90**

This paper examines artistic techniques suggestive of copying in drawings attributed to John White, and considers how they might provide evidence of the chronological and derivative sequence of a) corresponding natural history subjects of White and the ‘Sloane Volume’ and b) the ‘Pictish paintings’.

**Publications:** with M. Hill, Cotswold Stone Homes (Stroud 1994).

Ernst van den Boogaart (Private scholar, Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**Serialised Virginia: The Representational Format for Comparative Ethnography, c. 1600**

This contribution presents the Virginia watercolours, now in the British Museum, and the engravings of the True Pictures and Fashions of the People of Virginia, published by Theodore de Bry, as examples of a specific format of ethnographic representation. The format consists of a main series of costume book plates, showing a non-European society as a coherent social structure, and subseries showing specific dimensions of social action within that society. The format is bimedial: the plates were supposed to be elucidated by oral or written comments of reliable informants. In the case of the True Pictures the comments are printed below the plates, the album of watercolours was probably meant to be discussed in the company of knowledgeable viewers. The format encouraged the viewers to immerse themselves in the way of life of the Virginians. In this way it suggested to them a point of view that mediated between the perspective of the indigenous Virginians and that of the future English colonisers. Earlier in the 16th century this type of representation had occasionally been used. Through the True Pictures it became the leading format for ethnographic representation in the printed travel reports of the early 17th century.


Stephen Clucas, Reader in Early Modern Intellectual History, School of English and Humanities, Birkbeck College, University of London

**Thomas Harriot's Brief and True Report: Knowledge-Making and the Roanoke Voyage**

In late 16th-century England the drive towards maritime trade and colonial settlement produced a significant volume of print publications, culminating in Richard Hakluyt’s monumental Principep Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation (1589). It could be argued that the entrepreneurial desires of Elizabethan traders and investors laid the foundations of a ‘knowledge economy’ which was to grow exponentially over the next 200 years, in which the production of knowledge was closely tied to the production of capital. In this paper I consider Thomas Harriot’s A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginea (1588) and the Roanoke voyage as part of such a ‘knowledge economy’. What kinds of knowledge does the colonising process generate? What rhetorical forms does knowledge produced under these conditions take? To what extent does the knowledge produced exceed the requirements of its investors? What does it mean to be ‘employed in discovering’? These are some of the questions which I hope to address and in doing so place Harriot within the context of an energetic mercantile culture of ‘traffique’, ‘settlement’ and ‘discovery’.


Katherine Coombs, Curator, Paintings, Word and Image Department, Victoria & Albert Museum

**A Kind of Gentle Painting: Limning in 16th-Century England**

This paper builds on ongoing research into the art of limning (the use of watercolour) in 16th- and 17th-century England. It considers the rhetoric of limning as a gentlemanly art form,
expressed in an unpublished treatise by the portrait limner Nicholas Hilliard and various publications by Henry Peacham, gentleman. It considers the genealogy of limning, and how throughout the 16th century limning continued as a documentary art form, while at the same time developing as a portrait art. It considers how the rhetoric and practice of limning in 16th-century England can inform us about John White as artist and gentleman.


**Florike Egmond,** Scaliger Institute, University of Leiden


**Michael Gaudio,** Associate Professor, Dept of Art History, University of Minnesota

‘Counterfeited According to the Truth’: John White, Lucas de Heere, and the Truth in Clothing

At the end of the 16th century, John White and Lucas de Heere produced extraordinary watercolor drawings that described in detail the clothing and appearances of various peoples of North America and Europe.

While their work remains a landmark in the history of visual ethnography and anticipates later ethnological efforts to describe and classify nations and ethnicities, this paper considers the work of White, de Heere, and their contemporaries within the context of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, at a moment when clothing was far from a stable signifier of cultural meaning.

**Recent publications:** Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilisation (Minnesota 2008).

**Deborah Harkness,** Associate Professor of History, University of Southern California

**Elizabethan London’s Naturalists and the Work of John White**

This paper explores the possible interconnections between John White and a circle of prominent European naturalists who lived and worked in Elizabethan London. The naturalists included James Cole (the Antwerp-born nephew of Abraham Ortelius), Matthew de L’Obel (the eminent Flemish botanist and author), James Garret (a Flemish apothecary and tulip propagator), Thomas Mouffet (the English physician and naturalist), and Thomas Penny (another English physician and naturalist). Artists such as the Gheeraerts were their neighbours in London, they knew Jacques le Moyne, and they traded pictures and natural objects with Flemish artists on the continent. In addition, this group were on good terms with Carolus Clusius, and were instrumental in sharing New World specimens from the Raleigh and Drake voyages with him for his botanical studies.


**Audrey Horning,** Senior Lecturer in Historical Archaeology, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester

**Past, Present, and Future: Exploring and Restoring Native Perspectives in the Chesapeake**

The historiography of European exploration and settlement of the Chesapeake region of North America has long relied upon ethnohistorical and literary sources, invariably prioritising European perspectives on the process and impact of early modern colonialism. Even the most recent archaeological explorations of historic sites such as Roanoke and Jamestown similarly emphasise what the material evidence suggests about the experiences of the settlers, rather than focusing upon insights into native culture and the character of relations between ‘natives and newcomers.’

Critical re-examination of contact-period archaeology in the region challenges the seeming invisibility of native peoples, provides an important if complex counterpoint to the White representations, and considers the ways in which native peoples endeavoured to direct and control interactions with the European interlopers. Moving from the past to the present, contemporary tribal communities are increasingly seeking greater public recognition as a means of regaining control over their own histories. Acknowledging the disparate perspectives, contributions, and experiences of Virginia’s First People highlights the ambiguities of colonial entanglements and their continuing legacy, in a year dedicated to commemorating the 1607 founding of Jamestown.


**Karen Ordahl Kupperman,** Silver Professor of History, New York University

**Roanoke’s Achievement**

Although Sir Walter Raleigh’s Roanoke did not succeed as a colonial foundation, it made substantial contributions to English comprehension of the Atlantic, both in the design of colonial societies and in understanding American cultures. The partnership of Manteo, the coastal Carolina Algonquian man who joined the colonists, the Renaissance scientist Thomas Harriot, and the painter John White made the record they created uniquely valuable.

**Recent publications:** Roanoke: the Abandoned Colony
Indian Removal, 1500–1850

Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European contact to Recent publications

Huntington Early Modern Studies Institute 
University of Southern California and Director, USC-Huntington Early Modern Studies Institute


Peter Mason, Independent scholar, Rome


Michael Leroy Oberg, Professor of History, State University of New York–Geneseo

Lost Colonists and Lost Tribes 
Roanoke, of course, often has been viewed as the opening chapter in the story of English settlement in America. But what of the Algonquian peoples of the region, who met John White, Thomas Harriot, and the other colonists, who engaged with them in trade and conversation, and who ultimately determined the fate of Raleigh’s colonization efforts?


Stephanie Pratt, Senior Lecturer in Art History, University of Plymouth

Truth and Artifice in the Visualisation of Native Peoples: from the Time of John White to the Beginning of the 18th Century

John White’s drawings are customarily regarded as valuable documents, witnesses of the Indian communities he encountered. Yet, when closely attended to, it is clear that his practice of visualisation reveals a knowledge of European art. His reliance on existing iconography might be called a species of ‘intervisuality’ and sets up an inherent hybridity in such images that is repeated later in other visual representations taken directly from Indian sitters up to the beginning of the 18th century and beyond.

This paper proposes that White’s way of making images indicates that he was not intending to produce exact visual notation, and that his deployment of iconographic traditions was deliberate and purposeful. His impact on artists coming after him was extensive and helped to perpetuate a visual construct standing for the American Indian.

Recent publication: American Indians in British Art, 1700–1840 (Oklahoma 2005)

Karen Reeds, Independent scholar, affiliated with University of Pennsylvania and Princeton Research Forum; Guest Curator, Come into a New World: Linnaeus and America, American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia

Don’t Eat, Don’t Touch: Roanoke Colonists, Natural Knowledge, and Dangerous Plants of North America

Wee had nothing in the worlde to eat but pottage of sassafras leaues (Ralph Lane’s Discourse on the First Colony [of Roanoke], 17 August 1585–16 June 1586).

In narratives of American exploration and colonization, the risk of starvation is a common theme. Linked to it are the themes of eating unfamiliar plants out of desperation, of learning from native inhabitants which plants are safe as food or medicine, and of making educated guesses about which plants might be poisonous. Using examples from Roanoke, Jamestown, New Sweden, and illustrated herbals of the 16–17th century, I consider the ways Europeans discovered toxic properties of North American plants – by warnings from native Americans, by their own unhappy experiences, by analogy to Old World plants, by appeal to medical theory, and by systematic investigation – and the ways that natural knowledge was interpreted and disseminated.


Joan-Pau Rubiés, Senior Lecturer, Department of International History, London School of Economics

Texts, Images and the Perception of ‘Savages’ in Early Modern Europe: What we can Learn from White and Harriot

Historians of early Modern culture have often interpreted the pictorial images of savages as stereotyped dehumanized cannibals, or as stereotyped classicizing figures, as evidence of the limitations of contemporary perceptions of cultural alterity. A common argument suggests that during the first century of the encounter there was either no political will, or no cultural capacity, to perceive ‘the other’ in its difference, and that analogies with antiquity or to various European mythologies were used to domesticate that difference.

However, many of the most influential images were those produced by engravers, famously those by De Bry, and there is a question of the extent to which artistic conventions, rather than cultural perceptions, determined certain iconographic choices. One way of challenging the idea of a ‘denial of alterity’ is to focus on the ways images related to the ethnographic descriptions they sought to illustrate. Another way to contextualize artistic conventions is to compare engravings to
the drawings they followed. The corpus created by John White in ‘Virginia’ offers an exceptional opportunity to combine both approaches in order re-assess the whole historiography.


**Alice Rugheimer,** Senior conservator working in the Western Art on Paper studio in the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at the British Museum.

**Conservation of John White’s Watercolours**
The paper describes and illustrates the process of examining and conserving John White’s watercolours in preparation for the exhibition. The drawings are presented from a conservator’s point of view, as physical objects, and the author discusses what was learned about their current condition and their past treatment, as well as how decisions were made to ensure they would be preserved safely for the future.


**Kim Sloan,** The Francis Finlay Curator of the Enlightenment Gallery and Curator of British Drawings and Watercolours before 1880, Dept of Prints and Drawings, British Museum


**Timea Tallian,** Research Student at the RCA/V&A (Royal College of Art) conservation programme

**John White’s Materials and Techniques**
Timea Tallian is studying Nicholas Hilliard’s materials and techniques using the method of practically reconstructing recipes from his and related treatises. Her talk will cover painting techniques, preparation of pigments, and tools used by John White.

The exhibition *A New World: England’s first view of America* was held at the British Museum from 15 March to 17 June 2007. It provided the first opportunity in more than 40 years to examine in detail one of the greatest treasures of the Museum, 75 remarkable watercolours of the people, flora and fauna recorded by John White on a voyage to ‘Virginia’ (on the coast of present-day North Carolina) in 1585. The exhibition then toured to three venues in the United States: the North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh, NC (20 October 2007 to 13 January 2008); the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT (6 March to 1 June 2008); and the Jamestown Settlement, Williamsburg, VA (15 July to 17 October 2008).

The watercolours by John White (fl. 1585–93) provided the Elizabethan court with its first view of America and its inhabitants – a view that shaped the European perspective for more than 200 years. In the 1580s, John White, a gentleman and artist, accompanied several voyages sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to ‘Virginia’, named in honour of Queen Elizabeth. With Thomas Harriot (1560–1621), a mathematician and navigator employed by Raleigh, they surveyed the land and recorded what they saw, producing a written account and a series of amazing watercolours that documented the voyage. On a brief expedition to the mainland towns of Pomeiooc, Secotan and Aquascogoc in July 1585, he produced a spectacular series of 20 watercolours of the North Carolina Algonquians who lived there and their way of life. Today these watercolours are an incomparable record of America’s natural inhabitants – a view that shaped the European perspective for more than 200 years. In the 1580s, John White, a gentleman and artist, accompanied several voyages sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to ‘Virginia’, named in honour of Queen Elizabeth. With Thomas Harriot (1560–1621), a mathematician and navigator employed by Raleigh, they surveyed the land and recorded what they saw, producing a written account and a series of amazing watercolours that documented the voyage. On a brief expedition to the mainland towns of Pomeiooc, Secotan and Aquascogoc in July 1585, he produced a spectacular series of 20 watercolours of the North Carolina Algonquians who lived there and their way of life. Today these watercolours are an incomparable record of America’s natural resources and native society as they were when the Old and New worlds first met. They were the basis of the engravings produced by Theodor de Bry to illustrate Harriot’s written account in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, published in four languages in Frankfurt in 1590 – the first volume of de Bry’s ambitious 25-volume series of illustrated accounts of voyages now known as de Bry’s *America*.

John White returned from ‘Virginia’ with visions of Paradise, the perfect place for an English plantation in the New World. One hundred and fifteen men, women and children set out in 1587 to found the ‘Cittie of Raleigh’ on the Chesapeake with White as Governor. They were landed at Roanoke with insufficient supplies and White was sent home to obtain assistance; when he finally returned in 1590 the colonists had disappeared and the legend of the ‘Lost Colony’ was born.

The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue also included John White’s costume studies from Europe as well as images of Inuit from Frobisher’s voyages, Florida Indians, and Picts and ancient Britons, all included in the original album with the watercolours of the Virginia voyage. They were examined along with another album of related drawings purchased by Sir Hans Sloane from White’s descendants, in an attempt to explain the presence of these other watercolours and to set White’s work within a European and British cultural and historical context.

What the exhibition and catalogue could not do, for many reasons including physical constraints of space and time, was to present a Native American perspective to these voyages and to White’s watercolours that were the focus of the exhibition. The type of object-based exhibition the British Museum can mount is not necessarily the best medium for such a perspective, which is better explored and presented through the medium of a conference and its proceedings. This publication of the conference held with the brief of exploring these perspectives, along with other aspects of the voyages and their publications that could not be covered in the exhibition, is intended as a first attempt to open up directions that future research and exploration into these areas might take.

In our world of specialists there are few opportunities to look at problems through the eyes of other disciplines, which can often inform and widen our too narrowly focussed views. The first aim of the conference then was to hold an interdisciplinary international academic forum for scholars from the fields of history, ethnography, literature, natural history, art history and economics. All of those invited to speak had recently published new work in their fields with significantly different perspectives. A summary of their recent publications is provided with the author’s description for each paper. In their papers as they appear here, each of them has taken into account relevant comments in the wide-ranging and enlightening discussions that followed their presentations at the conference. And each one has kept in mind the main purpose of the conference, which was to remind the reader that a Eurocentric viewpoint and traditional approach to history are no longer the only viable ones. We must attempt to see in new ways and learn to hear the voices of others through their approaches to their history – oral, ceremonial, ways of living and attitudes to life – through which they view their own history, which is not a separate past but very much a part of the present.

This publication follows the format of the conference, which took as its starting point and basic parameters John White’s watercolours, Harriot’s account and de Bry’s publications, as the exhibition had done. It begins with the Keynote Lecture by Karen Kupperman, which provided a summary of some of the approaches taken in the past and how we might attempt new ones, particularly through the interaction of Manteo and Wanchese with Harriot and the court and the fundamental issue of language. The proceedings are then divided into four parts, each with a brief introduction by the moderator. The first part concerns itself with economic and cultural contexts; the second with natural history; the third with the physical production of the watercolours; and the fourth with their place in American history, then and now, European and Native American. The result is, we acknowledge,
still a very European view, but we hope that it will help to open
doors to future approaches and discussions that recognize that
history doesn’t just consist of events in the past but is
something that is fluid and changes as our ways of viewing it
change and we begin to listen to other voices.

A few further comments on the conference and its
proceedings are required. As mentioned above, there was no
space in the exhibition to begin to really explore the Native
American perspective in a way or the depth it required. It was
not however ignored in the planning and the way that the
exhibition was approached by all concerned in its realization.
In the summer of 2006 the families and chiefs of eight Virginia
tribes visited the British Museum to view the John White
watercolours that were going to go on display and talk to the
curators involved in the exhibition. The visit and their
reflections on the drawings and their importance to their own
history and their lives today were recorded by Max Carocci and
Simona Piantieri. They produced a five-minute video, On the
Traces of Pocahontas (2007), which was shown at the
conference and at the three venues in the United States. It is
available from them through maxcarocci@hotmail.com.

Just as the titles of John White’s drawings vary according to
whether they are taken from the inscriptions, the written
accounts or the de Bry engravings, so the approaches to the
subjects under discussion in the essays vary according to the
author’s interpretation. There has been no attempt to impose
consistency upon either. The whole purpose of online
publication like this is to encourage, rather than close off,
debate. American authors have used US spellings throughout.

Two papers not given at the conference have been added to
the section on the production of the watercolours as they were
particularly appropriate to the proceedings: one was presented
as a lunchtime lecture during the exhibition and the other was
the response of a practising artist to questions raised in the
exhibition and the conference. But there are other areas we
could not explore that we would hope will now become the
subject of other conferences and debates, for example the
questions and issues surrounding Frobisher’s contact and
capture of the Inuit and White’s depictions of them, the issue of
Elizabeth’s plantations in Ireland and how they affected the
perceptions of the people of Ireland and North America, and
the subsequent activities of White and Harriot when they
resided on Raleigh’s plantations in Munster after returning
from Virginia.

Finally, as editor, I would like to acknowledge the work of
several people who have made possible the publication of these
to such a wide audience. Foremost, I thank the authors
for their perceptive contributions to the conference and for
their patience and attention to detail in submitting their
revised papers for publication. I would like to thank Sir John
Elliott whose perceptive and supportive comments were
invaluable. Kirsti Blom took on the task of picture researcher at
short notice and efficiently organized all of the images within
two weeks. I would also like to thank the British Museum
Research Publications editor, Josephine Turquet for her role as
Production editor of the publication. Joyce Chaplin, Christian
Feest and Ute Kuhlemann contributed enormously to the
conference, Ute particularly in the capacity of Conference
Organizer, and all three wrote important new chapters for the
exhibition catalogue but were unable to participate in this
publication. We are very grateful to Morwenna Chaffe who
helped to devise the conference title, and to her and Debbie
Walker and volunteers from the British Museum Friends who
assisted with registration and other matters during the
conference itself. Finally, and most importantly, a very
generous grant from the British Museum Challenge Fund
provided the funds for the conference, including 50 free places
for students, and for the picture research and costs of
reproduction. I would like to convey my sincere gratitude to
them all and to the people who attended the conference and
made their own contributions through their comments.

Notes to the Reader
All the drawings from the British Museum by John White and
attributed to him are in watercolour and body colour over
graphite. The register numbers have been given for each of
them and they can all be viewed in greater detail on the British
Museum online database at http://www.britishmuseum.org/
research/search_the_collection_database.aspx .

1 Kim Sloan, A New World: England’s first view of America, London
and Chapel Hill, NC, 2007; includes contributions by: Joyce E.
Chaplin, ‘Roanoke “counterfeited according to the truth”’;
Christian F. Feest, ‘John White’s New World’; and Ute Kuhlemann,
‘Between reproduction, invention and propaganda: Theodor de
Bry’s engravings after John White’s watercolours’.