

Society and Government in 1558:

Top—nobility, gentry, yeomen, tenant farmers/merchants, professionals, business owners and skilled craftsmen.

Bottom—Landless or labouring poor, vagrants, homeless/unskilled workers and the unemployed.

Patriarchal—male dominated—the husband and father is head of the household.

Elizabeth's Government:

Monarch	Believed to be 'chosen by God' [Divine Right] - could declare war and peace, rule in legal cases, grant titles, lands, money and jobs (giving them patronage)
Secretary of State	Elizabeth's most important Privy Councillor—closest advisor who gave her lots of ideas.
Court	Members of the nobility who are used to entertain and advise the monarch. Courtiers had influence rather than power.
Privy Council	Leading courtiers and advisors, as well as government officials, who meet to discuss current issues and to give the monarch advice.
Parliament	House of Lords/Commons—called and dismissed by Elizabeth—few people could vote—granted money and passed laws.
Lords Lieutenant	Each county had one LL chosen by the monarch—members of the nobility—entrusted with raising and training the local militia and enforcement of policies.
Justices of the	Large landowners who kept law and order—heard county court cases—part of local government.

Problems Elizabeth faced immediately:

Legitimacy—she was the daughter of Henry VIII's second wife, and was the third of Henry's children to become queen. She was also a Protestant, which meant that Catholics didn't accept her—both because she was the child of an illegitimate marriage and a Protestant queen.

Gender and Marriage—Women were generally seen as of a lower status than men, and there was a lot of scepticism about whether a queen could rule properly. She was supposed to get married so as her husband could rule in her stead – despite many suitors (including Philip II of Spain, William of Orange and rich English nobles), Elizabeth failed to marry throughout her reign.

Financial weakness - Elizabeth inherited £300,000 in debt from her predecessor who had waged wars and lost land. She knew that in order to defend England she would need to gain money, but she didn't want to rely too heavily on Parliament.

France— Elizabeth had to sign the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis as a result of losing a war with France in the 1550s. This meant that England lost Calais to France—Elizabeth therefore wanted to take it back. France was also a Catholic country, which was a threat, and furthermore, France was close allies with Scotland, the **Auld Alliance**, and Mary, Queen of Scots' mother was the French Mary of Guise, who had French troops stationed in Scotland.

Religion in England:

The Reformation took place in Europe from about 1517, when people started to challenge the Roman Catholic way of thinking. It arrived in England in 1532, after Henry VIII 'broke' from Rome to divorce his first wife and marry Elizabeth's mother. By 1558, the Reformation was tearing Europe apart, and Protestants were fighting Catholics, particularly in the Netherlands (Protestant), and France/Spain (Catholic).

Catholics (North and West England)

The Pope is head of the Church.

Bible and services in Latin

Church is the intermediary between God and the people.

Priests should wear special clothing (vestments)

Churches should be decorated

Priests cannot marry

Protestants (South and East England)

The monarch is head of the Church

Bible and services in English

People can have their own relationship with God

Priests are not special

Churches should be plain

Priests can marry if they so desire.

Puritans—extreme Protestants who wanted to 'purify' the Christian religion.

Elizabeth's Religious Settlement:

Three main features:

Act of Supremacy— Elizabeth is Supreme Governor of the Church of England. An Ecclesiastical High Commission was established to maintain discipline within the Church and keep the Settlement going.

Act of Uniformity—Established the appearance of the Church and services. Everyone had to attend Church on a Sunday and on Holy days, otherwise they would be fined. Most of the fines were at least a week's pay.

Royal Injunctions—a set of instructions issued that gave instructions about how to worship God. This included all clergy teaching the Royal Supremacy, reporting anyone who didn't attend Church, each parish had an English church, no one could preach without a licence, pilgrimages and fake miracles were banned, and the clergy had to wear special clothing.

Most people accepted the settlement, however, there were some people who disliked them.

The Church of England was the central part of people's lives in Elizabethan England, and the Church would sometimes do some crime and punishment things. There were also visitations which made people follow the rules.

Puritan Challenge:

Puritans wanted more than the Settlement did, and had two main issues—**crucifixes** and **vestments**

Crucifix—Puritans didn't like the idols that the crucifix represented. However, Elizabeth believed that they were important, but after Puritan clergy threatened to resign, the queen backed down.

Vestment—Puritans didn't think that priests should wear special clothing—priests weren't meant to be separate. People tried to get away with it but Elizabeth made them do it.

Catholic Challenge:

The counter-reformation began in Europe which was where Catholics started to fight back against the Protestants.

In 1566, the Pope said that Catholics should not attend Church of England services. Whilst this meant they should be fined, Elizabeth didn't want to create martyrs so didn't punish the recusants too harshly.

The nobility were part of the big Catholic threat—including the Revolt of the Northern Earls.

Spain and France were big Catholic influences who tried to make Elizabeth back down and change her ways.

Mary, Queen of Scots:

Mary, Queen of Scots was a Catholic who had a strong claim to the English throne, particularly as she was Henry VII's great granddaughter. Her mother was Mary of Guise, who was from a very powerful French, Catholic family.

The Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560—Elizabeth helped Scotland's Protestant lords to send Mary of Guise back to France. This was done secretly, because Elizabeth didn't want to provoke the French Catholics. The Treaty of Edinburgh ended the rebellion by saying that Mary, Queen of Scots had to give up her claim to the English throne—Mary never actually signed it.

Her arrival in England—Mary, QoS had married her second husband, Lord Darnley in 1565, and Darnley was murdered in 1567. Mary was suspected in being involved in his murder, and therefore she faced a second rebellion. At this point she had to escape and fled to England, asking for Elizabeth's help against the rebels.

Elizabeth's options:

1. Help Mary regain her throne
2. Hand Mary over to the Scottish lords
3. Let Mary go abroad
4. Keep Mary in England.

Elizabeth chose the fourth one—to keep Mary imprisoned for the rest of her life.

Plots and revolts at home:

Elizabeth faced **four** big threats when she was in charge:

Threat 1—English Catholics—they were increasingly under suspicion after the Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569, and in 1570 the Pope issued a Papal Bull which ordered English Catholics to fight against Elizabeth.

Threat 2—Mary, Queen of Scots—she had a legitimate claim to the throne and tried to depose Elizabeth repeatedly. Mary's French family also formed a Catholic League against Protestantism.

Threat 3—Spain—Philip of Spain was a strict Catholic who wanted to destroy Protestantism. Spain had a big empire in the Americas which was growing, meaning he was very rich.

Threat 4—Dutch Revolt—Philip had persecuted the Dutch Protestants which led to them revolting in 1566. In 1567 a large Spanish army was in the Netherlands, which Elizabeth saw as a threat.

Revolt of the Northern Earls, 1569:

Aim—wanted Catholicism back in England, and to regain their influence in England. They were also upset that Elizabeth hadn't named an heir.

Key players—Thomas Percy, Charles Neville, Thomas Howard, Mary Queen of Scots, Jane Neville and Ann Percy.

Plan—take over England from the North, meet up with the Duke of Norfolk, meet up with Spanish troops, free Mary, Queen of Scots and overthrow Elizabeth.

Actuality—Elizabeth found out about the plot—the Spanish supporting troops didn't arrive, and Elizabeth managed to raise an army. Elizabeth executed 450 rebels, including Northumberland, who was executed publicly. Mary, QoS was not punished. Papal Bull was issued.

Result—treason laws became harsher. Catholics were treated more harshly within England. Papal Bull was issued.

Plot name and date	Context (recent events)	Who was involved?	The basic plan	Outcomes
Revolt of the Northern Earls (1569)	When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne she had been making changes to religion and her court in England. The people of the North were Catholics and did not like these changes.	Mary, Queen of Scots Thomas Percy Charles Neville Thomas Howard Jane Neville	Northern earls would take control of Durham before marching south to join with the Duke of Norfolk, before being joined by Spanish troops. Mary, Queen of Scots would marry the Duke of Norfolk	Treason laws became harsher, the Percy and Neville families lost power in the north, Catholics were treated more harshly and the Pope, Pius VI, excommunicated Elizabeth I.
The Ridolfi Plot (1571)	The Pope had sent out a papal bull which directly ordered Catholics in England to object to Elizabeth. He had also started sending spies to England.	Roberto Ridolfi Mary, Queen of Scots Philip II The Duke of Alba	Murder Elizabeth, put Mary, Queen of Scots on the throne and marry her to the Duke of Norfolk. Get Spanish support from Philip II who had troops in the Netherlands.	The Duke of Norfolk was executed in June 1572, but Mary was left alone. Elizabeth started to worry about Spanish intentions and tried to improve relations with France.
The Throckmorton Plot (1583)	More laws had been passed against Catholics – recusants’ fines went up to £20, and attempts to convert people to Catholicism was made treason.	The Duke of Guise Mary, Queen of Scots Francis Throckmorton Philip II The Pope	The French would invade England, free Mary, overthrow Elizabeth and restore Catholicism in England, with Spanish financial support.	The threat of foreign invasion became even bigger, and fear of the ‘enemy within’ was real. Life became even more difficult for Catholics within England and many fled.
The Babington Plot (1586)	The Catholics were either fleeing England or being treated badly and they were still trying to worship in secret.	The Duke of Guise Philip II The Pope Anthony Babington Mary, Queen of Scots	Murdering Elizabeth, encouraging Catholics to rebel, alongside an invasion from the Duke of Guise with 60,000 men, support from Philip II and the Pope.	Mary, Queen of Scots was finally tried by the Privy Council and found guilty – later being executed. It was now clear that the Spanish and English relations could never be repaired.

Mary, Queen of Scots’ Execution

Mary wasn’t executed until 1587, despite being involved in multiple plots to kill Elizabeth. A new act of Parliament was passed in 1585, which was the Act for the Preservation of the Queen’s Safety, which meant that a) Mary couldn’t become queen, and b) Mary could be investigated and found out about. Walsingham gathered enough evidence to find Mary, Queen of Scots guilty, and whilst Elizabeth was reluctant to execute her cousin, when she realised that Philip II was considering invading, she had to make the decision.

Walsingham and his spy network:

Walsingham was Elizabeth’s Secretary of State from 1573, and he developed a network of spies and informers in England and abroad. He was able to find out lots of information from France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Algeria and Turkey. He was also able to use ciphers to hide his communication, and would capture Catholic priests to get ideas about plots that were coming on. He didn't believe in the use of torture, unless it was a supremely serious case.

Elizabeth's Foreign Policy aims:

- Developing and improving trade to improve the English economy
- Protecting England's borders
- Protecting the English throne
- Avoiding war

Commercial Rivalry:

English merchants began to explore the New World to try and improve trade, however, Spain controlled both the Netherlands (the main route into European trade) and then much of the Americas (where all the tobacco, sugar cane and silver were). This led to conflict with Spain, with merchants illegally trading and attacking Spanish ports and ships.

Francis Drake:

An English merchant who became one of Elizabeth's privateer—he made her lots of money. However, he also upset the Spanish, stealing lots of silver from the Spanish ships. After 1577, he was sent off to South America and bring back gold, silver and spices, as well as secretly attacking Spain's colonies. By the end of 1580, Drake was the first person to **circumnavigate** the globe. He plundered Spanish ports and ships, as well as claiming **New Albion** in North California for Elizabeth I. He brought £400,000 worth of Spanish treasures back to Elizabeth, who rewarded him by knighting him on the deck of his ship, the **Golden Hind**.

Political and religious rivalry:

Catholic Spain saw Elizabeth's religious settlement of 1559 dangerous, and her refusal to marry him also upset their political alliance. However, the Franco/Spanish rivalry was good for Elizabeth because if they couldn't get on, they wouldn't attack Elizabeth.

In 1567, the Spanish sent the Duke of Alba and his army to stamp out Protestantism in the Netherlands, which caused alarm amongst Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, who demanded she did something to help. Elizabeth was reluctant to do it openly, as that might provoke war with the Spanish, however, she tried to pressurise Philip II in other ways:

- Indirectly helping Dutch Protestants resist the Spanish
- Encouraging English privateers to attack Spanish ships and colonies
- Pursuing friendly relations with France (including offering a marriage alliance to the heir to the French throne—the Duke of Alençon.
- By encouraging others to fight the Spanish in the Netherlands.

Spanish Fury and the Pacification of Ghent:

By 1576, the Spanish government in the Netherlands was bankrupt. The Spanish forces in the Netherlands mutinied and sacked Antwerp in November 1576—the Spanish Fury. This violence united the Dutch provinces against the Spanish, causing them to draw up the Pacification of Ghent, which demanded that Spanish troops left the Netherlands, a restoration of political autonomy, and an end to religious persecution. This was agreed by Don Juan, Philip's brother, in February 1577.

This only lasted six months, however, as Philip sent a new army to fight the Dutch. Elizabeth hired a mercenary, John Casimir to help the Dutch, however Casimir's forces devastated Catholic churches, which meant that the Dutch Catholics made peace with the Spanish. The Privy Councillors continued to push for Elizabeth to intervene, but she didn't want to do this. As a result, the French helped the Catholics, and then in 1579, the Spanish sent the Duke of Parma, who beat the Netherlands down.

The Duke of Alençon asked for help in October 1581, and Elizabeth promised to give him £70,000 to help support in the Netherlands, but, she still didn't give enough help, and in 1582, the Duke returned to the Netherlands, failing and then returning to France in 1583.

This got worse in 1584, as the Duke of Alençon died, and then one month later, William of Orange, the Protestant rebel leader was assassinated. Elizabeth still wouldn't intervene, so as a result, at the end of 1584, the French Catholic League signed the **Treaty of Joinville** with Philip II to try and rid France of Protestants.

Elizabeth gets directly involved:

In June 1585, Elizabeth was offered the sovereignty of the Netherlands. She refused this so as not to provoke Philip II, but she did sign the **Treaty of Nonsuch** in August 1585, which meant that Elizabeth intervened directly in the Netherlands, putting England and Spain at war.

England financed 74,000 troops under the command of Robert Dudley, and whilst that was happening, Drake was raiding the Spanish New World. Elizabeth wasn't particularly successful in the Netherlands because she didn't give Dudley enough money. However, Dudley also accepted the title **Governor General of the Netherlands**, in January 1586, which angered Elizabeth as it implied she was deposing Philip II as king of Netherlands. Alongside this, in the summer of 1586, English forces couldn't push the Spanish back. A defection and loss of fort made life even more difficult, and when Dudley was called back to England in November 1586, before being sent back, he didn't have enough men. The only good thing he did was stop the Duke of Parma from taking a deep-water port.

The campaign failed for three main reasons:

1. Elizabeth was never fully behind the rebels—never giving them enough money
2. Dudley and Elizabeth had different aims—Dudley wanted to liberate the Netherlands and make it independent, where Elizabeth wanted to return it back to how it was in 1548
3. The Dutch leaders didn't trust Elizabeth due to her lack of commitment.

Drake singes the King of Spain's beard, 1587

Spain had been preparing an invasion fleet from January 1586, so on the 19th April 1587, Drake sailed into Cadiz harbour and destroyed 30 ships and a lot of different provisions.

He also attacked the coast of Portugal, as well as harassing Spanish treasure ships. This caused the Spanish to delay building the Armada to defend themselves, giving Elizabeth time to prepare for the Armada.

Why did Philip II launch the Spanish Armada?

Religion—Philip wanted to get rid of heresy, the Pope had said to Catholics that it was their duty to overthrow Elizabeth I, also promising to forgive the sins of those who took part in the war, as well as backing Catholic plots against Elizabeth.

Politics—Treaties of Joinville and Nonsuch, as well as a desire to add England to his empire.

Provocation—Drake had been attacking Spanish ships, and Elizabeth I supported Dutch rebels against the Spanish rule.

Circumstances—Spain acquired Portugal in 1580, the Duke of Parma had great success in the Netherlands and Elizabeth was hesitant, meaning she could be beaten (in theory).

Strategy—the Armada was the biggest fleet ever seen, with 130 ships, 2431 guns and around 30,000 men—they were going to go along the English Channel to the Netherlands, where they would join up with the Duke of Parma and his army, which would transport 27,000 troops to Kent, before marching on London, deposing Elizabeth and making England Catholic.

How did the English defeat the Spanish Armada?

English ship design—Galleons were designed which were smaller and quicker—the cannons were mounted on smaller gun carriages which meant it could be reloaded quicker. However, there were only 24 of them.

Spanish supplies—the Armada didn't have great supplies because of the barrels—the wood was of poor quality, due to the fact that Drake had destroyed lots of them when he singed the King of Spain's beard. There were also shortages in other supplies, like cannonballs.

Planning and communications—the Duke of Parma did not control any deep sea ports, which meant that it would take 48 hours to load men and set sail when the Duke of Medina Sidonia reached the Netherlands. Furthermore, communications were slow, which meant that Parma was not ready for Sidonia when he arrived.

English tactics—the Armada was spotted on the 29th July in the English Channel—the English set sail two days later and captured two Spanish ships, but tended to stay away from the Spanish ships, just harrying them down the Channel. This meant that the Duke of Medina-Sidonia could not stop at the Isle of Wight to send messages to the Duke of Parma. On the 6th August, the English sent fireships into the Spanish fleet, which wreaked havoc by scattering the Armada. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia couldn't pick up the Duke of Parma's army, so when they were engaged at the Battle of Gravelines, on the 8th August 1588, which meant that the Spanish ships were scattered by the winds—more damage was done by the rocks at the top of Scotland than died to the English cannons.

Consequences of the Victory:

Elizabeth looked really strong—gave her a lot of propaganda.

England looked really strong and encouraged the Dutch rebels

The English navy was strong enough to trade and explore more powerfully.

The Spanish lost money and power and marked the beginning of a long decline in Spanish fortunes.

Education:

Attitudes—there was no national system, but it was becoming more valuable, although it still represented the social hierarchy. It was all designed for people to be prepared for the life they were expected to lead—practical skills and occasionally basic literacy. Mostly boys received the education.

New influences—humanists believed that learning was important in its own right. They studied work of ancient philosophers and mathematicians to develop a better understanding of the world. Protestants also believed that all Bibles should be in English, which encouraged more people to become literate.

Nobility—children of nobility learned a variety of subjects, which was aimed to make them seem as highly educated as Elizabeth—including Latin, Greek, History, Philosophy, Government and Theology. They also learnt music, dancing, needlework, horse riding and archery (girls), and horse riding, archery, fencing, swimming, wrestling and other sports (boys). Children would then be sent to another noble household to finish their education.

Grammar schools—this was developed during Elizabeth's reign—42 being founded in the 1560s, and 30 more in the 1570s. They were designed for boys who were intelligent and came from well-off families. Fees were required, but lower class boys could attend for free if they showed aptitude. Long days with focus was Latin (Greek/French) and ancient, classical historians, philosophers and writers like Plato/Aristotle/Virgil and Seneca, as well as archery, chess, wrestling and running. There was a great emphasis on rote learning.

Discipline and punishments—exclusion, break time being lost, corporal punishment, being 'on report' and expulsion.

Merchants and craftsmen—alternate curriculum run which showed more practical academic subjects like English, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography.

Skilled craftsmen and yeomen—grammar schools available, although they would be apprenticeships. School not being compulsory meant that a child's education depended upon how much their parents valued education

Petty schools—set up and run in a teacher's house—cost a lot and were taught Reading/Writing and Arithmetic.

Schools for girls—girls didn't often go to school—if they did they would attend a Dame school. Women were never expected to do anything, only just to preserve food, bake, brew, sew and treat simple ailments and injuries.

Labourers and poor children—having the kids around the house or farm were more useful than going to school—they needed the income.

Impact:

Around 30% of men and 10% of women were literate at the end of the reign, compared to 20% men/10% women at the beginning, suggesting that boys education improved, whereas women's didn't.

Universities were set up in Oxford and Cambridge, and you could learn to Geometry, Music, Astronomy, Philosophy, Logic and Rhetoric, as well as Medicine, Law and Divinity.

Leisure:

Participation in leisure—nobility—hunting on horseback, hawking, fishing, fencing, real tennis

Participation in leisure—working class—football

Spectator sports—baiting (bear or bull), cock-fighting

Pastimes—literature (lots of new things written, theatre (mystery plays, secular plays, theatres being built), music and dancing

The Problem of the poor:

Who were the poor (those who had to spend 80% of their income on bread)?

Not being able to work meant a life of poverty—unemployment and illness led to starvation. Society was concerned with those who were poor enough to need financial help (poor relief) or charity (alms), or who begged and were homeless. They were also concerned with itinerants.

Why did poverty increase?

Population growth—England's population grew by as much as 35% - the town populations more so—urban population needed food but they didn't grow any themselves. As a result of this, there was a shortage, meaning that price of food rose.

Rising prices—when harvests were bad, prices rose further—grain prices more than anything else. Poverty also increased as wages didn't rise as fast as prices.

Sheep farming—wool and woollen cloth was the majority of the exports during Elizabeth's reign, meaning that farming sheep was profitable—much better than allowing your land to be used for crops. That meant that sheep farms took over the 'common land', as well as required less labourers to look after them. This meant that prices for food went up as the food wasn't being grown anymore.

Enclosures—meant replacing large open fields which were farmed by villagers to individual fields farmed by one land. This happened because it meant that they could crop rotate, do arable and animal farming and leaving fields fallow. This unfortunately meant that small farms were merged, tenant farmers were evicted, and unemployment and rural depopulation happened. It also meant that fewer labourers were needed, and people lost their sources of income. Additionally, land values and rents cost even more, meaning some people who used to be able to afford it could no longer do so.

Why did vagabondage increase?

Vagabonds were homeless people who roamed the countryside begging for money and lived outside of the law. This meant that they needed dealing with, as they were seen as a threat to society.

Changing attitudes and policies towards the poor:

Impotent and able bodied poor—could get poor relief which was paid for by the poor rate. Tudor people were sympathetic to those who deserved it, however they had no sympathy for able bodied or idle poor. Vagrants faced whipping and imprisonment if they were caught.

1563—Statute of artificers:

Aimed to ensure that poor relief was collected.

Meant that anyone who refused to pay the poor rate could be imprisoned, and if officials failed to organise poor relief they could be fined.

1572—Vagabonds Act

Aimed to deter vagrancy

It meant that vagrants should be whipped with a hole drilled in their ear—imprisoned for a second offence and executed for the third. It also established the national poor rate, made JPs keep a register of the poor and made towns and cities responsible for finding able

1576—Poor Relief Act

Aimed to distinguish between impotent and able-bodied poor.

It meant that JPs had to provide able bodied poor with raw materials to make things to sell, and then anyone who refused that could be put in prison.

Elizabethans and the rest of the world:

Elizabethans had an urge to explore for a number of reasons, including: expanding trade opportunities—the Americas, and the triangular (slave) trade; for a sense of adventure and exploration; improvements in technology (including astro-labes and quadrants); improved maps; and improved ship design (larger, more stable and manoeuvrable ships with better firepower).

Between December 1577 and September 1580, Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe. This had the effect of cementing England as a great sea-faring nation, as well as encouraging others to become explorers. He also found an area of modern-day California, known as Nova Albion, which he made it as part of Elizabethan England, and encouraged new colonies in America. Finally, Drake's actions provoked and upset the Spanish.

Walter Raleigh and Virginia:

Sir Walter Raleigh was a courtier of Elizabeth I and was given a grant by Elizabeth I to explore and settle the lands in North America. He didn't lead the colonists, but he did organise the trip.

In 1584, some British men went to Virginia on a fact finding expedition—they found that they could barter tin utensils and metal knives for food with the Native Americans, and the trip also returned with two Native Americans— Manteo and Wanchese, who taught people their language and helped the English colonists to create contact with the Algonquian people.

Raleigh eventually raised enough funds for his expedition in 1585, and planned to take 300 colonists with a variety of skills and with enough supplies to get across the Atlantic and last until the harvest.

The three men that Raleigh sent were Richard Grenville (who was the expedition commander), Ralph Lane (who became Governor of Raleigh) and Thomas Harriot (who worked with the Native Americans and made maps)

However, they sent the ships too late—they missed the time for the harvest which meant that they couldn't plant crops. Many of the colonists were ill before they arrived, and one of the ships lost almost all of the food it was carrying. At this point, the colonists were reliant upon the Native Americans for food. This, coupled with the fact that what they found on the island was not what they expected, meant that the volunteers began to become disenchanted. As time went on, this turned to arguments and problems as they couldn't hunt, struggled to build shelters, and eventually upset the Native Americans as they couldn't provide the English with everything they needed. This turned violent, and the colonists left Virginia, arriving back in Portsmouth on 27 July 1586.

Roanoke 1587-90—a second attempt at colonisation occurred, with Manteo being made Lord of Roanoke and the colonists coming from the poorer backgrounds, meaning they were willing to work. However, the Indians were hostile from the start and many of the colonists were killed in fights. When John White returned to Roanoke in 1590, the entire settlement was deserted. No trace of the colonists was ever found.