

2023

Women In The Records Of The Virginia Company Of London

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<https://dx.doi.org/10.21220/s2-h26h-yw08>

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Women in the Records of the Virginia Company of London: The Court Book

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of
The College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Harrison Ruffin Tyler Department of History

College of William & Mary
May 2023

APPROVAL PAGE

This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts



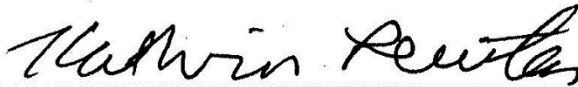
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ABSTRACT

My thesis presents women from the Records of the Virginia Company of London, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906, Library of Congress online.

During the 1619-1624 years of the records' Court Book, Lady Lawarr, widow of Virginia's first governor named by the Company, was important in distributing Virginia Company shares. Lady Lawarr worked, usually with an agent, to transfer shares from Lawarr's estate to diverse people. Women had surprising agency in dealing with the Company, but there were some limits. There were delays in implementing grants for compensations. Some women worked with agents to get property owed to them. Petitions filed in Virginia during the migration considered women's own interests and deceased husbands' property. Small as well as large sets of land shares were distributed.

Although the colony saw scarcity and dissension during 1619, transactions in Court generally proceeded according to expectations. Women were treated as valid transactors and complainants, although they sometimes worked with agents and sometimes did not achieve the specific results they hoped for. Women sometimes petitioned for their husbands' interests. Men sometimes petitioned for interests of female as well as male family members. A November 3, 1619, proposal to bring to Virginia 100 young women to marry residents was intended so that residents would not want to leave the colony. After the initial settlement of women, the migration idea continued to appeal. The City of London and some livery company guilds supported colonization, although Court records show some strategic hesitation comparing costs of raising apprentices in England with the costs of sending young people abroad.

November 15, 1620, the City's continuing support of colonization benefits to individuals was adapted after there were complaints that the young migrants received too generous terms. The City did ask the Court to provide funds toward the migrants' care and travel. After the large group of women and girls was sent to Virginia, bringing or taking wives to Virginia became somewhat common. For example, the Court learned June 13, 1621, that an apothecary would bring himself and his wife, paying transport himself, if the Company would transport two Children. July 16, 1621, a joint stock company was proposed for the subscription roll for sending women to Virginia to become wives.

Governance was important to the colonists. They filed many petitions, and discussion of these generally appeared in Court records. Among the proposals was one to consolidate land and call it Mayds Towne. One conflict about the money to be paid to children brought to Virginia, settled at five marks rather than five pounds each, reflects a broader ambivalence about colonization. Women brought to Virginia came to a colony moving toward tobacco dominance in agriculture. Lady Lawarr's dealings interacted with those of Henry Rolfe, brother of John Rolfe, who had been married to Pocahontas before she died. Religion was a significant part of colony formation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This writer wishes to express her thanks to James P. Whittenburg, William E. Pullen Professor, History, for his patient help and for his insights about structure and contents of the M.A thesis. He suggested the Lady Lawarr, Shipment of Brides, and Apprentices chapter topics. The writer also thanks Kathrin Levitan, Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, History, for her thoughtful reading and help in the M.A. program. She thanks Nicole Dressler, Senior Lecturer, History, for her inquiries and encouraging comments,

Dedication

This M.A. is dedicated to the memory of my mother, who helped me in many ways.

Introduction

This thesis presents a selection of records from the two-volume Court Book (1619-1624) within The Records of the Virginia Company of London, and it offers analysis of these records. Mr Treasurer, Edwin Sandys, proposed on May 12, 1619, that “there might be another Committee for the constituting of Lawes and settling of a forme of Gouverment ouer all Virginia, appointing Magistrates and Officers therevnto, and expressing their seuerall duties.”¹ Governance was a major concern for early Virginia. Sir Thomas Smythe, the joint-stock Company’s first treasurer or head officer, who had been a merchant and investor in several companies, initially had been in charge of the court books.²

The four-set of Virginia Company records was published in 1906, the year Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* was published and the year of the San Francisco earthquake. Also, in 1906 the National Monuments Act was passed, preventing mining, drilling, logging, and grazing on identified sites except for activity already established.

The first two volumes of the Company records report court proceedings of individuals’ disputes, which reveal family, organizational, and cultural associations within the Virginia colony from 1619 to 1624, when the king dissolved the Company and turned Virginia into a royal colony. The Court Book also recorded colony policy making, decision making, and planning. The third volume reports “official acts of the council in Virginia and includes

¹ *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. and intr. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, IA, May 12, 1619. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1906. 316.

² Susan M. Kingsbury, “Introduction,” *Records of the Virginia Company of London* (RVC), edited by Susan Myra Kingsbury IA, 11-117, 25. Brendan Wolfe, “Sir Thomas Smythe (ca. 1558-1625),” *Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities*, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/smythe-sir-thomas-ca-1558-1625/>.

commissions, proclamations, orders, laws, letters to and from the council in London, and petitions to the governor and council in Virginia.”³ The fourth volume shows the later-stage efforts to keep tobacco from dominating planting and processing while nevertheless responding to trade interest and raising up Virginia’s tobacco trade. This volume also contains “the official papers of the Governor, Council and Assembly of Virginia.” Among these papers are “letters to and from the officers , , , commissions issued, orders declared, petitions granted, warrants for elections, statements of condition of the colony,” and information about the “history of the plantation.”⁴

A system for developing a plantation by “private investment” or by “royal patronage” appeared a year before the company’s grant of a charter.⁵ Evidence of “individual effort” like that in the cultural shift at the end of the middle ages “was especially prominent in the movement in 1608 for a society of adventurers to trade in Virginia.”⁶ The time context of the Court Book is later, 1619-1624, when conflicts and pressures of survival burdened the spirit of the company, and policy interactions were sometimes more mundane. However, terminology of adventure remained.

Susan Myra Kingsbury, editor of the Records, was a native of San Pablo, close to Berkeley. She received an A.M. in sociology from Stanford and a Ph.D. in colonial economic history from Columbia. She taught history and economics at Simmons College.⁷ The Company Records have been, according to Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University, “regarded as

³ Susan M. Kingsbury, RVC III, “Preface,” viii.

⁴ Kingsbury, RVC IV, “Preface,” v-vi.

⁵ RVC IA, “Introduction,” 17.

⁶ RVC IA, “Introduction,” 11.

⁷ “Susan Myra Kingsbury.”

among the most precious manuscript treasures . . . within the United States.”⁸ Publishing the Records would, according to the Librarian of Congress, Herbert Putnam, and Division of Manuscripts chief Worthington Chauncey Ford, reduce potential harm to the materials, let researchers outside Washington gain access, and promote “detailed and continuing study.” Also, publishing would help scholars get past “the difficult chirography of the original.”⁹

Brendan Wolfe in the *Encyclopedia Virginia* explains the connection of Virginia’s Court to the Council of the Virginia Company. In 1606 King James I established the charter for a joint-stock colonial company that was the Virginia Company of London. His Majesty’s Council for Virginia had 13 investors whom the king had appointed. They had taken oaths to work toward his agenda. The group formed a council of seven men to take care of Company directives in Virginia. The president of the Council elected did not have enough political power, and in 1609 the king set up Sir Thomas Gates as governor. In 1607 the colony centered at Jamestown. The financially stressed Virginia Company of London, also held down by conflicts with Indians, in 1609 wanted new order. A royal charter from May 23, 1609, diminished the king’s role. Those who financed the Company chose Sir Thomas Smythe as treasurer. They also chose members of the Council. The council members acted under possibility of veto by the king and had to take an oath of loyalty. The Council had 50 members by 1609. One was the Lord Mayor of London. The financiers met each week in a Court and Assembly, which handled ordinary decisions. There was also a Great and General Court to meet each quarter. This Court “elected councilors and company officials, considered trade issues and land grants, and issued company and colony laws.”¹⁰ Thus, the Court Book part of the Records of the Virginia Company of London contains

⁸ Osgood, RVC I, “Preface,” 5.

⁹ Putnam and Ford, RVC IA, 3, “Note.”

¹⁰ Wolfe, “Virginia Company of London,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*.

legal, policy, and financial records as well as more ordinary matters. The published records begin in 1619 and end in 1624, when the Company was dissolved.¹¹ The nature of the Court Book's content, disputation, inherently often results in a negative tone. The inclusion of policy discussion balances the disputes with more aspirational discourse and decision. Initially, the Court met in London.¹² Later, the Court also met in Virginia. The General Assembly in 1619 gathered together from July 30 to August 4 in the new church building at Jamestown. James Horn notes that this was "the first gathering of a representative governing body anywhere in the Americas"¹³ Several scholars have drawn from the court records, although fewer than those who have used the more generally descriptive records.

Sir Edwin Sandys in 1618 helped to create the "Great Charter," which set up Virginia's representative General Assembly. In 1616 Sandys had been chosen as an assistant, a director, of the Virginia Company. The Company's second charter, in 1609, had shifted control from the king to a governor chosen by the colony's council. Sandys brought about 4,000 people over the Atlantic during five years beginning in 1619, although he could not convince the colonists to plant diverse products including mulberry trees for silkworms. They were captivated by foreign tobacco markets. There were so many deaths in the colony, especially from a 1622 conflict with indigenous people, that the population was only a few hundred more in 1624 than in 1618. Sandys arranged a Virginia tobacco monopoly through the 1622 Parliament.¹⁴ Sandys was elected treasurer, leader of the company, at a court meeting April 28, 1619.¹⁵ In conflict with the

¹¹ Craven, "Dissolution," 14-15.

¹² RVC IA, April 28, 1619, 211; May 26, 1619, 218-19.

¹³ Horn, Jamestown, 1.

¹⁴ Rabb, Sir Edwin Sandys.

¹⁵ RVC IA, 212.

king, Sandys withdrew from leadership as treasurer on June 28, 1620 but continued as an auditor.¹⁶

Historian Wesley Frank Craven in 1931 proposed that considering Virginia the “First Republic in America” instead of “the earliest of English experiments in colonization,” and that early colonial Virginia factions led into the English Civil War were questionable ideas. As a result, the “interference of the government and the subsequent dissolution of the company in 1624” tend to receive explanations that are too simple. The “Patriot” party supported populist interests, with the Court party including Thomas Smith in opposition. Craven sided with scholars who offered an economic more than a political explanation of the conflict.¹⁷

Women appear as early as November 3, 1619, in the Court Book. The idea that men were in Virginia “to gett something and then to returne for England” included thinking that this would “breed a dissolution, and so an ouarthrow of the Plantacon.”¹⁸ Sir Edwin Sandys continues with the goal that “a fit hundredth might be sent of woemen.” “These woemen if they marry to the publiq farmers, to be transported at the charges of the Company; If otherwise, then those that takes them to wife to pay the said Company their charges of transportation.”¹⁹ In addition to fearing revolution, Sandys feared hunger in the Colony, judging from the focus on farmers.

My study focuses on social, economic, and legal interactions in the context of transactions and institutions of the Virginia Company of London. My primary source materials are almost entirely from the Court Book, volumes I and II, of the Company records.

¹⁶ “Sandys.”

¹⁷ Craven, “Dissolution,” 14-24.

¹⁸ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 256.

¹⁹ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 256-57.

I explore the Court Book records of the Virginia Company in three chapters. The first chapter focuses on Lady Cecily Lawarr, who was a financier and had married Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, the first to be named governor of Virginia. West died under unusual circumstances, on his return to Virginia in 1618. West and Shirley Hundred, planted early, is thought to have been named for Thomas West and his wife, Cecily Shirley.”²⁰ Historian E. M. Rose includes some information on Lady Lawarr in his essay on Thomas West.²¹ Little is published on Lady Lawarr, who disbursed West’s shares in transactions over several years to a wide variety of men. The Company brought young women to be wives, hoping to create a stable settlement. This shows the “future discounting” perspective that Willie Graham, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg find in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. At the present time, goods are considered according to value they would have in the future. Tobacco production was more popular than uncertain planting and processing of other crops. These scholars pair this theoretical context with “signaling theory,” related to “conspicuous consumption and symbolic capital.” Colonists became interested in structures, such as brick buildings, that were easily recognized as expensive.²²

My second chapter explores the shipment of women to be brides. Two essays by David R. Ransome present information and context about how women were shipped to Virginia. November 3, 1619, the Court Book lists plans proposed to give the plantation a more prominent image²³ after there were arguments July 21, 1619, about accounting for people, finances, and

²⁰ Billings, “Thomas West.”

²¹ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 226-258.

²² Graham, Hudgins, Lounsbury, Neiman, and Whittenburg, “Adaptation and Innovation,” 455-56.

²³ RVC IA, 255.

strategy.²⁴ Plans turned to “mass export of people to America” and away from “importing of easily realized wealth from across the ocean.”²⁵ About 60 percent who went to Virginia were aged 18 to 21, states Ransome. Most were living around London or were related to Londoners around the time of transit.²⁶ Ransome, who draws on the *Records of the Virginia Company*, counters the view that the colony did not attract settlers skilled to work²⁷ Colonists financed by the City to be apprentices had property rights as well as labor obligations. The member of the Company’s Council who was the lord mayor of London²⁸ likely influenced the strong although varied relation of the City and the Company.

My third essay explores apprentices and indentures in the colony. Mark R. Snyder explains that an apprentice is a person under an indenture agreement who “work[ed] for a master craftsman in return for instruction in a specific trade and, formally, support.”²⁹ The Virginia Company took over to Virginia the English practice of “servants in husbandry,” males and females usually 13 to 25 years old living and working with their masters, usually on yearly contracts, David W. Galenson states. This was because the Company had a hard time bringing labor continuously.³⁰ The practice of apprenticeships was rooted in English law, and historian Warren M. Billings links colonial apprenticeship back to the 1563 Statute of Artificers. He explains that “an indenture was a form of deed understood as “a ‘covenant merely personal,’ a written ‘consent of two, or more, to one thing, to give somewhat . . . or to serve.’”³¹

²⁴ RVC IA, 251.

²⁵ Kupperman, 108-09.

²⁶ Ransome, “Wives for Virginia,” 11, 12, 13, 15.

²⁷ Ransome, “Shipt for Virginia,” 458.

²⁸ “Virginia Company of London,” Encyclopedia Virginia.

²⁹ Snyder, “Education of,” 65-66.

³⁰ Galenson “Rise and Fall,” 3-6.

³¹ Billings, “Law of Servants and Slaves,” 46.

One conflict about the money to be paid to children brought to Virginia, settled at five marks rather than five pounds each, reflects a broader ambivalence about colonization. Some thought that “children could be placed as easily as ”Apprentizes . . . in good Trades” within the country as by sending them to a “fforraigne Country.”³² A 1620 BAM convertible mark equals \$910.9 today.³³ A 1620 pound would equal \$330 today.³⁴ In England, the monetary unit term “mark,” rarely a coin, was used for some time to mean “two thirds of a pound,” according to Francis Turner.³⁵ Two thirds of five marks would have been 3 pounds, 6 shillings, 7 pence, 3 farthings, and a little more.

My essays explore the development of the Virginia colony, including individuals’ as well as corporate activities, along with conflicts within the colony.

³² RVC IA, Nov. 15, 1620, 424.

³³ www.majorexchangerates.com.

³⁴ Nye, Pounds Sterling to Dollars, www.uwyo.edu

³⁵ Francis Turner, “Money and Exchange Rates in 1632,” www.1632.org.

Lady Lawarr

The Virginia Company of London Court Book records show Lady De Lawarr in a prominent role. Her husband, Thomas West, Lord De Lawarr, had served as the first Governor of the Colony³⁶ “appointed by the Virginia Company of London.”³⁷ After his death, Lady Lawarr negotiated for her husband’s interests and herself, dealing with transactions from his estate and working through an agent, Francis Carter.

King James had put Lord Lawarr into Virginia’s royal council when the Company was reorganized “before the first ships sailed to the Chesapeake.” E. M. Rose states that Company records show Lawarr as a shareholder beginning in 1619. Lawarr’s shares went to his estate probably for his earlier service.³⁸

Hopes that developed in Virginia about bringing over young women to be wives for a more stable settlement, “more settled & lesse moueable,”³⁹ rather than with lack of women having men wanting to go back to England after staying only briefly, just “to gett something”⁴⁰ shows the “future discounting” mentality that Willie Graham, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg find in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. These scholars pair this theoretical context with “signaling theory,” related to “conspicuous consumption and symbolic capital.”⁴¹ The Virginia Company’s giving Lady Dale, widow of Virginia former deputy-governor Sir Thomas Dale, a patent for a plantation, along with Lady Berkeley’s buying a share in the Company and being “admitted into this Society,”

³⁶ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 231.

³⁷ Billings, “Thomas West.”

³⁸ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 232.

³⁹ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 256.

⁴⁰ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 256.

⁴¹ Graham, Hudgins, Lounsbury, Neiman, and Whittenburg, “Adaptation and Innovation,” 455-56.

later being named an Adventurer⁴² signaled symbolic capital of the Company.⁴³ Envisioning “the inlarging of the Plantation in the publique”⁴⁴ signals how the emerging Virginia colony would become symbolic capital for the city of London, the guilds, and England beyond London.

Lord and Lady De La Warr had taken Pocahontas and a relative of hers, Powhatan’s representative Tomocomo, to a performance of Ben Jonson’s *The Vision of Delight* masque.⁴⁵ E. M. Rose finds that reports of Governor De La Warr’s death arrived in London in October 1618. According to E. M. Rose, it is not clear whether Lawarr had owned land in America. Sir Edwin Sandys gave a large amount of land to Lady Lawarr in June 1619 or “confirmed” this interest at that time. When Sandys became treasurer he asked for an audit and stated that Lord De La Warr owned 40 shares in the Company, 500 pounds worth.⁴⁶ E. M. Rose observes that not until after De La Warr’s death does his ownership of stock in the Company appear. De La Warr’s widow would be “living well on a generous grant from the Virginia customs almost half a century after her husband’s death,” according to E. M. Rose. This funding went “into the next generation.”⁴⁷ De La Warr had married Cecily Shirley, whose father was West’s godfather, after returning from a Grand Tour on the Continent with friends.⁴⁸

Stephen Rose notes that “Lord de la Warre . . . brought a new charter in 1610 to Jamestown, granting to the colonists “land 200 miles North and South of Old Point Comfort, lying from the seacoast into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest.”⁴⁹

⁴² RVC I A, June 11, 1621, 483, RVC I A, June 13, 1621, 491-92, RVC I A, April 18, 1621, 448, RVC II B, July 3, 1622, 75.

⁴³ Graham et al., “Adaptation and Innovation,” 455-56.

⁴⁴ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 256.

⁴⁵ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 242.

⁴⁶ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 245.

⁴⁷ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 228.

⁴⁸ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 229.

⁴⁹ Stephen Rose, “Historical Origin,” 378.

May 26, 1619, Lady Lawarr's concern about the freight on the Neptune had gone into arbitration. As a result, "mr Threr [the treasurer] paid the mony, and tooke in the Charter party."⁵⁰

June 9, 1619, the Court disputed whether Lord Lawarr was or was not Governor. Some had written that Lord Lawarr should give up being Governor when he got back to Virginia. However, Martial Law was to stand only upon mutiny and rebellion. "Touching the point whither he were Gouvernor or noe, it plainly appeared by a Lre sent unto him (wch the said Captaine Argoll now produced) signed by some of the Counsell and Company, that at the Landing of the Lo: Lawarr in Virginia, he should surrender vp his place; Wch seeing it pleased god to take his Lops Life from his mortall body before he Landed there, this point stood cleere that he remayned Gouvernor, in statu quo prius."⁵¹ "[B]ecause the Court found it more convenient for the business to be more priuately handled [than under "Marshall" or Martial Law], it was ordered, that the Counsell should be summoned" "to decide the business and report to the Court."⁵² E. M. Rose characterizes Lady Lawarr as "liquidating her recent grant of shares as quickly as the market would support it."⁵³ However, Company records show these transfers occurring over some time.

Although E. M. Rose notes that information regarding Lord Lawarr's having died got to London in October 1618.⁵⁴ Court Book records for July 13, 1619, describing the Lawarrs' interactions with Sr Thomas Wainman & Sr John Tasborough include "It being noe part of his Lop or Ladisp meaning they should suffer for that his Lop stood engaged." Seeing that payment

⁵⁰ RVC IA, May 26, 1619, 219.

⁵¹ RVC IA, June 9, 1619, 226-27.

⁵² RVC 1A, June 9, 1619, 226-27.

⁵³ E. M. Rose, "Lord Delaware," 246.

⁵⁴ E. M. Rose, "Lord Delaware," 245.

for “such men as shall appeare to haue been transported by the Lo: Lawarr” for Wainman and Tasbrough occurred would be Lady Lawarr’s concern. They would be “remoued & planted” “at his or their disposing” “vpon such shares as shalbe by Pattent graunted vnto them.” Lady Lawarr accepted that “a ratable deducccon” would go from “the proporcon of Lands already graunted and allowed, or hereafter to be graunted & allowed vnto the said Lo Lawarr for his Adventures.”⁵⁵

Lady Lawarr asked for and received a pension. Her son’s work with the Company ended in 1624.⁵⁶ January 26, 1620, the Court recorded, “Whereas his Maty hath graunted to the Lady Lawarr a yearly Pencon to be paide vnto her by the ffarmors of the Custome” the Company “are content” with her Ladyship’s request, considering that the Custome on the Adventurers’ tobacco not yet being paid, that with the first parcel sold, the amount due to her from her share, or the equivalent in tobacco, if that were acceptable to her, should be paid to her.⁵⁷ Lady Lawarr transferred shares to others by 1620. May 31, 1620, a letter that Lady Lawarr sent to Edwin Sandys described William Waller of London, who had adventured with her Lord for six or seven years. The letter asked that shares might be taken from her Ladyship’s account and placed in his. The Court agreed to Waller’s request.⁵⁸

The Virginia Company had brought in Lord De La Warr “for his critical symbolic role,” according to E. M. Rose. Lawarr was born to a wealthy, prestigious family and willing to go to the Colony. “[H]e is the *only* English nobleman who lived in America in the first half-century of England’s transatlantic empire,” E. M. Rose states. His title encouraged investment.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ RVC IA, Jul. 13, 1618, 246.

⁵⁶ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 246.

⁵⁷ RVC 1A, Jan. 26, 1620, 299.

⁵⁸ RVC IA, May 31, 1620, 368.

⁵⁹ E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 248.

June 28, 1620, the Court heard that Sr Ferdinando Weynman, adventuring 100 pounds as well as his person with Lord Lawarr, “dyed there and leavinge one only Childe behind him a daughter.” Lady Lawarr had sent a letter saying she “was content” to deduct that amount from her accounts and give it to the daughter, with the Auditor also involved. The Court also allowed four shares for the adventure of Weynman’s person.⁶⁰ Lady Lawarr acted with generosity and from a sense of duty.

November 15, 1620, a letter from the Lady De Lawarre “signified vnto the Compa :” that it was approximately three years ago that the Earle of Hartford “adventured 150li” with her deceased husband for his “last Voyadge to Virginia.” The Earl transferred the “benifitt” to “his servant mr Iohn Kelly.” Lady De Lawarre wanted Kelly to “have a proporcon of Land in Virginia” for land shares owed him and compensation “for the personall Adventure of 10 men transported thither by her said Husband” The Courte agreed and directed that an amount be taken from Lord Delawarre’s accounts.⁶¹ Lady Lawarre, in the Court records, followed her investments. She asked the Court on April 30, 1621, about her goods still with mr Rolfe in Virginia. She hoped to receive compensation from some of “his Tobacco nowe sent home.” However, it was thought the Tobacco was not Rolfe’s. It was mr Peirce’s. “[I]t was thought fitt that mr Henry Rolfe should acquaint my Lady Lawarre of his Brothers offer . . . to make her Lap: good and faithfull Account of all such goods as remayne in his hands vpon her Laps: direccion.”⁶²

Lady Lawarr sometimes worked with her son to transfer shares. The Court heard April 30, 1621, that “Lady Lawarr and her sonne had assigned 40: shares of land in Virginia vnto mr

⁶⁰ RVC IA, June 23, 1620, 381.

⁶¹ RVC IA, Nov. 15, 1620, 425-26.

⁶² RVC IA, Apr. 30, 1621, 459.

Carter for sundrie Adventurors of the Company wch they desired might passe the approbacon” of the Courte. The auditors allowed the transfer. Mr Carter distributed the five shares to four men.⁶³

Lady Lawarr on July 10, 1621, asked that a Commission “certifie . . . what goods and monny” of her deceased husband’s had gone to John Rolfe in 1611. The Cape Merchants and some olde Planters should consider how Captaine Argoll “disposed of” goods that had been shipped in the Neptune in 1618. The Commission was to find out what the late Lord Delawarr’s goods and debts were. The Commission would then arrange any restitution that should be made. The Company then “may be sattisfied for the Debt they stand engaged for her said husband.”⁶⁴ Although Lady Lawarr was disbursing substantial payments, she was surrounded by debt, as was the colony.

July 24, 1621, the Court let mr Carter “passe ouer two shares of Land in Virginia the one vnto Rowland Trueloue of London Clothworker The other vnto Tobias Coop of London Clothier.” The Lady Lawarr had assigned these shares with approval of the auditor and a Court held in Virginia the past April.⁶⁵ Using “passe ouer” in statements about transactions was common in describing Lady Lawarr’s business.

October 24, 1621, 13 men had each bought one Share of Land from Francis Carter. The shares were among shares “formerly assigned vnto him” by Lady Lawarr.⁶⁶ November 14, 1621, Francis Carter transferred seven shares of land in Virginia from those that Lady Lawarr had

⁶³ RVC IA, Apr. 30, 1621, 460.

⁶⁴ RVC IA Jul. 10, 1621, 507.

⁶⁵ RVC IA, Jul. 24, 1621, 523.

⁶⁶ RVC IA, October 24, 1621, 534.

assigned him. Over time, shares from Lary Lawarr went to a gentleman, a mariner, a clerk, a draper, a merchant tailor, a clothworker, and a haberdasher.⁶⁷

The February 13, 1622, Court reported that Francis Carter transferred two shares of land in Virginia to Sr Francis Goodwin, knight. These were from the parcel that Lady Lawarr assigned to Carter.⁶⁸ At the March 13, 1622, Court, Francis Carter “assigne[d] one share of land in Virginia” to Phillip Wood of London, gentleman, approved by the Court. This was part of the parcel of 40 shares that Lady Lawarr assigned Carter.⁶⁹ March 27, 1622, Francis Carter transferred nine shares of Virginia land to five persons from a parcel of 40 shares that the Lady Lawarr had allocated to him. Also during Lady Lawarr’s years of trading, shares went to a gentleman, a marchant, a painter stainer, and a man from County Kent esqr.⁷⁰ April 10, 1622, Francis Carter transferred two shares of land in Virginia to George Rooke Citizen and Leather seller of London. These were part of the parcel that Lady Lawarr had allocated to Carter.⁷¹ May 8, 1622, Francis Carter “also passed” a share of Virginia land to mr Henry Wentworth of London, skinner. The share was from the parcel that Lady Lawarr had assigned to mr Carter.⁷²

May 22, 1622, the “younge Lord Lawarrs mother as Executrix of the last will and testament of the Lord Lawarr deceased assigned ouer fiue shares of land in Virginia of the personall Shares vnto mr Iohn Parkhurst Citizen and Grocer of London.”⁷³ Although Lady Lawarr is transacting it is in a role linked to her deceased husband and her son.

⁶⁷ RVC IA, Nov. 14, 1621, 548.

⁶⁸ RVC IA, February 13, 1622, 604.

⁶⁹ RVC IA, March 13, 1622, 619.

⁷⁰ RVC IA, March 27, 1622, 625.

⁷¹ RVC IA, April 10, 1622, 630.

⁷² RVC IA, May 8, 1622, 635.

⁷³ RVC IIB, May 22, 1622, 25.

Francis Carter transferred one share of land May 22, 1622, to mr Thomas Addison of Lincoln's Inn in Middlesex County. The share was part of "the later 40 shares" that Lady Lawarr had assigned Carter.⁷⁴

Several in the Court June 19, 1622, produced letters from Sr Thomas Smith and mr Alderman Johnson, treasurer and deputy. These letters had gone to the Lord D'Lawarr as well as Captain Argall. They ranged over issues including trade with the Indians, trade in tobacco and furs, and allocations of gain.⁷⁵

Francis Carter at the June 19, 1622, Court, had transferred one share of Virginia land to Thomas Waynwright Citizen and fishmonger of London. The share was part of the set of 40 shares that Lady Lawarr had assigned Carter.⁷⁶ June 19, 1622, Francis Carter "passed likewise" two shares from the parcel to Robert Smith, citizen and merchant tailor of London.⁷⁷ Francis Carter at the July 3, 1622, Court conveyed 16 shares of Virginia land to Edward Palmer of the Middle Temple London esquire. The shares were among the later 40 shares allocated to him from Lady D'Lawarre.⁷⁸ Carter on July 3, 1622, also transferred one share of land from his parcel from Lady D'Lawarre to Edw: Butler gentleman.⁷⁹

July 17, 1622, the Court recorded that Francis Carter transferred one share of land to Iohn Hitch, citizen of London, "beinge the last Share of the later 40 assigned vnto him from the Right Honoble the Lady D'Lawarre."⁸⁰ Henry Lo: Lawarr and Lady Cicely Laware December 4, 1622,

⁷⁴ RVC IIB, May 22, 1622, 25.

⁷⁵ RVC IIB, June 19, 1622, 50-55.

⁷⁶ RVC IIB, June 19, 1622, 56.

⁷⁷ RVC IIB, June 19, 1622, 56.

⁷⁸ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 77.

⁷⁹ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 77.

⁸⁰ RVC IIB, July 17, 1622, 93.

transferred to Nicholas Downe Citizen and mercer of London two shares.⁸¹ February 5, 1622, young Lo: Lawarr was listed among those present at the Court, and he was also at, for example, “An extraordinary Courte held on Satterday in ye Afternoone ye 17th of May 1623”⁸² The Ladie De Lawarre November 15, 1620 (?) by letter “signified vnto the Compa: that wheras aboute three years since the Earle of Hartford adventured 150li in her late husband (the Lord Delawares) last Voyadge to Virginia.” the Earl meantime has given “ye benefitt.of his said purchase vpon his servant mr Iohn Kelly, shee therefore moved that hee might have a proportion of Land in Virginia accordinge to the number of Shares due” Kelly also was to receive 150 pounds “for the personall Adventure of 10 men transported thither by her said Husband.” The Court agreed on condition that the amount would be taken from Lord Delaware’s accounts.⁸³

Although Lady Lawarr’s transactions generally occurred via her agent, Mr. Carter, her transfers reached the nobility, gentlemen, men of commerce, and artisans. Likely, Lady Lawarr’s agent had an important role in the colony’s business. Carter’s July 24, 1621, transaction for land in Virginia is one reported as occurring with a Court motion rather than as an independent action, although phrasing is that “the Court permitted” Carter “to passe ouer.”⁸⁴

Other notable women were associated with the Virginia Company. Court records give brief accounts, largely on their work to build the colony. April 18, 1621, the Company learned that “my Lady Berkeley out of a desire to be a member of so honorable: a Company and to give some furtherance to so hopefull a Plantacon was pleased to offer her self to come in vpon one share of land nowe at first” Investing only one share, she may have wondered if she would be

⁸¹ RVC IIB, Dec. 4, 1622, 161.

⁸² RVC IIB, Feb. 5, 1622, 244; RVC IIB, May 17, 1623, 431.

⁸³ RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620 (?), 425-26.

⁸⁴ RVC IA, July 24, 1621, 523.

treated as a full participant, The Company moved that “her lap might be admitted into this Society . . . which mocon was thought very reasonable and was generally assented vnto.”⁸⁵ At the July 3, 1622, Court, the Lady Berkeley was among those listed in a patent as confirmed adventurers.⁸⁶ On July 3, 1622, in the afternoon, Lady Berkeley appeared in a list designated as receiving Patents, “All wch both Aduenturers and Planters haue vndertaken with their Assistants to transport great multitudes of people to Virginia”⁸⁷

June 11, 1621, it was said that “Ladie Dale late the wife of Sr Thomas Dale deceased yt worthy Knight and greate advancer of ye Virginia Action desired a Patent for a pticularr Plantacon..” This was allowed. The governor would assign its place in line with Lady Dale’s wants “if itt be not allredy planted”⁸⁸ June 13, 1621, the Court reported that Lady Dale was given Land as she had asked. She would get Land not already planted “or disposed of.” A Committee would supervise her receipt of her patent.⁸⁹ May 20, 1622, a “request was . . . made” on the part of Lady Dale. “[H]er people in Virginia doe not performe covenants with her according to their Contracts.” They do not provide profits of her land that should be hers. She sent a servant to see that they complied with the agreements. She wanted the Company’s Letter of Commendation to the Governor of Virginia to help her servant get back this debt. The Court agreed.⁹⁰

Many property transfers described in the Court Book followed from deaths of male relatives. Sr Anthony Pell and his wife, Lady Judith, at Court March 20, 1622, transferred two

⁸⁵ RVC IA, April 18, 1621, 448.

⁸⁶ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 75.

⁸⁷ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 90.

⁸⁸ RVC IA, June 11, 1621, 483.

⁸⁹ RVC IA, June 13, 1621, 491-92

⁹⁰ RVC IIB, May 20, 1622, 14.

shares of land in Virginia to William Savill esquire “beinge formerly aduentured by mr Aldran Rotheram and at his Decease bequeathed vnto the said Lady Judith his then wife.”⁹¹ Sr Henry Roth and the Lady Isabella his wife November 6, 1622, transferred four shares of land in Virginia to mr Henry Percy. The shares had gone to Lady Isabella “as the sole Daughter and heire of Sr Walter Cope deceased.” The Auditors and then the Court directed the shares “vnto the said Henry Piercy.”⁹²

The Court acted on Captain Christopher Newporte’s widow’s petition July 10, 1621. The Governor and the rest of the Counsel of State in Virginia would give her 32 shares of Land in Virginia previously given to her deceased husband to recognize his service. Also, Mrs. Newporte’s paying for transport of 6 men would provide her three shares. The Land would be “in any place not already disposed of.”⁹³ Captain Newport had led many exploration and settlement expeditions before and during the founding of Virginia.⁹⁴

October 7, 1622, Henry Rolfe petitioned the Court for the Estate his Brother Iohn Rolfe deceased had remaining in Virginia. Henry Rolfe wanted it to be asked into and to give him “indempuity.” He wanted the Estate “put to the best vse for the maintenance of” his “Relict wife and Children” from earlier. Henry Rolfe had “brought vp the Child his said Brother had by Powhatan’s Daughter [Pocahontas] wch Child is yet lyvinge and in his custodie.” The Governor and Counsel of Virginia should be convinced to find out “what Lands and goodes the said Iohn Rolfe died seized of.” If it was determined that Iohn Rolfe had not made a will, then Henry Rolfe’s indemnity and his maintenance of “the said Children and his relict wife” should be as

⁹¹ RVC IA, March 20, 1622, 622.

⁹² RVC IIB, Nov. 6, 1622, 122.

⁹³ RVC IA, July 10, 1621, 509.

⁹⁴ Thomas Jefferson Papers, 1605-08.

“his Estate will beare (his debts vnto the Companie and others beinge first satisfied).” John Rolfe’s debts to the Company and others would be taken care of, and the Company would receive an account.⁹⁵

It was agreed at a Court July 27, 1621, to pay a bond of 600 pounds, a comparably substantial amount, with interest, to mrs Jane Johnson, a Dutchwoman, with the surplus “to be reserved in Cash to the said Adventurer’s vse.”⁹⁶

Lady Lawarr’s strength is shown early, May 26, 1619, in a dispute about freight on the Neptune, which was decided in arbitration. Mr. Tnrer paid and took in the Charter party.⁹⁷ Lady Lawarr is shown negotiating from her husband’s estate, for some time working through an agent, for several years. She brought in a diverse economic base, passing shares to a clothworker, a clothier, a knight, gentlemen, a merchant taylor, a merchant, a mercer, a draper, a mariner, a clerk, a haberdasher, a painter stainer, a fishmonger, a grocer, a skinner, a leather seller, Edward Palmer of the Middle Temple London esquire, and a man from County Kent esq. By February 5, 1622, young Lo: Lawaarr was listed among those present at Court meetings.⁹⁸ The chapter essay concludes with brief information on prominent women other than Lady Lawarr, including Lady Berkeley, Lady Dale, and Christopher Newport’s widow.

Chapter Conclusions

Lady Lawarr’s transactions were an important part of the colony’s economy. Lady Lawarr possessed the shares she exchanged in connection with her deceased husband, Thomas

⁹⁵ RVC IIB, Oct. 7, 1622, 105-06.

⁹⁶ RVC IA, July 27, 1621, 525.

⁹⁷ RVC IA, May 26, 1619, 219.

⁹⁸ RVC IIB, Feb. 5, 1622, 244.

West, the first named governor of Virginia. Sir Edwin Sandys stated the West ownership in June 1619. This might have been partly to strengthen Sandys's Patriot faction. Lady Lawarr usually worked through an agent, Mr. Carter. Lady Lawarr had transactional connections to John Rolfe's brother Henry, who raised the child whom Pocahontas, later deceased, had with John Rolfe.

The Company wanted to bring women to Virginia to be wives to encourage men to settle permanently, which considers the "future discounting" mentality that Willie Graham, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg find in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. These scholars connect this theoretical context with "signaling theory," related to "conspicuous consumption and symbolic capital."

The Shipment of Brides to Virginia

The November 3, 1619, meeting of the Court governing the Virginia Company of London lists in its Court Book a set of plans proposed after Council and Court sessions recording disputes about accounting for persons, money, and strategy. It had been said at the July 21, 1619, session that solving the disputes would amount to a “Laborinth”⁹⁹ However, the November 3, 1619, Court session envisioned “the enlarging of the Plantation in the publique.”¹⁰⁰

According to Graham, Hudgins, Lounsbury, Neiman, and Whittenburg,¹⁰¹ the 1619 and 1620s range of the earliest sites studied by Cary Carson and his co-researchers¹⁰² corresponds to 1618 into the 1620s, which is the time frame of the Court Book. During these years, “particular plantations chartered by the Virginia Company established nucleated settlements along the James River.”¹⁰³

Andrew Fitzmaurice states in his “The Company Commonwealth” essay for *Virginia 1619*, edited by Paul Musselwhite, Peter C. Mancall, and James Horn, “The logic of greatness, survival, and reason of state, as well as the language of the commonwealth, were adopted by the seventeenth-century agents of expansion.”¹⁰⁴

Karen Ordahl Kupperman contrasts years before the end of the 1610s, with England “not planning” “true colonies,” “permanently transplanted settlements of people who would make their entire lives in America,” with years beginning about 1620. The English setting was in crisis including population explosion and inflation. The country was “dramatically

⁹⁹ RVC IA, July 21, 1619, 251.

¹⁰⁰ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 255.

¹⁰¹ Graham et al., “Adaptation and Innovation,” 451-522.

¹⁰² Graham et al., “Adaptation and Innovation,” 456-57.

¹⁰³ Graham et al., “Adaptation and Innovation,” 457.

¹⁰⁴ Fitzmaurice, “Company Commonwealth,” 194.

overpopulated and unable to employ and feed its people.” “[R]eal wages were at their lowest for more than a century.” Plans turned to “mass export of people to America” from “importing of easily realized wealth from across the ocean.”¹⁰⁵

In 1991, David R. Ransome’s “Wives for Virginia, 1621” explores extensive demographic information about women who went to Virginia in 1621. About 60 percent were aged 18 to 21. Most were living around London or were related to Londoners around the time of transit. However, many had come from other parts of England. Some were skilled in general work, and some did needlework. Some were widows. Some were orphans. “[A]t least half the women had been deprived of those to whom, in more favorable circumstances, they could have looked for protection,” Ransome finds.¹⁰⁶

Shipping arrangements had bordered on the way prisoners were treated. At the November 3, 1619, Court it had been agreed that those to be sent over as servants would be kept at Bridewell [a prison] until they were shipped.¹⁰⁷ December 23, 1619, the Court directed “ffiftie of the Persons to be transported for his Maty: should be att Bridewell for the Company to make choyce of such as they thinke for the present fitt to be sent.” A marginal note apparently in the text words the order for men rather than persons.¹⁰⁸

Instead of paying wages and other expenses for transporting settlers to the public land the Company would work with ships trading to Newfoundland, paying six pounds a person.¹⁰⁹ Records of a Court held for Virginia on May 12, 1619, mention payment for a ship that had

¹⁰⁵ Kupperman, “Founding Years,” 108-09.

¹⁰⁶ Ransome, “Wives for Virginia,” 11, 12, 13, 15.

¹⁰⁷ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 259.

¹⁰⁸ RVC IA, Dec. 23, 1619, 288-89.

¹⁰⁹ RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 265, 269.

transported children to the colony.¹¹⁰ The later shipment of children into the colony, seemingly more difficult than earlier ones, emphasized the need to bring women to be brides.

The City of London including the Lord Mayor had joined the colonization effort. November 17, 1619, after continuing troubles with providing for children in the City, records note the “great forwardness of his honorable Cytty in advancinge the Plantation of Virginia and particularly in furnishing outt one hundred Children this last yeare.”¹¹¹ Most survived the voyage. The children were sent to be apprentices. For next spring, 100 more children were requested. They were to be 12 years and older. The boys would be apprentices until they were 21, and the girls would be apprenticed up to age 21 or until they married. Afterward they would be placed on public land with cattle and corn to start out.¹¹² “[T]he Company would be att the charge to maynteyne” a group of men who were “Laborers and Husbandmen, Artificers and [in] manuall trades” going to Virginia “till ther may be Shippinge provyded”¹¹³ December 15, 1619, the Lord Mayor of London asked for some of the Company to appear “att their Court att Giuldhall” so “they should vnderstand the Citties pleasure touching the mocon for the Children. . .”¹¹⁴

The November 17, 1619, Quarter Court continued plans to increase allocation for tenants, servants, and apprentices. Plans to bring women to the Colony also developed at this point. Since “the people thither transported, though seated there in their persons for some fewe years, are not settled in their minds to make it their place of rest and continuance, but having gotten some wealth there, to returne againe into England” “[F]or the remedying of that mischiefe, and

¹¹⁰RVC IA, May 12, 1619, 216.

¹¹¹ RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 270.

¹¹² RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 271.

¹¹³ RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 271.

¹¹⁴ RVC IA, Dec. 15, 1619, 287.

establishing of a perpetuitie to the Plantation,” it was proposed “to send them ouer One hundredth young Maides to become wives; that wives, children and familie might make them lesse moueable and settle them, together with their Posteritie in that Soile.”¹¹⁵

E. M. Rose notes that the Goldsmiths, Merchant Taylors, and Mercers guilds had each invested 200 pounds in the colonization enterprise.¹¹⁶ According to Terence H. O’Brien, the connection of the City’s guilds to the colonization movement goes back to 1609, which was after Jamestown was founded May 14, 1607, “The first formal invitation to the Livery Companies to invest in the Virginia voyages was made in a letter, presumably written early in March 1609, from the Virginia Council to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Companies.”¹¹⁷ O’Brien, following Alexander Brown’s 1890 *The Genesis of the United States*,¹¹⁸ finds that although the Companies made only limited investments in the Virginia Company, “nearly 190 members of the Great Companies” together invested about 10,000 pounds individually.¹¹⁹ The Livery Companies’ interest declined after 1616. Although there were few references to the Colony in the Companies’ books, a few optimistic comments appear. The Merchant Taylors’ Court described “now great hopes that the said plantation will prove profitable to all who have adventured therein.”¹²⁰ O’Brien notes that the merchant tailors’ guild and the drapers’ guild show payments during 1618-19 “in answer to the Lord Mayor’s levy on the City” of 500 pounds to send “100 poor boys and girls to Virginia.” There are some references to charity to “members

¹¹⁵ RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 269.

¹¹⁶ Rose, “Lord Delaware,” 231.

¹¹⁷ O’Brien, “London Livery,” 139.

¹¹⁸ Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*.

¹¹⁹ O’Brien, “London Livery,” 137-155, 148.

¹²⁰ O’Brien, “London Livery,” 153.

emigrating to Virginia.”¹²¹ These transits are parts of a progression that led into the movement to bring wives to Virginia.

Company records include some information on the money that the City paid the Company for shipping children to Virginia. Court Book records for May 17, 1620, list under Receipts “for the generall Cash” “Of the Citty for a hundred Children sent to Virginia,” 400 pounds¹²²

“Ninety-two company tenants and a few others sailed in the *Bona Nova* in 1619, fifty-seven women and some men in the *Bona Nova*, *Charles*, *Tiger*, *Warwick*, and *Marmaduke* in 1621, and at least 103 settlers in the *James* of London in 1622,” Ransome reports in “‘Shipt for Virginia’: The Beginnings in 1619-1622 of the Great Migration to the Chesapeake.” The women who traveled in 1621 had artisan or gentry parents. They were 15-16 to 28 years old. They were natives of “half the counties of England, mostly in the south,” although “about two-thirds of them lived in or about London” when they went to Virginia. They were “respectable” and came with good opinion of “responsible citizens.” They had skills for work in the home, some for dairy work, Ransome states. They went from the Isle of Wight to sea passage.”¹²³

The Court on May 17, 1620, reported that the Colony was “weake” and the Treasury was “exhaust.” About 400 men, women, and Children sailed to Virginia on the *Georg*. However, only about 200 of them could “sett hand to husbandry.” Only “one Plough was goinge in all the Country which was the fruite of full 12 years labour.”¹²⁴

¹²¹ O’Brien, “London Livery,” 154.

¹²² RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 355,

¹²³ Ransome, “Shipt for Virginia,” 446-47.

¹²⁴ RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 350.

Creating settings for institutional practices was part of settling the colony. Virginia's founding was not totally secular. May 17, 1620, Court records note, "Two Persons vnknowne have given faire Plate & other rich Ornants for two Communion Tables, whereof one for the Colledge, and the other for the Church of Mrs Mary Robinsons foundinge, who in the former year by her will gave two hundred pounds towards the foundinge a Church in Virginia."¹²⁵

February 2, 1620, it was ordered that leaders of particular plantacions shall "inhabite by vertue of their Graunts and Plant themselves their Tenants and Servants in Virginia, shall have liberty till a forme of Gouverment be here settled for them . . ." They could then "make Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions for the better orderinge and dyrectinge of their Servants and business Prouided they be not Repugnant to the Lawes of England." The Court record notes, "Demaunds of the Citty" related to the 100 Children "were much distasted of this Company beinge such as were repugnant to the standing Orders." So committees were formed, and a letter was written to the Lord Mayor. They would need "speedy resolutions." Ships were leaving soon and would "suffer no delays."¹²⁶ Creating acceptable governance arrangements ensuring the colony thrived was part of settlement.

May 11, 1620, one of the women Thomas Dale transported from Virginia, "a native of yt Country who some times dwelt a servant wth a Mercer in Cheapside is now verie weake of a Consumpcon attt mr Goughs in the Black Friars." Gough took care of her and agreed to be in charge of her for two months for 20 shillings per week. Although accounts were closed, William Throgmorton paid privately from the Company.¹²⁷ This passage shows that women were shipped before 1621.

¹²⁵ RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 354.

¹²⁶ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 303-05.

¹²⁷ RVC IA, May 11, 1620, 338-39.

Much planning and much activity occurred between November 3, 1619, when the treasurer, Edwin Sandys, presented his “Proposition for the inlarging of the Plantation in the publike,” sending more men, including some for apprentices or servants, as well as building the college, and even bringing 100 women to be wives,¹²⁸ according to a performance report in the May 17, 1620, text of the Court record. The “Sum of ye Persons for Publique Vse” then included 90 “Young Maydens to make wives for soe many of [the former] Tenants” and 100 “Boyes to make Apprentises for those Tenants.” The group also included 50 to be servants for the publike.¹²⁹ Funding included lottery money and money sent from the City of London and suburbs transporting the children and transporting skilled men who would develop trades.¹³⁰

Also, on June 23, 1620, the Executors of Christopher Lawne petitioned about consequences of his significant loss on tobacco. With “regard of the great charge and losse, the said mr Lawne hath been putt vnto and susteyned in his pryvate Plantacon, it [was] agreed to allow him the passage of 2 men wch they esteeme to be xij li [12 pounds] and to discount the passage of her Childe wch is alleaged the Cape Marchant was payd for, Notwithstandinge that itt dyed before itt was shipt.” Sir Ferdinando Weynman had “adventur[ed] his person and 100s with the Lord Lawarr. Only a daughter remained. Ladie Lawarr had said in a letter that she would deduct Weynman’s money from her account and the daughter would be placed with her.¹³¹

July 7, 120, Sir Edwin Sandys told the Court “hee had a Project of speciall importance.” It included much discussion of resolving administration and finance. It also planned shipping “800 choyce psonns.” These would include “100 young maydes to make wives as the former 90

¹²⁸ RVC IA Nov. 3, 1619, 256.

¹²⁹ RVC iA, May 17, 1620, 352.

¹³⁰ RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 355-56.

¹³¹ RVC IA, June 23, 1620, 381.

lately sent.” “100 Boyes more for Apprentizes likewise to the publique Tenants.” ”100 Servants to be dispsed amongst the Old Planters wch they exceedingly desire and will pay the Company their charges wth verie greate thanks.” Sandys’s proposal stated, “These people are to be procured as they have formerly been.” Settlers including “100 young maydes to make wives as the former 90 lately sent” would be “procured as they have formerly beene ptlie by a printed publication” that would list what the colonists would receive, “partly by help of such noble frends and others in remoter parts” who had previously helped “in the like kinde.” The ship was initially going with 120 persons. The rest would be transported next spring. The proposal included estimated costs for people, animals, and supplies for developing commodities. It also discussed debt.¹³²

Sandys had trouble with his efforts to diversify the Virginia economy rather than let tobacco dominate, Wesley Frank Craven’s work observes. Sandys did attract many colonists in 1619. However, “most of them had found only suffering and death.”¹³³ Neither Sandys’s populist Patriot party nor the opposition Court party succeeded in managing a colony devastated by Indian massacre in 1622 and caught up in arguing over whose fault troubles including “commercial disappointment” were, as Craven states.¹³⁴

Mr John Smith on May 23, 1621, made it known to the Company that he could identify “a Gentlemin of good account and sufficiency” who would plan to obtain and take to Virginia “at an easie rate” many “young men and mayds able to do them good service there to plant and to be employed.” The Court agreed that Smith should be thanked. However, they were “vnhable in

¹³² RVC IA, July 7, 1620, 387, 391-96.

¹³³ Craven, “Dissolution,” 21-22.

¹³⁴ Craven, “Dissolution,” 23-24.

Cash to goe through with so great a charge.” They would keep the offer in mind “till they might have better meanes to performe it.”¹³⁵

June 11, 1621, Sr Edwin Sandys stated that there was “consideration” of how to support the plantation further, including “each Cittie Towne and Burrough towards the sending of their poore.” This concern and possible solution went to “the lower house of Parlyament.” It received “applause.” The next Parliament was to work on a bill that would draw financial support for Virginia colonization “at the charge of the parish where they live.”¹³⁶

“[F]fower seuerall Rolls” were read for underwriting subscriptions. A plan to send “100: maydes to be made wives” was lodged in this July 16, 1621, Court set of proposals including “a Magazine of Apparrell,” “advancement of the Glasse furnace,” and “a Voyadge to trade with the Indians in Virginia for Furrs.”¹³⁷

“Mr Gibbs Treasurer for the maydes sent this last Sumer to Virginia” had had his Accounts audited and was presenting them to the Court May 20, 1622. There was a motion to get the Adventurers in the subscription roll “a ratable proporcon of land laid out together wch was due vnto them for transporting of the said Mayds wch they desired might be called Mayds Towne.” The Court assigned this request to the next Court.¹³⁸

July 16, 1621, the Court had much discussion on commodities and exchange and tobacco. “[T]hat Comoditie is become their monny,” it was said. The “infinite losse the Company have susteyned by itt” was lamented. This was “not onely the Destruccons of more than halfe the last Magazine adventure but the consumpcon allso of well nigh all the Companies Stocks by

¹³⁵ RVC IA, May 23, 1621, 477.

¹³⁶ RVC IA, June 11, 1621, 479-80.

¹³⁷ RVC IA, July 16, 1621, 514-15.

¹³⁸ RVC IIB, May 20, 1622, 15.

sendinge the last supply of Prentizes and maydes,” paying them only in tobacco. Paying for tobacco according to its value would address the problem.¹³⁹

A January 28, 1622, motion to form a Committee to “contract wth” some who would “send young youthes” with part of the cost paid by Virginia passed. It “was signified” that the Citty “was ready to doe good Offices for the Companie in this kinde by procuringe Children to be sent out of this Citty to Virginia vpon reasonable Termes.” Adventurers were sought to join a subscription roll “for sending of Mayds.”¹⁴⁰

The settlers may have needed to revise their plans for bringing over children after the Company began shipping young women. July 3, 1622, a group of seven men were “earnestly desired by the Court to treat with the Citty about the Children that are to be sent this yeare to Virginia.” They were to “make the best bargaine for them they can”¹⁴¹ Also July 3, 1622, the Court stated it was “fitt that mr Pountice formerly appointed Vice admiral in Virginia” receive six of these children sent to him this year “to be placed vpon the Landes belonging to his said office” along with six to be sent the following year.¹⁴² July 3, 1622, this time after listing several groups of men who were “made free,” the Court listed the same seven men (the Lord Cavendish, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wrote, Mr. Caswell, Mr. Smith & The two Deputies), again in reference to children. This time referring to “the two Plantations” and stressing “conclude,” the records note that the men were “to haue conference with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the Citty about the Children that are to be sent to the two Plantations.” They were “to conclude and make the best bargaine they can for the Companie concerning them.”¹⁴³

¹³⁹ RVC IA, July 16, 1621, 519.

¹⁴⁰ RVC IA, Jan. 28, 1622, 583.

¹⁴¹ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 75.

¹⁴² RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 75.

¹⁴³ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 89, 90.

An observation July 3, 1622, referring to the Lord Mayor of the City and the recorder, was that the Court “hath made them free [and] of the Counsell.”¹⁴⁴ Tobacco markets and children interacted in the shipping of children and payment for that shipping. Sr George Yeardley’s having returned only 3,333 pounds weight of Tobacco rather than 500 pounds’ payment for “the 50 youthes then sent by his Mats Command.” This shortfall was objected to October 7, 1622. The proceeds from sale at Middleburrough were a little more than 275 pounds. Yeardley was to send the remainder due, slightly more than 224 pounds, shipped in Tobacco.¹⁴⁵

April 12, 1623, “A Declaration of the present State of Virginia humbly presented to the Kings most excellent Mate by the Company for Virginia” included a lament that in 1618 after much expense “ther were remayninge then in the Colony aboute Six hundred psonns men, weomen and Children.” “Att this time” despite great mortality partly reflecting “the late Massacre of aboute three hundred and fiftie personns” “there are remaying as we compute about ffive and Twenty hundred psonns.”¹⁴⁶

Comments at Court April 12, 1623, included an estimate that “the Virginia Company consisted of near one Thousand psonns whereof many times two hundred assemble att once.” “[T]he Gouerment hath some shew of a Democraticall forme. . . .”¹⁴⁷

At Court April 23, 1623, Captain Butler’s “The Vnmasked face of or Colony in Virginia as it was in the Winter of ye yeare 1622” was read. “There haveinge been as itt is thought not fewer then Tenn thousand soules transported thether there are not through the aforenamed abuses

¹⁴⁴ RVC IIB, July 3, 1622, 76.

¹⁴⁵ RVC IIB, Oct. 7, 1622, 108.

¹⁴⁶ RVC IIB, April 12, 1623, 348.

¹⁴⁷ RVC IIB, April 12, 1623, 358-59.

and neglects about Two thousand of them at the present to be found alive,” Butler observed in his report.¹⁴⁸

One comment related the slow introduction of wives into the population to the problem of tolerable survival of individuals and the colony. Court proceedings May 7, 1623, included the Company’s answer to Aldran Johnson’s petition. One passage read, “The Colony was then wasted to a few hundred of persons no provisions being made by wives for posterity.”¹⁴⁹ This extreme decline in population was due likely to starvation, illness, out-migration, and lack of population renewal with only limited shipment of women and with agriculture focused on tobacco as well as to the Indian massacre of 1622. “Wasted” suggests colonists were dying of starvation.

The Court learned June 13, 1621, that an apothecary proposed to bring himself and his wife, paying transport himself, if the Company “would please to give them their transport of two Children.” One was eight, and the other was “of good years.” The Court agreed, recognizing the great need of his profession. The apothecary would have to work in a lawful way. He would receive recommendation to the Governor.¹⁵⁰

May 7, 1623, comment at the Court claimed, “that there were never sent about 6000: to Virginia.” It was also stated that Virginia had “about 2500 persons” “remaining alive.”¹⁵¹

Disputation November 15, 1620 (?) concerned the question whether sending Children to Virginia should require less than five pounds each since it was “five Marks [each to] bind their Children Apprentices at home to good Trades” without sending them “to a foreign Country.”

¹⁴⁸ RVC IIB, April 23, 1623, 374-76.

¹⁴⁹ RVC IIB, May 7, 1623, 393-94.

¹⁵⁰ RVC IA, June 13, 1621, 495.

¹⁵¹ RVC IIB, May 7, 1623, 389.

The Companie's Courte agreed to decrease five pounds planned charge to five marks.¹⁵² In England, the almost always non-coin monetary unit "mark" was used for some time to mean "two thirds of a pound," according to Francis Turner.¹⁵³

November 15, 1620 (?), Mr Deputy of the Company stated that the Marshall of the Cittie had asked him and others who had gone to some trouble to "pcure those Children out of the Cittie wch were heretofore sent to Virginia, to move this Courte for some reward for their care and travel . . . yt they might be encourraged hereafter to take the like paines whensoever they should have againe the like occasion : The Court herevppon referred itt to the Committee to give such a Sume and to pporcon the same amongst them as they shall thinke fit."¹⁵⁴

Baldwin Maxwell argues in "The Date of *The Noble Gentleman*" that this comedy, licensed February 3, 1626, by John Fletcher and likely written also by Francis Beaumont, was "composed rather than revised" between 1619 and 1622. In the play, Monsieur Marine tries to get his cousin to "send his wife to court." Clerimont responds, "Sir, I had rather send her to *Virginia/ To help to propagate the English Nation*"[I.i] Maxwell draws extensively from Virginia Company records of these years of planning to send and then sending women to Virginia as he creates context in his play. Maxwell refers to "an organized movement to transport women to the colony."¹⁵⁵

"Mr Gibbs Treasurer for the maydes sent this last Sumer to Virginia" had had his Accounts audited and was presenting them to the Court May 20, 1622. There was a motion to get the Adventurers in the subscription roll "a ratable proporcon of land laid out together wch

¹⁵² RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620 (?), 424.

¹⁵³ Francis Turner, "Money and Exchange Rates in 1632," www.1632.org.

¹⁵⁴ RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620 (?), 424.

¹⁵⁵ Maxwell, "Date of," 22-27.

was due unto them for transporting of the said Mayds wch they desired might be called Mayds Towne.” The Court assigned this request to the next Court.¹⁵⁶

The May 22, 1622, Court notes the setting out jointly of “a ratable proporcon of land” for the Aduenturers for “the Maides sent the last Somer” where the Aduenturers “intend to build a Towne . . . called by the name of Maydes Towne.” The Court approved the plans, as they had previously.¹⁵⁷

Most of the children sent to be apprentices survived the journey overseas. They received land and other property. There was a motion to secure for Adventurers in the subscription roll considerable land arranged together because they had brought over Maydes. The long-awaited development was to be named Maydes Towne.¹⁵⁸

Chapter Conclusions

The colonists and their officers were almost defeated by confusing hardship, a “Laborinth.” However, they had hopes of expansive success. The November 3, 1619, Court session envisioned improving the public’s impression of the Plantation. Most children sent to Virginia to serve as apprentices survived transit and received land and other property. Plans called for subscribers of the movement bringing maids over to arrange land together for the maids and call the area Maydes Town. The Company’s Court decreased the five pounds planned for the charge for sending children as apprentices to five marks after an argument about comparative costs of sending children abroad or training them within the home country.

¹⁵⁶ RVC IIB, May 20, 1622, 15.

¹⁵⁷ RVC IIB, May 22, 1622, 26.

¹⁵⁸ RVC IA, July 21, 1619, 252; RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 270-71; RVC IIB, May 20, 1622, 15.

Although women in the early Virginia years of the Court Book faced extreme hardship and uncertainty, they had much autonomy and mobility, and they played vital economic roles. In addition to many working as exchangers of commodities, as farmers, as general workers, and as household workers, several were in leadership positions in transportation and finance.

Apprentices

Mark R. Snyder in “The Education of Indentured Servants in Colonial America” explains the related forms of bondage service. “An indenture is a contract that binds a person to work for another for a given length of time,” he states. Many who came to America knew farming or another trade and could not pay for their voyage. These workers would agree to an indenture for a few years’ bond and then would be let free “to make a living themselves.” Here, “the indentured servant was not an apprentice, per se, because he already knew his trade.” “[A]n apprentice also usually was bound by a contract and thus considered indentured.” “Only the institution of apprenticeship combined technical education and labor with the promise of eventual self-employment.”¹⁵⁹ Snyder,¹⁶⁰ drawing on A. E. Smith and David Galenson 1981, states that the Virginia Company had indentured servitude in practice by 1620, although apprenticeships were ““ancient.””¹⁶¹ According to Alderman, ““around 1624 the servants began to sign formal indenture.”” Indentured servants probably came to America soon after Jamestown formed.¹⁶²

The Virginia Company encouraged the English practice of “servant in husbandry.”¹⁶³ There, both male and female servants, typically 13 to 25 years old, lived and worked with their masters, usually on yearly contracts, Galenson states.¹⁶⁴ Introducing apprenticeships was a response to the Company’s trouble bringing over “a sustained flow of adult workers.” To solve problems with transportation costs, the Company lent transport money to migrants who might

¹⁵⁹ Snyder, “Education of,” 65-72, 65-66.

¹⁶⁰ Snyder, “Education of,” 66.

¹⁶¹ Smith, “Colonists in bondage; Galenson, “White Servitude”; Snyder, “Education of,” 66.

¹⁶² Alderman, “Colonists for Sale,” 57.

¹⁶³ Galenson, “White Servitude,” 6.

¹⁶⁴ Galenson, “Rise and Fall,” 3.

settle, and they were to pay back this loan from spare earnings.¹⁶⁵ Initially they were working directly for the Company. However, there was trouble supervising and motivating some until 1619, according to Galenson,¹⁶⁶ who drew on Kingsbury's work.¹⁶⁷ Then colonists "bound for a term to the Company were sent over at the Company's expense . . . free planters were allowed to rent them from the Company for a year at a fixed rate, in addition to providing their maintenance."¹⁶⁸ By 1620, Galenson finds, it was common for planters in the colony to obtain an immigrant's work "for a specified time upon payment of a lump sum to an importer."¹⁶⁹

Warren M. Billings in "The Law of Servants and Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Virginia" notes that seventeenth-century Englishmen were familiar with the "idea of service," stemming back to the feudal period.¹⁷⁰ Apprenticeship, in which "a young man contracted with a craftsman to learn a skilled trade"¹⁷¹ was common. In the medieval era, craft guilds wanted to "control competition"¹⁷² and guarantee correct training. In 1563, Parliament's Statute of Artificers was developed to "impose a national system of apprenticeship"¹⁷³ for industry. An indenture was a form of deed understood as "a 'covenant merely personal,' a written 'consent of two, or more, to one thing, to give somewhat . . . or to serve.'"¹⁷⁴ The time under contract was specified, and maintenance with food and clothing would go along with the training. At the end of service, a "written release"¹⁷⁵ would amount to "legal proof of his having satisfied the

¹⁶⁵ Galenson, "Rise and Fall," 3.

¹⁶⁶ Galenson, "Rise and Fall," 4.

¹⁶⁷ RVC III, Nov. 11, 1619, 226-27.

¹⁶⁸ Galenson, "Rise and Fall," 4.

¹⁶⁹ Galenson, "Rise and Fall," 6.

¹⁷⁰ Billings, "Law of," 46.

¹⁷¹ Billings, "Law of," 46.

¹⁷² Billings, "Law of," 46.

¹⁷³ Billings, "Law of," 46.

¹⁷⁴ Billings, "Law of," 46.

¹⁷⁵ Billings, "Law of," 46.

conditions of his indenture,”¹⁷⁶ Billings states. Apprentices could not marry without permission of their master. Contracts could be transferred by sale or by will. A long-standing set of legislation and case law could apply to contract complaints, according to Billings. Within 10 years after settlement, the Company would give land rather than a share of possible profits in exchange for labor. Billings notes that “customs of indentured servitude began to be fixed in written law” in 1619.¹⁷⁷

The City of London’s participation in financing colonization developed property rights for colonists who went as apprentices. November 3, 1619, after Geo: Yeardley proposed to send 130 men to Virginia the following spring, a further proposal was “to send 100 more [men] to be Prentizes or Servants that the rest may goe on more cheerefully.”¹⁷⁸ On January 12, 1620, there were reports that the City had said it would provide 100 children for Virginia, allowing money for transport and Apparel, requesting written description of how the Company would govern them. The Company said they would receive nothing “in lew of their Transportation,” except after they finished their apprenticeships, when they would be “Tenants to the Common Land.” However, “in regard the Cittie beareth the halfe charge of their transportation” they should each have 25 acres.¹⁷⁹

Colonists financed by the City had labor obligations as apprentices as well as property rights. On February 2, 1620, Court records include a letter from the City regarding its sending children to Virginia. “Wheras the number of One hundredth Children whose names are hereafter menconed were the last Springe sent and transported to the Virginia Company from the Cittie of

¹⁷⁶ Billings, “Law of,” 46.

¹⁷⁷ Billings, “Law of,” 46.

¹⁷⁸ RVC IA, Nov. 3, 1619, 255.

¹⁷⁹ RVC IA, Jan. 12, 1620, 293.

London vnto Virginia.” For “the transportation and apparelling” of the Children “a Colleecon of the some of five hundredeth pounds was made of divers well & godly disposed” persons “Charitably minded towards the Plantacon in Virginia” “dwellinge within the Citty of London and Suburbs their of,” “and therevppon” the 500 pounds were allotted with the Company. “And thervppon for the good of the same Children” who are now living provided by the Company they “shalbe educated and brought vpp in some good Trade and profession” to support themselves when they reach 24 years or until they are out of their apprenticeships, which shall last at least seven years. After 21 years “or upwards” for the “boyes” and 21 years or marriage for the maydes or girles they would be assigned 50 acres of land each in Virginia for them and their heirs with provision for rent or service. During the apprenticeships they would be given “meate, drinke, Apparrell, and other necessaries.” After the apprenticeships they would have “Come for Victtualls” for a year. Also, a house and a cow would be given them. They would become tenants and would receive half of the profits from their work and half of the increase of cattle. After the seven years serving after the apprenticeship they would get 25 acres, The letter expressed concern for comparing these conditions with what was arranged for those shipped earlier. It was said that the children sent earlier would have the same protections, which would benefit the entire plantation.¹⁸⁰

The Company’s Court records link royal favor and establishment of servitude.

November 17, 1619, Court records state, “And whereas the Company of the Somer Ilands [Bermuda] doth allwaies reporte of the gracious favour his Maty extendeth to Virginia, that

¹⁸⁰ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 304-06.

therefore the next Quarter Courte for the said Ilands the Company thereof be intreated to Ioyne for the Transporte of some of them to be Servaunts vpon their Land.”¹⁸¹

One case of servitude that may not have developed from apprenticeship or indenture was ffraunces Newman’s. April 8, 1620, friends of ffraunces Newman, “who beinge sent a freeman and there susteyninge greate bondage and slavery” “alleged of Capt Argall” petitioned. The value of freedom had strong appeal. The problem was “referred to the Articles by the Company preferred against him.” Meanwhile, friends would “write to the Governor for Newman’s releasemt, If vppon due examinacon” the Governor found “no cause to the contrary.”¹⁸²

Mr Caswell suggested on November 15, 1620, that the city’s lord mayor should be asked to arrange taking in the same number of children as those who entered the company previously, “with the like allowance.” However, he hoped that “it might be effected vppon more easie condicons then the former Committees for the Cittie sought to draw them vnto.” It seemed the children were getting a more “advantageous bargaine” than the plantation was. It was agreed that a letter would go to the lord mayor and aldermen detailing the ”Condicons pticularly for wch the Compa: would accept of them and in good manner place them as servents or Apprentizes wth the Companies Tenants.” The city’s marshall suggested that children could be placed as easily as “Apprentizes . . . in good Trades” within the city as by sending them to a “fforraigne Country.” A publication had referred to an offer to pay five pounds with “everie Childe,” which was thought too much and was reduced to five marks. Also, the city wanted to “move this Courte for some reward for their care and travell.”¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ RVC IA, Nov. 17, 1619, 272.

¹⁸² RVC IA, April 8, 1620, 337.

¹⁸³ RVC IA, Nov. 15, 1620, 424.

November 15, 1620, William Potterton's petition asked for compensation for service of his apprentice Edward Trew, whom Lord De Lawarr promised to allow to go with him to Virginia. Trew was still there, serving the Company. The Court decided that "the Petitioner should repayre to" Lady Lawarr in recognition of her husband's promise.¹⁸⁴

November 4, 1620, Sir Edwin Sandys suggested that the Company prepare a printed pamphlet related to financial and development problems. Sandys proposed conferring with Justices of Peace about sending over all youths 15 years and older who were "burthensome in the Parish where they live." The Company would pay toward apparel and transportation into Virginia "where they shalbe entertayned in good manner as servants and apprentizes vnder the Companies Tenants." Sandys wanted to stop aspersions about the Lotterie, which had already sent 800 Personns to Virginia. Sandys also wanted Adventurers who had not paid their subscriptions to pay. The Lord of Southampton wanted provisions for "setting vpp of the Staple Comodities" and for "establishinge of good gouerment." The Court had heard Sandys's words against "excessive plantinge of Tobacco" and his words in favor of Corne, Silk Coddcs, Silkgrass, Hemp Flax, and other "Staple Comodities." Youths and servants skilled in producing these commodities would receive "good rates and prizes" from a committee of merchants in the commodities.¹⁸⁵

November 13, 1620, William Jarrat, who had been an "antient inhabitant in Virginia" for 13 years, serving the Company with his experience and varied skills, was recommended to Captain Newce as the Company's Tenant. He "should have a boy putt to him for apprentize, and

¹⁸⁴ RVC IA, Nov. 15, 1620, 426-27.

¹⁸⁵ RVC IA, Nov. 4, 1620, 411-13.

his wife and Child should have their passage free.” Getting him and his wife and Child necessities would be as mr Deputy “thought fit.”¹⁸⁶

Sr Edwin Sandys June 11, 1621, juxtaposed the concentration of effort on Tobacco and its high price with the need to pay for clothing and other necessities as well as “all the charge they have been att for sendinge them Apprentizes Servants and wives.”¹⁸⁷

July 10, 1621, the Committee for the distributing of Shares vpon merritt had looked into Captain Maddison’s petition. Based on his “constant endeavors,” the Court wanted to encourage him and would “graunt him and his wife their transport att the Companies charge and two shares of Land.” It was agreed that later, when it was possible for the Company, two boys would go to Captain Maddisson as apprentices.¹⁸⁸

Donors “lately come home from the Indies” October 31, 1621, offered 70 pounds towards building a Church or a school. A Committee talked with the representative, Mr. Copland, and found it “fitt for many important reasons to imploye the said contribution towards the errecon of a publique free schoole in Virginia.” Among the donors, an unknown individual had given 30 pounds to the project initiated by the East Indies group. A public free school would be for “educacon of Children and grounding them in the principles of religion Civility of life and humane learning.” The school “should haue dependance upon the Colledge in Virginia..” The public school could plan for receipt of 1000 Acres. Apprentices would be brought in to prepare the land.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ RVC IA, Nov. 13, 1620, 419.

¹⁸⁷ RVC IA, June 11, 1621, 480.

¹⁸⁸ RVC IA, July 10, 1621, 508.

¹⁸⁹ RVC IA, Oct. 31, 1621, 538-541.

The Court on February 27, 1622, ordered that Robert Limpanie's Petition should go to the Governor so that if it seems that neither Abraham Peirce nor his wife "haue bin [[at]] "any charge for the settinge out of the Petitioners Sone as he informed" then Peirce should not "take any advantage of" the petitioner's "Sonnes Indenture but be caused to deliuer it vp." At the time, imposing bonded service through indenture rather than apprenticeship was rare. The "Sonns goods at his coming ouer," which Upton [Peirce's servant] took from him "when he ran away and carried them ouer wth him to Virginia" should be given back to him.¹⁹⁰ Possibly this early application of indenture had vague or misrepresented provisions.

At an April 3, 1622, Court, "certen gentlemen of Ireland" who had arranged with the Court to ship cattle paid in Tobacco or money also planned with the court to take from Ireland 20 or 30 "able youthes of 16 or 17 years of age to Virginia to be Apprentices for 6 or 7 yeares in the Companies service" with clothing provided. The Irishmen would take payment in money or tobacco for safe transport of the youths.¹⁹¹

An apprentice might be in a property dispute. May 8, 1622, Ursula French, widow, "a verie poore woman," was "craving some allowance towards her mayntenance out of Elias Longs estate beinge her Apprentice and nowe employed in the Companies service in Virginia." The Court's decision was that "the Gouvernor there" should "cause the said Elias Long to send her 100 weight of Tobacco as shee desires."¹⁹²

At the November 18, 1622, Court, orders about contracts between men of the Company and their Servants were read. There were "many greate inconveniencis and Abuses in the Carriing over of Servants to Virginia vpon condicons and bargaines" that were not written down.

¹⁹⁰ RVC IA, Feb. 27, 1622, 608.

¹⁹¹ RVC IA, April 3, 1622, 626.

¹⁹² RVC IA, May 8, 1622, 634.

“Diuers complaints“ arose “of fiathers and others abused in settinge forth his Children and Kindred.” Servants were subjugated with conditions by Planters who transported them overseas. Adventurers who sent their servants sometimes wrote confusing, abusive contracts. However, some servants misrepresented time they served. Scriveners transcribing conditions were part of the problem. The Committee stated that “all men that shall send or carry Servants or Tenants to Virginia should binde” them by written copies that “should remayne here in the Court.”¹⁹³

November 13, 1620 (?), “Vppon the humble petition of William Jarrat for that hee hath beene an antient inhabitant in Virginia for . . . thirteen years where hee hath done the Company great service by reason of his experience and skillfulness . . . the Courte agreed to recomend him to Captaine Newce as the Companies Tenant and should have a boy putt to him for apprentize, and his wife and Child should have their passage free and for the furnishing of him and his wife wth necessesaries itt was left to mr Deputie,”¹⁹⁴

November 15, 1620 (?) it was suggested that the “Lord Maior of this Cittie might be solicited to afforde this Company the like number of Children with the like allowance as formerly they had.” However, it was hoped that this might be done “vppon more easie conditions then the former Comittees for the Cittie sought to draw them vnto.” It was stated that a letter should be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen “specifying ye Condicons pticularly for wch the Compa: would accept of them and in good manner place them as servants or Apprentizes with the Companies Tenants.”¹⁹⁵

William Potterton petitioned November 15, 1620 (?) that the Courte would compensate him for the service of Edward Trew his Apprentize, which Lo De Lawarr had promised him with

¹⁹³ RVC IIB, Nov. 18, 1622, 129-30.

¹⁹⁴ RVC IIB, Nov. 13, 1620 (?), 419.

¹⁹⁵ RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620 (?), 424.

a bond to let Trew go with him to Virginia. Trew was continuing in Virginia, working for the Company. The Courte decided that Trew should get back to Lady Lawarr “for his sattisfaccion.”¹⁹⁶

Service with learning in trades was not always a formal apprenticeship. Four men had been appointed November 15, 1620, “to take care of the two Virginia maydes remayninge in the Custodie of mr William Webb the husband ” They were to place the maids “in good services where they may learne some trade to live by hereafter for wch respect ye Company hath promised to bestowe some thinge wth them.”¹⁹⁷ (The husband officer was the accountant.)¹⁹⁸

November 19, 1623, the Court addressed “the money issued out of the Stocke given for building of the East India Schoole intended in Virginia and employed vppo the publique business of the Company.” The Committee, working in a Treaty with mr Copeland, wanted to finance the project with Cattle “or by turning ouer some of the Companies Tenants for the vse of the saide Schoole.”¹⁹⁹

April 26, 1624, as conditions of formal indenture with varied rather than set terms were emerging, Ursula French “petitioned the Company for the freedom of one Elias Longe her Apprentize.” Longe had worked “4 years of his time and was noe waies able (as shee was informed) to pay her out of his wages that Proportion of Tobacco towards her maintenance as was formerly ordered, nor likely during his service to give her any releife : The Court in Consideration of her povertie order[ed] her case should be recommended to the Gouvernor and Counsell of Virginia soe as some means might be found to give her releife speedily.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620 (?), 426-27.

¹⁹⁷ RVC IIB, Nov. 15, 1620, 427-28.

¹⁹⁸ Craven, Virginia Company, Project Gutenberg.

¹⁹⁹ RVC IIB, Nov. 19, 1623, 496.

²⁰⁰ RVC IIB, April 26, 1624, 529.

November 20, 1622, it was decided that the bookkeeper should list the names of passengers to Virginia and should list contracts between masters and servants sent there.²⁰¹ This policy was expected to reduce potential manipulation through deceptive contracting of people coming to or already in the colony.

Chapter Conclusions

Children endured the dangerous sea voyage to Virginia before adult women were shipped by the Company. The City's problem with caring for children may have influenced this policy as well as labor policies. The Company influenced labor relations in the colony by devising terms of apprenticeships, although some conditions of apprenticeship simply evolved from dealing that formed apprenticeships as well as labor traditions, and some may have followed long-standing traditions. The November 28, 1622, Court Book shows problems regarding masters' abusing servants when work requirements and promises for return to England were not in writing.²⁰² The same problem of lack of specificity occurred more broadly in Company unwritten or even written arrangements. Mark R. Snyder, following A. E. Smith and Galenson, states that the Virginia Company had indentured servitude by 1620. Several scholars have emphasized that apprenticeships were "ancient." Formal, written indentures appeared in 1624, according to Alderman.²⁰³

²⁰¹ RVC IIB, Nov. 20, 1622, 141.

²⁰² RVC IIB, Nov. 28, 1622, 141.

²⁰³ A. E. Smith, "Colonists in bondage; Galenson, "White Servitude"; Snyder, "Education of," 66; Alderman, "Colonists for Sale," 57.

Conclusion

Sir Edwin Sandys's June 11, 1621, proposal to move London's poor to Virginia went to the lower house of Parliament. It brought applause and plans for sending apprentices, servants, and wives as well as funding for some at the parish level unit of government.²⁰⁴ Sandys's proposal also compared the focus on tobacco to costs of sending apprentices, servants, and wives. The Council was to consider how to limit tobacco planting or decrease its proportion of total planting²⁰⁵ Government supported work was planned at the parish level for the people's travel. Settlement of Virginia resulted from negotiations between the private sector and the public sector as well as from individuals' adventuring, often in response to propaganda appeals from the Company including printed pamphlets. The public lotteries, while they were in effect, were a major source of funds and publicity.

May 20, 1622, "a generall order" appeared in a "printed Publication" stating that persons who placed "12s 10d Adventure into the Lottery" would get "prizes" and "should have a share of land in Virginia." The Court stated that after a friend of Mr, Ditchfield's received these winnings, others due this benefit would have to wait "vntill the Lottery Accounts were cleared."²⁰⁶

At court on April 30, 1621, Lady Lawarr's concerns about her goods appeared intersecting with those of Henry Rolfe, brother of John Rolfe, who had married Pocahontas, who had died after some time in England. Henry Rolfe had "brought vp the Child his said Brother had

²⁰⁴ RVC IA, June 11, 1621, 479-80.

²⁰⁵ RVC IA, June 11, 1621, 480.

²⁰⁶ RVC IIB, May 20, 1622, 16.

by Powhatan's Daughter [Pocahontas] wch Child is yet lyvinge and in his custodie."²⁰⁷ Lady Lawarr July 10, 1621, asked that a Commission investigate "what goods and monny" of her deceased husband's had gone to John Rolfe in 1611 and asked that any debt be satisfied.²⁰⁸ April 30, 1621, it had been "thought fitt that mr Henry Rolfe should acquaint my Lady Lawarre of his Brothers offer . . . to make her Lap: good and faithfull Account of all such goods as remayne in his hands vpon her Laps: direccion. . . ."²⁰⁹ Although Lady Lawarr disbursed substantial payments to many, she lived in a colony burdened by debt.

On February 2, 1620, the Court Book reports that the Children living at the Company's expense and care were to learn matters including a "good Trade and profession"²¹⁰ that would provide support for them until they were 24 or out of apprenticeships. Their apprenticeships typically lasted until they were at least 24 and they were often a minimum of seven years.²¹¹ This description²¹² introduces the possibility of long-term service,²¹³ although the apprentice relation was to include gifts of land at age 21.²¹⁴

On May 17, 1620, the Court recorded receiving 400 shillings from the City for "a hundred Children sent to Virginia."²¹⁵ Importing of children was a step toward importing of young women for brides.

²⁰⁷ RVC IA, April 30, 1621, 450; RVC IIB, Oct. 7, 1622, 105-06.

²⁰⁸ RVC IA, July 10, 1621, 507.

²⁰⁹ RVC IA, April 30, 1621, 459.

²¹⁰ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 305.

²¹¹ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 306.

²¹² RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 304-06.

²¹³ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 306.

²¹⁴ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 305.

²¹⁵ RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 355.

Gender relations shown in the Company's Court Book were perhaps not as infused with "reinforcement" of "hierarchy" as James Horn and Paul Musselwhite argue in their book,²¹⁶ *Virginia 1619: Slavery & Freedom in the Making of English America*. These scholars' inquiry considers the colonists' survival and growth²¹⁷ and the "question of how to make an English polity in America stable, profitable, and sustainable"²¹⁸ Virginia became "the center of debate over commonwealth, race, and empire, rather than merely a disorderly and dysfunctional periphery."²¹⁹ Although Lady Lawarr's husband had been of wealth and status, she usually transacted through a male agent, apparently because of the hierarchy of gender relations.

I find women in the Court Book portrayed as freely acting transactors, although some worked through an agent rather than directly. A few women were brought into the center of transactions. The Court Book shows traces of communitarianism, although contract and custom are shown winning over concern about possible miscommunication, as in the case of Edwards Barnes, son of Mrs Alice Bohune, whose minister husband had died. Kinship with a minister, pressures of widowhood, or possible miscommunication would not alleviate requirements said to be arranged for service. Mrs Bohune had petitioned the Company October 31, 1621. Dr. Bohune had furnished and transported servants to Virginia. Mrs Bohune asked for some "Annuall contribucon." She also asked "to release and free her sonne from his seauen yeares service . . . contrary to his meaninge and her expectacon." She was informed that the Company rather than Dr. Bohune had employed her son. "[H]e was to serue out his yeares and might not be sett at

²¹⁶ Horn and Musselwhite, "Introduction," *1619: Slavery & Freedom*, 12.

²¹⁷ RVC IA, Feb. 2, 1620, 306.

²¹⁸ Horn and Musselwhite, *1619: Slavery & Freedom*, 12.

²¹⁹ Horn and Musselwhite, *1619: Slavery & Freedom*, 12.

liberty.”²²⁰ May 17, 1620, a list of patents “for Particular Plantacons” granted for the year had included one “To Doctor Bohunn.”²²¹

The Court Records show ffraunces Newman’s entry to servitude possibly not linked to apprenticeship or indenture. April 8, 1620, friends of ffraunces Newman, “who beinge sent a freeman and there susteyninge greate bondage and slavery. . .” “alleged of Capt Argall” petitioned. The problem was “referred to the Articles by the Company preferred against him . . .” “Meanwhile, friends would “write to the Governor for Newman’s releasemt, If vppon due examinacon” the Governor found “no cause to the contrary.”²²² Although freedom was widely supported, Newman’s case may have edged into some support for slavery.

Newman’s situation of possibly becoming a slave when the English system had not reappeared (after Queen Elizabeth banned slaves) connects io that of the “20. and odd Negroes” in a ship containing no other cargo, which was referred to in *Records of the Virginia Company*,²²³ cited in Philip D. Morgan’s “Virginia Slavery in Atlantic Context” as coming from John Rolfe,²²⁴ Rolfe had been married to Pocahontas before she died in England.²²⁵

The Company Records note, “About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 [tons] arrived at Point-Comfort, the Commandors name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one Mr Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett with the Trer [treasurer] in the West Indyes, and determined to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, wch the Governor and Cape Marchant

²²⁰ RVC IA, Oct. 31, 1621, 544.

²²¹ RVC IA, May 17, 1620, 354.

²²² RVC IA, April 8, 1620, 337.

²²³ RVC III, Jan. 1619/20, 243.

²²⁴ Horn, *1619*, 2, Kindle Edition.

²²⁵ Morgan, “Virginia Slavery,” *Virginia 1619: Slavery & Freedom*, 85-207, 85-87.

bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he prtended) at the best and easyest rate they could. He hadd a lardge and ample Comysion from his Excellency to range and to take purchase tn the West Indyas.”²²⁶ Apparently, royal authority arranged for a ship commander with an English pilot for the West Indies to roam the sea and “take purchase” in the West Indies. This roaming and accepting or buying of human cargo seemed possibly acting routinely although it was described as acting under pressure of extreme hunger. The commander did have major purchasing power for some purpose.

Earlier, John Hawkins had “bought, stole, and captured slaves” from the Guinea coast. He took them to the northern seaside of South America along with the Caribbean, an area then dominated by Spain. There he intimidated Spanish officials and got them to allow him to sell his captives as enslaved people.²²⁷

Edmund S. Morgan states that Virginia later would have slave labor because colonial America would be challenged to be as powerful as other countries and needed shipping and munitions help from other countries, mainly France, to accomplish that. In this, they needed to sell tobacco, which would by then be primarily a slave labor product.²²⁸ Morgan looks to the convoluted law of the seas for origins of the contradictory environment of freedom that would emerge by revolutionary times, when “Free ships make free goods’ was the cardinal doctrine of American foreign policy.”²²⁹

According to Warren M. Billings, in November 1623, led by orders from King James, Attorney-General Thomas Coventry brought suit “in the Court of King’s Bench

²²⁶ RVC III, Jan. 1619/20, 243.

²²⁷ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 9, Kindle Edition.

²²⁸ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 5, Kindle Edition.

²²⁹ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 5. Kindle Edition.

upon a writ of quo warranto” (by what authority) for the Company to explain why it could keep its charter. Within six months, the court decided in the crown’s favor. The charter was taken, and the Company no longer existed.²³⁰

James Horn observes that in the 1580s few would have thought that English trade would change so much in the next 100 years. “In 1622, 93 percent (by value) of London’s imports were from Europe and the Baltic, less than 6 percent from Asia, and less than 1 percent from America. By the end of the century, two-thirds of imports were from Europe, compared to 16 percent from Asia and 18 percent from America.” By the middle of the century, London sent tobacco from Virginia to Amsterdam and Hamburg. “Tobacco was the first of the American staples to emerge.”²³¹ Tobacco became the dominant trade product despite efforts led by Sandys to diversify planting and marketing. Tobacco was at the center of political as well as economic activity in the colony that the maids sent to Virginia entered.

²³⁰ Billings, *Jamestown and the Founding*, Ch. 3, Kindle Edition.

²³¹ Horn, *Adapting to a New World English Society*, 5, Kindle Edition.

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