

THE TRADE OF THE VIRGINIA COLONY

1606 to 1660

by

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Submitted in accordance with the regulations for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in  
the University of Liverpool

October, 1971



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ABSTRACT



Colonial Virginia is a subject which has long attracted the attention of historians. However there has been, for an equally long time, a tendency to concentrate on certain, more obvious, aspects of Virginia to the exclusion of other facets of colonial life. Hence numerous volumes have been written on the political system, the tobacco industry and the social system, but few historians have actually studied the mechanics of trade, the ships that were used or the people who interested themselves in the commerce of Virginia. Almost all of these infrequent studies have dwelt on the Eighteenth Century with only a passing reference to developments in the early decades of settlement. Yet for the first years of the colony, Virginia was totally dependent on supplies from England. The ships were not only important in bringing foodstuffs and manufactured articles, they were also the only link between the young colony and the outside world. The colonists had to rely on the prompt arrival and dispatch of the vessels for information, orders and instructions. They were an essential part of colonial administration.

Therefore, the major part of this study, is concerned with the organisation that was established in England and Virginia to facilitate trade between them. Between 1606 and 1624 trade to the colony was controlled by the Virginia Company. At first the members had a

complete monopoly of trade but, finding that it proved impossible to supply the colonists adequately, they were forced to admit others into the trade. Hence, when the blow of dissolution fell in 1624, there was no break in the commerce with Virginia, the individual traders continued on patterns they had been allowed to pursue under the control of the Company. These patterns of trade, the contacts in England between the owner of a vessel, the merchant who wished to freight and the merchant who wished to transport goods to and from the colony, appear to have matured very rapidly. By 1660, the whole process of trade organisation in England ran on well-oiled and accepted lines. Running concurrently with this development in England, was a similar one in Virginia. As time progressed, both merchants and planters became aware that it was better for them to establish firm contacts with each other. This was done by two methods, consignment and factorage, both of which were to flourish throughout the colonial era, but had their beginnings in the period under review.

However the generally smooth pattern of trade between Virginia and England was interrupted several times by delays and difficulties. The fact that there were so many parties interested in a single trading voyage to the colony, operating under the suspect method of chartering, was almost certain to cause innumerable arguments. These often resulted in cases in the High Court of Admiralty. The also resulted in loss of time and money to all concerned. Undoubtedly the

greatest number of delays and difficulties occurred within Virginia itself. These stemmed from many factors, some of which were found in all aspects of colonial life. An additional cause of delay were the innumerable regulations instituted by the government in England and the authorities in Virginia. Most of these were concerned with the trade in tobacco which commodity was central to the well-being of the colony and to the successful pursuit of commerce. However there were other goods exported from the colony, a fact which has been overlooked in most previous accounts of trade.

One of the most important aspects of Virginia commerce in the years under discussion and throughout the colonial period, was the voyage across the Atlantic. It was essential that this should be conducted as speedily and with as little delay as was possible at a time when the art of navigation was still in its infancy. The voyage has been discussed in two ways. A statistical survey of the time taken to cross the Atlantic, the possible routes and ports of call before reaching the colony, and the instance of accidents, has been undertaken. Secondly, an attempt has been made to discover under what conditions passengers and goods were shipped. It has been found that, considering the length of the passage and the inexperience of many of the seamen of the conduct of such a voyage, accidents were surprisingly few. They were caused chiefly by attacks from hostile vessels and not, except in a few cases, by human error or by adverse

weather conditions. Although there were several instances of damage, due mainly to the negligence of seamen or freighters, the few occurrences of accidents, also served to ensure that most commodities arrived at their destination in a reasonable condition. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the passengers. Despite an increased expertise in the Atlantic crossing, brought by time and experience, conditions on board ship were often appalling and did not show any marked improvement. This was chiefly the fault of the freighters who packed their ships with passengers and victualled meanly in an attempt to increase profits. Disease and death were the direct results of overcrowding and poor diet.

Two chapters of the thesis are devoted to a discussion of wider aspects of commerce. A commonly held view of the time, expressed by mercantilist thinkers, was that the colonies should be established for the benefit of the colonising power. England attempted, therefore, to hold a monopoly of the trade with Virginia. However this monopoly was challenged throughout the period by other trading nations of Europe, most notably the Dutch. The colonists often found that trade with the Dutch held many attractions and thus ignored the laws. This was especially prevalent at times of national unrest in England which disrupted trade and prevented sufficient vessels being sent to the colony. The Virginians were then forced to turn elsewhere and found

the Dutch only too willing to take over from the English. However there is no evidence to suggest that any nation ever challenged the overall supremacy of the English in trade with Virginia.

After the first twenty years or so, the colonists found that they had another alternative market for their goods and a source of supply, the neighbouring colonies, both English and European. The involvement of Virginia in the earliest inter-colonial trade has been largely ignored previously, yet there is evidence to show that, after 1630, Virginia traded quite extensively with New England, the New Netherlands, Bermuda and West Indies. The advantages of this trade were obvious; supplies could be gained more safely and more speedily and commerce could be pursued with the people of other nations, far from the watchful eye of the English government. Virginia was undoubtedly at a central position for most inter-colonial trade in the period and, for this reason alone, a study of its development is valuable and important.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the Staffs of the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Southampton Record Office, the Bristol Record Office and the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. Their help and advice has enabled me to save much precious time. A special mention must be made of the staff of the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia, in particular Dr. Edward Riley, the Director, and Mrs Marylee McGregor, the Research Archivist. Their work with the Virginia Colonial History Project was especially valuable in guiding me along the right lines in the early stages of my research. I must also thank Dr. Richard M. Brown of the History Department of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, with whom I initially discussed the topic of this thesis and in whose seminar I learnt the essential lessons of the methodology of thesis writing. Above all, I must express my gratitude to Professor David B. Quinn. His constant interest, invaluable advice and seemingly endless patience, ensured that my major errors were eradicated and that my research was pursued to completion.

### NOTE ON SOURCES

In the research towards the compilation of this thesis, I have studied the customary primary sources on American Colonial History for the period 1606 to 1660. These include the State Papers, both Domestic and Colonial, the Acts of the Privy Council Colonial and certain collections in the manuscript department of the British Museum. However, as the thesis concentrates on the trade of colonial Virginia, I have relied heavily on the records of the High Court of Admiralty and the Exchequer Kings Remembrancer Port Books together with certain isolated records of local admiralty courts (notably those of Bristol and Southampton) and petty customs books. Although the records of the High Court of Admiralty are vast, I have concentrated chiefly on the Books of Examinations, which give all the details of ships, cargoes and crews necessary for a study of this nature. Where it seemed essential to look further, an examination of the files of libels and certain series such as the extant charter parties and ships papers has been made. The great asset of these High Court of Admiralty records is their continuity even through the national unrest which characterised the later part of the period. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the port books. There are large gaps in these records which have been caused by loss, destruction or deterioration. This makes the estimation of accurate figures for the number of ships dispatched to Virginia in any year and the types and quantities of

cargoes entering and leaving from the colony extremely difficult. In addition many of the extant records for the amount of tobacco imported into England are not sub-divided into figures for individual sources of origin. Hence it cannot be determined whether the tobacco is from Virginia, Bermuda, Spain or the Caribbean. The problem is eased slightly in the middle of the period under consideration when the duties on tobacco were levied according to the country of origin. However, even then, cargoes of tobacco from Virginia and Bermuda were subject to the same rates and appear as one return in the customs records.

The calculation of the nature and quantity of goods involved in the trade between England and Virginia is further complicated by the fact that many of the commodities were not subject to any duties and, consequently, do not appear in the customs records. This is particularly true in the case of goods exported to the colony. The government in England sought to encourage exports to the colonies and a duty on such exports would have served as a deterrent. Admittedly there are occasional references to exports to Virginia being charged duties but these are so rare that it would be foolish to compile a comprehensive picture of the commodities exported to the colony in the period 1606 to 1660. Similarly certain goods imported from the colony were not customable, for example fish, and do not appear in the records. It must also be remembered that before 1619 the Company was granted an exemption

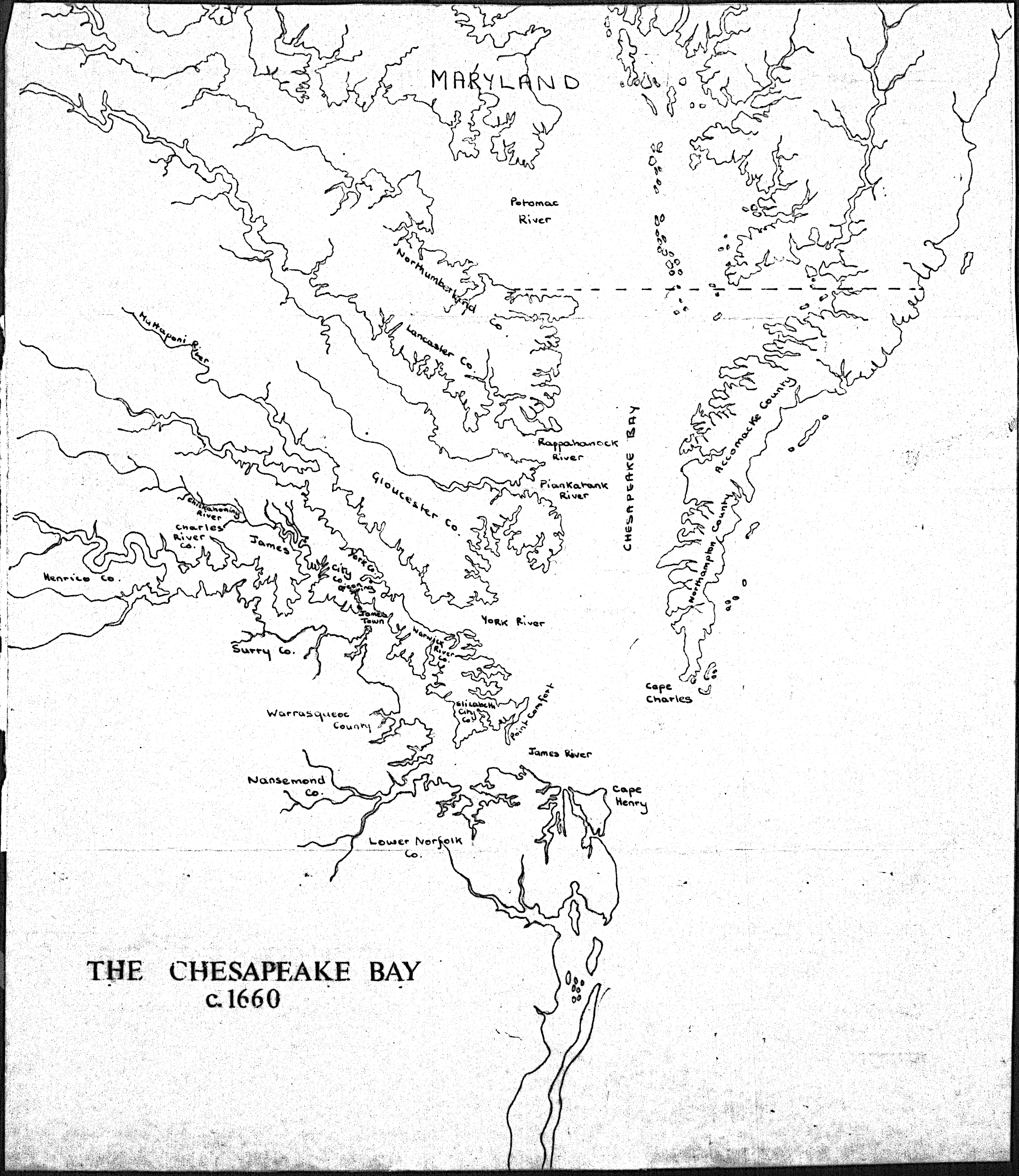


from duties. Above all, the extant customs records do not give the complete picture for trade in any commodity from Virginia or elsewhere. Throughout the period there was opposition among the London merchants to the whole system of import and export duties. Smuggling was thought to be widespread and, not surprisingly, there are no records of this particular facet of commercial activity.

On the other hand, research into American Colonial History has been greatly facilitated by the interest shown by previous generations of historians. Much of the material has been catalogued. Works such as The Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain by Charles M. Andrews are invaluable starting places for anyone wishing to research into this subject. Turning to the history of colonial Virginia in particular, E. G. Swem's Virginia Historical Index gives a comprehensive guide to materials published on the subject before 1930, especially articles and notes on sources in the William and Mary Quarterly and the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. An additional facet of the interest in Colonial American History is the printing of much of the basic material. In the case of Virginia, Susan M. Kingsbury's editing of the Records of the Virginia Company and the work of H.W. McIlwaine in the Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia and the Minutes of the Council and Court of Colonial Virginia has proved invaluable in the compilation of this thesis. Many of the documents relevant to the history of the other

mainland colonies have also been printed and have been consulted extensively in the research into inter-colonial trade. However all these printed sources concentrate heavily on the political history of these colonies.

The chapter on the interest of the other European nations in the trade of Virginia has been based totally on foreign sources in translation or on English sources and must be read with this consideration in mind. It would have taken several years work in the archives of France, Holland and Spain to have written a comprehensive account of this trade. However it is interesting to compare the activities of the English nation with those of other countries and to discuss the attitude of the English authorities and the Virginians themselves to these attempted incursions into one of the most cherished monopolies of the believers in mercantilist thought.



MARYLAND

Potomac River

Northumberland

Lancaster Co.

Rappahannock River

Piankatank River

Gloucester Co.

Mattaponi River

James City Co.

Henrico Co.

James

York Co.

York River

Surry Co.

Warwick River

Warrasqueoc County

Silaboth City Co.

James River

Nansmond Co.

Lower Norfolk Co.

Cape Henry

CHESAPEAKE BAY

Cape Charles

Accomacke County

Northampton County

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY  
c. 1660

CHAPTER 1.

ORGANISATION OF SHIPPING IN ENGLAND

The Virginia Company, chartered in 1606, was first and foremost a commercial organisation. Its main aim was to promote trade between itself and the colony which it established in Virginia and thus reap a rich reward for its members who ventured money into a joint stock. This profit was to be gained from the exploitation of raw materials or the establishment of industry much on the lines that Richard Hakluyt had set down in his Discourse on Western Planting. In exchange for these raw materials or industrial products, the Company would send essential supplies to the colony. However Hakluyt and the other promoters of colonial ventures unintentionally misled the speculators. It was true that certain of the raw materials mentioned by Hakluyt could be found on the American Continent but not all in the same area and certainly not all in Virginia. The hopes of quite wealth were soon shattered when it was realised in London that the colony, until some staple crope could be established, would be reliant on the Company for supplies and the trade balance would be an adverse one for them. Much hard work and expense was necessary before the Virginia colony was placed on a sound financial basis. Much of the credit for this much go to the Company which, despite a constant precarious financial situation, managed to maintain a colony in Virginia until a certain amount of stability appeared. It can be argued that the strain of keeping the colonists alive was one of the factors which

led to the eventual dissolution of the Company in 1624.<sup>1</sup> To some extent the pressure of establishing and maintaining a colony by means of a single joint stock Company had failed before 1624. At first trade was limited to those ships sent out by the adventurers of the Company. This proved inadequate and in 1616 certain groups of private individuals within the Company were allowed to dispatch vessels. The colonists, believing that supply was not as cheap or as effecient as it could be under complete free trade, petitioned for the extension of commerce. In January 1619 free trade was declared. The Company, although unsuccessful in maintaining a monopoly of trade for itself, did establish the colony and the means of trade in 1619 which was to continue after the dissolution and throughout the colonist period.

Between 1606 and 1619 trade was limited to those ships sent out by the adventurers of the Company. The latter was given power in the Charter of 1606 to arrest any other vessel found trading within the confines of the colony and was allowed to impose fines for the violation of this, two and a half per cent of the value of the goods traded if the offenders were English and five per cent if they were foreigners.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of this problem see, Craven, Wesley Frank, The Dissolution of the Virginia Company, (New York, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> Bemiss, Samuel M., Three Charters of the Virginia Company, (Williamsburg, 1957), 7-8.

This duty was increased to five per cent and ten per cent respectively by the Charter of 1609.<sup>3</sup> Trade within the Company was to be confined for the first five years to two or three stocks at the most. Supplies were purchased with the money contributed and transported as the property of the subscribers as a body. Commodities were to be returned from Virginia to England for sale and the proceeds divided among the adventurers in proportion to their shares. In the 1609 Charter membership of the Company was widened and fifty-six corporations of the City of London and more than 650 individuals united themselves into corporations of private adventurers for the advancement of the plantation. Certain of the London Livery companies contributed money under the provisions of this Charter. In the records of the Stationers Company there is a receipt, signed by Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, stating that they had received from the wardens of the Stationers Company the sume of £125.<sup>4</sup> In some instances trade associations contributed merchandise as well.<sup>5</sup> Later the various companies contributed to the lottery which was instituted in the hope that more money would be available to aid

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, Philip A., Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., (New York, Peter Smith, 1935) 1st. ed., 1895, II, 268.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, William A., ed., Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640, (London 1957), p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 260-267.

the dispatch of supplies. The Stationers Company were asked to contribute to the lottery.<sup>6</sup> In June 1612 the Court of the Haberdashers Company ordered that their wardens should adventure the sum of £30.<sup>7</sup> In 1614 they adventured only £20.<sup>8</sup>

The money collected by these various means was used to purchase supplies. The organisation of this was left in the hands of the Deputy Governor, who was the chief administrative officer of the Company. He was also responsible for the dispatch of shipping and passengers. For his assistance he had a committee of sixteen chosen by the court of the Company.<sup>9</sup> The Company decided when a ship would be sent out and publicly announced the fact. In 1609 the members declared their intention to send out supplies in nine ships under Lord De la Warr.<sup>10</sup> Often such a declaration was in the form of a broadside signed by the council. Attached to this would be a plea for men as in the case of the one of January 1611 which urged all interested skilled

<sup>6</sup> Jackson, Stationers' Company, p. 346-347

<sup>7</sup> Haberdashers' Company, Minutes of the Court of Assistants, vol. I, (1583-1652), 179.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 189

<sup>9</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Virginia Company of London, (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> 'A True and Sincere Declaration', December 14, 1609. Brown Alexander, The Genesis of the United States, 2 vols (Boston 1890), I, 337-353.



tradesmen to gather at a certain London address by the end of the month so that they might go to Virginia in the expedition of Sir Thomas Gates the following March.<sup>11</sup> More usual however was a plea for money which could be either attached to the broadside or published separately. The council sent out a letter on February 20 1611 urging people to adventure money for the proposed expedition. They stated that £30,000 was needed of which £18,000 had already been collected.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes the Privy Council would interest itself in raising money to supply the colony. This body wrote to the City Companies of London in 1614 urging them to adventure sums.<sup>13</sup> Once cash had been raised, the Deputy Governor and the committee could then fit out the ships for the voyage. Such arrangements appear to have been unsatisfactory. In the years 1612 to 1616 only nine vessels were sent out. This failure can be attributed to one major factor, the Company's lack of money. Because the financial rewards of Virginia trade seemed so remote in these early years before the establishment of tobacco as the staple crop, people were unwilling

11 'Broadside by the Council', Ibid., I, 445.

12 'A Circular Letter of the Birginia Council', February 20, 1611, ibid., I, 463-465.

13 'Privy Council to the City Companies', April 7, 1614, ibid., II 685-686.

to venture large sums. The lottery itself proved useless in this respect as testified by the reduction in the amount adventured by the Haberdashers Company. The difficulty in securing funds led to innumerable delays in the dispatch of supplies. Apparently members even found difficulty in securing funds for the second supply in 1608.<sup>14</sup> The disturbing delay in the arrival of Lord De la Warr in 1610 is easily explained. The joint stock subscription of 1609 had been the product of a high pressure sales campaign and many subscribers had hardly put their names to the list before doubts and regrets beset them. They were slow in paying up and some paid only in part or not at all. Reports reached London in the autumn of 1609 of the apparent loss of Somers, Gates and Dale in the Seaventure and of the resulting confusion in the colony making the prospect of equipping another expedition even more unlikely.<sup>15</sup> In the winter special appeal to delinquents was circulated by the Company. It put the best possible face on the situation and ended with a simple appeal to

<sup>14</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 246.

<sup>15</sup> In fact they had been wrecked on the Bermudas and did reach Virginia the following year. See Chapter III

conscience. Men had promised money and on this assurance other men had staked their lives; to abandon them in their misfortune was to bear the guilt of their deaths.<sup>16</sup> In fact the members of the Company seem to have spent much time in covering up bad news. Inevitably certain information did become common knowledge. Thus 'the rumour of Lord De La Warr's death has discouraged some who promised to adventure money and deterred others who promised to go in person'.<sup>17</sup> Potential adventurers were also dissuaded from sinking money into Virginia by the possibility that the colony, like its predecessor at Roanoke, would be only a temporary phenomenon. Various alarms occurred during this period and threats of extinction were exaggerated. A letter in 1612 from John Digby to Lord Edmondes well illustrates such fears. He states that news has come to London from Lisbon and Seville that the Spaniards had wiped out the Virginia colony by means of a fleet and an army sent from Havana. Perhaps this evoked memories of the fate of the French colony at Fort Caroline in 1565. Although the Privy Council assured the adventurers that these

<sup>16</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, (Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> Records of the Virginia Company of London, ed., Kingsbury, Susan M., 4 vols., (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1906-1935), I, 483.

rumours were totally without foundation 'our merchants are strangely affrighted; and some of the best of them have withdrawn themselves from the trade.' 18

It was not only the failure to supply the colonists adequately that caused the Company to reconsider their trading policy, problems had arisen over the colonists themselves. At first all were engaged as servants of the Company. It was found, however, that the settlers attracted to the colony under these conditions were, in the main, soldiers of fortune and elegant young gentlemen dispatched to Virginia by anxious friends and relatives 'to escape ill destinies'. These groups, more interested in quick wealth, were not prepared to undertake the many mundane tasks, building shelters, clearing the ground and planting, which were a necessary adjunct to the initial success of any colony. The Company tried to make the best of these difficulties and often applauded themselves that they managed to achieve so much under such adversities. In 1615, the members stated that, despite the fact that the lottery had not measured up to expectations, 'yet have we not failed in our Christian care in the colony of Virginia, to whom we have

<sup>18</sup> Edmondes Papers, British Museum, Stowe Manuscripts, 173, vol., VIII, f. 223. See also, Calender of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1574-1674 p. 41, 46, 83.

lately made two sundrie supplies of men and provisions'.<sup>19</sup>

Despite these bold statements, in 1616 the first grants of 'particular' plantations in Virginia were made to private individuals within the Company. The owners of these tracts of land were responsible for the dispatch of colonists to work the land and for the upkeep of such men and women as were sent. They were careful to recruit only those whose skills would be of some use to the colony; for example agricultural workers from the depressed areas of the South West of England. At the same time groups of private individuals were given permission to send out vessels. In 1617 the Edwin arrived in Virginia with goods for trading under the patent issued to John Martin.<sup>20</sup> The goods dispatched by the Company as a whole were sent on the Magazine Ship, the first of these, the Susan left England in late July 1616.<sup>21</sup>

The monopoly still seems to have been unpopular with the colonists who wanted a more varied selection of goods at more competitive prices. Pressure was exerted on the Company by merchants

<sup>19</sup> 'A Declaration for the Lottery', February 22, 1619  
Brown, Genesis, II, 162

<sup>20</sup> Brown, Alexander, The First Republic in America,  
(New York, 1907), p 258

<sup>21</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 258

outside who wished to trade with Virginia. In 1618 a petition was presented to Lord Zouch, warden of the Cinq Ports and a member of the Company, in which permission was sought by a Captain Andrews of the Silver Falcon to make a trading voyage to barter fish caught off the Canadian Coast for commodities in Virginia. Zouch granted this request.<sup>22</sup>

The impetus for merchants to want to trade with Virginia was provided by the expanding tobacco trade. The first shipment arrived in England in 1614 on the Elizabeth. After 1616 expansion was rapid; the amount from Virginia and Bermuda increased from 2,300 pounds in 1616 to 18,839 pounds in 1617 and 49,528 pounds in 1618.<sup>23</sup> Several adventurers within the Company were also dissatisfied with the existing arrangements for trade and 'particular' plantations. One such adventurer, John Bargrave, petitioned Parliament in 1621. He alleged that his goods had been detained from him on arrival in London from Virginia in 1618, he had been prevented from exercising his right to free trade and from controlling his grant of land. He blamed

<sup>22</sup> Brown, First Republic, p. 284

<sup>23</sup> Sackville Papers, American Historical Review, vol. 27 (October 1921-July 1922), p. 497.

these events on the 'tyranny' of the treasurership of Sir Thomas Smythe.<sup>24</sup> These allegations must be seen in the light of the quarrel between the factions of Sir Thomas Smythe and of Sir Edwin Sandys which had led to the latter taking over the treasurership in 1619. However it does seem that there was considerable uncertainty as to whom should be allowed land grants and trade in the colony in the period 1616 to 1619. Certainly there were still problems with the colonists, too few skilled men had volunteered to go to Virginia and it was thought that a more far ranging policy of recruitment was necessary. On November 17, 1618, a debate was opened in the Council of the Company as to whether the Magazine should be dissolved and free trade allowed.<sup>25</sup> After some discussion, on January 12, 1619 dissolution was agreed upon and a few weeks later the Treasurer informed the court that the Magazine had voluntarily dissolved itself and free trade declared.<sup>26</sup> Part of the reason for this was the precarious nature of the Company finances and some of the more serious charges

<sup>24</sup> For the whole case see, Stock, Leo Francis ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, (Washington, D.C., 1924), I, 24-27.

<sup>25</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, 272-273.

<sup>26</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, p. 293 and 302

brought against the administration of Sir Thomas Smythe related to the mismanagement of the Magazine. Investigations of its finances was still taking place in 1623.<sup>27</sup> A wider cause of the failure of the Company to supply the colony adequately under the monopoly stemmed from the general trade picture in England at the time. According to Ralph Davis, English trade was expanding in the first decade of the seventeenth century but the second decade saw a slowing down and progress may have come to a halt in 1614 to 1616. He attributes this to the peace between Holland and Spain in 1609 which left the latter free to pursue commercial enterprise.<sup>28</sup> Thus English trade at the time of the abolition of the monopoly of the Virginia Company was suffering badly from Dutch competition, a state of affairs which was to hinder English commerce for much of the first half of the century. At the same time as the declaration of free trade, it was agreed that any person who wished to go to Virginia should be granted the seventeenth century equivalent of an assisted passage. Most

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., I, 218.

<sup>28</sup> Davis, Ralph, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry, (London, 1962), p.8.



settlers went as indentured servants for terms of from three to seven years. Their employers would pay for their passage and other necessities of the voyage. The problem of recruitment to the colony had now been solved, there was no longer any shortage of settlers. In fact the major complaint of the authorities in the colony from 1619 to the dissolution of the Company in 1624 was that too many people were being sent and the well-established colonists could not deal with them.

From 1619 to the dissolution of the Company in 1624 trade between England and Virginia took on a dual aspect. Firstly there were those ships dispatched by adventurers who applied to the Company for a commission. The methods of organisation of these merchants was to continue as the basis of trade with Virginia after 1624. Secondly there were those sent out by the members of the Company entering into a joint stock. Such ships retained the old name of the magazine. It appears that the Company concerned itself more with licenses for private adventurers than with the magazine ship, which surely would have been more profitable to the members of the Company. In 1623 the Company wrote to the Governor and Council in Virginia and informed them 'we procured an underwriting of £700 to be sent in meal by way of a magazine as for all other commodities

we find by the undertaking of private persons you will be supplied even to superfluity'.<sup>29</sup> The magazine ship tended to arrive in Virginia after the best of the tobacco crop had been taken care of private individuals. In 1621 the entire crop had been sent out of the colony.<sup>30</sup> The basic cause of such a situation was the constant financial difficulty in which the Company found itself. One captain informed the Company that he would undertake to ship to Virginia six men skilled in making glass and beads (useful commodities for trading with the natives). He asked for financial help in July 1621 and by November it was decided that they were unable to finance him since the common stock was 'totally exhausted'.<sup>31</sup> The financial difference between the Company and the private traders is well illustrated by a memorandum of the Privy Council of July 1623. The representatives of the Virginia Company declared that several members had joined together and underwritten the sum of £100, but private merchants

<sup>29</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 263

<sup>30</sup> Bassett, Johns, 'The Relationship between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant', Annual Report of the American Historical Association, (1906), vol I, 555

<sup>31</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, 557

had ventured £1,800 in another ship 'which they believe is less than half that which will be eventually sent'.<sup>32</sup> Had the members had more cash with which to purchase supplies and hence speed up the dispatch of vessels, they would have gained a bigger share of the lucrative tobacco market and perhaps even made a profit. The lack of money caused the Company another problem. Often there was insufficient space in a ship for all the goods that people wished to transport. The only way to avoid this was to provide more ships which the Company was unable to do. In 1623 the master of the George was 'not able to take in all the goods of private men that are ready to be transported but hath refused as he affirmeth above thirty ton which is 120 heads'.<sup>33</sup> This situation was due partly to lack of money with which to hire ships and partly to bad management. It also added to the costs. Since there was no available shipping to transport convicts in 1619, the Company decided to maintain them until some was provided.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Public Record Office. Colonial Office. Entry Book of Letters, Commissions, Instruction, Charters, Warrants, Patents, Grants etc., 1606-1662. C.O.5 / 1354, f. 207

<sup>33</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 253.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., I, 271

A complex organisation was established to deal with Company ships. A committee was set up in June 1620 to work with the Deputy Governor (John Ferrar) for buying provisions and dispatching ships for Virginia. At least two men were elected to deal with the former, one of whom was the husband. They were to bring their accounts and bills to be examined by the auditors. This committee was also to take care of the invoices of provisions sent to Virginia.<sup>35</sup> One copy of the invoice was sent along with the goods and another copy put into the account book which was kept by the secretary.<sup>36</sup> The minute attention to detail in these provisions was probably a direct result of the bad book-keeping during the time that Sir Thomas Smith was Treasurer. Perhaps the finances of the Company were better supervised during the later period but it does not seem to have made the Company any more efficient in dispatching their own ships.

It is possible, through the records of the Company, to trace the procedure by which they obtained ships and victualled

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., III, 351

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., III, 352

them for the colony. On November 4, 1620, at a meeting of the General Court, the members were urged to think about the preparations for ships to be sent out the following spring.<sup>37</sup> There then began a search for suitable vessels. The task was left in the hands of Ferrar's committee who later reported on the availability of ships and negotiated terms with the owners. The committee reported in April 1621 that they 'had made enquiries and had already found out a very good ship called the George very fitting for their purpose'.<sup>38</sup> Most of the ships seemed to have been in the ownership of the adventurers of the Company which made the search for shipping somewhat easier. In the case of the George the committee were able to report that the ship they had found belonged to Mr. Wiseman, a member of the Company.<sup>39</sup> The owner of the ship and the committee would then negotiate terms for the hire of the ship and these would be presented to the court of the Company. The court urged the owner to have the ship ready for loading at a certain date at specified locations. A typical agreement was that made between the owners of the Abigail and the Company in 1620, 'to transport in her 200 persons

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., I, 410

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., I, 455

<sup>39</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, 455

and 50 tons of goods, for £700 in hand and £600 on certificate of arrival in Virginia'.<sup>40</sup>

To gain money to send out ships the Company issued a list of vistuals and goods to be sent. On the inner leaf was written 'I will adventure', leaving a blank space for the names of the adventurers and the amounts they were willing to venture. The signatories bound themselves to pay the sum within ten days.<sup>41</sup> The particular list cited here does not appear to have been particularly successful. Of the £1,800 needed only £727 was collected. However, a fair amount must have been obtained on other occasions. In December 1621 the Company wrote informing the colonists that almost £1,000 has been gathered, 'for the sending of shipwrights and housecarpenters; and so far has the business already proceeded, as we may assure you, and you the colony, that by God's blessing, they shall by the end of April at the furthest have the necessary supply among you'.<sup>42</sup>

By 1624 the poor financial situation and internal squabblings

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., I, 410

<sup>41</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., Calender of State Papers Colonial, (1964), 1st. published 1860, I, 49

<sup>42</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 530

of the Company coupled with a steady stream of complaints about conditions from the colonists forced the Crown to enquire into the affairs of the Company. Eventually dissolution was agreed upon and the Privy Council took over control of Virginian affairs. The dissolution was not without effect on the trade to Virginia. In the uncertain period of the royal investigations many merchants were reluctant to venture capital in case the dissolution also meant abandonment of the colony. This attitude came to the knowledge of the Privy Council who, in October 1623, ordered that 'it is His Majesty's most absolute command that the ships which were intended to be sent out at this time for Virginia, and are in some readiness for to go, be with all speed sent away for the relief of those that be there, and for the good of the plantation, and this be presently done without any stop or delay'.<sup>43</sup> The actual dissolution also caused some agitation among merchants and fears were expressed by the Crown about the small numbers of ships being prepared to go to the colony. The Privy Council wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton on this matter. The reply has been preserved. They assure the Privy

<sup>43</sup> C.O. 5/1354, f. 199-200

Council that one ship is setting out and another is being prepared at Plymouth.<sup>44</sup> In fact the former was the first to be sent out under the control of the Crown. Some idea of the panic felt by the merchants during the time of the dissolution can be gained from the figures of the numbers of ships that departed from England. In 1623 the figure was twenty-nine, but in 1624 it slumped to six and rose gradually to fifteen in 1625.<sup>45</sup>

After the dissolution of the Company, trade continued on the lines already established in 1619. As has been seen, the bulk of the Virginia trade after this date was in the hands of private merchants. Attempts were made at intervals during the period under review to reinstitute a company to oversee Virginia affairs. One such attempt in 1659 reached the stages of a draft act. Parliament had been petitioned by certain merchants of London to establish a company for the more effective exploitation of the colonial trade:

<sup>44</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 76.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix A



The most probable service and speedy way to effect the same, will be by incorporating and bringing into one body, and under one orderly rule and government, all such persons, merchants and others of or within this commonwealth as one and shall be willing to adventure either their persons or their estates for the initiating, establishing and introducing the said English trade and commerce. <sup>46</sup>

The Restoration seems to have brought an abrupt end to such plans. Certainly the colonists themselves were against any attempts to reinstitute a company. In 1642 the House of Burgesses introduced 'the Declaration against the Virginia Company'. This contained several arguments against the reestablishment of a company. Perhaps the most important and telling of these were the ones which expressed the desire of the colony to maintain free trade. <sup>47</sup>

Despite the fact that freedom of trade had been instituted in 1619, the Company still kept some control over the trade with Virginia. The private adventurers had to apply for commissions

<sup>46</sup> 'Draft of an act to incorporate a Company for the trade in America'. British Museum. Egerton Manuscripts 2395, ff 203-204.

<sup>47</sup> Morton, Richard L., Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960), I, 148.

to the Company. Several of these commissions have survived and the format for each is very similar. The ship is named and her tonnage given. The captain is urged to depart as soon as possible and take the most direct route to the colony with the one proviso that he does not interfere with the shipping of another nation except if provoked.<sup>48</sup> The captain of a ship would then enter into a covenant with the Company to abide by his commission.<sup>49</sup> Although the ships were usually ready loaded with supplies and passengers before a commission was sought, and its grant might seem to have been only a matter of form, there is at least one occasion on which such a commission was revoked. In August 1620, John Woodleefe, captain of the Margaret was deprived of his commission 'for divers good causes and weighty considerations.'<sup>50</sup>

The main impetus for the merchant community to trade to Virginia was one of profit and it is interesting to note that the agitation for free trade came at a time when tobacco was becoming established as a profitable crop. Theodore Rabb notes that in

<sup>48</sup> 'Commission to Captain William Tracey', Records of the Virginia Company, III, 624

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., III, 365-366

<sup>50</sup> 'Virginia Papers', Bulletin of the New York Public Library, vol. II, no.6 (June 1899) pp 257-258

1609, when expectations for a profit from the Virginia ventures ran high, merchants outnumbered gentry by more than two to one, but during the next three years, when new investors continued to appear in substantial numbers despite the absence of profits, the gentry outnumbered the merchants by two to one.<sup>51</sup> The 55.3 per cent of the Company whom Rabb classes as merchants provide the link between the Company trade and that of the private adventurers.<sup>52</sup> Many of the merchants who were registered as members of the Company were very active in sending out ships to the colony after 1624. John Delbridge a Plymouth merchant was one of those members instrumental in sending out the Darling, the Bona Nova and the Hopewell in 1626. Rabb traces him as a director of the Company, joining in 1612 and being a member of six other companies including the Bermuda Company and the East India Company. He was also an M.P. from 1614 to 1628.<sup>53</sup> Delbridge had some part in the dispatch of at least five more ships between 1627 and 1633. A more notable case is that of Maurice Thompson who joined the

<sup>51</sup> Rabb, Theodore K., Enterprise and Empire, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), p. 38

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 30

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 279

Virginia Company fairly late, in 1623. He was also, according to Rabb interested in privateering ventures.<sup>54</sup> Between 1627 and 1640 he sent out some twenty five ships to Virginia.<sup>55</sup> Later, during the Interregnum, he traded to the East and West Indies.<sup>56</sup>

The risks involved in opening up new areas for English trade had been one of the major factors in the establishment of joint stock companies. By dividing the financial responsibility for a particular voyage the dangers inherent in such a venture and possible losses would also be shared out. The same was true of the activities of the individual merchants who traded to Virginia. Firstly they tended to spread goods in different vessels as a precaution against loss at sea. In 1637, Maurice Thompson shipped goods in no less than ten different

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 388

<sup>55</sup> These ships were; 1627, the James, 1629, the Hopewell, 1630, the Falcon, the Philip of London, 1631, the Falcon, the Africa, 1632, the America, 1633, the Robert Bonaventure, the Expedition, 1634, the Robert Bonaventure, 1635, the Paul, 1637, the Paul, the Rebecca, the John and Barbara, and seven unnamed ships, 1639, the Anne and James, the Hope, the Rebecca, 1640, the Unity

<sup>56</sup> Ashley, M.P. Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate, (London 1934), 14

vessels.<sup>57</sup> Secondly they traded in partnerships; almost no ship was dispatched for a single mercantile interest. The reverse was true. In May 1628 the Thomas and John reached the Thames carrying 46, 626 pounds of tobacco for thirty merchants.<sup>58</sup> During periods of instability such as the Civil War and the Dutch War of 1652 it became even more imperative to share the risks involved in the Virginia trade. In July 1650 the Council of State conferred with merchants trading to Virginia 'in companies'.<sup>59</sup> However most of these partnerships appear to have been only temporary. A certain group of merchants would combine for the dispatch of one ship and then disband. In 1630 William Cloberry and Maurice Thompson and other merchants wished to send out a vessel to explore the possibilities of trade with Virginia, Nova Scotia, New England and adjacent areas. They discussed the matter among themselves and decided to make a joint stock to carry out the venture.<sup>60</sup> Only seven cases of two or more merchants joining together on more

<sup>57</sup> Public Record Office. Port Books. Port of London. Overseas Imports Waiters Book. Christmas 1637-1638. E190/41/5

<sup>58</sup> Williams, Neville, 'England's Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I'. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 65, no. 4 (October 1957), 416

<sup>59</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic, 1650, p. 238

<sup>60</sup> High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/96, no. 318

than one occasion can be found.<sup>61</sup> In just one of these, that of Joseph Saunders and Francis Lathbury, did they combine to send out more than one ship. Saunders and Lathbury sent out, in 1636, the Mayflower, the Bonny Bess, and the Flower de luce. Such partnerships do not seem to have been accompanied by any type of written agreements and were merely useful devices to buy cargo in bulk which was too big for the individual to handle or when they wished to divide the cost of hiring a ship.

Any estimation of the total numbers of merchants who shipped goods to or from Virginia is hampered by the hiatus in the Port Books for the 1650's. 1,304 separate individuals were involved in dispatching goods to and from Virginia most of whom were, as far as can be judged, involved in only one ship.<sup>62</sup> Three merchants Edward Hurd, John Stone and John White were instrumental in the dispatch of thirteen ships, John Turner sent out fourteen and the case of Maurice Thompson has already been mentioned. An interesting point is that out of the total of 1,304, fifty-five were women, some of whom shipped goods on

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix B

<sup>62</sup> These figures can be broken down. 1,062 merchants were involved in one voyage, 131 in two voyages, 60 in three voyages, 20 in four voyages, 13 in five voyages, 8 in six voyages, 3 in seven voyages, 1 in nine voyages.

the same vessels as a man of the same name who might have been their husband. For example in 1639 Francis Stringer and Jeanne Stringer both received tobacco from the same ship.<sup>63</sup> Wilcomb Washburn maintains that the merchants who traded with Virginia formed a 'tight little group'.<sup>64</sup> The numbers of merchants traced from the extant records would suggest much to the contrary; especially during the later years of the period, the tobacco trade attracted a large number of men and women.

The great majority of merchants who traded to Virginia resided in London. The capital had been dominant in trade during the sixteenth century and thus mercantile contacts were well established and, particularly in the latter part of the century, experience was gained in the complexities of long distance trade with such areas as Russia and the East Indies. Another factor was the proximity of the Crown and central government. Royal interest and approval were essential for the establishment of colonies and this was more easily obtained by

<sup>63</sup> Port Book Port of London. Controller of Tunnage and Poundage, Overseas Imports by Denizens. Christmas 1639-Christmas 1640. E 190/43/5.

<sup>64</sup> Washburn, Wilcomb E., Virginia Under Charles I and Cromwell, 1625-1660, (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 14

London merchants. It can be argued that the failure of the Plymouth-based branch of the Virginia Company to establish a colony and the success of its London counterpart can be partly attributed to this factor. Ralph Davis puts forward another reason. London had a large and prosperous population which was able to afford to consume the luxuries that America produced. As these goods cheapened in the course of the seventeenth century and came into more general use, London had a smaller share in the market and the outports which had been declining for over a century gained a greater proportion of trade.<sup>65</sup> Thus it is not surprising that the capital had the vast proportion of the early Virginian trade. Of the 1,304 merchants who traded with Virginia in the period under review, only 174 were from the outports. Of these Plymouth supplied 66 and Southampton 42.<sup>66</sup> Similarly of the 703 ships known to have departed for the colony only 64 either left or returned to the outports. Part of the reasons for the lack of early activities

<sup>65</sup> Davis, English Shipping, p. 18

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix C for details on these merchants



in the outports as far as Virginia trade was concerned can be attributed to Crown policy. Several ordinances were passed requiring the goods imported from Virginia, notably tobacco, to be landed only in London. These ordinances and the rationale behind them will be discussed more fully in Chapter V. For the present discussion, it is important to note that these ordinances were in operation in the 1630's and 1640's and this is reflected in the figures pertaining to the outports. In 1627 of the total of 19 ships, six came from ports other than London and in 1628 the figure was 4. In 1656, of 14 ships there were 6 from the outports and, in 1659, of 16 there were 12 from Bristol alone. In fact, towards the end of the period, Bristol was beginning to challenge the superiority of London in trade with Virginia. Throughout the sixteenth century the port had maintained ties with America by means of the Newfoundland fishery and in that century the Society of Merchant Venturers was active in supporting the rights of Bristol traders. In the years up to the Civil War the West Indian and American trades had made a modest appearance, but were not yet of much importance. During the war, Bristol interests shared an increasing proportion of the Virginian trade. The Bristol merchants were willing to assume more of the risks of the trade than were their London counterparts. More substantial

links were established. One merchant, John Cary, had children and relatives in the colony.<sup>67</sup> By the years 1658-1659 and 1659-1660, one-seventh of the total shipping of Bristol was engaged in trade with the West Indies or with Virginia.<sup>68</sup> Between September 1658 and September 1659 ten Bristol ships traded with Virginia.<sup>69</sup> Therefore in the 1650's the interests of Bristol in the tobacco trade, which were to become so important in the latter part of the century, made their early appearance. In the extant Southampton customs records and Quarter Sessions examinations and depositions, Virginia ventures are more frequently mentioned in the 1640's and 1650's. This might suggest that trade between Virginia and Southampton was increasing during these two decades. However, Arthur Middleton exaggerates when he maintains that Bristol was the chief English port in the Chesapeake trade from 1650 to 1685.<sup>70</sup> It would be

<sup>67</sup> McGrath, Patrick ed., Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth Century Bristol, Bristol Record Society Publications no. XIX, (Bristol 1955), p. xviii

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., xxi

<sup>69</sup> McGrath, Patrick, Records Relating to the Society of Merchants Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century, Bristol Record Society Publications no. XVII, (Bristol 1952) p. 261

<sup>70</sup> Middleton, Arthur P., Tobacco Coast. A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era, (Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia, 1953), p. 250

true to say that for the decade of the 1650's, as for all the period, the London mercantile interest predominated.

Ralph Davis maintains that a merchant did not usually buy a ship for his own cargoes or use a ship owned by himself. The merchant would want the lowest freightage rate for his own goods and yet the highest for his ship.<sup>71</sup> The information gathered on the owners and merchants interested in Virginia trade testifies to this. Both owners and merchants of forty-four ships can be traced, out of these only twelve vessels had the same men in both capacities.<sup>72</sup> Acknowledging again the gaps in the records, 112 owners of ships engaged in Virginia trade have been found. Of these the great majority (ninety-five) were involved in only one voyage.<sup>73</sup> One man, William Allen, was the owner or part-owner of vessels which made ten visits to Virginia.<sup>74</sup> Owners of ships, like merchants, tended to form partnerships in a certain vessel to reduce losses.

<sup>71</sup> Davis, English Shipping, p. 90

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix D

<sup>73</sup> This figure can be broken down. One ship - ninety-five owners. Two ships - six owners. Three ships - three owners. Four ships - one owner. Five ships - one owner. Eight ships - five owners. Ten ships - one owner

<sup>74</sup> These ships were; in 1648 the Mary, in 1650 the Mary, in 1654 the Honor, Hopewell, Golden Lion, John and Katherine, Mayflower, Planter, William and the William and John

Property in a vessel was divided into equal parts or shares, usually divisions of four. Often some of these partnerships were quite large, sometimes more than twenty members, with affairs managed on behalf of them by one or two partners or even the master of the ship. Several of the partnerships in Virginia vessels have been recorded. In 1654, the William and John, Honor, Hopewell, Golden Lion, Planter, William, Mayflower, and the John and Katherine were owned in partnership by Alderman William Underwood, Alexander Bench, John Greensmith, William Allen, Thomas Allen, John Harriss and Thomas Rodbard.<sup>75</sup> Ownership of a vessel could be further complicated by each or some of the owners selling a part of their share to each other or to an outsider. At least one case came before the High Court of Admiralty which concerned disputed ownership of a vessel ( and also the profits of a voyage to Virginia ). When the Unity went out to Virginia in 1640 there were seven owners, but after she left, Captain Douglas sold one-eighth of his quarter share, Mr. Johnson the whole of his one-sixteenth and Mr. Wake

<sup>75</sup> As was the case with the mercantile interest, few ship-owners from the outports had a stake in the Virginian trade. Only two owners can be traced; John Cooke of Falmouth and William Pinhorne of Southampton

his recently acquired one-sixteenth to Mr. Taylor, an outsider.<sup>76</sup>

It can be seen that often an owning group was too large to exercise control efficiently. Perhaps certain members were unable to take an active part in the management of the ship or they were too occupied with other concerns. Thus one or two members of the group were entrusted with the task of management of the affairs of the others regarding a particular vessel. In 1626, John Davis, one of the owners of the Marmaduke, was entrusted by the others with overseeing the business of the voyage. He calculated what debts had been occurred during the fitting of the ship and took an account of the freight.<sup>77</sup>

There were, therefore, two parties involved in most Virginia voyages, the merchants who desired to ship goods and the owners who wished to hire out their ships for a particular voyage. It appears that much of the contact between the two groups was carried on by word of mouth since the mercantile communities of the seventeenth century were relatively small; small enough

<sup>76</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty, Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1642-1643. H.C.A. 13/58 f. 562v

<sup>77</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty, Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1628-1629. H.C.A. 13/46 f. 383v

to have specific meeting places. Davis notes that from the time of the Civil War onwards, an alternative method of contact was by advertising in one of the newsheets which were beginning to appear.<sup>78</sup> However, for the greater part of the period, the contacts necessary for the pursuance of Virginia trade were made at the Royal Exchange at London and, to a lesser extent but growing towards the end of the period, at the Tolsey in Bristol. A merchant could come to one of these centres with every expectation of finding a ship in which to carry his goods. When in 1649 Colonel Norwood and his companion wished to travel to Virginia 'to seek our fortunes', they went to the Royal Exchange 'where we grew acquainted - with Captain John Locker whose bills upon the post made us know he was the master of a good ship the Virginia Merchant'.<sup>79</sup> The contract between the merchant and the ship-owner was drawn up in the form of a charter party. Davis maintains that this was 'the typical form of the pioneering days of English long

<sup>78</sup> Davis, English Shipping, p. 162

<sup>79</sup> Churchill, A. and J. Churchill eds., Collection of Voyages and Travels, (London 1746) 1st published 1732, VI, 161

distance shipping.<sup>80</sup> The charter party was usually drafted at the office of one of the scribes who conveniently situated themselves behind the Royal Exchange. In 1638 Joshua Maynett, a scrivener, testified that in September 1637, William Hill the merchant and John Fairborne the owner of the Elizabeth came to him to draw up a charter party which they signed and sealed in his presence.<sup>81</sup>

The form of charter parties followed a fairly regular pattern and the one concluded in 1653 between Alexander Welding, merchant and William Swanley and George Swanley, part owners of the Providence of London, can be taken to be fairly typical. The merchants agreed to hire the ship for seven months from October 26 or from the time that the ship left Gravesend at £65 a month. The destination of the ship, Ireland and Virginia, was specified. Perhaps the most important parts of the agreement were the clauses which laid down the responsibilities of each of the parties. The owners promised to fit out and tackle the ship and make sure that she was seaworthy by a certain date. It was the responsibility of the merchants to supply the crew, pay

<sup>80</sup> Davis, English Shipping, p. 166

<sup>81</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1638-1639. H.C.A. 13/54, f. 228v

their wages and ensure that there was sufficient victual for them. They would also pay any port charges or dues for pilotage. The charter concluded by each party binding themselves for a particular sum to carry out their part of the agreement.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, in several cases, one of the parties broke their bond by not adhering to their part of the agreement. Many of the cases concerning Virginia in the High Court of Admiralty were brought by the aggrieved party for violation of a charter. Several owners complained that the freighters had not victualled a ship properly, which was the indirect cause of damage to the vessel and hence loss to the owners. In August 1649 the William and Ralph set sail for Virginia, but insufficient supply forced her to change course and put in at the Azores. Because of this delay, they arrived off the Virginia coast late in the year and encountered bad weather, being driven on to the rocks near Cape Hatteras. By that stage even the provision they had brought in the Azores was almost spent and disease was rife among the passengers, several of whom died. The ship was extensively damaged and unable to leave without extensive repairs being carried out, which were paid for by the owners. According to

<sup>82</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance Papers. Series Early (1650-1660). H.C.A. 15/5



the terms of the charter party, the ship should have returned within twelve months, but at that time was still in Virginia.<sup>83</sup>

In another case the freighters were accused of not lading sufficient goods on the ship and of not dispatching her from England within the time laid down by the charter.<sup>84</sup>

Most complaints seem to have been levelled at the owners for not making the vessels seaworthy. Within fourteen days of the departure of the Comfort from Plymouth in 1649, the ship became leaky and continued to let in water all the way to Virginia and on her return voyage to England. The ship's company do not seem to have done much to stop the leaks; the super-cargo of the ship alleges that 'there was much wine drunk'. The damage on the outward voyage amounted to £150 and thirty days were spent in Virginia repairing the ship. The freighters complained because the state of the ship dissuaded merchants in Virginia from putting goods on her and the delay for repairs meant that they had to pay out more than planned in provisions

<sup>83</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. Book of Examinations. July 1651-July 1652. H.C.A. 13/65

<sup>84</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. Book of Examinations. 1639-1640. H.C.A. 13/55, ff 185-185v

and wages for the crew.<sup>85</sup> The Constance in 1635 was leaking so badly that she only got as far as Ilfracombe before the passengers and goods had to be unloaded and the ship repaired. This caused the freighters extra costs since each passenger was given 8d a day by the purser to pay for their food until the ship could be repaired.<sup>86</sup> Even the Governor of Virginia was unable to avoid the rigours of a poor ship. In 1636 Sir John Harvey attempted to leave England in the Black George. Several starts were made: at one stage the ship did manage to reach twenty miles beyond the Scilly Isles but to no avail, and Harvey petitioned the Privy Council for restitution of money lost in victualling 'this most crazy old ship'.<sup>87</sup> However, one does have some sympathy with the owners, who in several instances seemed to have been pushed by the freighters into declaring a ship seaworthy when repairs had not been completed. The freighters of the Mary of London complained in 1649 against the owners of the ship for the delay of eight days in fitting

<sup>85</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. November 1650-July 1651. H.C.A. 13/64

<sup>86</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts, Book of Examinations. 1635-1636. H.C.A. 13/52, f. 369

<sup>87</sup> Public Record Office. Colonial Office. General Papers. 1636-1638. C.O.I. vol. IX nos., 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28

her out for the voyage to Virginia. John Davis, a part owner, replied that he had tried to get carpenters to repair the ship but was unable to procure them.<sup>88</sup> The owners might have to

pay out extensive sums to repair and tackle a vessel.

Nicholas Harris, who owned one half of the Anne, maintained he spent £300 in making her completely seaworthy.<sup>89</sup> Often it appears to have been difficult for the owners to get together the necessary cash, especially if, as was often the case, the freighters paid some or all of the fee for hiring after the ship returned from Virginia. The master of the Comfort, whose ill-fated voyage has been described above, had to borrow £250 to fit out the ship and the owners had to pay £20 in interest on the sum.<sup>90</sup>

Many of the cases of violations of the charter party were hotly disputed on the strength of the 'weather clause'. In any charter the owners promised to ensure that the ship was seaworthy 'all dangers and adventure of the seas excepted'.

<sup>88</sup> Aspinwall Notorial Records, Records relating to the early history of Boston, no. 32, (Boston, Municipality Printing Office, 1903), p. 210

<sup>89</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1628-1630. H.C.A. 13/48

<sup>90</sup> H.C.A. 13/64

Thus the owners of a ship could argue that damage was caused not by any fault of theirs but was due to the weather encountered on the voyage. The Eagle laded tobacco in Virginia and in February 1650 set sail but met with bad storms some 150 leagues out which caused the ship to spring a leak, three feet of water entering the hold. A witness for the freighters argued that the ship was letting in water whilst anchored at Virginia. The storm was not unusual for that passage at that time of year and was merely a 'fresh gale of wind'. The Green Dragon was in consort with the Eagle and she came through the same storm without incurring any damage. However, the owners argued that it was the storm that caused the leak and not any deficiency on their part.<sup>91</sup> These weaknesses in interpretation of a charter party were recognised by all concerned in trade whether to Virginia or elsewhere, and the use of the charter seems to have been diminishing in the later part of the period. However it is undoubtedly a useful device for bringing together merchants and owners and attempting to bind them to some sort of written agreement.

<sup>91</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Books of Examinations. March-November 1650. H.C.A. 13/63, ff 168v-170v, 339v-341, 359, 359v, 379v, 407v

At the same time as the charter party was drawn up, insurance was sometimes taken out on a ship. An Office of Insurance was established as part of the Royal Exchange in the late sixteenth century and the practice seems to have been growing in the period under review. Although by spreading out goods on various ships and by entering into partnerships, merchants reduced any likelihood of extensive losses, some did resort to insurance to cut the possibility even further. The earliest record of insurance of a Virginia ship is the Anne in 1629, which was assured for £1,500. There is record of three other ships being insured before they left London, the Safety in 1635, the Swallow of Bristol in 1649 and the Comfort in 1651. One merchant, fearing for the loss of a cargo of tobacco on its way from Virginia, ordered insurance of £120 to be put on the goods in the ship, the John and Dorothy.<sup>92</sup>

The small number of merchants prepared to insure their ships for the voyage to Virginia, seems to testify to the opinion of Violet Barbour that the majority of merchants and ship owners preferred to avoid it since it was a risky business and costly

<sup>92</sup> Shilton, Dorothy O. and Richard Holworthy eds., High Court of Admiralty Examinations, 1637-1638, Anglo-American Records Foundation Inc., vol. II, (London, 1932), no. 317, pp 136-137

when profits were small. Even in war time, although risks were higher, costs tended to increase which deterred the merchants from taking out insurance.<sup>93</sup> There seems to have been much malpractice among seventeenth century insurance brokers which probably dissuaded merchants from using their services. Attempts were made in the 1650's to encourage the practise of insuring ships. A group of petitioners wrote to the Lord Protector and the Council of State in this decade suggesting that trade might be improved if insurance was taken over by the state and made more reliable. The country would gain by a new form of revenue. They thought that a rate of four per cent on goods carried to the American Plantations and a flat rate of ten per cent on all goods of foreigners who shipped from England would be viable. Recompense would be made for 'just' losses.<sup>94</sup> However the idea does not seem to have been followed up. It does illustrate, however, the growing interest of merchants in reliable insurance.

The next problem facing the merchant after he had obtained

<sup>93</sup> Barbour, Violet, 'Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century, Journal of Economic and Business History, vol. I (1928-1929), o. 587

<sup>94</sup> British Museum. Egerton Manuscripts 2395, ff, 149-149v

and perhaps insured the vessel, was to collect a cargo. During the period of Company control, there had been a very haphazard system of collection of goods, usually dependent on the amount of money in the Treasury or the willingness of individuals or the London livery companies to provide goods. The lack of money was the main cause of poor organisation; the Company could not afford the luxury of planning ahead. In the first few years of open trade, dealings of the individual merchants were inevitably casual. A trader would collect goods, mainly household supplies and provisions, that he thought would be of use to the colonists and therefore easy to sell. Gradually, as a trader sent goods for several years, he came to realise which commodities would be the most profitable to ship and also establish permanent connexions within the colony and trading became therefore less of a chance business. Philip Bruce maintains that, after 1624, few of the traders could be described as casual; that is those who were without representatives in the colony to dispose of the goods sent from England.<sup>95</sup> Because no papers of merchants who traded to Virginia in these early years are extant, the dating of a

<sup>95</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 331

development of an organised system of trade is very difficult. Judging by the piecemeal nature of the cargoes sent in these early decades, Bruce probably dates the development too early. The goods of Henry Taverner shipped in the Elizabeth in 1637 are fairly typical of the type of cargo sent at this time. He transported:-

1 barrell of oatmeal, 3 cases of strong waters, a barrell or firkin of castle soap, 1 barrell of iron wars, a barrell of broad and narrow headed axes, padlocks, hatchets and nails, 1 suits of clothes, 1 pair of breeches of broadcloth and kersey, shirts and other apparell. Compass and other sea instruments. 1 dozen saws. 3 dozen of new shoes, 1 pair of new boots. 2 pieces or parcels or ribbon. 5 pounds of wax candles. 1 pair of Turkey Drawers, 3 dozen hoes, 12 hatchets 12 axes, nails and padlocks, 5 casks, 2 or 3 suits of old clothes, with a coat or 2. 96

Fisher, in his analysis of the London port books, concluded that few commodities other than textiles were exported in this period. It was hoped that Virginia and the other English colonies would

<sup>96</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/95, no. 196



solve the market problem of the English cloth industry.<sup>97</sup>

Although cloth is high on the list of goods frequently shipped to the colony, a study of extant inventories of supplies after 1625, shows little pattern except that strong waters, various kinds of wine, acquavitaes, shoes and nails were popular commodities to ship. The overall impression gained is that there was little organisation as to the type of goods shipped to the colony. Occasionally there is reference to orders from the colonists for specific goods. In 1638 Jenkin Williams of York in Virginia put on board the Elizabeth supplies to be delivered to him in the colony.<sup>98</sup> But this is only a tentative beginning to the widespread practice in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century by which the colonists had agents in England to whom they shipped tobacco and in return received specifically-ordered goods.

From occasional references in the records a picture does begin to emerge of a growing organisation of trade towards the end of the period. Certainly there seems to have been more knowledge of the specific type of goods needed by the Virginians at a given time. In the decade of the 1650's the Council of State granted

<sup>97</sup> Fisher, J.F. 'London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review Second Series. Vol III no. 2 (1950), pp 157-159

<sup>98</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, f. 158v

the request of the freighters of at least forty-nine ships to export shoes to the colony. One group of petitioners noted that there was 'absolute necessity in Virginia for supply of shoes, powder and shot.....'.<sup>99</sup> There was a growing correspondence between merchant and planter. The latter sent by Nicholas Haywood, a merchant to Nathaniel Pope, a planter of Appomatax, in November 1652, suggests that they have been writing for several years. This growth of contact seems to have taken two forms. Firstly, goods were shipped for the account of a specific planter or planters. In 1653 Edward Donner loaded goods on the Elizabeth and Mary of Southampton to be delivered to Waltar Knight in Virginia.<sup>100</sup> Secondly, many merchants who traded frequently to Virginia began to send out factors to sell their goods in the colony. Such men would be resident in the colony and would hence build up contacts to whom they could sell the goods when the ships arrived. This method of trade was to become very extensive in the eighteenth century and its development in this period was only tentative. Melvin Herndon alleges that the factorage system

<sup>99</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 417

<sup>100</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Instance Papers. 1650-1660. H.C.A. 15/6, Part II.

appears to have been introduced into Virginia around 1625.<sup>101</sup> However, the earliest reference to a factor resident in the colony is in a letter from the Privy Council to the Governor and Council in Virginia in 1636. In this Francis Poetres was stated to be the factor of Lawrence Evans.<sup>102</sup> In 1656 Thomas Fenton arrived in England from Virginia. He was the servant of Philip Fostir of Radcliffe who was quoted as having extensive dealings with the colony 'and had many agents and factors several of whom settled in Virginia'.<sup>103</sup> Factors could cause problems for the merchants and their families. In August 1636 Charles Barcroft after receiving news that John Barcroft, his brother and factor there, had died, went over to the colony to see to his affairs and collect debts owing to him. Four years later he had not returned but he did send each year goods to his wife Elizabeth. These she sold and maintained herself 'in good fashion and reputation' on the proceeds. However she was left open to charges of immorality by the continued absence of her husband.<sup>104</sup> This is also an illustration of the quite extensive practise of using relatives as factors. It was hoped that these would be more trustworthy than outsiders. Unfortunately, the records of trade at this

<sup>101</sup> Herndon, Melvin, Tobacco in Colonial Virginia, (Williamsburg, 1957), p 40

<sup>102</sup> Sainbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1637', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, no. 9 (July 1901-April 1902) p 268

<sup>103</sup> List of Suspected Foreigners in London and Westminster, 1655-1657, British Museum. Additional Manuscript 34015, II, f. 4

<sup>104</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1638-1639 (London, 1869), p 550

time are not complete enough for a clear picture to be built up of the early organisation of commerce.

The collection of goods by the freighters of a ship from the various merchants seems to have been relatively unorganised. Since the merchants communities in the various ports were comparatively small and close-knit groups, contacts could be made in a casual way. Often the imminent departure of a ship to Virginia was advertised and the merchants who were interested in sending goods would get in touch with the freighters. Often such advertisements took the form of notices put up in the Royal Exchange stating that a ship was to depart to Virginia at a certain time. In 1649 the Employment of London was scheduled to leave the Isle of Wight for the colony, Edward Hooper and George Saintbarbe, Southampton merchants sent sums of money to Joseph Bracebridge, one of the freighters, to purchase goods to be put on the ship. <sup>105</sup> The casualness of such arrangements is well illustrated by the deposition of John Bradstreet in the case of Moore c. Thierrye. He testified that he was in a tavern at Gravesend and saw business concluded between an agent of Moore, the merchant and Thierrye, one of the freighters of the Constance, for the dispatch of three men and their effects on the ship. <sup>106</sup> Another way of collecting a cargo

<sup>105</sup> Southampton Record Office, Quarter Sessions Records and Papers. Examinations and Depositions, 1648-1663, Case of the Employment of London

<sup>106</sup> H.C.A. 13/52, f. 249v

was for the freighters to send their agents to various shopkeepers and purchase goods for their own account or for that of the merchants who had entrusted the freighters with such dealings (much as Hooper and Saintbarbe had done). Thus Clement Campion, the master of the Constance of London, bound for Virginia in 1648, went to the shop of a grocer, Michael Charlton, and bargained for various commodities.<sup>107</sup>

Passengers as well as goods were collected for dispatch to Virginia. At £6 a head for their passage, they were regarded as a more profitable commodity than freight which appears to have fetched £3 a ton. It does not seem to have been too difficult to find passengers, whether they were fugitives from the Commonwealth, Irish Tories, labourers or even women shipped as wives for the planters. However, several cases did arise of people illegally being put on board which illustrates the profitability of such cargoes, especially if they were servants who could be sold in the colony. In 1655 Christian Chacrett was brought before a Justice of the Peace for enticing Edward Furnifell and his wife into the Planter.<sup>108</sup> In 1657, at least eleven people were enticed on board the Conquer.<sup>109</sup> In a petition to the judges of the High Court

<sup>107</sup> Aspinwall Notorial Records, p. 237

<sup>108</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II 614

<sup>109</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 458

of Admiralty in the 1650's, Jane Warren, a widow, pleads for restitution of her son and another boy who 'were both seduced and stolen away by some wicked person and carried aboard the Freeman now bound for Virginia at Gravesend'.<sup>110</sup> Although a cargo of passengers was undoubtedly more profitable, they did cause problems which a cargo of nails, for example, would not have done. If, for any reason, the ship was delayed after the passengers had gone on board, the freighters were responsible for supplying them with food, which would add to their costs. Passengers were known to leave the ship whilst they were waiting. The delay must have made them think twice about 3,000 miles of ocean. One boy servant ran away from the Marmaduke in 1626.<sup>111</sup> Two men absconded from the Truelove in 1628.<sup>112</sup> There are also instances of a fight on board ship, and one crowd of passengers got so bored or thirsty that they enlivened their wait by piercing and drawing on a butt of wine which was originally intended for consumption in the colony.<sup>113</sup>

Despite these casual means of collecting goods and passengers,

110 H.C.A. 15/6, Part II

111 McIlwaine, H.R. ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, (Richmond, Virginia, 1924), I, 134

112 Ibid., 160

113 Ibid., 144

I

AH

N<sup>o</sup> 23  
4:5:6

7:8:9

10:11:

12:

Approved by the grant of goods in Good order and Conditions by me  
 Jans. Swann in and upon the goods ship called the "Lower's" first  
 2<sup>d</sup> of London whereof the Messrs. & others Goods for this present voyage  
 are freighted by Messrs. & others new loading at direction of the said Messrs. &  
 in Virginia and by goods to be sent for the part of London & to be  
 in the ship of Robert Long Charles this notwithstanding in the Margent  
 clauses to be delivered in good order & used Conditions All the said  
 part of London & the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be  
 sent to the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 for the said goods of the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 with the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 2<sup>d</sup> the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 23<sup>d</sup> the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 as being the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 and the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent  
 Charles Swann in Virginia the said Messrs. & others to be sent to be sent  
 freight to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent to be sent

J. Swann  
Witness

a more rigid system of control of a cargo once it had been laden on a ship was established. A bill of lading was made out, often in triplicate, and was signed by the master and factor of the ship. The merchant retained one copy and this was often produced as evidence if some disaster overtook the ship. The Elizabeth was captured by the Spaniards in 1637 and this began a long drawn out debate in the High Court of Admiralty which involved a steady stream of people petitioning for restitution of the value of the goods that they had lost. Their main evidence was the bills of lading. Unfortunately, no such bill for goods carried to Virginia has been found. However, one concerning tobacco laden in the colony remains and the format for such documents appears to have been the same, irrespective of the cargo carried or the port of departure. The crucial part of the bill is that which describes the marks on the hogshead of tobacco and the number of hogsheads. Also important is the name of the man to whom the shipment is consigned.<sup>114</sup> The importance that all concerned attached to such bills can be illustrated by the case of Freer c. Thierrye in the High Court of Admiralty. Grace Winge testified that her husband had omitted to sign the bill for goods

<sup>114</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/96. See fig i



he put on the Safety. She was asked by Freer, the freighter, to make sure that her husband came down to the ship before it set sail to sign the bill.<sup>115</sup> In addition to the bills of lading, a check on the goods put on board was kept by the purser or, more usually, the boatswain. This caused problems for Nicholas Strawe, the boatswain of the Bonny Bess, in 1636. He kept an account of the goods laden on the ship in London and those that were delivered in Virginia, and found that there were some four parcels of goods for the account of Thomas Burbage missing on arrival in the colony.<sup>116</sup>

The case of Strawe leads to a further facet of the organisation required to dispatch goods to Virginia, the problem of control of the commodities whilst they were in transit. A merchant himself could travel with his goods and act as his own salesman at the other end. Apparently this practise was common among younger men in the early stages of their mercantile careers. A more well-established merchant might not have the time to do this and could therefore decide to send his senior apprentice as a factor. Sometimes a passenger was appointed super-cargo of the goods of a

<sup>115</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 278, p. 113

<sup>116</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, ff 154-154v

merchant. Such was Richard Jones who went to Virginia on the Angel in 1654 and acted as super-cargo for the goods of Samuel Warner.<sup>117</sup> However the most common practise was to appoint a factor who represented a single merchant or group of merchants. Sometimes there was more than one factor on board to share the responsibilities for the goods. Essentially, their job was to maintain the goods intact on the voyage and see that they were delivered to the right place or person in Virginia. Sometimes their duties were extended. Anthony Stanford in 1646 was 'to unload goods and merchandises when they came to Virginia and to traffic with and dispose of the same and to ship and return the produce and traffic thereof to London and assign it to John White'.<sup>118</sup> The task cannot have been an easy one, especially if they were responsible for keeping a cargo of wine and strong waters safe from the ravages of a thirsty crew. The factor of the Tiger between Bristol and Amsterdam was in some personal danger from the drunken crew.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. February 1654-January 1656. H.C.A. 13/70

<sup>118</sup> 'Notes from the Records of York County', William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, vol. XXIII (1914-1915), p 272

<sup>119</sup> McGrath, Patrick, 'Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century', Mariners Mirror, vol 40 (1954), pp. 291-292

The importance of the work of a factor can best be measured perhaps in instances when he was prevented from carrying out his duties. Lawrence Evans sent out goods in 1636 under the care of a factor who died en route. Many of the goods were embezzled by the master of the ship, and instead of receiving the full value of £2,000 on the goods he shipped, he only received £150.<sup>120</sup> The eventful passage of the Flower de Luce in 1636 caused several separate cases to be brought in the High Court of Admiralty against Hugh Weston, the master of the ship. It appears that either the passage was unusually rough or the ship was disease ridden since several of the merchants and factors died and others were too ill to look after the goods themselves. Several of them did ask Weston to take care of their goods and he took upon himself the care of the rest.<sup>121</sup> He took the precaution of taking over the books of accounts and, if one is to believe the witnesses, had the original owner's marks rubbed off the casks and barrels and his own put on. In addition he attempted to throw overboard the bills of lading but some were blown back again. When questioned Weston declared that they were waste

<sup>120</sup> Sainbury, 'Virginia in 1637', p 268

<sup>121</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, f. 83v

papers and threw them into the sea again.<sup>122</sup> Thus when the ship arrived in Virginia he sold the goods for his own account. Hence the use of a factor to take care of the goods on board a ship seems to have been essential for the safe passage of a cargo to Virginia.

Although free trade had been established by the Virginia Company and continued after the dissolution, the merchants were ultimately responsible to the state for their actions. Virginia after 1624 was a crown colony and as such was controlled by English colonial and trade policies. The most common manifestation of crown control, as far as the merchants were concerned, was customs. In the first three charters (1606, 1609 and 1612) the Company was granted exemptions for seven years from duties on goods shipped to and from the colony.<sup>123</sup> However the Crown began to enforce duties in 1619. There is the occasional reference to customs being levied on goods exported to the colony. For example, in December 1630, George Stuart shipped forty English blankets in the Friendship of Bideford and was charged seven shillings

<sup>122</sup> Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, (1966), first published, 1908, Vol I, p 221 H.C.A. 13/55, ff 525-525v

<sup>123</sup> Bemis, Three Charters, pp 8, 49

custom.<sup>124</sup> Sometimes a special duty was placed on certain goods being sent specifically to the colonies. The Council of State ordered in January 1654 that twenty shillings should be paid for every horse that was transported to any of the American plantations.<sup>125</sup> However the lack of reference in the Port Books to custom on goods shipped to the colony testifies to the fact that duties were levied mainly on goods entering England, in particular tobacco. Throughout the period it was government policy to encourage shipment of goods to the plantations. It was not likely, therefore, that prohibitive duties would be placed on such goods. Far more customary were ordinances stating that goods essential for the needs of the colonists could be exported duty-free. That of January 1649 allowed free custom provided that 'security be first given to the commissioners and officers of the customs that they shall only be exported to the plantation and there be employed only for the use of the plantations; and that certificates shall be returned from thence, within one year of the landing thereof, on the ship's

<sup>124</sup> Public Record Office. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Port Books. Port of Barnstable. Controller, 1630-1631. E.190/947/8, f. 2

<sup>125</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1654-1656', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 18 (1910), p. 44

arrival and discharge in the said foreign plantation'.<sup>126</sup>

Thus in August 1649 Joseph Brassbridge was allowed to export arms and gunpowder in the Employment of London without paying customs.<sup>127</sup> Before this ordinance was passed it appears that the individual merchant petitioned the Privy Council to allow him to transport goods to Virginia without the payment of customs. In 1641 Lawrence Greene asked for free custom on provisions he was sending on the Mayflower.<sup>128</sup> Such requests were granted without much trouble provided that the merchant swore that the goods were destined for Virginia and would not be traded elsewhere.

However, the merchant who wished to transport goods to the colony was faced with other manifestations of government policy. Throughout the period it was necessary to apply for a commission to the government before a ship could leave for the colony. On September 11, 1626, one was given to the Peter and John. It was of similar format to those issued by the Company.<sup>129</sup> The

<sup>126</sup> 'Ordinance for the Foreign Plantations', Stocks, Proceedings and Debates, I 185

<sup>127</sup> Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer Port Books. Port of Southampton. Customer 1648-1649. E 190/825/6, f. 13

<sup>128</sup> Sainbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1641-1649', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 17 (July 1909), p 17

<sup>129</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 110

State Papers Colonial are full of requests of merchants who desired clearance for these ships. The petitioners were always careful to list the goods for export and to stress that they intended to ship them only to Virginia and, if they had just received goods from the colony, they were quick to point out that they had paid large sums in customs. Several of the merchants stressed the need of the 'poor planter' in Virginia for the goods which they wanted to send. If the Privy Council or Council of State were at all suspicious of the honesty of a merchant, the latter was called before them to explain his position. In 1626 John Preen, Thomas Willoughby and John Pollington swore that the 'only intent of the voyage to Virginia is to carry passengers, goods and munitions for the colony'.<sup>130</sup> The suspicious dealings of a Mr. Bennett in 1631 were brought to the notice of the Privy Council. They were told that he had bought three hundred quarters of meal which were not delivered in the open market but some of which he had put in barrells and it was suspected that he intended to export them, which was illegal. He was called before the Privy Council and was cleared when he explained

<sup>130</sup> Sainsbury, W.N., ed., 'Virginia in 1626-1627', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 16 (1908), p 31

that the meal was intended for Virginia.<sup>131</sup> The chief concern of the government was to prevent merchants, under the pretext of shipping goods to the colony, sending elsewhere goods whose export had been forbidden.

During the period of the Civil War and the Protectorate, the authorities viewed the activities of the merchants with even greater suspicion. Regulations against the export of commodities such as ammunition and arms were issued. At several times during the period commissioners were empowered to search all ships and seize goods which were being exported either illegally or without paying the requisite customs duties. For example on April 14, 1645, by an ordinance of Parliament, power was given to the commissioners of the customs to search for prohibited goods at any time of the day or night and to seize them.<sup>132</sup> Often a general stay of shipping was ordered, ostensibly for the purposes of national defence. In 1648 William Allen and John Heath petitioned Parliament. They had fitted out the Honor and the Prosperous Susan for a voyage to the colony and had cleared the ships through the customs but had been prevented from leaving

<sup>131</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 171

<sup>132</sup> Husband, A Collection of All the Public Orders, Ordinances and Declarations, 1643-1646, (London, 1646) pp 638-639



Gravesend by an embargo on all shipping. They estimated that this was causing them a loss of £20 a day since they had agreed to provide the 400 passengers with victuals throughout the voyage. As an aid to their plea, Allen and Heath were careful to point out that if they were not allowed to depart to supply the colony, the Dutch would step in and take an even greater share of the Virginia trade. They were given an exemption from the embargo.<sup>133</sup> Ships were also liable to be pressed into the service of the government. This fate befell the vessel of Armingier Warner. He had arranged to charter the ship to John Jeffries who wished to carry one hundred Irishmen to the colony but Warner was unable to conclude the agreement since the vessel was taken over for the service of the state. The ship carried 600 tories to Spain but 'the wicked tories abused my men, ran my ship on to a rock, which split her to pieces, robbed her of all her goods, even the seamen's clothes and went ashore and sold them'.<sup>134</sup> These orders would interfere with the smooth dispatch of goods to the colony. Because of these factors

<sup>133</sup> Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, pp 204-205

<sup>134</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, p 426 Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum, 1653-1654, (London, 1880), p 219

there was an increased number of petitions to transport specified goods to the colony, especially during the Protectorate. The merchants not only found difficulty in transporting arms and ammunition to the colony. A petition was heard by the Privy Council concerning silver plate which Colonel Lee had attempted to take to Virginia and which had been seized by searchers at Gravesend. He had brought in some plate from the colony about eighteen months previously 'to change the fashion'. Since it was only for his personal use, an exception to the embargo on the exportation of all silver was granted.<sup>135</sup> Coupled with such petitions were requests for privateering commissions for ships travelling to Virginia. Such warrants were most frequently issued during the Dutch War when merchant shipping was in some danger from Dutch men of war.

The government regulation which perhaps caused most annoyance to the freighters of Virginia ships was that which necessitated the administration of the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to all passengers being shipped to the colony. Although the lists of passengers are of immense value to the Historian, the whole procedure frequently must have delayed the departure of ships. The oaths were taken immediately prior

<sup>135</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, pp 403, 430

to departure and this caused some trouble. In 1639, the masters of several ships complained that they had been hindered, since the officer who took the oaths had refused to go down to Gravesend to perform his duties.<sup>136</sup> In one case, a ship was arrested by the customs searcher because the master had refused to allow the passengers to take the oaths since he had to pay head money on each one carried. The freighters of the ship maintained that they had traded to Virginia for a long time and that there had never been a demand for head money before. The arrest delayed the ship for one week since she missed a favourable wind and had to await another.<sup>137</sup>

Not all government activities were detrimental to the efficient dispatch of shipping to the colony. In the period of the dissolution of the Company, the Crown facilitated the passage of ships to the colony by forbidding the interruption of their voyages for impressment.<sup>138</sup> This action was necessitated because one ship, the Elizabeth, in 1626, had been arrested and taken into the service of the King. She managed to procure a discharge.<sup>139</sup> This practise was continued

<sup>136</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 258

<sup>137</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. April 1632-May 1634. H.C.A. 13/50, ff 510-512, 539

<sup>138</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 96

<sup>139</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, 71

throughout the period, under both Crown and Commonwealth, and was particularly useful in times of war. However, such active aid from the government could not compensate for the negative attitude often adopted to Virginia trade. Although the official policy, as testified by the lack of customs duties on goods exported to the colony, was to foster trade, the innumerable regulations which had to be followed before a ship could depart only served to impede the dispatch of essential merchandise to the colony.

Although the Company failed to establish a profitable trade for its members, it did succeed in two very important respects. Firstly, despite many adversities, it was able to plant and maintain an English colony on the American Continent for eighteen years, something which had never been done before. Perhaps the greatest testimony to the Company in this respect was the fact that dissolution did not mean the end of the colony. Secondly, the members came to terms with the realities of the economic situation in 1619. Their acceptance of the inevitability of free trade (albeit under Company regulation) enabled a system of trade to be established which was to continue after the dissolution. Essentially there were three separate parties involved in a voyage to the colony. The impetus for a trading venture came from a single merchant or group of merchants who wished to organise freight for a voyage. Their

first task was to obtain a ship. Even if the freighters owned shipping themselves, it was thought more profitable to hire a vessel at the lowest possible cost whilst hiring out their own to others at the highest price they could obtain. The arrangement between ship owners and freighters was concluded by means of a charter party which clearly stated the responsibilities of both. Each undertook a bond to carry out their duties. However, there were several pitfalls in this arrangement which led to delays and difficulties as seen in the numerous cases brought before the High Court of Admiralty. Once a Charter Party had been concluded, the freighters would know how much space was available for the transportation of goods and passengers and could begin to attract other merchants who wished to hire some of this space. This part of the organisation of the trade to Virginia seems to have been undertaken quite casually except were drawn up to ensure that the correct quantities of produce were delivered to the right people in Virginia. To further facilitate this, an individual merchant was gradually able to build up his contacts within the colony, contacts which were essential to the successful pursuit of trade. The two systems by which this was achieved, factorage and consignment, have their tentative beginnings in this period. These two methods of trade were to mature and flourish in the eighteenth century. Hence

although it was essentially a time of experiment in commerce, the failures and successes of the period 1606 to 1660, taught the London merchant who wished to trade with Virginia invaluable lessons. No study of Anglo/Virginian trade would be complete without an extensive study of this early period.

CHAPTER II

SHIPS AND SEAMEN

It was seen in the previous chapter that most freighters of Virginia ships, even if they were ship owners themselves, thought it more profitable to hire a vessel rather than use their own. Even the difficulties and delays which accompanied the drawing up of a charter party between the merchant and ship owner were thought to be worth the trouble if a good vessel were chosen. It was also the responsibility of the freighters to choose a crew and to victual both Company and passengers. What, then, were the criteria used to choose a vessel and its crew?

The development of trade between England and Virginia must be viewed in the wider context of English mercantile expansion in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The search for new, more distant, markets for English goods, notably cloth, after the reduction of the Antwerp market, led to a revival in the need for larger ships. Violet Barber maintains that even in the mid-seventeenth century, the greater part of the mercantile marine consisted of vessels of less than one hundred tons in burden. But ships of a greater tonnage were built for the oceanic and Mediterranean trades.<sup>1</sup> Ralph Davis agrees that large ships were

<sup>1</sup> Barbour, Violet, 'Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review, vol. 12 (1929-1930), p 262



quite common in the Trans-Atlantic trade; the typical London tobacco-trader of 200 to 250 tons was a good deal larger than ships in other trades.<sup>2</sup> Certainly the average tonnage of vessels engaged in the Virginia trade in the later part of the period 1606 to 1660 testifies to this. Between 1630 and 1660, the tonnage of fifty-five ships can be traced, the average being 253 tons. However in the years 1606 to 1630, the average was lower, 104 tons for 102 ships. There seems to have been a general increase in the average tonnage of vessels sent out to Virginia in this period; with the exception of the decade 1610 to 1619 which saw a higher average than the following decades.<sup>3</sup> Within these averages there is a great variation in the tonnage of individual ships. For example the Mayflower which made the first of several trips to Virginia in 1633 was 400 tons yet the Discovery, one of the three ships which transported the original settlers in 1606 was of only 20 tons. In agreement with Davis the majority of Virginia ships seem to have fallen within the range of 200 to 250 tons. However, when the trade with Virginia came to be centred

<sup>2</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 286

<sup>3</sup> Average tonnage of vessels (to the nearest ton), 1610-1619, 138 tons, 1620-1629, 103 tons, 1630-1639, 111 tons, 1640-1649, 203 tons, 1650-1659, 254 tons

on the collection of tobacco, special problems arose which made a large tonnage less imperative than the size of a ship's hold. Tobacco is a very light commodity which has a specific gravity much lower than that of water. Hence it was possible to completely fill the hold long before the ship's carrying capacity had been reached. Tobacco in hogsheads weighed only half as much as the same weight of water. Iron had to be used as a ballast. This lightness of the cargo was an advantage to the Dutch flyboat which was designed to give high stowage in relation to tons burden. This was one of the reasons for a heavy incursion of the Dutch into Virginia trade. <sup>4</sup>

The Margaret and John, en route to Virginia in 1621, was attacked by two Spanish ships flying Dutch colours. A two day battle ensued with damage to both sides. Although eleven Englishmen were killed and sixteen were severely injured, the ship managed to extricate herself and arrived in Virginia in April. <sup>5</sup> It would seem, at first glance, surprising that a merchantman was able to withstand the attack of a Spanish warship. However in the

<sup>4</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 286. The whole question of the Dutch interest in the Virginia trade will be dealt with in a later chapter.

<sup>5</sup> 'A desperat sea Fight Betwixte Two Spanish Men of Warre and a Small English Ship at the Island of Dominica', Tyer, Lynn G., ed., Narratives of Early Virginia, pp 340-344

first half of the seventeenth century, the distinction between the two types of vessel was not so clear-cut. 'That a ship, any ship, must fight on occasions, was almost as axiomatic as she should float'.<sup>6</sup> Oceanic privateering on a large scale was a feature of the period. During half a century of mercantile expansion before the Civil War, English shipwrights who were concerned with the building of ships of any size were committed to the substantially built, heavy masted and well-gunned ship for mercantile purposes.<sup>7</sup> The vessels, as had been demonstrated in the defeat of the Armada, were called upon to fight as war ships in a national emergency.<sup>8</sup>

The ships engaged in the Virginia trade were therefore on average larger than the normal vessels and had to be well armed. Almost all of them, large and small, seem to have been three masted vessels with the main and foremasts square rigged and most carried guns in proportion to their size. Figures ii and iii illustrate the two types of ships used most frequently in the Virginia trade. The smaller vessel, the pinnace, was used mostly for inter-colonial trade or for commerce within the confines of the colony. The larger

<sup>6</sup> Barbour, 'Dutch and English Merchant Shipping', p 261

<sup>7</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 45

<sup>8</sup> Penn, C.D., The Navy Under the Early Stuarts, (Manchester, 1913), pp 38-39

## COLONIAL VESSELS

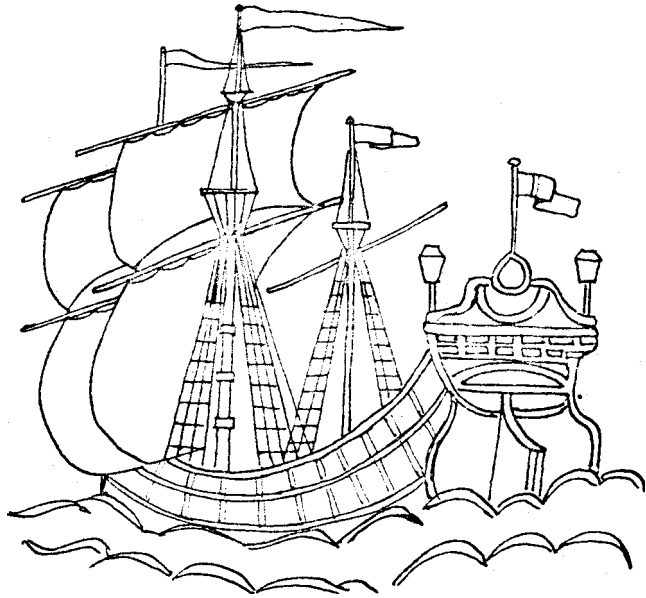


Figure **ii**. Ship Ark, 1633.

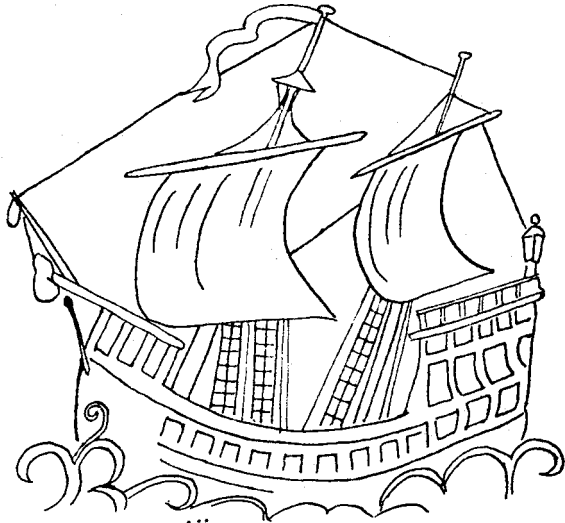


Figure **iii**. Pinnace Dove, 1633.

ship is of the type described above. It is difficult to discover whether any vessels were built specifically with the Virginia trade in mind. Certainly several vessels did make more than one voyage to the colony. For example the John and Catherine which made five voyages in 1651, 1652, 1654, 1658 and 1659.<sup>9</sup> Vessels which were employed in other long distance trades could be used for Virginia voyages. The Diamond between 1634 and 1640 travelled to the Mediterranean, Lisbon, Malaga and Newfoundland.<sup>10</sup> There is even an instance of a vessel used in the coastal trade being sent to Virginia. In 1648 the Jonathan and Abigail left London. She was a 'leaky and insufficient ship' not having been calked after she had completed a Newcastle voyage prior to her departure.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps as important as the type of ship to be employed in a voyage to Virginia, was the choice of crew. The freighters were responsible for the collection of the seamen. Few figures of the number of men required to sail a Virginia ship at this time are extant. Three have been found. These relate to the Unity in 1654, the Exchange in the same year and the Alexander in 1653.

<sup>9</sup> Of the 716 ships, 53 made 2 voyages, 13 made 3 voyages, 5 made 4 voyages, 1 made 5 voyages and 2 made 6 voyages

<sup>10</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 345

<sup>11</sup> High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Books of Examinations. H.C.A. 13/63

The Unity had a crew of twenty-five, the Exchange had twenty-four but the Alexander carried forty-two men. Any generalisation is very difficult, although it does seem that twenty-five was about the average, the higher figure for the Alexander being explained by her relatively large tonnage (400 tons). At first glance, it would seem that the task of assembling the average crew of twenty-five men for the hazardous voyage to Virginia would have been a difficult task. However there are surprisingly few recorded complaints of freighters on this matter. Occasionally there is a reference to a ship being short of crew immediately prior to her departure. Two days before the Phoenix of Southampton set sail for Virginia in 1648 she was one man short and another had to be found.<sup>12</sup> The main reason for the seeming ease with which a crew could be collected was financial. The wages offered to a seaman on a Virginia ship were higher than average; for example an ordinary seaman could expect 19 shillings or 20 shillings a month in the 1630's but he would be paid up to 25 shillings if he sailed to Virginia. Ralph Davis maintains that the pay of the master was standardised at 120 shillings a month before 1650: the rate was

<sup>12</sup> Southampton Record Office. Quarter Sessions Records and Papers. Examinations and Depositions, 1648-1663. Case of the Phoenix

pushed up by Trans-Atlantic and Mediterranean voyages.<sup>13</sup> An additional incentive for the master was the practise which soon became widespread of allowing him to carry a certain quantity of goods freight-free; 2 tons in a 200 ton ship was not uncommon. that the financial reward was the chief factor in the decision of a seaman as to which ship he was to serve on is shown by one George Maggs in 1651. He intended to go on the William to Virginia but was persuaded by Edward Bullocke, master of the Goodwill, to go to the Caribbean for more money.<sup>14</sup>

Initially the men who sailed Virginia ships seem to have been those who had some experience of long distance voyages in general and Trans-Atlantic voyages in particular. Christopher Newport, the commander of the first three ships in 1606, was very conversant with the route to the West Indies. At the age of 46 when he took command of the first Virginia expedition, he had what was at that time probably among Englishmen an unrivalled experience of the Atlantic crossing.<sup>15</sup> In fact he had made eleven voyages to the West Indies for the purposes of privateering between 1590 and 1604.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 138

<sup>14</sup> Nott, Helena E., ed., The Deposition Books of Bristol, 1643-1647, Publications of the Bristol Record Society, no. VI, (Bristol 1935)pp 67-68

<sup>15</sup> Andrews, Kenneth B., 'Christopher Newport of Limehouse, Mariner', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., vol. XI (1964), p 40

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

By the end of the period under review, several masters and captains had extensive experience of the Virginia voyage. By 1649 many captains and masters of ships were said to have large interests in the colony. Some had houses, plantations and servants.<sup>17</sup> A total number of 336 masters and captains have been traced, of these some 250 seem to have made only one trip, 35 made two, 22 made three, 13 made four, 8 made five, John Booker and Thomas Wilson made six each whilst Peter Andrews made at least seven.<sup>18</sup> One would assume that with each trip, they became more experienced in dealing with the problems unique to this particular voyage, and hence, towards the end of the period, it would be more easy to attract crew men.

Apparently the crew did not remain constant for the duration of the voyage. Several left their ships at Virginia, both legally and illegally. By order of John Payne, captain of the John and Dorothy in 1634, Henry Fabian, one of the crew men, to join a Flemish ship, which was also in Virginia, as master, with two others

<sup>17</sup> Force, Peter, ed., Tracts and Other Papers, 4 vols., (new York, 1947), first published, 1884, II, p 5

<sup>18</sup> The ships that Andrews commanded were the Anne and the Plantation in 1626, the Anne in 1628, the Susan in 1629, a ship in 1630, the Christopher and Mary in 1632 and the Mayflower (the Christopher and Mary) in 1633



of the Company to bring her to London.<sup>19</sup> In 1635 Edward Bateman, a carpenter hired to serve on the Elizabeth did ten weeks work on the Paul in Virginia. The master of the latter ship (being in need of a carpenter) wanted to take Bateman back to England but the Factors of the freighters of the Elizabeth refused. Apparently Bateman continued to work on the Paul, hiding himself each time that Stage, the factor, came on board. He eventually left for London on the America which was sensible of him since the Elizabeth 'was an old ship and almost eaten away and not fit to go to sea again and good for nothing but to break up'.<sup>20</sup> One can understand the reluctance of Stage to allow Bateman to change ships since he had been paid by the freighters of the Elizabeth for the return voyage.

The freighters did not, however, always choose their crews wisely. It was more than possible for a seaman to present false credentials for employment, especially on a lucrative Virginia voyage. Keevil states that many of the surgeons were highly suspicious characters.<sup>21</sup> Several incidents occurred on the voyage to Virginia which testified to the poor selection of crew, particularly in the case of a master or

<sup>19</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, f. 166

<sup>20</sup> H.C.A. 13/55, ff. 268-268v

<sup>21</sup> Keevil, J.J., Medicine and the Navy, 4 vols., (London 1957), I  
p 202

a captain. The William and Ralph in 1649 got into endless trouble en route to the colony, running out of victuals as early as the Azores, failing to get into the Chesapeake Bay and eventually being driven onto land south of Cape Hatteras. In the resulting case before the High Court of Admiralty, one of the witnesses, Richard Grubb, declared that 'Captain Lockyer was not so well experienced in sea affairs to sail a ship to Virginia'.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps he had fooled the freighters with false qualifications. More amusing were the actions of Daniel Joggles, master of the Anne in 1654. The voyage was scheduled to be from London to Oporto and from thence to Barbados and Virginia. On arrival in Oporto, the ship overshot the entrance to the harbour and had to return the following day. At this juncture, being unable to find a pilot, Joggles admitted that he had no experience of guiding a ship into the harbour at Oporto. On being hired in London, however, he maintained that he knew the port well. Thus the ship went to Lisbon to find a pilot. Joggles appears to have spent most of the stay in Lisbon drinking and came on board 'much distempered with drink' and the following day many of the crew threatened to leave the ship. One of the sailors had to get a sargeant to stand on shore and arrest

any who left. Apparently it took sixteen weeks from their arrival in Lisbon until they entered the port of Oporto.<sup>23</sup> There are also innumerable cases in the High Court of Admiralty resulting from the actions of the masters of the ships in embezzling the goods on board. Reference has been made to these in the previous chapter. Perhaps even worse than misdemeanours of individual members of a crew, were the transgressions involving the whole company of a vessel. Although Captain Lockyer was considered to have insufficient experience to sail a ship to Virginia, it was noted that the crew of the William and Ralph were capable of this task, although the members were not always in a fit state to take care of the vessel. A passenger maintained that during the visit to the Azores, the longboat was broken up, 'by the seamen's neglect who had all tasted so liberally of the New Wine, by the commodiousness of the vintage, that they lay up and down dead drunk in all quarters, in a sad pickle'.<sup>24</sup> The crew did manage to recover and, in all, only two instances of total disobedience of crews have been found. Both involved refusals to go on subsidiary enterprises

<sup>23</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>24</sup> Churchill, A. and J., eds., Collection of Voyages and Travels, (London, 1746), first published, 1732, VI, p 162

whilst in Virginia. The company of the Furtherance in 1624 refused to go on a fishing voyage to New England.<sup>25</sup> In 1650 the members of the Thomas and John would not sail their vessel to Barbados.<sup>26</sup>

One can perhaps understand the actions of the members of the crew in instances of disobedience. They could obtain some of their wages in advance; in London (the main port of departure for most Virginia ships in this period) there was an old established custom that full pay started only from the day of the ship's departure from Gravesend; the crew were entitled to only half pay from the date of signing on until that time, but the half pay was invariably handed over on the day that full pay commenced.<sup>27</sup> However, for obvious reasons, they were given their total wages only on completion of the voyage for which they were hired. If a ship was lost or captured, owners and freighters suffered, therefore, they reasoned, why should the mariners gain? In 1628 seamen complained that they were liable to make good any damage done to a cargo, even if it had left the ship, until it was safely stored in the warehouse.<sup>28</sup> The

<sup>25</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, p 8

<sup>26</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Instance Papers. Series Early. H.C.A. 15/5 No. 42

<sup>27</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 143

<sup>28</sup> Oppenheim, M., A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy, 1509-1660, (London, 1896), p 243

refusal of the crew of the Thomas and John to go to Barbados was based on the argument that since the master, William Farr, had died, they were unsure as to who would pay them. Several complaints were lodged with the High Court of Admiralty concerning the non-payment of wages on Virginia voyages. In 1638 William Bradshawe who went as cooper on the Flower de Luce maintained that he was owed the whole of his pay for the eleven month voyage.<sup>29</sup> John King, master of the Christopher and Mary in 1630, was promised £90 for his part in her voyage to Virginia but was forced to take tobacco in payment. He was unable to collect his 'wages' because he could not afford to pay the duty on the tobacco.<sup>30</sup>

Problems over wages were only part of the troubles of the seamen engaged in any kind of trade in the period. The courts were full of cases in which sailors complained against excessive beatings and arbitrary and savage behaviour of all kinds. Virginia voyages were no exception. Eleanour, the wife of John Merrick, cooper of the Hopeful Adventure petitioned the judges of the High

<sup>29</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, ff. 81v-82

<sup>30</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, Addenda, 1625-1649, (London, 1897), pp 429-430

Court of Admiralty in the 1650's. She maintained that her husband 'having been most inhumanely and unlawfully beaten by the said master .... he afterwards in Virginia beat him out of the ship's boat and turned him onshore and would not allow him to come on board again'. The ship left Virginia without the unfortunate Merrick.<sup>31</sup> On another vessel a bottle of strong waters was lost, for which misfortune, one of the boy members of the crew 'was in a most cruel manner whipt by the master, Jeremy Blackman, with the tags of points bent and whipcord to force him to confess'.<sup>32</sup> No doubt some of the punishments were justified, seen in the context of the time, but the occasional sadistic master was not unknown. Undoubtedly one of the most unpleasant characters found on a Virginia ship was Philip King, elected master of the Merchant Bonaventure after William Harris died. The election did not meet with the approval of the members of the crew but they dared not question it for fear of loosing their wages. King 'was much given to drunkenness and was very often distempered with drink and once when he was drunk did ..... throw the compass box and another piece of wood at the head of Richard Penrye ... and another time went to the cabin of

31 H.C.A. 15/5

32 Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1634-1635,  
(London, 1864), p 131

Thomas Hodges the Chirurgeon .... and threatened to kill him and often called the said Penrye and others of the Company rogues and dogges'. On another occasion he attacked Penrye almost cutting off his finger. <sup>33</sup>

Added to these problems were the dangers inherent in any oceanic voyage of the period, when the art of navigation was not well developed. In 1609 Patrick Copland in a sermon preached to encourage people to invest in the Virginia Company. He talked of the great dangers to sailors, 'as having but a few inches of planks between them and death, they hang between both'. <sup>34</sup> Most mariners seem to have been fully aware of these dangers. One, Richard Williams, in the early 1650's, was a member of the crew of the John being sent to Virginia to help in the submission of the colony to the Commonwealth. Before his departure, he took the precaution of drawing up his will. <sup>35</sup> In the examinations in several of the cases brought before the High Court of Admiralty, reference is made to the number of seamen killed on voyages to Virginia. In the Flower de Luce in 1636 eleven died. <sup>36</sup> In the Jonathan and Abigail in 1648-1649, twelve

<sup>33</sup> H.C.A. 13/52, f. 449

<sup>34</sup> Copland, Patrick, Virginia's God be Thanked, (London, 1622). p 3

<sup>35</sup> Culleton, Leo, 'Virginia Gleanings in England', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 26 (1918), p 37

<sup>36</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 341, p 149

seamen died through lack of victuals and through standing and working in the water which entered the ship.<sup>37</sup> In at least one instance, the crew refused to sail in what they regarded to be a potentially dangerous ship. In August and September 1628 the Sunne of Plymouth was in Virginia after incurring extensive damage in more northerly waters which compounded her already rotten condition. A witness maintained that the ship had one leak for at least five years and it could not be stopped. Some of the Company of the ship asked that they might be allowed to remove their goods and themselves from the ship. Joseph Page, acting as factor, on behalf of the freighters, told them that they could not do this, if they did he would confiscate the tobacco which they intended to carry with them to England.<sup>38</sup> However most crews seem to have accepted the risk of death and certainly this was regarded as commonplace on any long distance voyage. In 1648 William Burton, the surgeon of the Increase, died en route to Virginia and his place was immediately filled by his deputy Philip Cooper, who was only eighteen or nineteen.<sup>39</sup> It seems to have been the practise for the goods of the deceased to be taken over by the master of the vessel

<sup>37</sup> H.C.A. 13/63, f. 422

<sup>38</sup> H.C.A. 13/48, ff. 561-561v

<sup>39</sup> H.C.A. 13/64



and sold to the other members of the crew. In 1654 William Blackler, a sailor on the Alexander, died and his goods, worth some £15 were sold by William Watson, the master, for some £50.<sup>40</sup> In some cases the goods were disposed of with a haste that was almost indecent and, in one instance at least, this led to quarrels among the crew. Edmund Turner was chief mater of the Elizabeth in 1636, until his death. The master, Henry Taverner, ordered all his goods to be sold. However, before his death, Turner told Mary Deane, a passenger, that she could have a serge gown and a petticoat if she looked after him for three days and nights. This she did and collected her reward. The members of the crew who stood to gain from the distribution of the goods, objected to this arrangement. The surgeon declared that Mary had fallen asleep six hours before the allotted time had expired and the pilot that Turner was in a drunken fit when he made the offer.<sup>41</sup> The haste also often produced strong reactions from the relatives of the deceased, strong enough, in some instances, to warrant action in the High Court of Admiralty. Elizabeth Sutton, whose husband, William, had been quarter master of the Amity until his death, alleged that John Tully, the master of

<sup>40</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/112 no. 216

<sup>41</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no 535, pp 239-240

the ship, had taken William's goods into his own possession on the pretext that Sutton had made a will to that effect.<sup>42</sup> One year after the petition, the case came before the court, without any result, for in December 1660 there is a second petition from his widow.<sup>43</sup> A similar case was brought by Margaret Wilford concerning the goods of her late husband who died on the Truelove from Virginia.<sup>44</sup> Certainly in these cases, as in several others, the actions of the master and crew concerning the goods of a dead companion seem to have been over-hasty and even illegal.

As has been seen, it was also the responsibility of the freighters to pay the wages of the crew. These varied along with the tasks that they performed. The master or captain of a vessel, as the one who had the ultimate responsibility for ship and cargo, received the highest pay. In general, the master of the ship was responsible for any damage that might be sustained from the time that he took over the goods until he delivered them safely at the end of the voyage. This was especially true if it could be shown that damage was due to the unseaworthiness of the vessel.<sup>45</sup> The pay of the

<sup>42</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. Instance Papers. Series Early H.C.A. 15/7

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, ff. 237, 268-268v, H.C.A. 13/56, f. 147v, H.C.A. 24/95 no. 94

<sup>45</sup> McGrath, 'Merchant Shipping', pp 288-290

master is a reflection of the importance of his role. The rate fluctuated between £4 10 shillings and £6 a month. The variation can be explained by the tonnage of the vessel. The most common rate for a ship of 100 tons or so was £5 a month, but the master of a vessel of 200 to 250 tons seems to have received about £6 a month. The latter rate was the one most commonly paid. The pay of the master's mate fluctuated between £2 10 shillings and £3 10 shillings. On a ship of 280 tons and above the highest rate was paid.<sup>46</sup> Some other wages were:

Surgeon	40 shilling a month
Carpenter	50 shillings a month
Quarter master	26 shillings a month
Gunner	30 shillings a month
Ordinary seaman	varied between 20 and 26 shillings a month

The wage bill for twenty-five seamen in a ship of 200 tons for an average voyage of seven months must have been something like the following:

	£	s	d
1 master at £6 for seven months .....	42	0	0
1 mate at £3 for seven months .....	21	0	0
1 carpenter at £2 10 shillings for seven months ...	17	10	0
1 surgeon at £2 for seven months .....	14	0	0
1 gunner at £1 10 shillings for seven months .....	10	10	0
1 quarter master at 26 shillings for seven months .	9	2	0
19 seamen at 23 shillings for seven months .....	152	19	0
	<hr/>		
	£ 267	1	0

Thus the bill for wages must be added to the charges for the freighters for a voyage to Virginia. Any estimation of the total cost to the freighters is made difficult by the haphazard nature of the records. From the extant charter parties some idea of the cost of chartering a ship can be gauged. The price fluctuated from the £21 a month charged for the Blessing in 1638 to the £150 a month for the America in 1636. The price seems to have fluctuated with the tonnage of the ship. The Blessing was only 50 tons, but in the case of the America, although her tonnage has not been recorded, there is evidence that she was a large ship, probably over 300 tons.<sup>47</sup> However this is not true of all vessels since the Providence of 200 tons was hired out at £65 a month and the Flower de Luce, of 40 tons greater burden than the Providence, was charged £2 10 shillings a month less. Certainly no pattern can be

<sup>47</sup> The extant details of the following ships have been found:

1620 Margaret, 80 tons, £33 for nine months  
 1630 Falcon, £70 for ten months  
 1634 Seahorse, £80 for six months  
 1635 Merchant Bonaventure, £65 for seven months  
 1636 America, £150  
 1636 Flower de Luce, 240 tons, £62 10s for eight months  
 1638 Blessing, 50 tons, £21 for seven months  
 1638 Suzanna, 140 tons, £40 for seven months  
 1649 William and Ralph, 300 tons, £67 for twelve months  
 1649 Comfort, £73  
 1653 Providence, 200 tons, £65 for seven months  
 1653 Alexander, £85 for six months

discerned which would lead to the conclusion that the price of hire rose or fell at a continuous level during this period. Perhaps Patrick McGrath supplies the answer; he maintains that freight charges were higher at the time of the Civil War, because the risk of a vessel being captured was greater.<sup>48</sup> It would follow that the cost of hiring a ship was in part determined by the tonnage and in part by the risks that the owners thought they were facing in chartering out their ship at a particular time. In one instance, two figures were quoted for the cost of charter. In 1638 the Blessing was hired at £21 a month, however only half this amount had to be paid during the time she took to sail between London and Dartmouth.<sup>49</sup> This would be of especial value to the freighters if the vessel, as quite frequently happened, was delayed by contrary winds in this passage. The amount that a merchant paid for the chartering of a ship was also dependent on the length of time the vessel was in his service. Ships were always hired by the month. Sometimes the time is specified in the charter and the average for a Virginia venture seems to have been seven months, although there was also the proviso that, if necessary, the merchants could pay for

<sup>48</sup> McGrath, 'Merchant Shipping', p 285

<sup>49</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Charter Parties. H.C.A. 15/4, no. 97

extra months. This explains the considerable agitation expressed by the merchants when their ship ran into trouble; they would have to pay for the extra time taken.

It was not only the task of the merchants to pay the wages of the crew they also had to provide victuals for them and the passengers. If a ship was seven months on the Virginia venture, supplies for the crew alone must have been extensive. Some details of victuals are given by Edward Purner in a case in the High Court of Admiralty. There were five men to a mess. Each mess was allowed 'a quarter can of beer, water and other beveridges between meals or when the meal was hot and five bisketts to every mess and the weight of five bisketts in broken bread, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays, beef and peas, Monday, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays fish and oyle, or fish and butter'.<sup>50</sup> In fact the deponent argues that there was so much victual on this particular ship (the Mayflower in 1633) that much was left over. The cost of victualling the Elizabeth in 1637 on her outward voyage alone came to £527.<sup>51</sup> Victualling and 'other necessities' (this could include port charges) in 1654 for the Wildbeare of Bristol

<sup>50</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. May 1634-June 1635. H.C.A. 13/51, f.f. 195-195v

<sup>51</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, ff. 474-474v

came to £393 3s 9d.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the best idea of the cost of victualling a ship can be gained from the inventory of the Bonny Bess in 1637. The following list is for supplies for the crew and passengers from Virginia to England only:

	£	s	d	
Four gallons of strong waters in cases	2	10	0	
Three dozen and a half of candles	2	8	9	
One firkin of butter	2	15	0	
One empty cask and four gallons of strong waters	6	2	10	
Four bushels of pease	7	10	0	
500 of Poor John <sup>53</sup>	13	15	0	
Three bushels of oatmeale	6	5	0	
Bread weighing 300lbs	7	10	0	
Caske the bread was in		13	6	
Halfe a hogshead of vinegar	1	15	0	
2 beeves	22	0	0	
Barrell of salt	2	0	0	
2 barrels of meale	8	0	0	
200 lbs of bread	2	10	0	
Hogshead of beef	12	0	0	
Half hogshead of beefe	4	0	0	
Fresh meat and bread	2	9	0	
Cheese and butter		13	0	54
	£ 106	16	7	

<sup>52</sup> McGrath, Merchants and Merchandise, p 21

<sup>53</sup> Poor John was dry and salted cod. It was cheap and coarse. See Halliwell, James Orchard, Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 2 vols, (London, John Russell Smith, 1865)

<sup>54</sup> H.C.A. 15/4

It also appears that the freighters had to supply the crew with victuals during the time that they loaded a vessel.

Richard Orchard, the freighter of the Bonny Bess, spent £8 15s. on strong waters which were consumed during the lading of the ship.

Port charges and expense for such things as pilotage of the ship into the open sea had to be paid by the freighters. Unfortunately the records are for the most part silent on the cost of these functions. Once more, the charges for the return voyage of the Bonny Bess are the only ones so far discovered. Orchard paid £11 15s. 6d to get the ship from the Downs and her cargo unloaded and brought to the warehouse. The figure breaks down:

	£	s	d
For pilotage out of the Downs to London to Mr. Holman of Deal	2	10	0
To the Trinity House Beadle		9	6
For entering the ship at the custom house	1	7	0
To a porter to see the tobacco delivered from the ship	1	5	0
To Mathew David for looking to the ship after she was unladen	1	8	0
For pettie charges in taking up the tobacco and houseing it to the porters	3	6	0
For literage of the tobacco to Mr. Stevens	1	8	0
	<hr/>		
	£ 11	15	6



Thus for the voyage in and out such charges were quite high. If the freighters wished to carry goods for their own account in the ship, this would also add to their costs. In 1649 Llewellyn, Bonam and Mackerell, freighters of the Comfort, loaded goods to the value of £500 for their own account. <sup>55</sup>

To recoup these extensive charges for charter, wages, victuals and port dues, and to make a profit, it was necessary for the freighters to gain as much as possible from the freight that other merchants carried on the ship. Passengers were regarded as the most profitable form of cargo. The rate for them was usually £6 a head, although there are cases when this was as low as £4. <sup>56</sup> If such passengers were being shipped as indentured servants who would be sold in the colony, the merchant who shipped them was responsible for their victuals, thus further reducing the cost of the freighters. Charges for other commodities sent to Virginia seem to have been fixed at the general level of £3 a ton. <sup>57</sup> From the appeals of merchants who lost goods en route to Virginia, some idea of the quantity of goods carried in the ships (and hence the charges paid by the merchants) can be gauged.

<sup>55</sup> H.C.A. 13/65

<sup>56</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1660-1661. H.C.A. 13/74

<sup>57</sup> H.C.A. 13/52, f. 474

It was estimated that in 1649 the William and Ralph carried goods worth about £1,300.<sup>58</sup> The losses arising out of the transportation of forty persons and their goods and provisions in 1632 were alleged to amount to £2,710 13 shillings.<sup>59</sup> It was thought that the Elizabeth which was captured by the Spanish in 1637, carried goods to the value of £6,000.<sup>60</sup>

The choice of a ship and the sailors to man it was of prime importance to freighters engaged in the trade with Virginia. They paid out considerable sums both to charter the ship and to pay and victual the crew. They had, therefore, the right to expect value for their money. In some cases the loss caused by an unsound ship or an unreliable crew was not the fault of the freighters. If a ship proved unseaworthy, the owners could be accused of negligence but, in most cases, compensation to the merchants did not completely cover losses caused by damage to their goods. The same was true of damage caused by the negligence of the seamen. However there were occasions on which the freighters themselves were culpable for disruptions in the smooth operation of trade with

<sup>58</sup> H.C.A. 13/65

<sup>59</sup> C.O.I, vol. VIII, no. 49

<sup>60</sup> H.C.A. 13/54, f. 398v

the colony. There are several instances of their refusal to pay wages to the seamen. It can be seen that, although the latter sometimes did cause trouble and deserved to have their wages withheld from them, their lot was not a particularly pleasant one. Not only was there the fear of ill treatment at sea but also the constant fear of an accident. The withholding of wages was the last thing many of them deserved. Errors of judgement in the choice of ship and crew could cause innumerable delays and difficulties which could result in heavy losses for the freighters. However such losses do appear to have been fairly infrequent. It would be fair to assume that, despite such risks, if the freighters managed to fill a ship with cargo and passengers, they would recoup all the money they had to pay out in costs and even make a profit. If the business of chartering a ship to Virginia was generally not a profitable one, it would not have attracted such a large number of merchants.

CHAPTER III

THE VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA

Fig iv Prevailing winds and currents in the North Atlantic

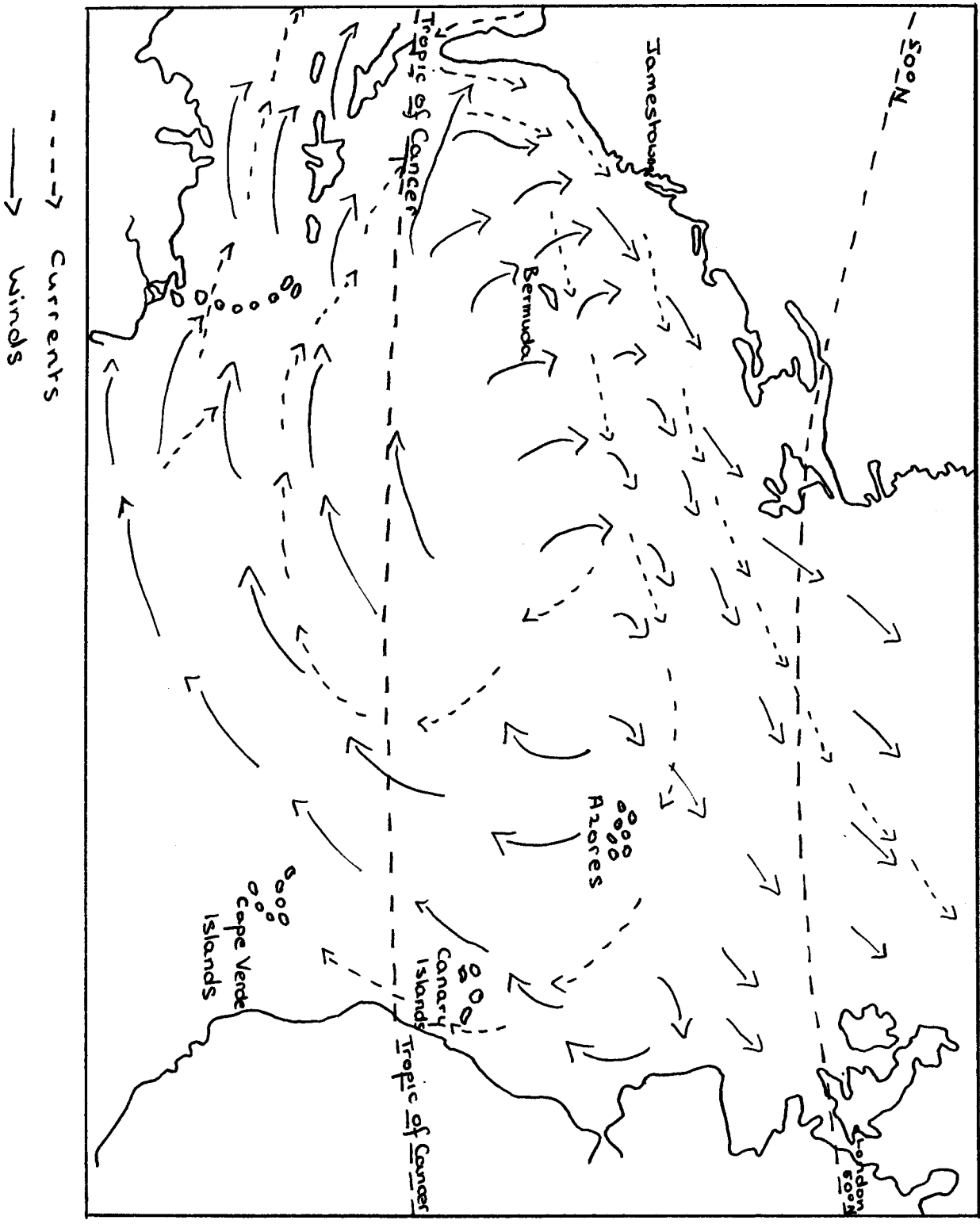
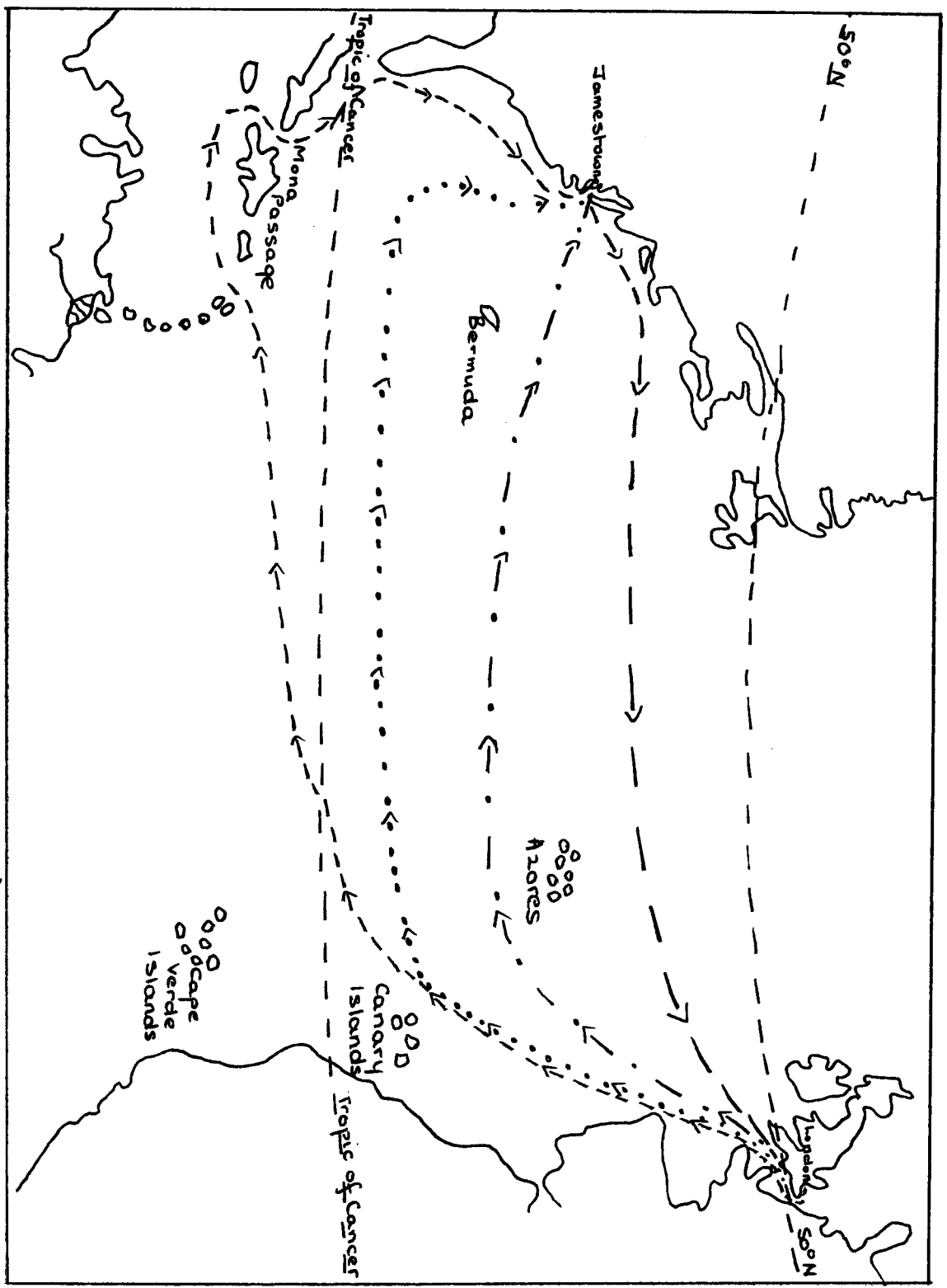


Fig. vi Routes taken to and from Virginia



---> via The West Indies (Newport 1606-7)  
...-> Central Passage (Arqull)  
- - -> Northern Passage (Danyron)

Much debate took place throughout the period, 1606-1660, on the best route to take to Virginia. Various factors were at work during these debates. Naturally people sought to find the speediest and safest route to the colony and for the return voyage. This would reduce the cost to the freighters and the danger of loss to the ship owners. In the early years of the colony more concern was expressed for a quick route to the colony since the more important cargoes, supplies and passengers were found going to Virginia. After tobacco was established as the staple crop, it became more imperative in the eyes of the merchants to ensure a safe and speedy passage home with the delicate and valuable cargo. However passengers and supplies were still an important part of the trade and interest was maintained in the outward journey.

One part of these debates concerned the most propitious time to leave England. It seems as if the date of arrival in Virginia was the basis of such arguments; an average figure for the outward journey was calculated and a time for departure from England arrived at. During the period of Company control there was much debate as to the most propitious time to arrive in the colony. Obviously, the arrival of new colonists would be of prime importance, but there were certain seasons when it would be unwise for them to land.

Governor Argall seems to have been the first to consider the problem. In 1618 he advocated September as the best month. If the new arrivals had insufficient supplies, it was harvest time and the colony could support them in the initial period of settlement. However, this was, in a sense, only a minor argument to support his views, since he was primarily concerned with the best season for trade.<sup>1</sup> By 1618 tobacco was becoming well established. Governor George Yeardley went into the problem as it concerned the colonists in more detail. He quarrelled with the practise of the Company in sending out ships in the Spring and insisted on Autumn sailings. He argued that the excessive heat of summer to which the new arrivals were unaccustomed, would aggravate any illness that they might have acquired during transit. Even those who were in good health could rarely get acclimatised before the planting season was over, and therefore had to rely on supply from England or surplus from the other planters for their provision. In the Autumn the climate was better and the harvest was in so that surplus food was more

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda of Governor Argall, Susan M. Kingsbury ed., Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols, (Washington, 1906-1935), III, 78



likely to be available.<sup>2</sup> His views were echoed by others in Virginia. John Pory, writing in 1620 to Sir Edwin Sandys the Treasurer of the Company, declared that the fittest season to arrive was 'in the leafefall and the winter having found the Spring and Somer both fatal and unprofitable to newcomers'.<sup>3</sup> A study of the times of arrival in Virginia reveals that between the years 1617 and 1624 when there are the most detailed figures for shipping, the most popular month for arrival was April followed by May and July, although ships arrived in almost every month of the year.<sup>4</sup> This refutes the opinion of Wesley Frank Craven who declared that, after 1620, most of the sailings were timed for the late Summer or early Autumn.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it would appear that the Company in London ignored the pleas of the colonists. The difficulties involved in the collection of supply and the dispatch of shipping seem to have increased along with the financial problems of the Company. Thus, one suspects, the adventurers were so pleased to see a ship leave for the colony that they were not prepared to dictate times for

<sup>2</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Dissolution of the Virginia Company, (New York, 1932), p 160-161

<sup>3</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 300

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix E

<sup>5</sup> Craven, Dissolution of the Company, p 162

sailing. It could be argued that if a ship was prepared to set off in the Spring and was told to delay until the Autumn, the financiers and potential colonists might become discouraged and change their minds about adventuring money or going to the colony. The problem of times of arrival with reference to the colonists continued to be a topic of discussion after the dissolution of the Company. It was still important to time correctly the arrival in Virginia; in the Summer of 1635 no fewer than fifteen masters of ships, out of the thirty-six who had never visited the Chesapeake before, died.<sup>6</sup> William Bullock enters the argument in 1649. He notes that, because of the practise of the ships arriving in the colony from December onwards to collect the best of the tobacco crop, passengers are put on shore in the winter, they are weak from the ocean voyage, and are affected by the cold.<sup>7</sup>

However after the dissolution of the Company, the most important factor determining the date of arrival of ships in Virginia (and hence the date of departure from England) was the tobacco harvest. All considerations of welfare of the passengers

<sup>6</sup> Middleton, Arthur P., Tobacco Coast, a Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay, (Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia, 1953), p 71

<sup>7</sup> Bullock, William, Virginia, Impartially Examined, (London, 1649), p 48

were manifestly secondary. This had been considered before. In his memoranda, Argall dwells at length on this problem. He notes that the best tobacco would be ready in the fall and if the ships return after April, the heat in the hold would damage the delicate cargo.<sup>8</sup> After 1624 when the primary reason for going to Virginia was to acquire tobacco rather than to sell supplies or transport passengers, this factor became of paramount importance. The planters were eager to get their crops on the market in the best possible condition and they were joined in this sentiment by the shippers and merchants. This is borne out by the figures for shipping in the period 1625 to 1660. Although the data is by no means complete for each ship, a pattern does begin to emerge. In this case the more accurate figures are those for the times that the ships left England, those for arrival in Virginia are unreliable, distorted by the high number of ships found in the records of the High Court of Admiralty, which were delayed in their passage to the colony. The figures show that most ships left in August, September and December. Since the average outward voyage time was 110 days, it follows that these ships arrived in the colony

<sup>8</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 78

in November, December and March, the latter would transport any tobacco that remained in the hands of the planters. The figures can be checked with the more reliable data for times of arrival in Virginia for the period 1624 to 1660. These show that the majority of ships arrived in November, December and March. Bullock maintained that because the reliance on tobacco was so great ships only left England when they could be assured of a cargo in Virginia, 'hence many in England think it is a year's voyage to Virginia ..... many a man that would have willingly gone away in March had there been shipping to transport him, is of another mind, or had otherwise settled himself before September comes which is the usual time of going'.<sup>9</sup> Certainly many of the complaints arising from the breaking of a Charter Party concern the fact that a ship has been somehow delayed on the way to Virginia and arrived too late for the best of the tobacco.

Reference has been made earlier in this chapter to the debate on the question of the route to be taken to Virginia. There was, however, no debate on the fact that often the most difficult part

<sup>9</sup> Bullock, Virginia Examined, II

of the whole voyage was the passage through the Channel. The great majority of ships engaged in Virginia trade left from London. Hence most were faced with the lengthy passage from Gravesend to Lands End before they entered the open sea. Unfortunately the prevailing winds in the Channel are westerly and hence contrary to the ones needed to sail towards Virginia. Several vessels were held up on their journey through the Channel. In October 1638 the Blessing left Gravesend and laid windbound in the Downs for three weeks, she then proceeded as far as the Isle of Wight but was forced into the Island by a contrary wind and stayed there two months waiting for it to change. When they did manage to depart the rest of the voyage took only seven weeks.<sup>10</sup> Admittedly the case of the Blessing is an extreme one, but delays of two or three weeks were quite common and it appears to have been a matter of chance whether or not a ship was caught up in an unfavourable wind. The ships that went down from Gravesend a day before the Blessing took one month less because they did not meet with the same delays. It was so necessary to take advantage of a favourable wind that on one

<sup>10</sup> Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty, Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1639-1640. H.C.A. 13/55 f. 294

occasion, the owner of a ship, although he had intended to go on the voyage, was left on shore as the master ordered full sail for Virginia.<sup>11</sup> Since the freighters hired the ship and paid wages by the month, such delays would add to their costs. It also added to the cost of victualling and some tended to reduce the quantities allowed to the passengers. Complaints were made about supplies in the Dove in 1638 and in the Constance in 1634. Passengers in the latter maintained that five of them had to share the victuals intended for one. The fish was very dry and they had no beer. Not surprisingly, many expressed a desire to go on shore and not continue with the voyage. At which point the ship began to leak.<sup>12</sup>

There were other problems encountered on the voyage through the Channel. Perhaps the most hazardous part of the passage was the section between London and the Downs; hazardous because of shoals and sandbanks. It was thought necessary for all ships to hire a pilot especially for this passage. Most ships seem to have negotiated this section without much difficulty, but there is

<sup>11</sup> This was the Temperance which left London in March 1625. Anderson, R.C. ed., The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644, 4 vols., (Southampton, 1929-1936), I, 73

<sup>12</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1636-1637. H.C.A. 13/52 f. 191-191v

evidence that at least two Virginia ships managed to run into trouble. Both incidents were caused by quarrels between the pilot and the owner or the master of the vessel. Late in 1654 William Wilkinson was hired by Philip Ewers, the owner of the William, as pilot. Because of contrary winds they were stayed for three weeks at Gravesend but in December the wind changed and they set sail. Ewers went on shore and remained there for twenty-five or twenty-six days during which time Wilkinson pleaded with him to come on board and take the ship through the North Channel which he knew well but Ewers maintained that this was a dangerous passage. Hence the ship was delayed even longer.<sup>13</sup> In the same year a William Wilkinson (probably not the same man) was master of the Exchange and James Warren was hired as pilot to take the ship through the Downs. During the pilotage, Warren was to have sole command of the ship 'as was usual in such cases'. Although the wind was strong when they reached Gravesend, Wilkinson ordered the ship to continue and the two men quarrelled over the amount of sail needed, contrary commands were given and there was a great deal of confusion on

<sup>13</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1656-1657. H.C.A. 13/71

board. The ship came too close to shore and was stuck on the sands, the men having to take to the boats. The ship was extensively damaged and was unable to continue to Virginia.<sup>14</sup> It seems as if each man was wilful and not prepared to listen to the advice of the other. For twenty-eight of the ships crossing to Virginia in this period there is record of the dates they left London and the dates that they cleared the Channel. Naturally the total time varied with each ship. The Discovery in 1609 took only nine days whereas the Blessing in 1638 took a total of eight-seven.<sup>15</sup> The average time of these twenty-eight was thirty days but this gives a false impression since the figures for the ships after 1630 are taken from the records of the High Court of Admiralty and only unusual voyages which caused dispute were brought before that court. Of the twenty-three ships before 1630 the average time was fifteen days which is a more realistic figure; although Alexander Brown erroneously believes it to have taken ten.<sup>16</sup>

Once the ships had cleared the hazards of the Channel there were

<sup>14</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix F

<sup>16</sup> Brown, Alexander, The First Republic in America, (New York, 1907) p 23



several routes which could be taken to Virginia. Between 1606 and 1609 ships for the colony travelled by way of the West Indies, Christopher Newport in taking out the first colonists followed the accustomed route which had been used many times before in voyages to the Caribbean and North America. As noted earlier, Newport himself was very conversant with the route to the West Indies. He headed for Cape Finistere the North West tip of the Iberian Peninsular. From the Cape the route south of the Sargasso Sea was a natural one. Ships sometimes went two hundred leagues out of their way, hauling over to the Azores to take advantage of the wind.<sup>17</sup> Southwards of the Canaries, the ships entered the regular tradewind belt. Taking advantage of these winds it was possible to sail from the Canaries to the West Indies in twenty to thirty days, thence through the Mona Passage via the Gulf Stream to Florida in fifteen to twenty days.<sup>18</sup> However once in the Gulf Stream, the dangers of the passage were by no means over. In the region of Cape Hatteras the warm waters of the Gulf Stream meet the cold waters of the North with the result that the seas were choppy and

17 Bullock, Virginia Examined, p 48

18 See fig iv and fig v

the weather unreliable. Frequently the ships ran into severe storms, notoriously sudden and serious, especially in the hurricane season in July and August. In 1650 the seamen of the William and Ralph misjudged the entry into Chesapeake Bay and she was forced onto the shoals in the region of Cape Hatteras. <sup>19</sup> Some vessels had to return to the West Indies to refit before returning to the north and some even, blown far off their course, found it expedient to sail with the westerly winds which prevail in the latitude of 30° North, back to the Azores and even to England to begin their voyage anew. Even when they reached Cape Henry, their troubles were not over. They had to remain off the coast until they were fortunate enough to get an easterly wind in order to run between the Virginia Capes into Chesapeake Bay. Since the prevailing winds were westerly, vessels could wait for many days virtually within sight of their destination. <sup>20</sup>

There were not only advantages of favourable currents and winds to the route via the West Indies but also ships relied on their visits to the islands to obtain much needed provisions of wood, water and food. In 1657 the Delight was forced to put into

<sup>19</sup> Middleton, Tobacco Coast, p 5-6

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p 6

the West Indies to obtain much-needed salt for the passenger's provisions.<sup>21</sup> Also the passengers would be given a chance to air themselves and stretch their legs. Sometimes passengers who became disillusioned with life on the ship would leave here. In April 1623 one passenger, Richard Norwood, wrote to his father from Virginia and noted the bad conditions on board the ship which caused ten of the passengers to remain on St. Vincent.<sup>22</sup> John Rolfe, writing from Virginia in 1620, comments that the passengers on the Bona Nova came 'lusty and in good health. They came by way of the West Indies which passage at that season doth much to refresh the people'.<sup>23</sup> Bullock notes that servants (which could in 1649, when he was writing, mean negroes) were picked up in the West Indies.<sup>24</sup> Indeed a further incentive to travel to Virginia by way of the West Indies was added when the islands were colonised. Often Virginia ships would also carry goods and passengers to the Caribbean and pick up commodities to take to Virginia.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Bristol Record Office. Books of Depositions, 1657-1661, ff. 128-128v

<sup>22</sup> Notes taken from Letters which came to Virginia on the Abigail, Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 245

<sup>23</sup> John Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys, Ibid., III, 245

<sup>24</sup> Bullock, Virginia Examined, p. 47

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter VIII

However the passage was a long one by this route. The average length of time was 197 days but this figure does include the abnormally high figure of 304 days for the West India Merchant in 1649-1650. Without this ship, the average was 110 days.<sup>26</sup> The time varied according to the favourability of the winds and the length of time spent provisioning in the islands. The Starr in 1611 managed the voyage in fifty-seven days, whereas the time of the West India Merchant has already been noted. The sojourn in the islands added to the difficulties of supply. Misunderstandings could and did occur, and goods were often left behind in the West Indies which should have been taken to Virginia. Edward Hurd of London complained in 1628 that three hogsheads of meal were missing when his ship reached Virginia. There was a suspicion that these had been left in the West Indies.<sup>27</sup> Several masters appear to have decided to terminate their voyages in the islands instead of heading for the Northern colony or been persuaded to go on alternative missions. The White Dove put into Barbados in 1659, made two return voyages between there and New England, and eventually left the Caribbean for Holland. She never touched at

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix G

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, I, 170

Virginia, her intended destination.<sup>28</sup> There was also danger to the passengers in this route; a southern passage meant higher temperatures and the heat of the voyage added to the already strong likelihood of disease on board. The visit of the passengers to one of the islands could also aggravate or be a cause of disease. Amoebic dysentery, tropical malaria and yellow fever could be contracted, especially if any water was taken on board. In the case of at least one ship there were other dangers to the health of the passengers. In February 1626 the Saker called in at the West Indies. Some of the company and passengers went on shore and several were killed by the local Indians; sixteen managed to escape by hiding under a rock. Their fellow ship-mates who had remained on board dared not risk their lives to rescue the survivors, and the ship left the islands without them.<sup>29</sup> There was added danger for ships taking this route. Although peace with Spain had been made in 1604, there was, throughout the period, constant fear of Spanish intervention in the colony and interference with

<sup>28</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1660-1661. H.C.A. 13/74

<sup>29</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, I, 162

the shipping. This fear was undoubtedly exaggerated; as far as can be ascertained only one ship was attacked on the islands. This was the Margaret and John which left England in February 1621. Her adventurers are described elsewhere.<sup>30</sup>

Hence it seemed to the Company that it would be expedient to find a quicker, safer route to the colony. A shorter voyage would also reduce the expense for victuals. This was felt to be especially necessary in 1609. It was recognised that the size of that year's project for the colony constituted a new challenge to Spain.<sup>31</sup> Samuel Argall was therefore instructed in 1609 to sail due west from the Canaries. This route had been taken by Sir Richard Grenville in 1586. It was possible that the Company did not know of this for it was only reported in Spanish sources; although certain members of the Virginia Company could have gained knowledge of the fact from Grenville's sailors.<sup>32</sup> His voyage was successful since he reached Virginia in sixty-three days, fourteen of which were spent in dead calm, no progress being possible.<sup>33</sup> This was a disadvantage

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter II

<sup>31</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, (Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p 92

<sup>32</sup> Quinn, David Beers, The Roanoke Voyages, (The Hakluyt Society, 1955), p 788

<sup>33</sup> Bruce, Philip, Economic History of Virginia, 2 vols., (New York, 1907), II, 623

of this route, it was always possible to get into the Doldrums. Patrick Copland in 1622 wrote of the advantages of the passage 'and now, beloved, since the case is altered, that all difficulties are swallowed up, and seeing, first, there is no danger by the way neither through the encountering of enemy nor pyrate nor meeting with wakes or shoals (all of which to seafaring men are very dangerous and from all which your ships and people are farre removed, by reason of their fayre and safe passage through the maine ocean) nor through the tediousness of the passage, the fittest season of the yeare for a speedie passage being now farre better knowne than before and by that means the passage itself made almost in so many weekes, as formerly it was want to be made in months .....'.<sup>34</sup> Certainly this passage seems to have been taken with increasing frequency in the period under survey. In the years 1609 to 1630, the ships taking this route spent an average of eight-two days at sea, although there were variations. The shortest time taken was that of the Edwin in 1617, thirty-five days and the longest the Supply in 1620 and the Furtherance in 1622 both of which took 126 days.<sup>35</sup> Undoubtedly the passage was shorter, avoided the

<sup>34</sup> Copland, Patrick, Virginia's God be Thanked (London, 1622), p 9

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix G

perilous waters off Cape Hatteras and lay entirely within the temperate zone, thus minimising discomfort and disease on shipboard.

There was also the possibility of taking the route north of the Sargasso Sea, although the passage was not so well-known to the navigators of the day. Alexander Brown calls this part of the ocean 'that vast and trackless waste', which has to be sailed 'in the wind's eye and in the set of the current'.<sup>36</sup> This route was taken by several of the ships.<sup>37</sup> John Pory wrote in June 1620 to Sir Edwin Sandys, discussed the various passages that could be taken and noted that 'those by the North and the West Indys being the two extreames of that Golden Medyum which I hope will be of profitable use, verify the saying Medio Tutissimus ibis'.<sup>38</sup> He recites the complaints of John Damyron, master of the Dyana, which followed the Northern passage and vowed he would never take it again. The route was apparently too long and resulted in the loss to the colony of, among other things, the silkworms given by King James. He finishes with a plea to Sandys as Treasurer of the Company, not to send ships by

<sup>36</sup> Brown, First Republic, p 23

<sup>37</sup> See fig iv and fig v

<sup>38</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 301-302



that route again. Yet here Pory is in conflict with the opinion of the council in Virginia, writing in 1622, who urged that ships be sent by the Northern route.<sup>39</sup> However this passage does seem to have been unpopular with the seamen and few ships took it. In 1649 Bullock declares it to be 'extreame unhealthy ..... the ship is pestered and subject to diseases which happens very often'.<sup>40</sup>

In the letter quoted above, Pory declared that the best passage is by way of the Somers Islands (the Bermudas). He notes that a Mr. Elford took his ship by this way and, since he had a short passage, he brought all his passengers well and in good health.<sup>41</sup> The Bermudas had been rediscovered by accident in 1609. Sir Thomas Gates in the Sea Venture left for Virginia in charge of a fleet of eight other ships in June of that year. These ships ran into a storm of great ferocity described by one commentator:

There arose such a storm, as if Jonas had been flying into Tarshish: the heavens were obscured and made an Egyptian night of three days perpetuall horror; the women lamented; the hearts of the passengers failed; the experience of sea captains

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., II, 582

<sup>40</sup> Bullock, Virginia Examined, p 47

<sup>41</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 302

was amazed; the skill of the mariners was confounded. <sup>42</sup>

Amazing as it may seem from the above description, the Sea Venture came to land on the Bermudas. The survivors spent some time there constructing two ships to take them to Virginia and were very impressed with the land. A small colony was established on the island and this became quite a popular route to take; fifteen ships are known to have called in here on their way to Virginia. <sup>43</sup> Ships for Virginia would often carry passengers for the Bermudas and sometimes those intended for the mainland colony preferred to stay on the islands. In 1623 certain passengers on the Sea Flower declared their intention to stay. <sup>44</sup> One ship, the Garland, never did reach Virginia but remained on the islands for two to three months. On the return to England, the captain, William Wye, was prosecuted by the Company because he did not call in on Virginia as ordered. <sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, with one exception, there are only incomplete sets of figures for the time taken in the passage. The exception is the Elizabeth

<sup>42</sup> True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia, in Peter Force ed., Tracts and other Papers, 4 vols., (New York, 1947), first published 1884, III, 10

<sup>43</sup> See fig v

<sup>44</sup> Lefroy, John H., Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, (2 vols., London, 1877), I, 287

<sup>45</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 281-289

which left England on January 30, 1613 and arrived in Virginia on May 24. Thus she took 115 days. Hence it would seem that as far as length was concerned the passage by way of the Bermudas was not particularly advantageous.

The dispute over the route to be taken to Virginia does not appear to have been resolved in this period. Even the advantages of the intermediate passage taken by Argall was not obvious to all. Only two years after his voyage Thomas Dale wrote to the Council in England in 1611 and put forward a plea for the West Indian route, 'a passage which I could heartily wish might not be declined by those our English fleetes which should at any time make unto Virginia probable enough, as may appeare by this our tryall to be most speedie. And I am right well assured most convenient for our people's refreshing and preserving of our cattle'.<sup>46</sup> Undoubtedly with an average of eighty-two days, the middle route was the shortest but many seamen preferred to continue to take the routes which held other advantages. This was particularly true in the case of those ships which collected goods either in the West Indies or in the Bermudas to carry to the Northern colony. Eighteen ships can be traced which called in

<sup>46</sup> Brown, Alexander, The Genesis of the United States, 2 vols., (Boston, 1890), I, 488-494

on the West Indies and fifteen visited the Bermudas.<sup>47</sup> It does, however, appear that as the masters and pilots of the ships became accustomed to taking one or another of the passages they became more expert at negotiating them. Thus the time of the voyages was cut. As early as 1622, Edward Waterhouse writing from the colony makes the following observations:

and for the passage hither and trade there, it is free from all restraints by forren princes whereunto most of our other accustomed trades are subject there is neither danger on the way through the encountering of any enemy or pyrate nor meeting with rocks or shoals (by reason of the fayre and safe passage threw the maine ocean) nor tediousness of journey, which by reason of better knowledge than in former years (the fruit of time and observation) is oftner made and in fewer weeks than formerly it was want to be made in months .....<sup>48</sup>

Out of the fifty-eight ships whose exact voyage times are extant, the average time taken was 110 days. Within this there are immense variations. It was alleged that in 1655 the King of Poland took thirty days whereas in 1649-1650 the West India Merchant took

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix J

<sup>48</sup> 'A Declaration of the State of the Colony .... and a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre', Records of the Virginia Company, II, 245

304 although this voyage was via the Barbados where extensive repairs had to be undertaken. Therefore one agrees with the deponent in the High Court of Admiralty who maintained in 1652 that the voyage to Virginia could take from three to four months, according to wind and weather, but it was usually accounted a three-month voyage.<sup>49</sup> The anonymous writer was optimistic in 1648 when he stated that the voyage took from five to seven weeks.<sup>50</sup>

There were deviations from the main route taken to Virginia. These were caused by the freighters wishing to add to their profits by collecting goods which could be sold in the colony from places not necessarily on the direct routes to Virginia. Obviously the freighters of the Anne in 1655 were intending that Daniel Joggles, the master, should pick up goods at Oporto which could be sold in the colony.<sup>51</sup> The most important manifestation of this was the infant Virginian slave trade. Most, if not all, historians concerned with either the slave trade in general or the development of slavery in the colony, have chosen to ignore the fact that certain

<sup>49</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>50</sup> Anon, 'A Perfect Description of Virginia', Force, Tracts, II, 5

<sup>51</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

ships were sent out by merchants with the specific task of collecting slaves from West Africa and shipping them to Virginia to be exchanged for tobacco. Certainly the first negroes introduced into the colony arrived on ships (usually Dutch) which had been captured by the English. The first of these were brought in by the Treasurer in 1619. In 1629 the second cargo of Angolan negroes was captured by the Fortune and bartered in Virginia for tobacco. Most writers assume that the fairly regular, if small, cargos of negroes which entered the colony from 1635 onwards were brought in by the Dutch or else collected from the West Indies or the New Netherlands. Despite the establishment of an English Company of Adventurers trading to Guinea and Benin in 1618, the participation of the English in the slave trade did not seriously rival the Dutch until after 1660. However this does not mean that the English did not at least attempt to transport negroes from Africa to America. There was incentives to this trade; the price of a slave in Virginia rose from an average of £18 a head in 1640 to £30 or even £40 in 1659.<sup>52</sup> Admittedly the evidence for this development is sketchy and, in a sense, negative. In the records of the High Court of Admiralty there are two cases

<sup>52</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 89. H.C.A. 13/71

referring to ships engaged in this trade. The three ships involved, the Rappahanock and the Sarah in 1656 and the Hopewell in 1657 were all captured off the African coast.<sup>53</sup> However the evidence brought forward in these cases strongly suggests that the trade was regular and fairly well organised. A varied cargo of goods such as cloth, linen, beads, gloves, strong waters and iron were loaded aboard the ships in London to be exchanged in Guinea and Angola for negroes, 'elephants teeth' and other commodities which were to be carried to Virginia and bartered for tobacco. It is interesting to note that the shippers knew sufficient about the trade to realise that it was possible to transport ivory from Guinea to London by way of Virginia and still achieve a profit not only on the ivory, which sold at £200 a ton, but also on the voyage as a whole.<sup>54</sup> Although only three ships which were engaged in this trade can be traced, the evidence presented here would suggest that more ships were involved than earlier writers are prepared to acknowledge.

There was less variation in the route taken from Virginia.

<sup>53</sup> H.C.A. 13/71. Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1658-1660. H.C.A. 13/73

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

There was, especially after tobacco became established as the staple crop, much pressure on the master to take the shortest, speediest and safest route home. Bailyn makes the point when discussing the early days of the New England colonies that 'to the merchants, operating on a delicate balance between investments and profits, accidents on the homeward voyage meant severe reverses ..... the capture of the Pilgrim's Little James by a Turkish man of war was the coup de grace to the staggering New Plymouth Company'.<sup>54</sup> It does seem that conditions were more favourable on the return journey and thus the time taken was less. The ships could pick up the Gulf Stream along the East coast of the present United States and then take the North Atlantic Drift to the North of the Sargasso Sea which would carry them East to England.<sup>55</sup> The exact voyage times of ten ships have been traced, these provide an average of seventy-nine days. However the Alexander in 1653-1654 took 107 days since she spent some time in Cork: without her time, the average is fifty-two days, which seems more realistic.<sup>56</sup>

There were more deviations from the direct route home.

<sup>54</sup> Bailyn, Bernard, The New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p 12

<sup>55</sup> See figs iv and fig v

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix H



Several ships called in at Ireland. In the later days of the Company, several ships actually terminated their voyages in Ireland. The members even appointed a factor to deal with the goods, notably tobacco, which were discharged there.<sup>57</sup> Indeed some ships called in at Ireland on the route to Virginia to pick up passengers. The Anne of Bristol in 1652 and the Unity in 1654 both landed there.<sup>58</sup> Some ships were unintentional visitors to the Irish coast. John Payne, the captain of the John and Dorothy, contrary to the orders of the freighters of the ship, landed in Ireland and proceeded to sell her cargo of tobacco for his own profit.<sup>59</sup> At least three ships are known to have called in at Ireland whilst returning from the colony.<sup>60</sup>

In the early 1620's there was a further deviation from the practise of travelling directly to England. Ships were initially attracted to the New England coast by the abundance of fish which had been described by John Smith. He declared that fishing in New England began in February and that in Newfoundland not until the middle of May 'the progression thereof tends much to the

<sup>57</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, II, 169

<sup>58</sup> Nott, H.E. ed., The Deposition Books of Bristol (Publications of the Bristol Record Society, 6, Bristol, 1935), II, 132. H.C.A. 13/72

<sup>59</sup> Shilton, Dorothy O. and Richard Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations, 1637-1638 (London, 1932), no. 45 p 108

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix K

advancement of Virginia and the Somers Islands, whose empty ships may take in their freight there'.<sup>61</sup> Smith mentions six ships coming to the New England shores in 1615, eight in 1616 and by 1624 and he maintained (perhaps exaggerating to suit his own purposes of promotion) that forty or fifty ships went yearly.<sup>62</sup> Naturally not all these ships would be Virginia vessels but at least fourteen ships are known to have visited the Northern shores, either en route to the colony or coming away, mostly in the early 1620's. Smith himself hit on the reason for these early visits by Virginia ships. The tobacco trade, prior to 1624, was not fully established and the ships could not be ensured of a full freight in exchange for passengers and supplies. Fish from New England waters seemed to be one answer to the problem. There was a further advantage to the fishery. The fishing vessels would be coming out to Virginia almost empty and thus the Virginia Company could hire them to take out passengers. Therefore many of the ships commissioned by the Company also received permission to fish after they had visited the colony. On November 19, 1621, in the General Court, it was moved that commissions be drawn up

<sup>61</sup> Smith, John, The General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, 2 vols, (Glasgow, 1907), II, 81

<sup>62</sup> McFarland, Raymond, A History of New England Fisheries, (New York, 1911), p 35-36

for ships intending to fish after they had delivered their passengers. <sup>63</sup> Two days later these commissions were granted to the Bona Nova, the Hopewell, the Discovery and the Darling. <sup>64</sup> The habit of going to the northern coasts to fish continued after the dissolution of the Company. Bullock in 1649 maintained that the most profitable way to carry passengers and goods was in shipping that went to fish in the waters of Newfoundland. <sup>65</sup> However this practise served to increase the length of the return voyage. The Swan of Barnstable took 191 days and the Bonaventure took 196 days both in 1620. <sup>66</sup> Two ships were unintentional visitors to the coast. The Bona Nova and the Elizabeth were carried by the current past Virginia. The latter remained there until the Spring of 1621 whilst the former arrived in Virginia in January 1621. Both had left England the previous August.

There was little trouble getting through the Channel on the return voyage, since the prevailing winds aided the passage. This could be travelled in eight days. The Treasure in 1615 achieved

<sup>63</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, 551

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 554

<sup>65</sup> Bullock, Virginia Examined, p 50

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix H

the trip in seven. The Anne in 1656 was forced to put into Plymouth because of contrary winds.<sup>67</sup> Several of these delays were the fault of the crew members. The Merchant Bonaventure in 1636 anchored at Dover Road and most of the crew came ashore in the longboat. During their absence, the cables were damaged, the anchor dislodged and she proceeded to drift. The men left on board were not sufficiently skilled to carry her into the Downs and moore her. Weston, the factor of the ship, tried to persuade the seamen to return but they refused without more victuals and a pilot. He was forced to hire other men to bring her to London.<sup>68</sup> Thus it can be seen that the voyage home took much less time than the passage of the colony.

The length of the voyage to and from Virginia was, above all, of immediate interest to the passengers. As has been noted, delays before setting off from England and during the passage through the Channel were frequent and, once at sea, the passage, even by the shortest route, was an average eighty-two days. Even if a ship was well supplied with victuals and not overcrowded, the voyage cannot have been a pleasant one. John Hammond gives advice to servants going to the colony, 'when ye go aboard, expect the ship

<sup>67</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>68</sup> H.C.A. 13/52 ff. 424-424v

somewhat troubled and in a hurly burly, until ye clear the land's end and that the ship is rummaged and things put to rights, which many times discourages the passengers, and makes them wish the voyage unattempted: but this is but a short season, and washes off when at sea, when the time is pleasantly passed away, though with not such choice plenty'.<sup>69</sup> Hammond was being optimistic about the enjoyment of the voyage, yet it was undoubtedly an attempt to reassure many of the passengers, most of whom had probably never been to sea before. In a sense the passengers had themselves to blame for some of the unpleasantness of the crossing. Many were highly superstitious and were over-eager to blame their fellow passengers for any ills that befell the ship. At least two cases of witchcraft were alleged to have occurred on Virginia vessels; one in 1654 and one in 1659. The captain of one of these ships was accused of executing one Catherine Grady as a witch on the High Seas,<sup>70</sup> an action probably urged on him by the panic of the passengers. Despite the reassurances of writers like Hammond, one wonders how many passengers echoed the sentiments of George Menefie in 1636. He

<sup>69</sup> Hammond, John, 'Leah and Rachel or the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Maryland', Force, Tracts, III, p 11

<sup>70</sup> Crump, Helen J., Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century, Imperial Studies no. 5 (London, 1931), p 68

declared he would give his whole estate that was on board the ship (the Flower de Luce) if he and his child could be put on shore. <sup>71</sup>

In the records there are many complaints about overcrowding on the ships. Lady Wyatt wrote to Lady Sandys in 1623, describing her passage. She states that 'there never came a ship to Virginia so full as ours'. Perhaps she was expecting too much from her passage for she adds 'I had not so much as myne owne cabin'. <sup>72</sup> If she managed to get her own cabin it would have been a rare luxury. The cause of this overcrowding is not difficult to discover. In the same letter Lady Wyatt notes that the captain of the ship seemed troubled with the conditions on board and he laid blame on the two Mr. Ferrars. <sup>73</sup> Her husband, who had suffered on the same voyage, declared that the reason for 'the stuffing of the ships in their passages with too great a number' was 'for the lucre and gain it seems for the owners of the ships'. <sup>74</sup> The blame must therefore lie with the owners and freighters of the ships who overcrowded the ships for their own profit. Also in the early period the Company in London must share some of the blame. They seem to have little control over the numbers to be sent. Craven, in evaluating the reasons for the

<sup>71</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 541A p 150

<sup>72</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV 232

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., IV 162

dissolution of the Company, charges Sir Edwin Sandys with a short sighted policy as regards the number of colonists being dispatched in the early 1620's. As far as Sandys was concerned the best case he could present to the adventurers for continuation of investment in the colony, as evidence of progress, was a large emigration.<sup>75</sup> In this policy he failed to appreciate the arguments of the well established colonists. What they wanted was 'rather a few able sufficient men well provided than great multitudes'.<sup>76</sup> Lady Wyatt refers to the part of the Ferrar brothers. As the men charged by Sandys with equipping the passengers, they must take some share of the blame.

Allied to the problem of overcrowding on board ship was that of the lack of or the poor state of victuals to sustain the passengers through the voyage. As noted, this was the responsibility of the freighters of the ship and the situation was caused by similar reasons to those that accounted for overcrowding with the additional factor of the lack of money on the part of the Company. Little was known, even by the more experienced naval administrators of the day, about the art of feeding men and women on shipboard.

<sup>75</sup> Craven, Dissolution of the Company, p 158

<sup>76</sup> 'Council's Letters from Virginia', Tyler, Lyon G., ed., Narratives of Early Virginia, (New York, 1959), first published, 1907, p 345

Occasionally there were suggestions as to how to improve the situation regarding victuals. In 1626 Captain John Smith in his 'Accidence for Young Seamen', recognised the danger of putrid supplies. He advised care to ensure that stores of fine wheat flour were carried; recommended rice, currants, sugar, prunes, various spices, oil, butter, cheese, biscuit, oatmeal, the best wines and water, bacon, dried tongues and roast beef 'packed up in vinegar' and hogges of mutton minced and stewed and close packed with butter in earthern pots'.<sup>77</sup> This does not, however, excuse the attitude of the freighters who were bent on reducing the cost of the voyage and hence victualled meanly. During the voyage specific quantities of food were allotted to each mess of six or eight into which groups the crew and passengers had been divided. The diet was simple (even Hammond in the passage quoted above, admits to this) and monotonous. During the period of Company rule there was a constant flood of complaints to England about the state of supplies. The voyage of the Margaret and John in 1622 occasioned three separate complaints from the passengers which took the form of petitions to Governor Wyatt. All were concerned with the poor provision made for victuals. In the 1619 review of the first twelve years of the

<sup>77</sup> Keevil, J.J., Medicine and the Navy, 4 vols., (London, 1957), p 219



colony there is a constant complaint that the ships were 'very meanly furnished with victuals'.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps worse than insufficient supply was the bad state of much of what there was. Because biscuit and salt meat kept well, vessels sometimes carried them for years, until the meat was putrid and the biscuit full of worms.<sup>79</sup> Both Christopher Norwood and Lady Wyatt complain about stinking beer on their ship. The latter declared that she could not stand the deck for it.<sup>80</sup> This situation continued after the Crown took over control of Virginian affairs. Many passengers, appearing as witnesses in cases in the High Court of Admiralty, testify to the lack of victuals or the poor state of what there was. Those who travelled on the Merchant Bonaventure in 1636 suffered from a lack of beer and other goods. Most of the passengers were weak, and according to one witness, would have perished, had they not met up with a Flemish vessel about four hundred or five hundred leagues from the English coast, which gave them a hogshead of beef, a barrel of peas, six hundred pounds of bread, one hundred pounds of fish, two hogsheads of beer, sixty pounds of butter and six or eight Holland Cheeses.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Journals of the House of Burgesses, I, 28-37

<sup>79</sup> Middleton, Tobacco Coast, p 13-14

<sup>80</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 232-238

<sup>81</sup> H.C.A. 13/52 f. 449v-450

Judging by this list, the freighters of the ship had indeed skimped on supplies. In some cases the fault lay not with the freighters but with the master of the vessel. Hugh Weston master of the Flower de Luce, admitted that he had embezzled a barrel of biscuit bread which was intended for the use of the passengers.<sup>82</sup> Undoubtedly the worst voyage as far as victuals were concerned was that of the Virginia Merchant (the William and Ralph) in 1649. The ship had to change her course and call in at the Azores because the cooper complained that the water casks were already almost empty. After their visit the ship was in a worse condition for liquors than when they arrived. Any extra benefit from the water they collected was lost because of the amount of beer consumed in the collection. After their failure to get into Chesapeake Bay, they were driven into the coast of New England and 'the famine grew sharp upon us. Women and children made dismal cries and grievous complaints. The infinite number of rats that all the voyage had been our plague we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were ensnared and taken a well grown rat was sold for sixteen shillings at market rate. Nay, before they voyage did end (as I was credibly informed) a

<sup>82</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1638-1639. H.C.A. 13/54 f. 73

woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a rat, which the proprietor refusing, the woman died'.<sup>83</sup> This was undoubtedly a thoroughly unpleasant voyage through lack of supply. However not all passengers suffered. Witnesses in the case of Vassal c. Kingswell maintained that there was an abundance of supply throughout the voyage and, as had been alleged, no one was constrained to drink salt water.<sup>84</sup> Obviously the state of victuals on any ship depended on the organising ability and sense of duty of the individual freighter.

The major complaint of the established planters as they watched the new arrivals disembark was that the latter had insufficient provisions for their initial period of settlement. Edmund Morgan believes this to have been one of the major causes of the failure of the Virginia Company, 'there can be no doubt that the big mistake was the transportation to Virginia of such masses of unprovisioned and unprepared settlers, for whom the colonists already there had neither food nor housing'.<sup>85</sup> George Yeardley became very bitter about this state of affairs.

<sup>83</sup> Churchill, A. and J. Churchill eds., Collection of Voyages and Travels, 6 vols., (London, 1746) First Published, 1732. IV, 168-172

<sup>84</sup> H.C.A. 13/51 f. 195-195v

<sup>85</sup> Morgan, Edmund S., 'The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., vol., XXVIII no. 2 (April 1971), p 171

In the first term as Governor he had been promised by John Ferrar not only an adequate supply of food but also three suits of clothing for every man, full equipment of arms, and competent provision of 'household stuff'. He found only two suits for each man, one of which was so unserviceable that it gave poor protection against the extreme cold of winter, thirty muskets, five iron pots, and one kettle, which were supposed to last fifty men for four months. Yeardley pleaded for more adequate provision but, apparently, the conditions the following year were worse. He therefore sent the following eloquent plea to Ferrar:

I protest before God, I run myself out of all provision of corn I have for the feeding of These people ..... the people are ready to mutiny for more affirming that more by him (Ferrar) was promised ..... suffer me, I pray you, to advise you that you do not run into so great matters in speedy and hasty sending so many people over hither and undertaking so great works before you have acquainted me and have truly been informed by me of the state of the plantation and what might be done here. 86

86 Craven, Dissolution of the Company, p 157-158

However conditions appear not to have improved. The compiler of the 'Discourse of the Old Company' notes that ships on their way to Virginia at the time of writing (1625) 'will not only bring any comfort and supply to the colony but only add to their calamity, to their grief. The first ship went in August, victualled for only three months, the next in October; neither were arrived the 25 February last'.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps Delephebus Canne sums up the situation best, 'I would to God that the apparel and freize which came in the Success were turned into meal, oatmeal and peas',<sup>88</sup> The situation was little better after the dissolution. In January 1626, Wyatt wrote to the Lords Commissioners for affairs in Virginia, pleading that proper care be taken with provisions for the new arrivals.<sup>89</sup> Part of the problem was due to communication difficulties. There was little time to give warning of the impending arrivals of colonists in order that the authorities in the colony could be given adequate time to make preparations. Usually there was a letter with the first ship sailing in any season to bring information of the

<sup>87</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 537

<sup>88</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, (London, 1964), first published 1860, I, 48

<sup>89</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 77

arrival soon afterwards of the others. This state of affairs did improve in the latter part of the period as trade between England and Virginia became a little more sophisticated. As the merchants built up their contacts in the colony they gained more knowledge of the specific needs of the colonists already in Virginia and of passengers arriving in the colony. There is, correspondingly, a reduction in the number of complaints sent to England on this matter.

Often such provisions as entered the colony were in a bad condition because of the voyage. The authorities in Virginia were so tired of this that in 1622 the Council wrote to the Company and urged that corn and seed be not stored in the hold but between the decks, for the heat of the former tended to spoil the goods.<sup>90</sup> A further cause of provisions arriving in Virginia in a poor state was leaking in the ships. Captain Jones arrived in Virginia in July 1625 with his vessel so leaky that 'some few raw hides which by negligence lay sunke in the ship and were spoiled.'<sup>91</sup> This particular cause of damage to supplies was partially the result of bad weather encountered on the voyage and the situation remained much the same throughout the period. As late as the mid-1650's

<sup>90</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 582

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, IV, 569

ships arrived in the colony with badly damaged provisions.

The Unity ran into a storm off Ireland which spoiled most of her bread, victual and clothing provided for the passengers both for their journey and for their initial period of settlement.<sup>92</sup>

It appears that those in Virginia must take some share of the blame for the poor state of many of the supplies. In the first few decades complaints were made about the provisions for unloading and storage at Jamestown. From the statements of seamen visiting the colony in 1623, it seems that some goods were left for up to two weeks uncovered and so near to the river that they were 'overflowed with water and the trunks ready to be swallowed'; whilst other goods were 'sunk and covered with sand, the water daily overflowing them'.<sup>93</sup> There is also the case of the fire in the cargo of the first supply in 1608 which destroyed victual and clothing.<sup>94</sup>

The problems of overcrowding and insufficient victuals joined together to produce a third, that of disease. The latter would probably have been rife in any case because of the inevitable lack of fresh provisions and the heat of summer voyages, but its

<sup>92</sup> H.C.A. 13/72

<sup>93</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 93

<sup>94</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II 263-264

incidence was certainly made more frequent by the presence of the other two factors. This was certainly recognised by the authorities in Virginia. In 1638 Governor West wrote to the Lords Commissioners for the plantations and noted that there was 'much imputation undeservedly lyeth upon the country by the merchant's crime, who so pester their ships with passengers that through throng and noisesomeness they bring an infection which is easily distinguished from any cause in the malignity of the climate that where the most pestered ships vent their passengers, they carry with them an almost general mortality'.<sup>95</sup> Bullock also remarks on the fact that overcrowded ships were more prone to carry disease.<sup>96</sup> There were other factors which helped to provoke and foster disease on board ship, including the length of the voyage. The one most often mentioned by the passengers themselves is that of leakage. If water did enter a ship it was more than likely that supplies and other goods would be damaged. It was estimated that twelve inches of water filled the hold of the Susan in 1629. During the voyage the bulk heads, half decks and a cabin collapsed. The passengers were

<sup>95</sup> Sainsbury, W.N.ed., 'Virginia in 1636', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 9 (July 1901-April 1902), p. 37

<sup>96</sup> Bullock, Virginia Examined, 11



'exceeding wet' and the water soaked their beds and rugs so that for the most part their bedding had to be thrown overboard.<sup>97</sup> If there was any illness on board this ship this situation must have served to exacerbate it. Certainly the passengers themselves were aware of the possibility of disease and death on the voyage. The wiser ones drew up their wills before leaving England. In 1636 Peter Hooker, a tallow chandler, intending to leave on the Globe, had a will drawn up.<sup>98</sup>

Many of the passengers who were lucky enough to arrive in the colony wrote to anxious friends in England and told of their experiences on the voyage. In the letter already quoted Lady Wyatt apologises for not having written sooner but states she had been ill, 'for the ship was so pestered with people and goods and we were so full of infection that after a while we saw little but throwing folks overboard'.<sup>99</sup> The disease which appeared most often was, not surprisingly, scurvy. William Box tells of his experience in Lord de la Warr's ship in 1611. 'Fortie of us were neare sicke to death of the scury, callenture and other diseases: the Governor being an Englishman kindly used us, but small relief we could get but oranges of which we had plenty

<sup>97</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Books of Examinations. April 1630 - May 1632. f. 94

<sup>98</sup> Withington, Lothrop ed., 'Virginia Gleanings in England', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 21 (1913) p. 253

<sup>99</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 232

whereby within eight days we recovered.<sup>100</sup> Hubbard notes that a ship was forced onto the shoals of Cape Cod in 1626. The master and crew had lost their way. Hubbard blames the scurvy which had 'strangely afflicted the bodys and minds of the whole company'.<sup>101</sup> Other diseases did occur; for example on the ships that left England in 1609, both yellow fever and the London Plague appeared, making it necessary to throw overboard thirty-two dead passengers.<sup>102</sup> Sometimes disease appeared early on a voyage. On at least two ships owing to illness, men were put on shore before the vessels left the Channel.

It is difficult to estimate the numbers of passengers that died in transit. Only a few records mention the numbers of fatalities. Sometimes the mortality on board was frightful. Bradford, in his History of Plymouth Plantation, mentions a Virginia vessel which lost 130 out of a total of 180 passengers and crew.<sup>103</sup> However this figure is abnormally high. Three other figures for deaths are extant. In the America in 1638, forty-two or three died. In the Jonathan and Abigail in 1648

<sup>100</sup> Tyler, Narratives, p 301

<sup>101</sup> Hubbard, W. History of New England. British Museum. Egerton Manuscript 2675. f. 70v

<sup>102</sup> Wertenbaker, Thomas J., Virginia Under the Stuarts, (Princeton, 1914), p 13

<sup>103</sup> Bradford, William, A History of Plymouth Plantation, ed., Charles Deane, (Boston, Mass., 1890), p 37

the number was thirty-six and in the Peter Bonaventure in 1649 there were twenty deaths. It is fair to assume that since it was felt that these deaths were worth recording that they were abnormally high. John Rolfe noted that on his voyage in 1619 only one man died.<sup>104</sup> It seems that it was usual to have at least two or three deaths on every ship, but considering the length of the voyage and the hazards which accompanied it, the number is not excessive. What was more important to the colony was the effect on the health of those already in Virginia of the arrival of a disease-ridden ship. William Capps declared his belief that the high mortality in the colony in the winter of 1622 was caused by a plague brought by the ships.<sup>105</sup> By 1624 when the effects of such arrivals had been observed for several years, the Council and the Governor wrote to the Company expressing their view that deaths in the colony were chiefly caused by the 'pestilent ships which reach Virginia victualled with musty bread and stinking beer, heretofore so earnestly complained of'.<sup>106</sup> They urged that the newcomers should bring their own provisions so as not to make a sudden change in their diet which might cause

<sup>104</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 70

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., IV, 77

<sup>106</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, 56

yet further illness. Certainly the introduction to new foods such as Indian Corn would not aid recovery from such diseases as dysentery and cholera and the change from malt liquor in England to the water of Virginia might well have the same effect. Conditions on shipboard exacerbated any illness which might have appeared during the voyage. The passengers introduced into the colony and into North America as a whole, diseases such as typhoid (thought to be the main killer in the early years at Jamestown), cholera, plague, smallpox, influenza and malaria (probably from the Thames but there is still argument about from where North American malaria came). However typhoid, influenza and even yellow fever were all classed as 'agues' or fevers' and it is often impossible to segregate them.

However perhaps the picture painted of the voyage is a little black. Some captains of ships did not allow diseases to become rampant, taking measures to prevent this. When William Capps came to Virginia in 1609, despite the heat of the summer and the passage of fifteen weeks, not one man died because regular cleaning of the ships was undertaken:

Then were appointed swabbers for the cleansing of the orlopss and every part of the ship below then every man was forced in fair weather to bring up his bed to ayre in the shrowdes: In

the meantime every quartermaster was busied in the swabbing of every cabin below with vinegar as also between the decks which cast such a savour of sharpness to the stomach that it bred health. <sup>107</sup>

The oranges given to one group of passengers to combat scurvy have already been mentioned. Fresh fruit to cure scurvy was a well known remedy in the early seventeenth century. Woodall advocated the use of lemon juice both for the prevention and the cure of the disease; if no lemon were available he advised oranges, limes or citrons or the pulp of tamarinds 'a good quantity of the juice of lemons (is) sent in each ship out of England by the great care of the Marchants and intended only for the relief of every poor man in his neede, which is admirable comfort to poore men in that disease'. <sup>108</sup> However the use of fresh fruit was not widespread in practise. Some preventive measures must have been taken on the ship on which Captain Thomas Young travelled in 1634. He maintained that, although fever broke out and sixty people suffered, most did recover. <sup>109</sup> Thus undoubtedly many

<sup>107</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 245

<sup>108</sup> Keevil, Medicine and the Navy, pp 219-221

<sup>109</sup> 'Letters of Captain Thomas Young to Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State to King Charles I, 1634', Plowden, C. J. Weston, ed., Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina, (London, 1856), p 30

passengers survived to see Virginia and the records contain several references to ships arriving with healthy passengers. John Rolfe made note of four ships arriving in June 1618 and two in November 1619 with their passengers well and their goods undamaged. There are even instances of letters to England in which thanks are expressed for provisions received in a good condition, but admittedly such instances are few compared with the multitude of complaints. One such letter was written by Robert Bennett in June 1623. He lists the extensive quantity of goods he received and notes 'all these goods came safe and well conditioned into my hands and are the best that I received since I came into this land'.<sup>110</sup> However this does not detract from the fact that the journey to Virginia was beset by difficulties, many of which were inevitable considering that little was known of the mechanics of shipping people and goods over long distances. Nevertheless some of these problems were exacerbated by bad provisioning and overcrowding which could have been avoided with the exercise of stricter control by both Company and Crown.

Attempts were made at such control at several times during the period. As soon as the Crown took over supervision of Virginian affairs, the Council attempted to control the numbers of passengers

and the quantity and quality of their provisions. The instructions of Sir George Yeardley contain two points relevant to this. He was to examine the Charter Parties brought with the ships that entered the colony for the specific purpose of determining whether the vessels had been packed with passengers and whether the latter had sufficient and wholesome food. He was also to make certain that the Anne, the ship on which he was to travel to Virginia, had sufficient victual and was not overcrowded. <sup>111</sup> A similar policy was instituted in 1637. The Council asked the Governor in Virginia to supply them with the names of masters and merchants who did not provide sufficient and wholesome food for their passengers. <sup>112</sup> This does not appear to have been conducted with much success. In the State Papers Colonial there is a series of depositions from witnesses complaining of the conditions on board the George. The passengers had to endure 'stinking beefe which was not fit to be eaten without much danger', rotten fish and 'muddy beere'. <sup>113</sup> However this is the only case where complaints were made. It is difficult to believe that all the ships arriving

<sup>111</sup> Public Record Office. Colonial Office. Entry Book of Letters, Commissions, Instructions, Charters, Warrants, Patents, Grants etc., 1606-1662. C.O. 5/1345 f. 260

<sup>112</sup> Public Record Office. Colonial Office. General. 1636-1638. C.O. 1/9 f. 44

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

in Virginia at that time had sufficient provision and were not overcrowded. Obviously the zeal of the authorities in the colony on this issue soon diminished. There was one further attempt at regulation of conditions on board ship during this period. The House of Burgesses passed an act in March 1658 which stated that all masters of ships were obliged to carry four months allowance of victuals, to give the passengers sufficient at all times and to provide for poor passengers who had no clothing or bedding. <sup>114</sup> Since the offenders were liable to mere 'censure' one can only presume that, like the other attempts at control, this act also failed.

From the records of the voyages it appears that the passengers were more concerned with conditions on board than with the frequent storms which the ships encountered. However, the storms must have been terrifying to the passengers who were anything but used to a long ocean crossing. Several of the records mention such storms which often did extensive damage to the ships. Masts and yards could be carried away, sails ripped and rudders broken. On the ill-fated voyage of the William and Ralph in 1649, the topmast was in danger of breaking and the formast actually broke.

114 British Museum. Sloane Manuscript. No. 1378. f. 214



The bows were under water, the forecastle, with six guns and all but one anchor, and two cooks were washed overboard, one of whom was subsequently saved. <sup>115</sup> Such accidents generally diminished the speed of the vessels, lengthened the passage and added to the cost of the voyage if refitting became necessary. The storms at sea occasionally caused such pitching and rolling that the cargo or ballast shifted, laying the vessel on her beam end. In such extremities the ship was usually righted by cutting away her main mast. As masters resorted to such drastic expedients after all else failed, upon reaching port they invariably swore out statements, supported by the depositions of their mates, boatswains and one or more sailors, in front of a justice. Then they carried these statements to the Secretary of the colony who, at their request, issued the customary 'solemn protest' against wind and waves thereby absolving the captain of negligence or carelessness. <sup>116</sup> When water did enter the ship emergency measures became necessary. On the Flower de Luce in 1636, the water came in so fast that the carpenter could scarcely control it and was forced to stop it with a side of beef. <sup>117</sup> The passengers on

115 Churchill, Voyages, p 165

116 Middleton, Tobacco <sup>Trade</sup> Crop, p 3

117 Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 340 p 148

several ships were drafted in to help in dire emergencies. On the King of Poland the passengers were in great danger of losing their lives and had to man the pumps continually, thus preserving themselves and the ship's cargo. <sup>118</sup> Other measures were taken by masters of Virginia ships when a vessel was damaged by storms. If they were sufficiently close to land, they put in at the nearest harbour. The Desire in 1646 limped into Mounts Bay having encountered a storm off the Scilly Isles. <sup>119</sup> In 1650 the Swallow left Virginia safely but bad weather forced her into Valentia in Ireland. However the ship's company encountered more trouble here. They were approached by boats containing about 150 men who seized the ship and her goods and turned them ashore without supplies. <sup>120</sup> A more drastic expedient was to throw some of the cargo overboard to prevent sinking. Any estimation of the number of Virginia vessels which were lost as a result of storms is difficult. Usually in the records there is merely a mention that a certain ship was wrecked. Storms were certainly to blame for the wreck of the Sea Venture in 1609. Some ships were declared wrecks in harbours en route to Virginia, the Swallow of Dartmouth

<sup>118</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>119</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. August 1647 - September 1650. H.C.A. f. 70v

<sup>120</sup> Nott, Deposition Books of Bristol, II, p 14-15

in 1652 at Nevis and the Hopewell in New England in 1635. In all ten vessels can be traced as having been wrecked going to the colony or returning to England. <sup>121</sup> It is fair to assume that most of these wrecks were caused by the ships running into storms.

Several, more minor, accidents occurred to Virginia ships. Four vessels were in trouble before leaving England. The Elizabeth in 1625 broke her mast in bad weather and was forced to turn back to Dover. <sup>122</sup> In 1653 the Margaret, whilst waiting to leave the Port of London, was rammed twice in the space of a few days by the same ship. <sup>123</sup> Some slight damaged was incurred by the John and Catherine in 1659 by similar causes. <sup>124</sup> Perhaps, as regards the future of the whole Virginia colony, the most important of these incidents involved the Susan Constant herself. In December 1606 she was involved in an accident before leaving her berth in the Thames. According to evidence in a case before the High Court of Admiralty, she was moored too close to another vessel, the Philip and Francis, and the two ships managed to collide. Each

<sup>121</sup> See Appendix L

<sup>122</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, 71

<sup>123</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. February 1654 - January 1656. H.C.A. 13/70

<sup>124</sup> H.C.A. 13/74

crew blamed the other for negligence. The master of the Philip and Francis declared that the company of the Susan Constant 'sate tiplinge and drinkinge and never looked out or endeavoured to clear the ships'. <sup>125</sup> Probably both crews were guilty of neglect.

Once at sea, there are few cases of serious trouble except those caused by storms or attacks from unfriendly vessels. Occasionally a ship would lose an anchor, such as two of those in the fleet of Lord de la Warr in 1610. <sup>126</sup> Several vessels were blown off course, notably the Phoenix, one of the first supply ships. This vessel was in sight of Cape Henry but was forced so far out to sea by contrary winds that the West Indies was the nearest land for her to repair her masts. <sup>127</sup> A few ships ran into trouble as they were entering the waters of the colony. In 1626 the Marmaduke ran aground on Mulberry Island. <sup>128</sup> In the previous year a ship belonging to Sir Ferdinando Gorges ran aground on Bowyer's Bay due to the negligence of her master, Stallinge. However he paid for this later. The ship being extremely leaky he was forced to have the rest of the sailors row him up the Southampton River in a small

<sup>125</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Examinations. H.C.A. 1/47

<sup>126</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, 10

<sup>127</sup> 'Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia', Tyler, Narratives, p 133

<sup>128</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, II, 217

boat. He put ashore and was killed by some Indians. <sup>129</sup> Apart from these there was only one notable incident. This occurred to the Sea Flower whilst at anchor in the Bermudas. Apparently some of the crew of this ship were in 'the great cabin and sum in the gunroome a drinkeinge tobacco by neclygense of ther fyre Blue uppe this ship to the death of about fourteen persons besydes many spoyled'. <sup>130</sup>

The chief danger for Virginia ships was not storms nor even accidents caused by the stupidity of the crews, but the possibility of being attacked by unfriendly vessels. The reign of law did not extend beyond European waters (if it, in fact, existed there) and the attack of pirates or the commercial rivalry of Europeans in distant seas often led to armed conflicts. The attack on the three Virginia ships trading for slaves off the African Coast described above is a good example of this. The danger from various nations fluctuated with the international situation in Europe. If England was at war with France and at peace with Spain, there was more fear of an attack from the former. Despite the almost paranoic fear of Spanish intervention, only four attacks by that nation on Virginia shipping have been recorded after 1607.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., IV, 512

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., IV, 119

These were on the Maragret and John in 1621, the Elizabeth in 1637, and Thomas and Susan in 1657 and the Jacob in 1659. The latter three were actually captured whilst the first managed to escape. The capture of the Elizabeth occasioned a protracted case in the High Court of Admiralty and reached the ears of the Privy Council and both Houses of Parliament. It was still being discussed in 1655 long after the freighter, Joseph Hawes, had died in prison, where he had been put for debts arising from the losses on this venture.<sup>131</sup> In the case of the Jacob, the owners of goods on board were petitioning for restoration two years later.<sup>132</sup> However, considering that William Scott estimates that Bristol alone had 250 sail seized by the Spaniards in the 1650's, the figure of four Virginia ships is remarkably low.<sup>133</sup> In fact more ships were captured by the French (a total of five) although it is difficult to determine whether these were vessels acting under orders or under license from the French King or merely French pirates.<sup>134</sup> Of these vessels,

<sup>131</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, 428

<sup>132</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance Papers Series Early. H.C.A. 15/7

<sup>133</sup> Scott, William, R., The Constitution and Finance of the English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1912), II, 260

<sup>134</sup> See Appendix L

the Rappahanock was taken by a Brest man of war in the Channel in 1655 but two weeks afterwards was retaken by a Commonwealth ship and the tobacco loaded into the French ship was taken out. A case arose in the High Court of Admiralty over this incident since the captain, Cornelius, of the Commonwealth vessel kept some of the tobacco for his own profit.<sup>135</sup> Presumably he regarded this as his just reward for the recapture. It is interesting to note that during this period which included the Dutch War of 1652 to 1654, only two Virginia ships are known to have been attacked by the Dutch, the Anne in 1627 and the Golden Fortune in 1652 which managed to land safely at St. Ives.<sup>136</sup>

During the period of the Civil War, Virginia ships were liable to seizure, on some pretext or another, by vessels of both sides. One can, perhaps, detect an air of relief in the note of David De Vries as he describes the confrontation of a Virginia fleet of eleven ships with Parliament ships off the English coast in 1644. The Parliamentarian vessels declared them to be friends so they sailed 'quietly' together through the Channel.<sup>137</sup> There is, however,

<sup>135</sup> H.C.A. 13/70

<sup>136</sup> H.C.A. 13/48. Calender of State Papers, Domestic Interregnum, 1653-1654, (1967), first published, 1860, p 104

<sup>137</sup> De Vries, David Peterson, Voyages from Holland to America, 1632-1644, ed., and trans. by Henry C. Murphy, (New York, 1853), p 189

only one record of a Virginia ship being captured at this time; a bark from Jersey in 1650. In fact a greater number of ships were attacked accidentally in the decade following the Civil War. In 1654 the Ruby one of a squadron of Commonwealth ships carelessly ran into the Report (en route for Virginia) off Portland. The Virginia ship was sunk, but fortunately with the loss of only one man. <sup>138</sup> Two years later an unnamed Virginia ship was taken in the Channel by Captain Gary and by 'some negligence' was blown up and left at sea. <sup>139</sup> In 1655 a naval captain wrote from Torbay to the Admiralty Commission informing them that his ship had sprung a mainmast in chasing another vessel which turned out to be a merchantman returning from Virginia. <sup>140</sup>

An analysis of Virginia ships attacked at sea reveals that by far the greatest danger came from pirates. The problem of piracy was common to all traders during this period. About 1616 there was a fleet of some sixteen Turkish pirates operating in the Atlantic. <sup>141</sup> Periodic panics were felt about attacks from

<sup>138</sup> Atkinson, C.T. ed., Letters and Papers Relating to the First Dutch War, Navy Records Society no. 66, (London, 1930), vol. VI, p 221

<sup>139</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic, 1655-1656, p 515

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 1655, p 534

<sup>141</sup> Oppenheim, M., A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy, 1509-1660, (London, 1896), p 198



the Turks. In 1625 the Naval Commissioners at Plymouth wrote to the Privy Council of 'affrightments and daily terrors by reason of the infesting of the coasts by Turkish men of war'. They suggested that warnings should be sent to the ships returning from Virginia and other places.<sup>142</sup> The problem continued with both Turkish pirates and those of other nations. In 1650 the Admiralty Committee suggested that a squadron should sail between the Downs and Plymouth to help deal with this very problem.<sup>143</sup> One of the reasons for the arming of merchant vessels was to deter the pirates and, in several instances, Virginia ships were issued with letters of marque so that they could, legally, attack hostile shipping. It also became quite a common practice for Virginia ships to go in convoy to prevent trouble or at least deter attackers. In 1636 the Flowerde Luce, the America and the Bonny Bess crossed together. By 1650 ships going through the Channel could receive protection from English warships.<sup>144</sup> However Virginia ships themselves were not totally blameless in this matter. One Francis Derrick was ordered to appear before the Royal Council in 1637 to answer an accusation that whilst en route to Virginia, he had

<sup>142</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, I, 77

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 1650, p 204

<sup>144</sup> Public Record Office. Admiralty Orders and Instructions, 1656-1657. ADM 2/1729 f. 178v

committed piracy on a Spanish ship. <sup>145</sup>

By far the greatest number of attacks were committed on Virginia ships by pirates sailing out of Dunkirk. These pirates were renowned for their insolence; under cover of Dutch colours, they would enter English harbours. In some cases they tried to justify their actions. In 1634 they captured in the Channel three vessels laden with Virginia tobacco (the Robert Bonaventure, the Fortune and the Charity) on the grounds that since there was war between Spain and the United Provinces, any vessel containing victuals was lawful booty. The freighters, not unexpectedly, argued that tobacco could not be classed as victuals and hence the Dunkirkers had acted illegally. <sup>146</sup> The bounds between lawful and unlawful capture of ships was extremely tenuous, especially in times of warfare. In all, ten Virginia ships were attacked by Dunkirkers in this period, one only managing to escape. This was the Anthony which, in 1656, was boarded three times off Beachy Head. On the last attempt Hugh Wilson, the master, forced many of the attackers overboard and he took six prisoners with the loss of only one of his own men. <sup>147</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 1636-1637, p 566

<sup>146</sup> Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, (1966), first published, 1908, I, 207

<sup>147</sup> See Appendix L. Calender of State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, 1655-1656, p 240

Four Virginia ships were attacked by Turkish pirates.<sup>148</sup> The passage to Virginia was well clear of the main areas in which the Turks operated (notably the Mediterranean) but if a Virginia ship was blown off course she was in danger of attack. In 1621 the Tiger was forced off the main routes by a storm and was approached by a vessel which the company thought was Dutch. However she turned out to be Turkish and proceeded to capture the Tiger but the latter managed to escape and eventually arrived in Virginia.<sup>149</sup> The other three ships were all taken near to the English coast. In the early 1630's the Little David was captured by the Turks. Some years later one of the crew escaped and was examined by the Council. When they arrived in Sallee, the crew were sold as slaves, the deponent being sold to one Aligolant and was commanded by him to go as pilot in a vessel to the English Channel for the purpose of capturing English women, 'being of more worth than others'.<sup>150</sup> Such was the fate of crews captured by the Turks. It also appears that Virginia ships were not immune from attack from English pirates. In 1611 the Hercules,

<sup>148</sup> See Appendix L

<sup>149</sup> Copland, Virginia's God be Thanked, p 20

<sup>150</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic Charles I, 1636-1637,  
p 141

which was returning from Virginia, was stopped off the Lizard by a squadron of ships commanded by Captain Peter Easton of the Concord of London, which took from them all their arms, powder and two men but nothing else. 151

The view here presented of the problems encountered on the voyage to Virginia can perhaps be open to charges of misrepresentation. Most of the evidence is of a negative kind. Only the voyages of those ships which encountered any kind of trouble have, in general, been recorded. This is due mainly to the availability of material; few people seem to have written congratulating the merchants or captains on a smooth, untroubled voyage. However, an accurate picture of the voyage to Virginia can be built up, always bearing in mind that of the 703 vessels which can be traced as having left England for Virginia, thirty-nine were lost or attacked. This number does not include those vessels which failed to arrive in the colony for other reasons. For example there were the Garland in 1621 and the White Dove in 1652, the masters of which were side-tracked into subsidiary enterprises whilst on their way to the colony. The figure of thirty-nine is surprisingly low and is especially so when one considers that the attacks perpetrated by unfriendly shipping occurred mainly within English coastal waters,

only the Tiger in 1621 and the Margaret and John in the same year being attacked in the later stages of their passage and both of these managed to escape. The fear of attack by the Spaniards was exaggerated, the greatest danger coming from pirates in general and Dunkirkers in particular. The figure of ten ships either lost at sea or declared wrecks at places en route to the colony is also low, but it could well be that the silence in the records on the fate of many ships could conceal many accidents of this nature.

The study of the voyage to the colony reveals that by far the most serious problems were not the result of attacks or even of storms; they were caused by faults of management of the shipping. It is simple to say that the merchants and crews of the day were inexperienced in the problems peculiar to the transporting of men and materials across three thousand miles of ocean, but even towards the end of the period 1606 to 1660 there is no noticeable improvement in conditions on board the vessels. The authorities in Virginia, as late as 1658, still found it necessary to legislate for regulation of the numbers of passengers on the ships and the quantity and quality of their provisions. The merchants were so determined to cut their overheads to a minimum that it does seem that they packed their ships with passengers and victualled meanly as part of a deliberate policy. Disease and death were the

unforeseen results of such actions and one wonders how many passengers never would have embarked if they knew what conditions awaited them. The policy of the merchants also had consequences for the colony as a whole. A diseased ship arriving in the hot summer months was a great danger to the established colonists and one must agree with several observers in Virginia who blamed certain of the outbreaks of such diseases as cholera on this cause.

There is a more pleasant side to the picture. During the period 1606 to 1660, the seamen became more conversant with the various passages which could be taken to and from Virginia. More vessels took the middle route first travelled by Samuel Argall in 1609 which was undoubtedly the shortest. Thus a gradual reduction in the time taken for the voyage can be seen. Although a speedier safer passage was sought for commercial reasons; to collect the best of the tobacco crop, to transport this delicate commodity with the minimum amount of loss and to reduce the cost of the freighters for victuals and wages, it did have other effects. By reducing the time spent on the voyage, the passengers would have to endure a crowded, diseased ship and unwholesome food for a correspondingly shorter period.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANISATION OF SHIPPING IN VIRGINIA

When a ship had mastered the vicissitudes of the voyage and entered the Chesapeake Bay, the responsibility for organisation of her cargo fell under the authority of the Governor and Council in Virginia. The exercise of this authority reflected, in some measure, the wider development of the trade of the colony. At first regulation of trade was a relatively simple matter, owing to the monopoly of the Virginia Company. It became increasingly complex with the advent of free trade; especially when this trade was of a haphazard nature. The authorities in the colony were faced with the problem of controlling the activities of the casual traders who abounded in the two decades between 1620 and 1640. With the development of stronger links between individual merchants and planters, a more organised and sophisticated trade began to appear and the task of regulation was made easier. However certain problems such as the maintainance of fair prices remained insoluble throughout the period under review.

During the period in which the Company exercised a total monopoly of trade (1606 to 1619), all colonists in Virginia whether they be soldiers, planters or indentured servants, were regarded as employees of the Company. The only source of supply to these people was the Company itself and the colonists were forced to be satisfied with the type and quantity of goods sent over by the Company. On the other hand the colony had not yet found a merchantable



commodity and could not, until the development of tobacco, support itself in a free trade market. Even if traders outside the Company had visited Virginia, the colonists would have been unable to purchase the alternative goods offered. From the first settlement it was agreed that all the goods exported to the colony should be stored in the Magazine from which they could be drawn only on the warrant of the president and council or of the Cape Merchant (who was directly responsible for the administration of the Magazine) and two clerks. One of the latter was to keep a book containing information on the goods that arrived in the colony and the other was to take care of a similar book in which were to be registered all the goods taken out of the Magazine for the use of the colonists. Details of these arrangements were laid down in the first Charter.<sup>1</sup> The duties of the Cape Merchant were first to guard the goods in the Magazine whether they were imported commodities or those produced by the labour of the inhabitants. Later he became more of an agent for the colony in exchanging the goods of private adventurers for the commodities, in particular tobacco, owned by the settlers. This latter duty

<sup>1</sup> Bemis, Samuel, The Three Charters of the Virginia Company, (Williamsburg, 1957), 18 - 19

became more important after the opening of the colony to free trade in 1619. The Cape Merchants sent back his accounts at frequent intervals so that they could be examined.<sup>2</sup> Strict regulation of his activities was observed throughout the Company period, illustrating the importance attached to the position and the great trust placed in the hands of the occupants. The sternest regulation was enforced by the 'Articles, Lawes and Orders Divine, Polinque and Martiall for the colony in Virginia' introduced during the rule of Gates and Dale, 1612 to 1617. Law seventeen dealt with the duties of a Cape Merchant. 'No Cape Merchant .... shall at any time embezell, sell, or give away anything under his charge to a favourite of his, more than to any other, where necessity shall require in that case to have extraordinary allowance of provisions, nor shall they give a false account unto the Lord Governor and Captain General'.<sup>3</sup> The law seems to have been strictly enforced for the preservation of supply was particularly effective at this time. Precautions were taken to prevent fraud on the part of the Cape Merchant. Two invoices had to be drawn

<sup>2</sup> Kingsbury, Susan M., ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols, (Washington, 1906-1935), I, 506

<sup>3</sup> 'For the Colony in Virginea Brittania: Laws Divine, Moral and Martial', Force Peter, ed., Tracts and Other Papers, (New York, 1947) 1st published 1884, III, 13

up for the goods, one to be kept by him and the other to be kept by the Governor.<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful whether the Cape Merchant was totally honest. Edmund Morgan hints that the financial success of Abraham Peircey in Virginia was due, in no small part, to his tenure as Cape Merchant between 1617 and 1619.<sup>5</sup>

It was during the office of Peircey that trouble arose between the colonists and the Cape Merchant over the price of goods in the Magazine. The prices were fixed by the Company in London. In 1619 Peircey complained and stated that he wanted to sell articles forwarded to him at such rates as he could without regard to any fixed price.<sup>6</sup> He had to appear before the first assembly of the House of Burgesses where the prices on goods were limited to twenty-five per cent on top of the original cost. The colonists complained that Peircey was inclined to set higher values on the articles than was authorised by the assembly.<sup>7</sup> The governor and council were commanded to examine his invoices to find out if the allegations were true, but their findings were inconclusive and the outcome of these disputes was favourable to the case of Peircey.

<sup>4</sup> Bemiss, Three Charters, p 19

<sup>5</sup> Morgan, Edmund, 'Virginia between 1618 and 1630' William and Mary Quarterly, third series, vol. XXVIII no. 2, (April, 1971), p 189

<sup>6</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, I, 506

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., III, 251

In July 1621 the Company instructed the authorities in Virginia to give the Cape Merchant full liberty to sell the goods at the highest price offered without regard for the full rates established.<sup>8</sup> By this time not only was the Company working in competition with other traders but was also in financial trouble; both reasons explain the relaxation of their strict attitude in the matter of prices. Certainly the allegations of misdealing levelled at Peircey give weight to the suspicions of Morgan.

However not all the goods arriving in the colony found their way into the Magazine. Both legally and illegally they were sold outside. In the first assembly a law was passed providing that if any person had need of a commodity which could not be found in the Magazine he could obtain it from any trader who could supply him.<sup>9</sup> The only reservation to this was that the price should be the same as in the cases when the Cape Merchant was the seller of such an article.<sup>10</sup> This practice was especially frequent if the magazine ship was deficient in supply. The Cape Merchant himself was often constrained to buy goods from private ships. He would

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, III, 301

<sup>9</sup> McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, (Richmond, 1905), I, 11

<sup>10</sup> Bruce, Philip, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, (New York, 1907), II, 187

give the traders bills of exchange which could be reimbursed by the Company in London. Observers in 1608 reported their belief that it was the policy of sailors to report to England that the colonists were plentifully provided and then to bring men without any provision so that their own trade would benefit.<sup>11</sup> This was undoubtedly an exaggeration, but illegal trading was seemingly widespread. The fault lay in part with the Company in London. If the colony had been sufficiently provided with goods there would have been no market for the wares offered by the sailors. The problem was dealt with under the rules established by Gates and Dale. Private trading outside the Magazine was totally prohibited and heavy penalties were laid down for violation by the sailors 'upon pain of loss of their wages in England, confiscation and forfeiture of such their monies and provisions and upon peril besides of such corporal punishment as shall be inflicted upon them by verdict and censure of the martial court'.<sup>12</sup> Penalties were also instituted for those colonists who traded what goods they had with the seamen. It was this latter problem that was of greatest harm to the colony. Goods were so difficult to

<sup>11</sup> 'Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia', Tyler, Lyon G. ed., Narratives of Early Virginia, (New York, 1959), first published 1907, p 158

<sup>12</sup> Laws for the Colony in Virginia, Force, Tracts, III, 20

obtain from England in sufficient quantities that to allow them to leave Virginia was sheer suicide in regard to the survival of the colony. The problem eased during the rule of Gates and Dale, when the excessive penalties seem to have deterred people from engaging in such activities. Under Samuel Argall illegal trading was again prevalent. According to Herbert Osgood, Argall allowed masters and seamen of vessels to traffic freely and thus destroy the market for imports brought over in the Magazine ship.<sup>13</sup> Yet there is evidence that Argall did attempt to regulate the activities of the sailors by invoking the laws of Gates and Dale.<sup>14</sup> The latter is probably nearer the truth. After the declaration of free trade in 1619, the Company still continued to send out goods as the property of the subscribers as a whole, these supplies were put into the Magazine. However the Magazine fared badly in the open market. Morgan suggests that this was caused by the traders having more exciting goods to offer 'flowing silks and strong waters'. He adds that 'the floating taverns got the tobacco before it could reach the Cape Merchant. Virginians swarmed aboard

<sup>13</sup> Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 3 vols, (Cambridge Mass., 1957), first published 1904, I, 59

<sup>14</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 71,73

the ships to drink and carouse and squander their tobacco'.<sup>15</sup>  
 Anything that smelt of alcohol would sell and one trader even  
 'boasted that the only sale of fower butts of wyne would be  
 sufficient to clere the whole voyage'.<sup>16</sup>

After the dissolution of the Company the problem was rather  
 one of goods being sold at excessive rates by the sailors. The  
 lack of sufficient provisions and manufactured goods meant that the  
 settlers would pay almost any price to obtain them. Naturally the  
 seamen took advantage of this situation. A similar problem was  
 encountered in the Massachusetts Bay colony.<sup>17</sup> As early as  
 1623 the problem reached 'a most excessive and unconcievable height'.  
 Governor Wyatt issued a proclamation to prevent such abuses in  
 which maximum rates in both money and tobacco were laid down for  
 certain commodities. With regard to the remarks of Morgan it is  
 interesting to note that Wyatt placed great emphasis on the prices  
 paid for wines and strong waters. For other goods for which prices  
 were difficult to fix 'by reason of differences in kinds and degrees  
 of goodness', no one was to sell them above a profit of ten shillings

<sup>15</sup> Morgan, 'Virginia, 1618-1630', p 182

<sup>16</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III. 658-659

<sup>17</sup> Bailyn, Bernard, The New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp 14-25

in the pound in money and twenty shillings in tobacco.<sup>18</sup>

Within three months of the proclamation, a commission was issued to Captain William Tucker to make enquiries about the activities of the sailors of the Truelove who had sold commodities at rates higher than the maximum. After he had enquired into this ship, he was given permission to do the same for other vessels.<sup>19</sup>

However this proclamation appears to have met with little success, further complaints were made by the planters and it had to be repeated in January 1626.<sup>20</sup> In fact the problem dogged the colony throughout the period under review. In 1638 King Charles I asked the Assembly to look into reports he had received of goods being sold at excessive rates.<sup>21</sup> In March 1659 the House of Burgesses again legislated to try and remedy the abuse.<sup>22</sup>

However the problem of high prices for provisions and manufactured goods went deeper than sailors charging excessive rates. Most historians of the Virginia colony have taken the view that the

<sup>18</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 271-272

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., IV, 445-446

<sup>20</sup> Sainsbury, W.N., ed., 'Virginia in 1625-1626', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 15, (July 1907-April 1908), p 369

<sup>21</sup> Journals of the House of Burgesses, I, 57

<sup>22</sup> Henning, William W. ed., The Statutes at Large, (New York, 1823), I, 519



planters were working to enrich the merchants who were impoverishing them. Even as recently as 1960, Richard Morton cannot help making derogatory remarks about the activities of the merchants.<sup>23</sup> Certainly forestalling was a widespread practise. Some merchants would corner the market on the cargo of a particular ship, put the goods in a storehouse and wait to be offered the right price for the goods which was, inevitably, high. Governor Harvey placed much of the blame for the troubles of the colony on this practice.<sup>24</sup> In 1638 the planters of Virginia petitioned the Royal Council that such practices should be stopped. They suggested that a rate should be fixed on the goods entering in the first ship in any season and this should be charged on all supplies coming in on the later vessels.<sup>25</sup> It was not, however, only the merchants who indulged in such practises. The profits on the sale of manufactured goods was sufficiently great to tempt most of the more enterprising planters to enter the trade on their own account. As early as 1637 George Menefie described himself as a merchant of the corporation of James City.<sup>26</sup> Undoubtedly the historians of Virginia are

<sup>23</sup> Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 132

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series (1966), first published, 1908, I, 230-231

<sup>26</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1636-7, (London, 1866), pp 136, 138

over-dramatic in the picture they portray of the poor (but honest) oppressed planter being rooked for every penny or pound of tobacco by the unscrupulous (and dishonest) London merchant. They fail to mention the fact that many planters were only able to continue in Virginia through the patience and generosity of the merchants who did not pursue them too rigorously for debts. Both merchants and planters lived in mutual dependence.

The King and Council in England were fully aware of the problems presented by forestalling in all the colonies. In 1634 Captain Thomas Young and his nephew, Robert Endyn arrived in the colony. They held a secret commission from the King appointing them to investigate conditions for commerce and trade in America.<sup>27</sup> However it fell to the lot of the authorities in the colony to try to combat the problem. Their task was complicated by the expansion of the colony along the rivers away from Jamestown. Often a planter would allow a merchant to buy goods for him in the capital and then have them sent on to his plantation. How were the authorities to distinguish between this practise and that of forestalling? By a law of 1633, re-enacted ten years later, the

<sup>27</sup> Aspinwall Notorial Records, pp 81-115. For the commission to Thomas Young see Calender of State Papers, Colonial, Addenda, 1576-1676, pp 73-74

practise of buying goods for others was recognised as being legal, provided that the merchant bought no more than they had been ordered to obtain and the goods were for the use of the plantation in question only.<sup>28</sup> Penalties were laid down for the offence of forestalling, which covered buying goods before they appeared on the market or refusing to bring goods to the market. There was established a two month prison sentence for the first offence in addition to the loss of the value of the goods; for the second offence the sentence was doubled and, for a third offence, the person was to be put on the pillory and lost all his goods.<sup>29</sup>

The authorities used two other methods to try to secure a fair deal for the colonists. The first of these is revealed in a series of proclamations aimed at preventing people going on board ships without special license from the governor. The earliest of these found is dated May 10 1618.<sup>30</sup> However this appears to have been ineffectual for a further edict was issued on November 30 1621 which stated that, despite previous warnings 'they do yet continue this disorderly going aboard ships unto the great abuse

<sup>28</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 217

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., I, 194-195

<sup>30</sup> 'The Randolph Manuscript', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol 15, (1907-1908), p 405

of themselves and scandal'.<sup>31</sup> Such warnings were repeated by Governor Wyatt in July 1625. He was anxious to stop 'the unlawful engrossing of commodities into the hands of some particular persons, it being to the great detriment and hurt of the colony in general'. He also desired to prevent 'other doubtful and suspicious dangers, which by bold and unlawful going aboard ships, may often happen by reason of some perfidious plot which may be to the ruin and destruction of the colony'.<sup>32</sup> This latter point was stressed in the proclamation of Governor Yeardley of July 28 1626. He was more specific as to the dangers to the colony. If people were free to go aboard any ship which arrived in the colony, they might be surprised by some foreign enemy 'which we must daily expect'.<sup>33</sup> This proclamation was the direct result of a clause in his instructions which warned of 'the daily possibility of the arrival of Spaniards'.<sup>34</sup> Similar clauses were included in the instructions of Francis Wyatt in 1639 and Sir William Berkeley in 1641. It is uncertain how effective these

<sup>31</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 528

<sup>32</sup> 'Wyatt Manuscripts in the Possession of the Earl of Romney', William and Mary Quarterly, Second Series, vol 8 (1928), p 48

<sup>33</sup> McIlwaine, H.R. ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia (Richmond, 1924), I, 48

<sup>34</sup> Public Record Office. Colonial Office. Entry Book of Letters, Commissions, Instructions, Charters, Patents, Grants etc. 1606-1660. C.O.5/1354, f. 261

proclamations were. Presumably if they had to be repeated at least five times, the measures had not proved successful. There is one conviction as a result of Wyatt's 1625 proclamation, recorded in January 1626. It was ordered by the Council and General Court that 'John Swode, Thomas Thornberry and Paul Horwood for their offence in going aboard contrary to the proclamation shall each of them enter into a bonde of twentie pounde for their good behaviour and each of them to pay 20 pounds weight of good merchantable tobacco towards ye buildinge of bridges at Elizabeth Cyttie'.<sup>35</sup> There is also one conviction recorded against Yeardley's proclamation. Michael Wilcox was fined one hundred weight of tobacco and twelve pounds of tobacco for buying twelve pounds of sugar aboard the Charity. He was also fined thirty pounds of tobacco for actually going on board the vessel.<sup>36</sup> A similar situation was found in the New England colonies. Bailyn notes that for a brief period goods were acquired by going directly to the side of the occasional ships that arrived and negotiating with the captain for part of the cargo. The solution attempted followed the Virginia pattern. By a law of March 1635, certain individuals were given the right to board ships and decide the price whilst others were forbidden to enter the vessels.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, 91-92

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., I, 147

<sup>37</sup> Bailyn, New England Merchants, pp. 33-34

The second method was allied to the first. This was to prevent the ships entering the colony from breaking bulk until they had tied up at Jamestown. Then special permission could be granted by the Governor and Council for them to unload. The first proclamation to this effect was issued in March 1624. It was to be read on every ship and then affixed to the mast.<sup>38</sup> The instructions to Yeardley also ordered him to enforce such rules 'to avoid the intolerable abuse of ingrossing commodities and forestalling the market'.<sup>39</sup> A proclamation of July 1626 reiterated the earlier one.<sup>40</sup> Modifications were made to the general principal of these proclamations in the period 1630 to 1660. When the fort at Point Comfort was built, the captain was made responsible for visiting each ship as it passed and issuing them with the proclamation.<sup>41</sup> In 1632 the law was amended to allow vessels which belonged to the colonists themselves to sail directly to their plantations.<sup>42</sup> It appears that some ships still managed to unload goods between leaving Point Comfort and arriving at Jamestown. It was ordered, therefore, that waiters should be put on the ships to inspect the goods carried and consult the invoices

<sup>38</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 538

<sup>39</sup> C.O.5/1354, f. 261

<sup>40</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, 104

<sup>41</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 166

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 191

before arriving at Jamestown.<sup>43</sup> A problem arose when the public storehouse at Jamestown was declared, 'through neglect', to have gone 'to ruin and decay'. The governor was ordered by the King and Council to arrange for new ones to be constructed and whilst they were being built traders were allowed to land goods wherever it was convenient.<sup>44</sup> This turn of events would have pleased the merchants. No record of any prosecutions under these proclamations has been found but it would be fair to assume that some violations did occur since the merchants bitterly opposed the policy. The traders to Virginia drew up several petitions stating their views. They wanted to unlade their ships at the most convenient place.<sup>45</sup> There were mounting reasons why the merchants should hold this opinion. In the first two decades of settlement, the colony was fairly compact, centering around Jamestown. Hence it was convenient for the merchants to unlade their goods at the capital. However, by 1641 Virginia occupied the Tidewater region from the Chesapeake to the Falls of the James and by 1650 was extending Northwards to the Rappahanock and the Potomac. By the 1630's goods were being consigned to specific planters. It seemed futile to

<sup>43</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 215-216

<sup>44</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 235-236

<sup>45</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., Calender of State Papers, Colonial, (1964), first published 1860, I, 158, 281

the merchants to unlade their goods at Jamestown and then relade them into smaller boats to go up the rivers or have the planters come down to the capital to collect the goods, when it was possible for them to sail up to the wharfs of the individual plantations.

However there were other factors which contributed to the making of the proclamation against breaking bulk until the ships arrived at Jamestown. During the period of Company control, the colony was still relatively compact. The collection of the commission issued to each ship was a simple task since all vessels appear to have landed at Jamestown. There is only one reference to this practice in the records consulted; presumably it was, therefore, an accepted necessity not worth mentioning and the system worked smoothly. The one reference concerns a ship which arrived in Virginia without her commission. In December 1624 the Flying Hart of Flushing landed in the colony lacking a commission because a Mr. Huett, who was to be the pilot, 'being imployde in London for the procuring of a commission returned not, though they staide for him a long time to their great hindrance'. The authorities were a little worried as to what to do with this ship, especially since she was Dutch registered and therefore technically forbidden to trade but because of their pressing need for supplies they decided to unlade the vessel.<sup>46</sup> However with the expansion of the colony in

<sup>46</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 567



the decades following the dissolution of the Company, and the lack of administrative officers in the colony, it was felt that to facilitate such matters as collection of invoices and levying of customs duties, it would be wiser to order all vessels to dock at the same place. In addition it was the duty of the Admiral of the colony to visit every ship that came in. This was done to seize any interloping vessels.<sup>47</sup> His task would be eased greatly if all ships entered at Jamestown.

However by far the most important reason for ordering ships to dock at the capital was for the collection of dues which can be loosely classified as customs. No comprehensive policy of customs regulation could be carried out in the early decades of the colony mainly because the English government had no officials resident in Virginia. Hence the levying of duties on vessels entering and leaving the colony was rather a haphazard affair. The first duty for ships entering the colony was levied by an act of the House of Burgesses in 1631. It was a direct result of the construction of the fort at Point Comfort. 'It was agreed for a continual supply of ammunition for the newly completed fort at Point Comfort to order a proportional payment of powder and shot

<sup>47</sup> Crump, Helen J., Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century, Imperial Studies No. 5, (Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1931), p 59

from the ships trading within the colony'.<sup>48</sup> The rate was fixed at one barrel of gunpowder (which was approximately 100 pounds) and ten iron shot for each one hundred tons of shipping.<sup>49</sup> This act was renewed from time to time throughout the period and certain amendments made. In January 1639, it was agreed that ships should also pay match and paper in proportion to their tonnage.<sup>50</sup> In 1645 an act was passed which stated that those ships arriving before mid-summer should pay one half a pound of powder for every ton but those arriving after this date should pay one to two pounds of powder and three pounds of leather shot or lead for each ton.<sup>51</sup> As with the proclamation concerning not breaking bulk until Jamestown, this act was to be attached to the mast of each ship as it passed the fort. By an act of March 1656 'for the encouragement of trade', vessels owned by the colonists were exempt from such dues.<sup>52</sup> The merchants and crews of ships appear to have been loath to pay these dues. Governor Harvey complained in 1635 of the small amounts of powder that had been

<sup>48</sup> 'Virginia under Governor Harvey', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. III (July 1895-April 1896), p. 22

<sup>49</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 176

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., I, 229

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., I, 301

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., I, 402

collected. He alleged that ship masters promised to pay when they left the colony but omitted to do so. The powder that was received was merely sufficient 'to give every ship a salute at her departure according to the custom of the place'.<sup>53</sup> This was hardly enough powder to guard against an enemy attack. The merchants petitioned the King and Council about such impositions, maintaining that they were already overburdened by the dues that they had to pay on the tobacco which they brought into England. They appear to have met with a willing audience for the commission of Governor Wyatt in 1638 included an order to suspend the duties. However the Governor and Council in Virginia persuaded the authorities in England of the justice and necessity of such exactions and they were reinstated.<sup>54</sup> There is only one instance of blatant evasion of the dues. This was by Philip Dyer, master of the George in 1641. It was alleged that he passed the fort without casting anchor as was customary. The captain of the fort went on board the vessel demanding the duties. Dyer refused, was arrested and ordered to go on shore but again refused 'and with scurrolous terms abused the said captain contemning and slighting

<sup>53</sup> 'Virginia Under Harvey', p 24

<sup>54</sup> Sainsbury, W.N.ed., 'Virginia in 1638-1639', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. II (July 1903-April 1904), p 46-47

his authority'. To deter others from taking a similar stance, Dyer was fined £30, one half of which went to the Crown and the other to the captain of the fort 'for the dishonour done to him'. <sup>55</sup>

At the same time as he exacted the dues of powder and shot, the captain of the fort was also responsible for giving the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the newly arrived colonists. As has been noted in an earlier chapter, these oaths were also taken prior to departure from England. The earliest reference to taking the oaths in Virginia is made in the instructions of Governor Harvey. The House of Burgesses passed an act to this effect on February 21, 1631. They also instituted a charge of 6d a head on each passenger and ordered the captain of the fort to keep a register of the names, ages and places of birth of all entrants to the colony. <sup>56</sup> It seems that there were two reasons for this act. Firstly the 6d poll would bring much-needed sterling into the colony and secondly the administration of the oaths would ensure that no Catholics or Quakers (both regarded as potentially treasonous groups) would enter the colony. In November 1657 the master of a ship

<sup>55</sup> Conway Robinson, 'Virginia Council and General Court Records, 1640-1641', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 11, (July 1903-April 1904), p 280

<sup>56</sup> 'Virginia Under Harvey' p 25

bringing Quakers into the colony was fined.<sup>57</sup> Presumably these passengers refused to take the oaths. The authorities in the colony complained about the difficulties involved in carrying out this order. Harvey and the council in Virginia wrote to the Privy Council on this matter and in 1638 it was agreed that the poll should be suspended since it had proved difficult to collect because of the lack of sterling on the ships. However it was ordered that the masters and owners of ships should give bond for the payment.<sup>58</sup> Apparently the merchants had also complained about the exactions and put pressure on the Privy Council to remove it completely.<sup>59</sup> However the imposition was reinstated in a report of the Sub Committee for Foreign Plantations in March 1639. They maintained that the 6d poll was 'but a thing of small value'.<sup>60</sup> The order was repeated several times during the next two decades. Not only were the passengers entering the colony closely checked but also emigration was carefully watched. It was necessary for all those who wished to leave the colony to have a pass signed by the secretary of the colony. It is uncertain

<sup>57</sup> Conway Robinson, 'Notes from the Council and General Court Records, 1641-1664', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 8 (July 1900-April 1901), p 166

<sup>58</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 236

<sup>59</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, 281

<sup>60</sup> 'Virginia in 1638-1639', P 285

when this rule was instigated, the earliest record is in 1623 when William Tucker was given authority by the Council to go on board each ship to inspect the passes of those who were about to leave.<sup>61</sup> The pass was to certify that the person had no outstanding debts. In 1643 the law was amended; people had to announce their departure ten days beforehand, presumably so that their creditors could make arrangements to collect the money owing to them.<sup>62</sup>

Collection of duties, bonds and invoices on goods leaving the colony was complicated by the fact that there was no one fixed place where all cargoes were collected. Despite attempts by the Governor and Council to regulate the export trade, it remained disorganised. The earliest of these attempts involved demanding bonds from ships' masters that they would deliver their goods to England. This was first instituted in 1627.<sup>63</sup> One year later there is record of the act in operation. Governor West caused several ships to be stayed until they delivered invoices of the quantities of tobacco laden on board and taken security for the

<sup>61</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 446

<sup>62</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 243

<sup>63</sup> Public Record Office Colonial Office General C.O.1/6/3

landing of their cargoes at the Port of London.<sup>64</sup> The regulations were tightened in 1637 by the imposition of a rate of 2d on each cask of tobacco and after that rate for other goods. This was to be paid by the masters of the ships when they delivered the invoices and was to be repaid by the owners of the goods before delivery. An officer was appointed to keep a register of all tobacco and other commodities which were exported.<sup>65</sup> Richard Kemp the secretary of the colony was chosen but during the first year he worked without a fee since the ships were already freighted and the masters refused to pay, maintaining that they would not be able to get reimbursed by the owners of the tobacco.<sup>66</sup> As with the exactions on ships entering the colony, complaints were made by the merchants and in 1638 the payment of the fee was suspended. A further difficulty presented itself when Kemp was brought before the Council 'for some very scandalous speeches against the Archbishop of Canterbury' (then William Laud). In order to plead his case before the authorities in England, Kemp departed from the colony, secretly, without permission, and left the records of

<sup>64</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1628', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 7 (July 1899-April 1900), p 258

<sup>65</sup> C.O.1./9/40

<sup>66</sup> 'Harvey's Virginia', p 26

the exports in complete confusion.<sup>67</sup> It is uncertain whether the imposition was reimposed between 1638 and 1658. The records are, for the most part, silent. A law was passed in March 1655 allowing the inhabitants of the colony free export of tobacco which might suggest that the imposition was in force at that time.<sup>68</sup> Even so, owing to the nature of the collection of the tobacco, and the inefficiency of administration in the colony, it is doubtful whether the laws regarding this duty were enforced strictly. In 1658 a new duty of 2 shillings for every hogshead of tobacco exported were introduced. This was not merely a fiscal measure; it was also, according to the minutes of the House of Burgesses, to encourage the export of other commodities and to provide an extra source of revenue for the payment of the governor.<sup>69</sup> The

<sup>67</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 284

<sup>68</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 410

<sup>69</sup> It is interesting that the authorities were seeking to encourage exports other than tobacco. Obviously this was an attempt to curb over-production and increase the price paid to the planter. At the same time, however, the export of certain other commodities was forbidden. In 1655 an act was passed which attempted to curb the export of hides and leather. British Museum. Sloane Manuscript 1378 f. 230v. In 1660 a levy of five shillings a barrel was placed on all meat exported. Ripley, William Zebina, The Financial History of Virginia, 1609-1776, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law vol. IV, no. 1 (Columbia College, New York, 1893), p 78



fine for failure to pay was £100.<sup>70</sup> There are records of several convictions arising from such a failure. In March 1659 a complaint was made to the Assembly by Lieutenant Miles Cary and Mr. Henry Corben, two of the collectors of the general imposition, that the masters of eight ships had refused to pay the duty.<sup>71</sup> In general this levy does not appear to have met with much success; it was repealed the following year.<sup>72</sup>

Once a ship had docked at Jamestown or another port in Virginia, it was necessary to inform the authorities and interested parties in England of her safe arrival. This was done in the form of a certificate given three or four days after the arrival of the vessel by the governor of the colony. Typical of these is the one issued to the Margaret on December 14 1619: 'These are to certify that the good ship of Bristol, the Margaret, this present 4th day of December 1619 arrived in the port of James City for plantation here in Virginia ..... under the conduct of John Woodleefe Esq., these thirty and five persons all in safety and perfect health whose names ensue'. There then followed a list of those passengers who were fortunate enough to survive the voyage.<sup>73</sup> Such certificates

<sup>70</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 491-492, 498

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., I, 512-514

<sup>72</sup> Ripley, Financial History of Virginia, p 57

<sup>73</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 230

were then dispatched to England on the first available ships. The payment of the cost of hire by the merchants to the owners depended on the certificate as a proof of safe arrival. Thus Bland, Wiseman and others, owners of the Abigail, were paid £600 by the freighters when the certificate arrived in England.<sup>74</sup> Several references to these certificates appear in the records of the Virginia Company. In the meeting of 27 March 1622 it was noted that the certificate confirming the safe arrival of the Warwick had been received.<sup>75</sup> The Warwick had landed on December 19 1621, thus it had taken three months for the information to reach the Company. Sometimes it took even longer. The Swan of Barnstable docked in Virginia on May 15 1620, yet the Company was not officially informed until December 13 of the same year.<sup>76</sup> Often a ship would land in England with news of safe arrivals before the certificates were received. In the case of the Swan, the Earl of Southampton signified to the Company on November 4 1620 that he had received letters of her safe arrival.<sup>77</sup>

After the inward cargo of supplies had been unloaded, the problem confronting the merchants was how to collect a return cargo.

<sup>74</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 410

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., IV, 618

<sup>76</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 430

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., I, 409-410

In the early years of the colony, the problem was one rather of what to obtain than how to obtain it. For several years, the Virginia Company was operating at a loss, this was the direct result of the initial failure to find either precious metals or a merchantable commodity. Various experiments were tried, notably those involving glass, salt, tar and pitch, but, apart from the occasional cargoes of clapboard, nothing substantial was shipped until the establishment of tobacco as the staple crop in the early 1620's. <sup>78</sup> This problem caused several ships to be delayed in the colony. In 1623 Governor Wyatt speaks of this in a letter to his father. He noted that excessive demands were made by the Company for tobacco to fill the Abigail 'whereas in truth there was not so much made in the whole colony'. He also stated that there were seven or eight other ships waiting to be freighted, 'which must have gone home empty to their great discontentment and discouragement ..... if the Abigail alone had been freighted, not to speak of hindereing all men from making their best mett with speedy home'. <sup>79</sup> More than one ship returned home dead freighted in this period. The authorities in the colony apologised for such

<sup>78</sup> For a comprehensive list of all types of goods sent from Virginia see Appendix Q

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., IV, 263

a state of affairs but failed to find any remedy until there was sufficient tobacco to satisfy all. Even when there was a cargo ready, trouble could arise. A load of pine trees for masts had been cut and were ready to be loaded into the Starr in 1611. Although she had been sent with the specific purpose of picking up the trees, it was found that half of them were too long for her hold.<sup>80</sup> Some ships were delayed at this time because they were, initially, refused trade. Such was the Edwin in 1617-1618. She was forbidden to trade under her patent 'upon pain of death' because of an insistence that all tobacco and sassafras should be transported to England only in the magazine ship. Her captain, John Bargrave, complained, maintaining that his ship was absent from England for thirteen months. Eventually he was allowed some trade.<sup>81</sup>

The development of the tobacco trade coincided with the expansion of the colony as a result of grants of 'particular' plantations. The dominant characteristic of Virginia in the colonial period, that of plantations scattered along creeks and rivers, was soon apparent

<sup>80</sup> Strachey, William, The Historie of Travell into Virginia Brittania, Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, eds., (London, Hakluyt Society, 1952), p 130

<sup>81</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 599. For a full account of the litigation which resulted from the voyage of the Edwin. See Chapter I

and the problem now facing the merchants was how to collect their tobacco with the minimum amount of delay. In the early days of the colony, the small ocean-going merchant vessel was the only means of transportation essential to marketing the tobacco crop. However, as has been seen, the tonnage of the vessels involved in the trade increased during the period under review.<sup>82</sup> It became increasingly difficult for the ships to sail right up to the wharfs of individual plantations and hence shallops or flats were used to bring the hogsheads to the ships. This practise was to develop more fully after 1660. As Middleton points out 'the production of tobacco on a market scale by colonial Virginia and Maryland was not primarily due to the fertility of the soil ..... but to the unusually extensive transportation facilities provided by the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries'.<sup>83</sup> Tobacco was a delicate commodity and long journeys overland to the ships would have caused extensive damage.

However the problem of collecting together a cargo to fill the ship and make a profit for the freighters still remained. David de Vries tells how in the 1630's his ship went from plantation to

<sup>82</sup> See Chapter II

<sup>83</sup> Middleton, Arthur P., Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era, (Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia 1953), p 34

plantation collecting what cargoes it could.<sup>84</sup> In the same decade the sailors of the Dove were forced to go searching for a cargo, but failed to find enough tobacco to fill the ship.<sup>85</sup> In some cases the crews were sent out on what transpired to be futile missions, in order to collect a cargo. In 1632 two sailors maintained that they went with two boats up to the house of Thomas Furlowe where they should have collected eight tons of tobacco, but on arrival they were informed that the tobacco in question had been shipped in another vessel.<sup>86</sup> In 1652 three of the crew of the West India Merchant were sent up the James River to collect some tobacco from a storehouse. The owner of the tobacco was not there and the landlord of the store refused to allow them to take the tobacco without the consent of the owner, one Thomas Stavely. The sailors waited three days and then left the storehouse empty handed, but met with Stavely whilst on their way back to the ship. Stavely maintained that he had no tobacco to laid on to the West India Merchant.<sup>87</sup> The crew of at least one ship refused to go looking for tobacco. Several of the sailors

<sup>84</sup> De Vries, David P., Voyages from Holland to America, 1632-1644, translated by Henry C. Murphy, (New York, 1853), p 183

<sup>85</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1639-1640. H.C.A. 13/55, f. 529v

<sup>86</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, 185

<sup>87</sup> Southampton Record Office. Quarter Sessions Records and Papers. Examinations and Depositions. 1648-1663. Case of the West India Merchant

of the David of Bristol were ordered to go to a place called Green Springs. To complete this journey it was necessary to go overland for three miles which they refused to do, saying that it was not safe to travel because of the danger of attack from hostile Indians. The tobacco remained uncollected despite the offer by the master of 25 shillings for anyone who would go.<sup>88</sup> The fears of the sailors were well founded; in the previous year the Indians had attacked the English settlements and killed several of the colonists. It appears that the collection of tobacco was not only a slow process, it could also be a dangerous one. Not all ships had such difficulties in collecting a cargo. It was alleged that when the Alexander sailed from Virginia in 1653 she left behind three to four hundred hogsheads of tobacco which had to be transferred to other vessels.<sup>89</sup> However the merchants seem to have regarded the collection of a cargo in Virginia as generally a long drawn out process. Although the actual loading need only take a few days, it was accompanied by weeks and often months of haggling and arguments and waiting for the general level

<sup>88</sup> Nott, H.E. ed., The Deposition Books of Bristol vol. I, 1643-1647, Publications of the Bristol Record Society no. 6, (Bristol, 1935), pp 92-93

<sup>89</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, 1656-1757. H.C.A. 13/71. Another ship which left Virginia with a full lading was the Robert of Bristol in 1655. Bristol Record Office. Book of Depositions, 1654-1657, f. 53

of freight to settle. The merchants faced similar problems in the collection of debts due to them from the planters. John King, master of a Virginia ship, the John and Barbary, maintained that the merchants always took this factor into consideration when fixing the price of goods. Prices tended to be higher than the market rate because of 'the difficulty and uncertainty of collecting their debts by reason of the distant and dispersed dwellings'.<sup>90</sup> Louis Gray, however, alleges that the system of collection was detrimental to the planters. The latter was largely at the mercy of the merchant, for if they failed to sell at the prices quoted by one trader, they might not get another chance to sell their crops because another ship might not arrive.<sup>91</sup> It is fair to conclude that the system of collection of tobacco had disadvantages for both parties concerned. Certainly it was possible for a ship to arrive in Virginia and find that the best, if not all of the tobacco crop, had been taken out of the colony by other vessels. If they failed to muster a cargo, the merchants would be forced to wait until the next harvest to collect their debts. If a vessel did arrive late (any time after March) in the colony, it was usually the result of

<sup>90</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, I, p 232

<sup>91</sup> Gray, Louis C., 'The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Virginia', William and Mary Quarterly, second ser., vol. 7, (January - October 1927), p 242



some delay in the outward voyage. Many of the cases concerning Virginia in the High Court of Admiralty were brought into court by merchants who alleged that they had lost money because the ship that they hired was a late arrival. They laid the blame for this on the owners of the vessel who, they maintained, had not fulfilled their part of the Charter Party and had dispatched the ship in an unseaworthy condition.<sup>92</sup> In 1654 the William was delayed on her passage through the Channel through some miscalculation on the part of the crew. The ship did not arrive in Virginia until late April 1655 and stayed in the colony until August 1 trying to procure a cargo. In fact the ship arrived back in England dead freighted.<sup>93</sup> A similar fate befell the Blessing in 1638 and the Anne in 1656.<sup>94</sup> In 1635 the ship of David de Vries arrived too late to collect a cargo and it was decided that they should wait in Virginia until the next tobacco harvest was ready.<sup>95</sup> However many of the delays on the voyage were caused by factors other than the negligence of the owners or the crew; a ship going through the Channel could meet with the contrary winds or with storms

<sup>92</sup> For a full account of the compilation of a Charter Party and a discussion of the responsibilities of ship owners and merchants see Chapter 1

<sup>93</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. and H.C.A. 13/55 f. 249v

<sup>95</sup> De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, p 108

on any part of the crossing. It was an acceptable hazard which could befall anyone engaged in long distance trade to Virginia and elsewhere. The authorities in Virginia did try to ensure a cargo for all ships. In 1633, to encourage merchants to bring essential supplies to the colony, the House of Burgesses enacted a law which stated 'other ships coming to the colony almost empty having discharged their cargo elsewhere and receiving a full freight of tobacco ... it is ordered that no vessel be permitted to have more freight than the quantity of goods imported.'<sup>96</sup> However laws could not be enacted to assure that all ships were free from delays on their voyage or to ensure a good harvest.

There were other factors which caused delays and difficulties in the collection of a cargo. Not the least of these were the ever-increasing number of regulations concerning the quality of tobacco. Philip Bruce maintains that the compression of tobacco into rolls, not only caused delay but also allowed inferior tobacco to be introduced which was impossible to detect unless the roll was broken.<sup>97</sup> To prevent the inclusion of inferior tobacco, Governor Wyatt issued a proclamation in 1640 which ordered that all tobacco was to be examined before it was shipped.<sup>98</sup> There was an attempt

<sup>96</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 216-217

<sup>97</sup> Bruce, Economic History, I, 295

<sup>98</sup> Ames, Susie M., ed., County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton Virginia, 1632-1640, American Legal Records vol. 7, (American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., 1954), p 404

to regulate the size of the hogsheads. This was, by a law of 1658, to be a maximum of 40 inches in length and 26 inches in width 'with the bulge proportionable'.<sup>99</sup> Obviously it would be an advantage to the merchant to receive tobacco that was of a constantly high standard, yet the inspection of hogsheads and rolls also served to delay the collection of a cargo.

There was some improvement in the situation as trade became more sophisticated. The merchants and planters gradually established much firmer links with each other. As a result of this, the master of a vessel often knew exactly where to procure a cargo and thus spared the need to travel aimlessly from one plantation to another seeking freight. The collection of a cargo was therefore a much speedier business. Towards the end of the period it became quite common to state exactly from where a vessel, arriving in London from the colony had departed. It was not merely 'Virginia' but the 'River of Nansemond' or the 'York River'.<sup>100</sup> This would suggest that ships were receiving tobacco from specific locations. De Vries stresses the importance of having a factor resident in the colony, a practise which was growing throughout the period. 'I consider, in regard to this trade, that those who wish to

<sup>99</sup> British Museum. Sloane Manuscript 1378, f. 221v

<sup>100</sup> H.C.A. 13/71 and British Museum Additional Manuscript 34015, II, f. 71v

trade here, must keep a house here, and continue all the year, that he may be prepared, when the tobacco comes from the field to seize it, if he would obtain his debts'.<sup>101</sup> The factor also was able to collect the tobacco from the planter or ensure that a full cargo was waiting at the wharf side when the ship of the merchant for whom he was acting arrived in the colony. The planters themselves attempted to help the merchants in this respect. There was a growing tendency for the larger planters their tobacco and that of their smaller neighbours into their own hands and act as factors for the merchants. Many of the wealthiest settlers in the early days of the colony were those who combined the functions of planter and merchant's factor.<sup>102</sup> There was also an attempt by several of the planters to come together and consign their tobacco in bulk, such consignments, not surprisingly, were eagerly sought by the English merchants.<sup>103</sup>

Various attempts were made by the authorities in Virginia to ease the task of collection of tobacco. Their solution was based on the method of regulating goods entering the colony, the construction of storehouses. The House of Burgesses in February 1633

<sup>101</sup> De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, p 112-113

<sup>102</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, (Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p 237

<sup>103</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 338

ordered that five stores should be set up at various convenient places throughout the colony. <sup>104</sup> The planters should bring their tobacco to these stores before the last day of December in any year. The tobacco would be inspected and repacked and remain in the store until it was laden on a ship. <sup>105</sup> The authorities, whilst being concerned with the need for some systematisation of collection of tobacco, aimed at regulating the quality of the product at the same time. This act was amended in August of the same year. Two further storehouses were constructed at the plantations of Weyanoake and for the Upper Plantations. It was agreed that the storekeepers, in return for taking care of the accounts, should receive 1% of the tobacco in their charge. <sup>106</sup> These two acts had perhaps the most important effect on the Eastern Shore. Before they were passed the area relied on the Western Shore for shipment of its products to Europe, but now producers could ship directly from the store on the Southampton River. Later, two more stores were established on the Eastern Shore, one at King's Creek and the other at Old Plantation Creek. <sup>107</sup> It does

<sup>104</sup> These stores were at James City, Shirley Hundred Island, Denbeigh, Southampton River in Elizabeth City and Kiskyake

<sup>105</sup> Henning, Statutes, I, 204-206

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., I, 221

<sup>107</sup> Ames, Susie M., Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century, (Richmond, Virginia, 1940), pp. 43-44

appear, however, that the system in its operation left much to be desired. The authorities in the colony allowed the acts to lapse and as early as 1638 the King asked the House of Burgesses to erect warehouses for the reception of all tobacco. The Burgesses replied that the erection of stores 'would be very chargeable and burthensome to the whole colony' and they feared that the tobacco would be damaged in transit and whilst it was awaiting collection. They concluded by stressing the problem posed by the distance between individual plantations and suggested that the ships may be licensed to do up to the wharfs of each plantation 'wee beinge all seated by the Riverside'.<sup>108</sup> The warehouses were not only unpopular with the authorities but also with the merchants themselves who maintained that the charge of bringing tobacco from the plantations to the central stores would be excessive.<sup>109</sup> They seem to have ignored the fact that the warehouses would be a much more convenient way of collecting tobacco. The idea of central storehouses seems to have faded, both the merchants and the government in Virginia were more satisfied with the system of going from one plantation to another in the hope of gaining a cargo.

Once the inward cargo, usually tobacco, had been collected, a

<sup>108</sup> Journals of the House of Burgesses, I, 57-58

<sup>109</sup> 'Virginia under Governor Harvey', p 32

bill of lading was drawn up. This followed a similar form to the one for goods entering the colony. It contained details of the cargo and to whom each portion was to be delivered in London. Most important were the records of the marks on each hogshead which identified ownership.<sup>110</sup> The bills of lading can be seen in operation through the eyes of witnesses in the High Court of Admiralty. In one case the factor responsible for lading the ship in Virginia, David Sellick, died and there was some confusion as to whom the goods on board belonged. One witness maintained that there were no individual bills of lading (as was customary) but merely one general bill which covered the whole cargo. The widow of Sellick was so concerned about this that she went on board the ship and broke open letters written by her late husband to the merchants in London to whom the goods were consigned. She thus discovered which hogsheads were to be delivered to which merchants, something that, apparently, was not stated in the general bill. The confusion was so great that it resulted in the case in the High Court of Admiralty.<sup>111</sup> Most ships also had to deliver up invoices of goods before departure and post a bond that they would land their cargo at ports specified on the invoice.

110 See fig. i

111 Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. February 1654 - January 1656 H.C.A. 13/70 and H.C.A. 13/71

Delays could occur for reasons other than those presented by the collection of a cargo. Some were caused quite intentionally. Many of the vessels engaged in Virginia trade undertook subsidiary enterprises whilst in American waters. This was especially true in the period covered by Company control before tobacco became fully established. The merchants were prepared to allow the ships to engage in more than one activity with the hope of ensuring a profit from the total voyage. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of the habit of ships used by the colony to procure fish off the New England coast. Ships also remained in order that they might be utilised by the colony to trade with the Indians in the confines of the Chesapeake Bay. This practice seems to have been particularly prevalent during the governorship of Wyatt (1621-1626). In October 1621 he gave 'full power and absolute authority' to Captain Tucker of the Eleanour 'to sail with the first wind and opportunity into the bay, to go into any rivers, creeks, harbours, there to trade with the savages'.<sup>112</sup> In the years 1621 to 1623 out of the sixty-two vessels which arrived in Virginia, seventeen were engaged in subsidiary enterprises, most commonly fishing off

<sup>112</sup> 'Wyatt Manuscripts in the Possession of the Earl of Romney', William and Mary Quarterly, 1 Ser., vol. 7 (1927), p 42



New England or Newfoundland. Some estimation of the time taken on such ventures can be gauged from the experiences of the George in 1619. She departed from Virginia on July 9 and arrived back on September 10 having spent three weeks at sea on the outward voyage, fourteen days fishing on the Newfoundland banks and a further three weeks on the return trip.<sup>113</sup> Some ships engaged in more exciting pursuits. The Treasurer from 1612 to 1614 remained in American waters for 639 days. The captain, Samuel Argall, took his ship up to Mount Desert on the New England coast to remove some Frenchmen who had settled in the area and who were regarded as a threat to the colony. He broke up the settlement and brought back fifteen of the colonists. Later in 1613 he returned and destroyed the buildings and fortifications at Mount Desert, Saint Croix and Port Royal.<sup>114</sup>

Unintentional causes of delay in Virginia appear to have fallen into two categories, those caused by damage to the vessels either en route to the colony or during their stay and those resulting from disputes. Of the later, disagreements over cargoes in Virginia were surprisingly few, the participants in such cases usually waited until their return to England to resolve any differences. The only

113 Records of the Virginia Company, III, 242-243

114 Brown, Genesis, II, 174

case to be traced concerned goods laden aboard the Providence of Bristol in 1650 and even this was resolved fully on the return of the ship to her home port.<sup>115</sup> Indeed it was often easier to resolve disputes in England since both parties were more likely to reside there. Such admiralty cases that did arise in Virginia, for example the action resulting from the piratical exploits of Samuel Argall in the Treasurer in 1619, came before the county or general courts of the colony. Legislation was passed in March 1660 to give the governor and council the full powers of an admiralty court and to empower the county courts to hear maritime cases, but this was merely legalisation of the earlier practise.<sup>116</sup> Sometimes the High Court of Admiralty gave permission for evidence in a case to be heard in Virginia especially when it was convenient for the people concerned. Thus a commission was sent over in the John and Barbary in 1637 to enable witnesses to be heard in the colony, but the ship did not arrive in time, those involved having already left for England.<sup>117</sup>

As regards the time taken for ships to turn round, a more

<sup>115</sup> Nott, Helen E. and Elizabeth Ralph eds., The Deposition Books of Bristol 1650-1654, Bristol Record Society Publications no. XIII, (Bristol, 1948), p 20-21

<sup>116</sup> Crump, Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction, p 74-78

<sup>117</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1638-1639. H.C.A. 13/54 f, 221v

important delay arose from disputes between the captain of a vessel and the crew. Such a quarrel took place between the captain of the Furtherance and two of his sailors over wages.<sup>118</sup> Even worse than this, Captain John Harvey, commander of the same ship in 1624, was faced by a mutiny. Apparently the men refused to go on a fishing voyage to New England.<sup>119</sup> The crew of the Elizabeth in 1635 declared that the vessel was unseaworthy, they refused to go back to England in her and asked for the wages due to them. Thomas Stagge, the factor for the freighters of the ship, offered them tobacco at the rate of 6d a pound but they refused to accept it at more than 4d a pound. The case was transferred to the Virginia Council who apparently settled it to the satisfaction of all concerned.<sup>120</sup> Obviously disputes such as these would have to be settled in Virginia before it was possible to return the ship to England.

Some of the time spent in the colony was devoted to repairing any damage the ships might have incurred on the outward journey. One witness in the High Court of Admiralty maintained that all ships

<sup>118</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, III, 362

<sup>119</sup> Minutes of the Council and General Court, I, 8

<sup>120</sup> Shilton, Dorothy O. and Richard Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations, 1637-1638, Anglo-American Records Foundation Inc., Vol. II, (London, 1932), no. 138, p 58

were inspected and looked at under water when they arrived in Virginia. <sup>121</sup> Some ships were heavily damaged and spent a lengthy sojourn in Virginia for repairs. In 1656 the Anne had to be fitted with completely new masts and have her sails patched. <sup>122</sup> The master of the ship complained that it was impossible to get vessels refitted in Virginia, except by the generosity of other ships. This is the only complaint of this nature found in the records. Since the master, Daniel Joggles, was defending himself against charges of excessive delay in the colony, perhaps one can dismiss the remark. Certainly by the 1650's the colonists should have been well versed in what was necessary to refit a ship and experienced in doing this. Damage could and did occur to the ships whilst they were in Virginia. Middleton gives a lengthy account of the ravages done to the wooden vessels by the *Teredo navalis* or the 'worm'. <sup>123</sup> This boring mollusc was renowned for its ability to eat into the bottom of ships as they lay at anchor. Damage occurred from other causes; mostly as a result of negligence on the part of the crews. The Falcon arrived in Virginia in 1631, repairs to her beams were undertaken and she then proceeded to break loose from her moorings and was driven on shore. All the goods had to be taken off in order to lighten her whilst she

<sup>121</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. November 1650- July 1651. H.C.A. 13/64

<sup>122</sup> H.C.A. 13/71

<sup>123</sup> Middleton, Tobacco Coast, pp 35-36

was dragged back into the water. All this took twelve or thirteen days. <sup>124</sup> However by far the most costly incident of this nature occurred in 1636 to the Bonny Bess. She arrived in Virginia along with the America and the Flower de Luce. Joseph Saunders, the owner of the vessel sent a commission to Hugh Weston his factor to sell the ship in Virginia because, one suspects, he was unable to afford to victual her for the return voyage. The vessel was offered to Leonard Calvert, the Governor of Maryland but was sold eventually to Richard Orchard. After the deal, Orchard was inspecting his new purchase when a strong wind arose and the ship, being held by only one small cable, ran aground on Broken Island. Apparently Orchard attempted to go back on the agreement but the governor and council ordered him to stand by his bargain. Hence he attempted to refloat the ship. To lighten the load, all the goods she carried were taken to shore on small boats but to add to the misfortunes of Orchard (who must by now have heartily regretted his buy) all the boats sank and only one chest and one hogshead of goods were recovered. Eventually, with the help of the crew of the America, Orchard managed to refloat the ship, stop her leaks and, fortunately for his finances, acquire a full lading of tobacco. He also had to completely re-victual her, hire a crew and pay their

124 Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. April 1632-May 1634. H.C.A. 13/50 f. 78v-79

wages. The details of the money he expended are extant. The following figures do not include money spent on victuals or wages:

For one fore sayle in tobacco 250 lbs in sterling ....	£ 6	5	Od
For a mayne top sail in tobacco 150 lbs in sterling ..	£ 3	15	Od
For a bark to Mr. Johns when she was sunk in tobacco 150 lbs in sterling ..	£ 3	18	Od
For fower runletts containing 8 gallons of strong water spent in trimming, canvassing and calking of the ship in tobacco 300 lbs weight in sterling ...	£ 7	10	Od
For 200 lbs weight of cordage to Mr. John Newland cost in tobacco 200 lbs in sterling ...	£ 5	0	Od
For a shallop to lade her and ballast her her own boat her owne boat being lost. 125 ...	£ 7	10	Od
	£33	18	Od

The total cost, including wages, victuals and port charges on her return to England amounted to £258 19 11d. However it was not only the Bonny Bess that was delayed in Virginia. Through her misfortunes, the America did not set sail to England until late December and the Flower de Luce spent an extra month in the colony.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, it can be seen, that accidents to shipping in Virginia

125 Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Charter Parties. H.C.A. 15/4

126 The whole affaire of the Bonny Bess resulted in a protracted case in the High Court of Admiralty. The records of her adventures can be found in H.C.A. 13/54 f. 136v-137, 180v-181, 259v-260, 302v-303, 304. Public Record Office. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1640-1641. H.C.A. 13/56 f. 111-111v. Shilton and Holworthy. High Court of Admiralty Examinations, no. 329 p 142-143, no. 338 p 147-148, no. 370 p 164

not only delayed the vessel involved, but were costly and could delay others.

Delays in the colony were costly to the freighters of the ships since vessels were hired by the month. They would also have to pay for the extra wages and victuals for the seamen. One estimation for the charges for victuals alone has been found in the records of the High Court of Admiralty. The charges are in pounds of tobacco.

For two oxen at 600 each .....	1200 lbs
For one hogshead of Bermuda beef .....	650 lbs
For three hogsheads of Bermuda beef .....	360 lbs
For 1538 lbs of biskett of wine at a 1d per lb. <sup>127</sup> ...	1538 lbs
	<hr/>
	3448 lbs

It was estimated that the fourteen week stay of the Blessing in 1636 cost 3,990 pounds of tobacco and £14 in cash for the victuals alone, although it is difficult to ascertain how much of this was consumed in Virginia and how much on the return voyage. <sup>128</sup>

These extended sojourns in the colony caused much inconvenience to the Virginians. Obviously the presence of the sailors would mean that supplies intended for the colonists would be in part utilised by these men, and supply was usually insufficient, especially in the

<sup>127</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Ships Books and Papers. H.C.A. 30/635, f. 12

<sup>128</sup> Shilton and Holworthy. High Court of Admiralty Examinations no. 305, p 129

early years. The authorities in Virginia complained about this in 1623. They talked of the excessive numbers of people being sent to the colony and declared that if fewer had been sent 'then had we saven not only men's lives but the colony had likewise been better furnished with victuals and provisions, much whereof the mariners of the ships lingeringe there for poor freight of tobacco have been a means to waste and consume even in this time of dearth and scarcitie which nowe raignes among them'.<sup>129</sup> Such a problem had been faced from the earliest days of the colony. Thomas Studley and Anas Todkill described the sojourn of the first supply ship in 1607 'now though we had victual sufficient, I meane only of oatmeale, meale and corn, yet the ship staying there fourteen weeks (when she might as well have gone in fourteen days) spent the beefe, pork, oile, aquavitae, fish, butter and cheese, beere and such like, as was provided to be landed to us'.<sup>130</sup>

An additional burden on the colony was the cost of employing a ship on a fishing or trading voyage. Not only did the Virginians have to feed the sailors, they also, apparently, had to pay them for their services. Captain Francis Nelson in 1608 refused to assist in exploration of the James River unless the colony paid for the hire of

<sup>129</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 150

<sup>130</sup> 'Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia', Tyler, Narratives, p 136



the seamen and the ship.<sup>131</sup> Some idea of the cost of such employment can be gauged from the following figures which Governor Wyatt submitted to the General Assembly in 1623:

For Captain Tucker's ship for three months ..... £ 800  
 For staying the Seaflower one month ..... £ 600<sup>132</sup>

These costs are high when one considers that in 1630 freight from Virginia cost £12 a ton.<sup>133</sup> One wonders whether the masters of ships who, during their stay in Virginia, helped to build the brick church, were paid for their services.<sup>134</sup>

The activity of the sailors of visiting ships left much to be desired. Presumably the colonists would wish to see vessels dispatched quickly if only to remove this potential and actual source of trouble as soon as possible. There are several incidents involving the sailors. In the early 1620's the master of one vessel was convicted of sodomy.<sup>135</sup> Most of the cases of misbehaviour resulted from over indulgence with the bottle. Often the crews of ships, bored with waiting for a cargo, would break open casks and bottles of drink which had been intended for the return voyage. A witness in the case of Luxon v. Harris maintained that the wines and strong waters owned by the freighters of the Blessing

131 'The True Relation of Captain John Smith', Ibid., p 65

132 'Documents of Sir Francis Wyatt', p 125

133 Gray. Louis Cecil, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols., (Washington, D.C., 1933), I, 223

134 'Virginia under Harvey', p 30

135 Journals of the House of Burgesses, I, 56

were illegally drunk by the crew. The witness, the ship's cooper, alleged that he tried to stop them but was forced into the captain's cabin and made to drink.<sup>136</sup> One wonders how much persuasion he needed. The results of such over-indulgence caused varying kinds of trouble, not the least of which were fights between crew members. Two of the sailors of the Rebecca of London in 1636 started a fight on board a small boat, one being 'much' and the other 'somehat distempered with drink'. A fellow crew member tried to separate them, to prevent them falling over board, but whilst his back was turned, one Drake, fell down between two hogsheads and broke a thigh from which injury he died ten weeks later.<sup>137</sup> It was incidents like these which caused the House of Burgesses to pass legislation to control the behaviour of crews. The preamble to the act of March 13 1660 well illustrates how tired even the Virginians (themselves no paragons of virtue) were becoming with the conduct of visiting seamen:

whereas divers masters of ships have of late years obstinately and contemptuously behaved themselves towards the laws and government of this country, refusing their due obedience and submission to the same and have likewise, contrary to the peace of our country, and the priveleges granted to us by our articles of surrender, to have free trade with all nations in amity with the people of England molested, troubled and seized divers ships, sloops and vessels coming to trade with us to the great prejudice of the country's good and prosperity ....<sup>138</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations, no. 290, p 119

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., no. 172, p 70

<sup>138</sup> Hennings, Statutes, I, 535

The law stated that within six days of arrival all masters should give a bond of £2,000 to ensure that the crews conducted themselves in a decent fashion. If the master refused to do this he would be totally barred from trading.<sup>139</sup> It is doubtful whether even this would deter certain members from relieving their boredom in a riotous manner whilst awaiting a cargo.

The authorities in England were also concerned with the speedy and efficient handling of shipping in Virginia. The Company was particularly concerned with this problem because of the excessive charges for freight and wages. As early as 1611, Sir Thomas Dale wrote to the council in London stressing the need for speedy unloading and relading of vessels.<sup>140</sup> In 1621 the members advised the governor and council in Virginia that no ship of the Company should remain in the colony for more than thirty days.<sup>141</sup> Typical of the many messages is the one that the Company wrote to the governor in October 1622 which urged the latter 'to take into consideration the continuall maintainance of good shipping in the river which may easily be effected'.<sup>142</sup> It was for this purpose that a motion was put in front of the Quarter Court of the Company on July 10 1621 that

139 Ibid.

140 Brown, Alexander, The Genesis of the United States, 2 vols, (Boston, 1890), I, 491

141 Bemiss, Three Charters, p 125

142 Records of the Virginia Company, III, 658

Mr. John Pountis should be made Vice-Admiral in Virginia to take care of the Company's ships.<sup>143</sup> They declared such a position to be necessary because 'the want of such an official had been no small loss and prejudice to the Company's ships and provision and other public service'.<sup>144</sup> Land was allotted to the new officer near to Jamestown because the ships first arrived there and it was decided that Pountis should execute the office provisionally for one year until the commission might be confirmed by the next Quarter Court.<sup>145</sup> There are several references in the Company records to the activities of Pountis in the colony as a member of the council. However his main concern seems to have been with dispatching vessels to trade in Chesapeake Bay and there is no mention of his duties concerning vessels arriving from England or departing from the colony.

Thus little was done to reduce the time that a vessel spent in Virginia. This varied from ship to ship, but the average is 114 days which does include those ships which engaged in subsidiary activities whilst visiting the colony. The average time excluding these vessels is 94 days which, when compared to the average time for the shortest direct route to the colony of 82 days, is a considerable length of time. By the latter part of the period the sailors themselves had some idea of the customary length of time needed in the colony.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., I, 506

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., I, 557

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., I, 549-550

One maintained that it took only six weeks.<sup>146</sup> He was being a little optimistic. Within the averages there is great variation.<sup>147</sup> The shortest stay was that of the Eleanour in 1619 but her figure of four days is exceptional since she was sent to Virginia with the specific purpose of taking Governor Samuel Argall back to England. The shortest stay for purposes of trade was that of the London Merchant in 1620 which took only eleven days to unload and take in another cargo. The longest sojourn (excluding those vessels engaged in subsidiary enterprises) was that of the Bonaventure in 1622 to 1623 which remained for a whole year in the colony. There appears to be no explanation for this stay in the records. It is difficult to ascertain whether the time spent in the colony was reduced as those concerned became more used to handling ships and firmer trading links were established. Unfortunately most of the exact figures for shipping fall into the Company period. There was a reduction in the time in the first two and a half decades. Between the years 1607 and 1619 the average was eighty days, but between 1620 and 1629 it fell to only sixty-five. It was almost doubled to 114 in the following decade (1630 to 1639). However the figures for the final three decades are unreliable since they are based largely on

<sup>146</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. March-November 1650. H.C.A. 13/63, f. 424v

<sup>147</sup> See Appendix M

the depositions of witnesses in the High Court of Admiralty. The ships which came to the notice of this court were those which had some irregularity in their voyages, in this instance unusually long sojourns in Virginia. Thus the figures for 1630 to 1659 are artificially high.

It can be seen, therefore, that the story of shipping in the colony itself is very much that of a battle between the authorities in England and Virginia on one hand and the planters and merchants on the other. It was in the best interests of all concerned to ensure that a vessel unloaded her cargo found sufficient goods to take back to England and left the colony as speedily as possible. This would reduce the costs to the merchants for victualling, hire and wages, ensure that the planter's tobacco and other commodities such as beaver skins reached the market in a good condition and decrease the time which the authorities in the colony held responsibility for the welfare of ship, cargo and crew. However, despite this common interest, there were disputes as to how a speedy turn round could be effected best. The authorities appear mostly to have been concerned with collection of customs dues, invoices and bonds and the policy of erecting storehouses for reception of both inward and outward cargoes is a reflection of this concern. Although the merchants and planters wished to see a ship leave the colony as soon as possible, this consideration seemed to be secondary to their desire to obtain the best price possible for their tobacco. Thus both groups were against the policy of central

storehouses; it seems as if they preferred the more haphazard method of trading provided by the ships or smaller boats going from wharf to wharf obtaining what tobacco they could. As trade became more sophisticated by the development of stronger ties between the planters in Virginia and the merchants in England, trade did become less of a chance occupation. There was more certainty of collecting a cargo at a specific plantation. Thus their opposition to any trade control was bound to increase and make the task of regulation of the authorities even more difficult, if not impossible.

CHAPTER V.

THE RETURN TO ENGLAND

I. Customs and Regulations.



When a ship arrived back in English waters from the colony, before its cargo could be unloaded and even before it could dock, the master had to comply with a number of regulations imposed on colonial trade by the government. These regulations can be divided into two groups, those imposed on all ships entering from Virginia, irrespective of the cargo carried and those levied on vessels which brought in tobacco. At certain times in the years 1606 to 1660 it was forbidden to land tobacco at any other port than London or to export it directly to the Continent. All goods entering from the colony after 1619 were subject to the scrutiny of customs officials and to certain duties. Those imposed on tobacco were changed at frequent intervals throughout the period, whereas those on other goods such as beaverskins and otterskins remained fairly static.

As noted in the chapter which covered the dispatch of ships from England, each charter of the Virginia Company exempted members from the payment of customs on goods involved in trade to the colony. However the seven-year exemption granted by the charter of 1612 lapsed in 1619 and was not renewed. From that date all goods entering from the colony were subject to inspection by customs officials and, if it was judged necessary, duties were levied. There were two types of customs officials, those concerned with the collection of duties and those concerned with reporting arrivals and

departures of vessels and the checking of cargoes. Imports were the concern of waiters who went on board as soon as the ships dropped anchor and briefly listed the cargo contents. They would then inform the collectors of the details of the cargo. The latter would then levy the requisite duties.<sup>1</sup> It was not uncommon for the waiter to have difficulty in boarding a ship or to meet with a hostile reception when he did manage to get on. In 1633 the crew of the America, returning from Virginia, resisted with violence the attempts of the waiter to get on board. The master of the ship was thrown into jail.<sup>2</sup> The collector also gained information from the master of each ship who was obliged by law to make a proper entry of his vessel and cargo publicly in the Customs House immediately upon arrival. He was to furnish the collectors with a written list of packages carried, showing the marks, numbers and names of the merchants as well as the quantity and description of the goods belonging to each.<sup>3</sup> Some masters were anything but accurate and honest in the performance of this task and had recourse to reconciling the breach of law with their tender consciences. Sometimes they

<sup>1</sup>Williams, Neville, "The London Port Books," Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol. 18, no. 1 (1955), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1631-1633, (London, 1862), p. 550.

<sup>3</sup>Harper, Lawrence A., The English Navigation Laws, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 89.

would allow their fingernails to grow very long and swear on the book a completely false return, after which they would cut their nails and say, since they had never touched the book, the oath was invalid. The more cheerful rogues, having sworn to a false entry, were accustomed to drink a bottle of sack which, they said, washed away the effects of the lie.<sup>4</sup>

This organisation of customs was, until the Interregnum, farmed out by the government, although between 1615 and 1618 the impositions were collected by royal officials. In 1618 Abraham Jacob was granted for life the office of Collector of Impositions on tobacco.<sup>5</sup> The following year, his brother John brought part of the tobacco custom for seven years at £8,000 a year.<sup>6</sup> There were, however, several changes in personnel during the years under review. By 1633 Sir Paul Pinder, Sir John Wolstenholme and Abraham Dawes had been added to the ranks of the tobacco farmers.<sup>7</sup> By a license of 1637, repeated in March of the following year, Lord Goring and "others" were given for seven years control of all imposts and subsidies charged on tobacco entering England.<sup>8</sup> According to at least

<sup>4</sup>MacInnes, C.M., A Gateway of Empire, (Bristol, 1939), P. 241.

<sup>5</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, p. 35n.

<sup>6</sup>Dietz, English Public Finance, 1558-1641, (London, 1932), p. 351

<sup>7</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1631-1633, p. 550.

<sup>8</sup>British Museum, Harleian Manuscript, 1012, ff. 43v, 48v.

one historian in the Virginia colony, the revenue was granted to a small association of farmers so that it would increase the burden on the Virginians.<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to believe this; it was customary to farm out the more lucrative duties of which tobacco was one. However, the practise of farming out the customs was severely attacked by parliament and it was abolished during the Interregnum. Parliament then entrusted the customs to a commission of five which system continued until the Restoration.

It was a firm economic belief in the seventeenth century that colonial trade should be regulated for the benefit of the mother country.<sup>10</sup> One of the reasons for this was that the duties on imports from the colonies would swell the treasury of a nation. Thus, although the imports from Virginia had not been subject to customs in the early years of the colony, with a view to encouraging the beginnings of trade with England, after 1619 duties were levied. According to George Beer, 'the many sided and intricate regulation of the tobacco industry was a characteristic product of the mercantile system.'<sup>11</sup> Before the early 1620's when the bulk of

<sup>9</sup>Bruce, Economic History, I, P. 265.

<sup>10</sup>The economic thought of the period was manifested in the policy of mercantilism. This policy and the ideas behind it will be discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

<sup>11</sup>Beer, The Origins of the Colonial System, p. 172.

tobacco entering England was Spanish, James attempted to prohibit the trade rather than to regulate it. His views on the evils of tobacco are so well known as not to bear repetition and the duties reflect, in part, his hostile attitude. In 1604 the duty on tobacco was 2d. a pound, to this James added a new imposition of 6s. and 8d. a pound with the avowed purpose of checking the importation of the drug or at least ensuring that the Crown benefitted from its use. However the farmers (then Thomas Lane and Philip Bold) complained that the duties were so high that they could not be collected and petitioned to surrender their lease unless a reduction in the rate was made.<sup>12</sup> In July 1608 it was reduced to one shilling a pound.<sup>13</sup> In 1615 it was doubled to make the total duties payable equivalent to two shillings a pound. However on the eve of the abolition of the exemptions to Virginia tobacco, the duty was halved. As a result of mounting pressure from the traders to Virginia and Bermuda, the

<sup>12</sup>Dietz, English Public Finance, p. 350.

<sup>13</sup>Beer, The Origins of the Colonial System, pp. 108-109. The duties on beaverskins and otterskins imported from Virginia remained static throughout the period. For the former it was 5% customs and 5% impost and the latter paid only the 5% custom. The average price of beaverskins was 5s. a pelt and that of otterskins 2s. a pelt. Public Record Office Exchequer Kings Remembrancer Port Books E190/38/5. There was a suggestion in the 1640's that all goods from Virginia with the exception of tobacco should be allowed to enter custom-free. It was hoped that this would encourage the shipment of other commodities and reduce the unwise reliance on tobacco. However, the suggestion was not acted upon. Force, Peter, Tracts and other Papers, (New York, 1947), first published, 1884, III, No. XIII p. 15.

duty was cut in 1623 to a total of 9d. (a custom of 3d. and an imposition of 6d.). The operation of this duty is revealed in the Port Books. For example on April 22 1628 John Barrett imported two barrels of Virginia tobacco containing 132 pounds in the Arke of Weymouth. He was charged a custom of £1.13s. and an imposition of £3.6s.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in the same year, in the Elizabeth of London, Peter Sherowe received 480 pounds of Virginia tobacco in three hogsheads and paid £6.9.6d. in customs and double that amount in impost.<sup>15</sup>

The duty was reduced again in 1529 by royal proclamation. It was set at 3d. a pound for tobacco from Virginia and Bermuda which sum included both impost and custom.<sup>16</sup> However, this low rate was in operation for only two years. The king and council in England were becoming disturbed by the total reliance on tobacco by the colonists of Virginia, Bermuda and the Caribbean Islands, to the neglect of other crops: 'our foreign plantations lingering only on tobacco are in danger to be ruined, the bodies and manners of the people of this country to be corrupted and the wealth of the Kingdom to be exhausted by so useless a weed as tobacco.'<sup>17</sup> There

<sup>14</sup> Exchequer, Kings Remembrancer, Port Books. E190/874/5 f. 17v.

<sup>15</sup> Exchequer, Kings Remembrancer, Port Books. E190/947/1 f. 7v.

<sup>16</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1629-1631, (London, 1860), p. 59.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 475.

were less altruistic motives behind the increase. Charles had dispensed with the services of Parliament in 1629 and needed to use all other sources of revenue to the fullest. During the decade of the 1630's, the money raised from the impost and customs duties on tobacco was used for a variety of purposes. In March 1631 Sir John Harvey, on his appointment as governor of Virginia, was allowed £500 for transportation and £1,000 a year for entertainment out of the duties on tobacco.<sup>18</sup> At least three of the king's relatives were granted pensions from the tobacco customs; the Prince Palatine received £11,200 a year, Prince Robert a grant of £2,400 and the Princess Elizabeth £480 a year.<sup>19</sup> There were, therefore, pressing reasons for the increase. From March 1st, 1631 Virginia tobacco was to pay 3d. a pound custom and 6d. a pound impost.<sup>20</sup> As a result of over-production, there was a fall in the price of tobacco at the time of this increase and the planters and merchants found it oppressive. One group of planters petitioned the Crown that they might be allowed a reduction in the duties on tobacco they brought in to England in

<sup>18</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, Addenda, 1574-1674, (London, 1893), p. 72.

<sup>19</sup> Harleian Manuscript No. 1012, ff. 41, 57.

<sup>20</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631, p. 522.

the year 1631. They were called before the Lord High Treasurer who ordered that one third of the tobacco should be custom-free and the rest should pay a combined duty of 4d. a pound.<sup>21</sup> The king was receptive to the pleas of merchants and planters. Early in 1632 the duty was reduced to 2d. a pound for custom and the same for impost on tobacco from Virginia and the Bermudas. It is interesting to observe that for the first time a distinction was made between plantation tobacco brought in by Englishmen and that imported by foreigners. The latter were to pay considerably more in duties.<sup>22</sup>

In the years 1640 to 1644 there was some confusion about the duties on tobacco. The farmers of the tobacco custom seem to have been charging the old rates laid down by James I in 1619 (custom at 6d. a pound and impost 6d. a pound). The merchants, shippers and planters engaged in the colonial trade petitioned against these unfair exactions.<sup>23</sup> Their case was taken up by the House of Commons

<sup>21</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, (London, 1908), I, 164.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-175. Throughout the decade of the 1630's tobacco from the Caribbean Islands paid a higher duty. In 1631 this was 3d. a pound for custom and the same for impost. James Williamson ventures an explanation for this. He argues that Virginia and Bermuda persistently claimed a privileged position as against the colonies which had been established later. In the Caribbean the cost of production was probably lower or the quality of the product higher. In addition the Earl of Carlisle, Chief Investor in the Barbados and the Leeward Islands, was also the recipient of the customs duties and would want them fixed at as high a rate as the trade would bear. The Caribee Islands Under the Proprietary Patents, (London, 1926), pp. 99-100.

<sup>23</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, 103-104.



as part of their wider attack on Charles I and his advisors.

In 1641 John Pym was careful to stress the illegality of levying customs duties by means of a royal proclamation instead of a parliamentary grant:

Since the breach of the last parliament, his Majesty hath, by a new booke of rates, very much increased the burden upon merchandise; and now tonnage and poundage, old and new impositions, are all taken by prerogative, without any grant in parliament or authoritie of law, as we conceive, from whence divers inconveniences and mischiefs are produced . . . especially they have been insupportable to the poor plantations . . . the adventurers in this noble work have for the most part no other support but tobacco, upon which such a heavie rate is set, that the king receives twice as much as the true value of the commodity to the owner.<sup>24</sup>

Lord Goring attempted to justify the exactions, calling on precedent, but, not surprisingly, he failed to satisfy the House of Commons.<sup>25</sup> The house held an enquiry into the duties on tobacco and established to their satisfaction that the rates were 'greater and higher than it will now bear in regard to the disturbance of trade in foreign parts, and present distraction of this kingdon.' The rate was fixed in December 1643 at 2s. a

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 97.

<sup>25</sup>Notestein, Wallace, ed., The Journal of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1923), p. 311.

pound for foreign tobacco and 1d. for plantation tobacco.<sup>26</sup>

However, the mounting cost of conducting the Civil War forced parliament in 1649 to increase the rate to 4d. a pound for Virginia tobacco.<sup>27</sup> In response to complaints by the Virginia

Planters, the duty was cut to 2d. a pound in November 1653.<sup>28</sup>

It was further reduced to 1d. a pound in 1656, at which rate it remained until the Restoration.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the period there was a constant attempt by the merchants to evade the customs duties and to defraud the government of its just revenue. To some extent, this attempt is bound up with the constitutional quarrel between king and parliament. The attitude expressed by John Pym was not unique. In 1628 parliament resolved that the collection of customs and imposts was illegal unless sanctioned by itself. The merchants took this as an opportunity to refuse to pay the duties. Their goods were detained until the duties were paid and, in some cases, those who still refused were imprisoned.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes the merchants were a

<sup>26</sup>Firth, Charles and R.S. Rait, eds., Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 3 vols., (London, 1911), 1, 394-195.

<sup>27</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, 1, 212.

<sup>28</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, 1, 233. For details of the complaints see British Museum. Additional Manuscript No. 11411 f. 19.

<sup>29</sup>MacInnes, The Early English Tobacco Trade, (London, 1926), p. 161. For a summary of the dues on tobacco in the period see Appendix N.

<sup>30</sup>Scott, William R., The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720 (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1912,) 1, 191.

little more discreet in defrauding the government. In 1646, Thomas Weston, a merchant, brought into Bristol several hogsheads of tobacco and deposited some of them with the officers of the customs house as security for the payment of £60 due for custom on all the tobacco. The officers put a lock on the goods but it was taken off and the tobacco carried away. It was later found in the hands of another merchant, John Wright.<sup>31</sup> It was not unusual for merchants to change the marks on a cargo for their own benefit. One witness in the Bristol Admiralty Court said that he had seen a certain Roger Kennis take a roll of tobacco, remove the name of the merchant to whom it was consigned and mark the roll with a bunch of grapes, the general mark of the whole cargo.<sup>32</sup> Much illicit traffic was carried on with the complicity of the customs officials, whose meagre remuneration made them more ready to accept bribes. Much tobacco was run ashore at lonely quays and wharfs but a considerable amount was landed very close to the customs house of a port. Oppenheim estimated that, at certain times, the king was defrauded of up to 75% of his customs.<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>31</sup>Nott, Helena E., ed., The Deposition Books of Bristol, 1643-1647, Publications of the Bristol Record Society No. 6, (Bristol, 1935), pp. 134-135.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 191-192

<sup>33</sup>Oppenheim, M., A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy, 1509-1660, (London, 1896), p. 201.

government was fully aware of the problem and in the late 1620's instituted a system of informers. In the year beginning Michaelmas 1627 the Exchequer Court dealt with eleven cases concerned with the smuggling of tobacco into London alone. This involved a total of 2,547 pounds appraised at £809.5.6d.<sup>34</sup> However, this system did little to eradicate the problem. In the 1630's patents were issued to a number of officials to discover concealed customs and other duties for tobacco detained from the Crown.<sup>35</sup> The problem was so widespread that it was feasible for the king, in allowing two of his subjects pensions, to state that part of this should be paid from a quarter of the money gathered for offences committed concerning tobacco.<sup>36</sup> The Virginians themselves were fully aware of the magnitude of the fraudulent dealings in tobacco and suggested various remedies. The most popular of these was the establishment of a customs house in the colony where duties on tobacco could be paid before it left Virginia. Richard Kemp maintained in 1636 that:

<sup>34</sup>Williams, Neville, 'England's Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography vol. 65, No. 4 (October 1957), pp. 410-411.

<sup>35</sup>Harleian Manuscript No. 1012, f. 14v.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., f. 28v.

the seamen who are here the greatest merchants have ready ways for conveyance of their goods custom free . . . yet if the third were embezzled the customs might reach to £2,000 yearly. If the king had a custom house here with a good allowance to the customer it would quicken the trade, encourage the building of shipping here and increase the king's profit for they need only revive the old order that the commodities of the country should be brought to three stories, it were then impossible to defeat the king of 1d. of his customs here discharged . . .<sup>37</sup>

The project was revived in 1644 when a commission was granted to Leonard Calvert, Governor of Maryland, to discuss with the Virginians the possibility of the payment of customs in the colony.<sup>38</sup> However, in practise it proved impossible to do this. As noted in a previous chapter, storehouses in the colony had been unpopular with both planters and merchants and the English government feared, once the customs had been paid in the colony, the tobacco would be transported to ports outside England. The problem of avoidance of customs duties both by direct defrauding and by smuggling remained unresolved in the period 1606 to 1660. The government realised it could never hope to eradicate smuggling and was content with half measures as long as the size of the customs revenue did not diminish and the practise of evasion show a corresponding increase.

<sup>37</sup>Public Record Office, Colonial Office. General. C.O.I./11, 9.

<sup>38</sup>Public Record Office. Crown Office. Warrants for the Privy Seal. 1642-1646. IND 4210, p. 80.

From the discussion of rates levied on tobacco, it can be seen that after the mid-1620's, the rates on foreign tobacco were often considerably higher than on that grown in the English plantations. This is a reflection of the policy of mercantilism which sought to encourage colonial produce and to lessen the reliance of England on imports of commodities from other nations. At certain times English duties on foreign tobacco were so high that they were virtually a prohibition placing such a leaf, usually Spanish, in the class of costly luxuries. Periodically, it was felt that prohibitive customs duties alone were not sufficient to restrict the import of foreign tobacco and promote that of the colonies. Therefore, the high duties were supplemented by proclamations which forbade all importation of foreign tobacco. The first of these was issued by James I in 1620. He felt that this had been ignored and he was forced to reiterate it several times.<sup>39</sup> Severe penalties were laid down for violation. However Charles I had to repeat the proclamations of his father as they were still being ignored. Spanish tobacco was regarded as being far superior to that grown in the colonies. Hall goes so far as to say that the importation of plantation tobacco alone had the effect of 'probably increasing

<sup>39</sup>British Museum. Additional Manuscript 12496, f. 451.

the death rate and pleasing none but a few interested citizens.'<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly there were still those who were prepared to pay the extra cost and risk breaking the law to obtain Spanish tobacco, a fact recognised by Charles I in the preamble to his proclamation of 1626. 'Tobacco of the colonies is such that the subjects can hardly be enforced to forsake the Spanish tobacco.' In view of this he did allow some small quantity of foreign tobacco to enter; an amount not exceeding 50,000 pounds. This was to be distributed by his own commissioners and a system of seals was instituted to distinguish Spanish, Virginia, Bermudan and Caribbean tobacco. 'For that of Virginia and the Somers Islands a seal engraven with our arms, lion and a crown for the other English Plantations, crown and portcullice for foreign tobacco.'<sup>41</sup> This proclamation was repeated later in 1626, in 1627 1628, 1631 and 1637.<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to say whether these proclamations and the increased duties had the desired effect. Hall maintains that at least 38,000 pounds in excess of the permitted amounts of Spanish tobacco were imported in 1626-1627.<sup>43</sup> In his

<sup>40</sup>Hall, Hubert, A History of the Customs Revenue in England, 4 vols., (London, 1885), I, 177.

<sup>41</sup>British Museum. Harlieian Manuscript 1238, ff. 13-15.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., ff. 16-18. Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1634-1635, (London, 1863), p. 573.

<sup>43</sup>Hall, History of the Customs Revenue, I, 178.

analysis of the Port Book covering the years 1626-1628 (EI90/32/8), Neville Williams calculates that fifteen vessels arrived from the colonies (eleven from Virginia, three from Bermuda and one from the West Indies) and fifty came in with Spanish tobacco.<sup>44</sup> This would suggest that there was still plenty of scope for importing leaf from Spain. The official customs figures present a different picture, however. In 1619, before restrictions were imposed, the total value of customs on imported Spanish tobacco was £3,443.4.0d. but only £1,096.11.3d. for Virginian at the same rate.<sup>45</sup> However, the Virginian tobacco trade was still in an infant stage. In 1640, 994,854 pounds of Virginia tobacco were imported by denizens, 66,895 pounds from the Barbados, 138,973 pounds from St. Christophers and only 6,379 from Spain.<sup>46</sup> This was suggest that the prohibition did serve to curb the imports from Spain but how much this was due to the restrictions and how much to the increased production in Virginia and the resultant low prices, is uncertain. Probably the drinkers discovered that plantation tobacco was not that bad after all.

In addition to prohibiting inports of foreign tobacco, the government also sought to curb the growth of the weed in England.

<sup>44</sup>Williams, 'England's Tobacco Trade,' p.417.

<sup>45</sup>Public Record Office. Kings Remembrancer, Customs Accounts. Imports of Tobacco 1619. E122/91/10.

<sup>46</sup>British Museum Additional Manuscript, 35865, f. 248.



Colonies opened up the possibility of providing a system of supply within a self-contained Empire. To make the colonies the complement of the mother country the latter guaranteed their products a preferential or even a monopolistic position in her markets. Heckscher quotes the example of tobacco illustrating an extreme case of creation of a colonial monopoly.<sup>47</sup> Obviously if sufficient was grown at home, colonial trade and the customs revenue from it would suffer. The first proclamation forbidding the planting of tobacco in England was issued in December 1619 largely as a result of pressure from the members of the Virginia Company, who sought some concessions to balance the payment of import duties. The proclamation stated that 'English tobacco is more crude, poisonous and dangerous for the bodies and healths of our subjects than what comes from hotter climates; the colonies of Virginia and the Somers Islands are proper and natural climates for that plant, and receive much comfort by the importation of it into this kingdom and it tends to the increase of our custom.'<sup>48</sup> During the rest of the period under review, almost every act and proclamation concerning tobacco reiterated the ban on planting in

<sup>47</sup>Heckscher, Eli, Mercantilism, trans. Mendel Shapiro, 2 vols, (London, 1955), 1st ed., 1931.

<sup>48</sup>Calender of State Papers, Colonial, Addenda, p. 58. Obviously the dangers to health in smoking are not a recent discovery.

England. This in itself is a reflection of the difficulties faced when it came to putting the law into operation. A number of petitions from colonial planters also testify to this. One group maintained in 1653 that they 'will be forced to desert the plantation unless trade improves, this can be done by forbidding the planting of tobacco in England.'<sup>49</sup> Two years later another petition stated that notwithstanding the publication of the prohibition against the planting of tobacco 'we find divers refractory and rebellious persons about Winchcombe, Cheltnam and the places adjacent who still continue their resolution of planting and are preparing their grounds . . .'<sup>50</sup> The difficulty of enforcement stemmed from the fact that in several counties tobacco was grown with much success and was often of a high quality. Not everyone was convinced of the wisdom of the policy of importing the weed from Virginia and the other colonies only. Even Thomas Mun suggested employing the waste ground in England to plant crops which has to be imported, including tobacco.<sup>51</sup> Officials charged with the task of

<sup>49</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, 1578-1660, p. 403.

<sup>50</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, p. 423-424. For the other petitions see Ibid. pp. 417, 422, 467.

<sup>51</sup> Mun, Thomas, England's Treasure by Foreign Trade or the Ballance of Foreign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure (1664), reprinted in McCulloch, Early English Tracts on Commerce, (Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 127.

upholding the law found much difficulty in destroying crops of tobacco. Perhaps the experiences of one such official, Joseph Beaven, are typical:

Our hopeful proceedings are clouded for this morning I got together 36 horse and went to Cheltenham early and found an armed multitude guarding the tobacco field. We broke through them and went into the town, but found no peace officer but a rabble of men and women calling for blood for the tobacco so that had there been any action blood would have been spilt. The soldiers stood firm and with cocked pistols, bade the multitude disperse, but they would not, and 200 more come from Winchcombe.

The soldiers say if this be suffered farewell all levees and taxes, and farewell to the Virginia trade for tobacco.<sup>52</sup>

The last paragraph expresses a somewhat exaggerated view of the dangers to colonial tobacco from the English crop. Although it was difficult to enforce the ban on home cultivation, there is no reason to think that this would ever have become a serious threat to the Virginian trade.

A further facet of government policy regarding the ships that docked from Virginia, was control of the ports of entry. It was thought that a stricter watch on the tobacco entering England would be possible and the law prohibiting Spanish tobacco more easily enforced if all ships bringing in the weed docked at one place. As noted in an earlier chapter, for much of the sixteenth and seven-

<sup>52</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum, 1658-59, (1965), London 1883, pp. 104-105.

teenth centuries, London dealt with most of the English overseas trade to the detriment of the outports which suffered a severe decline at this time. The whole national system of distribution of commodities was based on the principle that London should be the chief port for export and trade.<sup>53</sup> It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that the outports began to show signs of revival, a process begun towards the end of the period under review. However, legislative control of entry did not begin until 1626. Up until then very few vessels that brought in goods from Virginia landed outside of London. The total number traced is four, the Flying Horse which entered Portsmouth in 1615, the Marygold into Southampton in 1619, the William into Bristol in 1623 and the Katherine into Poole in 1625.<sup>54</sup> The owners of commodities on board Virginia ships thought rightly that they would find a better market in London for their goods which were, essentially, semi-luxuries. There is some evidence that the outports were discriminated against by government officials anxious to divert as much trade as possible to London. In 1624 the Society of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol appointed a committee to complain to

<sup>53</sup>Scott, Joint Stock Companies, p. 232.

<sup>54</sup>See Appendix. O.

the King's Commissioners about the extortionate demands made by the customs house officials. They did achieve some reduction in these demands.<sup>55</sup> However, the authorities in the outports in general, and the Western Ports in particular, observing the ever-increasing tobacco trade from Virginia, were anxious to obtain some share of this trade for their own ports. In 1625 the Mayor and Burgesses of Plymouth petitioned the king that they should be given the right of importing all tobacco into England. The government were determined, however, to

<sup>55</sup>Latimer, John, A History of the Society of Merchant Venturers to the City of Bristol (Bristol, 1903), p. 119.

<sup>56</sup>Calender of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1623-1625 (London, 1859), p. 536. The figures for tobacco imports in the years 1625 to 1626 reflect the growing interest. In that year the outports accounted for over one third of the trade whereas in the previous year they had less than one fifth. These figures are taken from the article by Neville Williams, from the customs accounts and the port books he has worked out the proportions of tobacco imported into London and the outports for the years 1621 to 1631. For the growth of Virginia and Bermuda the figures (in pounds) are as follows:-

1621-1622	London, 59,419.	Outports, 2,218.
1622-1623	London, 119,429.	Outports, 15,178.
1623-1624	London, 187,346.	Outports, 15,616.
1624-1625	London, 111,100.	Outports, 20,708.
1625-1626	London, 213,286.	Outports, 119,816.
1626-1627	London, 335,285	Outports, 41,573.
1627-1628	London, 140,084.	Outports, 132,787.
1628-1629	London, 89,045.	Outports, 89,670.
1629-1630	London, 360,615.	Outports, 97,536.
1630-1631	London, 209,749.	Outports, 62,546.

Williams 'England's Tobacco Trade,' p. 419-420.

control the trade by channelling it into London, and in 1626 Charles I issued a series of proclamations ordering all tobacco to be imported into London alone.<sup>57</sup> This was repeated in 1628 and in 1631.<sup>58</sup> There is little evidence to suggest that these proclamations were enforced fully. In fact most traders chose to ignore them or to circumvent them. Sometimes a ship would put into a western port on account of a leak or the pretence of one, and sought for permission to land their cargoes. In January 1632 John Delbridge, a merchant of Barnstable who had been one of the most active participants in the trade to Virginia for a number of years, petitioned the Privy Council. He maintained that by reason of a leak and sickness amongst the crew, the owners would not take the risk of allowing the ship to continue her voyage to London. Much of the tobacco on board was already damaged by water and further harm would be done if it was kept on the ship. He asked that he might be allowed to land his cargo at Barnstable.<sup>59</sup> Such permission was granted when good reason could be shown and sometimes the importers were allowed to dispose of their goods to local licensed dealers, but this was not always the case. In 1631 a ship which was forced, on account of leaks, to land her cargo

<sup>57</sup>Harleian Manuscript 1238, f. 13.

<sup>58</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631, p. 475

<sup>59</sup>C.O.I. vol. VI No. 37.

at Barnstable was allowed to do so but the Privy Council ordered that the tobacco must not be sold locally but was to be brought to London overland to be entered into the king's storehouse.<sup>60</sup> However, when the excuses were patently false, the importers were ordered to proceed directly to London without breaking bulk. In 1631 the Privy Council sent a letter to Sir James Bagg, Vice Admiral of Devon, and ordered him to send a ship from Ilfracombe to London. If the master refused, Bagg was to take over the ship, put on a crew and then send it to London.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the captains of the royal ships in the Downs were ordered to ensure that all Virginia ships first landed their cargoes at the capital.<sup>62</sup> In the years 1626 to 1631, inclusive, there is a great increase in the number of ships landing Virginian tobacco at the outports; a total of thirty five in all.<sup>63</sup> The accounts of the customs officials fully testify to the share of the outports in the trade during these years. In the Port Book of 1626 to 1628, covering the New Impositions

<sup>60</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 161-162.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., I, 160-161.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., I, 162.

<sup>63</sup>See Appendix O for details of the ships. There were three in 1626, 9 in 1627, 6 in 1628, 5 in 1629, 6 in 1630 and 5 in 1631.

on tobacco, Neville Williams has estimated that 24% of the tobacco was landed at ports other than London. Of this most came into Southampton (56,000 pounds), followed by Plymouth (in excess of 26,000 pounds) and Dover (18,000 pounds). The total receipts for Virginia tobacco in London were £6,329.19.0. (253,198 pounds) and for the outports £2,788.8.0. (116,056 pounds).<sup>64</sup> The account of John Jacobs, collector of the special impositions on tobacco, shows that for the year September 29 1628 to September 29 1629 of the total of £450.11.0. collected on the products of Bermuda and Virginia, £361.5.0. was paid at London and £89.6.0. at the outports.<sup>65</sup> It seems that the customs officials were also content to ignore the proclamations. There is some evidence that the officials, in return for a heavy bribe, would let the vessels unlade at one of the outports, ' . . . no matter what the prohibition might be provided the proper bribes were forthcoming, the laws could be ignored.'<sup>66</sup>

As a result of blatant evasion and the complicity of the customs officials, the government began to realise that it was impossible to force merchants to land all tobacco at London. In 1632 the Privy Council issued an open warrant allowing tobacco to be landed at any

<sup>64</sup>Williams, 'England's Tobacco Trade,' pp. 417-418.

<sup>65</sup>Public Record Office. Customs Accounts. Collectors of New Impositions. A.O.1/741/581.

<sup>66</sup>MacInnes, Early English Tobacco Trade, p. 57



port where there was a customs house.<sup>67</sup> As a result of this relaxation of policy there was an increase in the number of vessels discharging tobacco at the outports. Between the years 1632 to 1636 inclusive, the figure was eighteen ships.<sup>68</sup> However, the government vacillated during the decade of the 1630's, the order being reimposed in March 1637.<sup>68</sup> There was then a repetition of the events of the years 1626 to 1632. In 1638 William Hill, master of the Elizabeth of London, related his experience whilst trying to land tobacco at Southampton, 'upon . . . arrival at the Isle of Wight being destitute of victual and being altogether ignorant of the King's Proclamation for landing tobacco at London . . .' When he heard of the proclamation, he tried to return the tobacco to the ship but it was seized by the Searchers and taken into custody by them. He asked that it might be restored to him.<sup>70</sup> However, there was a decrease in the number of ships entering the outports with tobacco in the years 1637 and 1638. In the former years all tobacco from Virginia seems to have been landed in London

<sup>67</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 174-175. This was repeated on April 28 1633, Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634, (London, 1863), p. 33.

<sup>68</sup>For details of these vessels see Appendix N.

<sup>69</sup>Harleian Manuscript 1238, f. 16.

<sup>70</sup>Anderson, R.C., ed., The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644 publications of the Southampton Record Society, (Southampton, 1929-1936, III, 59-60.

and in 1638 only three ships landed the commodity at other ports. Of course, this does not take into account any tobacco that was smuggled into England. In 1638 the farmers of the customs acknowledged that, because of extensive smuggling, it was impossible for them to enforce the law and petitioned that Bristol and two other ports should be thrown open. The following year this was granted and tobacco was allowed to enter at Bristol, Dartmouth, Plymouth and Southampton.<sup>71</sup> It is interesting to note that after 1639 there was a revival in the manufacture of clay pipes in Bristol; the following year comes the first mention in the Bristol Burgess List of a tobacco pipe maker, William Lewis.<sup>72</sup> The merchants still remained unsatisfied. They wished to import tobacco into any port in England that was convenient for them. In 1641 the merchants, ship owners, planters and adventurers to America petitioned that they should be allowed this.<sup>73</sup> During the period of the Civil War and the dislocation of trade which accompanied it, many merchants regarded London as a dangerous place to import goods. A Bristol seaman, William Palmer, summed up their feelings. He said he would not land his cargo at the capital because 'the city had so

<sup>71</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 249-150.

<sup>72</sup>Little, Bryan, The City and County of Bristol, (London, 1954), p. 116.

<sup>73</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, 103-104.

highly displeased the King's Majesty that he feared some mischief would befall them.' He put in at Padstow, because the company had heard from a fishing boat that it was loyal to the king.<sup>74</sup> Hence there was a rise in the use of the outports to discharge tobacco. Some figures for customs on tobacco for the early years of the 1640's are extant. These show that in the year 1641-1642, no fewer than eleven of the outports imported tobacco.<sup>75</sup> By the 1650's therefore, it became a normal practise for tobacco to be landed at any port that the merchants thought most convenient.<sup>76</sup> It was during this decade that Bristol became the chief outport and even challenged London for total supremacy in the Virginia trade. Of the 149 entering all ports in England in 1650 to 1660 inclusive, 25 came into Bristol and 100 came into London.<sup>77</sup>

Undoubtedly the regulation on incoming colonial trade which caused the most dislike and evasion was that which forbade the merchants

<sup>74</sup>Nott, Examinations and Depositions, p. 64.

<sup>75</sup>Public Record Office. Kings Remembrancer, Customs Accounts. Account of the Charge of Customs and Imposts created by several Acts of Parliament. 1641-1642. E122/215/5. The total of £1,215.2.1½d. breaks down to Dover, £900.16.7½d. Exeter, £111.1.2d. Bristol, £76.6.8d. Barnstable, £42.10.0d. Bridgewater, £28.10.0d. Sandwich, £20.1.0d. Poole, £11.13.4d. Yarmouth, £9.3.4d. Weymouth, £7.10.0d. Liverpool, £4.6.8d. Southampton, £4.2.10d. The inclusion of Liverpool and Yarmouth in this list might suggest that the figures did include coastal shipments which will be studied in more detail in the following chapter.

<sup>76</sup>See Appendix O.

<sup>77</sup>See Appendix O.

to land goods from Virginia in countries other than England. This policy is inextricably linked with the theories of mercantilism. If the growth of the colonies was not brought into England, the mother country would not reap the full benefit; among other losses there would be a reduction in the revenue from customs duties. There were a number of reasons which prompted merchants to ship their tobacco to the Continent and especially to Holland or to Ireland. Firstly they wished to avoid English customs duties; it is no coincidence that the first instance of Virginia tobacco being shipped abroad immediately follows the imposition of duties on that commodity. Holland was committed to a policy of very low tariffs. In 1621 the duty on tobacco was six stivers (7d.) a pound. The duty in England in the same year was one shilling a pound. Several of the economic commentators of the day remarked on the discrepancy between English and Dutch duties. In 1641 Lewes Roberts suggested ways of improving English trade by reducing the heavy duties on goods. He argued that in Holland the customs were very small and foreign merchants were attracted by them. He goes on to illustrate his argument. Two ships of 200 tons each arrived in Europe laden with 200 tons of tobacco from the English colonies. In England the customs on the tobacco will amount to £10,000 whereas in Holland it would be charged

only £120.<sup>78</sup> Undoubtedly Roberts is exaggerating but the point is well made. However, it was not only the customs duties which attracted English merchants to foreign ports. By 1654 the duty of one stiver a pound in Holland was only marginally smaller than the English duty of 2d. a pound. Throughout the latter decades of the period there was a constant complaint of the low prices fetched by tobacco in England.<sup>79</sup> The government did realise that this was one reason for the colonists sending tobacco directly to Holland and often an order forbidding this practice was coupled with an investigation into the price fetched by tobacco in England.<sup>80</sup> It was recognised that low prices were caused by over-production and measures were instituted by the authorities in both England and Virginia in the hope of ameliorating the problem. However, the planters were adamant in their refusal to diversify their crops. Allied to this problem was the fact that before the middle of the seventeenth century the

<sup>78</sup> Roberts, Lewes, The Treasure of Traffike, or a Discourse on Foreign Trade (1641) Reprinted in McCulloch, Early English Tracts on Commerce, pp. 90-91.

<sup>79</sup> Holmes, George K., ed., The Tobacco Crop of the United States, 1612-1911, (United States Department of Agriculture Bureau of Statistics Circular No. 33, Washington D.C., 1912, p. 6. Throughout the period there was a steady fall in the price of tobacco. In 1619 it fetched 10s. a pound and by 1637 it had fallen to 4d. a pound.

<sup>80</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 225-227.

volume of tobacco production in Virginia and Maryland began to exceed the rate of consumption in England. Thus, Holland in particular was an attractive market, offering a good price for tobacco and it prevented a serious glut on the English market. In addition the lower grades of tobacco found a market on the continent. If they had not been sold, they would have remained in the hands of the planters. For these reasons, coupled with the lower customs duties for the greater part of the period, English merchants were prepared to ship their tobacco to the Continent and to Ireland.

The first trade from Virginia directly to Holland was undertaken by the Virginia Company. To avoid paying the customs duties, the members resolved in July 1620 that no tobacco should be brought into England in that year but should be sent to Flushing, Middleburg or any other Dutch port. A committee was appointed to see to this and to provide a magazine or storehouse in these ports and to consider the best means to sell tobacco at the most profitable rates.<sup>81</sup> For example, the committee agreed with Middleburg to land tobacco there and to pay dues of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound.<sup>82</sup> Ships were ordered to take their cargoes to these ports where company agents such as Arthur Swayne at Flushing would deal with the tobacco. This practise was

<sup>81</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, I, 406.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., I, 425.

condemned by the Crown which was deprived of the customs revenue on the tobacco. On October 15th 1621 there was read out at the Court of the company a complaint from some of the lords of the Privy Council about the commodities that the company had sent to Amsterdam.<sup>83</sup>

This was followed nine days later by a royal proclamation stating that 'from henceforth all tobacco and other commodities whatsoever to be brought and traded from the aforesaid plantation (Virginia) shall not be carried into any foreign port until the same hath first been landed here and his Majesty's custom payed.'<sup>84</sup> The company replied that they could not do this without 'falling into very great inconveniences' and drew up their reasons. They asserted that English subjects generally enjoyed freedom in the carrying trade and that restrictions had not been placed on the Muscovy Company or upon any other 'ancient' corporation. In any case, the company had no authority to compel the private merchants to ship their tobacco to England alone.<sup>85</sup> The proclamation was disobeyed and had to be repeated on March 4th 1622.<sup>86</sup> It seems that the second order was also ignored, for in October 1622 the company was still sending tobacco to Middleburg.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., I, 526.

<sup>84</sup>Public Record Office. Colonial Office. Entry Book of Letters, Commissions, Instructions, Charters, Warrants, Patents, Grants etc., 1606-1662. C.O.5/1354, ff. 201-201v.

<sup>85</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, I, 526-529.

<sup>86</sup>Entry Book of Letters etc., C.O.5 1354 f. 203.

<sup>87</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, II, 108.

The dispute dragged on for several months and became tied up with the wider debate on the future of the Virginia Company. The latter were prepared to bring tobacco into the country and to pay the customs if they were granted the sole right of importation as the Spanish King had done with the produce of his colonies. They also regarded the custom duty of one shilling a pound to be high since the average price of tobacco was two shillings a pound. Eventually, in March 1623, it was agreed to the satisfaction of both parties that all tobacco from Virginia and the Bermudas was to be brought into England and would pay a duty of 9d. a pound. In addition Virginian tobacco would have a virtual monopoly of the home market except, as has been seen, for a limited quantity of Spanish tobacco.<sup>88</sup>

At the same time the Virginia Company was engaged in a direct trade with Ireland. The ships landed at such ports as Kinsale from whence a profitable trade grew up. The company even appointed a factor to deal with the goods that were discharged in Ireland.<sup>89</sup> The government in England did not concern themselves so much with this trade. Technically Ireland was within the royal dominions and therefore was subject to customs duties, which would go to the Crown.

<sup>88</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Dissolution of the Virginia Company, (New York, 1923), p. 250.

<sup>89</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, II, 169.



However, there is a strong suspicion that part of the attraction of trade with Ireland was the great probability of avoidance of duties through the laxer administration. Indeed the members of the Company themselves could not see why the Crown distinguished between trade to Holland and trade to Ireland. Part of their argument against the 1621 proclamation was that they had contracted to send tobacco to Ireland and had not been prevented from doing so.<sup>90</sup>

The contract concluded in 1623 between the government and the company was largely nullified by the dissolution of the Virginia Company in the following year. The government now had the far more difficult task of dealing with the ever-increasing numbers of private traders who persistently sent their tobacco to the Continent. The authorities used two methods to prevent this practise, the exaction of bonds from colonial shippers for compliance with the regulations and the establishment of a naval patrol in the Channel to supervise the movements of incoming vessels. Bonds were taken either at the port of departure or in Virginia. It is uncertain when they were first required from ships leaving the colony but presumably it was soon after the conclusion of the contract between the Crown and the company. The first record of the operation of bonds is in a letter from Governor Francis West and the council to England in 1628.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, I, 528.

<sup>91</sup>Sainsbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1628,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 7 (1899-1900), p. 258.

However, the regulations do not appear to have been carried out with much success. Throughout the 1630's the government in England sent over a series of complaints. Typical of these is the one of July 1634 in which the Privy Council state that they have been informed that the orders concerning bonds have not been put into operation; some ships having gone directly to Holland. 'Wee cannot but greatly merveyle at youre neglect especially in a matter of so great consequence.'<sup>92</sup> The authorities agreed in theory with the policy of the English government but found it difficult to put into practice. They therefore suggested that the bonds should be extracted in England before the ships departed for the colony.<sup>93</sup> Governor Harvey was prepared to allow only those who had posted such bonds to trade in Virginia.<sup>94</sup> The first instance of bonds being taken in London is in late 1634 when Thomas Burley, master of the John and Dorothy entered into a bond of £1,000 with the farmers of the custom house in London not to break bulk until the return of the ship to England.<sup>95</sup> Within a few months it became common practice for merchants to apply for a

<sup>92</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 203.

<sup>93</sup> McIlwaine, H.R. and J.P. Kennedy, Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, (Richmond, 1905), I, 123-124.

<sup>94</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1632-1634,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 8 (July, 1900-April, 1901), p. 155.

<sup>95</sup> Shilton, Dorothy O., and Richard Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations, 1637-1638, Anglo-American Records Foundation Inc., (London, 1932), no. 136, p. 57.

bond before leaving London and even those merchants resident in Holland who traded with Virginia petitioned for bonds.<sup>96</sup>

However, there were still those merchants who avoided giving bonds and who attempted to land tobacco in Holland. In the 1630's therefore the government ordered the commanders of royal ships in the Channel to keep watch for all vessels coming from Virginia and the other colonies. They were to take bond from the masters of the ships that they would bring their cargoes to London. If the master refused, the commanders were to put some of their own men on the ship in question and bring it up to London. Often such orders were received for specific ships. In 1631 Captain John Mennes received a warrant to stay the America, the Love and the Christopher and Mary until their masters had given the requisite bond.<sup>97</sup> In certain cases the officials had great difficulty in executing such orders. Mennes attempted to put men on the America but was resisted in an 'insolent and rebellious manner'.<sup>98</sup> Some masters and merchants were less direct in the methods they used to transport their goods to the Continent. It

<sup>96</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, p 211. Active commercial relations between Holland and Virginia in the 1630's seem to have been maintained in part by English merchants such as John Constable who lived in the Low Countries. They were allowed to ship goods directly from Holland provided they entered into a bond to bring their tobacco back to England

<sup>97</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1631-1633, p 14

<sup>98</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 186

became quite a common practice for the ships to land at the Isle of Wight. Here another master would be appointed who had not given any security to land in London and who would take the ship to Holland. Alternatively, there developed a system of smuggling to the Continent by transshipment to coasting craft in the ports of the south and west of Ireland.<sup>99</sup> The government was fully aware of these abuses and attempted to prevent them. The Lords of the Admiralty ordered officials to go to the Isle of Wight and to take bonds from the new ships' masters.<sup>100</sup>

Probably the regulations did have the effect of reducing the numbers of ships engaged in this illegal trade; not all merchants could afford to forfeit the £1,000 bond, and many were satisfied with the growing habit of re-exporting tobacco to the Continent. However, neither the authorities in England nor in Virginia could make the system of bonds operate really effectively and the practice of shipping tobacco and other goods to foreign ports was never fully eradicated. There are several references in the Port Books to tobacco being imported from Holland. In 1638 the Unity entered Yarmouth from Flushing with several rolls of Virginia tobacco.<sup>101</sup> In the same year there was a ship

<sup>99</sup> Williamson, The Caribee Islands, p. 101.

<sup>100</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1633-1634, (London, 1863), pp. 555-556.

<sup>101</sup> Public Record Office. King's Remembrancer, Port Books, EI90/490/1, f. 20. I am indebted to A Michell of the University of Cambridge for this reference.

at Cadiz in Spain selling 40,000 pounds of Virginia tobacco.<sup>102</sup> At the same time there was a considerable direct trade between Virginia and Ireland. The system of bonds also operated in this trade but many merchants chose to ignore them. In 1629 41 hogsheads of tobacco were laden aboard the Valentine of London in Virginia, the master was ordered to land them in either Ireland or London, and he discharged them at the former place.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, several hogsheads were landed in Ireland in 1635 off the John and Dorothy despite the fact that she had entered into a bond of £1,000 to land her goods in London.<sup>104</sup>

During the Interregnum there was a relaxation of this policy. Tobacco was shipped directly in English bottoms to the Continent and Ireland. In 1656 tobacco was laden on board the Bristol Merchant in Virginia for the account of Thomas Pengelly. It was to be taken directly to Holland.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, the owners of goods on the Anne in 1654 had bargained with the freighters to have their tobacco brought into Ireland.<sup>106</sup> These practices went on without government interference. In 1657 Captain Willoughby Harman wrote to the Admiralty Commissioners

<sup>102</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1641-1642. H.C.A. 13/57, ff. 110-110v.

<sup>103</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. April 1630-May 1632. H.C.A. 13/49 f. 267.

<sup>104</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1635-1636, f. 260.

<sup>105</sup>Great Yarmouth Borough Record Office. L 13/1. My thanks to D.B. Quinn for this reference.

<sup>106</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1656-1657. H.C.A. 13/71.

and said he had seen a Bristol ship laden with Virginia tobacco and bound for Holland.<sup>107</sup> He did not interfere with this ship. Twenty years previously he would have been ordered to stop the vessel. Probably the government had realised the impossibility of fully preventing the trade to Holland and were content to acknowledge that it existed and would not interfere as long as the tobacco was carried on English vessels for the account of English merchants. Generally, the policy of the Interregnum governments was much more flexible than that of the royal government.

It can be seen that the English government attempted to impose quite extensive regulations on the trade with Virginia and the other American colonies. This was achieved by various methods, customs duties, restriction of trade to London alone and the prevention of direct export to the continent. The attitude expressed in such regulations is a direct result of mercantilist attitudes. It was hoped that the colonies would provide England with alternative sources of supply for essential merchandise, foster the shipping of the nation and increase the amount collected from customs revenue. The policy was not totally without compensation for the merchants engaged in the trade. In return for the restrictions, there were certain concessions, for example the strict control of the quantity of Spanish tobacco imported and the prevention of cultivation in England. However the

<sup>107</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum, 1656-1657  
(London, 1885) Reprinted 1965, p. 339.

merchants still regarded the policy of the government to be weighted against them. Avoidance of the payment of customs duties and bonds, and attempts to land goods at the most convenient port whether it be Bristol or Amsterdam are reflections of this attitude. They were aided by the laxness and dishonesty of many of the customs officials who were prepared to ignore many abuses if the bribe was sufficiently attractive. As a result the Crown was cheated of considerable amounts of revenue, and, at certain times in the period 1606 to 1660, smuggling is thought to have been extensive. It is impossible to calculate the numbers of merchants who ignored or abused these regulations, after all only those who were charged with some offence appear in the records. Certainly the lobby of dissatisfied merchants gained a friendly response from the House of Commons in their struggle with the King and it is interesting to observe that, during the years of the Interregnum, customs duties were reduced and direct trade allowed with the outports and with Holland. Cromwell preferred to regulate trade by means of the 1651 Navigation Act. However, at the same time, restrictions on Spanish and domestic tobacco were still in force. On the other hand, the revenue from customs on tobacco, despite a gradual reduction in the rate, showed an increase throughout the period which might suggest that the majority of those engaged in the trade with Virginia were prepared to comply with the regulations.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RETURN TO ENGLAND.

II MERCHANTS AND CARGOES.



Once the incoming ship had complied with government regulations and the cargo surveyed and rated for customs duties, the goods could be unloaded. The system for dealing with cargoes returning from the colony was relatively simple at the time of the company monopoly of trade since all the goods in a ship belonged to the company alone and there could be no dispute about ownership. As free trade became more extensive, the various steps necessary before a cargo could be sold became correspondingly more complex. The goods had to be unloaded into smaller boats or lighters, carried to the warehouses from whence the merchants to whom they were consigned could arrange for collection or sell their share and allow the buyer to collect the goods personally. During this time the cost of freight of both goods and passengers was paid to the merchants or group of merchants who had freighted the ship. The freighters could then conclude their part of the Charter Party and complete payments to the owners of the ship and to the crew. There were, therefore, many steps to be taken before each trading voyage to Virginia could be said to have finished. Each of these stages could, and often did, give rise to disputes between merchants, shipowners and crews, many of which reached the High Court of Admiralty. These arguments caused considerable delays before the cargo of a ship could be cleared completely and often it was found that, in the meantime, a quantity of the cargo (especially tobacco, a notoriously delicate

commodity) had become rotten which led to even more protracted disputes.

Under the Company, the responsibility for goods coming from Virginia was in the hands of the Deputy Governor. He dealt with the receipt, marketing and storage of the cargoes.<sup>1</sup> However, there was much dissatisfaction expressed about this arrangement. It was felt by several members that there was insufficient check on the activities of the Deputy Governor and during the term of Sir Thomas Smyth as Treasurer, much fraud and dishonesty had occurred. Thus, when Sir Edwin Sandys became Treasurer in 1619 and his supporters gained control of the affairs of the company, more restraints were placed on the activities of the Deputy Governor. In the Orders and Constitutions of 1620, a committee was established which was to have responsibility for incoming cargoes. They, in turn, elected two officers, one of whom was customarily the Husband, to aid and keep a watch on the Deputy Governor. As with supplies being shipped, to Virginia, all accounts and invoices of goods being returned were to be registered in a book which was to be examined by the auditors.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when the George returned from Virginia in March 1620, it was ordered that the Husband should examine her cargo, the freight should be discharged and the wages paid to see what profit

<sup>1</sup>Craven, Wesley Frank, The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624. (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>Kingsbury, Susan M., ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., (Washington D.C., 1906-1935), III, 351.

the company had made on this particular voyage.<sup>3</sup> It appears that the ships weighed anchor in the Channel (often off the Isle of Wight) and awaited instructions from the company as to where to land their cargo.<sup>4</sup>

However, this basically simple procedure under the company did not completely ensure that problems would not arise. These difficulties were caused chiefly by the basic failing of the company, the perennial lack of funds. In May 1620 the Treasurer was directed to discharge the George but this could not be done since the Treasury was empty and therefore the owners of the ship and the sailors could not be paid.<sup>5</sup> Allied to this was the situation faced by the company in June 1623. The owners of the Abigail wanted money for freight in accordance with the Charter Party they had concluded with the company. A committee reported on their request and noted that the ship had returned with less tobacco and sassafras than had been promised and they felt that the company had been cheated. However, the company was forced to reimburse the difference. Part was paid at once and the rest as soon as the money was available.<sup>6</sup>

However, the troubles of the company were minor compared with the

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., I, 624.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I, 503

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., I, 365.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., II, 444-445.

growing pains of the infant free trade to Virginia. Once the cargo of a ship had been examined by the customs officials, it was possible for the freighters to arrange for the goods to be put into a warehouse to which they were carried by a lighter. It was relatively simple to hire a lighterman and it was necessary to unload the cargo as soon as possible to prevent damage. Tobacco, being a delicate commodity, was subject to rapid deterioration. When the John of Mayland arrived at Padstow in 1643 the tobacco on board was dry and in a good condition but it was kept in the hold of the ship for two months where it got wet and was spoiled, resulting in the loss of about 4,000 pounds of tobacco.<sup>7</sup> Some of the ships ran into trouble even before the lightermen had a chance to begin unloading. In 1640 the Charity arrived in the Thames from Virginia and, being unable to find a berth, the master asked if she could be fastened up to the Janson until the tide became higher and she could go further up the river. However, she was prevented from doing so by a sudden storm which caused the line to break and she was driven aground and was 'all broke and split to pieces under water, and made unfit and unserviceable for any employment.' About four hundred hogsheads of tobacco were severely damaged with the result that instead of fetching £10 a hogshead, the tobacco was not worth more than fifteen shillings a hogshead.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Nott, Helena E., ed., The Deposition Books of Bristol, 1643-1647, Publications of the Bristol Record Society, no. 6, (Bristol, 1935), p. 65.

<sup>8</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1640-1641. H.C.A. 13/56, £2,440 - 247.

Damage was done also to the cargo en route from the ship to the warehouse especially if the lighterman proved unreliable as in the case of the man hired to take tobacco from the Rebecca in 1639. He left his lighter unmanned and it was driven onshore by a heavy wind.<sup>9</sup>

The tobacco damage on the Rebecca and the Charity was, however, caused by isolated occurrences. In general the process of transferring the goods from a sea going vessel to a lighter was straightforward and resulted in little damage. The incidence of harm was appreciably higher in transit from Virginia. It was only during the transfer from ship to warehouse that any defects in the cargo were discovered. The most common cause of such damage was leakage in the vessel. Before the leaf was put on board the ships in Virginia, it went through a lengthy process of drying and curing. Subsequent contact with any moisture considerably reduced the quality. At least eight cases in the High Court of Admiralty and one in the Bristol Admiralty Court involving Virginia ships were brought for this reason. As in the case of damage to goods en route to the colony, the freighters alleged that the owners had not ensured that the ship was seaworthy whilst the owners blamed freak storms; the 'weather' clause. Often it was the fault of the seamen who were negligent or who failed to stow the tobacco properly, as on the Eagle in 1653.<sup>10</sup> Or perhaps the sailors had put too small a ballast on

<sup>9</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/101, no. 282.

<sup>10</sup>Public Record Office High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/111, no. 267.

board. Because tobacco was such a light commodity, a fairly heavy ballast was required. The seamen of the Rainbow in 1657 were accused of this. It seems that some of the earth which was used as a ballast had entered the hogsheads.<sup>11</sup> There were other reasons for tobacco arriving in England in a defective condition. It was thought that rats had infiltrated a bale of beaverskins on the Suzanna and eaten away the outermost skins.<sup>12</sup> There were several complaints that the sailors had interfered with a cargo by mixing good tobacco with that of an inferior quality and making it up into rolls in which the bad could not be detected.<sup>13</sup> In some cases the freighters were prepared to make allowances for damaged tobacco when assessing the amount due to them for freight. Joseph Saunders, owner of the Flower de Luce promised in 1637 to pay between £600 and £900 to Samuel Leddoze, the freighter, for damage to tobacco.<sup>14</sup> In return Leddoze allowed the merchants 4d. to 6d. a pound

<sup>11</sup>Bristol Record Office. Book of Depositions, 1654-1657, f. 192v.

<sup>12</sup>Public Record Office High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1639-1640. H.C.A. 13/55, ff. 427v. 428v.

<sup>13</sup>British Museum. Harleian Manuscript. no. 1238 f. 12. Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, 1635-1636. H.C.A. 13/52, f. 54v. The other vessels involved in cases concerning leakage were the Gift, 1629, the Valentine, 1629, the Flower de Luce, 1637, the Tristram and Jane, 1637, the Jane, 1639, the Peter and John, 1649 and the Comfort, 1650.

<sup>14</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/96, no. 266.

for the harm done to their particular consignments.<sup>15</sup> This was over and above the normal amount allowed in freight for any shrinkage that occurred to tobacco on the voyage. It was reckoned that this occurred at the rate of 10 pounds in every 100.<sup>16</sup>

Any estimation of the time taken to unload a vessel is very difficult since few figures for this are extant. In 1337 the Tristram and Jane took three to four days to discharge her cargo,<sup>17</sup> whereas the Unicorne began unloading in November 1630 and finished the following January. Perhaps a better idea can be gained from the dates that customs were levied on the cargoes, for once one part of the lading had been rated it could be unloaded immediately. From the study of Port Books covering the latter part of the 1620's, it appears that, on average, a ship spent sixty-nine days being examined. Some took much longer. In 1630 officials appraised the cargo of the George and Elizabeth for 328 days. One presumes that she was not intending to engage in another voyage in the near future. However, this method of calculation also has its defects. As Neville Williams points out, although the unloading of vessels was spread over a lengthy period, it cannot have taken as long as the documents might lead us to imagine. The dates on the customs

<sup>15</sup>H.C.A. 13/55, ff. 86-86v.

<sup>16</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. March-November, 1650. H.C.A. 13/63, f. 218.

<sup>17</sup>Shilton, Dorothy O., and Richard Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations, 1637-1638, Anglo-American Records Foundation, (London, 1932), no. 580, p. 266.

records are the ones on which the merchant concerned cleared his goods by paying to the collector the sum due for impositions. Portions of the cargo not immediately required were left in something akin to bonded warehouses.<sup>18</sup> Technically it was possible for a ship to be unloaded as quickly as the Tristram and Jane. However, it does seem that delays were the inevitable adjunct to all trade in the seventeenth century and therefore the two to three months taken by the Unicorne would appear to have been more common.

Even when the goods had been safely delivered into the warehouse, it was still possible for the owners of consignments to encounter difficulties. If the duties were paid at once, a quick sale concluded, and the tobacco, beaverskins and other goods removed without much delay, there was little risk of damage to a cargo. If the merchant made a poor choice of warehouse, deterioration in the quality of the goods was likely. During the time that goods were in the warehouse, it was customary for the owner periodically to examine them for any damage. It was said that a certain Mr. Whitman came to a warehouse on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays to examine tobacco brought from Virginia for his account on the Tristram and Jane. He took off the tops of the hogsheads and carried away a handful from each for his own consumption. During his visits he discovered that some of his consignment was damaged because it was stored under open windows and in the sunlight which caused

<sup>18</sup>Williams, Neville, 'England's Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I'. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 65(1957), p. 417.



it to dry up, especially since the tops of the hogsheads were not replaced after he had examined the tobacco. There was further trouble after he had sold his goods. The hogsheads were placed on the quay but the buyer was several days late in collecting them.<sup>19</sup> Eighty two hogsheads of tobacco were placed in a cellar (not renowned for being the driest part of a building) near Chester's Quay on the Thames where it 'grows rotten as it now lyeth' because of too much moisture and a draught.<sup>20</sup> Tobacco from the Joane was put into a warehouse but, as a result of high spring tides, the building was flooded and the leaf was ruined.<sup>21</sup> The longer the tobacco remained in the warehouse, the greater the risk of deterioration. The time factor does appear to have been responsible for most of the damage. It was over a year before tobacco which had been put into a warehouse from the Flower de Luce was collected.<sup>22</sup> Delays in collection were caused by a number of factors. At certain times, when large quantities of tobacco were landed in England simultaneously, it was difficult to find a buyer. As the tobacco languished in a warehouse and deteriorated in quality, it became progressively harder to sell a consignment at a price acceptable to both merchant and purchaser. There was also the possibility that the owner of the tobacco was unable to

<sup>19</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1638-1639. H.C.A. 13/54 ff. 77-81v.

<sup>20</sup>H.C.A. 13/56 ff. 212-212v.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., ff. 259v-260.

<sup>22</sup>H.C.A. 13/56, ff. 12v-13.

pay the customs dues and the officials at any port had the power to prevent a consignment being moved out of the warehouse until they received payment or confiscate the tobacco until the charges had been met. Delays were also the result of disputes over ownership of a cargo and arguments between freighter, shipowner and merchant over such matters as freight charges. However, there were occasions on which the merchants preferred to keep their tobacco in a warehouse and refused to pay freight or customs duties. If tobacco was fetching a low price, it was possible to sell the leaf for an amount that would not cover costs, let alone realise a profit. It was, therefore, better economics to abandon the tobacco in the warehouse. Robert South was asked to take away his tobacco brought into London on the Charity and to pay freight and other duties. He replied that he would fetch it when he pleased; it was a 'base drug' and he had laid out more money on tobacco than he thought he should ever see again. Eventually his tobacco was confiscated and sold for the benefit of the Crown.<sup>23</sup> Apart from increasing the risk of damage and lowering the price of the goods, delays in the warehouse also meant a rise in the charge for storage which was paid by the merchant. Several records of the total

<sup>23</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, April 1632-May 1634. H.C.A. 13/50, ff. 401v-402.

costs of handling a consignment of tobacco on arrival in England from Virginia are extant. It seems that warehouse space was charged by the week on each hogshead, although there were great variations in the rates. In London Richard Jones estimated that he was charged £2.6.0d. for the storage of twenty eight hogsheads.<sup>24</sup> However, thirty hogsheads landed out of the Agreement of Bristol in 1660 were only charged 6s. 'selleridge.'<sup>25</sup>

Goods arriving from Virginia were consigned to a person or group of people acting on behalf of the owners. The proof of ownership and the number of hogsheads in each individual consignment was determined by two factors. Firstly, the detail of a cargo was entered in a bill of lading drawn up before departure from the colony. Secondly, each hogshead was marked with the initials of the owner.<sup>26</sup> The importance of such safeguards cannot be exaggerated especially when there were many individual consignments on a ship. Towards the end of the period under review the size of a ship engaged in the trade increased and with it the numbers of consignments. The Alexander in 1654 carried a total of 1738 $\frac{1}{2}$  hogsheads which were in 45 individual shipments, ranging

<sup>24</sup>Bruce, Philip, The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., (New York, 1907), II, 338n.

<sup>25</sup>Bristol Record Office. Books of Depositions, 1657-1661, ff. 129-129v.

<sup>26</sup>See the discussion on marks and bills of lading in Chapter I and figure i.

from the two hogsheads shipped by Mr. Goodens for the account of Mr. Simon King to the forty seven hogsheads sent by John Woodards for John Jeffers and Company.<sup>27</sup> In general the system does seem to have worked well especially considering the large numbers of individual consignments. The fact that there are few references in the records to marks and bills of lading testifies to this smooth operation. Occasionally a witness in the High Court of Admiralty, speaking on behalf of a defendant accused of malpractice in the shipping of tobacco, would state that he had received his consignment without any trouble. In 1630 Thomas Burbage announced that he had obtained twenty four hogsheads, four butts and one barrel of tobacco safely out of the Vintage of London.<sup>28</sup> However, there was the occasional dispute. As noted in an earlier chapter it was possible for a dishonest seaman or factor to alter the marks on a hogshead for his own advantage. Trouble could arise also if the bills of lading were not drawn up properly or if they were lost. Several cases were brought before the High Court of Admiralty as a result of such deficiencies. It was not clear to whom forty nine hogsheads and nine butts of tobacco and one hogshead of beaverskins on the Increase in 1635 had

<sup>27</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Instance Papers, 1650-1660. H.C.A. 15/6, Part II.

<sup>28</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, April 1630-May 1632. H.C.A. 13/49, f. 107.

been consigned.<sup>29</sup> Similarly in 1630, Cantrell, a merchant, maintained that two hogsheads were missing on a shipment of tobacco delivered to him from the Unicorne.<sup>30</sup> Francis Wheeler failed to procure bills of lading for goods shipped for his account on the Honor in 1659. Unfortunately he died, and the lack of bills caused a squabble between his son and his widow as to whom the hogsheads were consigned. The younger Francis was constrained to obtain a warrant from the High Court of Admiralty to gain control of the tobacco which (by the provision's of his father's will) was rightfully his.<sup>31</sup> It was not only disputes of ownership that resulted from mismanagement of bills of lading. Goods could be landed at the wrong port if it was not clearly stated where the consignee would collect them. 3,000 pounds of tobacco in the Abigail in 1628 were to be delivered in London for the account of Samuel Langham and Thomas Phillips. The ship landed at Weymouth and the goods were taken on shore. Langham and Phillips had to send down to Weymouth and, at their own expense, had the tobacco brought to London. They alledged that they had incurred damages of £100 and petitioned for this sum.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/92, no. 270.

<sup>30</sup>H.C.A. 13/50, ff. 497-497v.

<sup>31</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, 1658-1660. H.C.A. 13/73. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/114, no. 46.

<sup>32</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. Book of Examinations, 1628-1630. H.C.A. 13/48, ff. 422-422v.

A further facet of the trade from Virginia which could cause trouble was freight charges. The merchants who received goods from the colony usually agreed on the rate before the ship left England or would order their factors to do so as the tobacco was put on board in Virginia. In 1654 twelve hogsheads of tobacco were laden aboard the Alexander to be delivered to Mr. William Jackson. The factor agreed to pay freight of £8.<sup>33</sup> Before the departure of the Honor from London, Francis Wheeler made an agreement for the freight of some tobacco and also to pay the dead freight if necessary.<sup>34</sup> When the ship arrived in England, the merchants had to pay freight charges before being allowed to take possession of their goods. Either the freighters themselves would collect the money or authorise someone to do this for them. Nathaniel Barnardiston empowered John Bright to receive all freight that was due to him for his sixteenth share in the voyage of the Dragon to and from Virginia.<sup>35</sup> The freight for tobacco was charged by the ton usually reckoned to be four hogsheads.<sup>36</sup> The rate varied greatly from ship to ship and within a single vessel. In 1636 freight on the Bonny Bess was charged from £6 to £10.8.0d. a

<sup>33</sup>H.C.A. 15/6, Part II.

<sup>34</sup>H.C.A. 13/73.

<sup>35</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Instance Papers, 1650-1660. H.C.A. 15/6, Part I.

<sup>36</sup>In the very earliest days tobacco was shipped loose in rolls which took up a lot of space and paid a high freight per ton.

hogshead.<sup>37</sup> The latter figure appears to be the highest rate levied in the period up to 1660. The lowest figure found is £8 for the twelve hogsheads shipped by William Jackson on the Alexander (about £.13.Od. a ton.)<sup>38</sup> This ship sailed to Virginia at the time of the Dutch War. Ralph Davis calculated that at this time freight rates rose to an average of £10 a ton.<sup>39</sup> Wertebaker agrees that freight rates did increase in the decade of the 1650's. One of the effects of the 1651 Navigation Act was to raise the costs of transportation since it removed much of the Dutch competition in the tobacco trade.<sup>40</sup> There is little evidence to support this view. Tobacco seem to have been charged an average of around £6 a ton throughout the period, although there are many instances of the rate fluctuating from this norm. Similarly the total freight for tobacco on an individual ship, was subject to great variations, depending not only on the rate per ton but also on the carrying capacity of the vessels. The total freight charged on the Increase in 1635 was £60 whereas that on the Bonny Bess the following year amounted to between £700 and £800.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. File of Libels. H.C.A. 24/102, no. 130 H.C.A. 13/54. f. 162.

<sup>38</sup>H.C.A. 15/6, Part II.

<sup>39</sup>Davis, Ralph, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry, (London, 1962), p. 288.

<sup>40</sup>Wertebaker, Thomas J., The Shaping of Colonial Virginia, (New York, 1958) first published 1910, p. 187.

<sup>41</sup>H.C.A. 13/52, f. 56. H.C.A. 13/56, ff. 297v-298.

It is very difficult to assess rates on commodities other than tobacco which arrived from Virginia. Very few references are made to such rates. Only one charge for beaverskins has been found and this is rather general in character. On the Increase in 1635 Sir John Zouch paid 5s. for the freight of 'a little beaver.'<sup>42</sup> There is an isolated record for the charges of transporting four deer from Virginia. The total cost was £4 which included two barrels of corn for fodder and boards and the cost of carpentry in constructing a place for them to lie.<sup>43</sup> There is much stronger evidence for the cost of an individual passage from Virginia. This fluctuated between £5 and £6, although the latter was considered to be an average charge.

Most merchants accepted these freight costs and paid up without complaint or delay. There are, however, several cases of confusion and disagreement between merchants and freighters. Twenty-six barrels of tobacco were brought into London on the Tristram and Jane for the account of Robert Whitmore. He offered to pay the freight on them if Abraham Hopkinson, the owner of the ship, would make an allowance for part of the damage caused to the tobacco by seawater. Hopkinson refused to do this and in a case which was brought before the High Court of Admiralty, he stated that the damage was the result of 'stress of

<sup>42</sup>H.C.A. 13/52, f. 56.

<sup>43</sup>Sainsbury, W.N. ed., 'Virginia in 1638-1639,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 11(July 1903-April 1904), p. 49.



weather and not the inefficiency of the ship.<sup>44</sup> It was estimated that, by December 18 1654, freight was still owed on 436 of the 1738 $\frac{1}{2}$  hogsheads which had been delivered out of the Alexander between May 27 and July 30 1654.<sup>45</sup> If the merchant was asked repeatedly to pay the freight and still refused, it was possible for the goods to be confiscated and held as surety for the payment. The freighter would appeal to the High Court of Admiralty for a warrant to do this. Conversely, an order could be made to land the tobacco even when the freight had not been paid. The Privy Council ordered tobacco to be brought onshore from the Jane so that the duty could be paid.<sup>46</sup> Even when freight was paid the freighters were known to refuse to deliver the goods to the merchant. Often the reasons for such detention are unknown. On November 28 1654 a complaint was lodged by Samuel Harvay who alledged that William Watson had taken and retained thrity one hogsheads of tobacco from him. Judgement went in favour of Harvay and the goods were delivered to him.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes the freighters made doubtful excuses to justify their failure to deliver goods. Isaac Watlington, master of the Truelove, acting under orders from Joseph

<sup>44</sup>Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 363, pp. 160-161, no. 395, p. 176, no. 580, p. 266.

<sup>45</sup>H.C.A. 15/6, Part II. For a similar case see Bristol Deposition Books, 1657-1661, f. 83.

<sup>46</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial (London, 1966) first published 1908, I, 166.

<sup>47</sup>H.C.A. 15/6, Part II.

Saunders the freighter, held on to goods even though the owners had offered to pay the charges on them. Firstly, he had the excuse that he could not deliver the goods until he had received the requisite permission from Saunders. He then alledged that insufficient freight had been paid and demanded £4 over and above the amount set down in the bills of lading. The real reason for his refusal is, one suspects, that he was trying to buy up the tobacco but at a lower rate than was current. He did offer Francis Fowler 6d. a pound when it was selling for 16d. a pound on the open market. Several angry and dissatisfied merchants brought cases against Watlington.<sup>48</sup>

A few records have survived which give details of the total costs paid by a merchant on his consignment of goods from Virginia. The owner of the goods was responsible for all payment except that of literage which was taken care of by the freighters. In June 1659 Richard Jones received twenty eight hogsheads of tobacco from the William and John and the Thomas and Anne which amounted to about 10,938 pounds. He estimated that he paid the following charges:

<sup>48</sup>H.C.A. 13/54, ff. 253v, 275-276, 324v-325. H.C.A. 13/55, f. 26v.

	£	s.	d.
Custom . . . . .	45	11	6
Impost . . . . .	45	11	6
. . . at 2s. per 20s. . . . .	4	11	9
Carriage at 8s. per hogshead . . . . .	0	18	8
Petty charges . . . . .	2	6	8
Virginia Duty (2s. per hhd) <sup>49</sup> . . . . .	2	16	0
Portridge at 4s. a hhd . . . . .	0	9	4
Cooperidge at 4s. . . . .	0	9	4
Freight £7 per ton . . . . .	49	0	0
Warehouse room at 2s. . . . .	<u>2</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>
	£154	10	9
To Mr. John Wilkes who went over in the <u>Thomas and Anne</u> <sup>50</sup> . . . . .	22	11	0
To ditto on bill of exchange . . . . .	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	£181	1	9 <sup>51</sup>

Jones sold the twenty eight hogsheads for 6d. a pound which he estimated to have fetched £273.9.0d. He therefore made a profit of £92.7.3d.

<sup>49</sup>Duty of 2s. on each hogshead shipped out of the colony for England. Henning, William W., The Statues at Large (New York, 1823), I, p.

<sup>50</sup>Presumably he went as factor for Jones.

<sup>51</sup>Bruce, Economic History, II, 338n.

on the twenty eight hogsheads. Apparently he was quite fortunate, certainly when compared with the experiences of Major Theophilus Howe who received a consignment of tobacco off the Agreement of Bristol in May and June 1660. Unfortunately his consignment of thirty hogsheads went bad and he estimated that he made a total profit of only £3.3.9d. on the whole voyage:

	£	s.	d.
Allowed by the surveyor of the custom for the damage to part of the goods . .	3	10	10
Sold to Mr. Thomas 28 hhds, 10851 lbs. at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d a pound . . . . .	158	4	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Sold to Mr. William Joyce 2 hhds, 707 lbs. at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound . . . . .	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u><math>1\frac{1}{2}</math></u>
	£170	0	10
Custom on 30 hhds. . . . .	33	12	4
Wharfage and drawing bills <sup>52</sup> . . . . .	0	5	6
For Hallidge . . . . .	0	15	6
For Selleridge . . . . .	0	6	0
For Cooperidge . . . . .	0	7	0
Weighers and Porters . . . . .	0	5	0
Excise for 8750 lbs. at 1d. per lb. . .	36	9	2
Paid for freight of 30 hhds and aberidge at 10d. a hhd . . . . .	53	15	0

<sup>52</sup>Wharfage dues were charged by the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol on all ships arriving at Bristol at that time for the upkeep of the city wharves. By bills he presumably means bills of exchange.

	£	s.	d.
Towards 16 hhds of tobacco being most part of it rotten allowed 1000 hundred weight damage at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. . . . .	14	11	8
Totare of 28 hhds at 10d. per hhd is 1960 wagt at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. . . . .	28	11	8
Totare of 2 hhds at 10d. per hhd is 140 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. . . . .	2	12	6
Allowance on 2 hhds. . . . .	0	5	9
Total Debit	£171	17	5 <sup>53</sup>

It can be seen that the charges of dealing with incoming goods from Virginia varied from port to port, as did the total profit on each voyage. So much depended on the quality of the product and one can appreciate the anger of those merchants who discovered that their consignments had incurred damage. It was obviously of prime importance to sell the goods, especially tobacco, as quickly and at as good a price as possible. The merchants would either sell the tobacco themselves or engage a broker to dispose of it for them. Some brokers were hired by several merchants. In 1634 Barnabas Cutts testified that he had sold tobacco for at least three merchants in 1631 and 1632.<sup>54</sup> John Turner in 1650 called himself a broker 'by profession,' used to acting as a go-between for the sale of tobacco

<sup>53</sup>Bristol Books of Depositions, 1657-1661, ff. 129-129v.

<sup>54</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, May 1634-June 1635. H.C.A. 13/51, f. 178.

and other goods.<sup>55</sup>

The price of tobacco was subject to great fluctuations in the period covered by the first shipment from Virginia in 1614 until 1660. In the early years of the trade, tobacco fetched very high prices. In 1619 it was assessed in the English book of rates at 10 shillings a pound and the following year it sold as high as 8 shillings a pound on the London market.<sup>56</sup> This encouraged the colonists to devote themselves to tobacco cultivation to the exclusion of all other crops which resulted in the flooding of the English market with colonial tobacco. In turn this occasioned a rapid fall in prices and by 1637 it was reckoned to be worth 4d. a pound in London.<sup>57</sup> The government in England attempted to stabilise prices and to encourage the Virginia planters to diversify their economy. This was not done merely to help the planters and merchants but also to aid the revenue of the Crown, by restricting the amount that could be imported and creating a Royal monopoly on the sale of colonial tobacco in England. In 1620 the Crown ordered that only 50,000 pounds

<sup>55</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, November 1650-July 1651. H.C.A. 13/64.

<sup>56</sup>Gray, L.C., 'The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Virginia,' William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Ser., vol. 7 (January 1627-October 1627), p. 232.

<sup>57</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, 1638-1639. H.C.A. 13/53, f. 233.

of tobacco from both Virginia and Bermuda would be imported. The companies who dealt with the affairs of the two colonies agreed that the amount would be imported from Bermuda alone and Virginia tobacco would be sold abroad. This was followed by the debate between the Virginia Company and the Crown which has been described in detail in the previous chapter. Eventually the government backed down and allowed a greater amount to be imported provided that the colonists would only send their tobacco to England.<sup>58</sup> After the dissolution of the company a new contract was proposed by Mr. Ditchfield, one of the collectors of the tobacco customs. A total of 200,000 pounds was to be imported from the two colonies which was to be purchased by the Crown at 2s. 4d. for the better grades and 1s. 4d. for the lower grades. In the course of the following five years a further 250,000 pounds would be brought by the contractors at a rate of 3s. for the best and 2s. for the more moderate grades. A total of £15,000 of the profits would go to the Crown. If there was a surplus, the planters would have the privilege of transferring it to the Turkish market.<sup>59</sup> However, the colonists replied that it was impossible for them to subsist on the profits from 400,000 pounds a year let alone the proposed 200,000 pounds. They could gain little encouragement from the Turkish

<sup>58</sup>Craven, Wesley Frank, The Dissolution of the Virginia Company (New York, 1932), p. 250.

<sup>59</sup>British Museum, Additional Manuscript 12496, f. 441v.

re-exportation clause because the additional freight charges would reduce the profits. Overall they expressed a great distrust of the contract system and of the integrity of the contractors: 'having liberty to chose and refuse what they list, there is an open gate for all parts of partiality in that kind.'<sup>60</sup> Further attempts were made to conclude such contracts and in 1637 Charles I issued a proclamation that all tobacco imported should be delivered into the hands of royal agents for such prices that would be agreed upon by planters, merchants and agents. Penalties were laid down for those who traded outside the system.<sup>61</sup> However, all such attempts were steadily opposed by both planters and merchants who, whilst concerned with the low prices, were not prepared to allow a Crown monopoly on tobacco unless they gained large concessions for themselves. In August 1627 the Governor and Council of Virginia proposed that the King should purchase annually 500,000 pounds at a rate of 3s. 6d. a pound with no charge for freight or duty or 4s. if it were delivered in London, in which case the planter would bear the cost of transportation but be exempt from the payment of customs. The colonists were also to enjoy

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., ff. 441v-445v.

<sup>61</sup>Harleian Manuscript 1238, ff. 18, 19. For other attempts see Public Records Office. Chancery, Crown Office. Warrants for the Privy Seal. 1642-1646. IND 4210, p. 138. Bruce, Economic History, I, 388.



the right to sell in Holland, Ireland, Turkey and other foreign ports all tobacco produced by them in excess of 500,000 pounds.<sup>62</sup> Charles refused to listen to such proposals. The two sides were so diametrically opposed on the methods that should be employed to control prices by means of a contract that any form of agreement proved impossible.

There were some attempts at crude legislative price fixing. Two acts in 1631, two in the following year, one in 1639 and another in 1640 fixed a general level and penalised any attempts to sell at a lower price. A royal ordinance, the result of mercantile pressure, put an end to these attempts in 1641.<sup>63</sup> The same fate befell efforts to make the planters diversify their crops. The government in England actively sought to achieve this by sending out commissioners to the colonies to enquire into excessive output and to treat with the governors for regulation. One such group was dispatched in 1639.<sup>64</sup> The planters remained adamant, although some of the governors of the colony, notably John Harvey, encouraged the growth of food crops which were exported to other American colonies.<sup>65</sup> One suspects, despite the

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., I, 286-287.

<sup>63</sup>Gray, L.C., 'The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Virginia,' William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Ser., vol. 8 (January 1928-October 1928), p. 10.

<sup>64</sup>Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 139.

<sup>65</sup>See Chapter VIII.

the pleas of poverty, that many of the planters and merchants achieved great prosperity from the tobacco trade.

Thus, tobacco was left more or less to find its own price level in England. Variations in price were not only caused by the amount of tobacco entering England, although this is an important factor, the crop of 1638 being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the average and causing a collapse in prices. There were also seasonal fluctuations. In July 1624 Sir Peter Courteen declared that tobacco from Virginia was fetching a low price since the market was swamped and tobacco was not consumed until the winter.<sup>66</sup> As noted previously, the ships carrying tobacco left the colony in January, February and March when they had collected the best of the tobacco crop. They came back to England in March, April, May and June with vessels that were delayed arriving in July. The extant dates of arrival of Virginia ships in England testify to this. After 1625, when the tobacco trade was firmly established, most ships arrived in April and June (twelve in each month) followed by ten in each month of March, May and July. This can be compared with the numbers at other times of the year, for example, one in November and two in January. Thus, as Courteen rightly says, in certain months of the year there would be a glut of tobacco and the prices would fall. The first ship-load or two in any season would benefit from the scarcity of the plant

<sup>66</sup> Calender of State Papers, Colonial, Addenda, 1574-1674, (London, 1893), p. 64.

and get higher prices.<sup>67</sup> It seems also that the prices varied according to the place of importation. In 1653 William Moulle wrote to his brother Francis and said he had sold tobacco in Plymouth, but at a low rate, having sold one hogshead in London for twice the price.<sup>68</sup> The quality of the tobacco was another factor. It was stated in 1650 that the ordinary rate for tobacco was from 6d. to 8d. a pound, but 'very special' tobacco yielded as much as 12d. a pound.<sup>69</sup> Another reason for the anger of the merchants when they discovered that their tobacco had become damaged in transit. These variations make it extremely difficult to estimate the price of Virginia tobacco in any given year, trends alone can be detected. At the beginning of the trade, as has been seen, prices were high and they gradually fell in the following two decades. The 1630's saw the lowest prices. In 1631 tobacco fetched only 5d. or 6d. a pound, in 1632 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a pound and in 1637 the price had dropped to between 4d. and 6d. a pound, although the best was said to fetch 14d.<sup>70</sup> It was during this time that many merchants chose to leave their tobacco in the warehouse because the price they would receive was not sufficient to cover freight and customs.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix P.

<sup>68</sup> 'Early Letters regarding Virginia,' William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 14 (July 1905-April 1906), pp. 102-103.

<sup>69</sup> Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, July 1651-July 1652. H.C.A. 13/65.

<sup>70</sup> H.C.A. 13/51, f. 178, H.C.A. 13/54, f. 146v, H.C.A. 13/55, ff. 63v-64.

<sup>71</sup> H.C.A. 13/50, ff. 466-466v, H.C.A. 13/51, f. 140v.

There was some improvement between 1640 and 1660. For example in 1649 Virginia tobacco of 'middling quality' fetched 8d. to 10d. a pound.<sup>72</sup> In 1655 the price was £9 a hogshead, about 9d. a pound.<sup>73</sup> However, it must be remembered that, owing to the factors mentioned above, there were fluctuations even within a single year. In 1649 some tobacco was sold for as low as 5d. a pound.<sup>74</sup>

The first purchaser of tobacco was charged excise duty. In general excise rates followed the pattern of customs duties described in the previous chapter. For example Spanish tobacco was subject to much heavier excise duties. The duty remained steady at around 1d. a pound on Virginia tobacco until the exigencies of the Civil War compelled a heavy increase. In July 1643 the first buyer of plantation tobacco was to pay 2s. a pound duty.<sup>75</sup> This rate was impossibly high and discouraged consumption and was thus reduced to 4d. a pound the following September.<sup>76</sup> Even this 'hath something intermitted trade in that commodity,' and in December of the same year the excise was reduced further. All plantation

<sup>72</sup>H.C.A. 13/64.

<sup>73</sup>Bristol Book of Depositions, 1654-1657, f. 96.

<sup>74</sup>H.C.A. 13/64.

<sup>75</sup>Virginia tobacco always fetched a much lower price than Spanish leaf. In 1619 the latter was 18s. a pound, in 1633 12/3d., in 1652 7s. and in 1657 10s. Bruce, Economic History, I, 296.

<sup>76</sup>Firth, Charles and R.S. Rait, eds., Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 3 vols., (London, 1911), I, 208.

tobacco imported before September 11 that remained in the hands of the importers was to pay 1d., all that was imported after that date and before the ordinance was to pay 2d. and all tobacco subsequently brought in was to pay 4d.<sup>77</sup> This did not satisfy the traders in tobacco who petitioned the Committee for the Navy and Customs in 1644 for a reduction.<sup>78</sup> Finding no satisfaction by this means, the traders began to defraud the government by disposing of the tobacco without declaring the sale, thus avoiding the duty. In 1645 the government laid down penalties for such crimes.<sup>79</sup> During the period of the Protectorate, the rate was reduced to 3d. a pound and then to 1d.<sup>80</sup>

Excise duty was another factor which tended to lower the price the first buyer was prepared to give to the importer of tobacco. Because of the uncertainty of getting a good, or even an adequate price for the tobacco, many merchants turned to the re-export trade as a means of making a profit. Virginia tobacco was first re-exported after the 1623 agreement between James I and the Virginia Company had forbidden trade directly to Holland. By 1633 the practise had become so widespread that a witness in the High Court of Admiralty declared it to be 'the usual custom for merchants from Virginia and St.

<sup>77</sup>Stock, Leo Francis ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, 3 vols., (Washington D.C., 1924), II, 150.

<sup>78</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1644 (London, 1888), p. 10.

<sup>79</sup>Firth and Rait, Acts and Ordinances, I, 626, II, 87.

<sup>80</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, II, 238.

Christophers' either in the Downs or in the Gore to bring out their tobacco and send it for Holland or some other place to seek a market for it, being of small worth in England.'<sup>81</sup> In 1636 another witness declared that in the previous four years he had been well experienced in the shipping of Virginia tobacco from London to Amsterdam.<sup>82</sup> The tobacco was brought into England, the custom paid and then either in the same vessel or by transference to another was carried overseas. In 1610 it was agreed that impost on re-exported commodities should be repaid. This was applied, tentatively, to colonial produce but Charles I withdrew the privilege.<sup>83</sup> In the climate of general complaints about the high duties in the late 1620's and 1630's, Parliament petitioned the king for concessions to merchants who re-exported tobacco.<sup>84</sup> In February 1632 Charles agreed that if tobacco was transported out of England within a year after it was imported, the impost and subsidy were to be repaid.<sup>85</sup> Several masters of ships and merchants petitioned the government that they might be spared the payments of duties on goods from Virginia because they intended to re-export them

<sup>81</sup>H.C.A. 13/50, f. 446.

<sup>82</sup>H.C.A. 13/52, f. 492.

<sup>83</sup>Beer, George Louis, The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660 (New York, 1933), 1st published 1906, p. 203.

<sup>84</sup>Calender of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660 (1964), 1st. published, 1860, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup>Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, 175.

at once. Generally duties were paid and then reimbursed and it was only in special cases, such as that of the Strong Rowland in 1656, that customs duties were not paid.<sup>86</sup> The government, quite rightly, thought that if they allowed importers to avoid the duties, the goods might never reach the Continent but would stay in England. However, the repayment of customs was an incentive to re-export which helped to moderate the flow of tobacco onto the English market.

The most popular place to export tobacco was Holland, although much found its way to Ireland. From Bristol alone in 1636-1637, at least twelve vessels carried tobacco to the Low Countries.<sup>87</sup> Smaller quantities were carried to Hamburg, Leghorn, Spain and France. To some extent the re-export trade was affected adversely by the heavy duties and the monopolistic policies of certain European countries, notably France and Russia.<sup>88</sup> However, the effect of this was minimal when the main markets of Holland and Ireland were so accessible. It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover exactly how much tobacco was re-exported. Between Christmas 1626 and Christmas 1627, thirty six ships re-exported tobacco from London, but since no special impositions

<sup>86</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum, 1656-1657, (London, 1883,) p. 20. This ship was a Dutch prize taken at the Barbados but freighted in Virginia. Her laders asked that they might be able to transfer the tobacco to another vessell without paying custom.

<sup>87</sup> Public Record Office. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Port Books, Bristol. Customer 1636-1637. E. 190/1136/8.

<sup>88</sup> Gray, Stanley and V.J. Wyckoff, 'The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century,' Southern Economic Journal, vol. VII no. 1 (1940), p. 11.

were due it is difficult to gauge what quantities these vessels carried.<sup>89</sup> In the year 1627 to 1628 English merchants did claim a rebate from the Collector of New Impositions on 2,312 pounds they re-exported.<sup>90</sup> J.F. Fisher estimates that tobacco re-exports to Hamburg in 1640 were equal in value to the export of all other English goods except textiles.<sup>91</sup>

Re-exporting, along with all other facets of trade to Virginia, was subject to difficulties and delays. The cargo had to be carried twice through the often wind-bound Thames if it came into London. Delays going through the customs were not unknown. In 1630 Nathaniel Musgrove complained to Sir John Wolstenholme, the Collector of Impositions on tobacco, that his ship was kept in London for an excessive length of time waiting for a customs officer to come on board to check his tobacco so that it could be transferred to another ship going to Holland. He petitioned for damages for the stay of his ship and goods.<sup>92</sup> Several vessels engaged in the re-export business were captured in the Channel. In 1635 certain merchants, becoming increasingly angered by these attacks by privateers, petitioned the Crown for

<sup>89</sup>Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer. Port Books, London. Searcher's Book. Overseas Exports. E 190/31/1.

<sup>90</sup>Williams, Neville, 'England's Tobacco Trade in the reign of Charles I', Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 65 no. 4 (October, 1957), p. 412.

<sup>91</sup>Fisher, John F., 'London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd Ser., vol. III no. 2(1950). p. 160.

<sup>92</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic. Charles I, 1629-1631, (London, 1860), pp. 283-284.



aid.<sup>93</sup> However, perhaps the greatest hazard to the individual merchant in the practice of re-exporting was to have his tobacco carried to Holland or elsewhere without his consent. If only of the cargo was to be transhipped, it was easy to include portions which should have been landed in England. In 1635 fifteen hogsheads of tobacco belonging to Edward Wigge were brought into London on the Robert Bonaventure. Wigge asked that they might be taken onshore, according to the bills of lading. However, the ship with his hogsheads still on board set off for Holland and en route was captured and carried to Bunkirk. Wigge asked for damages from the pilot and purser of the ship who were forced to admit that they had never received an order from Wigge to carry the tobacco to Holland.<sup>94</sup>

During the period when London had a monopoly on the import of tobacco from Virginia, the port developed as the chief centre for the distribution of tobacco not only to the Continent but also to the other ports along the English coast. In 1628 the coastal trade involving tobacco was very small, Neville William has found only four instances in that year, most was carried by road.<sup>95</sup> By 1644 quite a large quantity of tobacco was arriving in Southampton from London. On June 6 in the Philip of London, 79,000 pounds were landed.<sup>96</sup> In 1648, one of the

<sup>93</sup> Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1635-1636, (London 1866), p. 40.

<sup>94</sup> H.C.A. 13/52, ff. 124v-125, 167v-168v, 472-472v.

<sup>95</sup> Williams, 'Tobacco Trade,' p. 412-413.

<sup>96</sup> Southampton Record Office. Book of the Petty Customs, 1642-1643, p. 187.

earliest coastal shipments into Liverpool was recorded which heralded the entry of this western port into the tobacco trade.<sup>97</sup> Between July 23 and December 25 1649 forty eight ships left London with varying amounts of tobacco for the outports.<sup>98</sup> T.S. Willan in his study of the English coastal trade estimates that from Christmas 1628 to Christmas 1683, a sum total of 3,052,930 pounds, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  hogsheads, 22 barrels, 59 boxes, 4 bags, 1 cask, 4 firkins and 12 rolls of tobacco were sent from London, the bulk going to the eastern ports.<sup>99</sup> Naturally not all of this would be Virginia tobacco.

Throughout the discussion on arrangements for the vessel arriving in England from Virginia, the occasional reference has been made to the entry of goods other than tobacco. This aspect of the Virginian economy has largely been ignored or dismissed as insignificant by the historians of the colony or of seventeenth century trade. Ralph Davis declares that commodities other than tobacco were 'unimportant' in the seventeenth century.<sup>100</sup> George Beer admits that other goods such as

<sup>97</sup>Parkinson, C. Northcote, The Rise of the Port of Liverpool (Liverpool University Press, 1952), p. 39.

<sup>98</sup>Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer. Port Books. Port of London. Clerk of the Cockets. Coastal Exports. July-December 1649. These ships were destined for seventeen ports, Lyme Regis, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Hull, Colchester, Dover, Newcastle, Lynn, Boston, Whitby, Weymouth, Walberswick (Suffolk), Faversham, Woodbridge, Maidstone, Milton and Rochester.

<sup>99</sup>Willian, Thomas S., The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750 (Manchester University Press, 1967), 1st. published 1938, p. 108.

<sup>100</sup>Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry, p. 290.

fur and lumber were imported but these were of 'insignificant' quantities.<sup>101</sup> Undoubtedly tobacco was the dominant export but it is unwise to dismiss the role played by other commodities. In 1619 the Virginia Company issued a long memorandum urging the colonists to devote themselves to producing a varied selection of goods:

The commodities which these people are directed principally to apply (next to their own necessary maintenance) are those ensuing  
**Iron:** for which are sent 150 persons to set up the iron works; proof having been made of the extraordinary goodness of the iron.

**Cordage:** for which (besides hemp) direction is given for the planting of silk grass (naturally growing in these parts) in great abundance which is approved to make the best cordage and linen in the world. Of this every householder is bound to set 100 plants and the Governor himself hath set 5,000.

**Pitch and Tarr:** for the making whereof the polackers are returned to their workes.

**Timber** of all sorts with masks, plants and boards for provision of shipping etc., there being not such good timber for all uses in any Knowne Country whatsoever. And for the ease and increase of divers of these works, provision is sent of men and materials, for the setting up of sundry sawing mills.

**Silke:** for which the Country is exceeding proper having innumerable store of Mulberry trees of the best, and some silk works naturally found upon them, producing excellent silk, some whereof is to be seen. For the setting up of which commodity, his majesty hath been graciously pleased now the second time (the former having miscarried) to bestow upon the Company plenty of Silke-worms to feed of his own store, being the best.

**Vines:** whereof the Country naturally yeildeth great store, and of sundry sorts; which by culture will be brought to excellent perfection.

<sup>101</sup> Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, p. 243.

For the effecting whereof, divers skillful Vignerons are sent, with store also from hence of the best sort sent; which works having bin lately suffered to decay are now ordered to be set up in so great plenty, as not only to serve the Colony for the present; but as is hoped in a short time also the great Fishings on those Coasts.<sup>102</sup>

Such pleas were repeated throughout the period 1606 to 1660. Although the colonists adamantly refused to diversify their crops, this was due more to the ease with which tobacco could be grown rather than the difficulty of producing other crops or obtaining other goods such as fur, fish and timber. The fact that there were such frequent requests to diversify, testifies to the very real possibility of the production of these goods.

It is, therefore, interesting and valuable to study exactly what goods other than tobacco entered from the colony. Up until the first shipment of tobacco in 1614, several products were sent to England, timber, salt, some fish, pitch and tar. However, the quantities were insignificant. Between 1626 and 1640, the figures are more accurate and a better idea can be gained of the type and quantity of products sent from Virginia. A total of twenty five different types of goods entered England in these years.<sup>103</sup> Of these beaverskins were by far the most numerous. A total of 18,253 skins, one small bale, one hog's-head and shipments of unknown quantities in the William and the Expedition

<sup>102</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, III, 116.

<sup>103</sup>See Appendix Q.

in 1634 have been traced in the records.<sup>104</sup> The largest number of skins, a total of 3,291, entered in 1631. Individual shipments varied from the 662 skins on the Golden Lion of Barnstable in 1636 to the solitary pelt on the Revenge in 1635. Certainly at the beginning of the 1630's great interest was shown by various merchants in the possibilities of the fur trade with Virginia. It was alleged that in these years, William Claiborne, operating from his base at Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay, sent to William Cloberry and Company in London, 5,010 pounds of skins a year which were sold for between £3,500 and £4,000.<sup>105</sup> Indeed, before tobacco became the accepted currency in the colony, beaverskins were used. However, the trade in these skins reached a peak in the 1630's and saw a steady decline in the rest of the period up to 1660 and beyond. It is interesting to note that a similar pattern was followed in the New England colonies. There, the trade in skins had a boom in the 1630's and 1640's but began to decline in mid-century.<sup>106</sup> The quantities of beaverskins mentioned

<sup>104</sup>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634, p. 55. The waiter of the Suzanna in 1639 which brought in the bale declared that it was so small that a man might easily carry it. He had taken special notice of the skins because there were no others on board. H.C.A. 13/55, ff. 138v-139. For details of individual shipments see Appendix

<sup>105</sup>H.C.A. 24/96, no. 318.

<sup>106</sup>Bailyn, Bernard, The New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 53-54.

here are large enough to have played a significant and valuable part in the trade between England and Virginia and their importance cannot be ignored. Of the other skins only small amounts have been traced. Otterskins (a total of 375 pelts) are the largest group. Minimal quantities of fox, racoon, martin, muskrat, bear, deer, wild cat and whale skins were shipped and also twenty 'mouse' pelts.<sup>107</sup> One can only assume that the customs official who wrote this entry had difficulty with his spelling and it was in fact twenty mousse skins, unless, of course, seventeenth century Virginia produced a 'super-mouse.'

Small amounts of goods other than skins and tobacco were imported from Virginia. The only quantities of timber recorded in this period are 155 quarters of oak and seventeen tons of cedar tree trunks, but an observer in 1649 maintained that if a ship could not procure a full lading 'plantation and Pipe-Staves, Clapboard, choice Walnut-tree wood, Cedar-tree-trunks and the like is transported.'<sup>108</sup> Eight tons of fish caught within the waters of the colony arrived in England and there is evidence that more was shipped. In 1626 from Weymouth alone at least eleven tons and 50,000 pounds of Virginia fish was sent to France.<sup>109</sup> However, the Virginia fishing trade was never large since it could not

<sup>107</sup>For details of these see Appendix Q.

<sup>108</sup>Force. Peter, ed., Tracts and Other Papers, 4 vols., (New York, 1947), 1st published, 1884, II, 5.

<sup>109</sup>Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer Port Books. Port of Weymouth. Controller 1625-1626. E.190/873/9.

hope to compete with the well established grounds of Newfoundland and New England. In the years from 1616 to 1619 Sassafras was exported from the colony. In the latter year there is the only detailed record of Sassafras entering from Virginia. 1,400 pounds were imported in the Marygold of London. From 1619 onwards, owing to a violent fall in value, Sassafras ceased to be of commercial importance.<sup>110</sup> Of the other goods, which included four deer, one cask of indigo, 1193 ounces of ambergris, twenty one pounds of teeth (perhaps an early instance of the trade to Virginia via the West African Coast) and three hundred weight of feathers, perhaps the most important commodity is train oil of which forty four hogsheads were imported. It had been hoped that Virginia would be an alternative source to the Baltic for supply of naval stores. However, New England became much more important in this trade.

It can be seen that an appreciable quantity of goods other than tobacco entered England from Virginia and the trade in beaverskins reached considerable proportions. However, none of these commodities could hope to emulate the position held by tobacco in the Virginia trade. Various historians have tried to estimate the amount of tobacco imported into England in any year. This task is extremely difficult since the records often give differing figures. It is therefore possible only to suggest the general pattern of the quantities of

<sup>110</sup> Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, p. 243.

tobacco entering from the colony. Tobacco was probably first introduced into England in 1565 and in 1602 there are the first official figures for importations, 16,128 pounds entered the Port of London in that year. This was probably Spanish tobacco.<sup>111</sup> The first shipment from Virginia was in the Elizabeth in 1614. The earliest official figures for the importation of plantation tobacco appear in the year ending December 24 1616 when a total of 2,300 pounds entered from Virginia. The following year 18,839 pounds came in from Virginia and Bermuda and in 1618 there was a total of 49,528 pounds from both plantations.<sup>112</sup> From thence onwards tobacco importations from Virginia increased rapidly, apart from the year 1621-1622 during which only 726 pounds entered, which was a direct result of the policy of the members of the Virginia Company who ordered all tobacco to be sent to Holland in that year.<sup>113</sup> By 1636-1640 the amount of Virginian tobacco imported annually had risen to one million pounds and over.<sup>114</sup> It has been estimated that by 1640 tobacco from Virginia and the other English Plantations, particularly Bermuda and St. Christophers', had become the

<sup>111</sup> MacInnes, C.M., The Early English Tobacco Trade, (London, 1926), pp. 27, 35.

<sup>112</sup> Sackville Papers, American Historical Review vol. 27, (October 1921-July 1922), p. 497.

<sup>113</sup> Millard, Annie M., Analyses of Port Books. Recording Merchandise Imported into the Port of London, 1588-1640. Table 40 Commodities imported into London by Alien and Denizen Merchants, 1621-1622.

<sup>114</sup> British Museum. Additional Manuscript 35865, ff. 247-248. 1636-1637, 1,081,191 pounds, 1637-1638, 361,999 pounds, 1638-1639, 1,192,873 pounds, 1639-1640, 1,044,554 pounds.



most valuable import.<sup>115</sup> Virginia, therefore, contributed greatly to the favourable trade balance of the nation; a balance revered by the mercantalist thought of the time.

Perhaps more interesting and more relevant to the present purpose is the study of the number of consignments of tobacco within an individual ship. As noted above, the Alexander in 1655 carried some 1738 $\frac{1}{2}$  hogsheads in forty five separate shipments. This was a large number, few ships carried more. In 1634 the Mayflower arrived in London with tobacco in fifty nine consignments which is the greatest number found in any ship.<sup>116</sup> Some vessels, according to the port books, carried only a small amount of tobacco in a few consignments. However, the individual number of shipments in any vessel was between fifteen and twenty.<sup>117</sup> The amount of tobacco in a consignment varied enormously between the thirty pounds carried in the Mayflower in 1633. Between 2,000 and 6,000 pounds of tobacco seems to have been an average size for a shipment. Considering how many individual consignments could be laden on board a ship in Virginia, it is not surprising that great care was taken with owner's marks on the hogsheads and with the bills of lading.

<sup>115</sup>Williams, Neville, 'The London Port Books,' Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol. 18 no. 1 (1955), p.15.

<sup>116</sup>Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer. Port Books. Port of London. Surveyor General of Tunnage and Poundage. Overseas Imports by Denizens. Christmas 1633-Christmas 1634. E.190/38/5.

<sup>117</sup>See Appendix R for individual consignments.

The total quantity of tobacco on each vessel was also subject to variations. The quantity was determined by the availability of tobacco at the time of lading in the colony and the tonnage of the vessel. Taking four hogsheads to equal one ton of tobacco, the 1738 $\frac{1}{2}$  hogsheads carried on the Alexander comprised 972,294 pounds approximately. This is the largest quantity found on a single ship. It is important to remember that the tonnage of vessels engaged in Virginia trade showed a general increase throughout the period 1606 to 1660 and that the Alexander of 400 tons sailed in 1655. Other ships that are known to have carried over 100,000 pounds of tobacco are the Defence in 1633, the Flower de Luce in 1636, the Barbara in 1638, a ship (master Jeremy Blackman) in 1638, a ship (master John Barker) in 1638, the Charles in 1640, a ship (master John Hogge) in 1640, the Honor in 1640 and a ship (master Philip Dyer) in 1640.<sup>118</sup> The average amount carried seems to have varied between 40,000 and 60,000 pounds but there were ships laden with considerably smaller quantities. In 1638 a ship (master Gilbert Grymes) arrived in London carrying only 100 pounds of tobacco from the colony. Perhaps she had been checked for customs the previous year and the 100 pounds remained to be collected and the custom paid. Alternatively she could have arrived in the colony after the bulk of the tobacco crop had been collected and been able to accumulate only a meagre lading.

<sup>118</sup> Shilton and Holworthy, Examinations, no. 292, p. 121, Public Record Office. Exchequer King's Remembrancer. Port Books. E.190/38/1, E.190/41/5, E.190/41/6, E.190/43/5.

The system developed to deal with the goods that landed from Virginia was, in theory, very simple. The ship anchored and was checked for customs after which the goods were unloaded into lighters and carried to the warehouses. Here the merchant to whom the goods were consigned, after payment of freight and customs duties, could either collect his shipment himself or sell the goods and allow the buyer to receive them directly out of the warehouse. In practice many difficulties such as quarrels over freight charges and the inability to find a buyer presented themselves. Such problems led to delays and the longer tobacco remained uncollected, the greater the likelihood of damage. In turn, damaged tobacco stood small chance of being sold especially in certain years and at particular seasons when the English market was glutted. Many merchants, prevented by law from exporting tobacco directly to the Continent and to Ireland, resorted to re-exporting. This practise was also subject to delays and difficulties but on the whole proved an acceptable alternative to direct sale on the domestic market. The question of the profitability of the trade to Virginia will be dealt with more fully in the concluding chapter. Suffice it to say here that, despite difficulties, many merchants and planters were satisfied with the trade and the profit that they made from it. The very fact that both groups strongly resisted any attempts by the government to reduce the amount of tobacco grown in Virginia or the quantity imported into England fully testifies to this generally favourable reaction.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ACTIVITIES OF OTHER NATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

The English discoveries and attempted settlements on the American Continent were watched with great interest by the other maritime nations of Western Europe. When Virginia was colonised successfully, their concern and anxiety quickened, evidenced by the dispatches of the various ambassadors in London who followed the fortunes of the settlement and wrote about it in great detail. There were two chief reasons for this interest. Firstly it was felt by several nations, more particularly Spain and Portugal, that the English colony posed a threat to their own settlements to the south. As has been seen, the possibility of a Spanish attack on Virginia was a constant anxiety for all interested parties, both in England and in the colony. However, for a number of reasons, this threat never materialised. The second reason for interest was the hope that the English settlements would provide new markets for the goods of other nations. The establishment of the tobacco industry presented a further spur to the activities of foreign merchants and it is interesting to observe that the pressure for trade with Virginia coincided with the period of growth in the tobacco trade, the early 1620's. The development of an inter-colonial trade will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter. Suffice it to say here, that when the other nations, notably Holland and Sweden, established colonies on the American mainland, they were able to get more knowledge of the possibilities for trade with Virginia. Dutch merchants visiting New

Amsterdam often engaged in commerce with Virginia during their stay. It was a relatively simple step to begin trading directly between Holland and Virginia.

Undoubtedly the greatest impetus for trade with Virginia came from the Dutch. This is not surprising since they were recognised, for the greater part of the period 1606 to 1660, as the chief commercial nation in Europe and much of the strength and prosperity of the nation depended on the continual expansion of trade and the search for new markets. As early as 1621, the States General and the assemblies of the various states were presented with petitions from traders asking to be allowed to send their vessels to Virginia. Thus on September 15 1621 the States General permitted Henrick Elkins, Hans Jooris Hooten and Adrian Janssen, merchants of Amsterdam, to send their ship, the White Dove, to Virginia provided that they return directly to Holland by the first day of July the following year.<sup>1</sup> There is a record of a ship returning from Virginia at this time 'with a number of peltries and other articles.'<sup>2</sup> After the early 1620's Dutch trade with America was in the hands of the West India Company. Behind their fleets there still operated a swarm of private Dutch merchants, more or less tolerated interlopers in the Company's trade, picking up cargoe in Virginia and

<sup>1</sup>O'Callaghan, E.B. ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, 11 vols., (Albany, 1856), I, 26.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, I, 34.

elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> However, the bulk of commerce between Virginia and Holland was in the hands of vessels trading under the auspices of the Company. In 1627 the members petitioned Charles I 'that their ships employed thither (the West Coast of Africa and America) either in the trade of merchandise or in warfare for the weakening of the common enemy (Spain) might quietly pass on their intended voyages, both outward and homeward, without any molestation, stay or hindrance, by His Majesty's own ships, or those of his subjects employed with letters of marque, to the southward or elsewhere.' In reply, the king ordered that the West India Company and all their goods 'shall have free ingress, egress and regress into and out of all His Majesty's ports, havens, roads and creeks . . .'<sup>4</sup>

The activities of the Dutch West India Company had the full backing of their government. When the English authorities tried to exclude foreign vessels from trade with the colonies in 1650, several Dutch merchants petitioned the States General. They maintained that they had traded with the English possessions for over twenty years 'by which commerce, the aforesaid places have from very humble beginnings and appears . . . yea, utter inability of themselves . . . so improved

<sup>3</sup>Parry, John H. and P.M. Sherlock, A Short History of the West Indies, (London, 1963), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup>Davenport, Francis G., ed., European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, 3 vols., (Carnegie Institute of Washington, Washington D.C., 1917), I, 292. Obviously the vessels had come under attack from English ships. The English attitude to foreigners trading with the colonies will be dealt with later in the chapter.

from time to time, and been brought to such condition as to be at present a source of astonishment to the whole world. They went on to complain of the novel restrictions placed 'on pain of forfeiture of ships and goods and being treated like enemies,' and ask that the Dutch government put pressure on the English to rescind the act or allow the merchants more time to settle their affairs in the colonies before the embargo came into force.<sup>5</sup> The Dutch government was receptive to their plea and for the next ten years, until the passage of the 1660 Navigation Act, whenever negotiations were held between the two countries, brought up the question of free trade to the colonies. In 1651 the Dutch proposed that the inhabitants of both countries 'may freely and without hindrance sail to the Caribbean Islands and places in Virginia, as hitherto they have sailed and traded thither.'<sup>6</sup> The English replied by issuing the 1651 Navigation Act. The question re-appeared in the negotiations following the war of 1652-54. The English remained adamant and the Dutch eventually agreed not to mention regulation of overseas trade.<sup>7</sup>

The Dutch were not, however, the only nation which traded or attempted to trade with Virginia. There were others but, unfortunately, the evidence of their desire to trade with Virginia is very slender. This

<sup>5</sup>O'Callaghan, Documents of New York, I, 436.

<sup>6</sup>Davenport, Treaties bearing on the History of the United States, II, 7

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., II, 11.



comes chiefly from clauses in treaties or proposed treaties between England and other European powers. In the Treaty of Madrid with Spain mutual commerce to all ports was agreed upon.<sup>8</sup> After the passage of the 1651 Navigation Act, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden all attempted to get concessions to trade with the English colonies. However, the English were careful at all times to maintain their monopoly in this trade. The Treaty of Westminster of July 1654 concluded between England and Portugal, conceded mutual freedom of commerce in the lands and colonies of each party, but a saving clause debarred the Portuguese from trade with the English colonies.<sup>9</sup> The other treaties made in this decade also included a similar clause.<sup>10</sup> Officially, therefore, foreigners were debarred from trading with Virginia. The unofficial picture, as shall be seen, was somewhat different.

The official English policy towards foreigners engaged in the trade to Virginia, which culminated in the 1651 Navigation Act stemmed from two attitudes, both linked. Firstly there was the view of what benefits a colony would bestow on the mother country. All early English colonisers had hoped to emulate the Spanish and discover gold, silver and other precious metals. When a search for such riches in Virginia

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., I, 313. This was subject to the limitations on trade to the colonies of either power as laid down in the Treaty of London in 1604.

<sup>9</sup>Davenport, Treaties bearing on the History of the United States, II, 32.

<sup>10</sup>Treaty between England and Denmark, September 1654, Ibid., II, 36, Treaty of Upsala between Sweden and England, April 1654, Ibid., II, 21.

failed, colonisers believed that wealth in other forms would be accumulated by England. It was a popular hope that colonies would form alternative, cheaper and safer sources of supply for those necessary commodities which England drew from foreign countries. They were also to provide an alternative market for English cloth. However, it was felt increasingly that the full benefits of the colonies in general and Virginia in particular were not accruing to England because of the significant part played by other nations, especially the Dutch, in the trade. One writer 'Philanglus' bemoans the situation, declaring that 'we must expect our plantation trade for sugar, tobacco etc., must ere long be wholly driven with exported money or with foreign goods brought with exported money.'<sup>11</sup> Charles Wilson sums up the attitude of all who watched the intrusion of the Dutch into colonial trade, 'what had been a mercantilist's dream in 1600 had become a nightmare half a century later.'<sup>12</sup>

The second attitude determining English policy in this sphere was the dominant economic idea of the sixteenth, seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, mercantilism, of which the belief in the benefits of colonies forms part. Mention has already been made of the policy of mercantilism in connection with the duties placed on incoming goods

<sup>11</sup> Wilson, Charles, Profit and Power. A Study of England and the Dutch Wars, (London, 1957), p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> 'Philanglus,' 'Brittania Languens or a Discourse of Trade,' McCulloch, J.R. ed., Early English Tracts on Commerce, (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 406.

from the colonies.

In 1641 Lewes Roberts published and edited Thomas Mun's Treasure by Foreign Trade which has been regarded by many as a classic statement of the ideas behind mercantilism. Roberts, at the end of the book, summing up the benefits to commerce, set out 'reasons and causes that move all estates, kings and empires to covert the same:'

The first is, the traffic with foreign nations is notable in respect of the honour and reputation thereof.

Secondly, excellence in point of riches, both to the king, his country and subjects.

Thirdly, eminent in regard of strength, offensive and defensive, that it brings with it to the country and princes where it is orderely managed, and regularly practised by skilful merchants.<sup>13</sup>

It was believed that the commerce of a country, if it was in the hands of the people of that country, brought not only wealth into the land in the form of a favourable 'balance of payments' but also employment to ships and mariners and an impetus to navigation in general.<sup>14</sup> In addition in an age of mercantilism, there seemed to be a connexion between commerce and power. The example of the Dutch was for all to see. Holland was a country weak in raw materials, suffering from her

<sup>13</sup>Mun, Thomas, 'England's Treasure by Foreign Trade, or the Ballance of Foreign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure,' McCulloch, Early English Tracts on Commerce, p. 209.

<sup>14</sup>It must be remembered that before the mid seventeenth century, naval warefare was mainly the business of requisitioned merchant ships. Many of the propogandists of the Virginia colony stress the fact that Virginia trade provided an excellent 'nursery for seamen.'

topography, and yet she had managed to defeat the power of Spain and drive the Hapsburgs out of her territories. It seemed obvious to the people of the day that the secret of Dutch success lay in her control of so much of European commerce. Hence as William Cunningham maintained in his Growth of English Industry and Commerce 'politicians of the sixteenth, seventeenth and a greater part of the eighteenth centuries were agreed on trying to regulate all commerce and industry so that the power of England relative to other nations might be promoted.'<sup>15</sup> One way of achieving this was thought to be total control of colonies. 'The essence of colonial policy was that the ownership of colonies provided European countries with a closed source of raw materials and a closed market for the sale of manufactured goods which they produced. To attempt to secure such a situation seemed for European colonial powers a legitimate and appropriate policy, in an age of heightened political nationalism, for a particular stage of economic development when the resources and particularly the capital available to foster the growth of colonies were comparatively limited.'<sup>16</sup> Eli Heckscher maintains that: 'In the relation between political power and economic power, the colonies played a great part.'<sup>17</sup> The 1651 Navigation Act and the underlying policy towards foreign interest which preceded it must both

<sup>15</sup>Wilson, Charles, Mercantilism, (Historical Association, London, 1958), p. 7.

<sup>16</sup>Minchinton, Walter E., ed., The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, (London, 1969), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup>Heckscher, Mercantilism, p. 40.

be seen in the context of these economic beliefs current in the seventeenth century.

Official policy was backed by the attitude of the mercantile classes. Well before the Navigation Act, merchants petitioned the king and council and asked that the Dutch be excluded from colonial trade. Obviously their own trade to the colonies suffered as a result of Dutch competition. Peter Geyl declares that the rising trading classes in England felt the need for protection.<sup>18</sup> In the records of the Colonial Office, there remains one such petition, the authors of which set down various reasons for excluding foreigners from Virginia commerce. To gain official support, they are careful to exclude any selfish motives, stressing instead the threat to the existence of the plantation from foreign intervention and the loss in customs.<sup>19</sup> Certainly it seems that the merchant lobby was a strong one. The 1650 act which prohibited trade with Virginia, Barbados, Antigua and Bermuda until they declared their submission to the Commonwealth, was amended as a result of pressure from a group of merchants who traded with these colonies. The amendment stated that all trade by foreign ships to any English colony was to be prohibited except by special licence.<sup>20</sup> It is

<sup>18</sup>Geyl, Pieter, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, Part II, 1648-1715, (London, 1964,) p. 26.

<sup>19</sup>Public Record Office. Colonial Office, General, 1631-33. C.O.1/66, 82.

<sup>20</sup>Farnell, J.E. 'The Navigation Act of 1651, the first Dutch War and the London Merchant Community,' Economic History Review, Second Series vol. XVI no. 3 (1964), p. 440.

interesting to see that of these merchants three at least are known to have been active in Virginia ventures, William Pennoyer, Elias Roberts and Maurice Thompson.<sup>21</sup> After the passage of the Navigation Act, merchants petitioned for stronger enforcement of its provisions.<sup>22</sup>

However, the merchants' attitude differed from that of the government in one important respect. Many English merchants preferred to use Dutch vessels. They found that these ships, especially the Flute or Fly Boat, were more economical. They were build longer than English merchant vessels with broader and longer bottoms proportional to their length. Thus, more goods could be carried. In addition they had less masts, sail and tackle in general and needed fewer sailors. The merchants could save on wages and victuals.<sup>23</sup> On this latter point one Chronicler in the early seventeenth century remarked that Dutch 'skippers and sailors are so skilled in seafaring and so economical in their feeding, that they save our shipowners at lease one third of the expenses in men and rations, which other nations demand in greater quantity and better quality.'<sup>24</sup> Lawrence Harper estimates that when Dutch competition was unhampered by war, England carried only 35.6% of her own trade.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Maurice Thompson was the merchant most active in Virginia trade. For and account of his career and interests in Virginia see Chapter I.

<sup>22</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. ed., Calender of State Papers Colonial, (1964), first published, 1860, I, 403.

<sup>23</sup> British Museum. Lansdowne Manuscript no. 142, f. 292.

<sup>24</sup> Boxer, C.R. The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800, (London, 1965), p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Harper, Lawrence A., The English Navigation Laws (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 350.

Many of the ships that visited Virginia at this time, although freighted by English merchants, were Dutch vessels. In 1624 the Flying Hart of Flushing landed at the colony and the authorities were uncertain whether to allow her to trade, since, although she had sailed from London, she was Dutch registered.<sup>26</sup> In March 1650 the shipowners presented a complaint to the Admiralty Committee that trade was lost with Holland 'by English merchants shipping their goods in stranger's bottoms, when English ships could be had.'<sup>27</sup> An integral part of the theory of mercantalism was that commerce fostered the shipping of the nation that carried the goods. Thus 'if foreign trade was to support navigation (the government) had to make sure that it was in Englishmen's hands and that they did not use foreign ships.'<sup>28</sup> In addition, payment to foreign shipowners adversely affected the 'balance of payments.' The 1651 Navigation Act, therefore, attempted to ensure that the goods brought into England were carried either in English vessels or in the ships of the nation that produced the goods. Indeed to George Beer the primary purpose of the 1651 Act was to further the development of English sea-power.<sup>29</sup>

There has been some debate among historians as to the source of the pressure behind the 1651 Act. Adam Smith and later Charles M. Andrews

<sup>26</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, IV. 567.

<sup>27</sup>Harper, Navigation Laws, p. 41-42.

<sup>28</sup>Hinton, R.W.K. 'The Mercantile System in the Time of Thomas Mun,' Economic History Review, second series, vol. VII no. 3 (1955), p. 279.

<sup>29</sup>Beer, George Louis, The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660, (New York, 1933), first published, 1906, p. 400.

and Charles Wilson maintained that it was mercantile pressure that was instrumental in getting the act through. The opposing school of thought, supported by R.W.K. Hinton, alleges that the authors were statesmen pursuing the ends of power. Trade was only to be increased so far as it utilised English shipping. The Act as its name suggests was to promote navigation.<sup>30</sup> However, it can be seen that both the state and the mercantile community, although for differing reasons, were agreed on a general policy for the regulation of colonial trade. They did differ as to the question of the use of Dutch shipping but the act of 1651 can be seen, in the words of Charles Wilson, as 'a partnership in mercantilism.' It was a compromise, attempting to reconcile the interests of the merchants and the state. 'Kings, governments and bureaucrats saw in the expansion of mercantile prosperity the chance of larger revenues for themselves and a more prosperous and tranquil people to govern. Merchants saw in the state the helping hand necessary to aid and protect them from, among other things, the excessive competition from foreign importers.'<sup>31</sup>

An important point to note about the 1651 Navigation Act is that it was the natural conclusion of the attitude and policy of the English government for most of the preceding half century. Certainly foreigners were at a disadvantage in Virginian trade from the first years of the settlement. In the first charter fines were instituted for traders

<sup>30</sup>Farnell, 'The Navigation Act of 1651,' p. 439.

<sup>31</sup>Wilson, Mercantilism, p. 18-19.



violating the monopoly of the Virginia Company, those for foreign offenders being double those for the English.<sup>32</sup> It appears that well before 1651, Dutch ships from Virginia which were found in English coastal waters were captured.<sup>33</sup> There were several petitions from traders to Virginia asking that the Dutch be excluded and in 1637 Charles I was spurred into action. He wrote to Governor Harvey and the Council in Virginia and complained that the activities of the Dutch were depriving him of customs. He strictly forbade them to trade with the Dutch.<sup>34</sup> In fact all the reasons for protecting English shipping and merchants became stronger in the first decades of the seventeenth century and would have gained more force if Dutch pressure had not been temporarily halted by the Thirty Years War.<sup>35</sup> The conclusion of that war and the increased activity of the Dutch whilst English commerce and shipping were interrupted by the Civil War, were spurs to the government to try and alleviate the situation. The act of 1650 prohibiting trade with the recalcitrant colonies and the 1651 Navigation Act are important as the first comprehensive statement of mercantalism written into the statute book. They were the first of a series of acts aimed at bringing England a monopoly of the trade of the colonies she controlled. Briefly, the 1651 Act stated that all ships trading

<sup>32</sup> Bemiss, Samuel M., ed., Three Charters of the Virginia Company of England, ('Williamsburg, 1958'), p. 7-8.

<sup>33</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic, 1631-1633 (1862), p. 349.

<sup>34</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 250-251.

<sup>35</sup> Davis, Ralph, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry, (London, 1962), p. 304.

with the colonies in America should be English owned and manned. Goods imported into England must be carried directly from their place of production in English ships or in the ships of the country which produced them.<sup>36</sup> An English ship was defined as one that was built in England, belonged either to English or English plantation subjects, navigated by an English commander and manned by sailors at least three quarters of whom were Englishmen.<sup>37</sup>

Foreign ships engaged in trade with the English colonies came under severe attack as a result of the 1650 act and the 1651 Navigation Act. Even before the latter was passed, Captain Dennis, the Commander in Chief of the fleet dispatched in 1651 to reduce Virginia, was ordered 'to use his utmost endeavours to seize all vessels and boats whatsoever found trading or which have traded with any of the English Plantations within the limits formerly prescribed, contrary to the Act of Parliament and dispose of such men boats and arms and ammunition as they shall judge most conducing to the service of the Commonwealth.'<sup>38</sup> With the outbreak of the Dutch War in 1652, pressure on the shipping of that nation increased. During the war, several Virginia ships received letters of

<sup>36</sup>Firth, Charles and R.S. Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 3 vols., (London, 1911), II, 425-429 gives the full text.

<sup>37</sup>Macpherson, David, Annals of Commerce, 4 vols., London, 1805), I, 442-443.

<sup>38</sup>Withington, Lothrop, 'The Surrender of Virginia to the Parliamentary Commissioners, March 1651-1652,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography vol. 11 (July 1903-April 1904), p. 39-40.

marque, allowing them to attack Dutch shipping.<sup>39</sup> As a result of such commissions, several Dutch ships were captured and attacked whilst in Virginia waters for the purpose of trade. In February 1652 the Golden Lion was seized in the James River as she was loading tobacco by the Parliamentary vessel the William and John. The owner of the ship claimed that she had left Holland without being able to confirm rumours that trade with Virginia (by the Act of 1650) had been forbidden.<sup>40</sup> The owner, John Browne, claimed he was an Englishman living in Rotterdam but 'very well affected' to the Parliamentary cause.<sup>41</sup> During the course of the resulting case in the High Court of Admiralty it was alleged by one witness that two other Dutch ships, the Pharoah and the Charity had been captured at the same time.<sup>42</sup> Two years later a ship commended by Thomas Webber sailing under letters of marque, took possession of the Maid of Ghent. Some of the crew of this ship managed to escape but not before putting a hole in the hull and spoiling the tobacco she carried.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Richard Husband, owner and commander of the Hopeful Adventure held letters of marque and using

<sup>39</sup>Calender of State Papers. Colonial, I, 407.

<sup>40</sup>Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty, Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. July 1651-July 1652. H.C.A. 13/65.

<sup>41</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. July 1652-February 1653. H.C.A. 13/66.

<sup>42</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. February 1653-September 1653. H.C.A. 13/67.

<sup>43</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Court. Book of Examinations. November 1653-February 1654. H.C.A. 13/69.

these he took a Dutch pinnace, the Fame of Rotterdam.<sup>44</sup> Occasionally the government ships and those sailing under letters of marque were over-zealous in pursuing their task of capturing illegal trading vessels. In 1654 Daniel Howe of New England petitioned the council in England. He maintained that he had been cast away on the coast between New England and Virginia and had purchased a Dutch vessel, the Hopewell, in New Amsterdam to complete his voyage to Virginia. When he arrived in the Chesapeake, his ship was arrested by Captain Peter Wraxall on the pretext that she was a Dutch vessel, breaking the provisions of the Navigation Act. On arrival in England he found that Wraxall had already procured a condemnation.<sup>45</sup> It appears that Dutch ships which managed to leave Virginia waters without being captured, often ran into trouble when they approached the English coast on the homeward voyage. In 1651 the Fortune was coming round the 'backside' (presumably the North) of Ireland and Scotland, when she was surprised and taken by Captain John Purviss commander of the Fortune of Yarmouth in the service of the Commonwealth.<sup>46</sup> Later that year the owner of the ship, one John Bassalier of Middleburg, petitioned for her release. He alleged that she

<sup>44</sup>H.C.A. 13/66.

<sup>45</sup>Crump, Helen J., Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century, Imperial Studies no. 5, (London, 1931), p. 77.

<sup>46</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance Papers. Series Early. 1650-1660. H.C.A. 15/5 no. 60.

had sailed from Europe before the act forbidding trade with Virginia had been passed and had left Virginia before news of the prohibition arrived.<sup>47</sup> In 1655 two Dutch ships were seized at Plymouth for trading with the English colonies in America. Unfortunately it is not stated whether they called in at Virginia.<sup>48</sup> In the same year Captain Francis Willoughby wrote from Plymouth to the Admiralty Commissioners and told them that a Brest man of war had been brought in and with it a Flemish ship from Virginia laden with tobacco taken by the Brest ship.<sup>49</sup> It can be seen, therefore, that the acts of 1650 and 1651 and the Dutch War were instrumental in causing the capture of several Dutch vessels which had traded or were trading in Virginia. Now the officials in England had, after years of tentative moves, arrived at a comprehensive policy of dealing with foreigners whom they regarded as interlopers in English colonial trade.

So far, the attitude of the English authorities and merchant classes to foreigners in colonial trade has been discussed. However, before any of the acts against this trade could be implemented fully, the full co-operation of the settlers themselves was necessary. What, therefore, was the attitude of the Virginians? Generally the colonists, despite pressure from England, had maintained links with foreigners in general and the Dutch in particular, in the period prior to 1650. Perhaps the

<sup>47</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission Thirteenth Report (London, 1891), Part I p. 617.

<sup>48</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 423.

<sup>49</sup> Calender of State Papers Domestic, 1655, (London, 1881), p. 483.

most important reason for this attitude was that the Dutch brought them a more varied selection of goods at more reasonable prices than could be gained if trade had been pursued with the English alone. A joint resolution of the Governor, Council and House of Burgesses in 1647 reveals this attitude:

Whereas many and most absolute necessities have given cause to several late grand Assemblies to establish sundry Solemne Acts and publish declarations thereupon to invite and encourage the Dutch nation to a trade and commerce with the inhabitants of the colony which now for some years they have enjoyed with such Content, Comfort and relief that they esteem the continuance thereof, of noe less consequence then as relative to their beinge and subsistence.<sup>50</sup>

Wesley Frank Craven maintains that 'Dutch cargos ran perhaps a bit too much on spiritous goods' and argues that there were several economic arguments against placing too much reliance on this trade, not the least of which that the Dutch were not prepared to sink sufficient capital in Virginia.<sup>51</sup> However, the very fact that the Dutch supplied them with liquor would surely encourage the Virginians to maintain the trade. The Dutch trade was most important during the periods when supply was short which, as has been seen, was for most of the first two or three decades of settlement. In 1640 a Dutch vessel reached the colony early in the trading season and exchanged her goods for tobacco. This resulted in a

<sup>50</sup> McIlwaine, H.R. and J.P. Kennedy, Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, (Richmond, Virginia, 1905), I, 74.

<sup>51</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, (Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 242.

petition from the masters of the English ships then at anchor in the colony. They asked that an example might be made of that ship by confiscation of her cargo. The General Court rejected this alleging that when the Dutch vessel arrived, the people needed supplies urgently; the articles imported by her had afforded great relief; the English ships reaching Virginia at a later date had been lacking in the commodities so much that if dependence had been placed on them alone the colonists would have been left in a state of 'intolerable exigency,'<sup>52</sup> As late as 1651 Governor Berkeley maintained that the Dutch had found them in poverty and had relieved them.<sup>53</sup> The planters appear to have preferred to entrust the Dutch with their cargoes of tobacco. The reasons for this are similar to those which encouraged the English merchants to use Dutch shipping; freight rates were cheaper and the vessels usually took less time to cross to Europe than did the heavier English ships. The Dutch also offered European goods at lower prices, longer credit and the import duties were considerably below the English rates. In 1621 the duty was six stivers (seven pence) and by 1654 it had been reduced to only one stiver.<sup>54</sup> Often the planters had no alternative but to ship in Dutch vessels. In the cases in the High

<sup>52</sup>Bruce, Philip, The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (2 vols., New York, 1907), II, 306.

<sup>53</sup>Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 76.

<sup>54</sup>Gray, Stanley and V.J. Wyckoff, 'The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century,' Southern Economic Journal, vol. VII, no. I (July, 1940), p. 3.

Court of Admiralty which resulted from the capture of the Golden Lion and the Fortune, several planters petitioned for damages caused by the confiscation of their tobacco. Giles Webb argued that he had no choice but to lade his crop on the Golden Lion. At the time of her arrival in Virginia there was only one English ship in the James River and she was fully laden.<sup>55</sup> A similar argument was put forward by Gabriel Binion and Richard Glover for lading their goods on the Fortune. If they had not put their goods on this vessel and waited for an English ship, the tobacco would have been thoroughly spoilt.<sup>56</sup> The Dutch trade became even more valuable to the Virginians in the 1640's and 1650's when the Dutch began to supply them with negroes in greater numbers than before.

However, the Virginians were aware at all times before 1650 that they were pursuing a policy which was frowned on by the authorities in England and by English traders to the colony. There was, therefore, a certain duality in their attitude to foreign traders. Both in official policy and in personal dealings, the colonists reveal their favourable attitude to this trade. Several acts were passed by the House of Burgesses to assure the Dutch that they were free to trade. Typical is that of March 1641. 'It shall be free and lawful for any merchant, factors or others of the Dutch nation to import wares and merchandises and to trade and traffic for the commodities of the colony in any ship

<sup>55</sup>H.C.A. 13/66.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.



or ships of their own or belonging to the Netherlands.<sup>57</sup> Apparently the earliest contacts between the Dutch and Virginia were hampered by the fear of the colonists that the Dutch were inciting the Indians against them, but by 1617 relations were established on a more friendly basis. Several of the early leaders of the colony, such as Thomas Dale and Thomas Gates, were subsidised by the Dutch to promote their trade.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, throughout the period, the highest officials of the colony gave the lead to the other settlers in pursuing personal trading relations with the Dutch. George Yeardley, governor on several occasions, was accustomed to send all his tobacco to Holland.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, there are several reports from the colonists to England protesting their innocence of charges of allowing the Dutch to trade. In 1633 the Privy Council wrote to Governor Harvey and the Council saying that they had received information from the farmers of the customs and the merchants who traded to Virginia that the settlers were engaged in commerce with the Dutch. The reply has been preserved and is rather amusing. The Governor and Council ask the Privy Council not to believe such rumours which were spread around by others for their own gain. It was impossible that they should go against their lordships on such matters.<sup>60</sup> As if to

<sup>57</sup>Henning, William W., The Statutes at Large, (New York, 1823), I, 258.

<sup>58</sup>Savelle, Max, The Origins of American Diplomacy, (New York, 1967), p. 165.

<sup>59</sup>Andrews, Charles M., The Colonial Period of American History, 4 vols., (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938), IV, 17.

<sup>60</sup>Public Record Office. Colonial Office. General. 1634-1635. C.O.I./8,3

verify this attitude, one of the charges levied by Harvey against the 'mutinous' members of the council was that they had traded with the Dutch.<sup>61</sup> This charge must be viewed in the general context of the quarrel between Harvey and the council and be taken as an isolated example of denunciation of the trade with foreigners. The Virginians did not fool anybody with such pronouncements, least of all the English merchants who had firsthand experience of the trade and who informed the council in England of their activities. The colonists, therefore, tried to excuse their conduct by seeking precedents. In 1647 the House of Burgesses went so far as to declare that by virtue of an 'ancient' charter the planters had been given the privilege to trade with any nation in friendship with England.<sup>62</sup> It is uncertain from whence they obtained this strange notion, for it was generally thought, considering the commonly held views of the benefits of colonies, that trade with other nations was condemned by the government in England. There seems to have been, in the first and subsequent charters given to the Virginia Company, an implicit understanding that the colonists would only trade directly to England. However, it is possible that the colonists argued that with the abrogation of the charter and the establishment of royal government (1623-1625) the restrictions on trade, or at least the legal formulation of them, had been removed. In the years immediately following

<sup>61</sup> Sainsbury, W.N. 'Virginia in 1636,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography vol. 9 (July 1901-April 1902), p. 35.

<sup>62</sup> Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 74.

the dissolution, the royal orders included no specific restrictions forbidding trade with foreigners or the shipment of goods to foreign ports. However, in pursuing such a policy, the Virginians were undoubtedly acting contrary to the wishes of the government in England in the period prior to 1650. According to Charles Wilson in his discussion of the Dutch incursions into colonial trade 'what was worst of all was the apparent acquiescence of and even willing co-operation of the colonists with the Dutch.'<sup>63</sup> Considering the climate of opinion of the time, one is inclined to agree with him.

So far the discussion has centred on the attitude of the Virginians prior to 1650. There is little evidence to suggest that this changed after the 1650 act and 1651 Navigation Act. This was caused primarily by a misunderstanding and a misinterpretation of the two acts in Virginia. The colonists believed they had been given freedom of trade under the provisions of the articles of surrender to the Commonwealth. The situation was not changed by the 1651 act. According to the House of Burgesses 'we . . . have seene a printed paper . . . wherein (with other plantations of America) we are prohibited trade and commerce with all but such as the present power shall allow of . . . we will peaceably (as formerly) trade with the Londoners . . . and all other nations in amity with our soveraigne.'<sup>64</sup> In fact the same body heard and approved

<sup>63</sup>Wilson, Profit and Power, p. 44.

<sup>64</sup>Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 76-78.

of allegations against one Abraham Read in 1653. The charges concerned his attitude to two ships from Dunkirk, and it was said he had 'injuriously uttered in discourse that no forreigners ought to have trade in Virginia.'<sup>65</sup> A similar interpretation was placed on the articles of surrender by the planters of Barbados. The discovery of Sir George Ayscue (head of the Parliamentary Fleet of 1651 intended to reduce the colonies to submission to the Commonwealth) of seventeen foreign vessels in the harbours of Barbados is some indication of the attitude of the colonists of the island.<sup>66</sup> It does seem that most of the attacks on foreign vessels in Virginia waters were undertaken either by the small fleet under Captain Thomas Wilson sent out for the purpose, or by English merchant vessels sailing with letters of marque. There are occasions when the Virginians interfered with their activities. After Peter Wraxall had seized the Hopewell, he was in Accomacke refitting the ship for the voyage to England when it was retaken by Richard Bennett (then Governor of Virginia) who freed the Dutch crew and ordered Wraxall's men to help the Dutch sail the ship into the James. Wraxall demanded restoration of the ship and the governor replied by throwing him and his crew into jail.<sup>67</sup> A similar fate befell Richard Husband after he had captured the Fame. He was detained on shore until he

<sup>65</sup>Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 87.

<sup>66</sup>Harlow, Vincent T., A History of the Barbados, (Oxford, 1926), p. 84-85.

<sup>67</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. September 1653-March 1654. H.C.A. 13/68 f. 122-123.

surrendered the ship and her goods to the Virginian authorities.<sup>68</sup> This disregard of the Navigation Act was known to the home authorities. William Penn, the commander of the fleet to the West Indies in 1654, was instructed 'to seize and in case of resistance, to sink, burn and destroy all foreign ships and vessels trading without license with the Barbados, Virginia, Bermudas and Antigua.'<sup>69</sup> In 1655 the owners of the Charles petitioned the Lord Protector. They alleged that 'divers ships are usually found intruding at Virginia and surreptitiously carrying away the growth of the plantation to foreign parts.' They asked for, and were granted, a commission to seize any ships found trading contrary to the Navigation Act.<sup>70</sup> Similar commissions were given to other vessels.

However, the policy of the Virginians in the decade of the 1650's showed the same duality as in the previous decades. Several Dutch vessels were declared forfeit to the colony. In January 1652 an order was issued by the General Assembly which gave authority for seizure of any Dutch ships that came into Virginia waters, saying that they were afraid for the safety of the place.<sup>71</sup> One month later Captain Edmund Scarborough's vessel, the Hobby Horse, captured Dutchmen or people they

<sup>68</sup>H.C.A. 13/66.

<sup>69</sup>Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report Part II, p. 89.

<sup>70</sup>Public Record Office. Colonial Office. General. 1653-1656. C.O.I. 12,33.

<sup>71</sup>'Northampton County Records in the Seventeenth Century.' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 5 (July 1897-April 1898), p. 36.

thought Dutch on the Potomac.<sup>72</sup> At least three foreign ships, the St. John of Amsterdam, the White Horse and the Leopoldus of Dunkirk, were captured by the Virginians in 1653.<sup>73</sup> Three reasons for this paradoxical attitude can be ventured. The first is revealed in the confession of the General Assembly that they were worried about an attack on Virginia by the Dutch. The seizure of the Dutch vessels must be seen in the context of the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654. Secondly, it was estimated that the St. John of Amsterdam was sold by the governor and council for 50,000 pounds of tobacco.<sup>74</sup> It seems, therefore, that the capture of foreign vessels was a remunerative occupation for the colonists, a point stressed by Lawrence Harper.<sup>75</sup> The interference of the officials of the colony in the activities of the English who seized foreign ships in Virginia waters, can be seen as an attempt to gain some fiscal benefit from such captures. They wanted a share of the spoils. Thirdly, after 1651 the government of Virginia was in the hands of men such as Richard Bennett who were more favourable to the Parliamentary cause than was Governor Berkeley. Although these men were also planters and could see the benefits of the trade with the Dutch, they felt that they owed some measure of loyalty

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>73</sup>Henning, Statutes, I, 382, 285, 388, 'Northampton County Records,' p. 38.

<sup>74</sup>'Northampton County Records,' p. 38.

<sup>75</sup>Harper, Navigation Laws, p. 161.

to the government in England. Thus when Governor Peter Stuyvesant of the New Netherlands proposed in 1653 to enter into a commercial alliance with the Virginians, the leaders of the colony felt obliged to reply that they could not conclude any agreement before consulting the Council of State in England.<sup>76</sup>

It does seem as if the Virginians did attempt towards the end of the decade to curtail the activities of the Dutch and other foreigners. An act of the House of Burgesses of March 1658 imposed a levy of ten shillings a hogshead on goods shipped from the colony in any foreign vessel or any ship intending to land in America or a port not in England, the exception being English vessels bound directly to England.<sup>77</sup> This does not seem to have completely prevented the Dutch trade. This was not the intention of the Virginians. A similar act was passed in March 1660. Whilst reimposing the ten shilling levy, it encouraged trade from friendly nations and reduced the imposition to two shillings for those who imported negroes.<sup>78</sup> A month later a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between Virginia and the New Netherlands. This allowed the Dutch to trade and even gave them equal justice with the English in the Virginian courts.<sup>79</sup> In any discussion of the effectiveness

<sup>76</sup>'Virginia and the Act of Navigation,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography vol. 1 (July 1893-April 1894), p. 142.

<sup>77</sup>Hemming, Statutes, I, 469.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., I, 540.

<sup>79</sup>Davenport, Treaties bearing on the History of the United States, II, 54.

of the Navigation Act in Virginia, the attitude of the colonists themselves is of prime importance. They showed a paradoxical attitude. How much this was due to the misinterpretation of the articles of surrender and how much to their determination to carry on the lucrative trade with the Dutch, is difficult to assess. Probably if the Virginians had anything to gain by enforcing the 1651 Act, they would have done so. In the light of this, the act of March 1658 can be taken as primarily a fiscal measure. Presumably the Virginians thought that the ten shilling levy would not discourage the Dutch but would bring much needed revenue into the colony.

The whole question of the enforcement of the Navigation Act of 1651 and its effect in the colonies has been debated by several generations of historians. The traditional view is expressed most forcibly by Thomas J. Wertenbaker who argued that the Act marked the beginning of England's oppressive policy towards the colonies and was a severe blow to Virginia.<sup>80</sup> George Beer tends to agree with this; 'as far as Virginia was concerned, there is every reason for believing that the policy was effectually executed and that there was little direct trade to foreign countries.'<sup>81</sup> Later research, notably that of Lawrence Harper whose account of England's policy towards the trade of her colonies is still the most comprehensive and well balanced, has

<sup>80</sup> Wertenbaker, Thomas J., The Shaping of Colonial Virginia, (New York, 1958), first published, 1910, p. 186.

<sup>81</sup> Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, p. 208-209.



revealed that the act was not as oppressive as was earlier believed. He maintains that, in general, this act and subsequent ones, followed the natural patterns of trade.<sup>82</sup> His words are echoed by the most recent survey of colonial Virginia by Richard Morton who believes that the Act had little effect on colonial trade.<sup>83</sup> Much earlier than Harper, Philip Bruce stressed the lax enforcement of the act and argued that the privileges that the Virginians enjoyed in trade with foreigners sprang chiefly from this laxness.<sup>84</sup>

The arguments expressed above depended to a large extent on the view of the volume of Dutch trade. If, as Wertenbaker believed, the Dutch had a large proportion of the trade, then the act, however lax its enforcement, must have had some effect on the trade. Any estimation of the contribution of foreigners to the commerce of Virginia before and after 1651 is made difficult by the incomplete and often ambiguous records. Reliance has to be placed on the odd remark of a visitor to Virginia or of an official in the colony. Those county court records that are extant, notably those of Accomacke and Northampton Counties on the Eastern Shore, show that quite an extensive and important trade had sprung up between the planters who resided there and foreign merchants. References to commercial contact with the Dutch are numerous.

<sup>82</sup> Harper, The Navigation Laws, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Morton, Richard, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, 1960), I, 170.

<sup>84</sup> Bruce, Economic History, I, 334.

John Wilkins testified, in the 1630's, that Henry Weed had shipped for Holland seventeen hogsheads of tobacco. There is reference to shipping tobacco aboard the Aaron of Amsterdam, and also to the master of the Water Duck of Rotterdam receiving from Stephen Chatton, 5,200 pounds of tobacco and delivering to him five pipes of wine.<sup>85</sup> Later, in the 1640's, Captain Francis Yeardley made an assignment to a prominent firm of Rotterdam, of three negroes as security for the payment of a large amount of tobacco which he had promised to deliver in return for goods already received.<sup>86</sup> Apart from the county records, only occasional reference is made to a Dutch vessel arriving in the colony. There is a note in the records of the Colonial Office to the effect that, in 1634, a ship of Holland brought in 145 passengers.<sup>87</sup> It does appear from such casual references that Dutch trade was more extensive in the decade of the 1640's due to the disruption of English commerce caused by the Civil War. David De Vries visited Virginia in 1635 and thought that the English were so dominant in the trade that there was little chance for the Dutch; 'there be no trade for us unless there be an over-surplus of tobacco or few English ships.'<sup>88</sup> However,

<sup>85</sup> Ames, Susie M., Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century, (Richmond, Virginia, 1940), p. 45.

<sup>86</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, 309.

<sup>87</sup> C.O. 1/8, 55.

<sup>88</sup> De Vries, David P., Voyages from Holland to America, edited and translated by Henry C. Murphy, (New York, 1853), p. 112-113.

on his return to the colony in 1642-1643 he encountered a herring buss from Rotterdam. She was laden with one hundred pipes of maderia wine and was eventually guided into the colony by De Vries. The master had earlier attempted to get into Virginia but could not find the colony and had sailed as far north as New England but could not sell his wine here 'because the people were too sober' nor in the New Netherlands where there was a tax on wine.<sup>89</sup> De Vries saw at least three other Dutch ships during his stay and maintained that these vessels 'make a great trade here every year.'<sup>90</sup> It would appear that in the years between his two visits the Dutch trade with Virginia had grown considerably. There is other evidence of such growth in the 1640's. During the Civil War, it was common practise for the Bristol Merchants to freight their goods in Dutch ships and have their cargos insured at Amsterdam.<sup>91</sup> There is even an instance of English merchants freighting a vessel for Virginia in Tenerife. The tobacco collected in the colony was to be brought back to the Canary Isles.<sup>92</sup> The merchants obviously thought it was safer to avoid English coastal waters. The Civil War favoured foreign merchants and shipping in a less direct way. During the 1640's taxes were heavier than before, wages increased and the cost of producing manufactured goods

<sup>89</sup>De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, p. 176.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>91</sup>Little, Bryan, The City and County of Bristol (London, 1954), p. 130-1.

<sup>92</sup>Aspinwall Notorial Records (Records Relating to the Early History of Boston no. 32, Boston, 1903), p. 154-155.

showed a corresponding rise. The prices of foreign goods, therefore, became more attractive to the colonists.<sup>93</sup> For these reasons, foreign shipping in general, and that of the Dutch in particular, to Virginia increased. It was alleged by one observer that in December 1647 there were twenty four vessels from Eurpoe in Virginia, one half of which were Dutch.<sup>94</sup> The following year twenty five Dutch ships had been fitted out with merchandise for the colony.<sup>95</sup>

Perhaps the strongest evidence for a quite extensive Dutch trade with the colony comes from the Dutch merchants themselves. Quite a number of these were more than casual traders. In the case of the Golden Lion, John Browne, the owner, said that he was a 'constant' trader from Holland and Zealand to Virginia.<sup>96</sup> In 1650 several Dutch merchants petitioned the States General stating that they had traded 'for upwards of twenty years past to the Caribbean Islands and Virginia.'<sup>97</sup> A specific example of such a merchant is Aries Tropp who in 1648 appointed Colonel Obedience Robins as his attorney. Twelve years later Robins was still acting for Tropp.<sup>98</sup> Several of the merchants had strong ties with the colony. Some of the captains of the Dutch ships concerned in the

<sup>93</sup>Beer, Origins of the British Colonial System, p. 352-353.

<sup>94</sup>Anon, 'A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649,' Force, Peter, Tracts and other Papers (Gloucester, Mass., 1963) first published 1836, II, 14.

<sup>95</sup>Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourth Report, (London, 1874), part I, p. 45.

<sup>96</sup>H.C.A. 13/66.

<sup>97</sup>O'Callaghan, Documents of New York, I, 436.

<sup>98</sup>Ames, The Eastern Shore, p. 45.

trade, such as Doodes Miner, settled in the colony and founded influential Virginia families.<sup>99</sup> It seems that Captain Derrickson, a citizen of Holland, had property in Virginia. He had carried off a maid servant who was still under articles of indenture to a Mr. Richard Glover and it was ordered that his property be confiscated as a punishment.<sup>100</sup>

Even with this limited amount of information, it is clear that by the 1640's the Dutch held a good proportion of the trade to Virginia in their hands. George Beer maintained that the strong national spirit of the age and prevailing distrust of foreigners worked against such intercourse.<sup>101</sup> It is difficult to agree with this statement. It appears that the colonists had little or no scruples in dealing with foreigners; the prices of their goods were attractive and it was often cheaper, safer and speedier to send tobacco and other commodities back to Europe in their vessels. The Virginians were, therefore, prepared to encourage this trade even though they well know that they were acting against the wishes of their government in England. At the same time they were conscious of the need to placate English officialdom. This accounts for a

<sup>99</sup>'Note on the Fayson Family,' Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, vol. VI (July 1924-April 1925), p. 270.

<sup>100</sup>Bruce, Economic History, II, 308-309.

<sup>101</sup>Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, p. 236.

certain amount of duplicity in their actions and attitudes. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Dutch had the largest proportion of the trade. Even during the Civil War, the English still managed to send out at least as many and usually more vessels. One would agree with Wesley Frank Craven and Richard Morton when they declare that there was little reason to believe that the Dutch ever promised to relieve the colonists from a basic dependence on England.<sup>102</sup> This does not detract from the fact that in many specific cases the Dutch did relieve the pressing needs of the colonists. If the Navigation Act had been properly enforced, the colonists would have suffered to the extent that their choice of manufactured goods and other supplies and of shipping in which to transport their tobacco would have been reduced. It is fair to say that the capture of several Dutch vessels in the 1650's and the general decline of Dutch commerce during and after the war with England, did serve to limit the options open to the Virginians. After the passage of the 1651 Navigation Act, despite the constant threat of capture, the Dutch were still prepared to trade with Virginia. They felt that the profits to be gained from the trade were well worth any risk involved. They probably realised also, especially if they were regular traders to the colony, that the Virginians themselves were not prepared to jeopardise their commerce by enforcing the act. After all, they were even prepared to intervene on occasions on behalf of captured Dutch vessels.

<sup>102</sup>Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 242. Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 165.

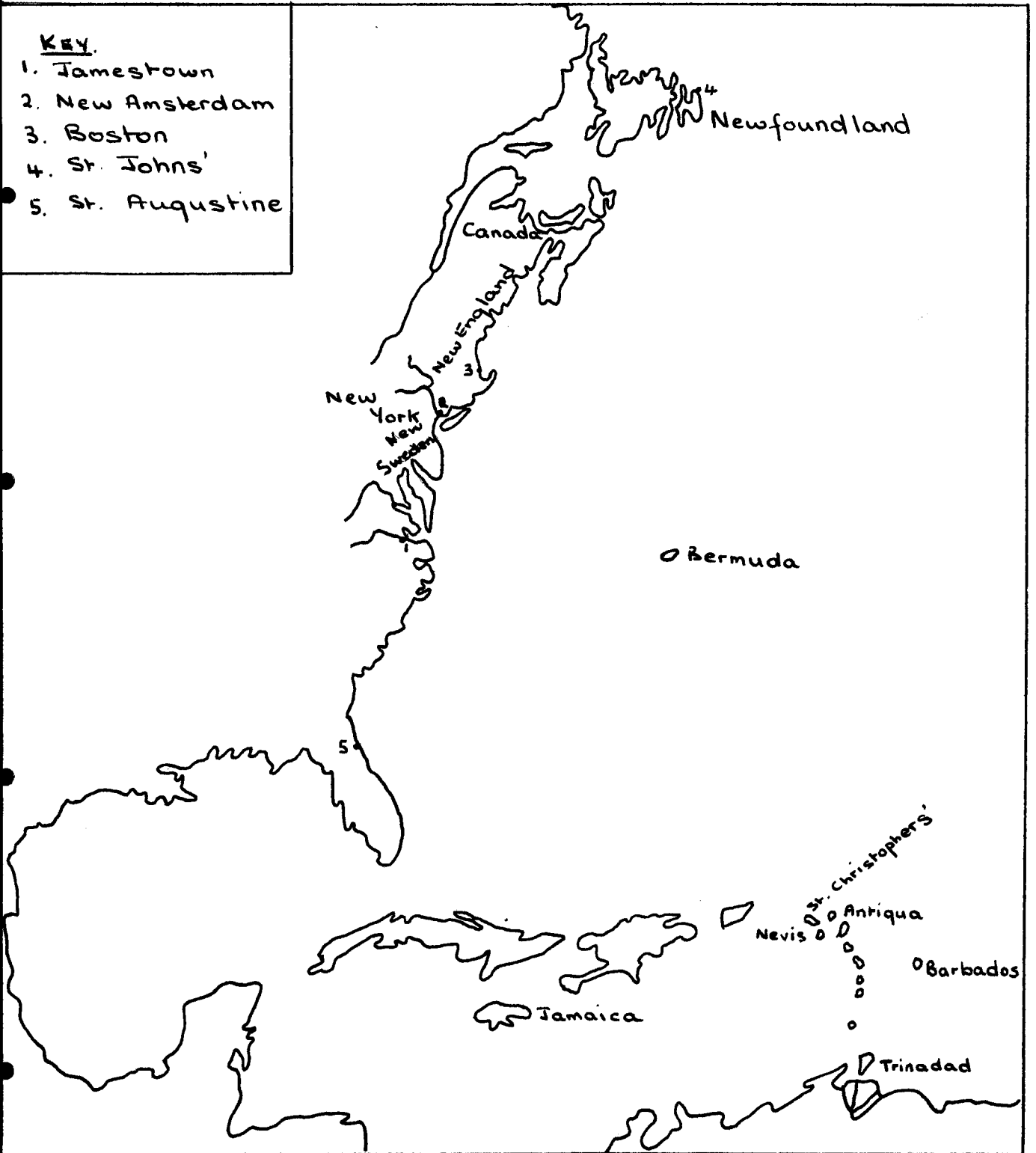
CHAPTER VIII.

INTER-COLONIAL TRADE INVOLVING VIRGINIA.

figur The Eastern Seaboard of North America and the Caribbean  
c. 1660

KEY.

- 1. Jamestown
- 2. New Amsterdam
- 3. Boston
- 4. St. Johns'
- 5. St. Augustine





The question of trade between Virginia and the other colonies established on the American Continent prior to 1660 is one which has received scant attention by historians. Arthur Middleton in his extensive work on the colonial tobacco trade is content merely to recognise the emergence of an inter-colonial trade between the Chesapeake Bay and the other settlements as they were created.<sup>1</sup> Even Bernard Bailyn in his more recent authoratative work on the early trade of New England only acknowledges that a growing fleet was dispatched to the tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland.<sup>2</sup> If, as many historians of the American Revolution maintain, the sense of national awareness in the thirteen colonies was fostered greatly by such trade, the subject, and, more specifically, its origins, deserves much closer attention. Especially as research shows that at certain times during the period under review, inter-colonial trade involving Virginia was quite extensive. Its growth was due to several factors. Firstly, the routes taken to Virginia and the other colonies, often ships would call in eslewhere on the course of their voyage and obtain fresh water and supply or even cargoes for the return trip. The masters of ships were a fruitful source of information on the possibilities and advantages of trade with the other colonies and passed their knowledge onto the merchants in each colony. Secondly, it was soon realised that essential supplies could often be

<sup>1</sup>Middleton, Tobacco Coast, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>Bailyn, New England Merchants, p. 86.

obtained more speedily and more certainly from a neighbouring colony than from England. In the case of Virginia, a third factor comes into play after the establishment of the one crop economy. The colonists needed supplies of grain and other agricultural products which, previously, they had grown themselves. Thus they searched for new sources for such commodities and found them in the nearby settlements.

The earliest trade grew up almost incidently, being established as soon as the colonies themselves. It can be closely associated with the routes taken to and from Virginia. In many cases, more especially during the early years of the colony, ships would call in at the West Indies or the Bermudas. Indeed the three ships bearing the first settlers spent some extensive time in the Caribbean in the early months of 1607.<sup>3</sup> When, in turn, colonies were established in the West Indies or in New England, it was only a short step from stopping to obtain fresh water and provisions to collect goods for exchange on arrival in Virginia or carrying commodities from the Chesapeake which would find a ready market in the other colonies. It can be argued that the Bermudas were settled as a result of being on the route to Virginia. They were rediscovered by accident in 1609. Sir Thomas Gates in the Sea Venture left for Virginia in charge of a fleet of eight other ships in June of that year. The vessels ran into a storm of great ferocity and were separated, the Sea Venture coming to land on

<sup>3</sup>For a full description of the routes taken to Virginia see Chapter III.

the Bermudas. The survivors spent some time in the islands constructing two ships to take them to Virginia, and were very impressed with the land. This led to the establishment of a colony on the islands.<sup>4</sup> Ships for Virginia would often carry passengers and goods for the Bermudas. As far as can be judged, from the extant details of voyages to Virginia, some fifteen ships went **by** way of the Bermudas between 1609 and 1660. The one disadvantage was the possible delays which could occur on the visit to the Bermudas. The Somers Island Company apparently were concerned with this problem judging by a letter they sent by the Seaflower in 1616. The ship called at the Bermudas and delivered the letter which was addressed to Captain Daniel Tucker then in charge of affairs on the Island. It stated: 'we pray you to show what favour you may unto Mr. Gardiner, the master of the ship, the Seaflower, in dispatching him away for Virginia with all expedition as well for the benefit of those who are there to plant as otherwise for the furtherance and advantage of other pretended voyages.'<sup>5</sup>

Both the Virginia Company and private adventurers took advantage of the call at the Bermudas to gather goods there to ship to Virginia. It was the semi-tropical plants and fruits which could be grown in

<sup>4</sup>For a full account of the incident and the settlement of the Bermudas see, 'A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia' in Peter Force ed., Tracts and Other Papers, 4 vols., (New York, 1947), Ist. Published, 1884, volume III.

<sup>5</sup>Lefroy, John H., Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 2 vols., (London, 1877), I, 120.

Bermuda but not in Virginia which made the trade with the island so attractive.

The writers of the above letter also urged, ' . . . since the time and occasion so fittly serveth, we earnestly desire you to send such store as you are possibly able to spare of all plants and fruits wherein you abound and Virginia wanteth and especially of your white vine cuttings . . . ' <sup>6</sup> Since the affairs of the Virginia and Somers Island Companies were closely linked financially, the members of both obviously hoped that such exchanges would lessen the quantity of supplies that they had to send from England to Virginia and lighten the burden of their precarious financial situation. However, even after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, it was the custom for the ships to pick up goods from the islands and take them to Virginia. In 1625 Captain Henry Woodhouse wrote from the island to London and noted that the James, Tobias Felgate master, called in at the Bermudas on the 11 March and departed on the 7 April ' . . . being furnished with sundry plants and fruits as the Somers Islands yeild . . . ' <sup>7</sup>

Early trade between Virginia and the West Indies stemmed in part from the practice of ships in calling in at the Caribbean Islands en route to Virginia. Williamson states that it was the 'usual' practice for merchantmen to visit the Caribbean and then pass on to Virginia. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 341.

<sup>8</sup> Williamson, James A., The Caribee Islands under the Proprietary Patents, (London, 1926), 138.

Although Williamson probably exaggerates a little, statistics do show that of the ships which left for Virginia, some sixteen are known definitely to have called in on the West Indies en route to the colony and two (both to Barbados) on the way back to England.<sup>9</sup> The earliest visitors, as in the Bermudas, picked up fresh provisions, wood and water.

Another similarity with the Bermudas is found. It is argued by Williamson that the impetus to the settlement of the island of St. Christophers owed much to Anthony Hilton who, in May 1623, commanded a ship for the Virginia Company on a voyage to the colony and to the Hudson River. Subsequently he made another trip in the service of some merchants of Barnstable. On the way to Virginia, he touched at St. Christophers and communicated with Sir Thomas Weaver, then Governor of the Island. He was so impressed with St. Christophers that he persuaded some Irish gentlemen (for whom he had carried tobacco) that a plantation on the island would be an excellent investment. Financed by them, he made the first settlement on the windward side of the island.<sup>10</sup> Certainly, it can be seen how the route taken to Virginia could affect the settlement and growth of other plantations.

In the 1620's and 1630's, following the establishment of English colonies on several of the islands, a wider trade came into being, the

<sup>9</sup>These figures can be broken down to represent ships visiting separate islands. Ten to Barbados, two to Nevis, two to St. Christophers, one to Antego and one to the Isle of Providence. See Appendix

<sup>10</sup>Williamson, 66.

goods collected were not merely those necessary to sustain the passengers of the ship on the remainder of their voyage, but were commodities such as soap, salt and sugar produced in the islands which could not be obtained in Virginia. The intention of the freighters of the Thomas and John was to obtain cattle in Virginia and to carry them to the Barbados. In June 1650, the ship arrived in Virginia. The ship was loaded and ready to depart when William Farr, the commander, his chief mate and some others of the company died (presumably of some disease contracted on board ship or in Virginia). The rest of the company refused to go to the Barbados and, in time, the freighters were forced to abandon the project through the 'factious obstinacy of the seamen.' Apparently, with Farr dead, they were uncertain as to who would pay their wages and refused to move the ship until payment had been received.<sup>11</sup>

Some of the ships trading to Virginia not only called in at the West Indies but also, either en route to the Cheasapeake or on the return journey, landed at New England. During the Civil War, despite the fact that the Royalist forces had taken Dartmouth and sequestered all shipping, one vessel captained by a staunch Parliamantarian managed to steal away. He went first to the West Indies to gain a cargo of salt and wine and from thence to Virginia and Boston, where the ship

<sup>11</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Instance Papers. Series Early. 1650-1660. H.C.A. 15/5. No. 42.

was captured by a Royalist vessel.<sup>12</sup> However, this sort of composite trading voyage with England as a starting point seems to have been rare. Only one other can be traced, and that was partially unintentional. In 1650, the Peter Bonaventure loaded one hundred tons of salt at Anguilla, half for the use of the ship and the other to be delivered to Captain Mathews in Virginia. However, only about ten tons was left in Virginia, the rest was sold in Plymouth (New England) for the account of the freighters for the cost of wages and the maintenance of the ship on the voyage from Anguilla to Virginia.<sup>13</sup>

The first tentative establishment of colonies in the New England area (apart from the ill-fated attempts of the Gorges family in 1607-1608) was made in the 1620's. In the same decade the New England colonies began to develop trade amongst themselves. It was not until the 1630's and even, in the case of Rhode Island, the 1640's, that direct trade to Virginia made an appearance. However, visits to New England on the voyage were much more frequent than those to the Caribbean and to Bermuda. At least fourteen vessels are known to have visited the northern shores whilst engaged on a voyage to Virginia, mostly in the early 1620's.<sup>14</sup> Several of the ships visiting New England in this manner had lively stays in the northern colonies. In November 1623 a vessel commanded by Robert

<sup>12</sup>Crump, Helen J., Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century, (Imperial Studies no. 5, Longmans Green and Company, London, 1931), 44.

<sup>13</sup>Public Records Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts Book of Examinations. November 1650-July 1651. H.C.A. 13/64. Case of the Peter Bonaventure.

<sup>14</sup>This point has been discussed more fully in Chapter III.

Gorges (son of Sir Ferdinando) spent two weeks in Plymouth. During their stay the seamen of the ship and those of another vessel celebrated Guy Fawkes Day with excessive gusto and succeeded in setting fire to the house in which they were 'roysterling' which spread rapidly and almost reached the common store house. This would have been disastrous for the infant Plymouth colony.<sup>15</sup> Shortly after this the vessel sailed for Virginia. Hence by the time of the full establishment of colonies in Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut the masters and pilots of Virginia ships were familiar with the route to and from New England. Trading with these colonies was a natural progression. As early as 1622 William Bradford of Plymouth notes the arrival of the Discovery, Captain Jones, which had been sent out by merchants to find harbours between Virginia and Cape Cod. The ship had been to Virginia first and at Plymouth the crew purchased some beaver.<sup>16</sup> Ships also called in on New England on their way to Virginia. At the end of June 1623 there arrived at Plymouth a ship willing to sell 'pease.' The members of the colony thought that they were too expensive and, in a typical Puritan manner, argued that they had lived so long without them that they could continue to do so. The ship then left for the Chesapeake to sell her cargo to the less stoical Virginians.<sup>17</sup> Most common of all was the ship which carried

<sup>15</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, I, 554.

<sup>16</sup>Bradford, William, History of Plymouth Plantation, ed., Charles Deane, (Boston, 1856), 127.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 141.



passengers for both New England and Virginia. Often such a vessel would put down passengers in New England and pick up, to fill the space that they vacated, goods destined for the Virginia colony or for London. Such a ship was the Lion which in 1632 sent beaver and otter skins. Unfortunately, the ship was wrecked on the way to Virginia and the skins were lost but all the passengers survived.<sup>18</sup> One ship, the Unity, in 1624, actually picked up six passengers in New England to be carried to Virginia.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps they had been disappointed with life at Plymouth and hoped that they could do better in Virginia or perhaps they had been left by a ship which visited the colony earlier and were awaiting another in which to complete their journey to the **Chesapeake**.

Some Virginia ships went even further north and called in on the Newfoundland fisheries which had by then been established for over a century. It is difficult to ascertain when this practise first began. In 1618 Captain Andrews of the Silver Falcon sought permission from the Virginia Company to make a trading voyage to the colony to sell fish caught off the 'Canadian' coast.<sup>20</sup> This probably refers to the Newfoundland fishing grounds although the fish could have been caught off Nova Scotia. Certainly, by 1623 the trade must have been fairly extensive. In that year exchange rates were established for certain goods,

<sup>18</sup> Hubbard, William, History of New England (British Museum, Egerton Manuscript, 2675), f. 126v.

<sup>19</sup> Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. May 1625-July 1626. H.C.A. 13/45 f. 3v.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, First Republic, p. 284.

including one for Newfoundland fish; 15 shillings per hundred in ready money and £1.4.0. in tobacco.<sup>21</sup> Eight vessels can be traced which visited the fishery, four en route to the colony and four on their return voyage to England.<sup>22</sup> These visits led to the development of commerce between Virginia and Newfoundland which was divorced from the voyage trade. The earliest reference to such commerce is in a letter dated January 1620 from John Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys. Rolfe informs him that the George was sent by the Cape Merchant to Newfoundland to trade and buy fish 'for the better relief of the colony and to make trial of the passage.' The ship departed about July 9 1619, spent about fourteen days in the fishery and returned on or about September 10 bringing 'so much fish as will make a saving voyage, which besides the great relief, giveth much content to the whole colony.'<sup>23</sup> Obviously, the trade with Newfoundland was a profitable and a popular one.

Ships engaged in voyages to other colonies visited Virginia. Not only did they gather passengers but also freight. In 1649 James Neale, a New England merchant, undertook the whole of the freight of the Orange Tree of Amsterdam. The ship was to go first to Virginia since there were insufficient goods in New England to fill the ship for the voyage to Lisbon.<sup>24</sup> Beaver skins and tobacco were among the goods to be obtained in the southern

<sup>21</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, IV, 272.

<sup>22</sup>See Appendix J and Appendix K.

<sup>23</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, III, 242-243.

<sup>24</sup>Aspinwall Notorial Records, p. 243.

colony. Bailyn confidently states when talking of the 1670's 'for a full generation they (the New England merchants) had been accustomed to ship tobacco from Maryland or Virginia to the England market either directly or by way of Boston and the Caribbean.'<sup>25</sup>

There is much evidence in the early records of New Amsterdam which points to the fact that many of the ships visiting the colony also called in at Virginia. The earliest recorded note of this practise is contained in a letter of the French priest, Father Isaac Jogues, to his superiors in Canada in 1643. The father was at Rensselaerwyck and was told of a vessel at anchor which was to sail in a few days first to Virginia, and then it would carry him to Bourdeaux or La Rochelle. Unfortunately he missed the boat.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the decade, this practise seems to have become quite common. In several of the communications between the Directors of the Dutch West India Company in Holland and the Governor Peter Stuyvesant there is reference to the fact that they were sent by way of Virginia. It became so prevelant to ship goods from Holland by way of the Cheasapeake that the Directors warned Stuyvesant to look out for fraudulent dealings in the trade since many goods destined for the New Netherlands remained in Virginia and never did arrive in the more Northern colony.<sup>27</sup> The Directors also hoped at attract, via the New Netherlands, some portion

<sup>25</sup>Bailyn, New England Merchants, p. 147.

<sup>26</sup>Jameson, Franklin, ed. and trans., Narratives of the New Netherlands, 1609-1664, (New York, 1906), p. 244.

<sup>27</sup>Fernow, B., ed., Documents Relating to the History of the Early Colonial Settlements Principally on Long Island, (Albany, New York, Weed, Parsons and Company, 1883), 128.

of the tobacco trade. A suggestion was made that the duty on Virginia tobacco should be lowered from 45 stivers to 20 stivers for one hundred pounds to promote such a possibility. Thus making it more profitable to send the tobacco by way of the New Netherlands in ships that intended to go to that colony, rather than send out Dutch ships directly to Virginia for the tobacco.<sup>28</sup>

One can see, therefore, that the earliest inter-colonial trade was an adjunct to the voyage to and from Virginia and the other colonies and was of secondary importance to this voyage. This became increasingly true in the latter part of the period, when the tobacco trade became well established. Merchants were then more interested in getting to Virginia as quickly as possible to obtain the best of the tobacco crop and returning to **England** speedily to ensure their delicate cargo did not deteriorate as could well happen if the return voyage was protracted. An additional factor was the abundance of tobacco in the colony, merchants did not have to look elsewhere to complete their cargo. Profits were assured, especially if the voyage was undertaken quickly and with the least possible trouble. However, the importance of this early period of inter-colonial trade must not be minimised. Contacts were made which were to flourish.

A further impetus for Virginia to trade sprang from the necessity to obtain provisions locally instead of relying on the ships from England. At first trade was promoted to obtain corn from the Indians, but only

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 210.

within the confines of the Chesapeake Bay. Several commissions were issued prior to 1630 which seem to have followed a similar pattern. Shipmasters were urged to trade with the natives to relieve the colonists from their need for supply and, in some cases, this need was so urgent that the traders were given carte blanche in the methods that they used. In 1622 Captain Ralph Hamor was urged to use 'all means possible either by war or by trade.'<sup>29</sup> The main impetus for trade with the colonies came after the arrival of Governor Harvey in the colony in 1630. He found the people were suffering from a dearth of corn owing to concentration on the lucrative tobacco production at the expense of corn planting.<sup>30</sup> Harvey's intention was not merely to encourage the people to become self-sufficient in grain but also to reduce the acreage devoted to tobacco and thus attempt to curb overproduction which was already causing a serious fall in prices.<sup>31</sup> In March 1630 a stringent regulation was adopted. This required that two acres of grain at least should be planted for every person who was engaged in agriculture. Extensive trade with the Indians was undertaken. Harvey also laid down rules for exporting goods. In March 1632 he ordered that no ox hides, bull hides, goat skins, deer skins or any other type of hide or

<sup>29</sup>Records of the Virginia Company, III, 696.

<sup>30</sup>This was Indian corn, as opposed to grain known to the English. Later attempts were made to cultivate 'English' grain.

<sup>31</sup>Details of prices fetched by tobacco, see Chapter V.

skin should be exported.<sup>32</sup> This was repeated in September of the same year, with the proviso that beaver skins, otter skins and other furs should be excepted.<sup>33</sup> This was followed in August 1633 by an act forbidding the export of female cattle.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to say whether these acts represent regulations concerning inter-colonial trade or merely trade in general. Certainly, beaver skins and otter skins were imported into England, yet cattle did become an important commodity in the trade with the West Indies so perhaps hides and female cattle were among the goods already being sold to the other colonies. Doubt can be cast on the effectiveness of these acts. The latter regulation appears to have been ignored on at least one occasion soon after it was passed. In 1635 Samuel Maverick, a planter from Massachusetts passed the whole of the year in Virginia and arrived back with his vessels loaded with goats and heifers.<sup>35</sup> However, the authorities in Virginia seem to have been satisfied with the application of the act, for it was not reiterated.

Not only did Harvey encourage the planting of corn, but once Virginia grew sufficient for her own needs, he was quick to realise the possibilities of a surplus being sold to the other colonies who were in a similar position to Virginia, in that they were over reliant on the

<sup>32</sup> Henning, William W., The Statutes at Large, 6 vols., (New York, 1823), I, 174.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 198-199.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 218

<sup>35</sup> Winthrop Papers, 5 vols., (Massachusetts Historical Society Publications, 1929-1944), I, 185.

promptness of the arrival of supplies from England. In fact this trade had been instituted even before the arrival of Harvey. In the Northampton and Accomacke County Records there are several references to shipments of corn from the Eastern Shore in the 1620's. There is an early deposition in regard to the lading of a vessel with one hundred barrels of corn, bound for New England.<sup>36</sup> In 1631 there appears to have been a surplus for export, for in that year Harvey granted several commissions for people to trade in New England, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, Canada and the Dutch Settlements. The traders were not only to offer grain but also cows, oxen, hogs and goats.<sup>37</sup> One commission is extant; it urges Nathaniel Basse to trade between 34°N and 41°N and to go to New England, Nova Scotia and the West Indies with instructions to invite the inhabitants to come to Virginia, 'especially if those of New England dislike the coldness of the climate and barrenness of the soil.' He was to offer corn at twenty five shillings a bushel or fifteen shillings if 'they fetch it.'<sup>38</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> Ames, Susie M., Studies of the Virginian Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century, (Richmond, Virginia, 1940), 60, 61.

<sup>37</sup> Bruce, I, 310-311.

<sup>38</sup> Robinson, Conway ed., 'Notes from the Council and General Court Records,' Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol., 13(July 1905-April 1906), 400. Actually the price of corn fluctuated from the price set down here. There is a record of Virginia corn selling at ten shillings a bushel in 1631. (Hubbard, 91v). In 1632 Winthrop maintains that a Dutch ship brought from Virginia two thousand bushels of corn, which was sold at four shillings and six pence the beshel (Winthrop, II, 76.)

total number of vessels sent to trade with the Northern colonies in 1631 is given as seven or eight pinnaces and a bark.<sup>39</sup> By the following year trade had grown sufficiently to warrant rules being laid down regarding the equipment of vessels on such voyages. No boat under ten tons could trade; each vessel was required to have a flush deck or be fitted with grating and tarpaulin.<sup>40</sup> By 1634, there was sufficient provision in Virginia to support the inhabitants, the 1,500 or more people who arrived that year and have some 10,000 bushels in excess, besides good quantities of cattle, goats and hogs to send to New England.<sup>41</sup> Harvey wrote, with some self-satisfaction, to Secretary of State Windebank in July 1634 that the excessive planting of tobacco had been curtailed and the growth of corn increased. He believed that Virginia was becoming like Sicily had been to the Roman Empire, the granary of the Northern colonies.<sup>42</sup> Middleton maintains that it was only from the mid century onwards that Virginia exported quantities of grain and produce to the other colonies.<sup>43</sup> Certainly there was extensive trade with New England by 1635. This did not necessarily mean that Virginia became totally self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Some provisions were imported from England and even

<sup>39</sup>McIlwaine, H.R. and J.P. Kennedy eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, (Richmond, Virginia, 1905), I, 125.

<sup>40</sup>Henning, I, 200.

<sup>41</sup>Aspinwal, 110.

<sup>42</sup>Sainsbury, W.N. ed., Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 184.

<sup>43</sup>Middleton, 179.



from the other colonies. There was, for example, trade with the Dutch settlements for supplies, which included horses, sheep and 'English grain.' The latter was to be used for planting their own crop of what was presumably wheat. It is interesting to note that, in a letter to the Privy Council, Harvey and the Council in Virginia had to justify this trade. They hoped that those engaged in this commerce would act as spies, 'we shall be better acquainted with their trade and manner of subsistence, who have so wrongly intruded upon our territories.'<sup>44</sup> Indeed trade with other colonies for corn was severely restricted. In 1639 a law was passed which stated that no person was to buy corn from a neighboring colony or from the Indians unless the price was as low as sixteen shillings a bushel and the trader had to obtain a commission from the governor.<sup>45</sup> During the last two decades of the period, Virginia, missing the strict surveillance of Harvey on such matters, again fell back into an almost total concentration on tobacco. Thus more provisions were imported, especially from New England and the New Netherlands.

It would be wrong to assume that all the impetus for this trade came from the Virginians. The records of the other colonies, English, Swedish and Dutch fully testify to their desire to foster trade with the

<sup>44</sup>Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 125.

<sup>45</sup>Henning, I, 227.

Chesapeake. The merchants of New England were not as fortunate as their Virginia counterparts who established tobacco as the basis of their economy relatively quickly. The New Englanders experimented with various commodities for trade, especially fish and furs. Not unaturally, therefore, they came looking for trade to the other colonies, including Virginia. The commerce became sufficiently important by 1640 that New Haven laid down a scale of prices to be charged for goods entering from the other colonies.<sup>46</sup> The same colony in 1644, to encourage trade, instituted semi-annual markets or fairs for cattle and other goods.<sup>47</sup> The General Court of Massachusetts in 1645 ordered that all ships which came from the other colonies should have free access to their harbours and freedom to depart without molestation.<sup>48</sup> However, this trade was faced by a major disturbance in 1650. The act prohibiting trade with Barbados, Virginia, Bermuda and Antigua of October 3 1650, was published by proclamation in New England. The rulers of these colonies, acquiescing to the Parliamentary cause, tried to enforce this regulation but later, in the year, a special licence was given to the inhabitants to trade with the forbidden areas until the last day of July 1651, notwithstanding the previous act.<sup>49</sup> This licence seems to have been extended since in 1655

<sup>46</sup> Hoadly, Charles J., Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, 1638-1649, (Case, Tiffany and Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1857), 35.

<sup>47</sup> Calder, Isabel M., The New Haven Colony, (Archon Books, 1970) Ist., ed., 1934, 162.

<sup>48</sup> Shurtleff, Nathaniel B., ed., Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, (Boston, William Whits and Company, 1853), II, 109.

<sup>49</sup> Calender of State Papers Colonial, I, 347.

there are complaints by the Rhode Islanders that the quality of their goods is being viewed with suspicion in Virginia and Barbados owing to the fact that some bad biscuit and flour had been exchanged with the Southern colonies.<sup>50</sup>

The same impetus for trade with Virginia can be found in the other English colonies. As early as 1617, the governor of the Bermudas, Daniel Tucker, fitted out a caravel and sent it to Virginia. The master of the ship, Edward Waters, obtained goats and hogs and other goods which the Virginians were able to spare and the ship set sail for the Somers Islands. An interesting addendum to this voyage was that the crew 'by want of skill or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill will they bare the governor,' did not arrive in Bermuda but returned to Virginia where they remained, refusing to set out again.<sup>51</sup> It seems that one had to be careful in the choice of those sent out on inter-colonial trading ventures. Trade with the West Indies (other than that incidental to the voyage) is reported to have begun as early as 1633.<sup>52</sup> Certainly the planters in Barbados came to rely on the trade with Virginia for cattle. In October 1647 a petition from them was presented to the House of Lords. They stated that they needed cattle to work in their sugar mills and had bought one hundred oxen in Virginia. However, feared something might occur to hinder the free passage of the cattle

<sup>50</sup>Hoadly, 142.

<sup>51</sup>Smith, I, 367.

<sup>52</sup>Bruce, II, 324.

and asked if their Lordships would command the governor of Virginia to permit them to be freely transported. The request was granted.<sup>53</sup> Not unaturally, trade relations were quickly established with the neighboring colony of Maryland. Articles of agreement were concluded with Governor Calvert in June 1642 which stated that the inhabitants of the younger colony could trade in Virginia for all commodities grown in that colony (with the exception of tobacco) and all goods and servants which were imported. On the other hand, it was an offence to import Maryland tobacco into Virginia and use it as a means of exchange.<sup>54</sup>

This move for trade with Virginia was not confined to the English colonies. Shortly after the arrival of the first Swedish settlers on the Delaware, Peter Minuit, the leader, dispatched one of the ships to Virginia with instructions to exchange its cargo for tobacco. However, they were refused trade. The governor, William Berkeley, proposed that the Swedish Government should notify Charles I of the Swedish occupation and apply for permission to trade with Virginia.<sup>55</sup> In 1654 the colony, again being unable to muster a return cargo, sent to Virginia and elsewhere to obtain tobacco. The fact that they purchased 13,519 pounds from a New England merchant might suggest that again they were refused trade.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Stock, Leo Francis ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America (Carnegie Institution, Washington D.C., 1924), I, 197.

<sup>54</sup>Henning, I, 276.

<sup>55</sup>Johnson, Amandus, The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River (2 vols., Appleton and Company, New York, 1911), I, 185.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.* 515-516

Undoubtedly the greatest impulse for trade with Virginia came from the Dutch settlements. Allusion has already been made to the plan to divert some portion of the tobacco trade by way of the New Netherlands. This is only to be expected since the Dutch West India Company regarded their colonies as trading bases rather than sources of raw materials or agricultural produce. What is surprising is that they were relatively late in fostering the trade in an official capacity. It is not until the late 1640's and, more particularly, the 1650's that the Director General and the Council in the New Netherlands under orders from the Company, encouraged trade with the other colonies. The first impetus for trade came from Virginia. In 1631 Harvey granted a commission to William Claiborne to trade with the Dutch.<sup>57</sup> The West India Company cannot have been blind to the fact that Virginia, with her one crop economy, was an excellent market for Dutch foodstuffs imported into New Amsterdam. The answer to their slowness lies rather in the internal workings of the Company. Up until 1646 the members had exclusive trade with the New Netherlands which included prevention of individuals in the colony from branching out and exchanging goods with the English settlements. Trade with these colonies was carried on directly from Holland.<sup>58</sup> In 1646 commerce was thrown open and residents of the New Netherlands were allowed trade with the other American colonies including Virginia.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup>Ames, 47.

<sup>58</sup>See the Chapter VII.

<sup>59</sup>O'Callaghan, E.B., ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, II vols., (Albany, Weed, Parsons and Company, New York, 1856), I, 162.

However, the Company was still determined to favour their own merchants. In 1647 the new Director, Peter Stuyvesant was greeted by complaints of the English against high duties collected by the Dutch on imports and exports. After pointing out that the English were paying eight percent less than the Dutch, in the Spring of 1648, he suspended all duties paid by the English. The Dutch merchants promptly complained of the advantage enjoyed by their rivals and asked exemptions for themselves. The Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company ordered Stuyvesant to subject the merchants of New England and Virginia to an import duty of sixteen percent on goods from these colonies.<sup>60</sup> Realisation of the benefits of inter-colonial trade came earlier to the residents of New Amsterdam. In October 1649 they petitioned the States General that peace be maintained with 'neighboring republics and colonies' so that they might pursue their trade along the coast from Terra Nova to Cape Florida.<sup>61</sup>

The Company was concerned, naturally, with promoting trade for the benefit of the New Netherlands. A proposition, made by Stuyvesant, to increase the duty on goods sent to Virginia was found to be impracticable by the Company and in 1651 they issued an order which stated that all goods traded to Virginia or New England should pass freely but all goods coming from the English colonies were still subject to the duty

<sup>60</sup>Calder, New Haven Colony, 163-164.

<sup>61</sup>O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York I, 260-261.

of sixteen percent.<sup>62</sup> This was amended the following year, the duties on merchandise entering from Virginia and Boston were the same as on goods entering directly from Holland.<sup>63</sup> The major fear of the Company was that, with the extension of trade, European goods and merchandises would be imported into the New Netherlands directly from the English colonies without paying duties. This fear was borne out and in 1659 the Directors wrote to Stuyvesant urging him to take measures to stop this abuse.<sup>64</sup> In April of 1660, he wrote back stating that European goods were seldom imported into the New Netherlands by way of Virginia.<sup>65</sup>

By the mid 1650's trade with Virginia was regarded as being valuable to the New Netherlands, as long as it was carried out within the rules laid down by the West India Company. In 1650 the secretary of the Dutch colony admitted that Governor Kieft had imposed a beer excise and Governor Stuyvesant one on wine but that the tapsters recouped these duties from daily visitors and travellers from New England and Virginia.<sup>66</sup>

Thus fears were expressed as to the effect of the 1651 Navigation Act.<sup>67</sup> It appears that this act had little or no effect on the trade.

<sup>62</sup>Fernow, Long Island, 139.

<sup>63</sup>Fernow, Long Island, p. 169.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 451.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>66</sup>Jameson, Narratives of New Netherlands, p. 326.

<sup>67</sup>Fernow, Long Island, p. 350.

This was partly because of the need of the Virginians to find alternative sources of supply during the period of the Dutch Wars (1652-1654) when English commerce was interrupted. Even after the conclusion of these wars the Virginians did not receive all the goods they wanted or needed from England and, in general, prices of Dutch goods were lower since tobacco commanded a higher price in Holland and the New Netherlands than in England. In the letter of Stuyvesant to the Directors in April 1660 he maintained that every year Virginia exported from the New Netherlands "great quantities of goods, brandies and distilled waters."<sup>68</sup> The ineffectiveness of the Navigation Act in this sphere was also caused by the continual pressure exerted by the Dutch. The correspondence between Stuyvesant and the Directors in Holland is full of exhortations to maintain the trade with the English colonies in general and Virginia in particular. Even when urging preparations for war on Stuyvesant they declare, "notwithstanding you must use all honourable and imaginable means for the maintenance and continuance of the correspondence and commerce with the people of Virginia and New England."<sup>69</sup> In a later letter, the Directors note that they esteem the friendship of Virginia "very highly."<sup>70</sup> Stuyvesant sent diplomatic agents to Virginia to conclude a firm alliance for commerce.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 471.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 207.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 217.



The Governor (Richard Bennett) and Council of State were unable to comply since they had no authority from the central government in England.<sup>71</sup> Stuyvesant, undaunted, continued to send trade and diplomatic missions to Virginia spurred on by his fear that the high price of all kinds of goods and the low price of tobacco would interrupt the trade.<sup>72</sup> Commerce was also, according to Stuyvesant, threatened by the 1658 Act of the House of Burgesses imposing a duty of ten shillings a hogshead for tobacco bartered for Dutch goods in a Dutch ship. Probably with a view to overcoming this, an ordinance of April 1658 in the New Netherlands stated that tobacco was exempt from the ten percent duties on all imports.<sup>73</sup> Eventually Stuyvesant was successful, albeit temporarily. Articles were concluded with Governor Berkeley and confirmed by the Virginia Assembly. This allowed the Dutch and other foreigners to have freedom of trade and protection in that trade, provided that they paid the ten shilling imposition on all hogsheads.<sup>74</sup> However, the act was never really fully operative because of the passage of the 1660 Navigation Act.

Susie Ames maintains that there was some interruption of trade during the Dutch Wars. According to the testimony of one Virginia

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 241.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 350.

<sup>73</sup>Davenport, Francis G., ed., European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, 3 vols., (Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917), II, 54.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.,

merchant, the Dutch in the New Netherlands seemed to have made his attempts to trade difficult, if not impossible. Edmund Scarborough had, prior to 1651, made at least four voyages to the New Netherlands from the Eastern Shore of Virginia, without paying any kind of customs. On the fifth voyage, Governor Stuyvesant had demanded by violence £100 both for the present and the past voyages. The skipper and pilot of the vessel the Sea Horse, declared that they had been carried to Fort Nassau, their English Colours taken down and Dutch Colours put on their vessel.<sup>75</sup> Again in 1655, when Scarborough purchased slaves in Manhattan, he had to ask the Dutch Council for permission to return to Virginia.<sup>76</sup> These two incidents seem contrary to the general policy of the Dutch, as described above. One must view the story of Scarborough with some suspicion in the light of his allegation that he paid no customs. The administration of Stuyvesant was not efficient or successful, but it is difficult to imagine that Scarborough was able to avoid the customs dues at least four times. There is a hint that Scarborough himself had not traded within the rules laid down by the West India Company. In a letter to the Governor of Virginia in January 1654, Stuyvesant pleads on behalf of a Dutch trader, Augustine Heemans against Scarborough and asks the Governor's aid to collect a debt due to Heemans for a quantity of tobacco

<sup>75</sup>Ames, Susie M., ed., Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640, (American Historical Association, Washington D.C., 1954), 34.

<sup>76</sup>Ames, 49.

arrested the previous year from Scarborough.<sup>77</sup> Thus it would seem, in the light of this incident, and in view of the Dutch determination to trade, that Ames is exaggerating in maintaining that "throughout the Dutch War, trade relations with the New Netherlands was unsatisfactory!"<sup>78</sup>

These factors influencing the development of inter-colonial trade have been dealt with at some length since the period 1606 to 1660 can be classed as essentially a time of development, the full effects of which were to be felt in the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, major trends were established, methods of contact fixed and the type of merchandise shipped were settled in the first part of the century.

Although the initial encouragement for trade was made by the colonial authorities by means of grants for commerce and diplomatic manoeuvres, the interest of the individual merchants was essential for any inter-colonial commerce to be carried out successfully. Indeed, some individuals seemed to have opened up contact with new areas on their own initiative. In 1652 Walter Chiles of the Eastern Shore loaded his vessel with tobacco intending to transport it to Brazil. Whilst lying in the waters of Accomacke, the vessel was seized by Richard Husband on the grounds that the owner had not obtained a license to trade with a foreign

<sup>77</sup>Long Island, 205.

<sup>78</sup>Ames, Accomacke and Northampton, p. 49.

country which had been proscribed by the Navigation Act. Chiles at once presented a petition to the local court saying that, under the articles of submission to the Commonwealth, the right to absolute free trade had been conferred on the people of the colony. Husband was commanded to restore both the ship and the cargo.<sup>79</sup> Some of the Virginians also seem to have found their way to Curacao to sell tobacco.<sup>80</sup>

Before making the first contacts, the merchants in the various colonies must have thought that it would be a profitable trade. This belief was undoubtedly fostered by information obtained from the masters and crew of ships which made calls at the other colonies. Early trade must have been a very haphazard affair since contacts with merchants in the other colonies had to be established and there was no way of knowing whether such men were reliable. Only by a system of trial and error could trustworthy contacts be made.<sup>81</sup> Often a merchant would send his shipmaster to the market he had selected with instructions to use his own discretion in choosing the men with whom he was to deal. The number

<sup>79</sup>Bruce, I, 350-351.

<sup>80</sup>Long Island, 77

<sup>81</sup>Unless merchants had relatives living in other colonies with whom they could make commercial contact. In 1654 Thomas Baldreage living in the Barbados wrote to his cousin in Virginia, informing him that he has sent certain goods to the Chesapeake and asking his cousin to take the goods to the area where the best price could be obtained. "Westmorland County Records," William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 15, no. 3 (January, 1907), 35-36.

of grants in the Aspinwall Notorial Records, allowing Boston merchants to collect their debts in Virginia in the 1640's, testifies to the uncertainty of these early contacts. For example, in August 1646, John Manning of Boston asked leave to recover and receive off Thomas Bushrode in Virginia, goods to the value of 16,804 pounds of tobacco 'due to him on accounts and certain other monies paid for him on bills of exchange.'<sup>82</sup> Over a period of time some of these transient contacts became firm commercial bonds. Bailyn maintains that the network of correspondence was facilitated greatly by the movement within the colonial area.<sup>83</sup> Certainly the activities of the Puritans in Virginia seem to testify to this. Hubbard maintains that several ministers and their followers went from Massachusetts to the Southern colony.<sup>84</sup> It appears also that certain of the New Englanders, tired of the restrictions of the Puritan way of life, left for an easier time in Virginia. One, Henry Lin, went to Virginia and took with him the greater part of his estate, leaving his wife, children and debts in Massachusetts. He died in Virginia 'leaving his wife and childred in a mean condition, hardly able to subsist.' The Boston court ordered that his estate in Virginia should go towards paying his debts.<sup>85</sup> Virginia colonists migrated to other settlements. In the 1630's some

<sup>82</sup> Aspinwall Notorial Records, p. 31.

<sup>83</sup> Bailyn, New England Merchants, p. 87.

<sup>84</sup> Hubbard, History of New England, f. 232v.

<sup>85</sup> Aspinwall Notorial Records, p. 77.

moved to the Dutch plantations where they could grow tobacco which, because of the relatively lower cost of Dutch merchandise, which fetch a higher price than that grown in Virginia. A more amusing episode of travel from colony to colony is provided by William Bullock, writing in 1649. He notes that Maryland, being further North is cooler, hence, 'some men in the months of June, July and August, finding the Constitution of body not so well agreeing with heat, retyre themselves in these months to Maryland which is but twelve hours passage by boat from Virginia and there enjoy perfect health, although sick when they left Virginia.'<sup>86</sup> All these examples of inter-colonial travel undoubtedly would have facilitated trade contacts. Thus some merchants began to have firm agreements with their fellows in the other colonies. In 1637 Mathew Cradock, wrote from London to Jonathan Joliffe in Massachusetts, urging him to send the Rebecca, victualled for three months, to Virginia. As early as this, Cradock could name the merchant to whom he wanted the ship and goods consigned.<sup>87</sup> During the Protectorate Captain William Wittington and William Kendall made a contact with Jacob L. Van Sloot in regard to shipping tobacco to Manhattan.<sup>88</sup> Some grew so close as to enter into

<sup>86</sup> Bullock, William, Virginia, Impartially Examined (London, 1649), 4.

<sup>87</sup> Winthrop, III, 345.

<sup>88</sup> Ames, 47.

joint partnerships, often in the ownership of a vessel. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, Edmund Scarborough of Virginia and Major General Edward Gibbons of Massachusetts owned the Artillery together.<sup>89</sup>

Undoubtedly inter-colonial trade proved profitable. It was considerably easier and less risky to trade with New England, ten days journey away, or the New Netherlands, even closer, than it was to cross the Atlantic. The one proviso being that the other colonies would have goods useful to the Virginians and that they, in turn, would accept what commodities the Virginians had to offer. Since, as has been seen the impetus to trade came from both parties, the problem of suitability of goods was a minor one. The main attraction of Virginia was her tobacco. This commodity is mentioned in shipments to the other settlements with the exceptions of Bermuda and the Barbados which grew their own.<sup>90</sup> The trade in tobacco did not really become established until the 1640's. In 1631 the House of Burgesses gave an assurance to the Privy Council that they would not sell tobacco to the other colonies.<sup>91</sup> There is no evidence that tobacco was traded in the decade of the 1630's and the refusal to sell it to the Swedes in 1638 would appear to confirm that the assurance was kept.<sup>92</sup> The rules governing the tobacco trade were

<sup>89</sup>Northampton, 39.

<sup>90</sup>See Appendix S.

<sup>91</sup>Journals of the House of Burgesses, I, 125.

<sup>92</sup>Johnson, 185.

relaxed in the early 1640's. Jacob Prinz, the Governor of New Sweden, notes that a considerable amount of tobacco could be shipped to his colony if only they had suitable goods for exchange.<sup>93</sup> There was the small problem of the payment of a toll for the right to trade but Prinz was convinced that this could be avoided since the Swedes could gain sufficient tobacco from Heckemack (Accomacke) without having to go fifty miles up the James River to Keketan (Kecoughtan) where the toll had to be paid.<sup>94</sup> Thus tobacco became an important commodity in inter-colonial exchange. Ames has found many references to the trade with the New Netherlands in the records of Accomacke and Northampton counties.<sup>95</sup> There was an advantage to the tobacco trade besides its use as a means of exchange. By an order of the House of Commons of March 10 1643, goods shipped to and from New England were not subject to customs duties.<sup>96</sup> Hence the planters of Virginia came to send their own tobacco by way of the northern colonies. In 1650 the Commonwealth attempted to curb this illegal practise by levying duties on the trade.<sup>97</sup> Tobacco shipped to the New Netherlands received a higher price than it did in England.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Myers, Albert C., ed., 'Report of Governor Johan Prinz, 1644,' Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, Stock, 217. (New York, 1959), 1st. ed., 1912, 97.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Ames, 47-48

<sup>96</sup>Husband, A Collection of all the Public Orders, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, 217.

<sup>98</sup>Fernow, Long Island, p. 350.



The early trade from Virginia was based on other commodities, particularly grain and cattle. The first market for cattle, goats and pigs was New England. A Dutch vessel almost collided with a Virginia ship in 1633. The latter, en route to New England with cattle, was putting into the New Netherlands for fresh water.<sup>99</sup> Goats and heifers were among the goods brought back to New England by Samuel Maverick.<sup>100</sup> A greater number of cattle were exported in the early 1640's because they were fetching a good price in the northern colonies. In 1645 the price was as high as £30 a head.<sup>101</sup> Indeed the colonists in New Sweden found that the cattle offered them by the Virginians were too expensive for them to purchase.<sup>102</sup> The high price was not maintained and towards the end of the decade fell to £6 a head.<sup>103</sup> However, by this time, New England had been overtaken by the West Indies (in particular Barbados) as the chief market for Virginia livestock. This coincided with the increase in the number of cattle and pigs in Virginia as noted by John Hammond in Leah and Rachel. He maintained that it was 'a very poor man' that did

<sup>99</sup>Jameson, Narratives of the New Netherlands, pp. 191-192.

<sup>100</sup>Winthrop Papers, III, 185.

<sup>101</sup>Bruce, Economic History, I, 333.

<sup>102</sup>Johnson, Swedish Settlements, I, 198.

<sup>103</sup>Bruce, Economic History, I, 333.

not have a surplus to send to the West Indies.<sup>104</sup> The desire on the part of the planters of Barbados for Virginia cattle stemmed from the growth of the sugar interest in the late 1630's and early 1640's. They needed cattle to work in the sugar mills.<sup>105</sup> Often cattle were carried to Barbados by a ship passing from Virginia to England. The Jonathan and Abigail in 1648 carried cows, bullocks and six or seven horses and, in a case in the High Court of Admiralty arising from the voyage, one witness, Henry Twiswell, stated that the 'customary trade from Virginia to the Barbados is cattle, dead or alive.'<sup>106</sup> Richard Ligon declared in 1657 that among the provisions imported into Barbados was beef from Virginia.<sup>107</sup>

The goods exchanged by the various colonies for these Virginia products depended on the fact that they could obtain, either by trade or production, commodities which the Virginians lacked. Hence little pattern can be discerned overall, rather the goods traded varied from colony to colony.<sup>108</sup> Bermuda produced semi-tropical fruits and plants. These are enumerated by John Smith. A ship went to Virginia in 1621

<sup>104</sup>Hammond, John, Leah and Rachel or the Two Fruitful Sisters, Virginia and Maryland, in Force, Tracts, III, no. XIV, p. 19.

<sup>105</sup>Stock, Proceedings and Debates, I, 197.

<sup>106</sup>H.C.A. 13/63 f. 423v.

<sup>107</sup>Ligon, Richard, A True and Exact History of the Iland of the Barbados, (London, 1657), p. 37.

<sup>108</sup>See Appendix S.

carrying 'two great chests filled with all such sorts and kinds of fruits and plants as their ilands had; as figs, pomegranites, oranges, lemons, sugar canes, plantanes, potatoes, Papawes, Cassado roots, red pepper, the Prickell Peare and the like . . .'<sup>109</sup> Sometimes the Virginians found they had sufficient quantities of the goods offered by the Bermudans. In 1622 ducks, turkies and limestone were returned.<sup>110</sup>

The first important commodity imported into Virginia from the West Indies appears to have been salt. The earliest note of this is found in the records of the High Court of Admiralty. In 1635 the Merchant Bonaventure arrived at St. Christophers and took on sixty tons of salt, twenty four of which were bought and the remainder had to be dug out of the salt pound by the members of the crew. The Company of the ship seem to have been against the plan of Weston, the factor, to take the salt to Virginia; rather they wanted to go directly to England. The governors of St. Christophers and Nevis on behalf of themselves and the governor of Montserrat did offer £1,000 for freight to transport themselves and their goods to England. Weston's views prevailed the ship arrived in Virginia in July 1635.<sup>111</sup> This vessel also carried a small quantity of soap from the West Indies to the Chesapeake. There

<sup>109</sup>Smith, I, 388.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 390.

<sup>111</sup>Public Record Office., High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations. 1635-1636. H.C.A. 13/52, f. 424.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 454v-455.

is also mention of a ship in 1649 picking up salt in Anguilla, Nevis and St. Christophers for shipment to Virginia.<sup>113</sup> It appears that some of the salt obtained from the West Indies was used in trade with the New Netherlands. In a meeting of the Council of that colony in April 1653 it was resolved that commissioners should be sent to Virginia to obtain a boatload of salt for the use of the inhabitants of the Dutch colony.<sup>114</sup> After the establishment of the sugar plantations in the West Indies, sugar became the chief commodity of exchange for Virginian cattle. Unfortunately, no record of a ship which engaged in this trade on a purely inter-colonial basis has been found. Undoubtedly those planters of Barbados who petitioned the House of Lords in 1647 were prepared to exchange sugar for the cattle. There is an extant inventory of goods laden at Barbados in a Southampton ship, the West India Merchant, which was en route to Virginia from England in 1649. This gives some indication of the quantity of goods, notably sugar, carried from one colony to another. The boatswain's account shows that from March 5, 1650 to July 9, 1650 there were landed in Virginia:

<sup>113</sup>Public Record Office. High Court of Admiralty. Instance and Prize Courts. Book of Examinations, March, 1650-November, 1650. H.C.A. 13/63, f. 175v.

<sup>114</sup>Long Island, 202.

Sugar: Twenty Two Hogsheads	Salt: Twenty Two Hogsheads
Twenty One chests	One barrell
One great chest	617 bushels
Four Boxes	Twenty One butts.
Two casks	

One quarter cask of ginger, one bundle of frying pans and assorted empty casks, barrells and hogsheads.<sup>115</sup>

The other colonies had more difficulty in finding goods to trade with the Virginians. The New Englanders had first traded with fish and then turned to furs. Furs were also smuggled in from the New Netherlands for shipment to England.<sup>116</sup> The Virginians themselves traded with the Dutch colony as early as 1631 for the purpose of obtaining horses, asses, sheep and English grain to be used as seed.<sup>117</sup> Since all of these goods could normally be found in Virginia, none of them provided the Northern colonies with a satisfactory means of exchange. It was only with the full concentration of Virginia on a one crop economy after 1640 that they were able to trade foodstuffs and manufactured articles. The commodity most frequently shipped from New England to Virginia appears to have been wine. One trader, William East, was called before the Connecticut court

<sup>115</sup>Southampton Record Office. Quarter Sessions Records and Papers. Examinations and Depositions, 1648-1663, Case of the West India Merchant.

<sup>116</sup>Savelle, 165.

<sup>117</sup>Journal of the House of Burgesses, I, 125.

for alledged avoidance of customs payment on wines. A witness affirmed that some of the wine was never landed but on board the vessel was drawn out into a smaller cask and sent to Virginia.<sup>118</sup> The Directors of the Dutch West India Company realised the potentialities of Virginia as a market for European merchandise. Writing to Stuyvesant in 1656, they suggested reasons for this 'they in Virginia, received from their own nation no such goods as they need; besides they have to but from their own people at higher prices than from us. . .'<sup>119</sup>

These were the major commodities traded between Virginia and the other colonies. Any estimation of whether Virginia held a favourable balance in this trading is very difficult since few of the documents record the quantity or value of the goods dispatched. Certainly one could argue, as does Frank Craven, that Virginia was favoured in the trade with the more Northern colonies since it at first proved difficult for them to find an exchange commodity. On the other hand tobacco was an obvious mode of exchange for the Virginians. Craven complains that this trade was of little value to the Virginians, since the New Englanders took essential goods out of the colony and gave little in return.<sup>120</sup> Yet little seems to have been done within the colony to

<sup>118</sup> Hoadly, 106.

<sup>119</sup> Long Island, 350.

<sup>120</sup> Craven, Wesley Frank, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, (Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 241.

prevent the people dealing with the New England colonies, which might suggest that the trade was not quite as one sided as Craven believed. One would have thought that the Virginians would have welcomed anyone who was prepared to trade rum. With the increased need of the Virginians for manufactured goods, more particularly for food-stuffs, after 1640 or thereabouts the balance evened out. This might explain the growing enthusiasm of the Dutch for the trade with the Chesapeake. Turning to the more southerly colonies, it seems as if Bermuda had more to offer Virginia in the way of semi-tropical fruits and plants than she had to offer in return. There is only one mention in the records of the type of goods sent from Virginia to the Bermudas. In 1622, Aquavitae, oil, sack and bricks were shipped to the islands, all of which the Bermudas could get directly from England.<sup>121</sup> Trade between the West Indies and Virginia seems to have been fairly evenly balanced. Sugar could not be grown in the Virginian climate and only a limited amount of salt was found. Conversely, the sugar planters needed cattle and horses for draught purposes and also meat.

Since the impetus for trade came from all the colonies, it would be correct to assume that there were benefits for all. Perhaps the greatest of these was the fact that the voyage between the colonies was considerably shorter and therefore less hazardous than the Atlantic

<sup>121</sup>Smith, I, 390.

crossing and the colonists could be more certain of obtaining the goods they desired. However, this does not mean that the Pursuance of the trade went on without incident. There are several references to ships and their cargoes running into trouble of various kinds. Several vessels engaged in trade between Virginia and New England were wrecked. Three ministers sent from the Northern colonies had a difficult voyage and were wrecked off Hellgate (in the New Netherlands). They were given a pinnace by a New Haven merchant trading in the province and reached Virginia. The total time taken was eleven weeks instead of the customary ten days.<sup>122</sup> In 1636 a vessel trading to Virginia was cast ashore on Long Island and seven persons drowned: the merchant of the ship escaped but was subsequently killed by the Indians.<sup>123</sup> In the letter to Sir Simonds d'Ewes reporting on this incident, Winthrop complains about the ill luck on trading voyages to Virginia, 'it hath been observed that God hath always crossed us in our trade with Virginia.'<sup>124</sup> Certainly New England ships trading with Virginia do seem to have been more prone to disaster than the vessels of the other colonies. In 1649 a ship intending to go to

<sup>122</sup>Latane, John H., Early Relations between Virginia and Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, (Baltimore, 1895), p. 41.

<sup>123</sup>Winthrop Papers, III, 276.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.



Virginia was frozen up in the harbour of New Haven.<sup>125</sup> In 1652 the Mayflower, a ship en route back to Massachusetts from Virginia, with her cargo of tobacco encountered a violent storm. Eventually, having nothing to eat except raw hides for eighteen to twenty days, and the Company being ill, they were forced into Santo Domingo, being unable to enter an English port. The Spaniards, by order of their governor, seized the ship and the company were mistreated.<sup>126</sup> Indeed the danger of seizure by the Spaniards was a problem of which all traders were aware. In 1626 the Bermuda Company wrote to Captain Henry Woodhouse the governor and urged him to be careful in granting commissions to people to go to Virginia because of this very risk.<sup>127</sup> However, the Margaret and John in 1622 and the Mayflower in 1652 are the only two ships that are known to have encountered trouble from the Spaniards.<sup>128</sup>

There were other problems to the trade; not the least of which was the need to maintain a cargo in a good condition. This was especially relevant to the shipment of live animals. Samuel Mavarick in 1636 lost twenty out of a total of one hundred goats on the voyage to New England.<sup>129</sup> In 1645 a certain number of horses died on the

<sup>125</sup>Winthrop Papers, V. 303-304.

<sup>126</sup>H.C.A. 13/67.

<sup>127</sup>Lefroy. Memorials of Bermuda, I, 373.

<sup>128</sup>For details of these captures see Chapter III.

<sup>129</sup>Winthrop Papers, III, 185.

from New England to the Eastern Shore.<sup>130</sup> A witness in the case of Best et Alii c. Jauncey et Alios in the High Court of Admiralty discusses the problem in more detail. In April when his ship, the Jonathan and Abigail freighted cattle in Virginia for the Barbados. The cattle in Virginia were 'very poor and exceeding lean.' So either the ship went dead freighted or she took on cattle with a high chance of losing them on the voyage to the West Indies.<sup>131</sup> There is nothing in the records to state whether the animals carried by the ship actually survived the voyage.

Despite these various problems which were common to all shippers of the day, the trade between the colonies was mutually profitable and most sources testify to its growth in the period up to 1660. Evidence seems to point to the fact that it was the trade with New England that expanded the most. Bernard Bailyn maintains that during the 1640's and 1650's there was a growth in the number of ships dispatched to Virginia and Maryland.<sup>132</sup> An observer in Virginia in 1648 noted that 'last Christmas we had trading here ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders and seven from New England.'<sup>133</sup> This is quite a high proportion of colonial ships. Commander Kieft of the New Netherlands in

<sup>130</sup> Ames, Accomacke and Northampton, p. 406.

<sup>131</sup> H.C.A. 13/63, f. 431.

<sup>132</sup> Bailyn, 86.

<sup>133</sup> Anon, 'A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649,' Force, Tracts, II, 15.

1642 told the traveller and writer David de Vries that he had built an inn of stone, 'in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia from whom he suffered great annoyance.'<sup>134</sup> Perhaps the most conclusive proof of the increase of trade with the New Englanders is found in the growing number of cases brought for debt against Virginians in the Boston Court and the innumerable cases of people binding themselves to pay others by means of Virginian tobacco. Certainly there was an increase in the trade with the New Netherlands as a result of the pressure exerted with the Dutch in the 1650's. Bruce describes this trade as being of 'very considerable value.'<sup>135</sup> It is also interesting to note that there was an increase in the number of ships going between Virginian and the Bermudas in the 1650's. According to Lefroy's Lists there were few ships between 1630 and 1657 (none between 1642 and 1657) and he mentioned five ships between 1657 and 1659.<sup>136</sup> There is no explanation for this sudden rise, perhaps the Bermudan records are fuller for these years.

Another development illustrating the increase in inter-colonial trade was that of composite trading voyages during which a single ship would call in at more than one colony to trade not only the goods laden

<sup>134</sup> De Vries, David Peterson, Voyages from Holland to America, 1632-1644. Translated by Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1853), 148.

<sup>135</sup> Bruce, II, 314.

<sup>136</sup> Lefroy, I, 721-728.

at the original departure point, but also those collected on the voyage. Such a voyage was planned in the 1630's according to the records of the county court of Northampton. The ship was to leave the Eastern Shore and exchange tobacco for goods in the New Netherlands and New England and then proceed to the West Indies before returning to Virginia. Unfortunately the tobacco was exchanged in New England for sixteen to eighteen gallons of strong waters (gin) which were drunk at Nodles Island by the ship's company.<sup>137</sup> Not surprisingly, the ship got no further on this trip.<sup>138</sup> A voyage of this nature that was completed was undertaken by Captain Manning of Connecticut in 1653. He carried goods from New England to the New Netherlands and picked up more goods in the latter place, some of which were disposed of in Virginia. He returned to the Dutch settlements with Virginia tobacco.<sup>139</sup>

Thus one can see an increase in the size and complexity of inter-colonial trade in this period. This was due to three factors, the realisation of colonial traders that it was often easier and quicker to obtain the goods they wanted from the American Continent rather than from England, the increased knowledge of what each colony had to offer for trade and, finally, a greater certainty of the viability of trade as contacts were built up within each colony. In this trade, Virginia,

<sup>137</sup> Nodles Island is situated off the New England coast, it was under the control of Sir David Kirke, Governor of Newfoundland.

<sup>138</sup> Accomacke and Northampton, p. 152.

<sup>139</sup> Hoadly, Records of New Haven, 1653 to the Union, pp. 69-71.

offering cattle and tobacco, had an important role. As a colony situated between New England and the West Indies, she was especially valuable both as a stopping off place and as another market for goods carried between the Caribbean and the northern colonies. One would agree with Bernard Bailyn that the New England colonies were the centre of American trade in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, a good case can be presented for Virginia being the centre in the formative years of colonial development. Inter-colonial trade as well as being valuable in its economic aspects, also served to build up among the American colonists a greater awareness of the character and potentialities of their neighbours.

CONCLUSION

Most, if not all, historians who have studied the economic development of Virginia agree that the period 1606 to 1660 showed a steady expansion in the trade of the colony. Philip Bruce was perhaps the first to compile a comprehensive account of the economy of Virginia. In 1608 he wrote. 'It is doubtful whether there was ever a new community that obtained its supplies, whether natural or manufactured with more ease and in greater abundance than Virginia in the Seventeenth Century'.<sup>1</sup> Much later Arthur Middleton stated that the 'phenominal' rise of the tobacco trade 'is one of the most remarkable aspects of our colonial history'.<sup>2</sup> In his survey of the rise of the English shipping industry Ralph Davis maintained that the expansion in colonial trade went on quietly between 1640 and 1660. By the Restoration it had emerged as 'among the greatest of English trades'.<sup>3</sup> In general, commentators of the time agreed with these later authorities in applauding and appreciating the increased part played by the colonied in general and Virginia in particular, in trade. Not all were in favour of such developments. For example the increased popularity of tobacco, caused by the growth of the trade with Virginia and the lowering of prices as a result, had its

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, Economic History, II, pp. 574-575

<sup>2</sup> Middleton, Tobacco Coast, pp. 94-95

<sup>3</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 15

critics and not only those who were worried about its effects on health. In 1634 it was said that the keepers of brothels used tobacco pipes as signs to indicate the nature of their houses. Hence in 1635 the master of one Cambridge college warned his students to stop haunting the town, 'especially in such houses where wine, ale, beer and tobacco is sold'.<sup>4</sup> Even some economic commentators were not convinced of the benefits that the growth of colonial trade endowed to England. Philanglus, writing in the later part of the period, unconditionally condemned the plantation commerce which 'hath robbed and prevented us of some million of our People; amongst which very many being or might have been manufactureres, the nation hath also lost many more million of pounds in the loss of their manufactures'. The goods that were received in return did not begin to compensate for these losses and he concluded that 'these plantations may be considered as the true Grounds and Causes of all our present mischiefs'.<sup>5</sup>

The present study seems to confirm the views expressed by Bruce, Middleton, Davis and most of the seventeenth century writers. Although the inadequacies of much of the source material for information on the trade of the period make the compilation of accurate statistics extremely difficult, it is clear that the trade between England and

<sup>4</sup> Beer, Origins of the British Colonial System, p 80

<sup>5</sup> McCullouch, Early English Tracts on Commerce, pp. 370, 412-414



Virginia grew in the years up to 1660. One cannot, unfortunately, place too much reliance on the figures for the total numbers of ships sent to the colony each year, but a study of the tonnage of these vessels is valuable. It has been seen that there was a growth in the tonnage. Between 1606 and 1630 the average was around 104 tons, whereas in the last three decades of the period it rose to 253 tons or thereabouts. At the same time there was an increase in the quantity of tobacco entering England from the colony. Perhaps one of the most important pieces of evidence which point to the growth and success of the Virginia trade is the large number of merchants who were active in it. It has been seen that such merchants preferred to act on their own; in only seven instances do two or more combine to freight above one ship to the colony. It has also been noted that even if the freighters owned ships themselves, they preferred to charter a vessel. Since they were wise to charter out their own vessel at the highest price, yet hire one at the lowest, it was not good economics to use their own. In only twelve voyages (out of a total of 703) do the freighters actually own the ship they dispatched. Thus the price of the charter had to be added to the costs of a freighter of a Virginia ship. He was also responsible for the payment of the crew and had to supply both seamen and passengers with victual during the voyage (except in cases where the passengers were indentured servants; their future masters paid for their supplies en route). Further costs which the freighters had to meet were port charges, which

covered such services as pilotage, wharfage and literage both entering and leaving the home port. These charges varied depending on the size of the ship and the length of the voyage. Money gained from the carriage of passengers at £6 a head, freight to the colony at £3 a ton and tobacco from the colony at £6 a ton, helped the freighters to cover their losses. From a study of the extant figures, it is fair to assume that if the freighters filled their vessel, they would not only recoup their overheads but also make a profit. In many cases this profit was earned at the expense of the comfort of the passengers. Many freighters victualled the ships meanly and packed them with cargo and passengers. The chief result of this policy was disease and sometimes death. Even towards the end of the period when the hazards of the voyage were well known, there is little evidence that would suggest that conditions on board improved. Undeniably the fault lay with the freighters who were bent on making a profit; a generally successful pursuit.

The same is true of those merchants who shipped goods to the colony without involving themselves in the process of freighting. In addition to the payment of freight, the merchant was responsible for the customs duties on the goods he imported from Virginia and assorted such as the duty on tobacco leaving the colony (instituted in the late 1650's), cooperage, carriage and warehouse room. The profit was made through the sale of goods in Virginia, which appears to have

been an easy task; goods fetched much higher prices in the colony than they did in England. A profit was made also from the sale of tobacco in England, however this was more uncertain. Throughout the latter part of the period, there was a rapid fall in the price of tobacco due to over production. Several merchants found that it was better economics to abandon their crops in the warehouse rather than pay the charges and sell the tobacco at a loss. There were ways of avoiding this situation. The merchants first attempted to export tobacco directly to the Continent and to Ireland. Largely prevented from doing this by the vigilance of a government eager for the profit from customs duties, they turned to re-exportation which held the attraction of a rebate on customs duties. If all else failed, there was always avoidance of duties which appears to have been a common practise. However, in general, the trade to Virginia was a profitable one for all concerned. A fact which both illustrates and explains the growth of the commerce of the colony. If it was not known to have been profitable, why would the merchants in the outports be so desperate to gain a share of the trade?

Among the factors which contributed to this growth, it would be very easy to overlook or to minimise the contribution made by the Virginia Company. Although, in a sense, the dissolution of the Company in 1624 spelt defeat, it could be argued that a contributory

factor was the strain of planting and sustaining a colony on the North American mainland. This, in the context of the earlier failures at Roanoke, was an achievement in itself. Even more than this, the Company, by its declaration of free trade in 1619, instituted the system of commerce which ensured that there was no disruption during the difficult years which preceded and followed dissolution. This was not without detrimental effects to the Company. Another cause of its ultimate failure was its inability to compete with the more efficient individual traders. It is interesting to note that the demand for free trade coincided with the almost spectacular boom in the growth and export of tobacco. Undoubtedly the introduction and successful cultivation of certain strains of tobacco was the most important single factor in the prosperity of Virginia. The search for a commodity to exchange for necessary merchandise and foodstuffs characterised the early years of all the colonies and Virginia was particularly fortunate. However the contribution of other commodities must not be overlooked. Even after the introduction of tobacco, appreciable quantities of other goods, notably beaver skins, were exported.

A further cause of the growth was the relatively trouble-free passage to and from the colony. As time progressed, the seamen became more expert in sailing a vessel across the Atlantic. Experiments were made with shorter crossings, among which the voyage of

Samuel Argall in 1609 is outstanding. The time taken was therefore reduced. Additionally, research shows that there were surprisingly few accidents to Virginia vessels caused by the negligence of seamen or the 'stress of wind and weather'. Most accidents were the result of attacks by pirates, hostile nations, or even, in the period of the Civil War especially, by the English themselves. In all twenty-eight vessels are known to have been lost by accident or negligence. Even these losses compare quite favourably with, for example, the losses incurred by Portuguese vessels engaged in the trade between Lisbon and Goa in the years 1620 to 1623. Of the thirty-four ships which took this route, eight were wrecked, two were captured and nine were forced to return to port in Lisbon.<sup>6</sup> These statistics must have been a great encouragement to merchants interested in trading with Virginia, they could be virtually certain that their goods would arrive at their destination in a reasonable condition.

Another development in the mechanics of trade which contributed greatly to its growth, was also the result of the time factor. As merchants became conversant with the trade to Virginia, they gradually developed contacts within the colony. This was achieved by two methods, consignment and factorage, both of which were to mature in the later years of the colony. Increasingly it became a common practise for a

<sup>6</sup> Parry, 'Transport and Trade Routes', p 195

merchant to consign goods to a particular planter. In return the planter would send his tobacco to the merchant in England who had supplied him. To further facilitate trade, some merchants sent their own representatives to the colony to look after their affairs. These factors ensured that a cargo of colonial produce was ready for immediate loading when the ship arrived. It was thought that this would greatly reduce the time that a vessel stayed in the colony which, in turn, cut the costs of the freighters for chartering and wages and victuals for the seamen. Secondly it lessened the risk of damage, especially in the case of tobacco, a notoriously delicate commodity. Another important duty of the factor was to protect the cargo of his merchant whilst it was in transit from the machinations of a dishonest crew. To achieve this, many travelled with the goods. Above all, familiarity between merchant and planter bred a feeling of trust and a realisation of their mutual dependence. A planter often needed credit to purchase necessary merchandise and materials and was prepared to use his future crops of tobacco as a security for payment. The merchant extended credit in return for the promise that he could handle the tobacco crop of the planter. During this period and for several decades following, this system worked extremely well and it was only in the years preceeding the American Revolution that the debts of the planters far outstripped their ability to pay.

Although, for the reasons outlined above, the trade to Virginia grew steadily in the period 1606 to 1660, this growth was accompanied by many difficulties which led to delays and losses both of life and profit. Most cases involving Virginia which came before the High Court of Admiralty were concerned with instances of contravention or alleged contravention of the Charter Party. Freighters complained that the owners had allowed the ships to set sail in an unseaworthy condition, merchants complained of damage to their cargoes through the negligence of owners, freighters or sailors of all three and the crews complained that they had been illtreated, had insufficient food and were not paid. Many of these charges were perfectly valid and resulted in delays which, as noted before, involved the freighters in extra costs. They also resulted in damage to the goods.

Delays were experienced in all stages of the trade to Virginia. Many of these were the results of factors explained previously and many were common to all areas of trade in the Seventeenth Century, for example those caused by the inefficiency of the customs service and the innumerable regulations imposed during the Civil War. However the greatest delays in the Virginia trade occurred within the colony itself. The average time spent here was 114 days (including those vessels engaged in subsidiary enterprises) or ninety-four days excluding such ships. This figure is excessively high especially

when compared to the average time for the outward voyage by the shortest passage of eighty-two days. The figure was not reduced as the techniques of sailing and trade became more sophisticated. These delays stemmed from numerous factors; among the most important of which was the lack of administrative experience and personnel within the colony. At first the turn-round was delayed by the inability to find an adequate lading, but even after tobacco was established as the staple crop, there were mistakes over consignments and the scattered nature of the settlements made collection of a complete lading difficult and lengthy. Those ships that were delayed on the outward voyage, arrived after the bulk of the tobacco crop had been taken out of the colony and faced an often fruitless task of trying to find enough goods to fill the vessel. Other causes of delay in the colony included repairs to damaged vessels, damage incurred in the colony and quarrels between merchants and planters or merchants and seamen.

Even with the increased expertise of seamen, the reduction in the length of time taken for the passage and the development of trading contacts, it was virtually unknown for a ship to achieve more than one commercial voyage to the colony in a single year. The average length of time spent in Virginia (ninety-four days) together with the average length of time for the shortest passage (128 days) is 222 days. Exact figures are extant for nine ships which left for the colony



almost immediately after their return to England. The time taken to turn round in the home port showed great fluctuations. The Treasurer in 1612 took about 205 days whereas the Bona Nova in 1619 managed to unload, refit and take on a cargo within 53 days. The average turn-round time of the nine ships was roughly 123 days. Hence a figure of 345 days (123 + 222) for the total voyage to Virginia can be projected. Only three vessels are known to have achieved two voyages in one year, the Elizabeth in 1613, the William and John in 1617 and the George in 1619. Even they only managed to set out again for the colony within the year and did not achieve two complete visits. Davis, in discussing the trade of the Western Hemisphere in general, arrives at the same conclusion. He notes that it was difficult for a ship to make two voyages in a year. Thus a great many West Indian and American operators regarded one voyage out and home as a proper year's employment.<sup>7</sup> The Company was probably quite correct in being proud of sending out some ships several times in a given number of years. The members announced, with some self-satisfaction that 'the Bona Nova, the Hopewell, the Furtherance, and the Abigail etc., some of these ships have gone twice or thrice within these five years'.<sup>8</sup> The merchants who continued the

<sup>7</sup> Davis, English Shipping Industry, p 190

<sup>8</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, IV, p 185

commerce after the dissolution of the Company also seemed more than satisfied with the speed of the trade and the profits to be gained from it. Witness their dislike of attempts to centralise business in Virginia.

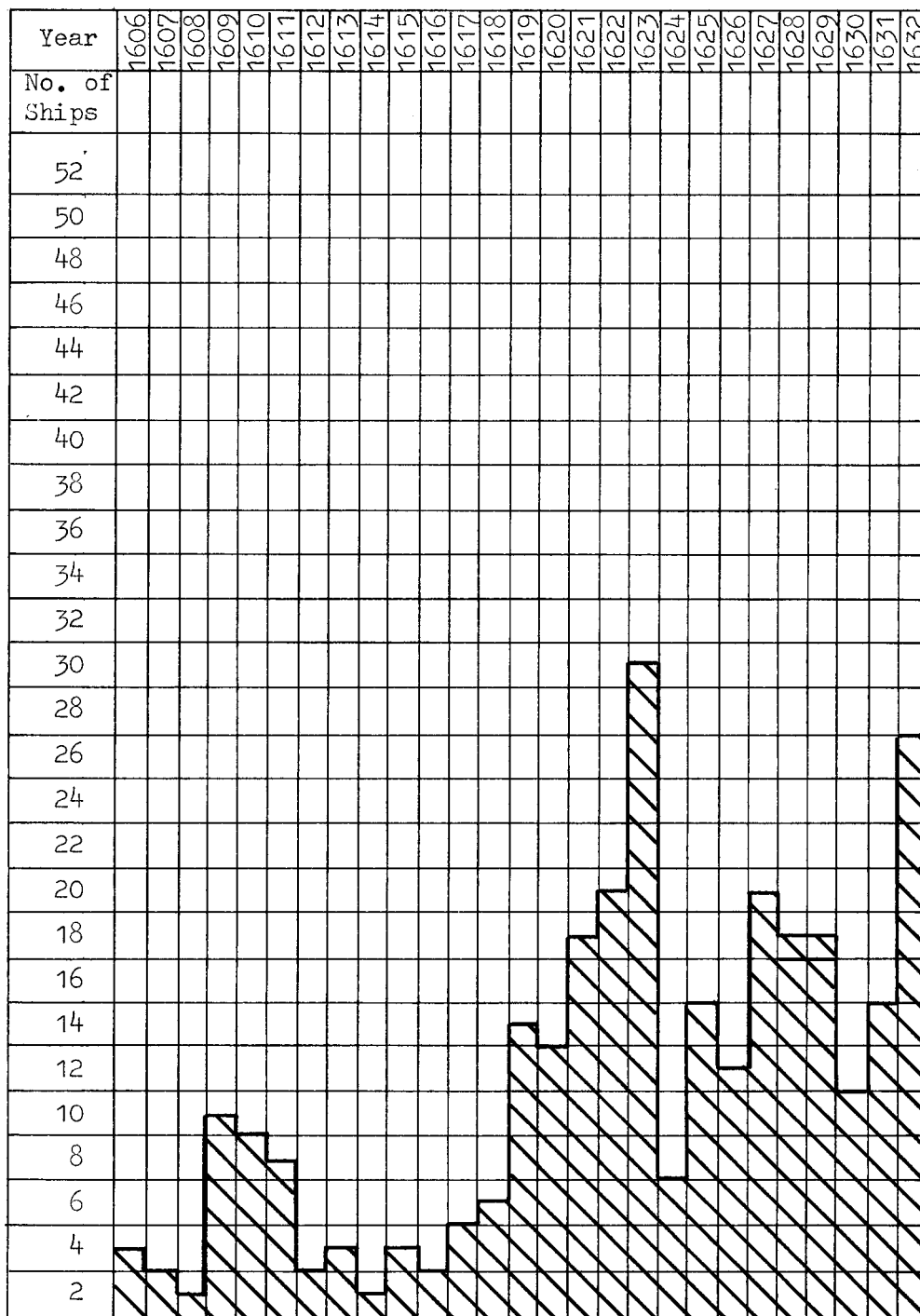
Despite the difficulties and delays encountered in the trade between England and Virginia, both merchants and planters were satisfied with the way in which it was conducted, evidenced by its steady growth. This attitude is important to bear in mind in any analysis of the challenge made by other nations to the English monopoly of the trade to Virginia. From the evidence based on English sources and those foreign sources in translation, it is difficult to say how successful this challenge was. At certain times during the period, when English trade suffered disruption, the Dutch did obtain a large share of the commerce. However, despite the welcoming attitude of the Virginians and the persistence of the Dutch, there is no evidence that foreigners gained predominance in the trade at any time. On the whole it was found that trade with England was more straightforward, especially when firm contacts were established, and that the English were better able to supply the Virginians with the type of goods that they wanted. By such measures as the severe restrictions on the imports of Spanish tobacco, the curtailment of planting in England and the gradual lowering of duties and curtailment of restrictions, the English government actively fostered the trade with Virginia.

Although the foreign challenge was not successful, Virginia began to turn increasingly to the neighbouring colonies, both English and Dutch, for certain goods, notably foodstuffs. It was considerably easier and safer to import goods from within a few hundred miles than from over 3,000 miles distance. There were tentative steps to this end before 1630, but it was the arrival of Governor John Harvey in the colony that really heralded the beginning of strong commercial ties with the other developing colonies. Virginia's geographical position was an extremely important factor in the growth of inter-colonial trade. Indeed, it can be argued with some justification that before the expansion of the triangular trade involving New England and the West Indies at the end of the Seventeenth Century, Virginia was the crossroads for inter-colonial trade in the important years of its inception. This, together with the growth of the trade with England, are the two major trends to be discerned from a study of Virginian commerce in the years from the first settlement to the Restoration of Charles II.

APPENDICES

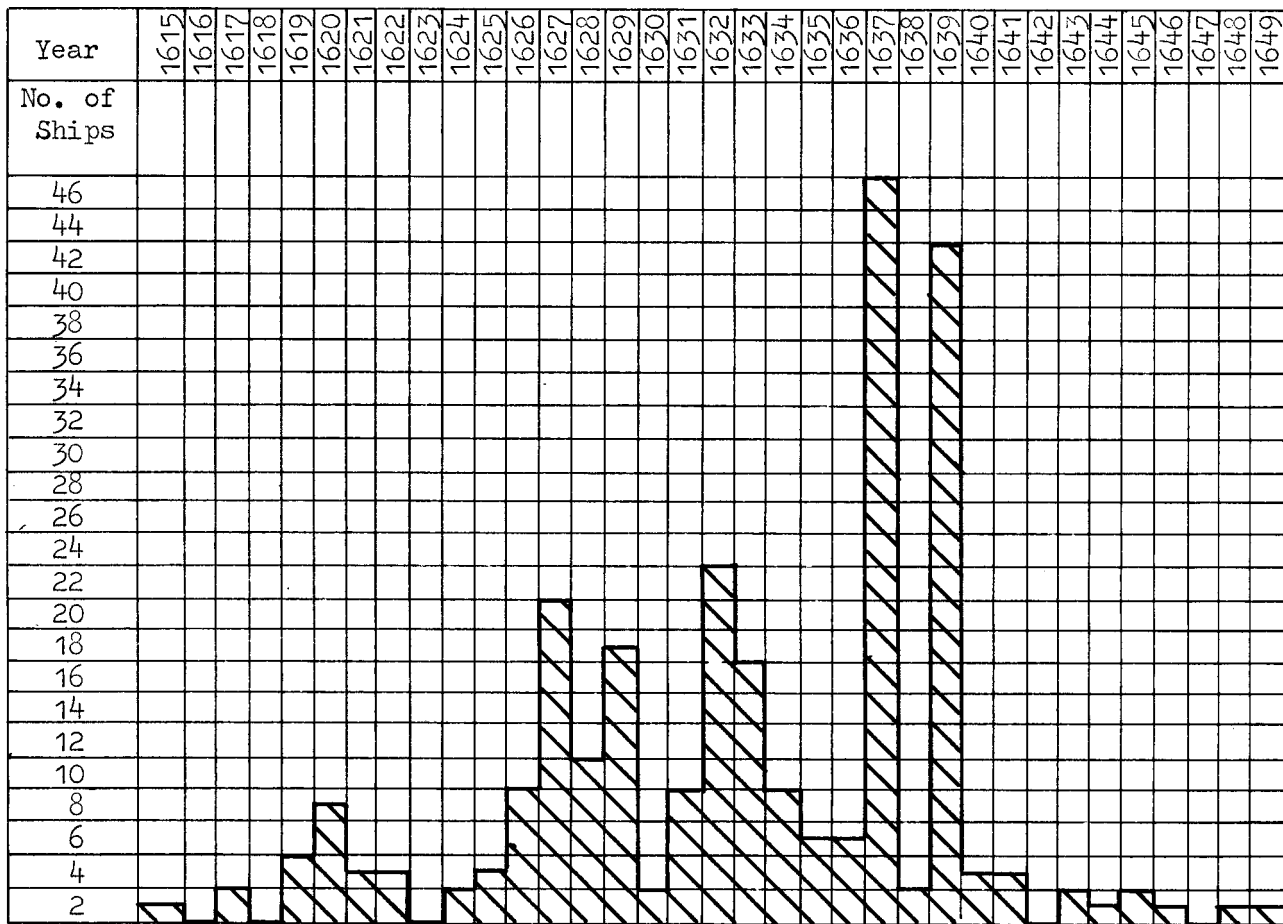
APPENDIX A

Number of Ships by Year. I.



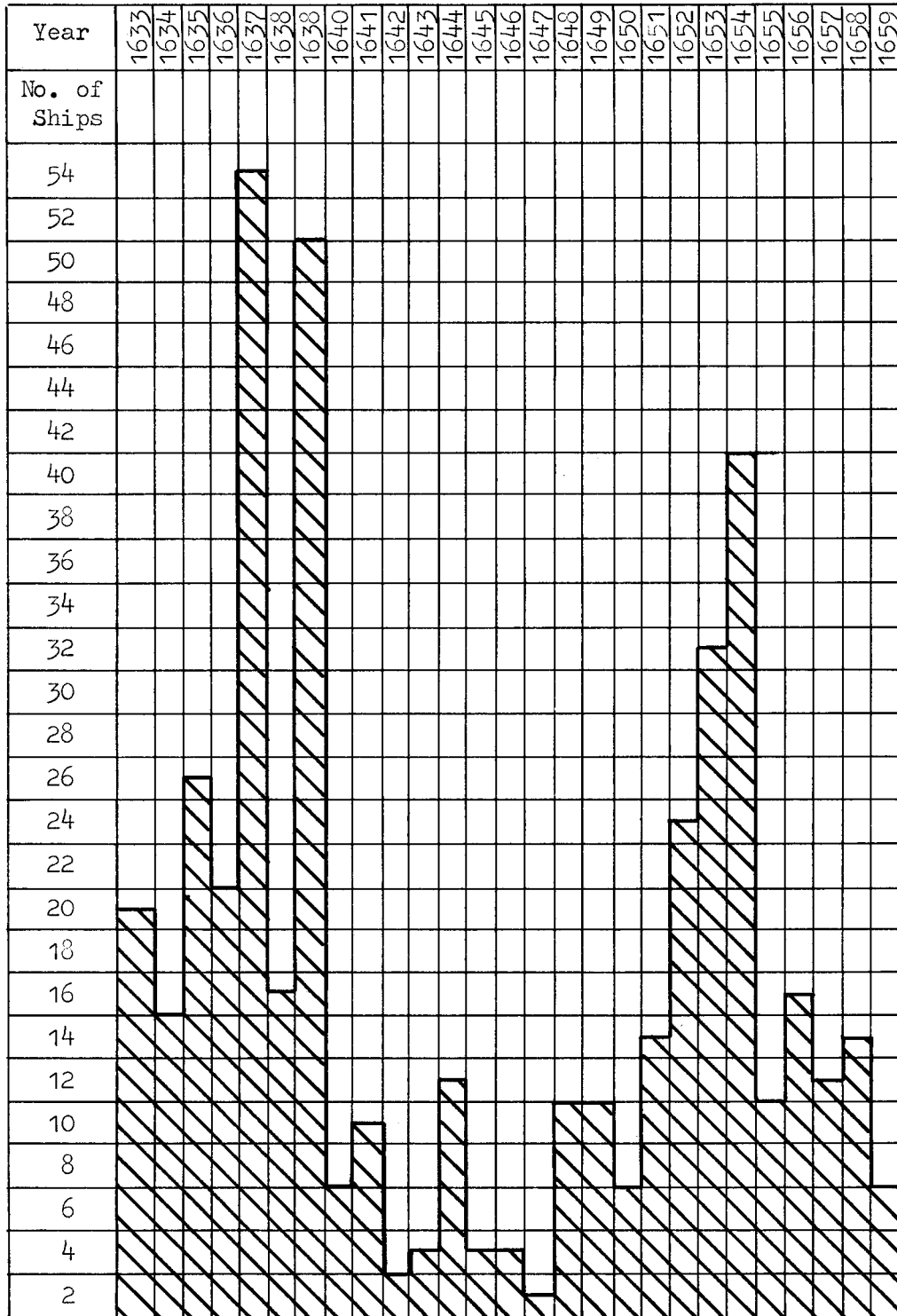
APPENDIX A

Number of Ships a Year. I. Compiled from  
Port Books.



APPENDIX A

Number of Ships by Year. 2.



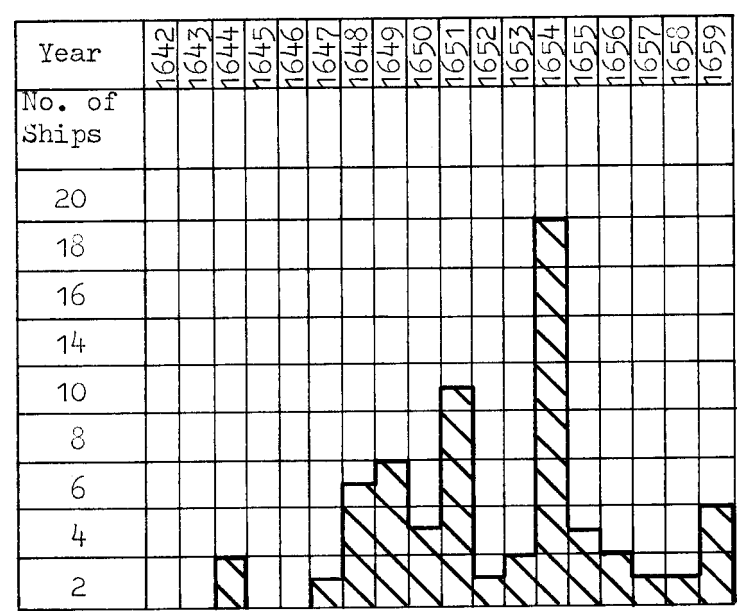
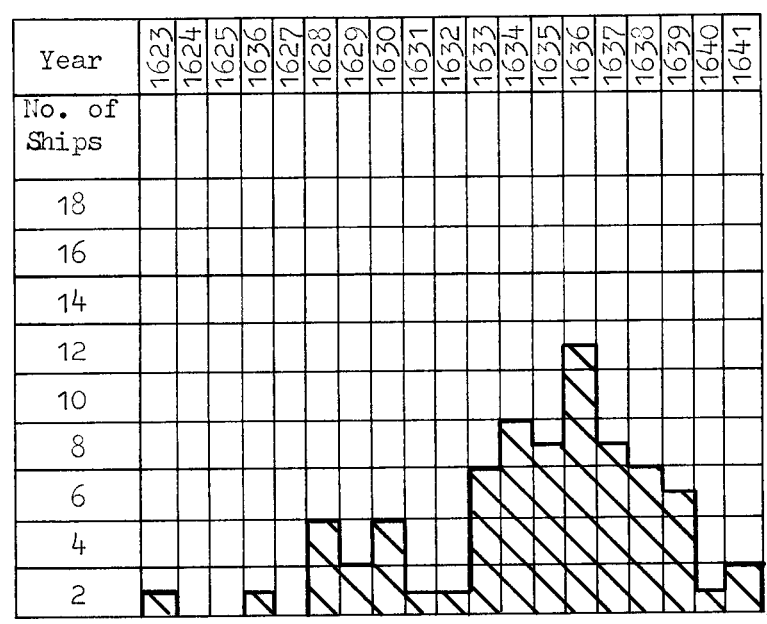






APPENDIX A

Number of Ships by Year. 5. Compiled from the records of the High Court of Admiralty.





APPENDIX. B

Merchants who combined for Virginia Ventures

1641. Rebecca.      Honor.  
Richard Quayney, William Allen and Others.
1636. Mayflower.   Bonny Bess.      Flower de Luce.  
Joseph Saunders, Francis Lathbury.
1632. Revenge.      Elizabeth and Anne.  
Edward Bennett, John Stoner, George Orme.
1630. Providence.   Golden Lion.  
William Palmer, John Thomas.
1654. Unity. 1658. White Dove.  
John Jeffries, Robert Llewelin.
1636. Bonny Bess.   Flower de Luce.  
William Smith, Joseph Saunders.
1648. Honor.      Prosperous Susan.  
William Allen, John Heath.

APPENDIX. CMerchants from Ports other than London 1.A. PLYMOUTH

John Army.	Nicholas Harris.
Nicholas Ayres.	Arthur Hey.
Charles Bebb.	Waltar Jacob.
George Blackett.	Abraham Jennens.
Maynard Blethman.	Joseph Johnson.
William Brane.	Thomas Liort.
Tristram Brawd.	William Lucas.
Tristram Bowes.	Arthur Makewort.
Thomas Boyes.	John Maye.
Thomas Brigg.	John Newman.
James Brody.	Nicholls.
James Brooks.	Richard Parke.
Richard Browne.	John Pembridge.
Burnett.	Henry Perry.
John Cater.	William Rowe.
John Cause.	George Royer.
Christopher Ceely.	William Smith.
Robert Champion.	Henry Staine.
Henry Coffin.	John Stare.
John Cole.	Reynold Streamer.
William Cook.	Peter Stubber.
Thomas Cramphorne.	Henry Vaughan.
Waltar Dovell.	William Vaughan.
John Ellison.	Wessel Weblyn.
John Erickson.	Richard West.
Richard Evans.	Thomas West.
Samuel Filber.	Hugh Weston.

Merchants from Ports other than London 2.PLYMOUTH continued

Edward Fishcocke.	Thomas Wind.
John Fodringham.	John Winter.
John Fossett.	Thomas Worth.
Thomas Fowent.	John Wright.
Nathaniel Hall.	William Wrogham.
	Two unnamed merchants.

B. SOUTHAMPTON

Valentine Aldis.	William Barker.
Peter Andrews.	Francis Burrows.
Clement Audley.	William Cary.
Thomas Childe.	John Cheseman.
Peter Claugion.	John Mullens.
Thomas Combs.	Robert Newland.
Edward Downer.	Thomas Newman.
Tristram Edwards.	Nathaniel Pescod.
Tobias Felgate.	James Parker.
James Gapon.	William Pinhorne.
Joseph Hussey.	Richard Pulford.
Francis Knolls.	William Ryman.
Richard Lathe.	Arthur Sheeres.
Henry Leith.	John Sparking.
Sampson Marlowe.	Richard Spurling.
John Mason.	Richard Stephens.
Thomas Mason.	John Taylor.
Edward Mathews.	Thomas Turged.
Nathaniel Mills.	John Watte.
	Ralph Yardley.

Merchants from Ports other than London 3.C. BARNSTABLE

George Baily.	William Gammon.
Joseph Baker.	John Garrett.
Andrew Barryman.	Samuel Garrett.
Richard Bennett.	Thomas Gift.
Jacob Corner.	William King.
William Davis.	Simon Ley.
John Delbridge.	William Palmer.
John Dennys.	John Thomas.
Penticost Doderidge.	William Woodland.
Robert Fleming.	One unnamed merchant.

D. BIDEFORD

George Bailye.	Edward Miller.
John Brame.	Richard Sherman.
William Davys.	Thomas Sherwood.
Richard Downe.	George Stuart.
George Ferrys.	Abraham Sturt.
William Garland.	Thomas Wright.
Thomas Harris.	

E. BRISTOL

Thomas Amery.	Christopher Burkhead.
William Bullock.	James Groves.
Richard Elsworth.	Louis Reade.
Thomas Jackson.	Anne Waltar.
George Lane.	Thomas Wright.

Merchants from Ports other than London 4.F. WEYMOUTH

Mathew Allen.	David Galice.
Mathew Allmind.	Andrew Porricke.
John Bennett.	John Rickett.
Richard Busford.	David Teiare.
William Barby.	

G. DARTMOUTH

Peter Blackoller.	John Morris.
Charles Delbar.	Robert Sherowe.
John Mau.	Anthony West.
Robert Moore.	

H. FALMOUTH

Richard Clarke.	Edward Wooton.
William Simewell.	

I. TENERIFFE

Samuel Dashwood.	Gaven Painter.
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J. ROCHESTER.

Thomas Willoughby.	
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K. DOVER

John Morgan.	
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L. SANDWICH

Peter Dee.	
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M. EXETER

John Nutt.	
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APPENDIX. DOwners and Merchants who combined in the same ship.

1634. John and Dorothy, Joseph Hawes.
1634. Constance, John Thierrye.
1636. Bonny Bess, Joseph Saunders.
1638. America, Richard Batson, Jeremy Farloe.
1639. Charity, John Stevens, Edward Hopgood, Waldrobe and Ladwick.
1640. Unity, George Fletcher.
1654. Hopeful Luke, John Wadsworth.
1654. Elizabeth and Mary, William Pinhorne and others.
1654. Rappahanock, John Jeffries, Thomas Colclough and Co.
1655. Unnamed ship, John Jeffries.
1655. Rappahanock, John Jeffries, Thomas Colclough and Co.
1656. Anthony of London, Thomas Colclough.

APPENDIX. EMonths of Arrival in Virginia, 1617-1624

<u>Year</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>D</u>
1617					3							
1618					1			2				
1619	2			5	2		1				2	
1620					4	1		2				1
1621	2	1		2		1					4	3
1622	1	1		3			4			1	2	2
1623				2	1	1	1		2			
1624		1	2	4			1					

APPENDIX. FTime taken between leaving London and leaving the Channel I.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of ship</u>	<u>Date left London</u>	<u>Date left Channel</u>	<u>Total Time</u>
1606-1607	<u>Susan Constant</u> <u>Godspeed</u> <u>Discovery</u>	December 30	February 18	50 days
1607	<u>John and Francis</u> <u>Phoenix</u>	October 18	November 2	15 days
1609	<u>Discovery</u>	May 6	May 15	9 days
1609	<u>Sea Venture</u> <u>Falcon</u> <u>Blessing</u> <u>Unity</u> <u>Diamond</u> <u>Swallow</u> <u>Lion</u> <u>Virginia</u> <u>Catch</u>	May 25	June 18	24 days
1610	<u>De La Warr</u> <u>Blessing</u> <u>Hercules</u>	March 12	April 11	30 days
1611	<u>Starr</u> <u>Prosperous</u> <u>Elizabeth</u>	March 2	March 25	25 days
1617	<u>George</u>	March 31	April 21	21 days
1619	<u>George</u>	January 5	January 29	24 days

APPENDIX. FTime taken between leaving London and leaving the Channel II.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of ship</u>	<u>Date left London</u>	<u>Date left Channel</u>	<u>Total Time</u>
1633	<u>Expedition</u>	July 17	August 27	41 days
1638	<u>Blessing</u>	October 11	C. January 6	87 days
1649	<u>William and Ralph</u>	September 15	September 26	11 days
1654-1655	<u>Peter and John</u>	December 29	January 27	30 days
1654-1655	<u>William</u>	December 12	January 27	47 days

APPENDIX. GOutward Voyage

<u>Route</u>	<u>Average Time</u>	<u>Longest Time</u>	<u>Shortest Time</u>
West Indies	For 18 ships 197 days	<u>West India</u> <u>Merchant</u> 1649 194 days	<u>Starr</u> 1611 57 days
Bermudas	<u>Elizabeth</u> 1613 114 days		
New England	<u>Ann</u> 1623 134 days		
Direct	For 3 ships 82 days	<u>Supply</u> 1620 126 days	<u>Edwin</u> 1617 35 days

APPENDIX. HInward Voyage

<u>Route</u>	<u>Average Time</u>	<u>Longest Time</u>	<u>Shortest Time</u>
Direct	For 6 ships 46 days	<u>Elizabeth</u> 1614 77 days	<u>Phoenix</u> 1608 21 days
New England	<u>Bonaventure</u> 1620 191 days		

APPENDIX JVisits en Route to Virginia

No. of Ships	Barbados	Nevis	St. Christophers	Antiqua	Isle of Prov.	Bermuda	Guinea	New England	Newfoundland	Ireland	Elsewhere I.
15.											
14.											
13.											
12.											
11.											
10.											
9.											
8.											
7.											
6.											
5.											
4.											
3.											
2.											
1.											

<sup>I</sup>Two ships, one went to the Hudson River and the other to Lisbon and Oporto.

APPENDIX KVisits on the way back to England.

Number of Ships	Barbados	New England	New Found-land	Ireland	France	Elsewhere I.
4.			/			/
3.		/	/	/		/
2.	/	/	/	/	/	/
1.	/	/	/	/	/	/

<sup>I</sup>One to Leghorne, one to San Sebastian in Spain, one to Holland and one to Spain.

APPENDIX. L

Ships attacked or lost whilst engaged in Virginia Enterprises I.

\* Denotes ships that escaped the attack.

A. Vessels attacked by Spaniards.

\* Margaret and John, 1621.

Elizabeth, 1637.

Thomas and Susan, 1656.

Jacob, 1659.

B. Vessels attacked by the French.

Unnamed, 1625.

Unnamed,

Unnamed, 1652.

Welcome, 1652.

\* Rappahanock, 1655.

C. Vessels attacked off the African Coast.

Rappahanock, 1656.

Sarah, 1656.

Hopewell, 1657.

D. Vessels attacked by the Dutch.

Anne, 1627.

\* Golden Lion, 1652.

E. Vessels attacked by the English.

\* A Gunder Bark of Jersey, 1650.

F. Vessels attacked by Dunkirkers.

Robert Bonaventure, 1634.

Charity, 1634.

Fortune, 1634.

Unnamed, 1638.



APPENDIX. L

Ships attacked or lost whilst engaged in Virginia Enterprises II.

\* Denotes ships that escaped the attack.

F. Vessels attacked by Dunkirkers continued

Joseph, 1641.

Farefield, 1641.

Rebecca, 1641.

Unnamed, 1656.

\* Anthony, 1656.

Anne and Susan, 1659.

G. Vessels attacked by Turkish Pirates.

\* Tiger, 1621.

Little David, Early 1630's.

Unnamed, 1638.

Flower de Luce, 1651.

H. Vessels attacked by English Pirates.

\* Hercules, 1611.

I. Vessels lost by accident.

Sea Flower, 1622.

J. Vessels Wrecked.

Catch, 1609.

Sea Venture, 1609.

Unity, 1609.

Lion, 1632.

Hopewell, 1635.

William and Sarah, 1641.

Prosperous Susan, 1648.

Swallow of Dartmouth, 1652.

Report, 1653.

Hopeful Luke, 1654.

The Length of Time Spent in Virginia I.

\* Denotes those ships engaged in subsidiary activities.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of Ship.</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Date of Departure</u>	<u>Total Time (in days)</u>
1607	<u>Susan Constant</u>	6 May	12 July	68
	<u>Godspeed</u>	6 May	12 July	68
1608	<u>John and Francis*</u>	12 January	20 April	138
	<u>Phoenix</u>	30 April	12 June	34
1609	<u>Discovery*</u>	24 July	12 September	50
	<u>Falcon</u>	21 August	24 October	64
	<u>Blessing</u>	21 August	24 October	64
	<u>Unity</u>	21 August	24 October	64
	<u>Diamond</u>	26 August	24 October	59
1609-10	<u>Swallow*</u>	30 August	2 January	125
1609	<u>Lion</u>	21 August	24 October	64
1610	<u>Blessing</u>	15 June	25 July	30
	<u>Hercules</u>	15 June	25 July	30
1610-11	<u>De La Warr*</u>	15 June	8 April	297
1611	<u>Hercules</u>	22 April	22 May	30
	<u>Starr</u>	22 May	November	140c.
	<u>Prosperous</u>	22 May	Late August	100c.
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	22 May	27 August	97
1611-12	<u>Trial</u>	30 August	2 May	244
1612	<u>Sarah</u>	June	7 August	66c.
1612-14	<u>Treasurer*</u>	27 September	28 June	639
1613	<u>Elizabeth</u>	24 May	8 July	45

The Length of Time Spent in Virginia II

\* Denotes those ships engaged in subsidiary activities.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Date of Departure</u>	<u>Total Time (in days)</u>
1614	<u>Elizabeth</u>	February	1 March	15c.
1615-16	<u>Treasurer*</u>	Summer	1 May	240c.
1617	<u>George</u>	25 May	18 June	24
1617-18	<u>Edwin</u>	27 May	20 March	298
1618	<u>George</u>	April	25 June	56c.
	<u>Neptune</u>	August	Early November	40c.
1619	<u>William and Thomas</u>	January	Mid June	151c.
	<u>Gift of God</u>	January	14 June	151c.
	<u>Diana</u>	Late April	Late December	240c.
1619-20	<u>Bona Nova</u>	4 November	Early Spring	140c.
	<u>Margaret</u>	30 November	24 January	55
	<u>George*</u>	29 April	January	260c.
1619	<u>Trial</u>	5 July	15 August	40
1620	<u>London Merchant</u>	27 May	7 June	11
	<u>Swan</u>	15 May	7 June	17
	<u>Jonathan</u>	27 May	9 June	13
1620-21	<u>Duty*</u>	25 May	Spring	300c.
	<u>Temperance</u>	December	Early February	40c.
1621	<u>Supply</u>	8 February	3 April	54
1621-22	<u>George</u>	28 November	January	50c.
	<u>Warwick</u>	19 December	February	50c.
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	28 November	January	50c.
	<u>Concord</u>	Late December	Mid March	75c.

The Length of Time Spent in Virginia III

\* Denotes those ships engaged in subsidiary activities.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Date of Departure</u>	<u>Total Time (in days)</u>
1622	<u>Sea Flower</u>	February	22 May	90c.
	<u>Bona Nova</u>	7 April	Early May	30c.
	<u>Discovery</u>	14 April	May	30c.
1622-23	<u>Hopewell*</u>	7 April	Early February	300c.
	<u>Bonaventure</u>	July	July	365c.
	<u>Abigail*</u>	16 December	27 June	193
	<u>James</u>	Late December	Early February	30c.
	<u>Truelove</u>	Late November	Early February	60c.
1622-24	<u>Furtherance</u>	24 October	27 April	549
1629-30	<u>Valentine</u>	December	15 January	30c.
1630-31	<u>Philip</u>	August	1 January	139c.
1636	<u>Blessing</u>			98
1638	<u>Blessing</u>			49
1638-39	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	21 October	11 April	172
1648	<u>Jonathan and Abigail</u>	11 April		280
1649	<u>Swallow</u>	1 October	15 December	75
1649-50	<u>Peter and John</u>	September	Late January	137c.
1654	<u>Alexander</u>	1 July	30 August	60
	<u>Hopewell</u>			150
	<u>William</u>	22 April		80
1654-55	<u>Rappahanock</u>	14 December	27 March	103
1655-56	<u>King of Poland</u>	Early July	27 January	206c.
	<u>Anne</u>	Early December	1 April	127

APPENDIX. N

The Custom Rate on Tobacco, 1604-1660 I. <sup>1</sup>  
(per pound of tobacco)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Custom Rate</u>
1604	2d custom, 6s 8d imposition
1608	1s custom and imposition
1615	6d custom, 1s imposition, 6d subsidy
1619	6d custom, 6d subsidy
1623	3d custom, 6d imposition
1625	3d custom, 9d imposition
1629	3d custom and imposition
1632 February March	2d custom, 2d imposition 3d custom, 6d impost
1641	6d custom, 4d imposition

<sup>1</sup> The figures after 1623 denote Virginia tobacco only

The information in this appendix is taken from Public Record Office, Port Books, E 190/847/5 and E 190/947/1, Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vol. 1., Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, Calender of State Papers, Domestic, James I and Charles I, Beer, Origins of the Colonial System, Dietz, Public Finance, Hall, Customs Revenue, MacInnes, Early English Tobacco Trade, Stock, Proceedings and Debates.

APPENDIX. NCustom Rates on Tobacco II

<u>Year</u>	<u>Custom Rate</u>
1643	1d custom and imposition
1649	4d custom and imposition
1653	2d custom and imposition
1656	1d custom and imposition

APPENDIX O

Ships unloading at Ports other than London I

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Port</u>
1615	<u>Flying Horse</u>	Portsmouth
1619	<u>Marygold</u>	Southampton
1623	<u>William</u>	Bristol
1625	<u>Katherine</u>	Poole
1626	<u>Fellowship</u>	Weymouth
	<u>Amity</u>	"
	<u>Godspeed</u>	Dover
1627	<u>William</u>	Plymouth
	<u>Eagle</u>	"
	<u>Consent</u>	"
	<u>Unicorne</u>	"
	<u>Mayflower</u>	"
	<u>Saker</u>	"
	<u>Peter and John</u>	"
	<u>Alice</u>	Weymouth
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	"
1628	<u>Arke</u>	Weymouth
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Dartmouth
	<u>Pleasure</u>	Barnstable
	<u>Content</u>	"
	<u>Eagle</u>	"
	<u>Mercury</u>	"

Ships unloading at Ports other than London II

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Port</u>
1629	<u>John</u>	Plymouth
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	"
	Unnamed	Sandwich
	<u>Abigail</u>	Weymouth
	<u>Grace</u>	Southampton
1630	<u>John</u>	Plymouth
	<u>Reformation</u>	"
	<u>James</u>	"
	<u>Return</u>	"
	Unnamed	"
	Unnamed	Ilfracombe
1631	<u>Golden Lion</u>	Barnstable
	<u>Seraphym</u>	"
	<u>Delight</u>	"
	<u>Providence</u>	"
	<u>Unicorne</u>	Margate
1632	<u>John</u>	Barnstable
	<u>Pleasure</u>	"
	<u>Eagle</u>	"
	<u>Merlyn</u>	"
	<u>William</u>	"
1633	<u>Katherine</u>	Barnstable
	<u>Exchange</u>	"
	<u>John</u>	"
	<u>Friendship</u>	"
	<u>John</u>	Plymouth



Ships unloading at Ports other than London III

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Port</u>
1634	<u>Lyonesse</u>	Penryn
	<u>Providence</u>	Barnstable
	<u>George</u>	"
	<u>Delight</u>	"
	<u>Gift</u>	"
1635	<u>Robert Bonaventure</u>	Dover
1636	<u>Golden Lion</u>	Barnstable
	<u>Merchant Bonaventure</u>	Dover
1638	<u>Unity</u>	Fowey
	Unnamed	Bristol
	Unnamed	"
1644	<u>Philip</u>	Southampton
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	"
	<u>John</u>	Padstow
1645	<u>Truelove</u>	Bristol
1646	<u>Return</u>	Ilfracombe
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	Southampton
1647	<u>Olive</u>	Dartmouth
1649	<u>Phoenix</u>	Southampton
1650	<u>Swallow</u>	Bristol
1651	<u>West India Merchant</u>	Southampton

Ships unloading at Ports other than London IV

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Port</u>
1652	<u>Mayflower</u>	Portsmouth
	<u>West India Merchant</u>	Southampton
	<u>Golden Fortune</u>	St. Ives
1655	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Bristol
	<u>Goodwill</u>	"
	<u>Rainbow</u>	"
	<u>Robert</u>	"
	<u>Virginia Planter</u>	"
1656	<u>Thomas and Anne</u>	Dover
	<u>Honor</u>	"
	<u>Golden Lyon</u>	"
	<u>William and John</u>	"
	<u>James</u>	"
	<u>Anne</u>	"
	<u>Golden Falcon</u>	Deal
	<u>Freeman</u>	"
	<u>Charles</u>	Pevensey
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Bristol
	1657	<u>Rainbow</u>
<u>Elizabeth</u>		Dover
1658	<u>Agreement</u>	Bristol
	<u>Recovery</u>	"
	<u>Robert</u>	"
	<u>Delight</u>	"
1659	<u>Speedwell</u>	Bristol
	<u>Thomas</u>	"
1660	<u>Agreement</u>	Bristol



APPENDIX. Q

Goods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia I

I. BEAVERSKINS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity (by pelts)</u>
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	175
1626	<u>Amity</u>	12
	<u>Fellowship</u>	137
1628	<u>Eagle</u>	20
	"	230
	"	24
	<u>Content</u>	628
	<u>Pleasure</u>	16
	"	470
	"	106
	"	40
	"	50
	<u>Mercury</u>	41
1631	<u>Providence</u>	35
	"	327

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Port Books E. 190/38/1, E. 190/38/5, E. 190/41/5, E. 190/821/2, E. 190/873/9, E. 190/947/5, E. 190/947/8, E. 190/948/3, E. 190/948/9, E. 190/948/10, E. 190/949/6, E. 190/949/10, E. 190/949/11, E. 190/1135/3. H.C.A. 13/52, H.C.A. 13/57, H.C.A. 13/65, H.C.A. 24/92. Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634, Sainsbury; 'Virginia in 1638-1639'; Sackville Papers; Millard; Analyses of Port Books.

APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia II

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity (in pelts)</u>
1631	<u>Providence</u>	117
	"	314
	"	65
	"	18
	"	75
	"	17
	"	60
	<u>Little Concord</u>	105
	"	114
	<u>Golden Lion</u>	65
	"	134
	"	70
	"	234
	"	32
	"	387
"	117	
	<u>Seraphym</u>	105
1632	<u>Pleasure</u>	55
	<u>Eagle</u>	40
	<u>Merlyn</u>	125
	<u>William</u>	70
	"	40
1633	<u>Exchange</u>	36
	"	195
	<u>Katherine</u>	100
	"	30

APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia III

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity (in pelts)</u>
1634	<u>Maryarke</u>	97
	"	80
	<u>Providence</u>	36
	"	33
	<u>Delight</u>	44
	<u>Bride</u>	19
	<u>America</u>	40
	<u>Expedition</u>	Unknown
1635	<u>William</u>	Unknown
	<u>Gift</u>	33
	"	122
	"	60
	<u>Increase</u>	1 hogshead
	<u>Revenge</u>	97
	"	1
	"	48
	"	1
	1636	<u>Golden Lion</u>
"		237
"		75
"		100
"		80
"		45
1638	Ship	502
1639	<u>Suzanna</u>	1 small bale

APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia IVII. OTTERSkins

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity (in pelts)</u>
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	18
1626	<u>Amity</u>	5
	<u>Fellowship</u>	24
1628	<u>Eagle</u>	7
	<u>Content</u>	65
	<u>Pleasure</u>	58
	"	30
1631	<u>Providence</u>	80
	<u>Golden Lion</u>	6
	<u>Seraphym</u>	2
1632	<u>Merlyn</u>	18
1633	<u>Lyonnesse</u>	10
1634	<u>Bride</u>	6
1636	<u>Golden Lion</u>	6
	"	20
	"	20

APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia VIII. OTHER COMMODITIES

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
<u>Train Oil</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	20 hogsheads
1628	<u>Eagle</u>	13 hogsheads
1636	<u>Golden Lion</u>	11 hogsheads
<u>Dry Fish</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	8 tons
<u>Oak</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	144 quarters
<u>Cedar Tree Trunks</u>		
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	13 tons
<u>Fox Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	12
	"	12
<u>Raccoon Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	18
	"	6



APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia VI

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
<u>Martin Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	5
	"	23
<u>Muskrat Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Amity</u>	1
<u>Whale Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Fellowship</u>	33
<u>Wild Cat Skins</u>		
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	1
<u>Mouse Skins</u>		
1632	<u>Merlyn</u>	20
<u>Bear Skins</u>		
1633	<u>Lyonesse</u>	50
<u>Deer Skins</u>		
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	1
<u>Other Skins</u>		
1626	<u>Fellowship</u>	25
1635	<u>Revenge</u>	1
1650	<u>Comfort</u>	Unspecified

APPENDIX. QGoods other than Tobacco Imported into England from Virginia VII

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
<u>Deer</u>		
1638	<u>America</u>	4 (died en route)
<u>Elk</u>		
1614	<u>Treasure</u>	2
<u>Pitch</u>		
1633	<u>Katherine</u>	Worth £85
<u>Sassafras</u>		
1619	<u>Marygold</u>	600 pounds
	"	800 pounds
<u>Teeth</u>		
1638	Ship	21 pounds
<u>Indigo</u>		
1623	<u>William</u>	1 cask
<u>Ambergris</u>		
1614	Ship	1,193 ounces
<u>Salt</u>		
1633	<u>James</u>	25½ weys
<u>Feathers</u>		
1638	<u>Richard</u>	3 cwt.

APPENDIX. R

Individual Consignments of Tobacco I

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Number</u>
1631	<u>Christopher</u>	9
	<u>and Mary</u>	
	<u>Unicorne</u>	9
	<u>Love</u>	7
	<u>Jane</u>	11
	<u>Philip</u>	16
	<u>Margaret</u>	4
	<u>Ann</u>	7
1633	<u>James</u>	2
	<u>Lyonesse</u>	14
	<u>Christopher</u>	5
	<u>and Mary</u>	
	<u>Faulken</u>	3
	<u>Lyon</u>	2
	<u>Mayflower</u>	11
	<u>Defence</u>	23
1634	<u>America</u>	14
	<u>Loyalty</u>	25
	<u>Mayflower</u>	59
	<u>Expedition</u>	34
	<u>James</u>	36
	<u>Blessing</u>	5
	<u>Maryarke</u>	14

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vol. 1  
 Port Books, Port of London, E190/38/1, E190/38/5, E190/41/5,  
 E190/41/6, E190/43/5

APPENDIX. R

Individual Consignments of Tobacco II

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Number</u>
1638	Ship	41
	<u>Friendship</u>	18
	<u>John and Barbara</u>	20
	<u>Rebecca</u>	38
	Ship	16
	Ship	11
	<u>Hopewell</u>	16
	Ship	29
	<u>New Supply</u>	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	50
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	3
	Ship	1
	Ship	20
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	17
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	<u>Unity</u>	9
	Ship	31
	Ship	13
Ship	1	
Ship	10	
<u>William</u>	21	

Individual Consignments of Tobacco III

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Number</u>
1638	<u>Speedwell</u>	1
	Ship	43
	Ship	1
	Ship	2
	Ship	3
	Ship	14
	Ship	9
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	2
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	3
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	2
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
1640	Ship	5
	Ship	13
	Ship	5
	<u>George</u>	5

APPENDIX. RIndividual Consignments of Tobacco IV

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Number</u>
1640	Ship	6
	Ship	11
	Ship	9
	<u>Charles</u>	58
	Ship	13
	Ship	2
	<u>Dove</u>	9
	<u>Blessing</u>	11
	Ship	46
	<u>Charity</u>	11
	<u>Honor</u>	38
	Ship	6
	Ship	3
	Ship	28
	Ship	8
	Ship	20
	Ship	3
	Ship	42
	Ship	15
	Ship	2
	<u>William and Sarah</u>	36
	Ship	3
	Ship	2
	Ship	32
	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	6
	Ship	1

APPENDIX. RIndividual Consignments of Tobacco V

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Number</u>
1640	Ship	1
	Ship	1
	Ship	1

APPENDIX. SGoods Involved in Inter-Colonial Trade1. New England and VirginiaExports from VirginiaImports to Virginia

Biscuits  
 Flour  
 Skins  
 Fish  
 Wine  
 Salt  
 Bread  
 Corn  
 Strong Waters  
 Provisions

Goats  
 Heifers  
 Cattle  
 Indian Corn  
 Pork  
 Tobacco  
 Shoes  
 Broadcloth  
 Stilliards  
 Pewter

2. West Indies and VirginiaExports from VirginiaImports to Virginia

Sugar  
 Salt  
 Soap  
 Frying Pans  
 Ginger

Beef  
 Pork  
 Salt Fish  
 Cattle  
 Horses

3. New Sweden and VirginiaExports from VirginiaImports to Virginia

Manufactured Goods

Tobacco  
 Cattle  
 A Bark  
 Fowling Pieces  
 Sail Cloth  
 Serge  
 Knives  
 Kettles  
 Axes



APPENDIX. S Continued

Goods Involved in Inter-Colonial Trade

4. New Netherlands and Virginia

Exports from Virginia

Imports to Virginia

Horses  
Asses  
Sheep  
English Grain  
Furs  
Manufactured Goods  
Brandy  
Distilled Water

Salt  
Tobacco  
Linen  
Beaver  
Otter  
'Wild Cat' Skins

5. Bermudas and Virginia

Exports from Virginia

Imports to Virginia

White Vine Cuttings  
Figs  
Pomegranites  
Sugar  
Oranges  
Lemons  
Plantanes  
Potatoes  
Papawes  
Cassado Roots  
Red Pepper  
Prickell Peare  
Ducks  
Turkies  
Limestone

Aquavitae  
Oil  
Sacks  
Bricks

APPENDIX. T

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 I <sup>1</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Master/Captain</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1606	<u>Susan Constant</u>	Christopher Newport	100 tons
	<u>Godspeed</u>	Bartholomew Gosnold	40 tons
	<u>Discovery</u>	John Ratcliffe	20 tons
1607	<u>John and Francis</u>	Christopher Newport	
	<u>Phoenix</u>	Francis Nelson	
1608	<u>Mary and Margaret</u>	Christopher Newport	
1609	<u>Blessing</u>	Gabriel Archer	
	<u>Catch</u>	Mathew Fitch	
	<u>Diamond</u>	John Radcliffe	
	<u>Discovery</u>	Samuel Argall	20 tons
	<u>Falcon</u>	John Martin	150 tons
	<u>Lion</u>	Webb	
	<u>Sea Venture</u>	Christopher Newport	
	<u>Swallow</u>	Moore	
	<u>Virginia</u>	Davis	
1610	<u>Daintie</u>		
	<u>De La Warr</u>		
	<u>Deliverance</u>		70 tons
	<u>Hercules</u>	Samuel Argall	
Dec	<u>Hercules</u>	Adams	
	<u>Mary and James</u>		
	<u>Noah</u>		
	<u>Patience</u>		30 tons

<sup>1</sup> Dating from the year that the ships left England

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 II.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Master/Captain</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1611	<u>Elizabeth</u> <u>John and Francis</u> <u>Prosperous</u> <u>Starr</u> <u>Sarah</u> <u>Swan</u> <u>Trial</u>	Christopher Newport      George Percy	40 tons
1612	<u>Sarah</u> <u>Treasurer</u>	Samuel Argall	
1613	<u>Elizabeth</u> Oct <u>Elizabeth</u> <u>Treasurer</u>	Adams Adams Griffin Purnell	40 tons 40 tons
1614	<u>John and Francis</u>		
1615	<u>Flying Hart</u> <u>Treasurer</u> <u>Trial</u>	Samuel Argall	20 tons
1616	<u>Seaflower</u> <u>Susan Constant</u>		
1617	<u>Edwin</u> <u>George</u> Dec <u>George</u> <u>William and John</u>	Samuel Argall	150 tons 150 tons

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 III.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Master/Captain</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1618	<u>Gift of God</u>		140 tons
	<u>Neptune</u>	Thomas De La Warr	250 tons
	<u>Seaflower</u>		
	<u>Treasurer</u>	Daniel Elfrith	
	<u>William and Thomas</u>	Maygner	
1619	<u>Bona Nova</u>	John Johnson	200 tons
	<u>Diana</u>		
	<u>Edwin</u>	George Bargrave	
	<u>Eleanor</u>		40 tons
	<u>Garland</u>	William Wye	250 tons
	<u>George</u>		150 tons
	<u>Greyhound</u>		
	<u>Margaret of Bristol</u>	John Woodleefe	80 tons
	<u>Neptune</u>	Richard Beomontt	
	<u>Prosperous</u>		
	<u>Sampson</u>	John Ward	
	<u>Silver Falcon</u>	John Fenner	
	<u>Trial</u>	Jno Powntis	200 tons
1620	<u>Bona Nova</u>	John Huddleston	200 tons
	<u>Bona Venture</u>		200 tons
	<u>Duty</u>	John Dameron	70 tons
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		40 tons
	<u>Falcon</u>	Thomas Jones	150 tons
	<u>Jonathan</u>	Thompson	350 tons
	<u>London Merchant</u>	William Shawe	300 tons
	<u>Margaret</u>	Farnell	
	<u>Margaret and John</u>		150 tons

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 IV.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1620	<u>Supply</u>	William Tracy	80 tons
(Cont.)	<u>Swan of Barnstable</u>		100 tons
	<u>Trial</u>	Edmunds	200 tons
1621	<u>Abigail</u>	Samuel Each	350 tons
	<u>Bona Nova</u>	John Huddleston	200 tons
	<u>Charles</u>		80 tons
	<u>Concord</u>		
	<u>Discovery</u>	Thomas Jones	60 tons
	<u>Duty</u>		70 tons
	<u>Eleanor</u>	William Tucker	40 tons
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		40 tons
	<u>Flying Hart</u>	Cornelius Johnson	200 tons
	<u>George</u>	William Ewens	150 tons
	<u>Godshelpe</u>		
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Thomas Smith	60 tons
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	Marmaduke Raynor	
	<u>Sea Flower</u>	Hamer	140 tons
	<u>Temperance</u>		80 tons
	<u>Tiger</u>	Nicholas Elford	45 tons
	<u>Warwick</u>	Nicholas Newberry	180 tons
1622	<u>Abigail</u>	Samuel Each	350 tons
	<u>Adam and Eve</u>		
	<u>Bona Venture</u>		50 tons
	<u>Charity</u>	Reynolds	80 tons
	<u>Darling</u>	Daniel Gale	40 tons

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 V.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Masters/Captains</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1622	<u>Furtherance</u>	Sampson	160 tons
(Cont.)	<u>George</u>	Theodore Wadsworth	100 tons
	<u>Gift of God</u>		140 tons
	<u>Godsspeed</u>		
	<u>James</u>	Tobias Felgate	140 tons
	<u>Margaret and John</u>	Langley	150 tons
	<u>Mary Prood</u>		
	<u>Prime Rose</u>		80 tons
	<u>Sea Flower</u>	Mr. Gardiner	
	<u>Southampton</u>	James Chester	180 tons
	<u>Sparrow</u>		30 tons
	<u>Truelove</u>	James Carter	50 tons
	<u>White Lion</u>		180 tons
	<u>William</u>	Mathew Long	30 tons
1623	<u>Abraham</u>	Richard Mitton	
	<u>Adam</u>		
	<u>Ambrose</u>		
	<u>Ann</u>	Richard Quaile	40 tons
	<u>Bee</u>		40 tons
	<u>Bona Nova</u>		200 tons
	<u>Bonny Bess</u>	Gabriel Barbour	90 tons
	<u>Due Return</u>	Edmund Tutchin	80 tons
	<u>Enerell</u>		
	<u>George</u>		180 tons
	<u>God's Gift</u>	Mr. Clare	80 tons
	<u>Great Hopewell</u>	John Prynne	120 tons

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 VI.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1623	<u>Hopewell</u>	John Hart	60 tons
(Cont.)	<u>Jacob</u>	John Fells	80 tons
	<u>John and Francis</u>	Francis West	100 tons
	<u>Katherine</u>	Gorges	
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	John Dennis	100 tons
	<u>Mary Margaret</u>	Richard Curtis	
	<u>Plantation</u>	Peter Andrews	
	<u>Providence</u>		
	<u>Return</u>		40 tons
	<u>Samuel</u>		30 tons
	<u>Southampton</u>	John Harvey	180 tons
	<u>Success</u>	Anthony Facy	
	<u>Temperance</u>		
	<u>Truelove</u>	James Carter	50 tons
	<u>Unity</u>	Tobias White	
	<u>William and John</u>	Hamor	50 tons
	<u>William and Thomas</u>		
1624	<u>Elizabeth</u>		40 tons
	<u>Katherine</u>	Christopher Browne	100 tons
	<u>Return</u>	William Pierce	100 tons
	<u>Samson</u>	Marmaduke Raynor	100 tons
	<u>Supply</u>		
	<u>Swan</u>	Thomas Weston	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 VII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1625	<u>Amity</u>	Isaac Evans	
	<u>Anne</u>	James Carter	160 tons
	<u>Black Bess</u>	John Powell	100 tons
	<u>Fellowship</u>	Edward Gibbs	
	<u>Flying Hart</u>		200 tons
	<u>Godspeed</u>	Samuel Dalton	
	<u>Grace</u>		
	<u>James</u>	Tobias Felgate	140 tons
	<u>Ship</u>	Abraham Jennens	
	<u>Ship</u>	Whittacre	120 tons
	<u>Ship</u>		
	<u>Temperance</u>	Marmaduke Raynor	80 tons
	<u>William and John</u>		
1626	<u>Ann</u>	Peter Andrews	40 tons
	<u>Charles</u>	Martin Pring	280 tons
	<u>Consent</u>	John Winter	100 tons
	<u>Eagle</u>	Arthur Hey	160 tons
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	John Hurlstone	
	<u>Peter and John</u>	John Preen	220 tons
	<u>Plantation</u>	Peter Andrews	
	<u>Saker</u>	William Douglas	80 tons
	<u>Southampton</u>		
	<u>Unicorne</u>		40 tons
	<u>William</u>	Arthur Epichends	100 tons



A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 VIII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Master/Captain</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1627	<u>Anne Fortune</u>	John Forbush	
	<u>Arke</u>	Robert Hollins	70 tons
	<u>Content</u>	John Witheridge	30 tons
	<u>Eagle</u>	Edward Miller	50 tons
	<u>Endeavour</u>	Archbold Jennison	
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	John Mau	
	<u>Golden Lion</u>	Thomas Afflyke	
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Richard Russell	
	<u>James</u>	Tobias Felgate	140 tons
	<u>John</u>	William Ellyott	40 tons
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	John Gibbs	
	<u>Mayflower</u>	John Griffin	40 tons
	<u>Mercury</u>	William Davys	35 tons
	<u>Robert and John</u>	Thomas Harstone	
	<u>Parramore</u>	John Plumley	
	<u>Samuel</u>	Samuel Dalton	
<u>Thomas and John</u>	John Huddleston		
<u>Truelove</u>	Thomas Gibbs		
<u>Victory</u>	William Hawthorne		
1628	<u>Abigail</u>	Gawden	
	<u>Faith</u>	Robert Watson	
	<u>Fortune</u>		
	<u>George</u>		180 tons
	<u>Grace</u>		
	<u>Hope</u>	Samuel Dalton	
	<u>London Merchant</u>	Thomas Harley	300 tons
	<u>Mercury</u>	William Davys	35 tons
	<u>Parramore</u>	John Plumley	
<u>Plantation</u>			

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 IX.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1628	<u>Pleasure</u>	William Peters	35 tons
(Cont.)	<u>Providence</u>	Francis Barker	
	<u>Sunne</u>	John Starr	75 tons
	<u>Temperance</u>		
	<u>Trial</u>	Francis Moyne	
	<u>Truelove</u>	Hugo Hawkrige	30 tons
	<u>William and John</u>	Tobias Felgate	
1629	<u>Friendship</u>	John Prime	350 tons
	<u>George and Elizabeth</u>	J. Ellison	
	<u>Gift of God</u>	Samuel Crampton	140 tons
	<u>Griffin</u>		
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Richard Russell	
	<u>James</u>	T. Babb	
	<u>John</u>	Tristram Bors	
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	J. Barker	
	<u>Nightingale</u>	Daniel Linson	
	<u>Reformation</u>	Edward Wyoke	200 tons
	<u>Returne</u>	Henry Vaughan	120 tons
	<u>Ship</u>	Marshall	
	<u>Ship</u>	John Shepherd	
	<u>Suzan</u>	Peter Andrews	
	<u>Thomas</u>	John Bude	60 tons
	<u>Valentine</u>	John Furse	
	<u>Vintage</u>	J. Woltors	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 X.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1630	<u>Christopher and Mary</u>	John King	
	<u>Eagle</u>	William King	60 tons
	<u>Falcon</u>	Henry Beale	
	<u>Friendship</u>	John Preene	
	<u>Philip</u>		
	<u>Providence</u>	John Dennys	
	<u>Ship</u>	Peter Andrews	
	<u>Ship</u>		
	<u>Trial</u>		
	<u>Unicorne</u>		
1631	<u>Africa</u>		
	<u>Delight</u>	Thomas Gift	50 tons
	<u>Falcon</u>	William Douglas	
	<u>Friendship</u>	George Prist	60 tons
	<u>Golden Lion</u>	Simon Ley	150 tons
	<u>Jane</u>		
	<u>Love</u>		
	<u>Mayflower</u>		
	<u>Philip</u>		
	<u>Pleasure</u>	John Dennys	150 tons
	<u>Providence</u>	John Dennys	150 tons
	<u>Seraphym</u>	George Jewell	80 tons
	<u>Unicorne</u>		
<u>Warwick</u>	John Dunbar		

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 IX.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1632	<u>Alexander</u>		
	<u>America</u>		
	<u>Ann</u>	Robert Dennis	
	<u>Defence</u>	Tobias Felgate	
	<u>Eagle</u>	William King	60 tons
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		
	<u>Exchange</u>	George Luxon	100 tons
	<u>Faulken</u>		
	<u>George</u>	John Brayle	100 tons
	<u>Gift</u>	Jacob Corner	30 tons
	<u>James</u>	J. Grant	
	<u>John</u>	William Nicholls	40 tons
	<u>John</u>		
	<u>Katherine</u>	William Garland	70 tons
	<u>Lion</u>		
	<u>Lyonesse</u>	William Legers	
	<u>Margaret</u>	J. Allen	
	<u>Mayflower</u> <sup>1</sup>	Peter Andrews	
	<u>Merlyn</u>	Peter Garland	30 tons
	<u>Primrose</u>	William Douglas	
<u>Sarah and Elizabeth</u>			
<u>Seraphym</u>	George Jewell	80 tons	
<u>Ship</u>	William Barker		
<u>Tenth Whelp</u>			
<u>Thomas</u>	Longhurst	50 tons	
<u>William</u>	John Winter	40 tons	

<sup>1</sup>Previously called the Christopher and Mary.

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1633	<u>America</u>	William Barker	
	<u>Blessing</u>	Arthur Seaborne	
	<u>Bride</u>		
	<u>Catherine</u>	William Garland	100 tons
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	T. Graves	
	<u>Expedition</u>	Jeremy Blackman	300 tons
	<u>George</u>		
	<u>Hopewell</u>		
	<u>James</u>		
	<u>Loyalty</u>	Edward Burwood	
	<u>Lyon</u>		
	<u>Marmaduke</u>	J. Barker	
	<u>Mary Arck</u>	Richard Lowe	
	<u>Mayflower</u>	Peter Andrews	400 tons
	<u>Primrose</u>	William Douglas	
	<u>Robert Bonaventure</u>		
		<u>Ship</u>	Smythe
	<u>Ship</u>	Walker	
	<u>William</u>	William Seaverne	
1634	<u>Abram</u>		
	<u>Arke</u>	Richard Lowe	
	<u>Bonaventure</u>	James Ricrofte	
	<u>Defence</u>	Tobias Felgate	
	<u>Hope</u>		
	<u>Increase</u>		
	<u>John and Dorothy</u>	John Payne	
	<u>Primrose</u>	Jon Douglas	
	<u>Revenge</u>		

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England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1634	(Cont.) <u>Robert Bonaventure</u>		
	<u>Seahorse</u>		
	<u>Swan</u>	John Cordit	
	<u>Thomas</u>	Henry Taverner	
	<u>Thomas Bonaventure</u>	Jeremy Blackman	
1635	<u>Abraham</u>	John Barker	
	<u>Alice</u>	Richard Orchard	
	<u>America</u>	William Barker	
	<u>Assurance</u>	Isaac Bromwell	
	<u>Charity</u>		
	<u>Constance</u>	Clement Campion	
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Christopher Brown	
	<u>Fortune</u>		
	<u>George</u>	Jo Severne	
	<u>Globe</u>	Jeremy Blackman	
	<u>Golden Lion</u>	John Cadd	200 tons
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Richard French	
	<u>Merchant Bonaventure</u>	William Harris	
	<u>Merchant's Hope</u>	Hugh Weston	
	<u>Paul</u>	Leonard Betts	
	<u>Philip</u>	Richard Morgan	
	<u>Plain Joan</u>	Richard Buckham	
	<u>Primrose</u>	William Douglas	
	<u>Robert Bonaventure</u>		
	<u>Safety</u>	John Grant	240 tons
	<u>Ship</u>	Thomas Hawes	
	<u>Speedwell</u>	Jo. Chappell	
	<u>Thomas</u>	Henry Taverner	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XIII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1635	<u>Thomas and John</u>	Richard Hambord	
(Cont.)	<u>Transport</u>	Edward Walker	
Pre			
1636	<u>Little David</u>	John Hogg	
1636	<u>America</u>	Richard Orchard	
	<u>Ann and Sarah</u>	Stephen Talmage	
	<u>Black George</u>	William Smythe	
	<u>Blessing</u>		
	<u>Bonny Bess</u>	Zachary Flute	75 tons
	<u>Damask Rose</u>		
	<u>David</u>	Jo. Hogg	
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Henry Taverner	
	<u>Ensurance</u>	Edward Walker	
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	Hugh Weston	240 tons
	<u>Friendship</u>		
	<u>George</u>	Patrick Kennedy	
	<u>Hopewell</u>	William Smith	
	<u>John and Barbara</u>	William Barker	
	<u>Mary Rose</u>		
	<u>Rebecca</u>	Richard Buckham	
	<u>Safety</u>	Timothy Wynn	
	<u>Thomas and John</u>		
	<u>Tristram and John</u>	Joseph Blowe	
	<u>William</u>	Anthony Austen	

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England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XIV.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1637	<u>America</u>	Richard Orchard	
	<u>Anne and Sarah</u>	Stephen Talmage	
	<u>Constant</u>		
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Jno Fairberne	
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Benjamin Woolmer	150 tons
	<u>Ensurance</u>	Edward Walker	
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	Hugh Weston	240 tons
	<u>Friendship</u>	Leonard Betts	
	<u>Hopewell</u>	William Smith	
	<u>John and Barbara</u>	Richard Dallinge	
	<u>New Supply</u>	James Cuttings	
	<u>Paul</u>		
	<u>Richard</u>		
	Ship	John Ackland	
	Ship	James Alden	
	Ship	Richard Allen	
	Ship	Robert Anderson	
	Ship	Thomas Arnold	
	Ship	John Barker	
	Ship	James Bath	
	Ship	Jeremy Blackman	
	Ship	William Borden	
Ship	Henry Cherch		
Ship	John Cole		
Ship	Robert Corby		
Ship	Richard Eliot		
Ship	William Goddard		
Ship	Gilbert Grymes		
Ship	James Hall		
Ship	John Hayes		



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England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XV.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1637	Ship	Andrew Hazard	
(Cont.)	Ship	William Hillard	
	Ship	William Hobson	
	Ship	James Hogg	
	Ship	James Keaes	
	Ship	Patrick Kennedy	
	Ship	John Lewyn	
	Ship	William Parker	
	Ship	George Patricke	
	Ship	William Peirce	
	Ship	John Preston	
	Ship	James Rose	
	Ship	Robert Shopton	
	Ship	Sowth	
	Ship	John Welven	
	Ship	William Wilkinson	
	Ship	Joseph Younge	
	Ship		
	<u>Speedwell</u>	Robert Girlinge	
	<u>Truelove</u>	Isaac Watlington	
	<u>Unity</u>	William Upton	60 tons
	<u>William</u>	William Austen	
1638	<u>America</u>	Robert Anderson	
	<u>Blessing</u>	William Hill	50 tons
	<u>Charity</u>	John Cole	
	<u>Charles</u>		
	<u>Dove</u>	Robert Girlinge	
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	John White	240 tons
	<u>Friendship</u>	Leonard Betts	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XVI.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1638	<u>George</u>	Patrick Kennedy	
(Cont.)	<u>Hopewell</u>	Jo. Hurlstone	50 tons
	<u>Jane</u>		
	<u>John and Barbara</u>	John Barker	
	<u>Suzanna</u>	John Rose	140 tons
	<u>Swallow</u>		
	<u>Truelove</u>		
	<u>William and Sarah</u>		
1639	<u>Anne</u>		
	<u>Blessing</u>	Robert Ingle	
	<u>Charity</u>	John Cole	
	<u>Charles</u>	Robert Dennis	
	<u>Dorset</u>	John Flower	
	<u>Dove</u>	Robert Girlinge	
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		
	<u>Friendship</u>	Leonard Betts	
	<u>George</u>		
	<u>Honor</u>	Thomas Harrison	
	<u>Hope</u>	George Richardson	
	<u>James</u>		
	<u>Joane</u>		
	<u>Love</u>		
	<u>Rebecca</u>	John Driver	120 tons
	Ship	Robert Allen	
	Ship	Robert Alworth	
	Ship	Arthur Austin	
	Ship	James Barker	
	Ship	William Barker	

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England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XVII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1639	Ship	George Barrett	
	Ship	Thomas Beale	
	Ship	Jeremy Blackman	
	Ship	Richard Buckham	
	Ship	James Cutting	
	Ship	Philip Dyer	
	Ship	Richard Elliott	
	Ship	William Hill	
	Ship	William Hockett	
	Ship	John Hogge	
	Ship	John Horton	
	Ship	Robert Jacobs	
	Ship	Patrick Kennedy	
	Ship	George Linn	
	Ship	Thomas Marsh	
	Ship	James Martin	
	Ship	Robert Page	
	Ship	John Rose	
	Ship	John Shorte	
	Ship	John Tippet	
	Ship	Edward Thompson	
	Ship	Nicholas Trerice	
	Ship	William Upton	
	Ship	Isaac Wallington	
	Ship	John White	
	Ship	William Wilkinson	
	Ship	Joseph Young	
	<u>Suzanna</u>		
	<u>Thomas and John</u>		
	<u>William and Sara</u>	James Morecock	

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England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XVIII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1640	<u>Dorsett</u>	John Flower	
	<u>Farefield</u>		
	<u>Honor</u>	Thomas Harrison	
	<u>Joseph</u>		
	<u>Rebecca</u>	Richard Buckham	
	<u>Unity</u>		150 tons
1641	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Henry Pierce	
	<u>Francis</u>	James Hogg	
	<u>George</u>	Philip Dyer	
	<u>George and Rebecca</u>		
	<u>Gift of God</u>		
	<u>Mayflower</u>	John Cole	
	<u>Rebecca</u>		
	<u>Richard and Anne</u>		
	<u>William and Sarah</u>	James Morecocke	
1642	<u>Dorset</u>	James Canedge	
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>		
1643	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	Barnaby Standfast	300 tons
	<u>John of Mayland</u>	Thomas Weston	
	<u>Philip</u>	George Raymond	120 tons
1644	<u>David</u>		
	<u>Desire</u>	Thomas Wilson	200 tons
	<u>Eagle</u>		
	<u>Elizabeth</u>		
	<u>Globe</u>		
	<u>Honour</u>		

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XIX.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1644	<u>Mary</u>		
(Cont.)	<u>Reformation</u>		
	<u>Savilla Merchant</u>		
	<u>Trade's Increase</u>		
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>		
1645	<u>David</u>	John Elson	200 tons
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	Barnaby Standfast	300 tons
	<u>Return</u>	John Goodwin	
1646	<u>Honor</u>	Thomas Harrison	
	<u>Olive</u>		70 tons
	<u>Truelove</u>		
1647	<u>Desire</u>	Thomas Wilson	
1648	<u>Constance</u>	Clement Campion	
	<u>Honor</u>		
	<u>Increase</u>	Thomas Varvell	
	<u>John and Isaac</u>	Lawrence	
	<u>Jonathan and Abigail</u>	Page	
	<u>Mary</u>	Thomas Severne	
	<u>Phoenix</u>	Joseph Brarebridge	
	<u>Prosperous Susan</u>	Nathaniel Cook	
	<u>Sara</u>	Edward Gunnell	

England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XX.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1649	<u>Comfort</u>	William Garnett	
	<u>Eagle</u>	George Raymond	
	<u>Employment</u>	John Tully	350 tons
	<u>Green Dragon</u>		
	<u>Peter Bonaventure</u>	Peter Lunt	210 tons
	<u>Peter and John</u>	Nathaniel Cook	
	<u>Swallow</u>		
	<u>West India Merchant</u>	William Lamby	140 tons
	<u>William and Ralph</u>	John Lockier	300 tons
1650	<u>Charles</u>	Thomas Wilson	
	<u>Constant Ann</u>		
	<u>Flower de Luce</u>	John White	
	<u>Samaritan</u>		
	<u>Ship</u>	Thomas Pott	
	<u>Thomas and John</u>	William Farr	
1651	<u>Charles</u>	Thomas Wilson	350 tons
	<u>Eagle</u>	George Raymond	
	<u>Honor</u>	John Lorymer	300 tons
	<u>John and Catherine</u>	John Miller	350 tons
	<u>John and Thomas</u>	Thomas Pott	300 tons
	<u>Margaret</u>	Arthur Baily	260 tons
	<u>Peter and John</u>	Nathaniel Cooke	300 tons
	<u>Seven Sisters</u>	Abraham Reade	
	<u>Welcome</u>	John Cutting	
	<u>West India Merchant</u>	John Price	120 tons
	<u>Whitehorse and Currycombe</u>	John Fox	200 tons
	<u>William</u>		
	<u>William and John</u>	Nathaniel Jesson	260 tons

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XXI.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1652	<u>Amity</u>	John Hughes	
	<u>Ann</u>		
	<u>Anthony</u>		
	<u>Charles</u>	Thomas Wilson	
	<u>Desire</u>		
	<u>Dolphin</u>	Edward Gunnell	
	<u>Golden Fortune</u>		
	<u>Golden Lyon</u>		
	<u>Honor</u>		
	<u>Hopeful Adventure</u>		
	<u>Hopewell</u>	George Raymond	
	<u>John and Katherine</u>		
	<u>John and Thomas</u>		
	<u>Margaret</u>		
	<u>Marie and Francis</u>	Benedict Stafford	
	<u>Mary of Accamacke</u>		
	<u>Planter</u>		
	<u>Sarah Bonaventure</u>		
	<u>Seven Sisters</u>	Abraham Reed	
	<u>Swallow</u>	Thomas Horsman	
<u>Two Brothers</u>	Richard Waters		
<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Stephen Warren	250 tons	
<u>William and John</u>			
1653	<u>Abraham</u>		
	<u>Adventure</u>		
	<u>Alexander</u>	William Watson	
	<u>Amity</u>	John Tully	
	<u>Anne Cleare</u>		

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between

England and Virginia, 1606-1660. XXIII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1653	<u>Anthony</u>	Hugh Wilson	
(Cont.)	<u>Beare</u>		
	<u>Bonaventure</u>		100 tons
	<u>Charles</u>	Thomas Wilson	
	<u>Golden Fortune</u>	Samuel Tilman	
	<u>Goodfellow</u>	George Dell	
	<u>Hope</u>		120 tons
	<u>Hopeful Adventure</u>	Richard Highlands	
	<u>James</u>	Nathaniel Cook	
	<u>Jane</u>		
	<u>John and Thomas</u>	Thomas Port	
	<u>King David</u>	John Boswell	
	<u>Leopoldus</u>		
	<u>Margaret</u>	Robert Fox	160 tons
	<u>Mayflower</u>		
	<u>Peter</u>		
	<u>Peter and Jane</u>		
	<u>Phoenix</u>	Francis Steward	
	<u>Providence</u>	Thomas Swanley	
	<u>Report</u>	Edward Dunning	
	<u>Richard and Benjamin</u>	John Witty	
	<u>St. John</u>		
	<u>Seven Sisters</u>	Abraham Read	
	<u>Thomas</u>		
	<u>Tobias</u>		
1654	<u>Angel</u>	Joseph Ilmond	
	<u>Anne</u>	Daniel Joggles	220 tons
	<u>Anthony</u>		
	<u>Brothers Adventure</u>		



A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XXIV.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1654	<u>Cretian</u>	John Wadsworth	
(Cont.)	<u>Dragon</u>		
	<u>Eagle</u>		
	<u>Elizabeth and Mary</u>	John Spye	
	<u>Exchange</u>	William Wilkinson	
	<u>Freeman</u>	John Whittie	
	<u>Golden Lion</u>		
	<u>Goodwill</u>		
	<u>Henry and David</u>		
	<u>Honor</u>	John Price	
	<u>Hopeful</u>		
	<u>Hopeful Adventurer</u>	C. Husbands	
	<u>Hopeful Luke</u>	John Colclough	
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Daniel Howe	
	<u>James</u>		
	<u>John</u>	John Thurinar	
	<u>John and Katherine</u>	John Miller	
	<u>Margaret</u>	Arthur Baily	
	<u>Mathew</u>	Fox	
	<u>Mayflower</u>		
	<u>Peace</u>		
	<u>Peter and John</u>		
	<u>Planter</u>		
	<u>Rainbow</u>	Lewis Reade	200 tons
	<u>Reppahanock</u>		
	<u>Recovery</u>	John Young	
	<u>Seven Sisters</u>	Abraham Read	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XXV.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1654	<u>Success</u>	William Goodlad	
(Cont.)	<u>Thomas and Anne</u>		
	<u>Unity</u>	Jacob Moulson	
	<u>Virginia</u>		
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Edward Gibbs	300 tons
	<u>Virginia Planter</u>		
	<u>Wildbear</u>		
	<u>William</u>	Philip Ewens	
	<u>William and John</u>		
1655	<u>Anthony</u>	Hugh Wilson	
	<u>Bristol Merchant</u>		
	<u>Charles</u>	Samuel Cooper	
	<u>Honor</u>	John Price	
	<u>King of Poland</u>	Frederick Johnson	
	<u>Planter</u>		
	<u>Providence</u>		
	<u>Rappahanock</u>	Thomas Glarke	220 tons
	<u>Robert</u>	Henry Haines	250 tons
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Edward Gibbs	300 tons
1656	<u>Ann</u>	Daniel Giles	
	<u>Charles</u>		
	<u>Elizabeth</u>	Arthur Nevet	
	<u>Freeman</u>	Witty	
	<u>Golden Falcon</u>	Samuel Tillman	
	<u>Golden Lyon</u>	Roger Heminge	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XXVI.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1656	<u>Golden Parrot</u>	Jeremy Wilson	
(Cont.)	<u>Honor</u>		
	<u>James</u>	Nathaniel Cook	
	<u>Sarah</u>	Anthony Perkins	
	<u>Spread Eagle</u>		300 tons
	<u>Thomas and Anne</u>	John Fox	
	<u>Thomas and Susan</u>	Richard York	
	<u>Agreement</u>		
	<u>William and John</u>	Richard Holman	
1657	<u>Anthony</u>	Thomas James	
	<u>Conquer</u>		
	<u>Delight</u>		
	<u>Dove</u>	Samuel Groom	
	<u>Goodwill</u>	Peter Wraxall	
	<u>Hopewell</u>	Anthony Perkins	
	<u>Rainbow</u>		
	<u>Recovery</u>	Richard Husbands	
	<u>Recovery</u>	Richard Sellacke	
	<u>Robert</u>	Henry Haines	
	<u>Ship</u>	David Welldy	
1658	<u>Anne and Susan</u>		
	<u>Golden Lyon</u>	Christopher Ending	
	<u>Honor</u>	John Price	
	<u>James River Merchant</u>	Edward Gunnell	
	<u>John and Katherine</u>	John Miller	

A Comprehensive List of Ships Travelling Between  
England and Virginia, 1606-1660 XXVII.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Captain/Master</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1658	<u>Margaret</u>	Robert Fox	
(Cont.)	<u>Orange Tree</u>		
	<u>Relief</u>	John Tully	
	<u>Thomas</u>	Edward Harris	
	<u>Thomas and Anne</u>		
	<u>Virginia Merchant</u>	Robert Butlie	
	<u>White Dove</u>	Thomas Stanton	
	<u>William and John</u>	Richard Holdman	
1659	<u>Agreement</u>		
	<u>Friendship</u>		
	<u>Honor</u>	Robert Clements	
	<u>John and Catherine</u>		
	<u>Speedwell</u>		
	<u>Thomas and Anne</u>	Christopher Evelyn	
1650's	<u>Charles</u>		
	<u>Delight</u>		
	<u>Goodwill</u>		
	<u>Hopewell</u>		
	<u>Providence</u>		

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 E190/39/4, E190/39/5, E190/40/2, E190/40/4, E190/40/6,  
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 E190/43/5, E190/43/6, E190/44/1, E190/44/3, E190/45/5,  
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