"NO REST CAN I HAVE, WHILST I AM HERE A SLAVE": FEMALE COERCED MIGRATION AND LABOR IN EARLY MODERN BALLADS

By

SUSAN BETH PETERSON PAGNAC

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St. Cloud State University

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Thesis Approved:

Melinda Gamp
Thesis Advisor

Richard Firmage

Edward Jones

Timothy A. Peltason
Dean of Graduate College

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INTRODUCTION

Virginia: a colony named for Britain's most famous female monarch, Queen Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen. It is ironic that a region named for a powerful English woman respected for her intelligence and strength could become a place of slavery for other, less fortunate English women. This is exactly what happened, though, during the mid- to late seventeenth century. Women were kidnapped or sold and transported to work as domestic or hard laborers. Their coerced migration to the American colonies, specifically Virginia, is a little-studied phenomenon.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, British people were transported to America to serve as indentured servants. Walter Hart Blumenthal emphasizes that the practice of transporting white labor was a "legitimate *trade*, sponsored by the official Lords of Trade and Plantations in London" (11). In other words, the convention of transporting people for servitude was a commercial business with laws governing it. However, most scholarship written about indentured servitude does not adequately address the notion of spiriting. When authors discuss spiriting, they tend to characterize it as an unusual and rare phenomenon rather than a full-fledged practice.[1] Nor do they address women's roles in the process.

Defining spiriting can be difficult, since information about the practice is sketchy and hard to locate. In a sentence, spiriting was the kidnapping and forced emigration to the American colonies of people, usually women, children, convicts, and the poor, to be used as indentured servants and laborers. James Ballagh offers perhaps as clear an idea of spiriting as we can get: "[i]t was an organized system of kidnapping persons, young

and old, usually of the laboring classes, and transporting them to the plantations to be sold for the benefit of the kidnapper or shipmaster to whom they were assigned" (38). Spiriting developed into a feared but lucrative economic and social institution with its own cast of characters: "spirits" were those who kidnapped and transported to the colonies, and the "spirited," "spirited away," or "trepanned/trapann'd," were those who suffered this unfortunate fate.

Early modern men and women were able to hear about spiriting through various means. Vehicles for naming and thus making visible this practice included colloquial language, accusations in common law and church courts, and ballads. Similar to defamation suits against women spirits, ballads about spiriting often depict women as both victims and perpetrators. Some of these ballads, moreover, warn women of the dangers spiriting posed to them. As women became aware of spiriting in various ways, they were at least mindful of the possibility of being abducted. Certain ballads even suggest specific methods by which women might modify their actions so as to avoid being spirited away; in this respect, such ballads arguably suggest women's empowerment and agency. The term agency, in the following remarks, signifies the ability to act, the power of an agent or of acting, or active working.[2] These ballads provide women with a means, through the stories told in them, to combat spiriting. The agency of ballads, and of women, is the subject of this thesis.

Published between 1660 and 1709, six ballads—"The Trappan'd Maiden," "The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," "Love Overthrown," "A Net for A Night-Raven," and "The Woman Outwitted"—directly address a variety of situations involving women as victims or perpetrators of spiriting.[3] The first ballad addresses the situation of

young maidens. The second, third, and fourth ballads describe what happens to men when beloved but poor servant girls are spirited away by their employers. The fifth and sixth ballads caution scolds, shrews, and other women who had the potential for becoming socially rebellious within marriage. In their variety, these ballads demonstrate the multivalent ways in which early modern English popular culture described and arguably intervened in spiriting as a concrete historical practice.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL PRACTICE OF SPIRITING

Spiriting forced its victims to migrate. If they survived their journey to America, most captives labored there as servants. Spiriting occurred primarily in larger English ports, especially London and Bristol, with its own unique cast of characters. Eventually, it became such a problem that the government intervened and tried to pass legislation to stop it. A closer analysis of this practice shows its prevalence in early modern England and reveals that women formed a unique subset of those "spirited away" to America.

Abducted for Forced Migration: The Spirited

Spirited individuals constitute a part of the larger group of indentured servants who were shipped to the colonies.[4] These people, forced into immigration, were labeled as spirited, trapann'd, or trepann'd.[5] The majority of those persons spirited to the colonies were poor people and were considered the dregs of English society: they were "rogues, vagabonds, whores, cheats and rabble of all descriptions, raked from the gutter and kicked out of the country" (Smith, Colonists 3)—the lowest part of the lowest social and economic class.

Because of their unique abilities, women were especially prized as migrants. England wanted to be sure that the new colony in Virginia would be well established, and since women's reproductive capabilities were needed to bear children, women were essential to this effort to settle the colony with English families (Spruill 3). Women also provided much needed company for men. As Julia Cherry Spruill puts it, they were

needed "to make the masculine settlers more comfortable that 'their minds might be faster tyed to Virginia'" (3). Helping to populate the new colony and convince male settlers to stay there, women were a special target for forced conveyance.

Chronological estimates vary, but it is safe to say that spiriting took place from 1619 to 1798, with the greatest concentration of spiriting occurring from the 1620s to the 1690s.[6] Abbot Emerson Smith states that by the 1650s, spiriting was no longer a "casual occupation" but that the number of spirited persons was not large at all (Colonists 69, "Indentured" 41). But John Cordy Jeaffreson, in the introduction to the fourth volume of the Middlesex County Records, states that "...[spirited] individuals of both sexes...were a considerable number" (4: xlii). This disparity characterizes the larger debate, amongst historians, about the numbers of people spirited. Conclusive figures determining how many became victims of this practice do not exist because of lack of available data, but the numbers of spirited persons has been estimated in the thousands.[7]

The manner in which these people were brought into Virginia and other English colonies is more certain. William Bullock wrote in 1649 that "the usuall way of getting Servants hath been by a sort of men nick-named *Spirits*, who take up all the idle, lazie, simple people they can intice, such as have professed idlenesse, and will rather beg than work" (14).[8] "It was no uncommon thing," notes Philip Alexander Bruce, "...to find men and women in the seaport towns [of England]...who earned a livelihood by alluring very young persons" to be sold as laborers in the colonies (1: 613). Depots were set up in the less respectable sections of London, especially in the area of St. Katherine's near the Tower (Smith, Colonists 69). Any means necessary was used to get the victim on board a ship anchored in the Thames or elsewhere, and those kidnapped were usually assaulted,

forcibly conveyed, and subdued once caught in a trap (Ballagh 39). As Smith notes, "There were plenty of unsavory characters around London and the seaport towns who would not scruple to collect a few wandering children, or simple-minded adults, or drunkards asleep in the gutter, and convey them on board the ship" (Colonists 68).

Once trapped, kidnapped persons were usually taken to a house or depot where they waited, under lock and key, until a large enough cargo, or shipload, was raised to warrant transportation; others were taken directly aboard a ship where "the unfortunate victim[s] never saw the light of day until the ship was at sea" (Smith, Colonists 68). The families of those kidnapped might petition the highest authorities at home. However, such petitions were rarely successful. Often persons who were spirited to the colonies were never found, others ran away, and still others died aboard ship.

Those who survived the journey were usually treated poorly once they reached the colonies.[9] As will be seen in the ballads discussed later, many victims were forced into physical labor, child care, and other domestic duties. According to Spruill, during the early 1600s the "most intelligent" servants were used as "house servants" performing duties in the home (76); white servants were mostly assigned drudgery. However, if a servant misbehaved or tried to run away, punishments ensued. Whippings, brandings, wearing arm and leg irons, and extended sentences of servitude were not uncommon.

Kidnapping and Selling Servants: The Spirits

The practice of spiriting was so economically beneficial that it developed into a regular business in London and Bristol (Jernegan 49). Those who kidnapped and sold others as servants, known as spirits, stood to benefit financially because the actual cost of transporting a servant was quite low, and the final selling cost was frequently

compounded for a bigger profit.[10] Ballagh notes that "a servant might be transported at a cost of from £6 to £8 and sold for £40 or £60" (41). Using these figures, we may estimate that a spirit could earn £32 to £54 per victim. On the other hand, the Virginia Company paid £6 while the Board of Trade paid £5.5 for each servant; Robert Beverley states that "t'was a common thing for them [the first planters] to buy a deserving Wife, at the price of 100 pound[s of tobacco]" (Smith, Colonists 35; Beverley 287). As Smith further notes, "the price which an indentured servant brought in to the plantations depended on his own worth and on the current demand for labor in the particular colony where he landed" (Colonists 38). Also, the cost of equipping a servant was considered in the final price.[11] Thus, prices for servants varied between individuals, organizations, and colonies.

Despite this variance, selling kidnapped servants was undoubtedly an extremely profitable business and attractive to persons from various economic and social classes.[12] According to Ballagh, spirits included "men and women, yeomen, tradesmen, doctors and a class of rogues and idlers who earned a livelihood by this means. Ladies of the court and even the mayor of Bristol were not beneath the suspicion of profiting by this lucrative business" (38-39).[13] Smith shows his surprise that spirits included socially respectable persons: "instead of being deplorable outlaws in the servant trade [they] were the faithful and indispensable adjuncts of its most respected merchants" (Colonists 77). Spirits, then, were not only unscrupulous characters haunting the streets but also fairly respectable persons and Crown-endorsed organizations.

While some spirits worked alone, others worked for organizations who transported indentured servants to the colonies. One such organization was the Virginia

Company of London and their transported indentured servants, otherwise known as "company servants" (Smith, Colonists 24).[14] The Virginia Company was granted a charter by King James I in 1606 which was consequently renewed for a second and third time in 1609 and 1612; the King revoked the charter in 1624 for gross mismanagement.[15] Even though the Virginia Company's term of service lasted only eighteen years (1606-1624), during this time the Company firmly established the practice of transporting "tenants" to the colonies.[16]

Many of these "servants" were men; however, the Company also transported women as wives and servants. Stephen A. Flanders briefly discusses this transportation of women, stating that historically the Virginia colony was overwhelmingly male, a situation the Virginia Company addressed through "recruiting 'young and corrupt maids'" to serve there. Flanders further asserts that "young working class women in 17th-century England, especially in London's crowded slums, had almost no say over their future" (61). In other words, the Virginia Company knew that most women in England were poor, willing to take a chance on a better life, or unable to resist forcible conveyance. Presumably, such women would also be less likely to complain about their lot. The Virginia Company took advantage of these circumstances, becoming the first organization to "export" women as wives for tobacco planters in 1619, 1620, and 1621 (Spruill 8-9).[17] Edmund S. Morgan states that the Virginia Company put together a "shipment of a hundred willing maids, to be sold to planters" in 1621 (95). Company officials were warned to watch these women carefully, since the Company did not want them "falling in love with servants or apprentices" (Smith, Colonists 12). Instead, a

planter paid for a woman to be his wife, and the Company wanted the profit from the sale.[18]

The Virginia Company's influence as an organized vehicle for spiriting servants, including women, cannot be denied. Moreover, Smith states that "it was under the auspices of the Virginia Company that the customs and habits of indentured servants were established essentially in the forms which became so familiar to later colonial history" (Colonists 8). He further indicts the Virginia Company for establishing and using methods that "accustomed people to the later practice of 'selling' servants" (Colonists 8). Blumenthal's critique of the Virginia Company is more specific: he declares that, for all intents and purposes, the Virginia Company established the practice of spiriting per se as part of the indentured servant trade (8). According to historians, then, the Virginia Company's practice of transporting servants set a powerful precedent for later patterns of forced migration, including that of women.

Acting on the Public's Behalf: The Crown

Spiriting was often overlooked because of its profitability and its elimination of misfit citizens from English society. In the case of the Virginia Company's shiploads of women, abduction was presumably justified as part of English expansion through enterprise and empire. Eventually, however, anxiety about spiriting was sufficient to warrant that measures be taken to quell the rising tide of alarm. According to Marcus Jernegan, real panic about spiriting did not occur until about 1670 (48), but Ballagh notes that the abuses of spiriting had grown significant enough by 1644 to cause riots in London streets (39).

The next year, the first of several largely ineffective legal measures were taken to quell spiriting: a 1645 Parliamentary ordinance mandated that all officers and ministers of justice watch out for spirits. In 1654, Bristol's Common Council passed its own ordinance, mirroring the Parliamentary ordinance of 1654, requiring registration of indentured servants "in an attempt to prevent the 'Inveigling, purloining, carrying and Stealing away Boys Maides and other persons and transporting them beyond the seas'" (Souden 25). Petitions for a registry office for indentured servants, both adults and children, first circulated in 1660, and on September 14, 1664, a registry office was indeed established. One now had to obtain familial consent for those servants under the age of twelve, and one could be fined £20 for transporting someone not registered as a servant. Souden notes that this prescribed fine for spiriting in Bristol was "relatively severe" (26). This office, however, was created mainly to protect merchants and ship owners from formal complaints. When spirits were caught elsewhere in England, moreover, they were not punished severely. According to civil law, offenders could be punished by death. However, according to Jeaffreson, most offenders were punished with small fines, a short stay in the pillory, or confinement until the fine was paid (4: xliii).[19] Examples from the Middlesex County Records amply demonstrate similarly mild punishments.[20]

Clearly, such measures were not enough to stop spiriting; more effective means of quelling this activity were required. Parliament passed a law in 1670 decreeing the death penalty for anyone caught spiriting individuals. Yet, this decree was rarely, if ever, enforced. Then, in 1682, a group of Jamaican merchants obtained a new order stating that indentured servants had to appear before a magistrate, and signed indentures would be kept on file. This injunction had little teeth to it, however, and several petitions and

pleas were filed with the King. Bills introduced in Parliament in 1691 and 1701-02 were considered but not passed. In 1717, legislation was passed helping to restrain and police the practice: this law held that those wishing transportation to the colonies had to appear before a magistrate to testify that they were going by choice. Magistrates began to log the names, dates, and masters of indentured servants. This practice of conscientious record-keeping lasted fourteen years, but even after this time servants were required to appear before a magistrate to testify. This requirement shows that by the early eighteenth-century, sustained legal action—however inadequate— had finally been implemented to stop spiriting. In the meantime, however, the task of preventing spiriting was largely left to less official channels.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN AND SPIRITING IN COLLOQUIAL SPEECH, THE COURTS, AND THE BALLAD FORM

In the absence of effective centrally mandated measures for curbing spiriting, other less official attempts to police the practice emerged. Such unofficial attempts had the potential to involve women in more central roles. Particularly important, for the purpose of this study, are ways of addressing spiriting that could plausibly have been available to not only women who were lettered and socially advantaged but also the poorest, unlettered sort. Such efforts to deal with and prevent spiriting all involved naming the practice; by working through the steps in the process of naming—identification and description, cause and effect, and solution—women and men alike could begin to resist the practice. This naming effort can be traced to colloquial diction, court records, and popular ballads. Analysis of colloquial phrases, defamation case records, and ballads shows that women were not only among the victims of spiriting; certain early modern English women were also among its perpetrators, even as others used the legendary power of a woman's tongue in attempts to stop the practice.

Colloquial Speech

By identifying and describing spiriting and those who practiced it, women (and men) of all social classes and levels of literacy could begin to raise awareness about it. Just naming a practice such as spiriting in and of itself could potentially warn victims. One expression in particular—" to spirit away"—was commonly used to describe those

persons who had the unfortunate luck to simply disappear; they were accounted for as "spirited away," regardless of what actually befell them (Bruce 1: 615). The power behind the word "spirit" was so strong that, as Bruce states, the word itself was "full of mysterious and terrifying significance to the popular mind," and spirits were "invested with even greater awe than body-snatchers in our own time" (1: 615). Because of the panic caused by references to spiriting in everyday speech, one could simply point a finger at another person, accuse him or her of being a "common spirit," and begin a riot (Ballagh 39).[21]

Naming Spiriting in Church and Common Law Courts

Such powerful accusations involving colloquial language had their counterpart in church and common law courts, where numerous individuals were charged with spiriting or charged others for defaming them through such accusations. Although men certainly had access to this realm in which to name and indict spirits, it is striking, as we shall see, that many such cases involved women.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English women had two legal avenues for formal complaint: the secular or common law courts, and the ecclesiastical or church courts. Common law courts usually awarded monetary damages while church courts generally prescribed penance as punishment (Sharpe 157).[22] J. A. Sharpe notes that England "experienced a massive upsurge in litigation over words from the mid sixteenth century onwards, and one writer [R. A. Marchant] has gone so far as to claim that 'the amount of litigation aroused by slander was a phenomenon of the age'" (156). Sharpe further observes that from 1500 on, the common law courts "began to take an interest in suits over words, and had soon encroached fairly heavily on the church courts'

competence in such matters" (157). However, as Laura Gowing asserts, "by the late sixteenth century secular courts were trying to limit the flood of defamation suits"; thus, "the church courts were solidly established as the principal forum for disputes over words and reputation," becoming the forum used principally between women (60). Garthine Walker and Jenny Kermode argue that within the masculine framework of legal recourse, women declared their own authority in areas with which they were familiar, exploiting and "constructing stories which utilized or manipulated convention for their own ends" (7-8). Women were willing to use any means necessary, including legal ones, to police improper social conduct.

Gowing has shown conclusively that women were not afraid to apply to the courts for justice.[23] She notes that, in general, slander suits from 1570 to 1640 grew from roughly 8% of all secular and ecclesiastical court cases to nearly 45% of all cases presented.[24] In other words, women's slander suits grew from a small fraction of the cases being presented to nearly half of all cases presented; this growth in slander suits demonstrates that women used legal resources open to them.

The kinds of improper conduct women attempted to police through such means, it seems, included not only slander but spiriting as well. In November 1655, for example, Dorothy Perkins accused Christian Chacrett, alias Sacrett, of being a spirit. She alleged that he "'inveagled one Edward Furnifull and Anne his wife with her infant to the waterside and put them aboard the shipp called *The Planter* to bee conveyed to Virginia" (Ballagh 50, Jeaffreson 3: 239).[25] On the same occasion, Perkins also accused Thomas Orpitt, alias Allpitt, "in like manner of being 'a spirit'" having spirited Edward Furnifull, his wife Anne, and their baby to Virginia (Jeaffreson 3: 239). Apparently, these men

worked together to abduct this family. The above instances show one woman actively accusing several men of being spirits. But numerous cases involve women accusing other women.

The Middlesex Country Records are a particularly rich source for such cases. For example, in September 1649, Margaret Robinson was accused of inciting a riot against Mary Hodges. She was called "to answer 'for a ryott upon Mary Hodges, and sayinge shee was a speritt…'" (Jeaffreson 3: 181-82). In September 1656, moreover, Susan Jones was held at Hicks Hall "'to answer the complainte of Rebekah Allen for raisinge a tumult against her and callinge of her 'spirit' and sayeinge she had caused her to be sent away on shippboard to be sent beyond the seas'" (Jeaffreson 3: 255). We do not know if these two women were actually spirits. Other cases are more clear cut. Katharine Wall, for example, accused Sarah Sharp of "violently assaulting her, tearing her by the hair of her head, and byting her arm, as also for that she is a common taker up of children, and a setter to betray young men and maydens to be conveyed into shipps." Apparently, Sarah Sharp "confessed to one Mr. Guy that she hath at this time fower persons aboard a ship…to be transported to forrain parts as the Barbadoes and Virginia" (Jeaffreson 3: 259). Sharp's confession suggests that Wall's accusation against her was not indiscriminate slander, but a naming action based in accurate perception. Indeed, certain women, instead of working together as a group to stop this practice, did become involved in the spiriting trade. One particularly famous female spirit was Avis, a resident of London from the area near St. Katharine's. She was arrested around 1655 for "taking on board of a Virginian vessel a boy eleven years of age" (Bruce 1: 614). Jane Price was also very visible as a spirit: within two years, she appears twice in the Middlesex County

Records for spiriting. At her second appearance, her punishment was only a fine of £1, 6s, 8d., though she was confined until she paid it (Jeaffreson 4: xlv).

The Ballad Form: Another Accessible Tool for Naming Spiriting

Because women used church and common law courts to accuse such female spirits, they were resisting spiriting by one local means available to them. Like accusations in local courts, ballads were a cultural form available to all women, even those from the lowest cultural and socio-economic classes. As we have learned from looking at popular expressions involving spiriting, people were afraid of being spirited away. This fear, in turn, may have acted as a deterrent to spirits and as a provocation to action against them. One vehicle for rousing such fear, and hence such action, was the popular ballad.

English ballads and broadsides were a popular culture phenomenon from the sixteenth-century through the nineteenth-century, eventually becoming the ancestors of American folk song.[26] Leslie Shepard states that "the Broadside Ballad combined two elements—the Broadside, a printed sheet of paper, and the Ballad, once a special traditional song, but now any kind of popular or topical verse" (48). Subject matter for ballads included not only major historical events but also common, everyday phenomena. Unfortunately, most broadsides did not survive long, for they were sold on the streets for very little money and passed from hand to hand. They could survive in two ways, however: being pasted on a wall or kept and collected in volumes.

Broadsides that were pasted on walls usually were the more popular songs that people wanted to save (Firth vii). Unfortunately, this method usually only offered a delay in their ruin. Currently, most extant broadsides and ballads exist in large collections

(Firth ix). Several men collected broadside ballads: Samuel Pepys; Anthony Wood; Richard Rawlinson; Francis Douce; and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (Firth ix-x). The practice of saving this "most perishable kind of printed literature" by pasting broadsides and ballads into volumes became popular in the seventeenth-century. As Shepard states, broadside ballads are important "for the light they throw upon everyday interests, activities, events and opinions of the common people...broadsides show us a *living* history [italics Shepard]" (54). In other words, they reveal common events in the daily lives of the people, common cultural practices and daily activities that may not be demonstrated in more formal literary genres.

Among those few critics who broadly theorize about the genre of the broadside ballad (most notably, C. H. Firth, Hyder Rollins, and Shepard), there is little detailed discussion of ballad audiences. Firth refers to ballad audiences as "the English populace" (xv). Shepard calls ballads "the universal popular cheap literature of poor people": he also states that they were "hastily printed and circulated amongst eager crowds" (26, 53). Rollins, in his introduction to A Handful of Pleasant Delights, states that ballads were published for the "delectation" of "vulgar" readers (ix). Joy Wiltenburg asserts that ballads were addressed to several social groups: "good Christians, men, maidens, wives, and fathers" (30). Dianne Dugaw asserts that the non-elite made up the audiences for this "lower-class tier of literature" (20-21). However, audiences were not completely made up of lower and working class people. Rollins states that audiences watching ballads performed in the streets "often consisted of common people who could not, and ironical gentlemen who would not, give a penny for the ballad" ("The Black-Letter" 317).[27] At the very least, ballad audiences were from all social classes.

Often, broadside ballads were performed, making it possible for those unable to purchase a ballad to hear it. Women, the financially and socially disadvantaged sex, constituted a large part of the unlettered audience (Wiltenburg 38-39). If they were able to read, they could find them posted on poles and walls. Wiltenburg also tells us that "many who were unable or unwilling to buy or read the texts heard them sung or spoken in taverns, fairs, and streets" (29). As a result, women were still able to hear and learn these popular ballads even if they did not have money or literacy. Women, then, had several opportunities to be exposed to broadside ballads, regardless of social or economic status.

In addition, jigs also exposed women and men alike to ballads.[28] Shepard refers to the jig as a "curious marriage between ballad, drama, and dance" (55). These unusual transmissions of ballads combined dance and dialogue and were often performed at the conclusion of a play (Shepard 55). Charles Read Baskervill states that "the *genre* never rose to the dignity of literature...[t]he jig was the darling of the groundlings, not the *literati*" (3). But jigs offered one more concrete way for women, especially illiterate ones, to hear ballads.

As ballads gained popularity, they became culturally powerful, serving as news, information, and even warnings to the public. Rollins states that "the influence of ballads was enormous. They helped to mold popular opinion" (Cavalier and Puritan 1). Because people were afraid of being spirited away, representations of spiriting became prevalent in a variety of cultural practices, including ballads. As we have seen, lower class women could buy or read broadside ballads in print; they could also hear and view broadside ballads being performed in several types of public places, from streets to playhouses.

Thus women may be considered a plausible part of the audience for ballads of every kind, including those that took up the issue of spiriting.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN AND SPIRITING: EARLY MODERN BALLADS

This chapter demonstrates that early modern ballads have multiple and complex functions in relation to spiriting: they were used to report, expose, and warn against it. These various functions can be traced in six ballads from the period, all of which specifically address women as victims and/or perpetrators of spiriting: "The Trappan'd Maiden," "The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," "Love Overthrown," and "The Woman Outwitted."[29]

Together, these six ballads published between 1660 and 1708 narrate stories about single and married women from several socio-economic classes. These women include poor, single maidens (including servant girls) as well as married women who are considered shrews or scolds. The first ballad, "The Trappan'd Maiden," narrates the story of a single maiden and contains a warning for others of her status. This maiden was not necessarily employed before she was "trappan'd" or spirited away to Virginia. The next three ballads discussed—"The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," and "Love Overthrown"—also depict single women, but their employment status is clear. These ballads specifically concern female servants, and their position within the household is central to each ballad's warning. Finally, a third group of ballads—"A Net for A Night-Raven" and "The Woman Outwitted"—represent wives deemed scolds or shrews who are spirited away to America.

Each ballad, by depicting the plight of a spirited woman, names and thus makes visible the practice of kidnapping women for labor in America. By raising awareness of such practices among female audience members, each ballad warned women of their vulnerability to spiriting. Certain functions of these ballads, moreover, can be likened to those cases we have seen in local courts, cases in which women were represented as not only the victims but also the perpetrators of spiriting.

In addition, each set of ballads shows one aspect of the naming process. "The Trappan'd Maiden" simply identifies the problem: spiriting. It is the first step in the naming process that ultimately demonstrates what the problem is and how to stop it. The second set of ballads—"The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," and "Love Overthrown"—focuses on working and middle-class women and how they act as both victims and agents of spiriting, turning the problem into one of class and gender—virtuous poor working women versus cruel middle-class women—and indicating both possible causes and tangible consequences of the practice. The last set of ballads, which focuses on wives who are scolds or shrews, initially seems the most misogynist in its depiction of women who are spirited. These ballads locate women's rebellion against their husbands' proper authority as the root cause behind their subsequent kidnapping and forced migration. However, these two ballads may also demonstrate the ultimate step in the naming process: a way out of danger. At long last, women audiences are shown a way to avoid being spirited to Virginia.

A Warning for Single Women: "The Trappan'd Maiden"

In "The Trappan'd Maiden," the narrator of the story tells briefly of her coerced emigration to Virginia; she then focuses the remainder of the ballad on her forced labor

there under Master Guy. The front matter to the ballad briefly gives a description of the point of the ballad: "This Girl was cunningly Trappan'd, sent to Virginny from England, / Where she doth Hardship undergo, there is no Cure it must be so; / But if she lives to cross the Main, she vows she'll ne'r go there again" (Firth 51). This front matter informs readers that the narrator is describing the cunning trap set for her and her hard labor in Virginia once she got there. More importantly, she insists at the outset that she was kidnapped and brought to Virginia against her wishes.

The narrator does not expand much, however, on her actual kidnapping and transportation to Virginia. She simply states in the first line: "Give ear unto a Maid, that lately was betray'd, / And sent to Virginny..." (Firth 51). This plea to the audience captures attention and makes us want to hear more. She pleads with her audience to listen to her sorrowful tale. She then continues to tell about her adventures in Virginia: "In brief I shall declare, what I have suffer'd there..." (Firth 51). Already, she is telling us that her time in Virginia has not been pleasant; maidens like the narrator should thus assume that Virginia might not be a place of freedom.

She then begins her tale and relates what hard labor she has been forced to perform in Virginia, lamenting her physical mistreatment. She states that "[Since] that first I came to Land of Fame, / Which is called Virginny, O, / The Axe and Hoe have wrought my overthrow..." and further details her labor with other tools: "I have play'd my part both at Plow and Cart...." In addition, she is also required to carry heavy loads of items: "Billets from the Wood upon my back they load... / The Water from the Spring, upon my head I bring"; "When the Mill doth stand, I am ready at command... / The Mortar for to make, which makes my heart ake..." (Firth 51-53). Presumably this

woman has also been forced to plant tobacco or other crops, given her familiarity with plows, carts, axes, and hoes as part of her coerced labor. In addition, she is required to carry heavy loads of wood and buckets of water. She is even forced to work in a mill and make mortar. Furthermore, she serves in a typical female domestic role, stating that "When the Child doth cry, I must sing 'By-a-by!'..." (Firth 53). In essence, this woman does everything: she serves in an expected domestic role as well as in an unexpected role as a field laborer.

This woman must work hard regardless of how she feels physically, a point conveyed repeatedly in the refrain: "When that I am weary, weary, weary, weary, O." This woman is exhausted from laboring in so many different capacities; her exhaustion stems, more than likely, from the physical mistreatment she receives at the hands of her master and mistress. Throughout the ballad, the narrator addresses her physical mistreatment. She is ill clothed, ill fed, and forced to sleep in unclean conditions. She tells us that "the Cloath[e]s that I brought in, they are worn very thin..." and when her Dame "sits at Meat, then I have none to eat..." and "Instead of drinking Beer, I drink the water clear..." which "makes me pale and wan..." (Firth 52). The narrator is treated further like a slave with respect to her sleeping arrangements: "Instead of Beds of Ease, to lye down when I please... / Upon a bed of straw, I lye down full of woe... / Then the Spider, she, daily waits on me... / Round about my bed, she spins her web [of thread]..." (Firth 52). Besides being denied proper clothing, food, and drink, the narrator is also forced to sleep on straw infested with insects. Subjected to domestic and hard labor without proper nourishment, clothing, or lodging, this woman is "weary, weary, weary,

weary, O" and "know[s] sorrow, grief and woe": she has become a labor machine (Firth 51).

By naming such harsh conditions, this ballad ultimately challenges the image of Virginia as a place of freedom.[30] This challenge is strongest in the last stanza, for the narrator offers this advice to women: "Then let Maids beware, all by my ill-fare / In the Land of Virginny, O; / Be sure to stay at home, for if you do here come, / *You all will be weary, weary, weary, O.* [italics author]" (Firth 53). Describing some of her "thousand woes," this woman implores others to stay at home in England so that they will not have to know suffering like that which she herself has experienced.

This ballad sends a remarkable message to the audience. Women are not better off in America than they are in England: they perform domestic duties as well as hard labor. They suffer from poor nutrition, improper clothing, and harsh living conditions. By telling the audience as much, the narrator subverts the image of America as a lush land free from hard labor. Instead, it becomes a place which requires toil with axes, carts, plows, and hoes. Hard labor can be expected instead of the freedom that many English imagined in the New World.

Kathleen Brown, one of the few historians to treat women's spiriting in ballads, discusses only one text: "The Trappan'd Maiden."[31] Brown suggests that this ballad's portrayal of women's lot in the colonies was largely accurate. She asserts that "despite pamphleteers' claims that English women in the colony spent their time in 'such domestique imployments and housewifery as in *England*...only the most privileged of women could have been so consistently employed" (85). Women in Virginia not only

performed "domestique imployments and housewifery," duties such as dairying, washing, spinning, and caring for children, but they also help cleared land and cared for crops.

By depicting such conditions, ballads such as "The Trappan'd Maiden," counteracted the colonial propaganda of the time.[32] Upon hearing such colonial propaganda, a woman might be tempted to immigrate voluntarily to Virginia because she would be assured of a better life there. When she reached Virginia, however, she would find the opposite of paradise: she would not only be expected to perform domestic work but also field work. According to Brown, "many English women may have heeded the 'Trappan'd' maiden's warning and tried their luck closer to home" (87). The ballad, then, warns women to expect harsh conditions, not a better life, in Virginia. That is the first function of "The Trappan'd Maiden": it warns women who are considering migrating to Virginia of their own free will.

Brown usefully suggests that "The Trappan'd Maiden" was circulated to demonstrate the truth about women's labor in Virginia. Her argument, however, does not fully encompass or explain the functions of "The Trappan'd Maiden." Focusing on women's more difficult work in the colony, Brown fails to discuss women being spirited to perform such labor. Yet this ballad warns women against spiriting itself. By virtue of its title and front matter, which refer specifically to trepanning, the ballad carries a message about a much more sinister fate: not only will women in Virginia be forced to work in the fields in addition to performing more common kinds of women's work, their very choice to migrate to this "promised land" may not have been a choice at all.

"The Trappan'd Maiden" demonstrates the first step in the naming process; by identifying and describing a problem, one can work to avoid or stop that problem. The

narrator does not tell us the details of her kidnapping and voyage or from where in England she hails, but she does tell us, at length, what happens to her when she arrives in Virginia. She tells her audience that "if it be my chance, Homewards to advance, / from the Land of Virginny, O; / If that I, once more, land on English Shore, / *I'll no more be weary, weary, weary, O* [italics author]" (Firth 53). "The Trappan'd Maiden" thus describes the end result of spiriting: a "thousand woes," some of which include hard and domestic labor.

This ballad is not the only one to address women's labor. "The Betrayed Maiden" possesses similar themes. Like the narrator of "The Trappan'd Maiden," the unmarried woman depicted in this ballad is sent to Virginia as a servant and is consigned to both domestic and hard labor. But the narrator in "Trappan'd" does not relate the circumstances of her kidnapping and forced emigration to Virginia. The narrator in "Betrayed," by contrast, does. The picture of women's coerced migration is clarified further by the narrators of two additional ballads, "Constancy Lamented" and "Love Overthrown." These ballads tell of two women who (possibly inadvertently) attracted the attention of their employers' sons and were tricked into going aboard ships bound for Virginia.

Warnings for Servants: "The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," and "Love Overthrown"

These three ballads focus specifically on poor working women, telling the tales of how they arrive in Virginia. They are sold into slavery by their mistresses who feel the servants have a chance of violating social boundaries through attracting the affection of the mistresses' sons. By virtue of their stories, these ballads exemplify the second step in

the naming process. Through describing the problem more specifically, outlining some instances which can lead to spiriting, and demonstrating one effect of it, these ballads move one step closer to stopping the practice.

The omniscient narrator in "The Betrayed Maiden" recounts the events leading up to the migration to Virginia of Betsy, a domestic servant girl. The son of Betsy's master and mistress swears "by all the powers above, 'Tis you, sweet Betsy, 'tis you I love" (Firth 69). His mother overhears his declaration of love "which threw her in a fatal snare" and she "contrived sweet Betsy away / For a slave in the province of Virginia" (Firth 69). Betsy and her mistress seemingly set out on a trip to visit relatives; however, Betsy is duped into going aboard a Virginia-bound ship: "They rode till they came to a sea town / Where ships were sailing in the Down, / Quickly a captain there was found, / Unto Virginia they were bound" (Firth 70).

Finally, the audience hears of Betsy's reaction to this coerced migration: "Sweet Betsy rode in sad discontent, / For now sweet Betsy's upon the salt wave, / Sweet Betsy's gone for an arrant slave" (Firth 71). Betsy is forced to immigrate to Virginia simply because her master's son fell in love with her, and his parents "would rather see our son lie dead, / Than with a servant girl to wed" (Firth 71). Betsy herself does nothing wrong; her feelings towards the son are never revealed. She is forced to go to the New World because her mistress tricks her into doing so.

This ballad demonstrates another situation for women: they could be sent away by their masters or mistresses for threatening the perceived social order. These parents do not want a lower-class girl possibly providing the heir to their estate and "upsetting" the social order of class. Instead, she is sent to America. Women like Betsy had no say in

where they were going. They were simply taken on board a ship bound for America and any "problem" they had caused was settled by their forced conveyance. This ballad, too, contradicts the dominant image of America as a place of freedom: not all women were necessarily in control of their own destinies.

"The Betrayed Maiden" is not the only ballad that addresses the theme of a maiden unwittingly becoming a threat to an upper class family who then dealt with the problem through spiriting.[33] In "Constancy Lamented" (Pepys 6:37-40), we learn from the front matter that Betty, the poor serving girl, becomes the object of affection for her employer's son. The mother sells Betty to Virginia, hoping that her son will decide to marry another more wealthy and worthy maiden. Instead, he dies of a broken heart. Thus, the ballad metamorphoses into "A Warning for Unkind Parents."

The front matter for this ballad tells the important aspects of this story: the love between two people of different classes, the mother's wish for her son, and her solution for getting what she wants. The entire ballad is the son's lament for Betty, and he gives us clues as to where Betty's gone: "But I tell 'em all it is in vain, / Since Betty's sailing on the main" (3.3-4). From this point, the son laments for his loss, telling his mother that "Nought in the world but sweet Betty, / Can ease my mind, or set me free" (4.1-2). His mother upbraids him: "Why should'st thou love, his mother said, / A silly poor and serving maid, / Whose birth is of some mean degree, / Which would bring Scandals unto me" (8.1-4). She tells him, further, that "I'd rather surely see thee dead, / Then that thou should'st my Servant wed, / To make her equal unto me, / Whose birth is of some poor degree" (10.1-4). Essentially, this young woman may or may not have reciprocated the son's affections, but either way, she was considered a danger: her employer sends her

away simply because she (unintentionally) threatens to bring scandal to the family. More importantly, though, she threatens to become the equal of the mother, who could not bear to see her son elevate a girl born of "some poor degree" to the same class as she. Essentially, the girl's presence threatens to subvert the accepted social practice of each class marrying within itself. The mother, in trying to prevent a cross-class marriage, takes advantage of spiriting and sells Betty to Virginia.

This ballad carries several didactic messages, the most obvious of which may be found in the last stanza. The narrator concludes his woeful tale with advice to parents: "Therefore you Parents every where, / Whose chance it is these lines to hear, / Do not contend against True Love, / For fear you such like Tryals prove" (18.1-4). The narrator warns parents to honor love or suffer the consequences. Such moralizing about the dangers of arranged marriages was typical of seventeenth-century popular culture for the middle classes, including ballads, as Louis B. Wright has shown.

Within this overarching didactic message about the dangers of attempting to thwart true love, however, Betty's story offers an equally clear message about the dangers of using spiriting as a vehicle for achieving such doomed efforts. This warning about spiriting lies in the front matter for the ballad. The author describes the events depicted in the ballad, characterizing the mother's sale of Betty as a "...most Unworthy action." Through this phrasing, the author criticizes the practice of spiriting.

This is not the only case of a young, poor maiden threatening, unknowingly, to subvert the social order and being punished for it. Another ballad that Pepys collected, "Love Overthrown," (7:136-38) tells a similar tale with a small twist in the story line and the same hidden message about spiriting.

Betty, the serving girl, comes to live with her master and mistress. She is described as "fair and clear," and her skin "the Lilly did invite, / To try which was the better white, / Her cheeks were of Vermilion red, / Like fragrant Beds of Roses spread" (1.1, 2.1-4). This young maid is beautiful and is accused of willfully trapping the heart of her employer's son: "She soon did draw his heart in snare" (4.4). She does not really want his attentions and refuses them: "He often-times did Betty try, / But she always did him deny, / Saying *Good Sir, it is in Vain, / My honour you shall never stain*" (5.1-4). Significantly, Betty will not allow the son to dishonor her: she stays a true maiden despite his advances.

Unfortunately for Betty, the son will not give up on her; having unsuccessfully sought her outside of marriage, he then tries proposing to her:

> One night he watching of his time,
> He unto Betty told his mind,
> How that he dearly did her love,
> And nothing sure could it remove.
> Therefore my dearest Dear (quoth he),
> If that thou wilt consent with me,
> On Sunday next, to end all strife,
> My Dearest thou shalt be my wife (6.1-4—7.1-4).

Unluckily, his mother overhears this conversation and decides to take immediate action.

Betty is then told by her employer that they are going visiting for a few days, during which time the mother brings her to a ship bound for Virginia and puts her aboard. Upon the mother's return, the son discovers her actions and falls into a sleepy swoon for

Betty; his swoon is the twist in the story line between "The Betrayed Maiden" and "Constancy Lamented." However, the only important difference between these ballads is the son's reaction; the action of spiriting is still the same, for the servant girl is still sold, and the warning to servant women is still hidden behind a popular theme. More significantly, the mother sells Betty into servitude because she had a real, tangible chance of threatening the social order of the household. The mother's motives are not clearly stated in the ballad, and what happens to Betty upon reaching Virginia remains a mystery. However, it is clear that Betty, through no fault of her own, is sent away because she is a poor serving girl who attracted the love of her employer's son. She is not even given a chance to think before she is bound for Virginia.

Similar, too, is the combination of two warnings under the popular theme of true love. The main theme of "Love Overthrown" is the tale of a young man literally dying of a broken heart for his love. Behind that theme, however, is a story that could plausibly have alerted servant women to the dangers of being spirited away. This ballad also sends a warning to employers: spiriting female servants to protect a family's social status will backfire.

These three ballads show the next step in the process of naming. They describe the problem more specifically through demonstrating one cause of spiriting and its result. No solution is offered, yet through these ballads, women, especially female servants, might receive a much clearer picture of how a woman comes to be spirited. But not all women in these ballads are victims: they are perpetrators as well. For the first time in ballads, we see women acting as the spirits. They contrive to send other women away for possibly imagined transgressions against their authority and reputation. The problem of

spiriting, then, turns into one of class and gender. Women are selling other women for their own gain. That benefit may be preventing scandal and upholding one's socio-economic privilege rather than the direct material profit that comes from receiving a monetary fee through spiriting. These ballads, though, warn socially advantaged women that spiriting away their female servants will not necessarily ensure familial cohesion and happiness.

In addition, these ballads describe a practice, in the domestic sphere, that parallels the nation's more official efforts to remove unwanted people. During this period, the English government sent their political prisoners and convicts to America to rid themselves of undesirables.[34] In these two ballads, mothers mimic the government by sending away unwanted people, particularly female servants who may potentially subvert the social order, unintentionally or not.

Frances Dolan's concept of "dangerous familiars" provides a useful framework for understanding this phenomenon within the household. She defines dangerous familiars as "members of the family or household, associated with the domestic, intimate, habitual, ordinary and daily" who are "'dangerous'—meaning not only threatening but also fraught with the particular early modern associations of 'difficult to deal with,' 'hard to please,' and 'reluctant to comply'" (Dangerous Familiars 4-5). By viewing female servants as dangerous familiars—that is, members of the household perceived as difficult or threatening to social order and hierarchy—we can see that female servants were at the mercy of their masters' and mistresses' fears. Even if they did not necessarily do anything wrong, they could still be punished. Women in such situations could not simply leave, because, as Dolan puts it, laws "reinforced the household as the basic social unit

and punished those who were 'masterless' and unattached" (Taming 201). Women in this situation could be warned—and thus find a measure of possible agency—from the content of ballads directed towards them.

Certainly, women listening to or reading these ballads would be warned against the (wanted or unwanted) affections of their employers' sons. They could become aware of the consequences that such undesired attention could bring them. Mothers, too, were warned that they might not achieve the desired outcome if they resorted to consorting with spirits: the results could be tragic for not only the maiden but also the family itself. These ballads, then, caution in more than one way against female coerced migration.

Warnings for Married Women: "A Net for a Night-Raven" and "The Woman Outwitted"

A final set of ballads suggests that not only unmarried women but married shrews and scolds could be sent to Virginia for threatening to subvert or actually subverting the social order. Because of their legendary browbeating abilities, scolds would not likely listen to traditional authority figures who might warn them that they were in danger of being spirited. Hence, these kinds of women might be considered the perfect audience for less traditional methods of asserting authority, such as ballads. The two ballads, "A Net for A Night-Raven" and "The Woman Outwitted," function as not only encouragement for husbands but also warnings to wives.[35]

In "A Net for A Night-Raven," a shrewish, cuckolding wife is sold by her husband into servitude in Virginia because of her behavior. The second part of the title for this ballad, "Or, A Trap for A Scold," reflects the ballad's theme, as does the front matter: "My honest friends, if you the way would know, / How to be quiet from a Scolding Shrow: / And to get money now in these hard times / Then pray give ear, and

listen to these lines" (Firth 54). Essentially, the title and front matter call for men to sell their scolding wives into slavery; not only will they be rid of such dominating women, they can also make some quick money in the process.

The narrator relates his tale from a distance, initially calling men to listen: "Here is a merry Song, / if that you please to buy it, / 'Twill shew how you may money get, / and lead your lives in quiet" (Firth 54). At first, one might think that the narrator is about to relate a common get-rich-quick scheme, but this scheme is particularly ominous. He begins his tale with a description of the scold:

> ...witty, fair and proud,
> and yet her wit deceived her:
> She was a grain too light,
> she call'd him [her husband] fool and Ninny,
> Which made her husband oft to say,
> he'd go unto Virginny (Firth 55).

The narrator does not stop here, however: he also informs the audience that she "had a lusty Lad, / and vow'd she'd leave him never" (Firth 55). This cuckolding scold pays no heed to her husband's threat; in fact, she wants him to leave. The joke is on him, but the tables will soon be turned.

The husband in the ballad decides to get even with his wife. Instead of leaving her for Virginia, he uses his potential departure as a trick to send her there instead and thus be rid of her. He makes an arrangement with a captain:

> Saying (good sir) I know
> of women you are lacking,

I now have one that I can spare,

and her I can send packing:

The times are very hard,

I'le sell my wife for money,

She is a proper handsom lass,

and fitting for Virginny…

She is good merchandize you know,

when you come to Virginny (Firth 56).

They negotiate a price for the woman (ten pounds). The husband then tells her that he is leaving for Virginia, and he says he wants her to watch him leave. She agrees and goes aboard with him. The captain pays her husband, and he "straight took boat and row'd away, / and sent her to Virginny" (Firth 57). She reacts, of course, very strongly to her duping: "Then she did cry most bitterly / and said she was betray'd: / Dear husband take me with you, / I'le never more offend thee" (Firth 58). However, her pleading is to no avail: "Send you good Shipping (he did say) / and well unto Virginny" (Firth 58). She reaches Virginia after seven weeks and is given to another man: "…and she another husband got, / when she came to Virginny" (58).

In his summary, the narrator warns the women of the audience: "Beware you scolding wives, / if no fair means will win ye, / Lest that your Husbands you entrap, / and send you to Virginny" (Firth 59). This ballad serves as yet another warning to women: disobey your husband and be sent to Virginia against your will. In this case, the scold is sent to Virginia and becomes the wife of another man. She is used, in the end, as a kind

of sexual slave; instead of forced indentured servitude of domestic and hard labor, she endures a different kind of indentured servitude: forced marriage.[36]

The title of the ballad itself lends meaning to its contents. A net can be a "moral or mental snare, trap, or entanglement" (Oxford English Dictionary, def. 1b). A "night-raven" is more difficult to define, however. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "night-raven" as a night-time bird, a definition that does not shed much light in terms of the title of this ballad.[37] By deconstructing the term, however, we can clarify what "night-raven" might mean in the context of this ballad.

"Night," in poetry, can be a personification of "a female being or deity" (OED, "night" def. I1c). A "raven" is a scavenger bird that is regarded as an "evil omen and mysterious character" (OED, "raven" def. A2b). As a verb, to "raven" also means to steal, plunder, or take by force. Combining these meanings together, I suggest that the term "night-raven" connotes a female being who takes, steals, or takes by force, possibly during the night-time hours. "Night-raven" may also be a more colloquial term for a scold, as evidenced by the second half of the title for the ballad: "A Trap for a Scold." Either way, a "net" for a "night-raven" might be a trap for a woman who plunders or takes by force—an image fitting for a scolding woman. In this instance, a "night-raven" could be a scold who destroys her husband's reputation by cuckolding or browbeating him, possibly during nocturnal hours.

The "net" for such a "night-raven," then, might be the trap for this scolding woman. A ballad with such images and phrases in the title and front matter would presumably target a male audience, because men would be the most interested in stopping

their wives' scolding behavior. The overriding theme is the more popular satire of a scolding, shrewish woman.

Behind that ridicule, though, is the message to women about spiriting: this message is apparent in the final stanza. This verse is addressed directly to women with its warning about being too scoldish and possibly being sent to Virginia: "Beware you scolding wives, / if no fair means will win ye, / Lest that your Husbands you entrap, / and send you to Virginny" (Firth 59). This ballad's original function, then, was to "entrap" men and women into listening to the ballad's message. Men might see the ballad's message as encouragement to participate in spiriting away their wives. More importantly, women could use the ballad's warning to modify any potentially scolding behavior.

In this ballad about spirited scolds, women are directly invoked as an audience with the ability both to disrupt order and change their behavior in ways that will uphold it. This is a novel phenomenon. Women are represented as having a greater scope of agency, even if both options presented fall within the rubric of patriarchal order. In "A Net for a Night Raven," women listeners and readers are encouraged to recognize the ballad's narrative warning and then act on that warning by choosing to obey and submit to their husbands in order to avoid the spiriting process. Whereas the servant maidens depicted in previously discussed ballads are not represented as having any way to avoid posing potential threats to social order, the women invoked in the final stanza of "A Net for a Night Raven" potentially have the power to change their behavior within the household. This ballad, then, exemplifies the final step in the naming process: it shows a means of preventing spiriting. This submission is allegedly the way out of danger: by

policing themselves, women can avoid being sent to Virginia against their own wills. Such a measure of agency, however, remains fully within the realm of patriarchal ideology. Women of certain marital status may be depicted as having a choice, yet no matter what option that female audience chooses, the ballad still attempts to keep them in their place: they may choose to submit to their husbands' will, or they may stand up for themselves only to be sold or punished in other ways.

The second ballad, "A Woman Outwitted," bears a strong resemblance to "A Net for a Night-Raven." Differences lie in its last stanza and the introductory matter of the ballad. The last stanza of "The Woman Outwitted" does not contain the warning to scolding wives; instead, the narrator simply concludes the tale. Because of the lengthy time period between publication dates (forty-nine years) and the close resemblance to "A Net for a Night-Raven," a publisher possibly decided to print a shortened version of the ballad with a different title. The fact that this same satire against shrews and scolds was repeated fifty years later in a second, nearly identical ballad, however, suggests that women still needed to hear the ballad's message about spiriting and that such satirical jests against wives remained popular. This popularity also implies that from one publication date to the next, there was still a domestic "problem" to be addressed, if only in jest: Englishwomen were presumably still challenging their husbands' authority in ways that earned them the label of shrew or scold.

"A Net for a Night-Raven" and "A Woman Outwitted" may be intended to mock women, and in the case of the earlier ballad, to warn them outright to submit. However, such messages do not seem to have been effective. Instead, scolding women continued to challenge authority and resist submission. In both ballads, women are credited with

responsibility for the domestic turbulence that might cause their husbands to sell them; in other words, both ballads depict women as agents. These scolds seemingly have more agency than do the servants girls of the previously described ballads, women who may have threatened socio-economic hierarchies between servants and their employers but who did so through no choice of their own. These married scolds, by contrast, willfully challenge authority within the household. Thus, these two ballads, perhaps inadvertently, present married women as more powerful than servant maidens, even if that power lies in the continued ability to challenge the acceptable division of domestic authority.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of women being spirited away is not unique to early modern English popular culture forms; it is also depicted in a number of printed texts. Examples include Ebenezer Cook's poem "The Sot-Weed Factor" (1708), Daniel Defoe's novel, The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (1722), John Gay's play Polly (1729), and Oliver Goldsmith's novel, The Vicar of Wakefield (1766). Spiriting is also seen in several non-fictional narratives: Samuel Vernon's The Trepan (1656), The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith (1662), Richard Head and Francis Kirkman's The English Rogue (1665), and Elizabeth Ashbridge's autobiography, Some Account of the Fore Part of the Life of Elizabeth Ashbridge (1755). The fact that spiriting is represented in such a wide range of texts and genres indicates how prevalent it was in early modern English society. Much scholarship remains to be written on spiriting in these works.

In their content, some of these printed works depict clear avenues of empowerment for women seeking to avoid being spirited away, or for women who, once spirited, desired freedom. Elizabeth Ashbridge's life-writing is an obvious case in point; after her forced conveyance, she served most of her four-year indenture and then "bought off the remainder of [her] time & then took to [her] Needle" to support herself (Ashbridge 153). However, such images of women's ability to resist spiriting in these and other printed texts would have been accessible only to those early modern women (and men) who could read. By contrast, ballads, by virtue of their dual transmission in not only print but also street performance, could present images of admittedly limited agency to a wider audience, including unlettered women of the poorest sort. With ballads

about spiriting, women who could not read had access to the oral form performed in the street or in alehouses: all they needed to do was watch or listen.

The ballads discussed here reflect the horror felt by women when they were taken against their wills; they also functioned as warnings to women, through their public transmission, of what possible dangers lay ahead. Even though early modern English women could not determine their destinies entirely, they could act to modify them in small ways. Single women—such as the narrator in "The Trappan'd Maiden"—could hear or see a ballad and know what possible danger lay ahead of them. Unwitting servant girls who threatened the social order of a household could be also warned through ballads specifically directed to them such as "The Betrayed Maiden," "Constancy Lamented," and "Love Overthrown." In addition, mothers could realize that selling their female servants did not always have the intended effect on the family. Finally, women who resembled the scolds in "A Net for A Night-Raven" and "The Woman Outwitted" could hear the warning to stop cuckolding and browbeating their husbands. Even though such submission might be contrary to the nature of scolds, they would be saving themselves from forced conveyance. Such women could also choose not to listen to the warnings in these ballads. Regardless, these ballads, transmitted in both print and performance, forewarned women of possible dangers in a variety of ways, enabling them to choose how to act in admittedly circumscribed circumstances. Thus, this study suggests that ballads potentially contributed to women's limited choices in a time when, for them, choices were few and far between.

END NOTES

[1] Authors who do not make a distinction between spiriting and indentured servitude include Beverley, Alexander Brown, Galenson, and Morgan. For more detailed information and analysis see Ballagh, Bruce, Jernegan, and Smith, Colonists.

[2] Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, def. 1.

[3] "The Betrayed Maiden," "The Trappan'd Maiden," and "A Net for A Night-Raven" are taken from C. H. Firth's collection, An American Garland. "Constancy Lamented" and "Love Overthrown" are taken from The Pepys Ballads, volumes six and seven, respectively. "The Woman Outwitted" is taken from John Ashton's collection, A Century of Ballads.

[4] Four groups of indentured servants immigrated to Virginia: political prisoners, those deemed enemies to the government; felons or convicts who were forced by the government to emigrate to the colonies or were given the choice of serving as indentured servants instead of incurring a harsher penalty; freewillers or redemptioners who wished to emigrate to America and were forced into indentured servitude to pay off the balance of their passage; and kidnapped or spirited persons. Intent and free will are the major differences amongst these categories since some groups, such as political prisoners, felons, and spiriting victims, were forced to go.

[5] Spiriting was quite different from African slavery. Both practices involved the kidnapping and forced immigration to the colonies for labor, but the similarity ends there. Spirited persons had some rights and could complain to local law agencies in cases of extreme abuse; African slaves were considered non-persons who had no rights at all. Spiriting continued after the introduction of African slaves to the American colonies, even though the practice of spiriting did decline gradually because "negro slavery" was considered "economically far superior" (Ballagh 65). Ballagh later notes that Virginia planters recognized the "superiority of white servitude for social and moral considerations" although "from a purely economic point of view its [white servitude's] inferiority was fully apparent" (91). Evidently, it was socially acceptable to prefer white indentured servants except for their high cost; African slaves, while not preferred as servants, were cheaper to get and maintain than white servants.

[6] Appendix A outlines in condensed form the crucial events in this history.

[7] Smith reports pamphleteer Morgan Godwyn's guess that 10,000 people were spirited to the colonies ("Indentured" 46) but disagrees with Godwyn's estimate, calling it "absurdly large" (Colonists 84) and accusing Godwyn of "raising an alarm" ("Indentured" 50). Smith also argues that "it requires but little knowledge of colonial history to realize that this figure is large enough to have covered the whole migration of any year"

("Indentured" 40). This excerpt, characteristic of the larger debate, demonstrates the difficulty in ascertaining an exact or even approximate number.

[8] Bullock further states that "[victims] are perswaded by these Spirits, they shall goe into a place where food shall drop into their mouthes: and thus being deluded, they take courage, and are transported" (14). This practice of tricking victims into viewing the American colonies as a land of plenty probably contributed to Virginia's image as a place of paradise. For children, bait consisted of the promise of candy or peepshows; for adults, Smith reports that "records indicate that 'persuasion' was much more common" than force (Colonists, 68). Smith's tone here is possibly ironic as shown by the quotation marks around the word "persuasion."

[9] However, James Ballagh notes that "the cruelty of some masters was sufficient...to interfere seriously with the importation of servants, and the Assembly in 1662 attempted to put a stop to it by giving the servant an easy remedy upon complaint to the commissioners...." (77). Servants who were mistreated thus had some recourse, but a servant's true salvation lay in her or his indenture papers, a copy which could be furnished to the master and even the local authorities of the servant's plantation. These terms might protect a servant from a dishonest owner because a servant could only be sold according to the terms set down on the indenture contract (Smith, Colonists 18, 71).

[10] Money was not the only profit from selling indentured servants: Smith observes that "a grant of fifty acres for each person transported to the colony" was awarded to private individuals beginning around 1618 (Colonists 15). These individuals could claim the land for imported servants and then sell the claim. Generally, proof was required that the immigrant had actually settled on the land before the grant was given to the transporter (Colonists 41).

[11] This "equipping" of a servant included provision of clothing and bedding as well as expenses to care for the servant before and during the voyage (Smith, Colonists 36-37).

[12] Cf. David Souden, who argues that "those who were supposed to have been the kidnappers—were considerably less important in the emigration process than we have long imagined" (26). Characterizing spirits in the larger picture of migration as insignificant, Souden fails to condemn the practice for its callousness and disregard of those abducted.

[13] Smith mentions an incident that happened in Bristol in 1685 when Judge Jeffries discovered that the mayor was "wont to sell small rogues and pilferers to the colonies" (Colonists, 80). Smith does not disclose what legal penalties were levied on the mayor, if any.

[14] The Virginia Company was also known as the London Company of Virginia for a short time. Other scholars who recount the history of the Virginia Company are Craven, Ellyson, and Neill. Also, companies that were instrumental in settling other colonies

include the Massachusetts Bay Company, the East India Company, the Bermuda Company, the Providence Company, the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company, and the Eastland Company. These groups were also known collectively as the Companies.

[15] Morgan states that one of the main reasons that the Virginia colony "failed" according to the English government is because Company officials assigned servants to work on their own plantations and not Company plantations (117-18).

[16] According to David Ransome, the Company began transporting servants to Virginia in 1619 on several ships: the Bona Nova, Tiger, Warwick, Marmaduke, and James ("Shipt" 446).

[17] Ransome discusses these shiploads of women in "Wives for Virginia, 1621."

[18] "Afterward," Spruill states, "it [the Virginia Company] did not concern itself with supplying wives to the colonists" (9), in other words, after the shipments in 1619, 1620, and 1621.

[19] The smallest punishment was that of Mary Gwyn and Thomas Black who kidnapped and sold Alice Deakins for their own profit. They confessed their crime and were fined twelve pence: "...they were only sentenced to pay a trivial fine and remain in prison till they had paid it" (Jeaffreson 4: xlvi).

[20] Pepys even notes the usefulness of the Middlesex County Records for verifying accounts of spiriting. He briefly explains, in his introductory note to "Constancy Lamented," about the practice of spiriting, stating that "only too many cases of 'spiriting' young men or young women to the American colonies against their will are known," further adding that looking at the Middlesex County Records proves this practice existed (6:37).

[21] Unfortunately, this cultural power more often than not brought physical injury to the accused. Some victims were savagely beaten, as was the case with Captain William Staffe. He was called a "'spirritt' which is soe infamous a name that many have bene wounded to death, and the said Captaine is much beaten and bruised by the multitude, beinge a verie aged man" (Jeaffreson 3: 278). Staffe's account demonstrates how strongly a crowd could react to an accusation of spiriting.

[22] Types of penance included public confessions, public apologies, retractions of slanderous words, or appearing in public wearing a white sheet and carrying a wand or piece of paper that declared the penitent's sin (Gowing 40).

[23] Gowing specifically targets sexual defamation cases between women from 1570 to 1640. Even though her data reflects trends from an earlier period, it is still useful background information about women's slander cases in early modern England.

[24] Women also made up the majority of witnesses in defamation suits between women; in London's consistory courts, 60% of witnesses were female in slander suits between women (Gowing 49).

[25] What punishment for this crime Chacrett suffered, if any, is not recorded in the Middlesex County Records.

[26] Coffin and Simpson detail this transatlantic movement of British broadside ballads.

[27] Persons of higher classes, though, were also at risk of becoming the objects of ballads, a deep and serious disgrace; as a result, "a distinguished person sometimes hardly dared to go out in the streets for fear of being stared at and pointed out as the subject of a sensational news-ballad" (Rollins, "The Black-Letter" 277, 279).

[28] Baskervill and Lawrence offer excellent and thorough histories of the jig.

[29] The ballads are parenthetically documented according to the collection from which they are taken. Four of the ballads appear in Firth's collection; references to the stanza and line numbers of the other two ballads have been assigned by Pepys.

[30] Howard Mumford Jones asserts that the image of the West, and the New World, as a utopia or paradise began with tales of Norse conquest in the twelfth century and the fourteenth and fifteenth century Spanish conquests (2, 4-5). This idea, combined with additional factors of gaining wealth, converting heathens, and the expansion of boundaries led to Virginia's reputation as a paradise.

[31] Kathleen Brown, Firth, and Suzanne Lebsock are the only scholars to address this ballad.

[32] One such example of propaganda is John Hammond's tract, Leah and Rachel, or The Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Maryland (1656). Hammond states that "the Women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke, but occupie such domestique imployments and housewifery as in *England*" (12).

[33] Firth notes that "the memory of the practice [spiriting] lingered in the minds of the people, inspired ballads such as those printed here ["The Trappan'd Maiden" and "The Betrayed Maiden"], and furnished incidents for popular romance" (xxx-xxxi).

[34] See note 4.

[35] "A Net for A Night-Raven" was published in 1660, nearly fifty years before the publication of "A Woman Outwitted" in 1709 (see note 2 for sources).

[36] Given what we know from scholarship about the conditions of spirited women once they reached Virginia, it is easy to surmise from this ballad that the scold was expected to

produce children for her new husband; in this way, she will aid in populating the British colony with British subjects.

[37] The OED cites one particular example that especially relates the meaning of "night-raven" in this ballad. In 1673, Kirkman writes "What good could I expect from my Father, who had such a Night-Raven as my Stepdame was?" (OED "'night-raven"). This inference refers specifically to a married woman.

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APPENDIX A

Spiriting Timeline

Year(s)	Event
1609	Virginia Company obtains first charter
1610	Virginia Company obtains second charter
1612	Virginia Company obtains third charter
1619-1621	Virginia Company sends first shiploads of women to American colonies, one in each year
1624	James I revokes Virginia Company's charter
1644	According to Ballagh, spiriting becomes bad enough to warrant riots in London
1645	Parliamentary ordinance passed warning all officers and mandates to watch for spirits
1660	Petitions first circulated for a registry office to quell spiriting
1660	"A Net for a Night-Raven" first published
1664	Registry office established
1670	Parliamentary law passed decreeing the death penalty for spirits
1682	Jamaican merchants obtain order decreeing new indentured servants must appear before a magistrate
1688	"Constancy Lamented" assumed to be published (Pepys)
1690	"Trappan'd Maiden" published
1691	Unsuccessful introduction of Parliamentary bill to stop spiriting
ca. 1693-1702	"Love Overthrown" published
1700's	"The Betrayed Maiden" assumed to be published (Firth xxxiv)
1701-1702	Second unsuccessful Parliamentary bill introduced to stop spiriting
1708	Cook publishes "The Sot-Weed Factor"
1709	"Woman Outwitted" published
1717	Partial legislation passed to punish spiriting

VITA

Susan Beth Peterson Pagnac

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: "NO REST CAN I HAVE, WHILST I AM HERE A SLAVE": FEMALE COERCED MIGRATION AND LABOR IN EARLY MODERN BALLADS

Major Field: English

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Little Falls, Minnesota, on January 7, 1972.

Education: Graduated from Dassel-Cokato High School, Cokato, Minnesota, in May 1990; Received Bachelor of Arts degree in English with a Women's Studies minor from St. Cloud State University, St. Cloud, Minnesota, in August 1996. Completed the requirements for the Master of Arts degree with a major in English Literature at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, in December 2001.

Experience: Tutored students for the Write Place, St. Cloud State University's writing center,1991 – 1993, 1994 – 1996. Served as secretary for Employee Assistance Program, Oklahoma State University, August 1996 – July 1997. Tutored students for Oklahoma State University's Writing Center, August 1997 – July 1998. Taught Freshman Composition I, Freshman Composition II, and Technical Writing, August 1998 – May 2001, and August 2001 – December 2001. Served as President of the English Graduate Student Association, August 2000 – July 2001.

Professional Memberships: English Graduate Student Association, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.