

The Ark and the Dove

by USGenNet Patrons Rhoda Fone & Carole Hammett (2001)

On 20 Jun 1632, Charles I of England granted to Caecilius (Cecil) Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, the charter for the Province of Maryland. Calvert (and his father, George Calvert before him) had long been recruiting "gentlemen investors" and, once certain that the King's charter would not be withdrawn (due to complaints by both Virginians and anti-Catholics on the Privy Council), he began notifying them of departure dates:

Oldham, September 1st, 1633

Dr. John Briscoe,
Brikshough, New Biggin, Cumberland Co., England.

Dr. John Briscoe, Greeting:

Dear Sir:

As the privy council have decided that I shall not be disturbed of the charter granted by his Majesty, "The Ark" and pinnace "Dove" will sail from Gravesend about the 1st of October and if you are of the same mind as when I conversed with you I would be glad to have you join the colony.

With high esteem your most ob't servant,
(Signed) Cecilius Baltimore.

Lord Baltimore, who, like his father before him, had converted to the Roman Catholic religion, was well aware that he and his fellow Catholics would forever be facing problems respecting their religion. It was for this and fiscal reasons that he was intent that religious tolerance be practiced in the Province of Maryland. Before setting sail, he provided the following instructions to his younger brother, Leonard Calvert, whom he had appointed governor:

"To Mr. Leonard Calvert Esq. and to the Colonists, and to the Commissioners—Sir Thomas Cornwalleyes and Mr. Jerome Hawley:

With Lord Baltimore's Governor of his Province of Maryland, and Avalon, and unto my well beloved brother, Leonard Calvert Esq., as the Deputy Governor of my Province of Maryland, with the Commissioners of his Lordship, provides the Government of said

Province—

His Lordship requires that they be very careful to preserve peace and unity throughout their voyage to Maryland. Amongst all the passengers on ship board and that they suffer no scandal nor offense to the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may hereafter be made to them in Va. or in Eng. and for that end to cause all acts of Roman Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be and that they instruct all the Roman Catholiques to be silent, upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of religion and that the said Governor and Commissioners treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit. And this is to be ordered at land and sea—

Cecilius Calvert

Lord Baron of Baltimore and Avalon.

Source: Calvert papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, as published in the *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*, Series II, by Alice Norris Parran, 1938.

In mid-October of 1633, the two ships, *The Ark* and *The Dove* left Gravesend with an unknown number of passengers, all of whom had presumably taken the oath of fidelity to Charles. Their next stop was Cowes on the Isle of Wight, where at least three Catholic priests, Fathers Andrew White, John Altham and Thomas Gervais, came on board. Father White kept a journal of the voyage, in which he wrote (translated from the Latin):

On St Cecilians day, the 22 of November 1633 with a gentle Northerne gale we set saile from the Cowes about 10 in the morninge, toward the needles, being rockes at the south end of Ile of Wight, till by default of winde we were forced to ankour at Yarmouth, weh very kindly saluted us, how beit we were not out of feare, for the seamen secretly reported that they expected the post with letters from the Counsell at London: but God would tende the matter, and sent tht night soe strong a faire winde as forced a ffrench barke from her ankour hold driveing her foule upon our pinnace forced her to set saile with losse of an ankour, and take to Sea, that being a dangerous place to floate in, whereby we were necessarily to follow, least we should part companie, and thus God frustrated the plot of our Seamen. This was the 23 of of Novemb: on St Clements day who wonne his Crowne by being cast into the Sea fastned to an ankour. That morneing by 10 a clocke we came to Hurste Castle, and thence were saluted with a shot, and soe passed by the dangerous needles, being certaine sharpe rockes at the end of the Iland, much feared by Seamen for a double tyde which she carried to Shipwrecke, tone upon the rockes, t- other upon the sand. I omitt our danger passed Yarmouth, where by dragging anchour in a strong winde and tide we almost runne of our shipp a ground.

Neither the number who boarded at Gravesend (where all were required to take an oath declaring Charles I their true religious leader), nor those who boarded at Cowes (presumably to avoid taking the oath) is known. Lord Baltimore spoke of 300 passengers, but no ships lists are extant, and most evidence as to passengers is secondary. On 22 Nov

1633, the two ships left Cowes, but only three days out, they encountered severe storms, and were separated:

Soe all Sunday and Munday the 24th and 25th of Novemb: we sailed afore the winde, till night, when the winde changed to Northwest so violent, and tempestuous, as the Dragon was forced backe to ffalmouth, not able to keep the sea, being yet not to goe southwest, but right south to Angola, and our pinnace mistrusting her strength came up to us to tell that if shee were in distresse shee would shew two lights in her shroodes. Our master was a very sufficient seaman, and shipp as strong as could be made of oake and iron, 400 tunne, kingbuilt: makeinge faire weather in great stormes. Now the master had his choise, whether he would returne England as the Draggon did, or saile so close up to the winde, as if he should not hold it he must necessarily fall upon the irish shoare, so infamous for rockes of greatest danger: of these two, out of a certaine hardinesse and desire to trie the goodnesse of his shipp, in which he had never beene at Sea afore, he resolved to keep the sea, with great danger, wanting Sea-roome. The winde grew still lowder and lowder, makeing a boysterous sea, and about midnight we espied our pinnace [The Dove] with her two lights, as she had forewarned us, in the shroodes, from wch time till six weekes, we never see her more, thinkeing shee had assuredly beene foundred and lost in those huge seas, but it happened otherwise, for before shee came to the Irish Channell, where we were now tossinge, shee returned for England, and entered into the Scilley Iles, whence afterward in the Dragons Company shee came to the long reach and Canarie Iles, God provideing a convenient guard for that small vessell.

The two ships remained separated for most of the remainder of the voyage. The Ark arrived at Barbadoes in the West Indies on 3 Jan 1633/4, and were joined by the smaller Dove three weeks later. They disembarked shortly thereafter and arrived at Point Comfort in Virginia Colony on 27 Feb 1633/4:

At length, sailing from this, we reached what they call Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the 27th of February, full of fear lest the English inhabitants, to whom our plantation is very objectionable, should plot evil against us. Letters, however, which we brought from the King and Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor of these regions, served to conciliate their minds, and to obtain those things which were useful to us. For the Governor of Virginia hoped, by this kindness to us, to the more easily from the royal treasury a great amount money due to him. They announced only a vague rumor, that six ships were approaching, which would reduce all things under the power of the Spanish. For this reason all the inhabitants were under arms. The thing afterwards proved to be in a measure true.

Here they resupplied the ships, took on more passengers and again set sail—this time north up the Chesapeake Bay, arriving at the mouth of the Potomac River by 3 Mar 1633/4. As they approached Maryland's southern shores, Father White reports they were met by Indians:

At the very mouth of the river we beheld the natives armed. That night fires were kindled through the whole region, and since so large a ship had never been seen by them, messengers were sent everywhere to announce "that a canoe as large as an island had brought as many men as there were trees in the woods." We proceeded, however, to Heron islands, so called from the immense flocks of birds of this kind..."

To allay their fears, Leonard Calvert sailed on the Dove to Piscataway, where he and Henry Fleet (more about whom see below) met with their chief. Fleete was, among other

things, conversant in a number of Indian languages, and aided Calvert in calming the fears of the Indians. Father White reported in his journal:

The Governor had taken as companion in his visit to the chieftain, Captain Henry Fleet, a resident of Virginia, a man very much beloved by the savages, and acquainted with their language and settlements. At the first he was very friendly to us -- afterwards, seduced by the evil counsels of a certain Claiborne, who entertained the most hostile disposition, he stirred up the minds of the natives against us with all the art of which he was master. In the meantime, however, while he remained as a friend among us, he pointed out to the Governor a place for a settlement, such that Erurope cannot show a better for agreeableness of situation.

Following the return of Governor Calvert and Henry Fleet, on 25 Mar, 1634, the ships landed at St. Clement's Island in present-day St. Mary's County, Maryland, where they became the second* group of settlers within the boundaries of the province.

* The [Isle of Kent](#) was the earliest white settlement within what became the bounds of the Province of Maryland.

No passenger or crew lists are extant for either the *Ark* or the *Dove* (although the latter, designated a supply ship, probably carried very few other than crew members). A number of versions have been published over the years, each a compilation based on other records. One of the earliest was researched and compiled by Mrs. G. W. Hodges and published as the "Ark and Dove Record, Passengers, Crew and Indentured Servants," in the *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*, Series II, by Alice Norris Parran, 1938. In 1968, another version published was that of Harry Wright Newman in *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, self-published, Washington, D.C.

In most cases, this secondary documentation has been based on land patent records in which applicants demanded rights based on their year(s) of immigration and transport, with the presumption made that, even if the ship was not named, that arrivals in 1633/4 were on either the *Ark* or the *Dove*.

Ms. Hodge's List is slightly smaller and slightly different than that of Mr. Newman, but given the number of passengers and crew that the ships could hold, it is clear that many names are probably still missing (even if one takes into consideration that some of the voyagers surely died during the voyage).

Ms. Hodges' List

Source: "Ark and Dove Record, Passengers, Crew and Indentured Servants," Mrs. G. W. Hodges, *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*, Series II, by Alice Norris Parran, 1938.

~ "ARK" AND "DOVE" RECORD ~

Nov. 22nd, 1633, ARK and DOVE~Record~Mar. 25th, 1634

PASSENGERS, CREW, INDENTURED

THE ARK AND DOVE, MARYLAND COLONISTS

The TWENTY GENTLEMEN~with Governor LEONARD CALVERT~and his brother,
GEORGE CALVERT,

COMMISSIONERS~Sir Thomas Cornwalleys, Jerome Hawley Esq.

Richard Gerrard~Knight Baronet, son of Sir Thomas Gerrard, Lord Baron of Byrne.

Lady Wintour's two sons~Edward and Frederick Wintour.

Sir Thomas Wiseman's son~Henry Wiseman Esq.

Nicholas Fairfax~(d~en route).

Thomas Beckwith, Esq.

Dr. John Briscoe~Surgeon, and Henry Briscoe.

Father Andrew White~a priest whose Journal of the Voyage and Colonization is very
remarkable.

Mrs. Ann Cox~(widow~evidently sister of Richard Gerrard, K. B. She later m~Thomas
Green. Had issue).

Mr. John Saunders, partner of Sir Thomas Cornwalleys, to supervise his twelve servants.
But he died en route (his wife and ch, are found in Maryland, 1644).

Mr. Henry Green~Gent.

Priest~Antham or Alton.

Mr. John Baxter~Gent.

Mr. Wm. Andrews~wife, Anne.

Mr. Richard Cole.

Mr. Richard Duke.

Many of the passengers were sons or relations who were indentured for their passage.

They are found in lists following~

Ark and Dove lists:

The list below were the passengers~

Thos. Allen~shot on sands at Point Lookout)

Father Altham

Wm. Andrews

Wm. Ashmore

John Ashmore (St. Michael's Manor, Md.)

James Barefoot (who died en route)

Ralph Bean

Thomas Beckwith

Anem Bendin

Henry Bishop

John Bowlter (Purser of Ark)

Henry Briscoe

Richard Bradley

Wm. Browne

John Bryant (killed by felling of tree at Mattapient)

Matthew Burrowes

John Carle (sailor)

Christopher Carnot

Thomas Charington

Richard Cole

Thomas Cooper

Mrs. Ann Cox (widow nee~Ann Gerrard sister to K. B. Richard Gerrard. This is believed to be a fact later discovered and she as widow Cox m~Thomas Green one of his three wives. He became Gov. of Md. upon the death bed of Leonard Calvert 1647)

Edward Cranfield

Edward Cranfield

John Curke

Thomas Darnall

Henry Darrel

Peter Draper (attorney for Leonard Calvert)

Richard Duke

Richard Edwards (Chirurgion of Ark)

Robert Edwards

Wm. Edwin

John Elkin

Cuthbert Fenwick (m~Jane Eltonhead she was widow of Robt. Moryson)

Wm. Fitter

Lewis Freeman

John Gaines

Thomas Gervais (priest)

Richard Gilbert

Stephen Gore

Henry Green

Thomas Grinston (Grigson)

John Halfhead (m~Jane Maddox)

Thomas Harrington

Nicholas Harvey (whose wife Jane as widow m~Thomas Green)

Thomas Heath

John Hill

Richard Hills

John Hillierd

James Hockley

Benjamine Hodges

Thomas Hodges

John Holden

John Hollis or Hollowes

Henry James

Mary Jennings

Josias Jennings

Richard Kenton

Samuel Lawson

Rich. Lowe (master of Ark)

Richard Lusthead (m~sister of Luke Gardiner)

Fra Malchet

Roger Morgan

John Marlborough

John Medcalf

Charles Middleton

Thomas Minus

John Nevill (m~Bridget Thornbay)

Richard Nevill (m~Ann~?)

Richard Orchard

Nicholas Perrie

Michael Perrill

Robert Pike

Joan Porter

John Price

John Price

Lodwick Price

Thomas Price

Francis Rabnett

John Robinson

Mr. Rogers (?)

Francis Rogers

Wm. Saire m~E. Lorell.

Stephen Samnan

John Saunders

John Saunders

Robert Shirley

Robert Simpson

A. Smith

Thomas Smith had wife Jane; daug~Jane and Gertrude.

Wm. Smith

Mr. Robert Smithson

Robert Smithson

Mathias Sousa

Samuel Sousa

Thomas Stratham

Richard Thompson

John Thomson

John Thompson

James Thornton

Rich. Thompson attorney m~Urusula Bisle~license 1641.

James Thorbton

Mathias Tousa

Matthais Tousa (mulatto)

Roger Walter

Roger Walter

John Ward

John Ward (wife Dameris)

Evans Watkins

Evans Watkins

Father Andrew White

William Whitehead

Capt. Robert Wintour

Capt. Robt. Wintour Master of Ark with Capt. Rich. Lowe both Gentlemen.

Henry Wiseman son of Sir Thomas Wiseman.

Matthais Zause.

Mr. Newman's List

“Documented List Of The Adventurers On The Ark And The Dove
And Those Who Were Early Identified With The Settlement”

John	Alcome, Altham	Transported
Thomas	Allen	Transported
William	Andrews	Transported
William	Ashmore, Ashmead	Transported
James	Baldrige, Gent	No Proof of Entry
Thomas	Baldrige, Gent	No Proof of Entry
James	Barefoot, Gent	Emigrated
John	Baxter, Esq.	Emigrated
Ralph	Beane, Bayne, Gent.	Transported
Thomas	Beckwith	Transported
Anan	Benham, Bennan	Transported
Henry	Bishop	Transported
(sometimes transcribed as Briscoe)		
John	Bolles, Bowles, Gent	Emigrated

Richard	Bradley	Transported
William	Browne	Transported
John	Bryant	Transported
Mathew	Burrowes	Transorted
George	Calvert, Esq.	Emigrated
Leonard	Calvert, Esq.	Emigrated
Christopher	Carnell	Transported
Thomas	Charington	Transported
Richard	Cole	Transported
John	Cook	Circumstantial evidence
Thomas	Cooper	Transported
Thomas	Cornwalys, Esq.	Emigrated
Ann	Cox, Gentlewoman.	Emigrated
Edward	Cranfield, Esq.	Emigrated
Thomas	Dorrell, Esq.	Emigrated
Peter	Draper, Gent.	Transported
Richard	Duke, Gent.	Transported
Joseph	Edlowe, Edloe	unknown
Richard	Edwards	unknown
Robert	Edwards	Transported
William	Edwin	Transported
John	Elbin	Transported
Nicholas	Fairfax, Esq.	Emigrated
Cuthbert	Fenwick, Esq.	Transported
William	Fitter, Gent.	Transported
Henry	Fleete, Gent.	unknown
Lewis	Fremand	Transported
Richard	Gerard, Esq.	Emigrated
Thomas	Gervase, Esq.	Emigrated
Richard	Gilbert	Transported
Stephen	Gore	Transported
Thomas	Greene, Esq.	Emigrated
Thomas	Grigston	Transported
John	Halfhead	Transported
John	Hallowes, Gent	Transported
(sometimes listed as Hollis or Hallis)		
Nicholas	Harvey, Gent.	Transported
Jerome	Hawley, Esq.	Emigrated

Thomas	Heath	Transported
Capt. John	Hill, Gent.	Emigrated
John	Hill	Transported
John	Hillard	Transported
Richard	Hills	Transported
James	Hockley	Transported
Benjamin	Hodges	Transported
John	Holderen	Transported
Henry	James	Transported
Mary	Jennings	Transported
John	Knowles	Transported
William	Lewis, Gent.	Transported
Richard	Loe, Lee	Transported
Richard	Lustead	Transported
John	Marlborough	Transported
Christopher	Martin	Transported
John	Medcalfe, Esq.	Emigrated
Charles	Middleton	Transported
Thomas	Minnus	Transported
Roger	Morgan	Transported
John	Nevill	Transported
Richard	Nevitt	Transported
John	Norton, Jr.	Transported
John	Norton, Sr.	Transported
Robert	Pike	Transported
John	Price, black	Transported
John	Price, white	Transported
Lodovick	Price	Transported
Francis	Rabnett	Transported
John	Robinson	Transported
Francis	Rogers, Gent.	Transported
William	Saire, Esq.	Emigrated
Stephen	Sammion	Transported
John	Sanders, Esq.	Emigrated
Robert	Sherbys, Sherley	Transported
Thomas	Slathan	Transported
Madam Ann	Smith, Gentlewoman	Emigrated
Robert	Smith	Unknown

Thomas	Smith, Gent.	Transported
William	Smith	Emigrated
????	Smith	Transported
Ann	Smithson	Transported
Mathias	Sousa, mulatto	Transported
Robert	Sympson	Transported
Richard	Thompson	Transported
William	Thompson, Gent.	unknown
James	Thornton	Transported
Cyprian	Thorowgood, Gent.	unknown
John	Tomkins, Tomson	unknown
Robert	Vaughan, Gent.	unknown
Roger	Walter	Transported
John	Ward	Transported
John	Wells	unknown
Andrew	White, Gent.	emigrated
Evan	Wilkins	Transported
Edward	Wintour, Gent.	Emigrated
Frederick	Wintour, Esq.	Emigrated
Robert	Wiseman, Esq.	Emigrated
Josias	????	Transported
Sam	????	Transported
Francisco, mulatto		Transported
James	????	Transported

THE CREW

John Boulter, Purser and steward of the Ark.

John Curke, Helper on the Dove.

John Games, On the Dove.

Richard Kenton, Boatswain on the Dove.

Samuel Lawson, Mate on the Dove.

Richard Orchard, Master of the Dove.

Nicholas Perrie, Helper on the Dove.

???? Warreloe, Mate on the Dove.

Source: *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, Harry Wright Newman, self-published, Washington, D.C., 1968, pp. 339-343

Of those named above, a few additional notes:

"Wm. Browne" (Hodges and Newman), as "William Brown, transported in 1633," has reference Patents AB&H:383 (*Gibb*)

"John Bryant" (Hodges and Newman) has reference of Patent 1:166 and was transported in 1634 (*Gibb*)

"Thomas Cornwalley, Esq., "Cuthbert Fenwick (Esq.) and "John Saunders:" See will and notes of Mr. Cuthbert Fenwick, Maryland Calendar of Wills, [Vol. I, p. 219](#)

"Mr. Nicholas Fairfax" (Hodges) has reference of Patents 2:346 of "Nicholas Fairefax immigrated 1633," and "Nicholas Ferfax immigrated 1633" (Patents 1:17, 42), and "Nicholas Firfax immigrated 1633" (Patents 1:41) (*Skordas*)

"Henry Fleete, Gent." appears in the records of the [1637/8 Freeman Assembly](#). See also Combs &c.'s [Fleet Families](#).

"Richard Lusthead (m--sister of Luke Gardiner)" (Hodges) was also described as Richard Lushead, Lustwick and Lustick in various patents. He married Julian Gardner, daughter of Richard, and was deceased by 1650. See Maryland Calendar of Wills, [Vol. I, pp. 82-95](#), will of her brother, Luke Gardner

"Fra Malchet" (Hodges) is probably the same as "Fra. Molcto" in Gibb's Supplement to Skordas (Patents 1:66, "transported in 1633"), and possibly the same as "Francisco, mulatto" (Newman)

"Mr. Rogers" and "Francis Rogers" (Hodges) and "Francis Rogers, Gentleman" (Neman) are probably "Mr. Francis Rogers" of Gibb's Supplement (Patents 1:166)

"Stephen Samnan" (Hodges) and "Stephen Sammion" (Newman) are undoubtedly the same, and probably the same as "Stephen Tammion, transported 1633" (Patents 1:110, *Gibb*)

"Robert Shirley" (Hodges) and "Robert Sherley or Sherby" are undoubtedly "Robert Sherleys, transported in 1633" (Patents AB&H:65, *Gibb*)

"Mathias Tousa," "Mathias Tousa, mulatto" and "Mathias Sousa" (Hodges), and "Mathias Sousa, mulatto" are probably all "Mathias Tousa, transported in 1633" (Patents 1:19, *Gibb*) and the Ark and Dove Society lists as "Matthias Zause"

"Christopher Martin" (Newman), not included on Hodges' list was transported in 1634, and has reference of Patents AB&H:244 (*Gibb*)

"Mr. Richard Gerrard, immigrated 1633" has reference of Patents AB&H:66 (*Gibb*)
Not included in the above lists is possible passenger Samuel Richloe, who was transported in 1633 (Patents AB&H:383, *Gibb*)

Sources: *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, an Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633-1680, in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, edited, with an introduction, by Gust Skordas, then-Assistant Archivist, Maryland State Archives, and published by Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, Maryland, 1968, hereinafter *Skordas*; and its companion volume, [*A Supplement to Early Colonial Settlers of Maryland*](#) by Carson Gibb, published 1997 by the Maryland State Archives (this latter source is a database containing about 8,600 entries consisting of corrections and additions to Skordas).

[*Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*](#) by Father Andrew White, Maryland State Archives, edited by Clayton C. Hall, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, republished by the Maryland State Archives..

Rev. Father Andrew White, *A Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore in Maryland*, translated by N.C. Brooks, Baltimore, 1847, pp. 18 -24, and reprinted in *American History Told by Contemporaries*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, New York, 1898, volume 1, "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland."

Introduction

During the first years of his Province of Maryland, 1633-1681, Lord Baltimore rewarded people who transported themselves or others with rights to land, usually called headrights. For most of the period, the reward was a right to 50 acres of land per person transported. To enter and exercise his rights a person had to give the names of those, including himself, whom he had transported. Therefore, the records of these transactions list the names of the settlers.

A Supplement continues an effort begun early in the nineteenth century to make a complete list of the men and women who founded Maryland. *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, the last major effort, initiated by the late Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist, and directed by Gust Skordas, Assistant Archivist, was published in 1968. It gave to all researchers an index previously available only to those who visited or wrote to the Maryland Hall of Records, and it stimulated an interest in the Colonial records of Maryland that coincided with a resurgence of genealogical research throughout the United States.

In compiling *The Early Settlers* Mr. Skordas reviewed earlier indexes. When he found that four volumes of patents had been excluded, he read them and included them in his index. Otherwise it is based on the earlier indexes, whose history is in Dr. Radoff's Foreward.

Before 1968 at least one researcher knew that the earlier indexes had faults, the late Harry Wright Newman. In writing *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, he examined every pertinent record to determine who arrived in Maryland in 1633 in *Ark* and *Dove* or shortly thereafter in other ships. He identified settlers whose names appear in neither the earlier indexes nor *The Early Settlers*.

In 1968 historians were beginning to ask new questions of the records. Some, notably Lois Green Carr and Russell Menard, wanted to know what life was like in early Maryland, and therefore, evaluated the primary sources at the Archives in hopes of quantifying their findings into a richer, more complete understanding of the past. Russell Menard, in particular, sought to determine the number of people who migrated to Maryland in order to compare the development of the province with other settlements in North America and to evaluate such economic issues as who came, when they came, and how well they survived. Fundamental to his work was a careful examination of headrights and his only means of quick access was *The Early Settlers*. He wrote:

The Early Settlers of Maryland ... contains about 25,000 names. With a few exceptions, the entries are claims to headrights. A check of the first 2000 names...indicates that 6 percent (1500 of the 25,000) of the entries are second, third, or fourth listings of persons who had already appeared. On the other hand, as anyone who attempts biographical work soon discovers, the index is not a comprehensive list of immigrants and the omissions far outnumber those who appear more than once. ...It can be asserted with confidence

[however] that [*The Early Settlers* lists] at least 23,500 people [who] immigrated to Maryland from 1634 to 1681.

By comparing names listed in *The Early Settlers* to those in other lists of immigrants Dr. Menard arrived at a number "just under 31,000...as a 'best estimate' of total immigration to Maryland from 1634 to 1681." (Russell Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland*, 1975, pp. 175-6.)

In preparing the Foreward archivists discovered a volume that had been overlooked by all indexers: Warrants WC4(1681-1685). I read this volume and found material for 1400 new entries, over 1000 of new settlers. So together *The Early Settlers* and *A Supplement* list about 26,500 settlers, 85% of Dr. Menard's "best estimate" of 31,000.

In contrast to *Early Settlers*, *A Supplement* is based not on earlier indexes but on the records. And whereas the earlier indexes are based on transcripts only, it is based on original records, whenever available, as well as transcripts. The originals have some significantly different spellings of names, but otherwise they do not differ from the transcripts.

Of its 8680 entries most add names and events omitted from *The Early Settlers*. Of these omissions, about 3000 are of persons transported by themselves or others; perhaps as many more are of persons -- some with their masters identified -- who completed terms of service; the rest are of members of families transported. The remaining entries clarify dates and correct errors in citation, interpretation, and spelling. The earliest spelling of a name is taken as the norm. Significant variants are given in parentheses.

Four points need to be made about the records. First, having rights to land, the reward for transporting oneself or others, was not the same as possessing it. Between proving these rights and possessing the land were three steps, represented by three papers: a warrant for a survey; a surveyor's certificate of his survey; and a patent to the land surveyed. As each of these steps cost money, many settlers who were hard-pressed to pay for things they needed immediately, such as tools and live-stock, assigned -- that is, sold -- their rights.¹
¹In the records of these transactions -- probates (proofs) and assignments of rights, demands of warrants, certificates of survey, and patents -- are the names of the settlers.

Second, the probates and most assignments are of *rights* for transporting people. The names of people transported are in the records primarily as a means of identifying the rights. Indeed, rights often are said to be "called" or "titled" by people's names; for instance, in Patents 11:571 & 579; 10:324 & 335; 7:80 & 565; & 4:29.

Some names denoted people as well as rights. Among them are those of people who themselves were assigned along with rights. Such assignments, records of which are rare, are clearly distinguished from assignments of rights alone. For instance, on 11 May 1668 John Tully assigned to Daniel Jennifer both Richard Watson *and* the rights for Watson's transportation (Patents 11:337); on 20 October 1662 Job Walton assigned to Thomas Marken a maid servant, Mary Carter, for four years *with* all rights of land belonging to her (Patents 5:538); on 1 March 1659 Thomas Byan assigned Jane Montague to John

Elles to serve for four years (Patents 8:498); and on 17 January 1659 William Chapline assigned to William Pyther an indenture whereby Edward Parrish was to serve him for seven years, on 21 January 1656 Pyther assigned it to Richard Gott, and on 20 September 1659 Gott assigned it to Alexander Gordon, his son-in-law (Patents 4:206). Other names that continued to denote people are those of people who completed terms of service or were issued warrants or certificates or granted patents. Tracing these names is tracing the settlers themselves.

But those are the exceptions. The names of most settlers immediately became names of rights and lived in the records independent of the settlers. Tracing names as rights go from person to person or are used for acquiring land is tracing rights only. Indeed, as many settlers died soon after arriving, some of the names circulating must have been of the dead.

Third, assignments of rights caused contradiction among records. Those that were recorded -- evidently, many were not -- constitute an important part of the records. Rights often were assigned several times, as in Patents 5:535 & 8:48; 11:171; and 5:118. Often many years passed between their probate and their use for land, as in Patents 10:362, 372, & 380. Speculators bought them by the dozens and assigned them a few at a time or used them to patent large tracts, as in Patents 10:558-571.

This circulation of rights explains the main contradiction assignments caused. Often in *Early Settlers* and in *A Supplement* a settler appears both to have transported himself and to have been transported by somebody else. If his name is common, the quick explanation is that here are two people with the same name. The less common the name, the less plausible that explanation and the greater the need for another. One name not merely uncommon but unique is that of Andrew White, leader of the Jesuits who came on the *Ark*. For him *Early Settlers* has two entries, one saying that he immigrated, the other that he was transported. The first refers to Patents AB&H:65 and 1:37, in both of which Mr. Ferdinando Pulton (a Jesuit) demands land for the transportation of Andrew White and a number of other persons, assigned to him by Andrew Whi That is, White assigned to Pulton the rights for transporting himself and the others. The second refers to Patents 1:19 and 166, in both of which Thomas Copley, Esq. (a Jesuit), who immigrated in 1637, demands land for the transportation, in 1633, of Andrew White and the same persons listed in Pulton's demand. Though there is no record of these rights going from Pulton to Copley, they obviously did. Hence the other explanation is that, as rights were assigned from person to person, identities of transporters appeared to change.

To put it another way, often records of transportation that imply that A transported B mean only *that A had the right to land due for transporting B*. For instance, on 19 November 1672 Robert Bryant proved rights for transporting Richard Hacker, his wife, four children (all named), John Burges, Samuel White, and John Reynolds, himself, and Honour, his wife (Patents 17:396); but on 27 July 1672 Richard Hacker entered rights for transporting the same people, except the last three (Patents 16:635). Again, on 2 June 1669 Augustine Herman entered rights for transporting John Cornelius, Anniken Engels, his wife, Gertruyd, their daughter, and Cornelius and Hendrick, their sons (Patents

12:243); but on 21 October 1668 John Cornelius assigned to John Pole of Baltimore Co. the rights due to him for transporting the same people (Patents 12:270). In neither case is there record of an assignment, but in each there must have been one.

To confuse matters further, sometimes rights were entered for service and assigned as for transportation. Edward Chandler did so on 4 January 1669 (Patents 12:389), Trag Otrasis on 11 December 1665 (Patents 9:189, 268), and Henry Frith on 9 April 1667 (Patents 10:466). On 20 December 1669 seven rights, some for service, some for transportation, were assigned as for transportation (Patents 12:386-7). And often, especially in patents, rights are used without being attributed either to service or to transportation. The clerks' job was to see that rights were properly credited not to determine how they were acquired.

Fourth, except family members, most settlers transported by others were bound to serve their transporters, usually for four or five years. That is, they were servants and in the records are often so called. But the label "servant" was no stigma. In the seventeenth century it had meanings different from those of today. It denoted, as it usually does today, a person of low class and menial occupation, but it denoted people up and down the social scale as well. In these records "servant" seems often to mean nothing more than transportee. On 12 October 1652, when William Chaplin demanded land, Alice Bancroft was his servant, but in his patent of 18 November 1658 she was his wife's daughter (Patents AB&H:273; Q:210). On 15 December 1669, immediately after entering rights for transporting himself and Thomasin, his wife, John Barnard assigned rights for transporting himself and "one servant woman" (Patents 12:380). And in an assignment of 10 July 1656 the first name in the list of "servants [Ralph Williams] brought into this Province" is "Ralph Williams" (Patents 5:410).

The settlers closest to the modern idea of servants probably were those who were shipped in by the dozen. They are often listed as "servants," but almost as often they are listed as "persons," and sometimes they are listed as both. For instance, in Patents 15:380, 433, 443, 446, 453, 454, & 455; & 18:84, 160, & 167.

As the term "servant" was ambiguous, so the status of servants was changeable. For one thing, sometimes terms of service were much shorter than four years; for instance, in Patents 5:467 & 6:19, 86, 96, 106, 107, 129, 131, 132, & 165-6. For another, sometimes settlers were servants and masters at nearly the same time. For instance, Wm. Stibbs, who on 4 August 1663 assigned to Thomas Bradley rights to 100 acres due "to me and my servant Joseph Ash for our times of service in ye province according to the custom of the country" (Patents 5:414); Thomas Bowdle, who on 5 April 1669 demanded rights for service to William Parker at the same time as John Love demanded rights for service to him (Patents 12:201); and Thomas Percy, who on 6 April 1669 demanded rights for service to Richard Preston at the same time as John Smith demanded land for service to him (Patents 12:203).

A Supplement uses the label "servant" only to identify people whose last names are not given and to distinguish servants from other members of households.

With these four points and "Using *A Supplement*" (below) in mind, readers are at least in part prepared to find and understand records of their settlers.

