

Jesuit) demands land for the transportation of Andrew White and a number of other persons, assigned to him by Andrew White. That is, on his arrival 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 changed.

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.

Most settlers transported by others were bound to repay their transporters by serving them, usually for four or five years. That is, they were their servants. 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 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 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 John Smith demanded land for service to him (Patents 12:203).

*A Supplement* uses the label "servant" only when it seems likely to help identification: with first names without last names and in lists of members of what appear to be households.